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A proposed model for African liberation

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ABSTRACT

DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN AMERICAN / AFRICANA WOMAN STUDIES

MILES, LARRY L. B.A. UNIVERSITY OF LOUISIANA AT LAFAYETTE, 2003
A PROPOSED MODEL FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION

Advisor: Daniel Black. Ph. D.
Thesis dated December 2009

This research was designed to create a model for African liberation by examining the concept of combat literature. It investigated the speakerly texts relationships between David Walker’s Appeal (1830), W.E.B. Du Bois’ The Souls of Black Folk (1903), Kwame Ture and Charles Hamilton’s Black Power (1967), and John McWhorter’s Authentically Black (2004). The purpose of this thesis was to find the common elements within each text that lead to a model for African liberation. This study defined liberation as freedom or release from slavery, imprisonment, captivity, or any arbitrary control of African people by European/Western institutions. Liberation is also defined as control of one’s own self and national destiny versus the modern neo-colonial, economic, and political control of African nations and peoples by Western nations and corporations.

The concept of combat literature developed in this study determined if the four texts defined African/black people as a collective, both continental and throughout the Diaspora. Further, combat literature served to decipher if the texts functioned as a
medium by which the greater population of Africans suffering under European aggression and exploitation had the ability to communicate a desire for redress. The utilization of combat literature found that three of the texts indicted the system of oppression for its cruelty, and educated African people about the tools or instruments of Western aggression, colonialism, and oppression. The concept of combat literature also assisted in unearthing the political tract, within two of the texts, that identified the natural human rights of oppressed African people rather than the civil liberties granted to them by Western/European institutions. This study bridged one-hundred and seventy-five years of argumentation for African liberation. It codified the divergent ideologies of four major texts produced by intriguing individuals into a single model for African liberation.
A PROPOSED MODEL FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF CLARK ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

BY
LARRY L. MILES

DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDIES

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
DECEMBER 2009
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I would like to thank my family for their continued love and support of my pursuits in academia. I am indebted to Dr. Daniel Black, Dr. Josephine Bradley, the members of the Association for the Study of Classical African Civilizations (ASCAC), and the African American Studies Department at Clark Atlanta University for their love, guidance, friendship, and direction in writing this thesis.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

How infinitely stupefying the prison of the single, unconnected viewpoint, station of the cut-off vision. How deathly the separation of faculties, the separation of people. The single agent's action is waste motion; the single agent's freedom useless liberty. Such individual action can find no sense until there is again that higher connectedness that links each agent to the group. Then the single person is no cut-off thing but an extension of the living group, the single will but a piece of the group's active will, each mind a part of a larger common mind. Then each eye inspires itself with visions springing from group need, the ear is open to sounds beneficial to the listening group, the limbs and the hands act in unbroken connection with the group.

-Ayi Kwe Armah, Two Thousand Seasons, 1973

The purpose of this research was to investigate the main ideas as defined and proposed by the speakerly text relationships between the texts David Walker’s Appeal (1830), W.E.B. Du Bois’ The Souls of Black Folk (1903), Kwame Ture and Charles Hamilton’s Black Power (1967), and John McWhorter’s Authentically Black (2004), resulting in a model for African liberation. In this study, liberation is defined as freedom or release from slavery, imprisonment, captivity, or any arbitrary control of African people by European/Western institutions.

The social commentary of African people in America has a speakerly relationship. They not only speak to the economic, educational, political, and social conditions of African people in America, they speak to one another. As Dr. Henry Louis Gates Jr.
states in *The Signifying Monkey*, “The black tradition is double-voiced. The trope of the Talking Book, of double-voiced texts that talk to other texts, is the unifying metaphor.”¹

Certainly ideals of liberation are not confined solely to the literary tradition and as scholar Maulana Karenga asserts, “Black literature does not begin with written aesthetic expressions but with oral ones.² The very transmission of African American origins from the continent through the *Maangamizi*, their connections to one another both familiarly and socially, and according to Isidore Okpewho, the “peculiar ways of living and behaving that identify [Africans] as a people—that [was] preserved for cultural continuity—is contained in the various forms of oral literature practiced in the society—songs, narratives, proverbs, riddles, and so on.”³ However, the focus of this study is on the written aesthetic. This study is designed to explicate exactly what the aforementioned authors mean by “liberation” and how they proposed to attain it.

The four authors investigated in this study represent four distinct eras or periods of time marked by particular cultural characteristics or by important events such as wars or advances in technology on American soil. Each era seems to have produced a particular language that becomes reflective of the time and age in which the literary works were developed. For further clarification of the relevance of the eras as demonstrated through the selected texts, see Table 1.


Table 1.1 Eras of Authors Selected

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Era</th>
<th>Author / Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Revolutionary War, Antebellum</td>
<td>David Walker/ <em>David Walker’s Appeal To the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in particular and very expressly, to those of The United States of America</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Civil War, Reconstruction, and Industrialization</td>
<td>W.E.B. Du Bois / <em>The Souls of Black Folk</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Civil Rights/Black Power and Black Arts Movement | W.E.B. Du Bois / *The Souls of Black Folk*  
Kwame Ture & Charles V. Hamilton / *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation* |
| End of the Twentieth /Dawn of the Twenty-First Century | Kwame Ture & Charles V. Hamilton / *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation*  
John McWhorter / *Authentically Black: Essays for the Black Silent Majority* |

While Walker’s text was compiled during the enslavement period, Du Bois’ text was published in its wake and the aftermath of reconstruction. Du Bois’s text is so significant that it could reach into the twentieth century. Ture and Hamilton’s text was written at the waning of the Civil Rights Movement and bourgeoning Black Power Movement, and McWhorter’s text was written in the twenty-first century.

Each text explicated in this study is a compilation of essays that speak to the conditions of African people in America. The four authors approach the rhetoric of social commentary in distinctly different ways. As a scholarly enterprise, Walker compiled his four articles in his *Appeal* in order to secure a readership, especially among African people who were not privy to having a subscription to Cornish and Russworm’s *Freedom’s Journal* (First African owned newspaper; March 30, 1827), which Walker had
been a contributor for two years prior to the publication of his *Appeal.* While *Freedom's Journal* had a readership that spanned Washington D.C., Baltimore, and Haiti, it did not stretch into what was known as the cotton or Black-Belt that stretched from South Carolina to Georgia, spanning Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and the eastern parts of Texas.

Unlike *Freedom's Journal,* according to Charles Johnson and Patricia Smith, authors of *Africans in America,* Walker's *Appeal* advocated more than "cultural and political progress, and information for whites seeking a role in the struggle" for African freedom and liberation. "Few dared oppose the institution of slavery with the force Walker exhibited in his *Appeal.*—The fiery 1829 pamphlet practically foretold the coming of Nat Turner." Johnson and Smith go on to say that, "Refusing to merely chronicle despair, (Walker) cajoled, urged, protested, warned, lashed out, reflected, and wailed 'to awaken in the breasts of [his] afflicted, degraded and slumbering brethren, a spirit of inquiry and investigation respecting our miseries and wretchedness in the Republican Land of Liberty." Each of the authors investigated in this study seeks to do relatively the same thing. That is to demonstrate through their texts that the condition of African people in America can be changed, and that it is the responsibility of Africans, and no other peoples, to liberate the African from their oppressive condition.

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6 Ibid., 341.
Walker uses a predominately religious/Christian parlance for liberation while mimicking the legal and philosophical views of human rights as found within the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. He adopts the vernacular of the founding fathers of American society, similar to the Slave Petition of 1774 presented to the House of Representatives in Massachusetts. It is not a coincidence that the American Revolution and its participants, (white slave owning founding fathers) influenced the ideals of liberty and freedom for all those associated with it, even those enslaved.

Du Bois involved himself in the movement for African liberation in 1899 after "seeing the aftermath of a lynching of a black man in Georgia firsthand." Du Bois would declare, "One could not be a calm, cool, and detached scientist while Negroes were lynched, murdered, and starved." His *Souls of Black Folk* is the most famous and groundbreaking text produced by an African in America at the turn of the twentieth century. It is a sociological study of African people following the reconstruction and industrial revolutions. It is not only an analysis of the cultural makeup of African people in America after enslavement, it is also a schema to ameliorate the conditions and oppression for African people. According to Anthony Apiah and Henry Louis Gates Jr., "Du Bois analyzes emancipation and reconstruction, the role of black colleges and the black Church, prejudice in the South—which he called ‘an armed camp for intimidating

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8 Mullane, 369.

9 Ibid., 369.
black folk’—and the genius of black music, especially the ‘sorrow songs’ which he termed ‘the singular spiritual heritage of the nation and the greatest gift of the Negro people.’”\(^{10}\)

Du Bois is considered one of the most influential Africans in America before the Civil Rights Movement. The *Souls of Black Folk* is situated at the dawn of the twentieth century, yet this text is probably not his most definitive argument regarding the “negro” in America. Ultimately, *Souls* is an argument for integration of African people into the American mainstream for the education of African people so that they could become equipped to govern themselves if they so desired in their future. However, it was at the time of its publication, the most poetic documentation of African life in America. It is insightful and eclectic.

In 1967, Kwame Ture and Charles Hamilton published their text in a similar manner to Du Bois and Walker. They address the ideals of integration and then postulate a more aggressive approach for African liberation in America. While Du Bois declared that he “would spend ‘the remaining years of [his] active life’ in the fight against imperialism,”\(^{11}\) he did so as a citizen of Ghana under the invitation of Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah (mentor to and impetus for Stokely Carmichael’s name change to Kwame—his last name Ture was taken from Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea). Du Bois passed on the eve of the Civil Rights Movement’s march on Washington in August of 1963.

\\(^{10}\) Ibid., 369.

Ture and Hamilton represent what Du Bois early on referred to as the Talented Tenth, or the educated African in America being the representative and example for the masses. Yet, Ture is also a melding of the civil rights era and the burgeoning Black Power era. Appiah and Gates argue that Ture was “not the first to use the phrase ‘Black Power,’ but he made it famous.”12 Like Walker and Du Bois before him, Ture was sought after to be prosecuted for sedition by the United States’ government.

Accompanied by Charles Hamilton, Ture compiles eight politically charged essays discussing White and Black power, an analysis of the “negro” in America, and valuable insight into the ratification of the oppressive system in America and the African Diaspora. His text is situated at the latter part of the Civil Rights Movement and the beginning of the Black Power Movement in America. His text is significant because it is a transition from Civil Rights to Black Power all in one. It is emblematic of that era in America. It represents the cultural movement of African people from passive non-violent civil rhetoric to aggressive humanistic demands.

Like their text, Stokely Carmichael changing his name to Kwame Toure is rooted in both facets of the Civil Rights and Black Power movements, as pointed out by Ahmed Shawki in, *Black Liberation and Socialism*. He says that “the struggle for Black rights—should be viewed as part of the process—described in (Trotsky’s) theory of permanent revolution: ‘The [Black] petty bourgeoisie will take up the demand for equal rights and for self-determination but will prove absolutely incapable in the struggle; the Negro

12 Ibid., 118.
proletariat will march over the petty bourgeoisie in the direction toward the proletarian revolution."\textsuperscript{13}

While there are definitive threads that link Walker to Du Bois and Du Bois to Ture, McWhorter could seem to be disconnected from this speakerly tradition. McWhorter's text \textit{Authentically Black} however speaks to \textit{Black Power}, as it does to \textit{The Souls of Black Folk} and \textit{David Walker's Appeal} even if McWhorter intended no such relation. In fact, he participates inadvertently in the multiple consciousness of African liberation ideology.

The aim here is to investigate how all four texts comment upon, revise, and collectively contribute to a single social goal of African liberation in America. This thesis investigates what issues concerning African people in America are being discussed within each text as if, for example, McWhorter were purposefully addressing an issue covered by Ture, i.e. Pan Africanism, or Du Bois and his double consciousness theory. These four authors represent specific eras with specific modes of thought. They represent growth from the enslavement period to the partial integration of African lives into the American mainstream.

\textbf{SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY}

This study is significant because it siphons from four distinct texts in four distinct eras of African life in America, a model for African liberation. This study seeks to bridge one-hundred and seventy-five years of argumentation for African liberation or progress in America. It recognizes and records the evolution of African life in America. This study

\textsuperscript{13} Ahmed Shawki, \textit{Black Liberation and Socialism} (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2006), 144.
seeks to codify the divergent ideologies of four major texts produced by intriguing individuals into one singular outline. It also seeks to extrapolate from each text ideologies that may prove to be useful in the movement toward African liberation in the Americas and the Diaspora. Lastly, this study seeks to demonstrate the speakerly relationship that each of these writers share. While some anthologies find commonalities between the texts that are complied within its pages, neither explicates the relationships between the authors from the stand point of Gate’s “speakerly” and Asante’s “Afrocentricity” theories.

LIMITATIONS

While this study can compile and codify the arguments for liberation within the texts of the four writers, the gaps between publication of each text and the fact that neither of the authors is known to have become acquainted with one another are limitations. It is unknown exactly how much each individual borrowed or learned from their predecessor. This researcher is also unable to garner an interview with McWhorter, the only one of the four authors who is alive today. The perceptions of the four texts are also limited to this researcher alone. Another limitation is that the four authors represent only the male voice or position on the subject of African liberation. An African Womanist viewpoint is missing from this study.

David Walker, W.E.B. Du Bois, and Kwame Ture’s texts were produced during some of the most volatile moments in America’s history, especially concerning the African in America. This fact allotted for time to build a greater readership and analysis of their texts. John McWhorter’s text Authentically Black does not share the same fate.
While McWhorter has produced a text, *Losing the Race*, that has been bantered about in both scholarly and secular environments, *Authentically Black* has not elicited the same perusal. Therefore this study and researcher appear to be, from the context of what has been produced on a scholarly level, giving McWhorter’s text attention that it has not yet to date received.

**THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Two theories that are essential to this study are Dr. Henry Louis Gates Jr.’s *The Signifying Monkey* and Molefi Kete Asante’s *Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change*. Dr. Gates theorizes that Esu-Elegbara and the Signifying Monkey register “certain principles of both formal language and its interpretation. These two separate but related trickster figures serve in their respective traditions as points of conscious articulation of language traditions aware of themselves as traditions, complete with a history, patterns of development and revision, and internal principles of patterning and organization.”

Gates argues that the representations of Esu and the Signifying Monkey are the products of African-American vernacular apart from the eyes and ears of outsiders. There is also an identifiable pattern within the texts of black writers. It is the purposeful and conscious speak and patterns that are investigated in this study. As asserted by Asante, “there are two aspects of consciousness: (1) toward oppression, and (2) toward

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victory." The authors examined in this study are linked through the consciousness of
the African liberation struggle and their use of social commentary to address the
economic, educational, political, and social conditions of black life in America.

The double voice in this study is defined as the divergent arguments of one single
problem (the oppression of African people in America and the Diaspora) that one single
body of people (Africans in America) have been struggling with since they began their
lives on the North American continent. It is in essence, similar to Dr. Gates’ assertion
that Alice Walker’s *The Color Purple* has a speakerly relationship with Zora Neale
Hurston’s *Their Eyes Were Watching God*. Gates reasons that Walker uses a pastiche of
Hurston’s narrator which is “unmotivated signifyin(g).” While *The Color Purple* is not
directly talking to *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, the narrators embody the same quality
without the use of parody. Alice Walker’s text celebrates being a descendent of Hurston.
Gates states that the “relation between parody and pastiche is that between motivated and
unmotivated Signifyin(g).”

Like the fictional association of signifyin(g), the non-fictional social commentaries
of Black intellectuals in America reverberate with the same relationships. Ideally, one
text will undoubtedly speak to and borrow ideals from the other. Because of that, planted
within the texts of black social discourse and literature is a network of liberation
ideology. This also makes it possible to read writers who seem to be contradictions of


16 Ibid., 346.
one another as an extension of one complete thought process—the liberation of African people.

METHODOLOGY

Through content analysis, this study investigated how each author offers an outline for African liberation. The authors were sifted through a concept of “Combat Literature” borrowed from Eugene Perkins. In his article Perkins identifies six characteristics in the literature of the anti-colonial movements following World War II in Ghana, the Congo, Zambia, Kenya etc. For this study, his construct is limited to continental African purview. To foster an outline for African liberation, three of his constructs have been adopted. This study has also developed three more characteristics to examine the four authors within this study. The six characteristics are (1) define, (2) function, (3) incite, (4) indict, (5) educate, and (6) political.

Since the anti-colonial movements were in continental Africa, Perkins did not have to identify or define the oppressed and colonized populace as an African people of African descent. However, this study identified the populace being addressed within the texts of the four authors. It determined if the four authors Define African/Black people as a collective, both continental and Diaspora, which this researcher believes is an imperative for African liberation.

Secondly, this study determined if the text Functions as a medium by which the greater populations of Africans suffering under European aggression and exploitation

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have the ability to communicate a desire for redress. Thirdly, this research determined whether or not the text *incites* hope and rebellion through ideological means, both religious and secular. If it is religious, it is prophetic. If it is secular, it is rebellious against the body politic that maintains oppression.

Fourthly, this study determined whether or not the four authors *Indict* the system of oppression for its cruelty. It charges every oppressive European nation for its complicity in the crimes committed against African people. Fifthly, this research ascertained whether or not the four author’s texts *Educate* the populous (African’s suffering from European aggression and exploitation) about the tools or instruments of Western aggression, neo colonialism, and oppression. Lastly, this research investigated whether or not the text becomes a *Political* tract that identifies the natural human rights of oppressed people verses the civil liberties granted to them by the oppressor.

It is undoubtedly true that African identity and the use of the English language and dialect have evolved over time from Walker to McWhorter. The six elements appear, in a speakerly sense, in the texts of all four authors in some shape or form even if the language is coded against oppression, or toward victory. The texts discourses contain a network or blueprint of liberation ideology. Dubois and McWhorter should be read as an extension of Walker and Toure, successively, not as contradictions to one another, but as an extension of one complete thought process—the liberation of African people.

**RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The research questions posed for this study are twofold:
1. What is the speakerly relationship between David Walker's Appeal, The Souls of Black Folk, Black Power, and Authentically Black?

2. How do these texts contribute to an overall outline for African liberation and what is that outline?

CHAPTER ORGANIZATION

Chapter I of this study explicates the purpose and significance of this study. It also details the research questions, theoretical framework and methodology which guides this research. Chapter II investigates the plethora of African liberation motifs. As stated above, the oppression of African people in America has caused a surplus in liberation ideals. Chapter III examines David Walker's Appeal and The Souls of Black Folk by sifting them through the aforementioned characteristics of combat literature. Chapter IV will investigated Black Power and Authentically Black under the same conditions as the texts in Chapter III. Chapter V analyzes the findings from chapters III and IV, explicate whether or not there truly is a speakerly relationship within the texts of the four authors, and construct the model for African liberation. Chapter VI provides a conclusion and recommendation for future research using the phenomenological aspects of an African cosmological world view capable of further explicating the Signifying Monkey theory used in this study.
DEFINITION OF TERMS

**Liberation.** Freedom or release from slavery, imprisonment, captivity, exploitation, or any arbitrary control of African people by European/Western people and their institutions whether economic, political, or social. It is control of one's own self and national destiny, not the modern neo-colonial, economic, and political control of African nations and peoples by Western nations and corporations.

**Maangamizi.** Derived from the Swahili verb *angamizi* which means to cause destruction. The 'ma' prefix of the word suggests an amplified destruction and thus speaks to the massive nature of the African Holocaust of enslavement (see Maulana Karenga’s *Introduction to Black Studies*).

**Model.** A representation of or a siphon from larger studies. The model is smaller than the originals, yet it can be used as a guideline.

**Speakerly Relationship.** The black tradition of signifying is double-voiced. It is the trope of the talking book, of double-voiced texts that talk to other texts (see Dr. Henry Louis Gates Jr.s' *The Signifying Monkey*).

**Western Aggression.** The physical conquest of people of African descent, using police or military force, by European/Western nation governments, corporations, and citizens. The cultural conquest of African religious and social customs through racist and ideological means, i.e. the institutionalization of European values and customs in place of pre and post colonial African institutions and values along with the continued exploitation of African people by Europeans and their institutions.
CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

As previously stated in chapter I, liberation is not confined solely to the literary tradition and African literature does not begin with written aesthetic expressions but with oral ones. There is a rich tradition of African liberation and protest literature that dates back to the formation of America as a nation. The literature of African people developed in the form of dramas, poems, novels, essays, and stories. The literature analyzed in this study is a critical analysis of the oppressive system comprised of European aggression, racism, and colonialism, an argument against it, and a strategy to undo it for African people.

Absalom Jones and Richard Allen in 1793 wrote their “Narrative of the Proceedings of the Black People, During the Late Awful Calamity in Philadelphia,” in which they gave a plea directly, “To the People of Colour.” They state that,

Much depends upon us for the help of our colour more than many are aware; if we are lazy and idle, the enemies of freedom plead it as a cause why we ought not to be free, and say we are better in a state of servitude, and that giving us our liberty would be an injury to us, and by such conduct we strengthen the bands of oppression, and keep many in bondage who are more worth that ourselves.¹

CHAPTER II
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While their text began as a report of a pandemic that took the lives of many of the residents—black and white, enslaved and free—the text emerges as a plea to African people still enslaved to endeavor and believe that they would also secure their freedom.

Their narrative in no way falls short of being combat literature; however, it does not educate those enslaved Africans about the means in which they are still being oppressed or what it is they could do to secure that freedom. It does not incite the enslaved Africans into physical protest against their oppressor or the conditions of their oppression. It is a religious or spiritual appeal to the African population to endure and believe that God would soon ameliorate their conditions away from enslavement. It is similar to Nathaniel Paul’s—the pastor of the First African Baptist Society in Albany New York—"Address, Delivered on the Celebration of the Abolition of Slavery in the State of New York, July 5, 1827" in which he calls slavery and oppression “a hateful monster, the very demon of avarice and oppression, from its first introduction to the present time.”

While it indicts the avariciousness of the system, it fails to indict the people and institutions that reinforce the system, especially the newly formed US government.

In his "Treatise on the Intellectual Character, and Civil and Political Condition of the Colored People of the U. States; and the Prejudice Exercised Toward Them: with a Sermon on the Duty of the Church to Them" (1837), Hosea Easton gives one of the most in-depth studies of history and religious doctrine to demystify the historical and pseudo-scientific reasoning for the Western enslavement and oppression of African people.

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From biblical reference alone he consigns the creation of civilization to the African sons of Ham and the African influence on early European civilization indicating that it was under African agency that the nation and culture of Greece came to fruition. He states that the “Egyptians communicated their arts to the Greeks; the Greeks taught the Romans many improvements, both in the arts of peace and war; and to the Romans, the present inhabitants of Europe are indebted for their civility and refinement.”

The whole of the introduction to his treatise essentially indicts Western culture for its brutality and denounces any historical intellectual superiority of the European to that of the African. Easton documents the barbarity of the Saxons or Germans, the Brits, Franks, Goths and Lombards of Italy and their systems of government. He states,

It is not a little remarkable, that in the nineteenth century a remnant of this same barbarous people should boast of their national superiority of intellect, and of wisdom and religion; who in the seventeenth century, crossed the Atlantic and practiced the same crime their barbarous ancestry has done in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries: bringing with them the same boasted spirit of enterprise; and not unlike their fathers, staining their route with blood, as they have rolled along, as a cloud of locusts, towards the West.  

Easton asserts within his treatise that it was the “cursed” institution of slavery itself that deprived that African of his/her historical nature and intellectual abilities.

There is no doubt that Easton borrowed much of his rhetoric from Walker, especially the historical and cultural link between the African enslaved in America and

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4 Ibid., 12.
the Ethiopian and Egyptian empires that preceded Western civilization. Unlike other intellectuals of his time, Easton connects the institution of slavery to the history of European development, character, and behavior.

One of the most ardent anti-colonialists turned colonialist was Martin Delany. He produced major tracts of combat literature for African people in America. In his treatise, "The Condition, Elevation, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States, Politically Considered," he essentially concluded "Go or stay—of course each is free to do as he pleases—one thing is certain; our Elevation is the work of our own hands."5

While Delany becomes the figurehead of African re-colonization during the nineteenth century, his rhetoric like Alexander Crummel is essentially Victorian in argument. His assertions are along the lines of modeling what he believes to be the best of Christian values as demonstrated through Victorian England. The Education of African people would be modeled after the best of what Europe had to offer. He relegates the education of African women to what is necessary for them to be home makers and nurses. The results of his argumentation become the patriarchal views of the oppressive Western culture that he seeks to emigrate away from.

The signing of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth (Section I), and Fifteenth amendments subsequently changed much of the rhetoric and personalities of African people in America. The later years of the nineteenth century saw, while proportionally distributed among colonialist and anti-colonialist, the African population in America

5 Mullane, Crossing the Danger Water, 125.
becoming more diverse and almost essentially American in many ways, especially by
sponsors for the education of the newly freed Negro.

The end of the nineteenth century was dominated by what would be dubbed the
"Atlanta Compromise," a speech given by Booker T. Washington. His "Atlanta
Exposition Address" on September 18, 1895 was believed to have "carved out a defined,
and subordinate 'place' for blacks"\(^6\) in America. The exposition address is ambiguous.
Washington makes a plea to the white delegates at the exposition, to "cast down their
buckets," or instead of importing foreign born Europeans to work in their factories and
till their fields, look to the "Negro" in America who could assure that those white men
and their families would "be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and
unresentful (sic) people that the world has ever seen."\(^7\)

Washington seems to accept the second class-ness of the Negro in America, yet
he also goes on to say that there is "no defense or security for any of us except in the
highest intelligence and development of all." However, the "wisest" (not most
intelligent) Negro in America "understand that the agitation of questions of social
equality is the extremest (sic) folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all privileges
that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of
artificial forcing."\(^8\) While pandering to whites for white philanthropy and benevolence,
Washington also castigates the African for believing that social uplift or political equality

\(^6\) Mullane, 354.

\(^7\) Ibid., 365.

\(^8\) Ibid., 366.
with whites would end the suffering of African people from Euro aggression. Indeed, Washington’s speech is a compromise with oppression. However, it is not a compromise that accepts the defeat of the African. It is an assurance that liberation is and will be a long hard struggle and it will not be achieved through superficial social and political advancements whites arbitrarily render to Africans.

In his text *The Mis-Education of the Negro*, Woodson says of those friends who sponsored the education of the Negro, or those philanthropists who arbitrarily secure benefits for African people that,

>This unsound attitude of the ‘friends’ of the Negro is due to the persistence of the mediaeval idea of controlling underprivileged classes. Behind closed doors these ‘friends’ say you need to be careful in advancing Negroes to commanding positions unless it can be determined beforehand that they will do what they are told to do. You can never tell when some Negroes will break out and embarrass their ‘friends.’ After being advanced to positions of influence some of them have been known to run amuck and advocate social equality or demand for their race to privileges of democracy when they should restrict themselves to education and religious development.⁹

Woodson’s text is still a must read. It is a critique of the education of African people and the actual purposes for which European *philanthropist* and governments sought to train or educate the African, both in America and on the continent. While it uncovers and educates the African about the hidden secretes of their oppression, Woodson does not define the perpetrators of this new form of education as an enemy of the African, even

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though the system of education that he debauches afflicts the newly “educated negro” in so many adverse ways.

The rhetoric of this era ventured away from the aggressive treaties against enslavement. The arguments were dominated by newspaper and magazine articles. The new Negro was not publishing full scale texts documenting the conditions of the African in America along side unveiling the hidden polemics of this new form of oppression under-girded by education. Undoubtedly, the enslavement period of Walker’s era produced commentary that challenged every portion of the system of Western aggression and oppression. The era of industrialization and Du Bios seemed to have been calcified greatly.

Cyril Briggs, in an article published in the Crusader October. 1919 writes:

The old Negro and his futile methods must go. After fifty years of him and his methods the Race still suffers from lynching, disenfranchisement, Jim Crowism, segregation and a hundred other ills. His abject crawling and pleading have availed the Cause nothing. He has sold his life and his people for vapid promises tinged with traitor gold. His race is done. Let him go. The New Negro now takes the helm. It is now OUR future at stake. Not his. His future is in the grave. And if the New Negro, imbibing the spirit of Liberty, is willing to suffer martyrdom for the Cause, then certainly the very best that the Old Negro can do is stay in the background for his remaining years of life or to die a natural death without in his death struggles attempting to hamper those who take new means to effect ends which the Old leaders throughout fifty years were not able to affect.\(^{10}\)

While Briggs argues aggressively throughout the course of the article against the African pandering to his oppressor for civil liberties, martyrdom seemed to offend his deportment. He believed that the African had moved beyond the era of Walker and actual enslavement. His article in many ways echoes Washington, yet he found Washington to be a member of that “old” form of leadership.

Briggs argues that the enemy of the African was now the African who sought to ameliorate the conditions of African people by pandering to whites for the freedom of African people. As John Edward Bruce argued in “The Negro in Poetry” an article published in the Negro World in 1923, “the white man—designates our poets, political leaders and moral advisers. We accept the designees.”

Chandler Owen wrote an article in the Messenger—a young fledgling news and artistic magazine—in January 1918 that,

Negro Leaders have failed. It is hard to admit. Race-pride revolts against it. But the remedy lies in recognizing the conditions and setting out to remedy it. Negro leaders like Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, Kelly Miller, William Pickens, Archibald Grimke, James W. Johnson, Robert Russa Morton, Fred R. Moore, Wm. H. Lewis and Chas W. Anderson are a discredit to Negroes and the laughing stock among whites.”

Whether it was a new identity or new leadership, the Negro in America grappled with their self-concept. Chandler Owen, like Cyril Briggs turned their arguments and blames of oppression toward the African. Owen, while advocating a changing of the guard or the

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12 Ibid., 64.
creation of a new form of leadership that did not compromise the social uplift of the African in America with their historical oppressor, does not define the conditions of oppression. He also neglects to develop measures that should be taken by this new leadership that would guarantee the liberties or freedoms he desires.

The new education of the Negro in America caused Africans to claim complicity with the enemy (European aggressors), or believe that they had become their own enemies. According to Richard Wright, “There were those (Negroes) who strove for an education, and when they got it, enjoyed the financial fruits of it in the style of their bourgeois oppressors. Usually they went hand in hand with the powerful whites and helped to keep their groaning brothers in line.” Wright goes on to say that that was “the safest course of action. Those who did called themselves ‘leaders.’—these ‘leaders’ worked with those who oppressed.”

Marcus Garvey belonged to the branch of the New Negro that was foreign born. He was a herald of Ethiopianism, a tradition that originated in the eighteenth century which was a teleological view of history based on the Biblical prophecy that Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God. It was said that Garvey’s “movement—has done much to stimulate the violent temper of this dangerous element (of) Negro criminals and potential murderers.” Garvey, according to John H. Clarke author of “Marcus Garvey: The Harlem Years,” “taught his people to dream big again; he reminded them that they had once been kings and rulers of great nations and would be again” Clark goes on to point out that “Adam Clayton Powel Sr. wrote of Garvey: ‘He is the man that made

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13 Richard Wright, Native Son (California: HarperCollins, 1940), xiii.
Negroes not feel ashamed of their color.”¹⁴ The idea of “Up you mighty Race, you can accomplish what you will” became the most profound statement of the early part of the 20th century.

While Garvey and Ethiopianism dominated a large portion of the Negro populace, it was not the only voice of the first half of the twentieth century. However, it did culminate in the creation of the “Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World,” a document drafted at a convention held in New York in 1920. The Declaration consists of a Preamble with twelve articles and fifty four declarations of rights defining the condition of the Negro people of the world and their suffering “at the hands of their white brethren, and state that what they deem their fair and just rights, as well as treatment they propose to demand of all men in the future,”¹⁵ Like Crummel and Delany, Garvey was imbrued with the ideals of Victorianism and even went so far as to consider the oppressor a “brother.”

The evolution of mass communication, the residue of European powers waging wars to further their control of African people and the African continent, and burgeoning new wars for territories in the Pacific under-gird this era of African combat literature. It was also the beginning of globalization and a new invigorating interest in Ethiopianism dubbed Pan Africanism. The era was also defined by the efforts of many African people in America seeking a common bond or a sort of union of the oppressed.


In his text *Ghetto Rebellion To Black Liberation*, Claude M. Lightfoot, takes the same position as Cleaver, however, he goes even further to assert that the African must seek out communist communities and regimes (even white) to assist in their liberation. His text navigates the tumult of the nineteen-sixties from the violent upheavals to the political assertions for voting liberties for the African in America. *Ghetto Rebellion* explicates the differences between the individual, group, and institutionalized racism that create the problems African people face in the rural south and the urban ghettos of America. Lightfoot calls the urban ghetto an area created for the “super exploitation” of African people.

Lightfoot balances his portrait of the African liberation movement in America with the movements that he viewed “first hand” in India, Mali, Ghana, Algeria, Cuba etc., which were all experiencing rebellions through some form of socialistic and or communistic ideology. He asserts that the African liberation struggle is far from just being a violent struggle. “The black revolt” he writes, “is not only violence in the streets in response to provocations, but a revolt at the polls, a revolt to change the composition of government and to enforce the laws involving the rights of black people.” 16 Lightfoot also posits the necessity of reparations for the African. He argues that “much of what has been plundered from black peoples—during slavery and many decades of super-

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exploitation—will have to be returned to them in one form or another. One can get out of this life only that which one has the power to command."17

While his text is replete with historical accounts of liberation, it is essentially done through a Marxist lens. He believes that while “national revolutions have been initiated and led by forces other than Communists—history shows that to consolidate such revolutions and move on to socialism, parties of a different character—a Marxist-Leninist character—are required.”18 Lightfoot seems to believe that the “300-year differential can be wiped out only in the context of a situation in which the dispossessed white workers, together with their black brothers, take full control of our country, establishing a system of Socialist public ownership.”19 Lightfoot relies too heavily on white participation in African liberation.

One of the most influential texts of this era was Chancellor James Williams’ *The Destruction of Black Civilization: Great Issues of a Race Between 4500 B.C. and 2000 A.D* (1971). In his dedication he asserted that the text was written to “the Black youth of the Nineteen Sixties for beginning the Second Great Emancipation—the Liberation of Our Minds and thus Changing the Course of History.”20 Essentially, Williams was asserting that African people must gain consciousness of their historical self in order to address the problems of their present and future selves.

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17 Ibid., 132.
18 Ibid., 123.
19 Ibid., 132.
Williams asserts that the White man is the bitter enemy of African people, and that the dedicated African must stop talking liberation and start organizing it. Williams sought to engage African people in a movement that went beyond mere speeches, arguments, and marches for their liberation.

The Destruction of Black Civilization is probably one of the most aggressive liberation texts produced during this era. Williams describes a humanistic system of social intercourse that Africans developed and maintained from their earliest history away from the oppressive desires of whites. He asserts that there was and is a cultural history among African people that would liberate them from the conditions of white aggression available to the African, outside of Western ideals. “When, if ever,” he states “black people actually organize as a race in their various population centers, they will find that the basic and guiding ideology they now seek and so much need is embedded in their own traditional philosophy and constitutional system, simply waiting to be extracted and set forth.”

Williams also argues that,

The outcome and, indeed, the whole future of the race depends upon the extent to which we have become intellectually emancipated and decaucasianized (sic) enough to pioneer in original thinking. Those who do become free in fact, will no longer readily grab the white man’s ideologies and systems whether capitalism, the Western version of democracy, or communism, without a critical review and analysis to determine whether Africa’s own traditional system, when updated, may not be truly superior and best fitted to meet the aspirations of the black world.”

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21 Ibid., 161.

22 Ibid., 42.
He wonders if the African has been so "split up and preoccupied with current problems that they seem to have lost this deep concern about the future of their descendents."\(^{23}\) That lack concern, Williams believes is evident in the African’s inability to sacrifice or create institutions of a lasting value that would ensure the survivability of the African race, as does the European in each of its institutions.

Williams is also very apocalyptic is his assessment of the African’s inability to create those institutions that could guarantee their survival. He asserts that the European has not changed over the six thousand years that he has thoroughly investigated throughout his text, and he doesn’t believe that they will. Therefore it behooves African people to turn inwardly on themselves and their own traditions to secure the liberty they deserve or they will not survive.

"Blacks may continue to live in their dream world of singing, dancing, marching, praying and hoping, because of the deluding signs of what looks like victories—still trusting in the ultimate justice of the white man; but a thousand years hence their descendents will be substantially where the race was a thousand years before. For the white people, still masters of the world, do not have to yield. They have never changed their real attitude toward black people during all the passing centuries, and there is absolutely nothing upon which to base the belief that they will change in the centuries to come."\(^{24}\)

Realization of that singular truth, Williams insists, would propel the African into the institution building that is necessary for African survival. In no arrogant tone, he asserts that a beginning process could start in the regular reading and recitation of his text,

\(^{23}\) Ibid., 145.

\(^{24}\) Ibid., 301.
Destruction of Black Civilization. While Williams sought to honestly discover and record the history of African people, he also denounces movements and institutions that African people (i.e. The Republic of New Africa) have tried to build in their attempts to secure liberation. A more (w)holistic approach to his ideals of what constitutes a plausible institution that would lead to the liberation of African people is also needed within his scope of investigation.

Ture’s era—the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements—can be defined as Televised Genuflections of that complex relationship of the black /white signification mentioned above. It was not only written, it was captured on film. The social commentaries of the movements were not dominated by political tracts and treatises as found in the Walker’s era, or declarations for the rights of Negro people in the Americas as found in Bu Bois’. It was dominated by news casts, speeches, and a letter from prison written by one of the seminal figures of the era. This era also featured African men and women donning leather jackets with berets swinging “Black Power” fists demanding civil liberties and the right to no longer practice passive resistance.

Undoubtedly African liberation theories tend to follow a certain pattern of discourse. Each text will insist that unity is the bridegroom of African liberation. What differs on many occasions is the degree to which the author(s) explicate the realities of oppression and the tactics the oppressor devises to ensure and maintain the status quo. Haki Madhubuti takes both of these theories or traits and infuses them with the poetry of the Black liberation struggle during the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements in his text From Plan to Planet.
Madhubuti explicates the connection needed for Africa by the African in the Diaspora with a reference to the state of Israel. He states, "Afrika (sic) must exist for us like Israel exists for the Jews; every Jew realizes that his future, realizes that his raw existence, is dependent upon the continuation and growth of Israel, which doesn’t mean that every Jew will migrate to Israel, but every Jew—will support Israel." Madhubuti is aggressive in his arguments against African men and women who participated in the African liberation movement only to acquire a larger readership (if they were writers), a higher position; especially black elected officials, or a modicum of security, and depart from the movement for self-aggrandizement.

For Madhubuti African liberation is not for the individual. It is for all Africans. The African’s “personal involvement must go beyond the selfish ‘my family first’ attitude to the larger family of Africans. This is not easy” he assures “for we have been raised as selfish, individualist, ego centered people; yet we’ve survived such madness up to this point, and have not buckled under the pressure.” In a twist or overtly aggressive manner, Madhubuti publishes a comment written by a German professor Arnold Ehret to reinforce his argument that “nothing white is healthy.” In the professor’s book *Mucusless Diet and Healing System*, it states that,

The white race is an unnatural, a sick, a pathological one. First, the colored skin pigment is lacking, due to a lack of coloring mineral salts; second, the blood is continually over-filled by white blood corpuscles, mucus, waste with white color—therefore, the white appearance of the entire


26 Ibid., 67.
body...No wonder that he looks white and pale and anemic. Everybody knows that an extreme case of paleness is a ‘bad sign.’... Civilized men of our race show by their white skin that they are sick from birth on; they inherit the mucused (sic), white blood corpuscles—the sign of death.”

Madhubuti’s comparison of the African’s love of Africa and their concern with the fate of Africa should in no way be compared to the Israeli’s concern for the state of Israel. The modern Israeli was not stolen from the land of their forbearers, enslaved, and re-educated to detest the idea of being Israeli, the African was. However, his text is as critical to the African liberation movement as any other text. Madhubuti is uncompromising in his love of Africa and African people and distrust of all things white. Unlike Lightfoot, Madhubuti does not believe that African liberation is only possible through coalition building with white liberals.

Ture’s era is also the era of a massive influx of new scholarship on the African origin of humanity and civilization, which helped ignite a new form of social commentary and take the battle outside of the view of the public eye and place it within the confines of academia. George G.M. James’s Stolen Legacy would make a contribution to the reacquisition of African history. James asserts that the very foundation of Western Culture (the Greek) is an offshoot of ancient Africa. He argues that it was the ancient Egyptians who educated the Greeks. “Greeks stole the Legacy of the African Continent and called it their own.—the result of this dishonesty has been the creation of an erroneous world opinion; that the African continent has mad no

27 Ibid., 138-139.
contributions to civilization, because her people are backward and low in intelligence and culture."28

While James diligently uncovers the historical relationship between that of ancient Africa and the Western world, he does so on the basis that it could cure most of the social ails afflicting black and white people as a whole. He states,

Both groups have been the common victims of miseducation arising from a false tradition about the African Continent and it has caused them to develop attitudes according to their common belief: The White people, a superiority complex; and the Black people, the corresponding inferiority complex; and if we are to accomplish a reformation in race relations it is obvious that both racial groups must combine their efforts in the abandonment and destruction of that mentality which has plunged the Black people into their social plight.29

George G.M. James sought to ameliorate problems within the social order through a revisionist form of history. However, he failed to analyze the consequences—especially academic—of attributing ancient Greece to Africa. The Western man’s (European) superiority complex has still refused to accept completely the findings of James’ scholarship. James, Madhubuti, and Williams represent a shift in the African liberation movement. They not only argued for the physical emancipation of African people under Western aggression and oppression, they were building a foundation for the intellectual and cultural uplift of Africans.

28 George G.M James, Stolen Legacy: Greek Philosophy is Stolen Egyptian Philosophy (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1954), 154.

29 Ibid., 155.
The era of McWhorter was or has been dominated by a new breed of scholarship, particularly that of the social psychologist and linguists. It is the era of diagnosis. African people not only diagnosed the effects of racism on the African, they also attempted to diagnose the European mind and its xenophobia. Important to this era is a small text written by Dr. C. Anderson. In the text *Dirty Little Secrets* he records the history of Western aggression and racism against the African in America. In the chapter, "One Being Black in America," he writes,

Numerous sources, including the federal government’s Centers for Disease Control reported in the 1980s that being black in America is hazardous to one’s health. Being black in American means higher mortality rates, lower levels of education, lower levels of occupational status, lower income, lower levels of wealth, lower levels of health, poorer housing, and greater contact with the criminal justice system—The report suggested that socioeconomic conditions among black, to a large degree, stemmed from the structural economic and social inequalities produced by centuries of slavery, Jim Crowism [sic] and benign neglect.30

Dr. Anderson, like many of scholars of this era sought to directly implicate the U.S. government as complicity in the subjugation of the black community.

The United States Public Health Service conducted a study of 412 black men in rural Macon County, Alabama, in the late 1930s which was called the ‘Tuskegee Syphilis Study.’—For more than 30 years, public health officials pretended to treat the infected black men. (Also) In the 1950s, the United States sprayed cities with large black populations, like Detroit, Michigan, to determine the impact of ‘certain chemicals’ through airborne spraying.31


31 Ibid., 186.
While *Dirty Little Secrets* investigates the historical complicity of the US government in the subjugation and oppression of African people in America, it falls short of defining the government as being an enemy to the African. It records the evils or secrets of the American founding fathers. It documents their propensity for the enslavement of African people and rape of African women, yet there is no indictment of the individuals or institutions. As a social commentator and historian, Dr. Anderson could have used his text in an honest appraisal of the history of African people in America rather than a survey of secrets. Dr. Anderson omits the words *crime* or *criminal* in his text. Consequently, the acts committed against the African by the US government and its many institutions are designated *little secrets* and not acts deserving indictment.

This era also welcomed psychologist and social psychologist alike. They explained the historical affects of European aggression on African people. The scholars and their arguments became as divided and divisive as they were during the era of Du Bois. According to Dr. Amos N. Wilson, author of *Blueprint for Black Power*, the personalities and arguments of African people evolved as survival mechanisms under Western hegemony and oppression. Dr. Wilson states,

A realistic and objective analysis of the social structure and dynamics of American society, particularly those pertaining to White-Black race relations will vividly reveal that Blacks are ‘doubly socialized’, i.e., first by the environing and dominant White culture and secondly, reactively and proactively by partly indigenous Black culture. Consequently, Black culture and each of its members are interjected with and afflicted by the ‘double consciousness’ so famously defined by W.E.B. DuBois. ‘Socialization, broadly defined, is the process by which the infant [subordinate culture] learned the ways a given social group
[the dominate culture] and is molded into an effective participant...’

In the context of White Supremacy, Afrikan [sic] Americans must ask ourselves: What is the political economy of oppressed Black culture and the various personal and social identities it produce? We must no longer through the abuse of reality, denial and distortion fail to recognize that our basic identities as an oppressed people are largely socially manufactured by the White-dominated American culture and its related social practices in which we as a people are immersed. These identities are therefore incarnations and instruments of their social power; and are socially designed and conditioned when activated, to unwittingly serve the political-economic interests of dominate White America to the detriment of subordinate Black culture.\(^{32}\)

Blueprint is, in all likelihood, the most complete analysis of the oppressive system and the affects of that system on African people. Dr. Wilson’s text also maps out, chapter by chapter, systems and institutions that could be built to ameliorate the effects of racism and White aggression against African people. As a liberation text it is essentially complete, except it lacks a spiritual or prophetic proclamation for African liberation, which this study argues is as important as the notion of African unity.

In his text, John Henrik Clarke and the Power of African History Ahati Toure in a subtle and covert sort of way develops a blueprint for African liberation cloaked in a biography of Dr. Clarke. The overall message within the text argues for Dr. Clarke’s assertions for “Afrikan (sic) history as a foundation and grounding for liberation.” Toure goes on to write that, “for historians like Clarke, the context for Afrikans in the United

States was colonial domination and psychological warfare. The rediscovery and reconstruction of Afrikan world history has as its task to strengthen Afrikans psychically to regain the confidence, cultural vision, and intellection and organizational tools to reclaim their independence from European dictatorship."33 Toure also states that, "to Clarke, the teaching of Africana history was an essential aspect of the Afrikan revolutionary liberation struggle in the United States and throughout the African world."34

While Toure asserts that Dr. Clark is correct in his beliefs in the liberating powers of Afrikan history, the text also reasons that African liberation was reliant upon African Nationalism. "Like Du Bois, Afrikans examining the question of European assimilationism (sic) from the vantage of Afrikan nationality saw that far from ensuring equality with Europeans, assimilation accompanied enslavement, subordination, colonialism, oppression, and caste."35 He reasons, "significantly, then, the importance of Pan Afrikan nationalism lies precisely in its relationship to historical consciousness, which Clarke held to be the foundation of the possibility and realization of human liberation."36 While his text reads like a bibliography of Dr. Clarke, it reasons that education will be the catalyst for African liberation. It is a readjustment from the Freedman's Bureau's educational programs and the Victorian stylized education

34 Ibid., 134.
36 Ibid., 205.
articulated more than one hundred years earlier. It is not just the education of African people by African people about African people that would lead to African liberation. Rather, those African people must be Black Pan-African Nationalists.

Charles Payne and Carlos Stricklan’s *Teach Freedom* follows a similar theory, but it does not assert that the teacher must be an African Nationalist, rather they must be a member of the African community who dares to endeavor to participate in the liberation movement. This text is an anthology of different modes of liberation education developed over fifty years. The contributors to this text insist that many of the endeavors undertaken “can nourish a movement for social justice by transforming its participants,”37 particularly impoverished and oppressed people of African decent in America. It is a text about “education for liberation among African Americans, those forms of education intended to help people think more critically about the social forces shaping their lives and think more confidently about their ability to react against those forces.”38

Indeed each form of freedom school, as explicated by the developers of the programs, is in its own way a form of and a forum for the liberation of African people. Each of the Freedom Schools or independent liberation schools of thought were developed out of necessity due to the poverty, limitations, and depression that oppression creates. The programs were such that they could be modeled by other oppressed peoples or pockets of African people in the Diaspora. Subsequently, each of the contributors to


38 Ibid., 1-2.
the anthology asserts that the techniques used in their schools were successful in their own way.

*Teach Freedom* is a compilation of liberation tactics where each Freedom School, if pursued on a grander scale, would foster liberation for the greater African community. In an analysis of the failures of the African community in America in the introduction, Charles M. Payne tells of story of burial to allegorically demonstrate the disconnection between education and liberation.

One of the most inspirational techniques developed by one of the participants in the anthology was Michael G. Hayes' "Project Daniel." It was a seven week summer program for young African men in the inner city through which the biblical persona of Daniel in the bible was used to create a seven phase program where the young men read the book of Daniel and critically analyzed their current social construct. Brilliantly Mr. Hayes asserts, "The books' (Daniel) moral is that if God’s people remain faithful and do not defile themselves through assimilation, God will use supernatural means to protect them." Since Christianization under Western aegis, the African in America has used much of the literature of the Bible to survive and attempt to integrate and possibly amalgamate into American society. Mr. Hayes' program however, offers a prophetic assurance accompanied with social reality on the non-viability of assimilation into America by people of African descent.

The theme of education as the catalyst for freedom was also articulated in Noel Anderson, and Haroon Kharem’s *Education as Freedom*. Their text is a compilation of

39 Ibid., 151.
essays investigating a myriad of different methods that individuals and groups within the African community in America have developed to assist, teach, and train individuals on tactics to assist them in gaining not only their sense of self and pride, but also lead to liberation for themselves and the African community as a whole. While the text is a compilation of historical events and differing pedagogical methods for dealing with and teaching African people in America about the condition of their enslavement and or freedom, essentially each of the pedagogies within the essays build toward a composite form of research entitled “Black Emancipatory (sic) Action Research (BEAR).”

It is a “theory of praxis aimed at creating strategies of liberation from intersecting forms of oppression experienced by people of African decent across the Diaspora.”

Drawing on Critical race theory; participatory action research; and queer, Critical Africentricity, and African womanist scholarship, the BEAR framework questions notions of objectivity and a universal foundation of knowledge by breaking down the barriers between the researched and the researched and underscoring ethical principles such as self-determination, social justice, equity, healing, and love with its commitment to liberation, asset based approaches to community capacity building, and action as part of the research process, BEAR represents an orientation to inquiry that is highly consistent with Paulo Freire’s critical pedagogy aimed at creating effective strategies of liberation from multiple forms of domination experienced by African Diasporic (sic) peoples.

Their theory is similar to the one found within this study. Because of the many different personal reactions to oppression that African people have developed over the course of


41 Ibid., 194.
the last five hundred or more years, one singular method or construct, while it may be
effective temporally and regionally, has not succeeded in the total liberation of African
people throughout the Diaspora. The reality is that African people remain oppressed.
Their theory also asserts that there is a pre-enslavement African cultural phenomenon that
African people must reestablish in order to accomplish thru liberation. By siphoning
from the African’s historical self, pre-enslavement and colonization, along with many of
the oppression triggered educational and survival stratagems, a broader more practical
form of education for liberation can be developed.

In his text *African Renaissance*, Eric Van Grasdorff (of European decent)
thorizes that African people may continue on in their struggle for liberation and achieve
it through the reacquisition of the knowledge and discourse of and about African people.
He explicates the power relationships between those that have power and their use of
knowledge/discourse about the power relationship which assists them in the maintenance
of that relationship. Van Grasdorff refers to it as an “entanglement of knowledge in the
Western subjugation of Africa and the central role played by discourse ownership.”

Essentially he suggests that African people can and will liberate themselves from
Western hegemony not by attacking any one institution. Rather, “the main objective of
theses struggles is to attack not so much ‘such or such’—power, group, elite, or class, but
rather a technique, a form of power, namely the normalising (sic) and disciplining power
or violence of the modern state and market, of the scientific and administrative

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42 Eric Van Grasdorff, *African Renaissance and Discourse Ownership in the Information Age: The
Internet as a Factor in Domination and Liberation* (London: Transaction Publishers, 2005), 16.
inquisition which determines who one is.”43 African people’s reestablishment of control of the discourse regarding the nature of their humanity is just that type of attack. While Van Grasdorff’s theory is perspicacious, it places a heavy emphasis on the internet as a tool for African liberation. The communication divide that renders so many African people technologically un-adroit creates a minor hiccough in his theory. He is, however, in line with the majority of the Pan-African Nationalist mentioned earlier in this study.

Horace Campbell and Rodney Worrell’s Pan-Africanism, Pan-Africanist, is a compilation of two lectures, the first of which was given by Horace Campbell in Barbados at an African Liberation Day celebration. While Rodney Worrell’s lecture is just as significant, it is essentially a dedication to and a memorial for another Pan-Africanist, Leroy Harewood. Campbell, in his lecture, attempts to map out specific steps African people across the Diaspora must undergo in order to finally achieve liberation in the twenty-first century. First, he asserts that “the most important short-term task is for the validation of the lives of Africans.” Like Van Grasdorff, Campbell, asserts that it is the African who must determine the rhetoric regarding the value of African lives. “African life is precious” he states, “and that the well being of the people comes before land and the power of leaders.”44 Throughout his lecture, Campbell reiterates the overall theme of Pan-Africanism and the twenty-first century Pan-Africanist. It is the “principle

43 Ibid., 73.

that ‘the African is responsible for the well being of his brother and sister and that every African should carry this responsibility.’\textsuperscript{45}

With a renewed spirit of responsibility for African people by African people throughout the Diaspora, liberation is a guarantee. If the African in Harlem still cared about the conditions of African people in South Africa, post Apartheid, and the African in Brazil knew that they were and are responsible for the well being and care of the African in Compton, California and vice versa through the African Diaspora, liberation would indeed be guaranteed. Campbell’s assertions are in no way short sighted or the product of an over aggressive imagination in the possibility that African people throughout the Diaspora could see themselves as one people. What his argument does lack is the systematic approach to the education of African people on their oneness. African liberation is not the responsibility of Pan-Africanist alone, rather the whole of the African Diaspora.

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., 64.
 CHAPTER III
WALKER AND DU BOIS SPEAK

DAVID WALKER’S APPEAL

Chapters III and IV provide detailed findings regarding the six characteristics of combat literature explicated in Chapter I. According to Perkins, the literature plays “an important role in helping the people to better understand the nature of their struggle.”1

The literature was for the people. In Mozambique and Angola, their liberation poetry was created to sustain guerrilla fighters and reassure common laborers who were still toiling under Portuguese colonialism. Nothing of what Perkins’ might call true “literature of combat,” a term he borrowed from Franz Fanon, could be read as self-indulgent. It is akin to David Walker moving from North Carolina to Boston and becoming an agent and contributor for Cornish and Russwurm’s Freedom’s Journal. Vincent Harding suggests:

The meeting of David Walk and Freedom’s Journal in the Northern phase of the struggle raised a question of great moment: what is the role of the word—the spoken word, the preached word, the whispered-in-the-nighttime word, the written word, the published word—in the fight for black freedom?2

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1 Perkins, 238.


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Freedom's Journal was by no means as incendiary and subversive as Walker's ideals, yet it gave David Walker the platform and opportunity to study, research, and construct his appeal. Vincent Harding defined ten major themes in the three editions of Walker's appeal. Like Perkins' six characteristics and the modified version that this research has devised in order to extrapolate an outline for African liberation-the ideal that the literature must Define the people (African/Black) as a collective is probably the major theme throughout Walker's appeal. He is also probably the first writer of his era to define the conditions that create the dichotomies of the races and define one (Europeans) as the natural enemy of the other (Africans). The whole of his pamphlet addresses the "Coloured Citizens of the World" as we blacks or children of Africa, and us, and our wretched selves, referring to those free and enslaved.

According to Harding, Walker suggests "the need for black people to develop a far greater sense of solidarity, especially between the 'free' and captive populations within the United States, and between the children of Africa here and Africans in the rest of the world" and "the repeated statement of his own essential sense of solidarity with his brothers and sisters in slavery." Walker pursues the theme of solidarity by exposing those amongst the population of African people in America who are complicit in the enslavement and degradation of African people:

There have been and are at this day in Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, coloured men, who are in league with tyrants, and who receive a great portion of their daily bread, of the moneys which they acquire from the

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3 Ibid., 87.
blood and tears of their more miserable brethren, whom they scandalously delivered into the hands of our natural enemy!  

Walker later decrees, “we see, to our sorrow, in the very midst of us, a gang of villains, who, for the paltry sum of fifty or a hundred dollars, will kidnap and sell into perpetual slavery their fellow creatures! And, too, of one of their fellow sufferers—he is gone!” Walker issues a call to arms against any African who would be in collusion with the tyrant. He laments, “Brethren and fellow sufferers, I ask you, in the name of God, and of Jesus Christ, shall we suffer such notorious villains to rest peaceably among us.” In article two of his Appeal Walker decrees,

Heaven, shall never be fully consummated, but with the entire emancipation of your enslaved brethren all over the world. You may therefore, go to work and do what you can to rescue, or join in with tyrants to oppress them and yourselves, until the Lord shall come upon you all like a thief in the night. For I believe it is the will of the Lord that our greatest happiness shall consist in working for the salvation of our whole body (1830: 28). (emphasis mine)

For Walker, the whole of Africa must be freed from the oppression and avarice of Whites throughout the world. Walker’s spiritual and religious beliefs fostered his unity of the African race belief which also coincided with a belief that the European had made themselves the natural enemy of the African through their oppression of African people.

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4 Walker, 22-23

5 Ibid., 82.
Throughout his text Walker regularly refers to whites as the "natural enemy" of the African. He qualifies his statement as being the behavior of Whites and not natural selection that causes this condition. He states,

I have several times called the white Americans our *natural enemies*—I shall here define my meaning of the phrase.—I say, from the beginning, I do not think that we were natural enemies to each other. But the whites having made us so wretched, by subjecting us to slavery, and having murdered so many millions of us, in order to make us work for them, and out of devilishness—and they taking our wives, whom we love as we do ourselves—our mothers, who bore the pains of death to give us birth—our fathers and dear little children, and ourselves, and strip and beat us one before the other—chain, hand-cuff, and drag us about like rattlesnakes—Consequently they, themselves, (and not us) render themselves our natural enemies, by treating us so cruel.6

While his appeal was to and for African people, by the third publication or third edition of his pamphlet, he must have accrued a growing white audience. On many occasions he address whites who might become surprised or agitated at his claims. In one retort he states, "You are not astonished at my saying we hate you, for if we are men, we cannot but hate you, while you are treating us like dogs."7 Thematically, whether addressing a white audience or his brethren, the avarice and cruelty of whites against African people created the notion of the two being natural enemies and nothing more. Walker does suggest that that status could be amended if the European simply "treat us like men."

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6 Ibid., 61-62.

7 Ibid., 70.
Walker’s appeal undoubtedly functions as a voice for the oppressed people. His text at times however, reads like the bemoaning or lament of the oppressed while on other occasions it appears to be an angry outburst against the system of oppression. It opens with the statement that “we, (coloured people of these United States,) are the most degraded, wretched, and abject set of beings that ever lived since the world began.” To Walker, no other people or nation on the planet has suffered degradation and oppression like that of the African in America. “Those heathen nations of antiquity, had but little more among them than the name and form of slavery; while wretchedness and endless miseries were reserved, apparently in a phial, to be poured out upon our fathers, ourselves and our children, by Christian Americans.”

Other than the laments of oppression, Walker also chronicles the defeats or mishaps of those Africans who sought to acquire their freedom from the tyranny of enslavement. He vilifies the “ignorant and deceitful actions” of a servile coloured woman and the blockheaded actions of those African men who did not pursue their freedom to the very end.

After documenting the grievances of those free and enslaved Africans, the Appeal takes the charge of being prophetic as he incites hope and rebellion through religious dogma. Harding describes it as Walker’s belief in the “unavoidable judgment which a

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8 Ibid., 1.
9 Ibid., 24-25.
just God would bring upon the white American nation, unless it repented and gave up its evil ways of injustice and oppression.”\(^{10}\) Walker writes,

They have newspapers and monthly periodicals, which they receive in continual succession, but on the pages of which, you will scarcely ever find a paragraph respecting slavery, which is ten thousand times more injurious to this country than all the other evils put together; and which will be the final overthrow of its government, unless something is very speedily done; for their cup is nearly full.—Perhaps they will laugh at or make light of this; but I tell you Americans! That unless you speedily alter your course, you and your Country are gone !!!!!!! For God Almighty will tear up the very face of the earth!!!\(^ {11}\)

The *Appeal Indicts* the avarice and cruel system of oppression and it is uncompromising. It, up to the time of publication, was the first document to indict Whites for their shear brutality. Walker argues that, “the whites have always been an unjust, jealous, unmerciful, avaricious and blood-thirsty set of beings, always seeking after power and authority.”\(^ {12}\) In *To Awaken My Afflicted Brethren*, Peter Hinks argues that “the key to understanding how all of this worked must begin with an appraisal of Walker’s critical decision to orient his pamphlet around demonstrating the unique brutality of American slavery.”\(^ {13}\) In retort to the laws that were passed in the states of Georgia and Virginia prohibiting all free or slave persons of color, from learning to read

\(^{10}\) Ibid., 86.

\(^{11}\) Ibid., 39.

\(^{12}\) Ibid., 16.

or write, Walker writes, "Now I solemnly appeal, to the most skillful historians in the world, and all those who are mostly acquainted with the histories of the Antediluvians and of Sodom and Gomorrah, to show me a parallel of barbarity." Hinks mentions that a few earlier writers during Walker's era addressed the issue of enslavement and the barbarity and cruelty of White Christians but "none had done it with the breadth or fervor that Walker applied to it."

The Appeal was also an apparatus in which Walker hoped to Educate the populous about the nature of their degradation and advocate for an educated populace to deal with the conditions of their enslavement and subjugation. His motive for writing the Appeal, "if possible," as he says was to "awaken in the breasts of my afflicted, degraded and slumbering brethren, a spirit of inquiry and investigation respecting our miseries and wretchedness in this Republican Land of Liberty!" It uncovers the intent of oppression and teaches the free and enslaved populace in America what the struggle was and why it must continue if liberation is ever to be won. It also educated white Americans and the planting class about the hatred that existed toward them by their enslaved.

As a Political tract Walker warrants that the liberties granted by the oppressor class where short of the human rights that were endowed by God granted to all men. He ensures his readers, especially those enslaved, about their natural human rights in order to foster greater consciousness and solidarity among the populace. He extracts from the

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14 Walker, 53-54.
15 Hinks, 99.
16 Walker, 2.
Declaration of Independence and decrees that "should tyrants take it into their heads to emancipate any of you, remember that your freedom is your natural right. You are men, as well as they."\(^\text{17}\) The whole of Walker's *Appeal*, as explained by Baldwin and Bell possess,

an awareness of (Walker's) Black identity (a sense of collective consciousness) an African cultural heritage and sees value in the pursuit of Knowledge of Self.—(Walker) recognizes Black survival priorities and the necessity for its institutions (practices, customs, values) which affirm Black life.—(He) actively participates in the survival, liberation and proactive development of Black people—and recognizes the opposition of racial oppression (via people, concepts, institutions etc.).\(^\text{18}\)

The *Appeal* also adheres to the particular traits that were and are evident in the poetry and political commentary of other African liberation movements and ideals.

*THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK*

W.E.B. Du Bois' *The Souls of Black Folk*, demonstrates a similar affinity for African life, cultural identity, and survival. However, Du Bois and his text represent the educated African and the "New Negro" in America. This class of Africans in America would become the buffer between the greater population of African people in America and Whites. John Hope Franklin states in the introduction to *Three Negro Classics* that "One of the most striking things about the essays in *The Souls of Black Folk (Souls)* is the

\(^{17}\) Ibid., 71.

control and restraint of the writing. Even as Du Bois turned from purely scientific inquiry as a means of delivering the Negro from subordination, he wrote as an advocate who had been disciplined by years of scholarly study and writing. As such, the language of Souls resembles none of the fervor that was so prevalent throughout the Appeal. However, it did address the conditions of African people in America.

Du Bois defines the African collectively as a Negro. He writes, "After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son. The African is an American and a Negro who "feels his twoness, — two warring ideals in one dark body." Du Bois does not define the oppressor or whites as the natural enemy of the African. Rather, as David Levering Lewis suggests, the text was meant to simply ask "the fundamental question—(what is) to be done about the unjust subordination of the great majority of the world's people under white rule."21

Du Bois castigates the institution of white supremacy, but not whites themselves. He also creates a text that broaches upon the identification of a class system amongst African people in America. The new Negro was and is an educated African in America, and his text spoke to that Negro class to incite them to pursue the economic, social, and political rights guaranteed them by the constitution and the wealth of America. He writes, "The power of the ballot we need in sheer self-defense,—else what shall save us

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20 Ibid., 214-215.

from a second slavery?—Work, culture, liberty,—all these we need not singly but
together.”22 In the forethought to his Souls Du Bois declares that he had sought to sketch,
in vague, uncertain outline, the spiritual world in which thousands of Negro Americans
live and strive.

Undoubtedly he speaks to and for the collective population of Africans in
America, especially in the chapter titled “Of the Sorrow Songs.” He states, “through all
the sorrow of the Sorrow Songs there breathes a hope—a faith in the ultimate justice of
things.—the meaning is always clear: that sometime, somewhere, men will judge men by
their souls and not by their skins.”23 Souls Functions as a voice for the oppressed
people. Du Bois reasons that “there are to-day no truer exponents of the pure human
spirit of the Declaration of Independence than the American Negroes—we black men
seem the sole oasis of simple faith and reverence in a dusty desert of dollars and
smartness.”24

Du Bois’ text also admonishes the vagrancies, idleness and divisiveness of many
of the ideologies of African leadership at the dawn of the twentieth century. It explicates
the people’s desires to be free of oppression, the agony of being disappointed, and the
reality that Africans in America were becoming “all the more bitter because of the
unattained ideal.” Du Bois writes, “Seeking to satisfy the unreconciled ideals, has
wrought sad havoc with the courage and faith and deeds” of African people. He goes on

22 Du Bois, 220.
23 Ibid., 264.
24 Ibid., 220.
to say that the oppression that they suffer under “has sent them often wooing false gods and invoking false means of salvation, and at times has even seemed about to make them ashamed of themselves.”

Du Bois’ text, in no way resembles that of the Appeal considering Walker’s spiritual and religious declarations. Souls is an analysis of the “burden” the Negro “bore upon his back, that deadweight of social degradation partially masked behind a half-named Negro problem.” The Souls of Black Folk incites hope and rebellion through secular means. Souls is a call to education, not religious or spiritual prophecy. Many of the educated elite among Africans in America at the turn of the twentieth century believed that that Souls voiced the intricacies which the educated Negro in America, man or woman, struggled with. It also ignited the hopes of Northern whites who saw the problems of America as a class based system of oppression and not that of race. While it is completely a secular text, it does not articulate a call to arms or violent revolution among the poor masses.

Souls is ultimately a poetic lament with sociological and historical documentation of the oppression of African people in America. Although the language is weighted with mystical allusion, graphic metaphor, and other literary devices used by poets,” writes Playthell, “it seems—that his intent is clear. He is describing the tortuous experience of being subjected to continuous psychological warfare as a minority group member and

25 Ibid., 216-217.
26 Ibid., 218.
It is a sociological study for the educated class of African's in America. As stated above, it is not a threat to revolt. It does however, castigate the body politic in America that sought to maintain an illiterate and ignorant African populace. Souls as a text educates Africans in America about their historical selves and the socio-political possibilities for African people in America in the twentieth century. According to David Levering Lewis, "to Du Bois, the real problem of the century—was really the manipulation of race in the service of wealth."\(^{28}\)

**Souls Indicts** the system of oppression and the causes of that oppression. The former slaves, Du Bois writes, were intimidated, beaten, raped, and butchered by angry and revengeful men.” He goes on to say,

(Freedman’s) Bureau courts tended to become centres [sic] simply for punishing whites, while the regular civil courts tended to become solely institutions for perpetuating the slavery of blacks. Almost every law and method ingenuity could devise was employed by the legislatures to reduce the Negroes to serfdom—to make them the slaves of the State, if not the individual owners.\(^{29}\)

**Souls** also indicts the system for its “half-hearted steps” in securing many of the promises that were made to the African after emancipation. Du Bois posits:

All these experiments, orders, and systems were bound to attract and perplex the government and the nation. Directly after the Emancipation Proclamation, Representative Eliot had introduced a bill creating a Bureau of Emancipation;

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\(^{28}\) Du Bois (2003), xxxii.

\(^{29}\) Du Bois (1965), 235.
but it was never reported. The following June a committee of inquiry, appointed by the Secretary of War, reported in favor of a temporary bureau for the ‘improvement, protection, and employment of refugee freedmen,’ on much the same lines as were afterwards followed.30

According to Lewis, “in Theodore Roosevelt and Booker T. Washington’s America, it was the rare black person who ventured to defy the taboo on plain speaking in public about white supremacy.31 Du Bois however is quite compassionate towards the men who took to the duties of securing the rights of newly freed Africans. The tasks of the newly formed Freedman’s Bureau was no “child’s task.” He reason’s that “to understand and criticize intelligently so vast a work, one must not forget an instant the drift of things in the later (eighteen) sixties.”32 He continues:

The Thirteenth Amendment was adopted, the Fourteenth pending, and the Fifteenth declared in force in 1870. Guerrilla raiding, the ever-present flickering after-flame or war, was spending its forces against the Negroes, and all the Southern land was awakening as from some wild dream to poverty and social revolution. In a time of perfect calm, amid willing neighbors and streaming wealth, the social uplifting of four million slaves to an assured and self-sustaining place in the body politic and economic would have been a Herculean task—the work of any instrument of social regeneration was in large part foredoomed to failure.33

31 Ibid., xxv.
32 Ibid., 29.
33 Ibid., 29-30.
In this sense, *Souls* is not only compromising, it is essentially cognizant of the social constructs of that time and era. Perhaps, had Du Bois not been so eloquent in his synapses of the era, his arguments for the further education of African people in America would have been overlooked and despised greatly by the oppressor class.

Like *Appeal*, *Souls* reasons that the education of the African in America is both the arbiter of their condition and the vehicle in which the African could eventually attain the liberties granted in the constitution. *Souls Educates* the populous or the New Negro about the sociological and historical constructs of the African’s former enslavement in America and the possibilities that re-enslavement was contingent on a legislative act or the inability of the African to secure their political and social rights in America. It also educates those familiar with the Freedman’s Bureau about its inadequacies and failures to secure civil liberties for the majority population of Africans in the United States.

*Politically Souls* argues against any form of leadership that sought to strip the African of any resource that could amend their conditions. In “Of Mr. Booker T. Washington And Others,” Du Bois argues, that leaders like Washington “withdraws many of the high demands of Negroes as men and American citizens.—In answer to this, it has been claimed that the Negro can survive only through submission. Mr. Washington distinctly asks that black people give up, at least for the present, three things,—First political power, Second, insistence on civil rights, Third, higher education of Negro youth and concentrate all their energies on industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and
the conciliation of the South." For Du Bois, sacrificing the right to vote, civil liberty, and the higher education of black youth was not to be compromised.

_Souls_ also fosters greater national consciousness for the Negro in America. The Negro was an American citizen because of the fourteenth amendment. "The emancipated Negro" was the "ward of the nation." The Negro in America became the nation's responsibility, according to Du Bois. It was the responsibility of the United States government to educate the Negro population and get the best of them as possible. Du Bois writes,

> The black men of America have a duty to perform, a duty stern and delicate—as Mr. Washington apologizes for injustice, North and South, does not rightly value the privilege and duty of voting, and opposes the higher training and ambition of our brighter minds,—so far as he, the South, or the Nation, does this,—we must unceasingly and firmly oppose them. By every civilized and peaceful method we must strive for the rights which the world accords to men, clinging unwaveringly to those great words which the sons of the Fathers would fain forget: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness'.

Du Bois like Walker found it extremely beneficial to quote from the Declaration of Independence to argue for the rights and liberties of free men.

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34 Du Bois (1965), 246.


36 Ibid., 252.
While Du Bois does not openly address Walker on too many occasions throughout *Souls*, except to address his “wild appeal against the trend of the time,” his text easily addresses each of the chapters Walker drafted in his *Appeal*. However, Du Bois picks up at the “Dawn of Freedom,” for the African, and as demonstrated above, he addresses the wretched conditions of Africans in America. He says, “To-day, when new and vaster problems are destined to strain every fibre (sic) of the national mind and soul, would it not be well to count this legacy honestly and carefully? For this much all men know: despite compromise, war, and struggle, the Negro is not free” (emphasis mine). Africans, no matter the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments, were not a liberated people according to Du Bois. *Souls* articulates that sentiment without the voracity of Walker’s *Appeal*. It is a western educated and poetic lament of the conditions of the African. It is indeed carefully constructed to appeal to the newly educated Negro in America, along with their white liberal philanthropists.

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37 Du Bois (2003), 50.

38 Du Bois (1965), 235.
CHAPTER IV
TURE/HAMILTON AND MCWHORTER SPEAK

BLACK POWER

The age and era of Ture found the African moving from the Negro of Du Bois’ era to the African/Afro-American and black man and woman in America. The African in America became an admixture of proletariat, lumpen proletariat, and educated upwardly mobile/middle class Black. For Ture and Hamilton, the Black community was at a critical juncture. America as a nation was on the brink of guerrilla warfare between the masses of Blacks stuck in the inner-city ghettos and the larger white society.

Reminiscent of the fervor of Walker, Ture and Hamilton demand changes within American society, especially that of the actions and behaviors of its African population. “Black people in America,” says Ture “have no time to play nice, polite parlor games—especially when the lives of their children are at stake. Some white Americans can afford to speak softly, tread lightly, employ the soft-sell and put-off. They own the society. For black people to adopt their methods of relieving our oppression is ludicrous.”¹ Yet, among African people in America, there existed an integrated population, or the Du Bois buffers between themselves and white society. Ture and Hamilton state:

All too frequently, these ‘integrated’ people are used to blunt the true feelings and goals of the black masses. They

are picked as ‘Negro leaders,’ and the white power structure proceeds to talk to and deal only with them.—
All this is a classic formula of colonial co-optation.

At all times, then, the social effects of colonialism are to degrade and to dehumanize the subjected black man. White America’s School of Slavery and Segregation, like the School of Colonialism, has taught the subject to hate himself and to deny his own humanity. The white society maintains an attitude of superiority and the black community has too often succumbed to it, thereby permitting the whites to believe in the correctness of their position. Racist assumptions of white superiority have been so deeply engrained into the fiber of the society that they infuse the entire functioning of the national subconscious. They are taken for granted and frequently not even recognized.²

Understanding the self oriented nature of many African people in America, Black Power suggests that the African in America must Re-Define themselves as a people. “Our basic need is to reclaim our history and our identity from what must be called cultural terrorism, from the depredation of self-justifying white guilt.”³

Ture and Hamilton recognize that the liberation of African people in America was codependent on the liberation of people of color who they refer to as “Third World” people throughout the world. Collectively all of Africa and all other colonized people must be free. Black Power does not define whites or European culture as the natural enemy of the African. Rather, Ture and Hamilton recognize common goals between the two groups and suggest that there are and always have been whites who have been in the

² Ibid., 31.
³ Ibid., 34-35.
practice of supporting African people in their struggle against Western aggression and oppression.

*Black Power* more than *Functions* as a voice for the oppressed. It explicates the true condition and relationship of the African to the American system of government. Ture and Hamilton state, “To put it another way, there is no ‘American dilemma’ because black people in this country form a colony, and it is not in the interest of the colonial power to liberate them.”

Ture and Hamilton go on to say,

> In the face of such realities, it becomes ludicrous to condemn black people for ‘not showing more initiative.’ Black people are not in a depressed condition because of some defect in their character. The colonial power structure clamped a boot of oppression on the neck of the black people and then, ironically, said ‘they are not ready for freedom.’ Left solely to the good of the oppressor, the oppressed would never be ready.

As a text, *Black Power* reasons with both black and white America. It seeks to create conditions of coalition building for the sake of both parties, especially the relinquishing of the sordid conditions that are so prevalent throughout America’s ghettos and its segregated South.

*Black Power* *incites* hope only as a means to suggest that the conditions in America could change, but only if African people themselves take the lead and establish African based institutions with African people at the helm. “The adoption of the concept of Black Power” argues Ture and Hamilton, “is one of the most legitimate and healthy

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^4 Ibid., 5.

^5 Ibid., 23.
developments in American politics and race relations in our time. The concept of Black Power—is a call for black people in this country to unite, to recognize their heritage, to build a sense of community. It is a call for black people to begin to define their own goals, to lead their own organizations and to support those organizations. It is a call to reject the racist institutions and values of this society."6

Black Power uncovers the system of Western aggression and the degrees to which it maintains its control. It indicts and condemns Whites and the system of oppression. Ture and Hamilton believed that Whites were unable to condemn themselves, therefore it was "We—black people—who must do it."7 They demonstrate the control mechanism of White aggression and African submission, especially those Africans who accepted the conditions of colonialism. “As with the black African who had to become a ‘Frenchman’ in order to be accepted, so to be an American, the black man must strive to become ‘white.’ To the extent that he does, he is considered ‘well adjusted’—one who has ‘risen above the race question’.”8

Black Power educates black people using rhetorical devices that infuse words with deed. Ture says that “Black people in the United States must raise hard questions, questions which challenge the very nature of the society itself: its long-standing values, beliefs and institutions.”9 More than the Appeal, and Souls, Black Power articulates the

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6 Ibid., 44.
7 Ibid., xvii.
8 Ibid., 31.
9 Ibid., 34.
constructs of white aggression and oppression through the lens of what racism is and what forms it appears in the course of black and white interaction. Racism according to the text is both:

Overt and covert.—when white terrorists bomb a black church and kill five black children, that is an act of individual racism, widely deplored by most segments of the society. But when in the same city—Birmingham, Alabama—five hundred black babies die each year because of the lack of proper food, shelter and medical facilities, and thousands more are destroyed and maimed physically, emotionally and intellectually because of conditions of poverty and discrimination in the black community, that is a function of institutional racism. 

As such, the populous, especially African people in America become aware of the hidden secrets that maintain their subjugation. Black Power uncovers the intent of white racist and the innocuous white liberal who participates in tandem to maintain the status quo.

As a Political tract Black Power reasons that only when African people ally themselves with themselves in America, could they combat the system of racism and oppression in America. Ture and Hamilton offer a three prong attack at the system of racism and white supremacy in America. They refer to it as “Political Modernization.” One, the text says, is to “questions old values and institutions of” American society. The second way is to search “for new and different forms of political structure to solve political and economic problems.” And thirdly, they suggest that the African community

\[\text{Ibid., 4.}\]
in America must broaden their “base of political participation to include more people in the decision-making process.”

Ideally, Black Power suggests that the system of American government was not established for an equal and egalitarian society for both African people and whites. It is a system of government that could not be relied upon, and African people should cease to believe in it in its current form. Africans should form coalitions, sometimes with whites, to ensure certain conditions are met to sustain African life in America. At the same time, African people should be ever so diligent at constructing their own institutions with their own power base to ensure future survival.

AUTHENTICALLY BLACK

McWhorter writes Authentically Black not to be completely or diametrically opposed to Ture and Hamilton’s text, or even Du Bois and Walker’s for that matter. He recognizes that he is participating in the tradition of African social commentary. He is, however, an alternative point of view within the present complete body of African voices in America. Even more, he mentions that his is not the final or “last word” in the debate of the race problem in America. McWhorter argues that the authentic black individual is one who maintains the illusion in public that blacks have not advanced in American society since Du Bois’ Souls was published. He argues about the advancement of blacks in America by reconfiguring the construction of the black personality. For McWhorter

11 Ibid., 39.
there is a “New Double Consciousness” amongst Blacks, and it is more insidious than the one DuBois points out in 1903 because this new black consciousness is self defeatism or victimology.

McWhorter begins Authentically Black by quoting from The Souls of Black Folk. However, he negates the use of the entire quote. He deals with one portion of what creates the dueling consciousness of the African in America. He argues that the veil is no longer there, and only those who are authentic in their blackness continue to opine about a veil that has been removed. The authentic black person stresses personal initiative and strength in private, but dutifully takes on the mantle of victimhood as a public face.”

For McWhorter, blackness is Defined as the antithesis of white aggression and nothing more. It is a “counterproductive sentiment” that is fueled by former and latent displays of White aggression, i.e. racial profiling. Therefore Africans in America are able to maintain a “culture” of blackness that is perpetuated by their “quiet distrust of the white man.” Authentically Black also suggests that the African in America (not the immigrant) is neither African nor white. “Most black Americas” McWhorter writes “see themselves as neither ‘African’ nor ‘white.’ Although rarely required to put it in so many words, black Americans think of themselves as a new race altogether.”


13 Ibid., 2.

14 Ibid., 55.

15 Ibid., 82.
Authentically Black segregates the African Diaspora culturally. Africans in America are “black people,” culturally different from Africans who immigrate from the continent of Africa and those who come from the Caribbean. They are not a unified group that is reliant upon collective liberation. Rather, the black man in America has his own triumphs and victories to be touted. McWhorter writes, “Certainly, in our world of global politics and wide communications, among modern Africans there does exist a certain sense of ‘Africans’ as an entity distinct from whites. But in many way, the idea of Africa as ‘one culture’ represents the stereotyping colonialist Weltanschauung that (Randall) Robinson considers to have gutted black America’s soul.” White America or Western culture in Authentically Black is not the natural enemy of the African. The problems of racism and oppression are defined as residual and an occasional inconvenience throughout the text.

However inconceivable, Authentically Black does Function as a voice for the oppressed. However, the oppressed in the case of this text is the black population in America who have been forced, by what McWhorter refers to as the anti-establishment hard leftist thought, to believe that the African population in America is doomed to forever failure because of the racism and oppression of Whites. It is a “silent majority” of African people in America who are “committed to real progress,” and know that the African in America has already arrived. McWhorter argues that,

Most Americans black and white know that life is not perfect for anyone, and is perhaps even less perfect for most blacks, but hardly to the extent that we could not

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16 Ibid., 7.
make our way up the last few steps to the mountaintop by pulling in our stomachs and forging ahead. And most Americans black and white know that as often as not these days, what is holding blacks back is more the impression otherwise than 'white supremacy'.

The text chides African people who are not willing to accept the strides, from the days of Walker to the present, which have been made by former generations in America.

"Today, black success stories tend to be almost counterintuitively mundane—Blacks who have made it after the late 1960s rarely address residual racism when they first tell their stories—they recount it as a minor nuisance they overcame by keeping their eyes on the prize, not as a virulent force that occupied their every waking hour."18

*Authentically Black Incites* a hope and rebellion against the anti-establishment that prevents the majority black population from accepting their sense of self as an American. It is a text for African people in America who see themselves as part of the system of America. "Our job" McWhorter writes, "is to disseminate the message as widely as possible that the race that reaches the mountaintop is one that embraces with vigor its achievement—and teaches its children that doing so in the face of obstacles only makes the victory sweeter."19 It is in no way prophetic. For McWhorter, the majority of the fight for liberation in America for the African is done and there are only residual elements of white aggression, the influence of self denial, and ineffective black leadership that keeps the majority population of Africans in America from prospering or

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17 Ibid., xiii.

18 Ibid., 263-264.

19 Ibid., 35.
recognizing their historical achievements. He refers to it as a “version of ‘blackness’ that has been foisted upon us so passionately and distracting since the late 1960s.”

The system of oppression that this text Indicts is leftist thought that “preaches victimhood instead of self-reliance,” for blacks in America. McWhorter asserts that “History records not a single group of people who insisted that they were incapable of progression without handout and lowered standards from the ruling class, and history will not be kind to a group that continues to insist on this when more of its families are middle class than poor.” He also states that “abstract ‘pan-African’ visions have little to do with teaching us how to make our garden grow right here, and must be marginalized.”

Authentically Black attempts to Educate African people about their historical selves, yet the text suggests that that history begins in chains and is full of successes. “The need for a positive history is more urgent for black Americans than for any other American ethnic group.” The text attempts to inform the populous about the advances that African people in America have made since the enslavement period of Walker’s era and suggest that it is now the African, more than “white supremacy,” preventing African liberation. McWhorter also reasons that African people in America should cut the cultural and historical umbilical cord to continental Africa and its people and accept their new selves as American. He writes,

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20 Ibid., xvi.
21 Ibid., 263.
22 Ibid., 183.
23 Ibid., 218.
Black Americans would benefit more from a conception of history focusing not on Africa but on us: blacks in America speaking English, worshiping a Christian God, living (and often mating) with whites, in a post-industrial society. The reason the history of us has not taken true hold in black America is a matter not of whether it has been told but how it has been told.24

There are no hidden secrets that maintain the African in America’s subjugation except the inability of many blacks to accept the truth of their westernization. The text goes on to say, “The injustices and set backs must be given full play—it would be a crime to leave young black people naïve of what we have been through—But even here, the guiding impulse must be gut-level inspiration rather than therapy.”25 McWhorter therefore is arguing for the recognition of cultural and historical events that took place in the lives of African people on American soil verses those traditions that are continental African. It is the African in America that should be the focus of historical aggrandizement and not the continental African, even if that history begins in chains.

As a Political tract, Authentically Black argues for greater national consciousness and solidarity among black and white people in America. Even the leadership for African people in America should be open to Whites and not relegated to African people in America who are “irrelevant to black progress.” Namely, “‘black leadership’ will no longer be restricted to blacks. Contrary to the common wisdom that whites ‘don’t care about us,’ as often as not non-blacks are smoking out and addressing the remnants of

24 Ibid., 183.
25 Ibid., 219.
race-based inequalities.”26 McWhorter suggests that the “nation’s most prominent black ‘leaders’ are asleep at the switch on the three most urgent issues facing black Americans today: inner-city stasis, blacks and crime, and education.”

McWhorter pursues the authentically black individual using the most figurative arguments available to him, which is part of the hidden polemic of signifying. According to Dr. Gates, “In hidden polemic the author’s discourse is oriented toward its referential object, as is any other discourse, but at the same time each assertion about that object is constructed in such a way that, besides its referential meaning, the author’s discourse brings a polemical attack to bear against another speech act, another assertion on the same topic.”27 McWhorter asserts that,

Racism, then is not ‘What we really need to be talking about.’ The impression otherwise is founded upon the New Double Consciousness: a tacit notion that our fate depends on whites being guilty that they do not see us as true equals, even if in private we know that we are as capable of achieving under imperfect conditions as any other people. To insist on this as the ‘authentically black’ manifesto is to render the African-American race the most resourceless, passive people (emphasis mine) in the history of Homo sapiens sapiens. We are not a strong people, Black is not Beautiful, until we get out of the habit of thinking that we will not be free until white people like us.28

56 Ibid., 262.


28 McWhorter, 22-23.
McWhorter augments his argument by reversing social and political slogans created by African people in America as survival mechanisms.

According to Gates, McWhorter demonstrates the "constant tendency to self-parody in satiric rhetoric." Since "the so-called black experience cannot be thought of as a fluid content to be poured into received and static containers," 29 the authenticity of Black leadership is devalued in its ideologies. Authentically Black ultimately articulates sentiments of a particular personality construct within the whole African community in America. McWhorter is indeed speaking for a population of African people in America, and he is attempting to liberate those African people from oppression. That oppression, he argues, is predominately self-imposed and reinforced by a lack of faith, belief, and acceptance of the historical achievements of African people on American soil.

29 Gates, 701.
CHAPTER V
ANALYSIS OF SPEAKERLY TEXTS

The most overt ideal of the speakerly relationship that the four texts share is one of movement, progress, and change. Each text in this study addresses the social, economic, and political realities of African people according to the era in which the authors lived. They participate in the tradition of African social commentary conscious of the language within the tradition and aware of themselves as participating in the tradition, complete with a history, pattern of development, and revision of the articulated positions of the previous text and era. Walter Rodney corroborates that sentiment. He states, "Our people have been engaged in a process in this society from slavery until the present—what we’re talking about is the transition virtually from one historical era to another—in that overall context—legitimately one should be speaking in terms of centuries, sometimes epochs, certainly in terms of decades…"\(^1\)

Gates refers to this as the pastiche of Black speech. "Signifying depends upon the signifier repeating what someone else has said about a (condition) in order to reverse the status of a relationship heretofore harmonious; signifying can also be employed to reverse or undermine pretense or even one’s opinion about one’s own status."\(^2\) From Walker’s

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\(^{2}\) Gates, 691.
era to McWhorter's, there is no doubt that McWhorter is correct when he suggests that
the African has risen from great depths. In Walker’s era, the African was indeed
enslaved by law. During his era, Du Bois considered the African still enslaved or not free
because of the social, political, and economic constructs of America.

Ture suggested that the African was indeed oppressed and the American
government and society was not constructed for the equal and egalitarian inclusion of
African people into the American mainstream. McWhorter reasons that the African has
achieved inclusion into that mainstream, yet leftist ideology carried over from previous
struggles prevent the majority “black middleclass” from enjoying the fruits of the labor of
previous generations. As McWhorter suggests, the four authors “ultimately pointed to
different paths to the same mountaintop.”

_The Souls of Black Folk_ and _Authentically Black_ demonstrate that African in
America must reconcile the warring ideals that dominate his/her self concept. Du Bois,
as the architect of the _double consciousness_ theory, articulated this paradigm within the
African psyche as being a construct of the educated African (Negro – New Negro) in
America. It was not a personality construct of the proletariat and working class African
in America. McWhorter distorts the original construct of the _double consciousness_
theory and assert it was now a product of disgruntle pseudo liberal Pan-African (Kwame
Ture, Charles V. Hamilton, etc.) Nationalist who struggle with the double consciousness.
For McWhorter, the educated African in America accepts their new class status and sees

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3 McWhorter, 198.
themselves as a distinctly different racial group, not wholly African and only partially American, which in itself is the construct of a dueling consciousness.

McWhorter suggests that the adjective African or African-American’s history began in chains, David Walker, Ture, and Hamilton, suggests that the African’s history began with the birth of civilization and subtracting the African from that historical truth is tantamount to genocide. While Du Bois does not suggest that the African’s history began in chains, as McWhorter does, he does suggest that the Negro is a new being or a “seventh son” among the human family.

Of all the authors, McWhorter is the most entrenched in Western academia. His text represents a desire to jettison the connection to Africa as a land. For McWhorter, the African in America is not an autonomous people with an autonomous culture affected by Western aggression. The African in America, whose history began in chains on the North American continent, is no longer African. McWhorter is essentially arguing against Ture and Hamilton to construct African personality. Ture and Hamilton argue against Du Bois’ double consciousness and assert that the Western educated African suffers from a double consciousness only out of survival or the acquisition of material gain and security.

Du Bois’ The Souls of Black Folk is the product of the educated African that Walker believed would foster the liberation of African people, yet Souls functions, not as a liberation text, rather as a sociological study of African people in America. Du Bois’ sociological study made it possible for McWhorter to dilute the necessity of the African Nationalist personality found in Ture and Hamilton’s work. The four texts in this study
undoubtedly speak to and build upon one another. They also speak to the progress of African life on American soil and the close proximity of African personality to Western aggression, education, and philanthropy.
AFRICAN LIBERATION MODEL

As an active response to reclaim mastery of one's own 'productive forces', liberation struggles implicitly require the capacity to also control the nature, definition, and meaning of these 'productive forces'. At its simplest level, total struggle requires that one wages both a physical and a psychological war against oppression and the oppressor. If culture is the ultimate expression and definition of a people's capacity to create progress and/or determine history, then critical thought or science which is the reconstruction of that culture, must be one of the mechanisms for expressing and defining the people's capacity to create progress.  

To construct a model for African liberation, this study asserts that African people, their cultural constructs, and behaviors emerge from or has its roots in a collective worldview and cosmology. African people are defined through their cultural and psychological history. This study makes the assumption that Africans have, as Camara Jules P. Harrell articulates, a "collective worldview, an implicit, spontaneous, perhaps even unconscious system of beliefs to which all Africans are supposed to adhere."  

I. RECONCILIATION

The Souls of Black Folk and Authentically Black demonstrate that liberation is indeed psychological. The African in America must reconcile the warring ideals that dominate his/her self concept. Africans contribute to their own subjugation "and domination by Whites simply by thinking about themselves and reality in a manner that


5 Harrell, Manichean Psychology, 71.
allows them to be subjugated.”\textsuperscript{6} “Karenga expounds on this issue. “Liberation as a human possibility” he says, “must express itself as both an intellectual and social situation—In a word, until we break the monopoly the oppressor has on our minds, liberation is not only impossible, its unthinkable.”\textsuperscript{7} Returning to Du Bois’ double consciousness:

The Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness—an American, a Negro; two warring souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.\textsuperscript{8}

The warring ideals is indeed thinking to be American and, this study would suggest, knowing that the very system of government and establishment of this nation is antithetical to the African’s sensibility. The African has been in the process of coupling two irreconcilable ideals in one “dark” body. According to Wade Nobles, “the natural consciousness of Black people is forced to relate to a reality defined by the cultural prerequisites of white people. Such a situation it was argued was tantamount to Black people living in an insane environment.”\textsuperscript{9}

\textsuperscript{6} Wilson, 24.


\textsuperscript{8} Du Bois (1965), 214-215.

\textsuperscript{9} Carruthers, 111.
This is most brilliantly played out in Sophistic rhetoric where the argument is in making the weaker cause the stronger. Actions become only relevant to the cause of that action. An example of this is ‘I’ve killed in the protection of my loved ones,’ or ‘I’ve stolen under divine and military right and might.’ Morality and truth are undermined by verbal argument and paradoxical view, but there is no link between the paradoxical argument and the absurd. A paradox is by definition absurd, contradictory, and false. Reasoning that it is just to tell lies, to deceive, to use violence, or be the victim of violence and suggest as McWhorter does, that it (the violence) is a minor inconvenience is absurd in its own context.

This absurdity is coupled with the African knowing of and reconciling the genocidal and criminal behavior of Europeans towards Africans. According to Amos N. Wilson:

The White American and the worldwide European ruling classes in general, refuse to accept and repent of their historical and contemporary theft of the lands, resources, and taking of the lives of their own and other people; their enslavement, serfdom and peonage of their own and African people; their colonization and rapacious exploitation of virtually all non-White people; their eradication of whole ethnocultural groups; their mass murder of millions of persons; their scandalization (sic) and assassination of the character of African people; their destruction of many of Earth’s streams, rivers, lakes, seas and oceans (ecocide); the raping and wasting of its natural treasures; their development and use of weapons of mass destruction; their assassination of national leaders, overthrow of duly elected governments and other intrigues against legitimate organizations, their warmongering and dissemination of murderous arms among nations for profit and political advantage; their addictive of whole populations to self-destructive habits, appetites and drugs;

10 McWhorter, 59.
their falsification of the consciousness of the Earth’s people, and numerous other heinous crimes against Man and Nature.\(^\text{11}\)

Yet Africans today reconcile those historical and current truths by either forgetting or operating in what Kobi K.K. Kambon refers to as a “collective psychosis” which he defines as “The European American community’s drive to disguise and conceal their culpability and guilt in the destruction and oppression of Africans through their collective-societal institutional arms.”\(^\text{12}\) Africans participate in this psychosis by coupling the historical record of European aggression with their own individual and sometimes family survival.

The obvious has been pared or coupled with the absurd or falsehood in order to blur the lines of good and bad, right and wrong, just and unjust. Each of the aforementioned dualities are logically existing in opposition of one another just as light cannot exist in darkness and vise versa, since both reasonably or logically cancels one another out. *Coupling* undermines reason by the use of absurdity or absurd pairings of explications that are of equal value but if not pared is of opposite effect, in essence, “bipolar rhetoric.” A lie is a lie is a lie, but by *coupling* some lies become “white” or “small” or even necessary. Evil is as evil does, but some evils even become necessary, as Thomas Jefferson stated slavery to be, *evil indeed, but a necessary evil*.

Another method Africans have used, as Mwalimu Baruti articulates, is disassociation. Regarding the “the inhumane brutality Europeans zealously unleashed on


the indigenous peoples they encountered” Baruti states that Africans “have been led to believe that those Europeans are something different and unique from the Europeans of today. (Africans) see those Europeans of the past somehow distant, less civilized, not fully evolved Europeans, as compared to the ones of today.”13 The African in America has been coupling survival, and at many times, the acquisition of material goods has been a justification for their acceptance of the immoral, imperialistic, and colonial nation that America is.

*Black Power* articulates it as such, “Those who would assume the responsibility of representing black people in this country must be able to throw off the notion that they can effectively do so and still maintain a maximum amount of security.”14 The African in America reconciles these warring truths. They make concessions that have not, as addressed throughout the whole of *Black Power*, benefited the mass majority of African people in America and have only given material advantage to those Africans who were and are willing to make the concessions.

Dr. Wilson suggests that “Afrikans who have internalized an ethnic self-concept depreciated by—Whites are thereby made to want to act the way they have to act, to desire to do what is objectively necessary for them to do in order to unwittingly collude with—Whites in perpetuating the system that dominates, exploits, and deprives them.”15 In essence the African continues to live under colonial rule with indirect leadership

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14 Ture and Hamilton, 15.

15 Wilson, 108.
governing the mass populace. It is a form of talented tenth (educated) among the African in America.

This model suggests that Africans must simply accept the historical truths of their enslavement and oppression. The enslavement process and the ongoing oppression of African people by Europeans should not impede the African’s acceptance of who they were and are pre and post-enslavement. Africans must see themselves, not as a bi-product of European aggression, rather as an autonomous people with an autonomous culture and history. The African must see themselves as not a hyphenated people or an adjective American. They are Africans, who happen to be in America, who happen to be in the Caribbean, who happen to be in Brazil. Four hundred years or more of sojourning outside of Africa does not make an African a hybrid of anyone else’s culture. Africans, at this point in their long history, just happen to be oppressed.

Just as America and its European citizens are still, in essence, a product of European culture and society, the African in America and the Diaspora, is still a product of African culture and society. European aggression has had a profound affect on this truism. To remedy European aggression, the African must moor themselves to their African cultural selves. African liberation in America and the Diaspora begins with the acceptance of their African historical selves, and not just the historical self that begins in chains. Being African is not a modification of being American or anything else.

II. ANALYSIS

From Black Power this study has gathered that more than simply documenting the actions of men and women in the form of history the African must analyze the whole of what has taken place historically. They must analyze pre-enslavement and pre-colonial
African societies, the enslavement process, the subsequent freedom movements, and the education of the bourgeois and proletarian class systems that make up present day African communities throughout the Diaspora. The whole of the populous must be analyzed. The individual personality construct must be analyzed and cultivated to ensure that an African-centered identity is present in each and every individual.

One might suggest that Africans have not truly analyzed their contact with Western aggression. Richard Wright refers to it as the “hole” in history. He says that there is a “storm in their (African men and women) hearts they cannot describe, a stretch for centuries whose content has been interpreted only by white Westerners.”

Harrell articulates it as such.

These (European white men) would bring a new kind of devastation to the world in general. They would disrupt the lives of people of the African continent fundamentally. Chinua Achebe’s phrase was most appropriate; things, indeed, would ‘fall apart.’ The magnitude of that destruction was like none ever known even if viewed in terms of the West African slave trade alone. The magnitude of the loss of knowledge and the disruption of the growth of African culture is unthinkable. In a very real sense, this human devastation continues to this moment. In like manner, the havoc wreaked on the physical environment and on the animal and plant life that followed in the wake of European expansion persists.

In total, an analysis of the complete affect of European aggression and oppression toward people of African descent is mandatory. This would lead to a holistic approach to defining not only African revolt (which the four text in this study comment on) against

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16 Wright, 2008: 691.

17 Harrell, 1999: 36.
European aggression, but also the development of solutions to amend the disruption. It is necessary especially to ensure that no particular era or ideal outweighs the other. An example of this would be to understand that each era (as defined in this study) produced a particular reaction to Western aggression, and the African has evolved from the likes and voice of Walker to that of McWhorter. Each is significant in its own way to analyzing African life.

Rebellions during enslavement are just as significant as the inner city riots of the 1960s when weighed against the backdrop of African contact with the Western world. According to Michael L. Gomez, "The fight against slavery (assumed) any number of shapes and was waged in a thousand theaters of war, both literal and figurative." To Vincent Harding, "the range of resistance was significant. Arson was always a weapon, either by itself or in connection with larger plans. In addition, colonial records bear consistent testimony of poisoning.—on less obvious, less dangerous levels, many Africans were resisting by simply refusing to learn how to use a tool without breaking it, how to work without setting up deep currents of quiet, persistent, noncooperation (sic). Others, with great but silent determination, were learning how to re-create their religious experience, in order to possess their soul in the midst of a destructive and soulless situation."19


19 Harding, 38.
Subsequently, if one were to reposition African movement during the enslavement period, the reconstruction era, the later Civil Rights/Black Power era, and this era, movements, tactics, and behavior become synonymous. Baldwin explains,

Given the framework of Black personality theory, one is now in a position to make several basic assumptions about the relationship between race and psychological experience. It is assumed first that biological and psychological phenomena are interrelated and interdependent as defined by the natural order, such that psychological experience derives from a biological basis. Second, it is assumed that the biogenetic (hereditary-environmental) interaction is intricate and inseparable in nature. A third assumption is that biogenetic phenomena are dominant over environmental phenomena in the nature-nurture interaction. Finally, it is assumed that personality forms or develops to natural law. Thus, the basic nature and direction of personality are normally consistent.

Therefore, holistically, African movement and rebellion against white aggression and oppression moves along a continuum. The proper analysis of that continuum and the effects of European aggression on African people will ensure the development of a system to counteract those affects. The African must also recognize that their personality itself has been affected and has developed over the course of their interaction with Western aggression.

Objectively, the honest and earnest study of history and the effects of historical events on individual behavior is as important as studying the historical events of particular societies. Human existence has been defined and categorized according to timed events. From the moment humans began to track or document their movements

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20 Baldwin, 135.
and moments so that information could be transferred to a successor generation, historians have been able to develop chronological documentation of the progress of humans from pre-historic to modern man. Yet, there is often a chasm between human events and human personality construction.

As stated above, the black/African Nationalist personality construct is a bi-product of European aggression. It did not develop itself void of European or Western contact. Here, Western contact does not include the Asiatic/Arabic incursion into African societies. Even though Asians participated in major disruptions of African continuity, their form of imperialism and enslavement of African people was not based on race and did not, according to Blyden (see, Christianity Islam and the Negro Race), disrupt the African’s self concept. Being black or African was not a scourge, and conversion to Islam rendered any enslaved African free. This study asserts that one personality trait alone, i.e. racism and European aggression/degradation of and toward African people and their self concept fostered the creation of the black/African Nationalist personality construct in order for the later to re-assert selfhood.

The life of African people prior to the escalation of the seafaring capabilities of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, and to some extent the interior of Africa during the Maangamizi, was essentially and undoubtly interrupted, altered, and changed. “Armed with the gun” Van Sertima states, “its manufacture made possible by gunpowder brought by the Moors, and with their ships using lateen sails, astrolabes and nautical compasses, all the inventions of the Afro-Arab Moors, the Portuguese and Spanish set sail to rob the resources of others.” The Europeans unleashed a concerted and, in some cases, genocidal (e.g. the aborigines and some of the Amerindians) onslaught against the
Because of the onslaught, the African is found today, in every corner of the globe, a second class citizen no matter the class (i.e. middle, upwardly mobile, poor, working proletariat) he may reside in.

This disruption, while so very significant to the personality construct of today, is but a blip along the African continuum. An assessment of the whole of African history demonstrates that African civilizations have experienced numerous disruptions from both within and without of their own societies and have moved on to make recoveries which rivaled, in elegance and civility, the previous society (see, Molefi Kete Asante’s *The History of Africa* 2007, J.A. Rogers’ *World’s Great Men of Color*, Vols I and II, 1947). The proper analysis takes into perspective this blip called America and the American Negro or African-America—a hyphenated and adjectival person. The African has been carried off in all directions and into all four corners of the globe. Only those who have forgotten their historical selves, their African selves, have become extinct or extant to society and history. It is not just knowing history but analyzing it so that a comprehensive understanding of the cause and effects of national, cultural, and individual identity can be evaluated.

The individual personality construct must be evaluated in tandem with the disruption in the historical events of the nation state, since it is individuals who come together to create and therefore define the society and nation state. One aspect cannot be divorced from the other. The fracturing of the nation is a fracturing of the individual.

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* Note: While the word blip is defined as a quick sharp sound, the use of the word in this text signifies a momentary occurrence distributed among each of the senses i.e. felt experiences.
The American governments concerted efforts in the disenfranchisement of African people from its inception is the cause of the personality construct of each and every African personality in America, from the integrationist/assimilationist to the separatist or Black/African Nationalist.

This assessment is not a tool for blame. It is an attempt at diagnosis and treatment of the disorders. These disorders are articulated by Nobles. He states,

The cause—is in fact a disruption in the natural, harmonious relationship between the spiritual, material, conceptual, affective and connotive aspects of Black psycho-social and geophysical reality. One consequence of this disruption is a perceptual and emotion distortion. Hence, insane Blacks deny their self and kind. Consequently, a Black who kills another Black doesn’t realize his act is suicide and not homicide. Another consequence of this disruption is cognitive and political confusion. Here we find insane Black people deifying white people and dehumanizing Black people. Conceptually, whites are viewed by Blacks as omnipotent and this belief suggests, in effect, that if anything has to get done, it is they (whites) who must do it.22

This study suggests that reliance on the historical oppressor to properly diagnose and treat personality traits or disorders that it created is tantamount to suicide. According to Dr. Bobby Wright in his Psychopathic Racial Personality, suicide by any other name is murder.

III. RELIGIO-SPRITUAL DESTINY

David Walker and his Appeal reveal that the African in America essentially must develop a spiritual or prophetic destiny for themselves, and the spiritual or prophetic

22 Carruthers, 111-112.
destinies must become grafted into the culture. It must become part of the religious, secular, and educational produce of the culture. The religious tradition must influence the social and political traditions in the form of holidays (holy-days) and celebrations. According to Ahati Toure, in his article “On the Myth of Male Supremacy,” “all that exists at present is the inadequacy of an epistemology of gender inherited from the Bible, the Adam and Eve story—The challenge and the imperative for the Afrocentric development and revitalization of the United States Afrikan culture is to create an explanatory myth that redefines values and ontology in such a way as to establish a new cosmic (or spiritual) and social understanding that is more humanistic, egalitarian and productive for Afrikan community.”23

The hybridization of the current African culture that has been defined as a sub-culture in American society designates the African’s self-definition as being beneath or even contradictory to mainstream American culture. The discourse of the African about the African and her culture must reflect a projected self, a personality greater than the Western subscribed sub-self or under-culture. It must envelop and involve the personality constructs that have been developed to counteract Western aggression and oppression, since the majority of them are survival mechanisms and have, to a great extent, been successful. It is important that the African, in the maintenance of his culture, do not celebrate or envelop Western holidays and celebrations that reflect European victories over African people. Victors do not celebrate their defeats. Dr. Ishakamura Barashango articulates in his lectures on “African People and European Holidays,” that it

is tantamount to intellectual suicide or as Dr. Wright says, it is “menticide” to celebrate your oppressor’s victories over you.

In his text *The Maroon Within Us*, Dr. Asa Hilliard writes, “To see (Africans) in—green on St. Patrick’s Day, saying—prayers with the sad belief that God speaks only in Old English (thee, thy, thou)—joining others in calling (African) sacred ancestors ‘pagan’ and ‘heathen’; struggling hard to master English literature; speaking the French language with pride—shedding tears over European symphonies,” that there is a wonder whether or not those Western cultural practices are what is considered excellent to the African.\(^\text{24}\)

Liberation for the African is preceded by the acceptance and adoration of African historical and cultural selves. Holidays and celebrations must be instituted to reflect African cultural hegemony and no one else’s. Through contact with and education by Western culture, the African has begun to celebrate the European as herself and coupled his material world with his spiritual world. In participating in and celebrating the culture of the oppressor, the African has allowed her material world to become the more dominate force in deciding her behaviors.

Mambo Mazama argues in his article “Afrocentricity and African Spirituality,” that “the fundamental African philosophical principle is the principle of the unity of being. Indeed, the major articulation of African metaphysics is the energy of cosmic origin that permeates and lives within all.”\(^\text{25}\) Within traditional African culture, there is an understanding that there exist in the physical what is essentially a spiritual universe.


The articulation of those relationships are recorded in the oral and written traditions of African cosmological thought, whether it be the ancient Kemetic Diagram of the Laws of Opposites or among the Yoruba and the Orisha.

According to John Mbiti, "for the larger (African) community" of which the individual is a part, "to live is to be caught up in a religious drama. This is fundamental, for it means that man lives in a (spiritual) universe" not just a material one." Mbiti goes on to say that "both that world and practically all his activities in it are seen and experienced through a (spiritual) understanding and meaning." 26 Africans must see themselves as having undergone not only physical changes but also spiritual. They must see themselves culturally, religiously, and spiritually as significant as all other peoples and nations. The African must develop a religious proclamation that declares that their enslavement, oppression, degradation, and survival is as significant to world and human history as the Exodus story of the Bible, the European reformation, and the manifest destiny that fostered the creation of America. As Toure asserts, "The social imperative for Afrikan men and women is the attainment of a new (historical) ontology of Maat, a state of spiritual, intellectual and emotional being in which Afrikan women and men can engender mutual respect, love, support, balance, interconnectedness and Afrikan community." 27

IV. ACTION

15 Then went the Pharisees, and took counsel how they might entangle him in his talk.


27 Conyers, 189-190.
16 And they sent out unto him their disciples with the Herodians, saying, Master, we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth, neither carest thou for any man: for thou regardest not the person of men.

17 Tell us therefore, What thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar, or not?

18 But Jesus perceived their wickedness, and said, Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites?

19 Shew me the tribute money. And they brought unto him a penny.

20 And he saith unto them, Whose is this image and superscription?

21 They say unto him, Caesar's. Then saith he unto them, Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's.

(Matthew xx: xv-xxi)

In Edward Wilmont Blyden's Christianity Islam and the Negro Race there is Western/European recognition of the intrinsic power of the African to save the African. Blyden writes, "In the entry made in his journal under the date September 17, 1884, General Gordon (The Journals of Major-General Gordon, at Khartoum.) said: 'From a professional military point of view, and speaking materially, I wish I was the Mahdi, and I would laugh at all Europe.' Under date September 12th, he wrote: (still quoting Gordon) 'The people are all against us, and what a power they have; they need not fight, but have merely to refuse to sell us a grain.'"28 The substance of African liberation is in that statement alone. To further emphasize how something so grandiose or ruminated about can become so simple in degree, Gordon goes on to say, "The stomach governs the world, and it was the stomach (a despised organ) which caused our misery from the beginning."29


29 Ibid., 394.
While Gordon was lamenting the inaccessibility of the whole of Africa for European conquest, the substance of his lament is and has been in the African's complicity in their own oppression. The simplest solution to the problem the African has with Western aggression is to divest. As stated above, the African has been conditioned, trained, and educated to desire Western ideals. A proper jettisoning of all of the things that were imposed during the centuries of Western aggression that have not been for the benefit of African people is paramount. A victorious people can not look to their historical oppressor to educate, cloth, feed, and liberate them. The African must simply seek among themselves all things they need for their survival, and themselves for all things they need for their social and spiritual progress. This statement was as true during Walker's era as it is today.

Africans do not have to be prescribed as second or third class citizens of the world five-hundred years after their contact with Western aggression. From fourteen-ninety-two, five-hundred and seventeen years have passed. As stated above, it is just a blip along the course of human history. No single European nation has recorded history of more than six hundred consecutive years of progress, especially those without contact with the African continent and its people (see ben-jochannan, Africa: Mother of Western Civilization). Therefore this blip, as defined in this study—which can be documented in the histories of mankind as one of turmoil, change, regression, and progression—remains possible only because the African continues to acquiesce to their second and third class status appointed them by Western aggression. The African has become accustomed to desiring civil liberties granted them by their oppressor, rather than the human rights given them by divine law.
This model suggests that there are three stages of development and one stage of action that the African community must undergo to achieve liberation. As a model it is sufficient enough to ensure that a blueprint could be drawn regarding each phase. While the blueprint could change and be rearranged by the architects of African liberation (African people with an African centered consciousness), the model does not have to change. In essence, it suggests reconciliation with the warring ideals, a proper analysis (not simply documentation) of the history of African people in contact with Western aggression, and the establishment of a spiritual destiny ordained by an African concept of God. The final step is a jettisoning of all things that contribute to the maintenance of Western imperialism.

The steps in this model assert that African liberation is dependent on emotional, intellectual, spiritual, and physical movements. First there must be an emotional reconciliation of African selfhood and cultural identity. Secondly the African must intellectually analyze the whole of the disruption caused by European and Western aggression for proper individual and group diagnosis and treatment. Thirdly, the African must develop a spiritual reclamation of MAAT and designation of the African as a Human being with a divine mandate to humanize the world. Lastly, the African must physically jettison his/her shackles. These shackles are dependencies that connect the African to the European. The African has become a dependent of the European as explicated by Du Bois in *The Souls of Black Folk*. In essence African people need to know only that there is nothing that they need which comes from imposition and oppression.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The purpose of this research was to develop a model for African liberation. Assisted by Eugene Perkins' six characteristics of combat literature, this researcher was able to construct a paradigm to siphon any text that participates in the social commentary of African liberation. The four texts in this study were chosen because this researcher believed that the authors represented a particular voice and personality construct that was influential during their era. While McWhorter's text, Authentically Black, may seem to be outside of the tradition, it does represent the manifestation of proximity of African personality constructs to Western educational institutions. Of the authors, McWhorter is the most entrenched in Western academia. His text represents a desire to jettison the connection to Africa as a land and African people part of an autonomous culture, affected by Western aggression.

By siphoning the four texts through the reconstructed six characteristics of combat literature, this study was able to conclude that each of the authors wrote their texts to influence a particular African personality construct in American society. This study has taken those differing populations and personality constructs and developed a model that this researcher believes speaks to each of the four authors, their texts, and the populations that the authors were trying to reach through their texts.

This research concludes that the recognition and further study the African's personality constructs, their historical selves, and the phenomenological aspects of African spirituality would assist in a (w)holistic panacea or solution for all that ails the
African spirituality would assist in a (w)holistic panacea or solution for all that ails the African in America and the Diaspora. It could remedy diseases, ills, or any difficulties that maintain African subjugation under Western aggression. The combination of mental, physical, and spiritual analysis and treatment of African life is the cure-all or the actual model for African liberation. The whole of the individual is treated as is the whole of the society.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Suggestions for future research are two-fold.

1. As stated in Chapter I, this research lacks an African Womanist perspective. Research may be conducted on African women author’s texts from each of the four eras of this study and sift them through the six characteristics of combat literature to develop a model for African liberation and compare that model to this one.

2. While Chapters I through V essentially explicate the material/tangible/written aspects of African liberation ideology this study suggests that there is also a spiritual movement at work governing the actions and voice of each of the authors chosen in this study. That spirituality can be traced back to ancient KMT. As previously mentioned in Chapter V, to live is to be caught up in a religious or spiritual drama. According to Edward Bruce Bynum, author of *The African Unconscious*:
From Kemetic Egypt and Nubia, human civilizations went westward to the West African societies in levels of successive migrations. Many peoples of West African extraction have origin myths and chronologies for thousands of years that trace their lineage to ancient Egypt and Nubia, for example, the Dogon of Mali, the Fon of Dahomey, the Bambara of eastern Guinea, the Yoruba of Nigeria, and peoples of other areas of the coast—whose influence in consciousness was then in a perverted sort of way carried on by the slave trade to the Americas.¹

The African in the Diaspora is connected historically, culturally and religiously to the ancient civilizations of Africa. "African American spirituality, in both North and South America, was a fusion of West African lineages and those that, through West Africa, stretched back to the days of ancient Egypt and the civilizations of the Nile."²

Given that this study utilizes Dr. Gates' signifying monkey theory to define the speakerly text relationship of the authors, this study asserts that the arguments produced within the four texts are also governed by the phenomenological aspects of the signifying monkey and the spirit of Esu carried over from the African's epic memory. With Esu embodied in nearly every form of African speech and vernacular, it becomes possible to read writers who seem to be contradictions of one another as an extension of one thought process. McWhorter mentions that when he writes about race he is "wearing a completely different 'hat',"³ with the word hat in quotations.

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² Ibid., 282.

³ McWhorter, 2003: xv.
He demonstrates that he is aware of the tradition of Esu, Esu's double speak, and the multicolor hat. This study suggests that future research should be done on the spiritual aspects of African history so that the spiritual is not divorced from the physical.
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