

**Festac Colloquium and  
Black World  
Development**



NC  
DT  
14  
A523

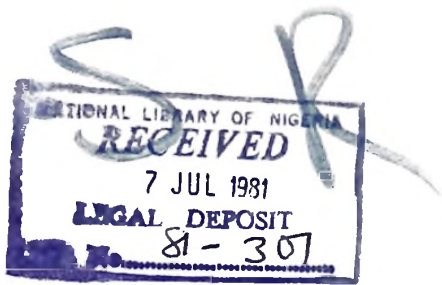
**Moyibi Amoda**



NATIONAL LIBRARY OF NIGERIA  
RECEIVED  
7 JUL 71  
LEGAL DEPOSIT  
L.D. No. 81-301



N



**FESTAC COLLOQUIUM  
AND  
BLACK WORLD DEVELOPMENT**

**EVALUATION OF FESTAC  
COLLOQUIUM AGENDA  
LAGOS PROGRAMME 1977**

**MOYIBI AMODA**

**Nigeria Magazine  
Federal Ministry of Information  
LAGOS**

**Produced and Distributed by Third Press International  
Division of Okpaku Communications Corporation  
1995 Broadway, New York, NY 10023 USA**

NC

DT

14

A 522

## NIGERIA MAGAZINE SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS

Everyman's Guide to Nigerian Art  
Nigerian Body Adornment  
National Theatre & Makers of Modern Nigerian Art  
Cities of the Nigerian Savannah  
Festac Edition of Nigeria Magazine  
Pageants of Festac '77

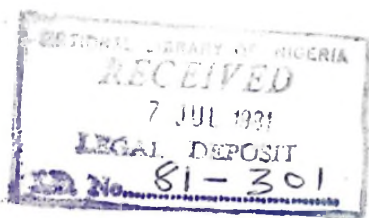
Editor-in-Chief:	Dr. Garba Ashiwaju
Editor:	Miss. Uche Enem
Assistant Editor:	U. N. Abalogu
Cover Design:	E. N. Bassey

*Cover photo* of Queen Amina of Zaria, a Festac monument sculpted by Ben Ekanem of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. The monument now stands at the National Theatre, Lagos.

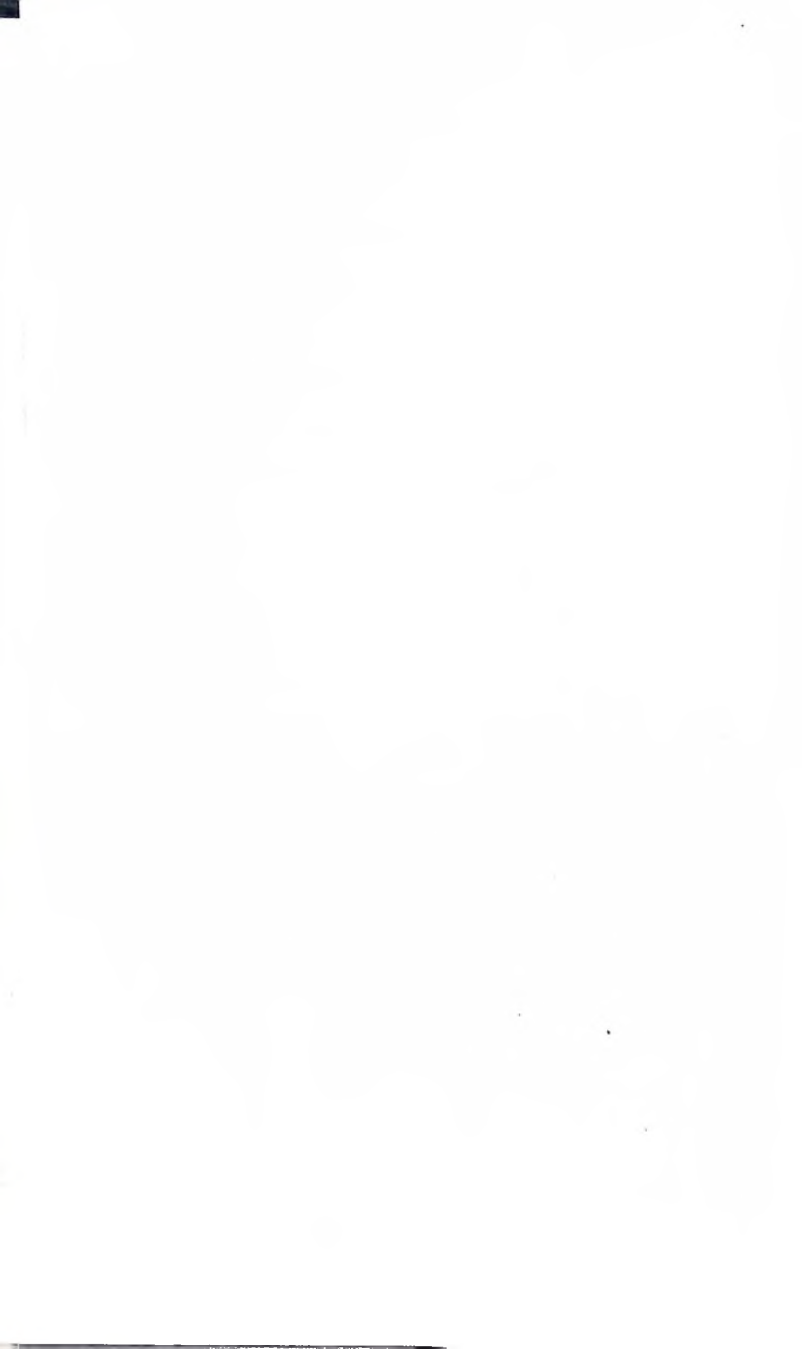
Copyright © 1978 by Nigeria Magazine

*This book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not, by way of trade or otherwise be resold, hired out or otherwise circulated without the publisher's prior consent in any form of binding or cover other than in which it is published. This book is distributed outside Nigeria exclusively by The Third Press International Division of Okpaku Communications Corporation, 1995 Broadway, NY, NY USA 10023*

2205 17/10/81



**FESTAC COLLOQUIUM  
AND  
BLACK WORLD DEVELOPMENT**



## CONTENTS

<b>PREFACE</b> .....	1
<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	5
<b>PART ONE</b>	
The General Report .....	7
<b>PART TWO</b>	
Analysis of the General Report .....	23
<b>PART THREE</b>	
Analysis of Working Group Reports .....	41
<b>CONCLUSION</b> .....	135
<b>APPENDIX A</b>	
Lagos Programme .....	157
<b>APPENDIX B</b>	
Working Group I .....	181
Sub-theme 1: Black Civilization and the Arts	
Sub-theme 2: Black Civilization and Pedagogy	
Working Group II .....	200
Sub-theme 1: Black Civilization and Literature	
Sub-theme 2: Black Civilization and Language	
Working Group III .....	213
Sub-theme 1: Black Civilization and Religion	
Sub-theme 2: Black Civilization and Philosophy	
Working Group IV .....	225
Sub-theme 1: Black Civilization and African Governments	
Sub-theme 2: Black Civilization and Historical Awareness	
Working Group V .....	248
Sub-theme 1: Black Civilization and Technology	
Sub-theme 2: Black Civilization and Mass Media	



## PREFACE

When I was commissioned to write a review of the Colloquium, it seemed a rather straightforward assignment. I was asked to comment both on the Francophone and the Anglophone participation. The division of the Colloquium participants in this traditional manner was done in the hope that important differences would be captured. I soon found such a division to be of little value: the problem had been chosen with care to eliminate the traditional differences, and furthermore, the very situation that suggested the problem—capitalist development in the black and African world—had led to the adoption of similar strategies of development throughout the black and African world. It appeared eminently reasonable, therefore, to treat a black and African world problem in terms of the realities of its questions of hegemony. In doing so one respects the spirit of a conference whose realities transcended linguistic or cultural styles.

As I confronted the problem of exegesis, it became obvious that I could not immediately comment on the particular papers. Apart from the problem of access to these papers, it was a task well beyond the capacity of a single individual to comment on the importance of ideas, propositions, policies, discoveries, research designs, programs, and results covering the entire gamut of issues and problems of relevance to the black world. Under the circumstances I decided to take the results of the colloquium as presented in the Final Report and in the reports of the Working Groups, together with a selection of the keynote addresses and lectures, and examine these in terms of the cultural policies they recommended for the resolution of the hegemonic problems of the black and African world. The Final Report, the Lagos Programme, is presented in its entirety for a bird's eye view of the Colloquium's achievement and thrust.

Instead of summarizing the reports of the Working Groups, I chose to present a critique of them. I viewed the Working reports as an epistemological background, the resource of knowledge drawn upon for the formulation of the Lagos Programme. It was an important discovery to see that these reports all addressed the same problem, the problem of waging a cultural nationalist war of a black and African scope against a Euramerican Academic Establishment. This discovery led me to inquire about the hegemonic condition which was the referent of the strategy invented. In this process, I briefly summarized the working reports and extensively criticized them in terms of their rationality and relevance within the problems associated with the issues of hegemony of the black and African world.

A criticism that would provide the reader enough of the sense of the reports while representing this in terms of the hegemonic issue that accounted for their thrust turned out to be very difficult to do. In the first place, it was not easy to present a summary of a summary; in the second place, it was most difficult to present a summary of what in itself was a consensus document. One has to read these reports to get a sense of the policies that the various groups identified as important, and to make inferences concerning structures of realities to which these policies were addressed.

In the concluding segment we attempt to supply threads that link the reports to the real world situation which is their referent. In our view the salient problem motivating the Colloquium centers on the Capitalist Agenda of the black and African world. In focusing on this agenda as the referent, we do not intend to glorify or condemn it; nor do we hope to give the impression that the question of socialism was not considered important by most participants. However, we do take the position that in the main the black and African world is committed to a capitalist program of nation-state development and that it is in the context of this commitment that the critique of capitalism and the evolution of alternate state systems are to be considered. Given this position, we attempt to situate the black and African capitalist program within a historical structural-functional analysis of the capitalist system. We seek to show why there is a concern with black nationalism in the black and African world and how the condition of that world compels a sublimated solution to the problem of nation-building in the black and African world. We see the deflection of the problem

of nation-building from economics to culture, from the present and future to the past, as the effect of efforts to discover the unique around which the symbols of nationalism are developed and as a strategy of inventing a nationalism consonant with the black and African condition. In this process we attempt to show how the contemporary realities of the black and African world are in effect an extension of European hegemonic history, in the context of Euramerican world domination in quest of an achievement that the Euramerican world now enjoys. We foresee turmoil and consider the Lagos Programme an epiphenomenal response to the problems of the future.

We conclude with an editorial point. We realize that the documents we have used are still in the process of being revised for the purpose of dissemination to the Colloquium participants. We do not know, therefore, what will be their final form or format. When we quote from the reports we do not provide references. The reports themselves are short enough to enable the reader to find the quotations and to have a sense of their place in the reports.

Finally, it should be noted that we have omitted from our work an analysis of the fifth working group, dealing with mass media and science and technology. We cannot analyze that which we do not have, and the Lagos Programme summary of this working group cannot, without injury to the participants of this working group, be taken as a substitute. We hope, however, that the perspective we have presented and the parameters we have established for the discussion of Black Civilization and Education would enable us to extend the work to cover these working groups when their reports are finally distributed. At any rate, the problem of science and technology occupies the central stage of most developmental discussions in the black and African world and would therefore provide ample forums for future analysis and coverage of policies articulated for its development.

I must thank the Cultural Division of the Ministry of Information for giving me the opportunity to review the Colloquium outside of the heat and smoke of the Conference Room. It is remarkable what one sees and does not see when one is in the thick of things, and it is also most gratifying when one is forced to reflect on one's immediate past and, in that process, become a little more cognizant of one's own historicity and of one's own evolving sense of historical awareness.



## INTRODUCTION

In this preliminary review of the Colloquium of the Second World and African Festival of Arts and Culture, we must focus on the major issues and policy recommendations emerging from the proceedings, not only because the conveners of the Colloquium saw it as an instrument for the development of relevant policies on the questions of Black Civilization and Education, but also because this approach permits us to sketch in the compelling state interests which will be the perspectives for more detailed analyses of the Colloquium proceedings.

Accordingly, we will begin by presenting in detail the general report of the Colloquium. We will then proceed to identify the problems surfacing from the explicit consensus recorded in the General Report. These problems will be examined more specifically through the reports of the five workshops within which the philosophic and scientific assumptions of the General Report were articulated. In this process, we also identify the problems contained in the explorations of the major issues defined as central to the concerns of the state systems of the black and African world and contrast these to the assumptions of the Colloquium's Lagos Programme. We hope the result will be a clarification of the questions put to the assembly of black and African scholars and intellectuals.

Against this background an attempt will be made to present a theory and history of world developments that explains the context within which the problems identified by the Colloquium make sense and that further permits an evaluation of the sense of wisdom prevalent in the Lagos Programme.



## **PART ONE**

### **The General Report**

The report deals briefly with the origin of the World Festival of Black and African Arts and Culture (FESTAC) since its inception in Dakar in 1966. This second FESTAC, eleven years after the first, remained faithful to the Dakar format—an organized presentation of events, exhibitions, and colloquium. The Colloquium was seen as the heart of both festivals, their pivot, coherent context, and cipher. Therefore, the Colloquium of the Second FESTAC was to be a forum where scholars, writers, and artists of the black and African world would come “to pool together their reflections, their researches and their experiences, around a theme which gives each festival its distinctive mark, and which is illustrated by all the activities of the festival.”

The theme of the colloquium of the First World Festival of Black Arts in Dakar was: Function and significance of black and African art for the people and in the life of the people. The theme of the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture is: Black civilization and education. This main theme was subdivided into ten sub-themes, which were further regrouped into five Working Groups or committees, two sub-themes forming a Working Group.

- WORKING GROUP I:** 1. Black Civilization and the Arts.  
2. Black Civilization and Pedagogy
- WORKING GROUP II:** 1. Black Civilization and Literature.  
2. Black Civilization and Language
- WORKING GROUP III:** 1. Black Civilization and Religion.  
2. Black Civilization and Language.
- WORKING GROUP IV:** 1. Black Civilization and African Governments.

## 2. Black Civilization and Historical Awareness.

- WORKING GROUP V:
1. Black Civilization, Science and Technology
  2. Black Civilization and Mass Media.

The scientific preparations of the Colloquium extended through a period of almost three years. The general theme, with its sub-themes and a commentary, was circulated throughout the zones and participating countries through universities and Ministries of Education and Culture. Prospective participants were asked to prepare their contributions to the Colloquium in two specific forms.

1. Investigations bearing on the concrete realities of black Civilization as laid down in the programme as well as on experiments carried out in certain countries
2. Syntheses leading to orientations and concrete proposals

At the International Secretariat of the Festival in Lagos, a Colloquium Division was set up to centralize and coordinate the preparation for the Colloquium all over the world. Several pre-colloquia and seminars were held in order to work out the programme for the Colloquium (UNESCO in 1973, Dakar 1974, Ibadan 1975).

Thirty-five countries registered to participate in the Colloquium: Brazil, Cuba, Canada, United States, United Kingdom and Ireland, France, Australia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Mauritius, Zambia, Swaziland, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Zaire, Burundi, Chad, Cameroun, Central African Empire, Republic of Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon, Liberia, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Republic of Guinea, Peoples Republic of Benin, Zimbabwe, Surinam, Mali, Senegal, Mauritania.

Representatives of eighteen other countries joined in the Colloquium during the Festival: Somalia, Lesotho, Libya, Egypt, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Madagascar, Tunisia, Algeria, Guinea Bissau, Rwanda, Republic of Cape Verde, Upper Volta, Togo, Niger, Namibia and the Black Community in Germany and Holland.

France and Mauritius did not participate in the end. There were finally 700 participants, comprising 335 official delegates and 365 observers.

At the opening of the Colloquium 238 texts had been received, 157 of which were in English and 81 in French.

The Executive Committee of the Colloquium comprised the following:

- His Excellency Colonel A. Ali, Commissioner of Education, Federal Republic of Nigeria: Chairman.
- Mr. Ambrose Mbia, Secretary-General of the International Festival Committee.
- Professor Engelbert Mveng, Professor of History at the University of Yaounde: Rapporteur General.

Each Working Group had two rapporteurs in charge of each sub-theme. The chairmanship of each Working Group was supplied in turn by the leaders of the delegations of the countries taking part in the Colloquium.

Also working hand in hand with the Colloquium Executive Committee was the team in charge of the technical organization of the Colloquium. This team comprised:

- Mr. J. C. De Graft, Ghanaian, Lecturer at the University of Nairobi (Kenya), in charge of production and distribution of English texts.
- Mr. C. Granderson from Trinidad and Tobago, French literature teacher at Bouake (Ivory Coast), in charge of production and distribution of French texts.
- Dr. A. U. Iwara, Lecturer at the University of Ibadan (Nigeria), responsible for the codification and classification into sub-themes of texts, production of Colloquium and abstracts received, as well as reports in English and French.
- Mr. Winsala, Assistant Registrar of the Conference Centre at the University of Ibadan, in charge of administrative organization of the Colloquium.

They were assisted by a team of translators, revisers, printers, typists, and collators.

The Colloquium proceeded in four stages.

1. The opening ceremony presided over by the Head of State, General Olusegun Obasanjo, Grand Patron of the Festival.
2. The first week, devoted to the Working Groups.
3. The second week, devoted to studying Working Groups reports in plenary sessions and to the adoption of the General Report.
4. Finally, the closing session presided over by Commander O.P. Fingsi, President of the International Festival Committee.

In addition to the discussions of the Working Groups, round-table conferences and symposia were held. There were at least two in each Working Group.

Also a series of eight public lectures on different subjects in the programme of the Colloquium was organized.

The outcome of such a meticulous organization was what the General Report presented as the Lagos Programme for the next decade. In the process of arriving at the black and African agenda for the eighties the state of knowledge on black and African Civilization and Education was defined as characterized by the following.

1. The paucity of scientific studies on the different aspects of black and African civilization contained in the sub-themes of the Colloquium.
2. The paucity of surveys and evaluations of experiments carried out in different countries.
3. The paucity of teaching aids developed for the propagation of the black and African heritage.
4. The paucity of trained educators for this propagation.

The situation emerging from these facts presents three obstacles identified in the General Report.

1. The absence of in-depth studies on black and African civilization, studies based on black and African concrete realities.
2. The absence of teaching aids that can be used for the transmission of black and African cultural heritage.
3. The absence of teachers and educators developed for this task.

These obstacles suggest the following remedy.

- a. Systematic programme of basic research on the cultural heritage of each country in the black and African world.
- b. A programme for the production of teaching aids for the propagation of black and African cultures.
- c. A training programme to make educators and teachers knowledgeable in black and African civilizations.
- d. An exchange programme at three levels—regional, continental, and inter-continental—to enable all countries to benefit from the work and achievements of others.

These basic research projects constituting an inventory of existing resources and endowments, the development of curricular materials and curricula, and the reorganization of the training of

teachers, define the Lagos Programme Major Project as one that "all our peoples and our states are called upon to implement during the next decade."

The general outline of the Lagos Programme emerges as follows from each of the sub-themes.

### **Black Civilization and the Arts**

#### *1. Basic Research*

Each country should draw and publish an inventory of its artistic heritage. This inventory will include descriptive data sheets, photographic or film documents, and recordings. The following are suggested categories.

- Inventory of ancient and modern plastic arts including sculpture, painting, decorative arts, etc.
- Inventory of traditional architecture.
- Inventory of ancient and modern musical traditions.
- Inventory of ancient and modern dances.
- Inventory of dramatic art forms.

#### *2. Teaching Aids*

- Preparation of manuals for beginners in the various artistic expressions.
- Setting up of libraries of educational recordings.
- Compulsory inclusion of these subjects in school syllabuses and in examinations leading to the award of official certificates.

#### *3. Teacher Training*

- The creation of a course programme on black and African Arts in general studies institutions and in training institutions for teachers.
- Organization of national and regional training courses and seminars for teacher refresher courses in black and African art.
- Creation of black and African arts and civilizations professorships in universities.
- Employment, in the field of education, in the teaching field, of artists who are guardians of Black and African artistic techniques and traditions.

### **Black Civilization and Philosophy**

#### *4. Basic Research*

- Inventory of texts of traditional wisdom by literary themes and types: proverbs, tales, myths, sacred texts, etc.

- Inventory of rites and institutions marking the major phases of life, birth, puberty, marriage, agricultural work, hunting, fishing, metallurgy, craftsmanship, war, peace, death, the hereafter, etc.

- Inventory of cosmogonical texts on the origins of the world and its organization.

- Inventory of texts on the origin of humanity, of the society, and of major achievements of civilization.

- Inventory of texts on the great problems of life: good, evil, justice, society, family, power, love, solidarity, etc.

#### *Teaching Aids*

- Publication of teaching manuals on black and African wisdom and philosophy at all levels.

- In the primary school: collections of fables, proverbs, and riddles.

- In the secondary school: collections of cosmogonical texts, myths, and moral texts.

- In the higher institutions: studies of the great problems of life, of the vision of the world, of man, and of God; also comparative study of other philosophical traditions.

- Production of audio-visual documents on rites and on social, economic, and cultural institutions.

- Establishment of a card index on studies of African philosophers and of those of the Diaspora.

#### *Teacher Training*

- Creation of chairs of philosophy, departments of philosophy; also, the possibility of awarding certificates in philosophy at all levels of the university curriculum.

- Introduction in the advanced teacher training colleges of a programme for the training of teachers of African philosophy.

- Regular seminars on black and African philosophy.

### **Black Civilization and Literature**

#### *Basic Research*

- Inventory of traditional literature with data sheets of literary types and works; a literary map of the country.

- Inventory of modern literature in natural or foreign languages.

- Study of traditional types of literature with their essential themes.

### *Teaching Aids*

• As the collection of oral traditions is at an advanced stage in many countries, due to the help of UNESCO and as the teaching of African literature has been started in secondary schools and higher institutions of learning, the recommendations of this section will be easier to carry out, at least in some countries. It is therefore necessary to envisage in the immediate future:

• The production of anthologies of traditional and modern literature.

• The publication of the full texts of ancient black and African authors.

• A pedagogical card index of traditional and modern authors on the national, continental, and inter-continental levels.

• The creation in each establishment of a literary library and of archives of audio-visual documents on literature in national and foreign languages.

• The introduction into the syllabuses, where this has not yet been done, of literary programmes in national languages with the possibility of answering examination questions in the languages.

• The possibility of creating certificates in the language of the country where they are still in existence.

• The introduction in schools at all levels of a programme on the literature of the black and African world.

### *Teacher Training*

• Introduction in Training Colleges and Colleges of Education of a programme of national literature, African literature, and literature of the black world.

• Creation of professorial chairs in universities where they do not yet exist for the teaching of these literatures.

• Creation of associations of literary and artistic critics with the help and support of the states in countries where they do not exist.

• Organization of seminars and conferences on the teaching of black and African literature.

## **Black Civilization and African Languages**

### *1. Basic Research*

• Inventory of national languages and drawing of linguistic maps of each country.

• Publication of glossaries, dictionaries, and books of basic vocabulary of these languages.

- Research on the linguistic groups and their classification.
- Setting-up of Commissions to establish rules of transcription for national languages where this has not been done.
- Research into possible adoption of an African language as national language.
- Research into possible adoption of Pan-African language.
- Harmonization of the systems of transcription of African languages, at the sub-regional and regional levels.

## 2. *Teaching Aids*

- Publication of grammar books at all levels for the teaching of national languages.
- Publication of collections of texts in national languages.
- Radio and television programmes in national languages.
- Translation of national constitutions, laws, and similar documents into national languages.
- Introduction of national languages at all levels of education. Kindergarten and primary education in national languages, secondary and higher education in a bilingual system (national language and a foreign language).
- Creation and encouragement of publishing concerns that publish in national languages.
- Use of national languages in courts of law, in commerce, and in public life.
- Production of audio-visual documents for the teaching of languages and using them in all spheres of life.

## 3. *Teacher Training*

- Introduction in training colleges and colleges of education of a special department for teachers of national languages.
- Introduction of Departments of national and African languages in universities where they do not exist.
- Training of basic education and adult education instructors who will teach national languages.
- Organization of scientific committees to introduce scientific vocabulary into national languages.
- The use in the teaching profession of men who are experts in their own languages, even if they do not possess any official qualifications.

## Black Civilization and Historical Awareness

### 1. Basic Research

• Based upon the foundation of oral historical traditions collected under the aegis of the UNESCO in most countries, a presentation of history from the viewpoint of the indigene can now be done. It is now possible also to go beyond the collection of oral traditions to ascertain complementary modes available to the indigenous societies for the transmitting of their awareness of history. This research will consist, in a large number of cases, of:

- Collection of historical texts and of oral and written traditions.
- Inventories of monuments of national, regional, continental, and inter-continental historical sites.
- Collections of artifacts of historical significance.
- Methods of interpreting traditional artifacts considered to be true epigraphic texts.
- Inventories of texts relating to the history of rites and of political, economic, cultural and religious institutions.
- The elaboration of a method of criticism of traditional historical documents which will use oral documents, historical monuments, artistic documents and institutions.

### 2. Teaching Aids

- Publication of national, regional, continental, and intercontinental historical manuals of the black and African World.
- Creation of black and African history libraries.
- Creation of historical museums, preferably in the universities and institutions of learning.
- Creation of audio-visual historical archives for use in educational institutions.
- Organization of the teaching of national, continental, and inter-continental history at all levels.

### 3. Teacher Training

Existing programmes for training as history teachers should be adapted to black and African world realities. Emphasis should therefore be placed on the training of teachers rooted in black and African world realities. The specifics of the agenda include:

- Training of experts in the collection of historical traditions, which are at once oral, artistic, and institutional.
- Training of African archeologists and pre-historians, based at black and African sites.

- Training of archivists and curators that can give to the black and African archives and museums a substance and presentation adapted to the mentality of black and African peoples and capable of promoting a popular culture.
- Introduction in the programmes of universities and training colleges of special courses in national history, African history, and history of the black world.
- Organization of seminars and refresher courses on the teaching of black and African history.
- The use in black and African educational institutions of teachers of traditional history who are keepers of historical traditions even if they do not possess any official qualifications.

### Black Civilization and Pedagogy

#### *1. Basic Research*

- Systematic inventory of traditional systems of education, initiation and other rites of passage, professional training by craft associations.
- Inventory of traditional games.
- Inventory of ancient and modern forms of organizations for training and entertainment.
- Preliminary research on the finalities, the methods and means of action of traditional systems of education . . . etc.

#### *2. Teaching Aids*

- Setting up of archives of audio-visual documents on the traditional methods of education.
- Archives of audio-visual documents on the methods of education, of youth supervision, of cultural assistance that are used in other African countries outside Africa.
- Archives of audio-visual documents on the various methods of learning and assimilating artistic, scientific, and literary subjects tested in the best schools in Africa and in the world.
- Setting up of infrastructure and technical equipment for the teaching of traditional sports.

#### *3. Teacher Training*

- Inclusion in the syllabuses of teacher training colleges and colleges of education of special programmes of introduction to traditional and modern teaching methods.

- Organization of training courses, seminars and meetings, at national and international levels, on traditional and modern methods of education.
- Inclusion of compulsory programmes on traditional sports and games in the curricula of sports institutes.
- Employment of competent and serious-minded traditional instructors in training colleges and institutes as well as in professional training and cultural assistance organizations.

### **Black Civilization and Religion**

#### *1. Basic Research*

- Inventory of traditional religions in each country, in a process that involves investigation of systems of belief, rites, and morals. This should also involve study of the major religious centers.
- Inventory of the Abrahamic religions—Christianity and Islam.
- Research on the role of religions in cultural, economic, and social development in the past and in the present.
- Collection of official, national and international texts on the freedom of religion issue.

#### *2. Teaching Aids*

- Publication of collections of basic texts of the various religions existing in the country.
- Involvement of the heads of religious communities in the project of production of teaching materials adapted to the cultural traditions of the believers; these materials should include manuals for religious teaching, hymn books, musical instruments, ornaments and dress of the country in religious ceremonies; these materials will be presented in the local languages of these religious communities.
- Creation of an iconography and of an authentic religious architecture inspired by traditional art.
- Encouragement of all religious movements and associations which promote cultural revival in music, dance, plastic arts, architecture, etc.

#### *3. Teacher Training*

Revalorization of the function of the religious teacher as an equal of the other teachers.

- Creation of chairs of religious studies in the universities with the possibility of studying for certification in religious studies according to the candidate's choice.
- Recognition of certificates of religious studies awarded by religious institutions.
- Integration of religious personnel in all the sectors of training and development: public schools, health service, social work, rural recreational service, research, crafts . . . etc.

### **Black Civilization, Science and Technology**

#### *1. Basic Research*

It is proposed that each country create a body for scientific and technical research, that this body determine the sectors of life to which priority should be given in the field of research, and that it should also determine the fields in which research has not yet been undertaken. It is also proposed that a special commission should be created and charged with the responsibility of studying the impact of the exact sciences on the life and milieu of children in the villages as well as in the towns, so as to detect the areas of scientific interest among those children. This commission should also draw up a list of technological problems which the average man should try to solve in rural and urban life. This can help in the orientation of the teaching of sciences.

#### *2. Teaching Aids*

- To generalize the teaching of science in the schools, it is recommended that the number of small laboratories and small workshops be increased and that such scientific work be integrated into the curricula at all levels.
- The contents of science textbooks must be drawn from the environment of the child, especially in geography and the natural sciences.
- In the secondary schools and higher institutions of learning, laboratories should be obligatory even in the non-technical colleges. The school systems should be adequately funded to implement this recommendation.
- Audio-visual documentation archives should be established for the teaching of science subjects.
- Competitions in the field of science should be organized and prizes be awarded in schools and institutions.

### *3. Teacher Training*

- The future science teachers should have a profound knowledge of traditional technologies and sciences. The school curricula of the colleges of education and universities should therefore henceforth include the methods by which black and African ancestors learned to identify and classify animals, plants, and minerals. It should also include their pharmacopoeia.

- In the higher institutions of learning, specialization in the sciences must be carried out more and more with materials drawn from the realities of the black and African environment. This is possible in physics and chemistry as well as in the natural sciences.

- It is also necessary to put the black and African science teachers in contact with those of the best foreign schools, by organizing meetings, seminars, short training courses, in such a way as to be able to compare methods.

- Finally, associations of science teachers and scientists should be created and the union of black and African researchers embracing the whole of the black and African world should be promoted.

## **Black Civilization and African Governments**

### *1. Basic Research*

- Inventory of traditional systems of government. This should include the inventory of systems of initiation and of the training of chiefs and political leaders; of traditional institutions having to do with problems of peace, war, justice, economic organization, industry relations with other communities (foreign policy), and with reconciliation procedures within a given community and between one community and another.

- Creation of funds for documentation on traditional rulers, under and after colonization; on the colonial powers, on national political institutional and political choices since independence, on national unity, on African unity, and on the United Nations.

### *2. Teaching Aids*

- Of paramount importance is the immediate review of black and African civic education and the drawing up of a series of manuals and teaching documents adapted to different levels of teaching. Thus in primary education and the first part of secondary education the manuals should place more emphasis on current national issues.

- At the higher and university levels, emphasis on current national issues.
- At the higher and university levels, emphasis should be placed on the study of national political tradition while placing these in the perspective of national, African and black world realities.
- In addition, the following should be done: The creation of an infrastructure of civic training composed of centers for military and civic training, village camps for young people, and urban and rural recreational projects. Within this infrastructure efforts should be made to put into application the lessons drawn from traditional institutions.

### 3. *Teacher Training*

In most of the black and African countries there are educators and civic promoters in educational institutions as well as in youth or political movements. The essential thing at present is to give those educators and promoters training that is more advanced and relevant to the realities of the people. They must therefore learn the political traditions of the communities with which they deal, their psychology, the structures of their societies, and try to propagate national objectives and party programmes through them.

## Black Civilization and the Mass Media

### 1. *Basic Research*

The mass media represent a most formidable psychological pressure on black and African people and they are likely to profoundly modify the behavior and the entire orientation of the destiny of black and African people. The countries in the black and African world should therefore employ all possible means to market them. Basic research should be undertaken on the types of mass media in use in the traditional society. This research should include:

- An inventory and survey of the modern mass media.
- Systematic survey periodically carried out on the impact of the mass media on the life and behavior of the people, especially among the youth.
- Studies and surveys undertaken on the use of the mass media in education in the black and African world.
- Research carried out on the possibility of producing mass media adapted to the black and African environment and development.

## 2. *Teaching Aids*

Two types of teaching aids are needed:

- a. Those which help the black and African educator to know and use the traditional and modern mass media.
- b. Those which enable these educators to make use of the mass media in teaching.

- Black and African countries ought, therefore, to make wide-spread use of the programmes introducing the knowledge of mass media at all levels of formal education. To make that possible an infrastructure of the appropriate equipment has to be created—facilities, rooms, appliances, etc.

- Teaching institutions should have archives on mass media in such areas as films, slides, records, tapes, photographic libraries, etc.

- At the least from the secondary school level, it is necessary to initiate the collection of scientific and educational films for the institutions. It is equally necessary to create an infrastructure for mass education by television.

- Black and African states must associate with each other in order to create a body for the production and distribution of films for children.

- There should be an increasing use of national languages on the radio, television and in the press.

- Newspapers in the national languages should be created.

## 3. *Teacher Training*

- In addition to the schools of journalism in Africa, cinematographic and tele-visual training schools should be created.

- The curricula for these schools should include a thorough instruction in the traditional means of mass communication and in their utilization.

- Black and African states should establish a training programme stretching over several years for the technical teaching personnel in mass media.

- Creative artists are often the best educators in the use of mass media and their employment on the teaching staffs of institutes of mass media should be actively promoted.

- The production of high society and invaluable programmes by national artistes and the distribution of the same should be encouraged.

- Finally, it is necessary to ensure in the near future that black and African schools train all the personnel that are needed and that the black and African world realities be used as media of knowledge.
- The states should also support and encourage the organization of festivals, courses, seminars, and exchanges at the regional, continental, and intercontinental levels.
- It is the responsibility of the states to create an infrastructure for the production and distribution of works by the mass media. Black and African states should create the national services of their cinema, television and radio.

## **PART TWO**

### **Analysis of the General Report**

We have presented the General Report with some minor editorial modifications in its entirety. We have done so not only because it was an attempt at a summary of the various working groups but more importantly because it is a statement of the goals in the area of public policy for the development of the black and African World. As statement, it is assumed that its eventual implementation will be subject to further argument and exegetic analysis. Because this is the case we are assuming at this level of the presentation of the agenda, the relevance of each goal item in the derived agenda of each sub-theme, and we are also assuming that the items included in each package of sub-theme goals form a coherent whole. Furthermore, as the Lagos Programme seems to assume that the problematics of Black Civilization and Education are to be found in issues pertaining to the indigenization of the Africanized Eurocentric Educational Establishments insofar as they bear upon the assimilation and/or integration of traditional educators, traditional curricula, and traditional pedagogies into their modern national educational systems, it should follow that the Lagos Programme would be submitted to consortia of authorities in the modern and traditional educational systems where each is seen as the repository of the paradigm knowledge of the world sustained by each educational system. Such consortia of authorities could then evaluate the wisdom of the programme and devise strategems for its implementation.

However, this process of argument and implementation leads us very quickly into questions raised by the unarticulated assumptions of the General Report. If we are correct in stating that the modern as well as the traditional world are both seen as vehicles and

contexts of important human values, then the problem of state-nation development in the black and African world would require the participation of the *founding fathers* of both worlds, of the authors and upholders of the traditions sustaining each of the worlds. How then is the participation of both the modern and the traditional to be mediated? How is their knowledge to be integrated? How is the integrated perspective to be employed in the evaluation of the contributions of each of the worlds? How, in short, is the universe of the black and African world which is misrepresented when viewed either from the modern or from the traditional world to be articulated? And what is even more important than the question of method and discipline is the question of the character of the world assumed—the black and African world. What is that world, what are its defining values, its history, its cosmogony, its philosophy of history that explain its practical realization as the modern African nation-state and as the pre-colonial traditional “nation-states”?

These questions would seem to follow from the nature of the programme articulated, and would seem to raise further questions concerning (a) a statement defining the problematics of the black and African world (b) a description of the desired and present state of the black and African world (c) the analysis that defines the core problems for developing strategies which enable us to see the goals of the Lagos Programme as efficient and effective techniques for moving the black and African world towards the end-state.

These questions, however, begin to lose their urgency, because it appears that the goals are presented as responses to immediate public policy questions on the indigenization of inherited European state systems and that the pre-European traditions are seen as mechanisms for achieving this indigenization. If the problem is put in this fashion it makes sense, therefore, for us to see the programme as public policy recommendations to the regnant state authorities. It is through such a frame of reference that Education in the theme *Black Civilization and Education* could be anticipated as the scope and content of current national programmes and institutions of educations, and *Black Civilization* as the traditional *relic wisdoms* to be incorporated into these national programmes and institutions.

When indigenization rather than modernization is the problem, it is then possible to make the type of recommendations presented

in the General Report to the national governmental authorities and to urge these regimes to implement them. Such a construction of the problematics of the condition of the Black and African world, however, does violence to what seems clearly a desire to reconcile many worlds, for in the above interpretation, it is assumed that the Africanized modern European state institutions are in themselves not problematic. Yet they are regarded in the Colloquium as problematic, and thus they cannot be regarded immediately, that is, without the stipulation of a novel catalytic hegemonical impetus, as the context and agency of implementation of the Lagos Programme.

Were we to assume that the main problem is one of the indigenization of inherited colonial institutions, to empty them when necessary of European content and fill them with traditional relic wisdom, then we see that such a construction must entail the further fragmentation of the constituency which the Lagos Programme seeks to address. An audience coterminous with the black and African world is what the Lagos programme suggests.

However, the problems spoken to by the programme seem to be relevant to the state-national agendas of the black African continent: it seems in fact to speak only indirectly to the state-national agenda of the Arab African continent and not at all to the problems of the Blacks in Diaspora. The hegemonic prejudice towards the black African continent is further betrayed in the title of the Colloquium itself—Black Civilization and Education. Once the subject is defined as black civilization it must, of necessity, either leave out of consideration the problem of Arab African civilization, or make this an instance of black civilization.

In the same sense the focus on black civilization which makes the problems of Arab Africa marginal or competitive ought to include in its core questions the problematics of the hegemonic conditions of blacks in Diaspora. Were the blacks in Diaspora regarded as part of the core problems then the programme would have to be addressed also to the state systems which express the immediate hegemonical possibilities of blacks in Diaspora. Institutional mechanisms for creating the hegemonic monitoring processes of the implementation of the programme would thus have been unequivocally defined.

One begins to suspect that the Colloquium is predicated on a sense of the universe that is only vaguely seen when viewed through

the articulated consensus of the General Report. And in this respect it is important to acknowledge that the integration of Arab and black Africa was more a diplomatic integration than a realization of a unified sense of Africa's cosmogony. One also wonders whether the *black* in the Colloquium's title also speaks to a unified sense of a black world cosmogony or a black cosmogony. When these questions are raised, then the questions of the identity, contrast, or contradiction between the black and African worlds are also raised; what then in the political history of the universe of worlds within the black and African worlds that finds itself in crisis compels the definition of its constituency in the way that it was defined? If there were no links of identity between the constituents of the world summoned into existence through the organization of FESTAC, what is the source of the morality which defined the participation in one way, the subject matter in another way, and the constituency of the resolutions in yet another way?

Even in the context of these questions we must assume that the prevalence of the hegemonic problems of Black African State-Nation Systems\* in the Colloquium's proceedings support a record of political realities and as such we may accept provisionally that the agenda articulated described state-national relevant problems. Such minimalist definition of the scope of the Colloquium is still fraught with its own unanswered questions. Let us assume that the state-national relevant problems of the black African world are reflected in the issues of black civilization and education. Is there, however, a black African world whose generic problems are reflected in each of its component countries as matters of indigenization? Is the black African world not itself a project, a task yet to be accomplished?

It would appear that the universe spoken for is itself a vision still to be concretized. The General Report would call attention to the problem thus:

The first point on this programme involves African unity and the unity of the Black world. The first is geographical, historical and

---

\*We use this awkward phrase merely to call attention to the fact that the independent variable in the issues of hegemony is the state, and that its problems are immediately projected as the development of "national roots."

political necessity: (it is) also a cultural exigency. Started under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity, it should be pursued in all domains: economic, political and cultural, while at the same time respecting the individual identity of the African States and Peoples.

If the vision is so compelling that it becomes the theme of the Colloquium, we must ask how the understanding of the world envisaged is reflected in the Lagos Programme.

Put in this way, we begin to see the outlines of a process that explains the consensus registered in the Lagos Programme. If we proceed defeasibly, we see the problems the Black African world has *overgrown*: disciplinary, regional, colonial, traditional compartmentalizations. The problem of black civilization and education organized in themes brings the representatives of the state authorities together within the context of a gathering in which all disciplines, and knowledge derived from differences grounded in regional or different colonial traditions are pooled and drawn upon for a clarification of the hegemonic condition of the black African world. But such are the differences within the black African world that even though their common problems could lead to this gathering, their different problems lead to the Colloquium accepting a country-by-country approach to the implementation of the Lagos Programme. This Programme therefore, represents the minimum, the lowest common denominator around which the state authorities could readily agree. Yet this minimal project is in fact given; what has yet to be done is a major project, when the problem of the domestication of the inherited world systems confronting each Black African regime is viewed seriously. And the salience of the problem is to be appreciated by virtue of the importance attached to the Colloquium as a public policy process and on its outcome. The Nigerian Head of State in his opening of the Colloquium<sup>1</sup> defines the prospects for the Colloquium thus:

I have taken the trouble to develop this analytic framework to enable us to relate the spotlight on the past to our present conditions and aspirations. Only such a work can put the Colloquium in its right perspective. Are we reviewing the past for self glorification, are we

---

<sup>1</sup>Opening Address to the Colloquium of the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture. Delivered by His Excellency Lt. General Olusegun Obasanjo, Head of the Federal Military Government, Commander-in-Chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces, on Monday, 17 January, 1977.

establishing the contribution of Black and African scholars in the past; exhibiting our achievements to give the present-day Black and African a surer footing to make him a better agent of those who control the products of science and technology? I could suggest that the answer to these questions is emphatically "NO". In fact, the Colloquium should be seen not as an exercise in revalorization but entirely as a means of mental liberation.

The Federal Commissioner of Education, Colonel Amadu A. Ali underlines the significance of the Colloquium similarly.<sup>2</sup>

The general theme and objectives of this epoch-making Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture has been cultures and ideologies depending on the angle from which they view the great event. Less appreciated is the place of the Colloquium, a highly intellectual exercise, in the programme of activities of the Festival. It is the most important single item in the FESTAC.

Commander O.P. Fingsi indicates the subject matter of the Colloquium in these words:<sup>3</sup>

The impact of western civilization in Africa created many problems and changes in the lives of our people. Many of these are the problems of new cultural adaptations, and the incorporation of Western traditional values and customs into the African cultures. We have seen also the problems of urbanization which have brought radical transformation of the character of our African social life. Because of these problems and changes in the lives of our peoples, it is therefore very necessary at this time of our existence to re-examine the traditional focus of our Black Civilization and the process of education . . .

In your deliberations during this Colloquium, I will strongly appeal to you to deal dispassionately and objectively with dominant variables that are presently critical in our Black Civilization and Education. No longer should the Black and African peoples of the world continue to be subjected to educational processes which are greatly flavored with western Civilization, Western thoughts, and Western ideologies, while the African cultural ideologies remain neglected.

<sup>2</sup>An address by Hon. Federal Commissioner for Education, Col. Amadu A. Ali, Chairman of the Colloquium on Black Civilization and Education, at its opening ceremony on 17 January, 1977 at the National Theatre, Lagos.

<sup>3</sup>Remarks made by Commander O.P. Fingsi, President of the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture, Nigeria's Federal Commissioner for Special Duties at the Opening of the Colloquium of the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture, Lagos, Nigeria, Monday, 17 January, 1977.

The impact problems of Western civilization are to be put into perspective by the articulation of African civilization. And it is the function of the Colloquium to develop public policy options for the black and African world that would lead to reaffirmation of the black and African cultural originality.

We not only can begin to appreciate the importance attached to the Colloquium but also to appreciate the sense of the crisis of the black and African world to which the creative minds of that world are supposed to respond.

In the formulation of the problem by Commander Fingsi, we see the outline of the method through which the General Report can be understood.

The problems of the black and African world are seen as caused by their experience of Western civilization. A clash of civilizations, African and Western, is assumed at the hegemonic level. The African civilization defined in this formulation also as black, maintains its integrity; while its authority is denied through the imposition of alien will, its existence, and legitimacy, remain implicit in the people. At the social level, Western values are incorporated into traditional values leading to cultural confusion and alienation of the colonized.

Most Black and African peoples today whose education has been rooted deeply in Western Civilization are invariably the products of social-cultural and educational processes diffused with traumatic psycho-spiritual experiences. These experiences often lead to serious personality distortions in the lives of Black and African people of the world. Invariably, such distortions often stifle and reduce objective participation in the Black and African Cultural Milieu.<sup>4</sup>

Consequently at the social level, a differentiation of populations must be made—the Western educated and the African educated have to be separated. The problem thus becomes the re-education and the rehabilitation of the Western educated. But who are proponents of the African civilization, the High Priests who are the keepers of God's secrets and the upholders of His laws and traditions? The description of the problem clearly rules out the Western educated as candidates or incumbents of African hegemonic roles. And if there is any doubt as to the status of the modern western-

---

<sup>4</sup>Opening Remarks: Commander O.P. Fingsi; Opening of the Colloquium, Lagos 17 January, 1977.

educated sector of the black and African world, that doubt is removed by the Grand Patron of FESTAC, the Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria.

When we made our first contact with the merchant adventurers from Western Europe most of our shores became trading posts where primary products were exchanged for processed goods. I would like to suggest that the modification and complications of modern economic organization and exchange apart, our uneven relationship with Europe and now including North America, remain basically unchanged. We continue to be trading posts which supply primary products in exchange for processed goods. The existence of import substitution industries does not detract from this fact. These trading posts are run and maintained by our citizens . . .

These agents can be grouped into four:

1. Intellectual trading post agents
2. Commercial trading post agents
3. Bureaucratic trading post agents
4. Technical trading post agents

The activity of these trading agents constitute impediments to Black African development. Today, our attention is focused on the intellectual trading post agents who to my mind have two common characteristics, that is, they possess abundant imitative capacity and they depend on alien recognition and standards for their status.<sup>5</sup>

The problem is recast by the Nigerian Head of State as one of neo-colonialism. This problem itself constitutes the definition of the black and African world; the vehicles of neo-colonialism are the Eurocentric Western trading-post agents. Both formulations of the problem—one that views the black and African world in cultural terms, and one that views the problem of that world in neo-colonialist terms—are two sides of a coin which defines the value of the Africanized Western world as a problem. What we have to do now is to attempt to clarify the implications of these views in terms of the problem at hand. We shall depict the position to be examined schematically. For the purpose of clarity and analysis, we shall have to focus on the intellectual personality of the authors of the position, not on their hegemonic personality. This is in keeping with the spirit of the Colloquium they were promoting.

<sup>5</sup>Remarks by His Excellency Lt. General Olusegun Obasanjo; Opening of the Colloquium, Lagos, 17 January, 1977.

**Fingsi**

		African authority systems	Western authority systems
Anti Trading Post Agents	<b>Obasanjo</b>	A	B
Trading Post Agents		C	D

Both General Obasanjo and Commander Fingsi would in terms of the problems of the Black and African world view A and D as the two real positions; while B defines the hegemony of Euroamerican world, C defines a self-contradictory reality since the authority systems are also the identity of the political economic interests of the state systems which they define. The fate of the modern black and African world becomes dependent upon the outcome of the conflict between those who advocate the value systems congruent with A which we will define provisionally as Afrocentric, and with D which we will provisionally define as Eurocentric.

According to Fingsi's analysis of the black and African world, the organic intellectuals of value system A would be found in the pre-Western black and African world; the organic intellectuals of value system D would be located in the Western black and African world. According to General Obasanjo the Western black and African world by force of exposure would show the greatest susceptibility to value system D, since the opportunity for corruption is greatest there. The implication even in a view that sees the Afrocentric struggle as a struggle against neo-colonialism is one that by presumption or by default sees the traditional black and African world as the agent of black and African development.

This formulation of the question of the Colloquium itself is problematic. First, it tends to fragment the black and African universe, for that question makes sense only within the black African sector of the black and African world. For it is only in this region that one could begin to defend the assumption of the continued existence of a pre-Western African hegemonic authority system.

Secondly, it suggests a history of hegemony in the colonial experience which violates common sense—it suggests that the African hegemonic systems were in active antagonism to the European hegemonic systems throughout colonialization and enslavement. While the colonial experience supports the fact of plural hegemonic systems, it also shows that the African occupied a subordinate level “trading-post position.” This is the lesson of indirect rule, the lesson of neo-colonialism.

But assuming that this problem did not exist, how are the proponents to be located within the black and African world, how within the condition of active neo-colonialism are they to be vested with the authority of preserving and promoting the sacred in the Black and African world?

With this sense of the issues involved, we come to some understanding of the problems entailed in defining the scope of the Colloquium and of the role of the participants in addressing its goals. We will suggest that proponents of value system A were strong enough to make their definition of the constituency accepted. For in defining the non-Western world as broadly as they did, they could see that in fact the entire Third World can be characterized by the twin ambitions of the liberation of their worlds and minds from Euramerican domination and of the development of an indigenous value system providing an integrated view of the world and the self. Such ambitions can be seen as characteristics of the black world and of the African world.

Such ambitions would in fact make the inherited Western world and Western thought systems problematic and would suggest the theme of the Colloquium—Black Civilization and Education. For, insofar as the Arab African, who is the anomaly in this formulation, is non-European, having also suffered colonial and neo-colonial exploitation, the generic problem of civilization and education in the context of the re-stratification of the Universe of Worlds<sup>6</sup> could be discussed without alienation within the black world experience. Such a formulation of the problem could explain the centrality of the problem of education and civilization. Since civilization defines the symbols of the hegemonic potential and achievement of a world order, since the focus on black civilization is also a focus on the

---

<sup>6</sup>Universe of Worlds because the universe included an inter-world order, the first and the first worlds. (The Euramerican State Systems, the Soviet State Systems, the Sino State Systems, etc.).

hegemonical aspirations of the black world in the context of the historic negation of such aspirations through their inclusion in the Euramerican world order, it suggests in principle a delimitation of world spaces and its stakes out on behalf of the black a claim to hegemony different from and in competition with that of the Euramerican. The focus on education as the vehicle for hegemonic development and transformation in fact presents Education both as revolution and transformation of consciousness. As revolution it suggests a process of recognition of the history of the misrepresentation of humanity within the Euramerican world system, of experience of an Afrocentric sense of the world and of the information of the struggle for world retrieval and world creation with the new sense of essential reality. To be a different world and be the parent of different world makes education indeed the expression of civilization.

If this interpretation is in accordance with the stated goal of the conveners of the Colloquium how can we explain the translation of their goals into the problematics addressed by the Lagos Programme?

By what route did the Colloquium participants arrive at a view of the world in which the problem of the black and African world is one of liberation from inherited colonial state institutions, and of reduction of the traditional cultures to new wines in old bottles, a world view in which the modern state systems are the non-problematics, the context and agents of an Afrocentric neo-colonialist struggle? We begin to see that it is only when the modern state systems in the black and African world have been accepted as the non-problematic context of this struggle, and their existing institutional expressions assumed to be the agents of black and African hegemonic development, that it is possible to see the sub-theme projects as new resources for the perfection of the given, the inherited.

We have attempted albeit by indirection to suggest that the Lagos Programme addresses itself only partially to the problems that led to the definition of the purview of the Colloquium. When the problems of civilization and education are regarded as questions within the process of indigenization, it is easy to see why civilization was defined as culture and education defined as curriculum and pedagogy. The following steps take us to this position. First we assume that the universe is differentiated into the Euramerican

world and the black and African world; second we assume this universe to be structured into identical state systems; third, we assume the hierarchy between the worlds and within the worlds to be an attribute of the national substance of these state systems; fourth, that available to each state are cultural traditions which can be used to develop the national substance; fifth, that the power over one's world and oneself, is an implication of the autonomous cultural development of the national substance. Given these assumptions, it is then possible to advocate basic research into the cultural and African world substance. And precisely because the state systems in the universe are identical, and because the development occurs as these state systems are filled with the national substance, it is then possible to define the black and African world polycentrically, to see through the difference in race and geography, since both are an implication of cultural traditions. And because there is an implicit assumption that development is a state function, precisely because what is at issue is the hegemonic relationship between the Euramerican world and the Black and African world, the state systems in the Black and African world are also seen as the agents of change in the Lagos Programme. The assumptions that we have specified suggest a tendency towards the conservation and entrenchment of the inherited state systems, not their modification; they suggest a grounding of these state systems in national bases to be developed. In fact they suggest that the competition between the Euramerican world and the black and African world can only lead to the success of the black and African world when the latter develop national communities within the unchanging state matrices of the universe and its constituent worlds. The problem of hegemony which seems to have survived in the dialogue between the A and D proponents of the Black and African world, which constituted the crisis situation the resolution of which would secure both A and D, was the problem of the development of national consciousness. When that problem is seen as the paradigm problem for the representatives of the hegemonical institutions in the black and African world it is then possible to see how some of the rest follows. We can then proceed to reconstruct the implied sense of their problems of hegemony thus: the Euramerican world poses a threat to the state systems of the black and African world; that threat is immediately presented as neo-colonialism; the struggle against neo-colonialism requires a war

against cultural imperialism; the war against cultural imperialism entails the mobilization of neo-traditionalism; the developing of non-European national bases through neo-traditionalism secures the state against the political economic imperialism of the Euramerican world. Again what seems to be the kernel of truth that is tightly wrapped in these fibrous containers is the strategy of developing a national consciousness which makes the citizens of the black and African world loyal only to the state authorities of the black and African world. It is assumed that in the hegemonic struggle between the Euramerican and the black and African worlds that what makes the one susceptible to the penetration, conquest, and colonialization of the other is the lack of nations, lack of national solidarity in the Black and African world, and if loyalty cannot be created through the employment of Western traditional materials, then out of the pre-Western traditions the substance of the nation and thus of solidarity can be fashioned. We can follow the argument thus far. But why is the problem of nation and national solidarity not addressed at the level and scope of the problem, at the black and African world level?

If the dominance of hegemony of the Euramerican world is the problem, then the nationality to be developed to empower the citizens of the hitherto enslaved and colonized nations ought to be a black and African nationality. The Euramerican "nationality" that can be inferred is not a state-nationality, it is a world nationality, and it is defined by the ideal of race as whiteness. What then is the world nationality of the black and African world? If that nationality cannot be defined at the state level, at the continental level and at the inter-continental level, what type of world is suggested by the black and African?

Again here the lessons of history have to be heeded. Europe's hegemonic relations to non-Europe from the fifteenth century on has been expansionist, and the African and as well the black world have been the theaters of Europe's expansionism. Where focus is placed solely on European expansionism and not on Arab expansionism for example, it makes sense to define the victim as black and African and to account the Arabs as being part of the oppressed. We must remember that Frantz Fanon, an Afro-Caribbean from Martinique, raised to the paradigm level the decolonization struggle of the Algerian people and presented an experience of the colonial situation which sustained the rebellious in Afro-America

in the turbulent years of the sixties. But such a definition of scope logically should be coterminous with the Third World. In fact, the theme of the Colloquium could then be Chinweizu's "The West and the Rest of Us."

Again we find ourselves stopped in the path of logic by the enduring yet contingent facts of pragmatic hegemonical consideration. A continental frame of reference is adopted on the condition that black Africa invite to the Colloquium its cousins in the black New World; for consistency the rest of the black world is invited. A fragmentation implied by the hegemonic pragmatics ought however not to lead to the country by country approach. It would still have been possible to discern regional identity within the black and African world; one ought to have recognized at the least a black African world, an Arab world, an Afro-American Caribbean world, problems of hegemony defined as caused by the neo-colonialist presence of a Euramerican world ought at the very least to have evoked a response in structural contexts commensurate with the problem.

The country-by-country approach of the authorities in the black and African world suggests a wisdom which has yet to be made explicit. We seek to approach the problem in accordance with the advice of Fingesi—dispassionately and objectively. We ought to ask the question: why the defense of existing state institutions and boundaries through an anti neo-colonialist consolidation of the national base of the state? Could it be because it is increasingly realized that the very least that is required for survival and development in the universe of worlds dominated by the Euramerican world is the national? If this is the case, what is the social science of world creation, universe reorganization, and world and universe rehabilitation that teaches this lesson? Within what institutional matrix would one have to be situated to be in a position to perceive the problem and cultivate a requisite discipline for its solution? Let us again assume that one has to be in fact in a position of hegemony to be in the arena within which the problem is presented and resolved. This would explain the leadership of the state authorities in calling attention to the problem. But if the state systems reflect the history of the remaking of the universe in the very process of the emergence of the Euramerican world and if the history of the modern state systems in the black and African world is a consequence of this remaking of the universe, are not the objective

definitions of the black and African state systems the social formation spurned in the very process of the making of the Euramerican world? Was not the Obansanjo theory that in fact a new class of indigenous brokers was created, the class of trading-post agents through whom the colonies and neocolonies were and are administered? If this is the case may one not ask whose class interests are being secured in the conflict between the Euramerican world and the black and African world?

Again we must assume from the observed consensus between the representatives of the state system in the black and African world that in the arena of state authorities the conflict between the Euramerican world and the black and African world is such that the movement towards indigenization reflects a basic agreement on the anti-Euramerican world hegemony struggle; that the minimum necessary for the development of a common front on the black and African world against Euramerica entails the adoption by D of this anti-Euramericanism because D now recognizes that it is to its own hegemonic interest to struggle against Euramerica. But what is the process of this conversion? What experiences teach the lesson of the incompatibility of the roles of the trading post agent and of the state nationalist; of the importance of a national base for development at a world and universe level; of the primacy of power over loyalty?

Along the route that leads to the articulated consensus of the indigenization question we must infer that what the black and African state systems have in common are similar class problems in terms of a base for hegemony; that the identity in the state systems of the universe of the Euramerican and black and African worlds is to be seen through the class systems that were the vehicle of the Euramerican imperial hegemony—a hegemony that is now being challenged by fragments within what was once an orchestrated class system within the Euramerican universe.

The first challenge of that Euramerican Imperium could be seen as the nationalist struggles out of which the neocolonial states of the black and African world emerged. The second challenge to that Imperium is the anti-neocolonialist struggle which marks the hegemonic climate of the present leadership of the black and African world.

It may therefore have been a sign of wisdom for the practical coherence of the black and African world to have been defined by its characteristics hegemonic problem instead of through a historical

reality presenting a philosophical truth, since at this level cooperation against the common enemy could be achieved. At this level the state authorities divided nationally, regionally, and inter-continentially may have all been listening to Malcom X speaking against the dogmatism of secretarianism in the black American struggle.

We have a common enemy. We have this in common: we have a common oppressor, a common exploiter, and a common discriminator. But once we all realize that we have a common enemy, then we unite on the basis of what we have in common. And what we have foremost in common is that enemy - the white man. He is an enemy to all of us. I know some of you all think that some of them aren't enemies. Time will tell.<sup>7</sup>

It may have been that time was already clarifying the situation and teaching the Hobbesian lesson that in the struggle for power within and between states, only more power guarantees the existence of the powerful. It may also have been a sign of wisdom that in this struggle for power drawing attention to the race question helps to define the source of fundamental danger to the national integrity of the state systems. In this regard Michael Kaufman may be correct in interpreting the source of support the majority of the OAU states have explicitly given to President Mobutu.

In defending his rule, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire succeeded in depicting the troubles in Shaba province as an attack on national integrity and thus touched a chord that resonated in almost every African capital. A few increasingly pro-Soviet countries, such as Tanzania, have mildly endorsed Angola's view that the Shaba troubles are not an invasion by exiles armed by Angola but an internal rising against Mr. Mobutu. But Tanzania did not condemn the arrival of 1,500 Moroccan troops in Shaba (among the African nations, only Angola has done so), and even Soviet-armed Uganda has sent food to Zaire. More and more it appears that African states are rushing to shore up the principle of national integrity in the recognition that if it is undermined in Zaire, the entire map of the continent could be reshaped by small but costly Balkan-style conflicts.

"The sad truth is that they all have their Katangans," writes

<sup>7</sup>Malcolm X., *Message to the Grass Roots*, ed. George Breitman, *Malcolm X Speaks*, Grove Press, Inc., Evergreen Black Cat, 1967.

Michael T. Kaufman.<sup>8</sup> But he may err in his assessment of the hegemonic politics that make the Katagans important to the black and African world. The importance of national integrity not being a variable of size or ideological character may reflect the wisdom that exposure to the hegemonic politics within the Euramerican world imparts. Again we suggest that the rationality of the policy favouring national integrity at any cost may be better appreciated within a social science for hegemonic development, a social science that the incumbent state authorities must be aware of if they are to survive with any degree of autonomy and dignity.

---

<sup>8</sup>Michael T. Kaufman, Other African Nations see a test of National Integrity in Zaire. *The Week in Review*. Sunday April 17, 1977, Section 4, p. 1.



## PART THREE

### Analysis of Working Group Reports

As in our analysis of the General Report we must infer the underlying hegemonic imperatives which constitute the rationale of the deliberations of the Working Groups. It is through these interests that we can relate the discussions at the micro-level of disciplinary expertise, professional competence, and civic commitment to macro-level discussions of cultural policy for the development of a black and African world. As the foci of the sub-themes become increasingly defined by issues within disciplines and sub-disciplines, it becomes also increasingly difficult for the intelligent lay person to intercede on behalf of the larger political questions which make the discussions of experts necessary. Consequently, our comments on the urgent questions of the disciplines will be restricted. Our analysis of these reports, however, must rely on the evaluation of the paradigm knowledge that informs the assumptions made by the experts concerning the reality of the black and African world and that provides the referent for the cultural policies they recommend.

Within this determination of our task we identify the following as the end-state which the sub-theme deliberations seemed designed to achieve:

1. A definition of an indigenous content for the disciplines evoked by the subject matter.
2. A declaration of independence of the proponents of the paradigm knowledge of the subject focused upon, *i.e.*, an effort towards the severing of the umbilical cord from their erstwhile Euroamerican mentors.
3. A staking of claims for the relevance of the knowledge asserted.

4. A staking of claims for the world humanistic relevance of the knowledge of the committed expert in the field.

The defining of an indigenous content for the disciplinary subject matter is supposed to lead to the articulation of an Afrocentric perspective of the disciplines, and, in fact, to suggest a manicheistic relationship between that perspective and those of their Eurocentric authors who are immediately the autochthonous parents of their disciplines. In this way this creation of new contents is a declaration of independence from the "mother" disciplines.

The assertion of the autonomy of the Afrocentric authorities speaks to the question of legitimation and the initiation of the tradition that expresses a new native sense of legitimacy.

The claim to political economic relevance is one designed to provide a link between the state and its educational establishment.

The claim to world humanistic relevance speaks to the presentation of the differentiated black and African world reality in world historical terms and thus suggests a new and less alienated view of humanity.

We will consider the Working Group themes in terms of these four variables and thus assess their contribution to the micro- and macro-level problems addressed through the Colloquium.

#### WORKING GROUP I

##### **Black Civilization and the Arts**

This working group focused its discussion of art on:

1. The problem of civilization and cultural identity.
2. Art as a factor of technical progress.
3. Problems of the history of African art.
4. Problems of the value of traditional and modern art.

The place of art at the core of civilization and cultural reality of the black and African world was affirmed thus:

Art was an essential element of black civilization and its contribution to universal culture. This relationship between art and civilization is so organic that the symbolism of this art enables us to know the structure of the history of our civilization.

While this is a statement of affirmation and affiliation, it nevertheless suggests an external approach to the world affirmed. Thus,

although a new field is defined, the definitions seem no longer to have an organic relationship to that world. The world that is recognized is a world juxtaposed to the European world. The question then is one of describing the relationship between the artists, calling attention to the African world and the artists whose efforts present the African world now recognized. The artist as critic assumes the problematic pose of a cultural nationalist.

We shall see this problem reappearing throughout the sub-theme discussions. It is generic precisely because the scholars as well as the hegemonic authorities of the black and African world view the struggle for development as one of cultural nationalism. Within the cultural nationalist struggle, the African world thus recognized and evoked, must be not only a contrast to the alienating European world, but must also be dramatized as the context of the new history of those who now consciously reaffiliate with it. Because this is the case, we need to know much more than the fact of re-affiliation. To declare what the nature of black and African civilization and art is, not only assumes the problematic, that is, a cosmogonic experience typically black and African, but also assumes the history of that cosmogony within the black and African cultural milieu whose existence is to be explained. For it is in striving to deal with the manifestation of cosmogonies that we can be put in a position to understand the differences in the generic African experience and between the African and the European cosmogonic experience. This will be the case if civilization is presented as the attitude and character of the world, its articulated cosmology, its lineage.

Considered in this light, the definition of the reality of a black African world cannot be a declaration of, but must be a *representation* of, a black and African world through the academic professionals who now call attention to its unique place in human history. Although this is what follows logically if the declaration of the uniqueness of the black and African world is to serve its purpose as a cultural nationalist legitimation of the autonomy of the black and African world authorities, what is in fact the case, is that this black and African world is regarded both as an inspiration and as *data*. The problem of the *re-living* and the *re-presentation* of that world is not frontally approached. The minimum has been achieved; the artist hitherto given birth through European art tradition would henceforth reorganize his concern with art differently, will hence-

forth attempt to re-establish a different tradition. The question of the political-economic relevance of art would be answered in terms of its function as a medium of cultural identity and of its contribution to technical progress.

The working group would also define the importance of artistic education by the itemization of the results expected and already realized from examples out of which the prescriptions were derived. But when the relevance of art to technology is presented as the problem of the development of creativity, the engagement of the imagination in invention of worlds, processes, materials, and techniques, then what is itself problematic becomes the question of artistic education. For, in the argument for relevance, a dichotomy of contexts is suggested; the problematic context is the modern African and black world, and the nonproblematic—the source of the ideals of creativity—is assumed. But if the modern African and black world is problematic, then the process of an artistic education is, in fact, one of re-educating the citizens of that world in a situation that renders them vigorously competitive with their alien rivals. With this sense of the problem, one cannot avoid asking within what institution the nonproblematic would be situated, what would be the demiurgic process that ensures the cultivation of the creative spirit, and what would be the implications of such a view of artistic education for art regarded as a discipline in academia? What is more, one is compelled to ask what would be the relationship of art to society when one redefines the subject of art as the cultivation of the aesthetic sensibilities of a world and of the articulation of the wisdom of that world.

In working towards a statement of a humanistic relevance of the world of African and black art, the working group recognized the need for an adequate history of art and of a philosophy of art for critical research. They also recorded the impact of world capitalist imperialism on the black and African world. In taking into account the disruptive effects of world capitalist imperialism, they make both the modern black and African situation and the traditional black and African situation equally problematic. It is clear, however, that the western European ideal is rejected as a universal and reduced to a historic example with a heuristic function. And yet to make the traditional problematic is to destroy the other polar referent for the articulation of a corrective ideal. Where all the points of reference are problematic, what then is the source of the wisdom that would permit the reorganization of the world?

A good job is done in delimiting the European from the black and African world; henceforth, Europe and its traditions would be a case to be studied. It would not present the universal experience of which African art is a primitive illustration. But even with this limitation, the delineation of the black and African world is not coherently presented. We locate the source of that incoherence in the modern academic who demands the rejection of the authority of Europe as he wants to remain as the authority of the world "carved out" by Europe. This shows that the basic search of the black and African academic artist is not for authenticity but for legitimacy and that the source of legitimacy is not the traditional world but the state authorities of the black and African world. The policy recommendations all lead to the development of a professional base within the modern problematic African and black world for the artist, to an assimilation of the traditional artists into the modern sector.

The result at the micro-level is the enrichment of the curriculum of art education. But at the macro-level there is a complete failure of nerve, for the artist stops short of viewing the modern black and African world as a misrepresentation of an ideal world and his art as a representation of that world. Such a view of art presented would have made art a medium of the revolutionary expression of hegemony and also made the artist a medium of expression of the black and African world. Education in this perspective would then have been one of an indwelling of society in the artist as demiurge. The artist literally would then have given birth to the world. Instead, what we find at the macro-level is the artist presenting the state with a subject matter for a national curriculum on art. Insofar as the artist could create such a curriculum and develop a course of study that would fulfill the requirements of art in a modern educational programme, and thus once and for all throw up a wall of cultural nationalism to keep out the agents of cultural imperialism, the relevance of the artists in the national plan would have been justified. For, unless we assume that the artist does accept his role as an academic, as a state functionary, as the founder of new national curricular traditions, we cannot explain why he does not resume the role of the Demiurge, become the Servant of the Gods, why he does not imagine a mode of organizing the world that would make art an essential element of civilization and cultural identity.

In conclusion, we shall use the problem of the working group on art to call attention to a consensus that is reflected in all of the Working Groups. We shall see that in all the Working Groups the case is made for the reduction of the European tradition to a particular tradition; that the modern African and black world situations will be regarded as deficient, the traditional pre-European and precapitalist regarded as depicting a contrast to the Western and the modern African situation, and also as the source of remediating ideals. Yet the pre-European and precapitalist would be reduced to data, to a possible source of complementary personnel. The pre-European and precapitalist would again and again be assimilated into the problematic modern African and black institutional processes. Thus, one sees how Europe is negated while having difficulty in comprehending what is affirmed in its place and within what context such affirmation occurs.

#### **Black Civilization and Pedagogy**

In this Working Group the topics covered were

1. Traditional education—its nature, aims, and objectives.
2. Impact of western colonization on traditional education.
3. Traditional methods and functions of education.

Following the description of the traditional education presented in idyllic terms, as an ideal model, is the catalogue of what ails the modern educational system. This is the familiar preparation for exorcism. The problematic relationship between the traditional educational system, Western and Islamic, is posited, yet the intermediary situation that requires the articulation of a black and African model or utopian ideal is skipped and one searches in vain for the source of the criteria informing judgments on policy-related matters. Recommendations for the modification of the curriculum at the primary school level would be made; the educational authorities would be urged to adopt African methods of education and problems in their educational systems; the advantage of instruction in the indigenous language in primary schools and beyond would be asserted. Examples of the process of indigenization of the school systems would be cited (Tanzania, Somalis, Nigeria).

While the obvious goal of these recommendations seems to be the nationalization of the educational establishment and the control of the certification process, the intention is, however, to indict the

modern educational system, not to entrench it through indigenization. "As such African systems of education lack aims and objectives in relation to African social economic and cultural realities." But if these realities are the referent, then through what process of analysis do we arrive at the recommendations? If the African systems of education misrepresent the African social economic and cultural realities, is not the task at hand the radical reorganization of these systems, such reorganization to be derived from the compelling state interests of the black and African world thus misrepresented?

Yet the bulk of the recommendations concerning teacher training colleges, pedagogy, the broadening of the criteria for certification, are directed to the micro-level, to the enhancement of the inherited institution. There is also the problem of scope and jurisdiction. The problem posed is black and African; the solution of the problem is left to the nation-state authorities. "There is a great need for reorganization or revolutionizing curriculum. This reorganization will very much depend on the aims and objectives of education as enunciated and identified by the political ideology of each country." One may, at this level, ask whether there are generic problems creating a commonality of interests in curriculum reform or revolution in the black and African world. And if the answer is in the affirmative, as the analysis of the problematic of the African Eurocentric educational systems suggests, then what prevents a common response to that generic crises? And if the responses of each country are so varied as to make a country-by-country approach necessary, why is there no critique of the regnant political ideologies in each country drawing upon a *science of the world* that is problematic and with reference to an ethics of the world that is willed? But if the function of the intellectual is to describe the problematic, to show how a national base can be consolidated, to work within a prescribed interstatism of the OAU, must we then assume as operative a process of self-censorship aimed at the achievement of diplomatic consensus?

## WORKING GROUP II

### Black Civilization and Literature

This working groups takes up the discussion of literature through a discussion of a syndrome of issues. The first deals with the question of the identity of the cosmogonic author. This subject

is taken up in the topic of Africanness and cultural identity through black literature. How is the subject matter to be defined? What is modern African literature, a black literary work? There is an attempt at an attributive definition. But if the African and the black are presentations of cosmogonic consciousness, are the attributes, whatever they may be, iconic, or merely vehicles of expression? In this regard we may also ask whether consciousness is presented or located or instanced in the literature, or whether literature is an 'ingredient' of consciousness.

This problem will be viewed from another perspective, that of nationality. "The nationality of the black writer is defined in terms of belonging. the Black writer belongs organically and physically to the original condition of Negroes all over the world. He cannot remove himself from his condition, nor can he avoid showing it through his language." What then does belonging mean? Is birth in a status condition, that of being negro, a definition of belonging? Is not belonging the realization of hegemonic lineage within the group? Does not a sense of belonging entail the "giving birth to the group"? Is that not what family means, *i.e.*, the son of the group belongs when the son is the "father" of the group, when he assumes cosmogonic responsibility for the group. There is therefore the existential, the historical, the idiomatic which mark and locate the individual, the group, and the hegemonical which relocates the person; this latter process situates the person of the group in the world of authorities within which the process of maturation is brought to its peak, within which the sense of the self in relation to the given world is experienced against the sense of the self in relation to all possible worlds.

Thus while a sociology of knowledge may show evidence of the historical, what is important is the choice of hegemonical personality that constitutes the author's identity. It is in the problem entailed in clarifying the expressions of this identity that the question of the nationality of the author becomes important. Locating the author in a status condition does not answer the question asked. Nor is the shift to a catechetical definition any less satisfactory.

Apart from nationality, however, five constituent elements of Africanness are proposed:

- (a) The writer must be African; he must use (b) traditional themes

from oral literature, (c) African symbols, (d) linguistic expressions taken from African, (e) local imagery, that is to say, images from the immediate environment.

The crucial item in the above is the first, *i.e.*, the writer must be African. This is the problem. We understand the practical sense in which the term is used. He must be black, for a continental definition allows the white boer to declare himself African; but that obvious sense of the term African *merely* delimits the universe within which the research for the African conscious of his African-ness can be conducted. Thus again we come back to these questions: what is the African, what are his or her cosmogonic attributes, what world gives testament to his or her presence?

The working group is conscious of the incoherence of its position

But the presence of these various elements in an African literary piece of work is not enough to lead to the piece of work being considered a success. The author should furthermore endeavour to make use of African oral tradition in an artistic, aesthetic and original manner . . . In short from materials furnished by oral tradition, he should create a new piece of work that is really literary.

This does in fact shore up the position assumed. But it does so by raising more questions than it answers. Why must the author be restricted in the materials through which he seeks his literary definition? Why limit the African to oral traditions? Why define oral tradition as essentially African? For that matter, what is the origin of the "sacralization of oral tradition?" These questions suggest a critique of traditions, a philosophy of the authorship of traditions, and of authority.

If the question to which the working group addresses itself is one of providing a rationale for the claim of uniqueness of the black author and of the world he reveals, we must say that the answers given do not establish the case for uniqueness. Thus, when the group classifies African literature as oral literature, literature written in African languages, literature written in foreign languages, their downgrading of the literature written in a foreign language reflects a bias against Europe. We could appreciate this bias in terms of the cultural nationalist revolt against Euroracialism. But even if the European literary tradition is an implement of Eu-

roracialism, and thus an instrument of alienation, is European language *qua* language the essence of that alienation? Have we forgotten Frantz Fanon's treatment of the changes in attitudes of the colonized to the language of the colonizer during the process of decolonization? But even if cases that remain outside of the experience of Fanon are cited, is this definition of the problem not too parochial? Have we forgotten blacks of the Diaspora for whom the language of the metropole is a native tongue? Is the problem of dis-alienation not a problem of the transformation of consciousness in the process of the re-presentation of the world? Do thought and experience not become different and thus the sense of language as the project of world representation is authentically experienced?

A new definition of Africinity is, therefore, suggested. Africinity is the affirmation of the personality, the identity and the richness of the African way of life in the world literary field. It shows to the world the cultural traits that are common to African peoples; it has domesticated foreign languages and changed them with the specific sensitivity of Africans all through the works of African writers; African artists speak to man and to humanity through a language, images, themes and techniques that belong to Africa. African literature has thus crossed the frontiers of the African universe to become interested in man's condition in general.

This is the claim, the new national and black and African world, the source of a tradition to be developed and defended. But how is the definition to become a dramatic presentation of the essence of the evoked world? Through what demiurgic examples is the world affirmed recognized as the substance of the spirit reflected in all forms of expression, and most especially in the literary ones? Are answers to these questions impossible or has the working group limited itself to marking the boundaries of the realm where the African can become other than the European?

#### **Black Civilization and Language**

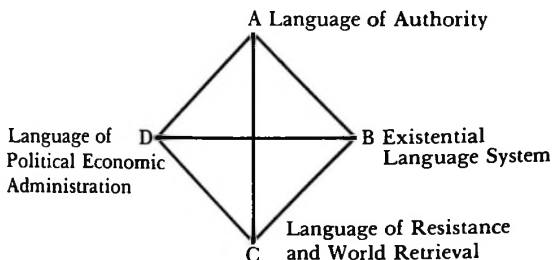
Inevitable conclusions were reached by the Working Group in the discussions of the following topics:

1. African languages and national languages.
2. African language and expression of cultural identity.
3. African linguistics.

The participants agreed that the colonial language situation had

to be changed; that there ought to be language policies establishing national, regional, and black and African world languages; that the business of state, as well as that of society, ought to be conducted in national languages and in the parent languages of citizens. The possibilities of the Africanization of expressions in the post-colonial state were demonstrated through the examples of Tanzania and Somalia. The Somali case, they argued, indicated the benefit of a creative language policy, for it increased the capacity of the state as the policy enabled it to close the elite-mass gap. This group displayed a strong trans-national black African world consensus that ensures that their recommendations stand a chance of being implemented. Among their recommendations were that teaching should be in African languages, literacy campaigns for the masses should be conducted in African languages, publications and dissemination of information in African Languages should be promoted, collaboration in teaching and research on African languages should be encouraged, and efforts at promoting the integration of regions within the black and African world and of that world itself should be made. The language situation seemed to the group to reflect clearly the problematics of the modern black and African national conditions. They suggested that the undesirable and the desirable could be clearly identified, and that the question was one of carrying out the programs that would actualize the desirable. The language policy area seemed to them to be an area in which yeoman pioneering work could be done.

But just as the language situation seems to be the most susceptible to remedial action, so also is it the situation that faithfully reflects the problems of hegemonic transformation which are the *raison d'être* of the colloquium. As we take another look at the colonial situation the problem becomes much more complex. The colonial linguistic situation reflects the black and African world hegemonic history. In that situation one can differentiate the languages of the authorities, the languages for the administration of the colonial states, the languages of self-presentation of the colonized groups within their political economic conditions, and the languages of resistance to the colonial presence and for the retrieval of the worlds threatened by the Euramerican organization of the world. The African linguistic situation could then be schematized thus:



To understand the particular patterns of language situations within the black world, we would in fact have to provide a history of the process of the conquest and integration of the black and African world into the Euramerican world, a process that would entail the assumptions of two opposing perspectives, that of A and that of C. When such a history of hegemonic transformation is presented, then it would be possible to have access to the reasons of state in the very contest in which the state as state emerges; also it would be possible to see through a participant observation analysis the linguistic evidence of the resistance to the the Euramerican imperialism. A description of the emergent structure of the colonial history of the development of that condition. It is through such a history that we could come to understand that the present linguistic situation is the result of practical efforts to organize the universe Eurocentrically. It is in that sense that the present linguistic situations are the results of a Euromerican hegemonic policy on culture and language. The patterns of linguistic situation therefore reflect the policies stemming from the practical efforts to create a colonial condition. Thus, whether English is spoken by the authorities or French, whether the languages of administration be Swahili or German, whether multilinguicity or monolingucity be advocated, all these would stem from the practical efforts at creating the colonial situation. Evidence of the success could provide us with research problems. Yet if the task is not merely to describe the world but to change it, then such research must be conducted from the perspective of the anticolonialist. It is from the latter's perspective that the effort designed to resist fragmentation as the base of the "anti-colonialist state" helps one develop insights into what forces encourage fragmentation, and what forces encourage consolidation of the base. It is also from this perspective that one begins to

realize that language, as expression of state interests, is itself the state, itself the world, a network of institutions.

Thus, the problem for language policy designed to promote decolonization is one of reorganizing and modifying the world presented through the state. Language becomes, then, the reality experienced within the political economy of the state, and, within the state, a reality experienced in the markets of power. The market is, in the immediate sense, the school and field of language learning and teaching. A political sociology of the language situation entails consequently the analysis of the various organizations of the market, of the materials, skills, and processes co-ordinated within the market. Whoever organizes and controls the markets and the relevant processes of production within them also organizes and controls the immediate linguistic situations within these markets. In the absence of such a frame of reference and analysis, we lack a historical understanding of the process through which languages are institutionalized and, what is more, we lack the concepts for the recognition of the patterns of linguistic situations associated with particular histories of hegemonic transformation. Once the language problem is seen as an aspect of the problem of hegemonic transformation, we begin to see how the logic of that process is reflected in the history of the Euramerican universe. It is in this respect that the linguistic situation of Quebec is very instructive:

Language in Quebec is a political and emotional issue and this aspect has just been highlighted by publication that French is the province's only language. . . . English, the language of most Canadians, as well as that of an economically dominant minority in Quebec, is being relegated to a secondary position. But this comes after centuries of *degradation* of the vocabulary and syntax of the French language. How Quebec uses French as an instrument of cultural expression and national identity has thus taken on new importance and this is expected to be reflected in new and more vigorous school programmes. . . .

"Our first priority in education is the strengthening of French as the mother tongue," said Jacques-Yvan Morin, minister of education, in an interview. . . .

There is general agreement that the French that should be taught is what is usually referred to as 'standard,' one that despite local variations in accent and expressions is common to and understood by the world's French-speaking. But this is not the French of some of the young people. Many a French-speaking youth, when describing the good time he has had, is apt to say "C'était le fun." . . .

The *corruption* of the language reaches its most acute form in the case, in such urban industrial areas as Montreal, of a patois known as Joul, a mixture of French and English that is incomprehensible to those who speak only French. It is a proletarian language, and some radical teachers have sought to make it a national tongue instead of the standard French that they consider the instrument of a repressive bourgeoisie.

The education minister said Joul should be respected. "But I refuse to make it an official language," he said. "It is the language of economic subjection and colonialism."<sup>1</sup>

The Quebec situation presents the paradigm situation whose structure is not only reflected in the language experience of the black and African Disapora, but which also provides ways of identifying the conflicting hegemonic interests reflected in the linguistic condition. In the case of Quebec, that condition is the consequence of the hegemonic history of mercantilist France and England, and it is through the expression of their imperial interests in the formation of the Canadian nation-state that the enduring institutional forces reflected in the Canadian language situation are to be found. The hegemonic history of Canada becomes the parameter for a political sociology of the language situation and is the referent for the conflicting cultural policies on language. The Quebec case is consequently a methodology on linguistic research. As such, it enables us to situate the problem of language in the project of state-nation development, and enables us to appreciate the dynamics of the linguistic condition. It is an approach that enables us to avoid what comes close to new wines in old bottles aphorisms, just as it enables us to appreciate the political economy of cultural policies.

From another perspective the fact of the evolution of multi-linguicity among the French of Canada indicates a process of cosmogonic interventions. If a language is the evocation of a world, then the act of speaking Joul is an act of invention, a genesis of a world. It is in the same sense that the transformation of the imperial French into the colonial French and the reorganization of the colonial French through class interests suggest different efforts at the evocation of the world.

<sup>1</sup>Henry Giniger. "Checkez Les Brakes? A Tough Job Ahead for Quebec Schools," *The New York Times*, April 15, 1977.

What these remarks suggest is an anthropology and sociology of cosmogonies. It is through these disciplines that we can begin to appreciate the process of the integration of cosmogonies which are the expressed interests of state authorities. When these lessons are applied to the black and African world, we have a multidisciplinary approach that is comprehensive enough and enables us to develop a philosophy and history of hegemonic transformation. Phenomena like creolization, pidginization, and syncretism are then put into their active hegemonic context. Because the prevailing preoccupation of the state authorities in the black world center on the problems of the integration of their respective political communities, an epiphenomenal approach to the language problem is unacceptable. It is in the same sense that language policies in these contexts cannot be viewed as an input function within the state's activities.

The problem is the role of language in the development of hegemony, and that makes the subject of the cultural policy the state itself. It is, in fact, when the state is the problem that the interrelationship between language as cultural expression and language as an index of civilization is most intensely realized. When the agenda of the working group assumes that the state is the context and agent of cultural policies, it assumes the problematic, and, in fact, puts itself outside of the conditions within which the cosmogonic vehicles of language expression and development can be scientifically delineated. What we need to understand and regard as referent is the language of authority and power of the state systems of the black and African world, and what we must fathom are factors that compel these state systems to reconsider their hegemonic and linguistic identity. These compelling state interests cannot be assumed—they must be specified, for they are in the final analysis the problematics of national or pan-black and African cultural policy.

### WORKING GROUP III

#### **Black Civilization and Religion**

Has black Africa been merely the arena of exogenous world religions or has it also, in addition to being the recipient of world religions, presented a black African religion to the world? The Working Group saw black Africa as contributor to the world

religions as it sought to get to the heart of this question through the consideration of the following topics:

1. The present situation of traditional religion in Africa today.
2. Nature and elements of traditional religions.
3. Impact of traditional religion on civilization.
4. The place of revealed religions vis-a-vis the African society. What is autochthonous to Africa is presented as vitally present in the contemporary black African societies.

The African traditional religion is living, even in the towns. In other words it is current, present, and active in the minds of individuals and in the relationship of collectivities. It coexists with Christianity, Islam etc. These varied religions are represented in concrete forms by edifices: ancestral altars, churches, temples, mosques, pagodas, etc.

To confirm the existence of African traditional religion is not only to attest to the existence of a world which religion defines and sustains, but also, insofar as the African contemporary situation is marked by a plurality of world religions, to contrast that world with the worlds expressed through the Christian and the Islamic religions. What, then, is the African traditional world, the Christian world, the Islamic world? What is the relationship of these views and worlds in black Africa? What is the history of this relationship?

The belief system of what is confirmed and affirmed as the African traditional religion is presented:

Everything in the universe is living and powerful; belief in two worlds, visible and invisible; hierarchy and interaction of the two worlds; transcendence of the sacred and invisible world; vital and fundamental unity and interdependence of beings. Amongst these are the Supreme being (Creator), spirits including those of the ancestors, cosmic and telluric forces. The cult of the traditional religion is essentially the cult of the Supreme being, of ancestors, and protective spirits. The religious is expressed through mystic and symbolic language (letters, members, names, colours, etc.)

To present the belief system is, however, not to identify the world reflected through the beliefs or to indwell in the cosmogonic events through which the essentiality of these beliefs is revealed. How then is one to understand the truth of the following claims made on behalf of the authors of the African traditional religion?

African traditional religion activates all aspects of African culture or civilization. It is a fundamental, central element, the dominant

aspect, to such a point, that one can say that the African religion is a spiritual religion. In the process and procedure of education of individuals as members, citizens, subjects, religion intervenes, laden with the project of man and society.

If the above is a correct description of the African religious mentality, then the history of the penetration of the world sustained by that mentality by the exogenous world religions, Islam and Christianity, becomes a problem to be explained. For it is one thing to assert that the African traditional cosmogonic experiences deserve to be called religion as opposed to superstition or animism, to contrast this religious world view to the Islamic or Christian, to argue that it is relevant to a sector of the black African world; but it is yet another thing to explain how a black African world space totally defined through the traditional African religious mentality becomes reorganized so that it is now expressed through the African traditional religions, Christianity and Islam. If African traditional religion activates all aspects of African culture or civilization, how was it possible for the authors of that world religion to be available to the foreign world religions? If the centrality of religion to the African world view were assumed, would not a foreign world religion have been a fundamental challenge to the foundations of that African world? Would one not expect that the penetration of the African world by the foreign world religions would imply the "falling-apartness" of that traditional world? And that the consequent plurality or ecumenicalism would by definition constitute the evidence of the chaos in the African traditional world?

The working group seeks a reconciliation of history and assertions thus:

In so far as all religions are always integrated in a culture, the Christian, Moselm and Jewish religions are foreign to Africa because, historically, they are not, like the traditional religion, moulded in the African cultural values. But seeing that they had been *accepted* by the Africans, they ceased being foreign, just as the art of writing, although imported from Europe, is no longer regarded as foreign. That being part and parcel of the struggle for the liberation of the continent, the problem which should arise or which could be created is not that of the origin of, nor the problem of where they belong, nor that of the difference in content, but that of the possible recuperation of religion by oppressors whose interests are opposed to those of the peoples (i.e. we refer to the use of religion by racists). On

the other hand when a religion constitutes an element of cohesion, national unity, of resistance to the invader and an element of enlightenment and education at a universal level to the people (like Islam in Mauritania), it is therefore in the service of the People. . . .

In the quest for religion, one should start with the African traditional religion as a foundation, while the Moslem and Christian religions should in the light of the African traditional religion be indigenized, adapted, acclimated or incarnated. That meanwhile, the need to criticize the African religion be always present in the minds of Africans in order that the latter may be purified and adapted.

Let us attempt to separate the several obviously contradictory positions that are mixed together in order that consensus on the religion question in contemporary black Africa be reached. In Arab Africa, the question of consensus is of no importance. What may be of importance is, the question of the toleration of the religion of the minority, the question of the separation of the Mosque and the State, etc. It is obvious that the two positions on the question of unity and dignity, that serves the People, is the people's religion Islam and Christianity within black Africa are presented in juxtaposition; what is expected is not an integration but coexistence. The first position is presented in the opening statement; religion is culture-specific; there is an African traditional culture, therefore Islam and Christianity as expressions of non-African cultures are foreign. The culture policy which assigns primacy to the African traditional religion derives its authority from the first position. The second position secures the status of the "foreign religions" by their acceptance by the black African; this position grounds its authority in the proposition of relevance—a religion that acts as a source of unity and dignity, that serves the People, is the people's religion irrespective of its origin or difference in content from the old religion of the People.

Both positions, however, assume the problematic, for the issue is in fact not a matter of ecumenism, religious toleration, or relevance, but in fact the process of the intrusion into the African religious mentality of alien religious mentalities. A history of the hegemonical attitudes of the evangelizing authors of Islam and Christianity to the African religious mentality shows that the proselytizing agents of Islam and Christianity did view the African religious sensibility not only as foreign but as heathen, did not conceive of

the problem as one of co-existence or ecumenism but as one of substitution; that the state systems founded upon them had no institutional place for the African traditional religion. Thus, if the African traditional religion survived, it survived in spite of the authorities of the state, in the "apartheid" world of the "infidel." If there is therefore to be a revalorization of the African traditional religions through the state authorities, that process may legitimately be viewed as a struggle between the state authorities in "cultural values" alien to the African traditional cultures unless such a process of revalorization can be said to emerge from the *authentic* acts of disalienation of the African traditional religious authorities. And since in matters of cosmogonic expressions there can be no action by proxy, the only valid position to be assumed must be that of the African traditional religious authorities. One may assume a relationship of sympathy and/or compassion between the African traditional religious authorities and some segments within the modern African state authorities. But given the definition of the African traditional religious world view, the crucial question to be asked is how the African traditional religions could survive the destruction of the world they created and sustained, for if the world expressed was an organic world in which all participated in the sacred, the "corruption" of the part is the "corruption" of the whole; the "conversion" of the part is the "conversion" of the whole. What is then to be explained is the nature of the African traditional religion in the context of its contact with Christianity and Islam. What is it that is living, even in the towns? What is it that is current, present, and active in the minds of individuals and in the relationship of collectivities?

If the African traditional religion sustained the world as a cosmogonic enterprise, then authority in the African traditional world must reflect the cosmogonic, the Supreme Author of Universes in general, and of the African traditional world in particular. If that is the case, we must consequently determine the nature of the sensibilities that are characterized as culture and civilization. Assuming therefore that the African socio-political system is a reflection of the cosmogonic, that authority in such a system is therefore sacred insofar as socio-political relations represented the on-tophanic and hence define sacral relations, the availability of the authorities of that system to thought systems that are both foreign, manicheistic, and imperialist is itself the primary problem. The

impact of colonialism on a people defined through the African traditional religious mentality requires a *cosmogonical explanation* of the colonial experience insofar as that experience entails a battle between two worlds. Given the assumptions of antagonistic relationship between the African and the Christian colonial, what then is the implication of the victory of the Christian, the Islamic, etc.? Does this not suggest the death of the African? If not the death of the African, through what cosmogonic reorientation of the African can we explain the facts of accommodation, conversion, syncretism? Would such explanations not assume the position and the point of view of the cosmogonic hero of the African world enterprise? And if the impact of the colonial experience is described thus:

It should be noted, by the way, that the destruction of religious structures and more so, the dislocation of religious authority has engendered disorder; encouraged the over-exploitation of forests, waters or countrysides; provoked anarchical, uncontrolled and arbitrary occupation of land (might is power); created a moral and economic crisis (fall in production, emigration, social conflicts, accusation of witchcraft, etc.) . . .

are these not consequences of the failure of the cosmogonic hero to project the African through the alien European and Arab cosmogonic enterprise? If the actualization of the cosmogonic hero as a world authority defines a world in which all relationships articulate his sacred essence, his religion must inform all of life and all in life. His essence would

. . . control organization concerned with the production, exchange, distribution of wealth, and the satisfaction of needs. It achieves this through the establishment of a legal system based, notably, on taboos related to days of certain activities (for example, fishing): connected with moral conditions to be fulfilled before the accomplishment of certain activities (for example, sexual continency on the eve of an important fishing or hunting expedition); related to working techniques and tools etc. . . .

Religion for the life, and religion of the life of the African, in all his moments, that is present in the African when he is to give birth, eat, drink, bring up a man, travel, die in order to be reborn; the traditional religion is, as a doctrine, a means of equilibrium of man with himself, with society and with the universe . . . [presents] a reference of codes of conduct, of an ethics for the protection of society.

The world and/or the world view, therefore, defines the African. If such an African is to be represented in the modern post-colonial world, how does one relate such an African to other variants of the African? In fact, could there be variants of the African where the African is presented in such cosmogonic form? And if the authority of such African were dislocated through the colonial experience, such a fact would mean in truth a triple dislocation entailing

1. Cosmogonic confusion amongst the devotees, i.e., chaos in its most fundamental form.
2. The "imprisonment" of the cosmogonic heroes in the worlds of the alien gods or their "exiles," their alienation from the "New World" of the alien heroes, both of which negate their representation through the traditional African devotees.
3. The crises of identity of the African ensuing from the god-abandonment of the world in which the hitherto African through his participation in the *Ideally African* now seeks self-realization.

If what is problematic is the African, and if the African is an expression of the institutionalization of the cosmogonic hero whose essence is the *Ideally African*, is the fact of the "conversion" of the African to Islam and Christianity not itself a consequence of the *prerequisite alienation* of the African from his Africaness—a spiritual dismemberment prior to a grafting to an alien stem? If one were not to see the Christian and Islamic African as a graft, deriving life from a system alien to the African cosmogonic essence, as a form reflecting a light of spirituality rather than expressing and giving of spirituality, must we not return to explaining how the African in the world he engendered came to be represented in a variety of spiritual essences? Does not the problem of conversion suggest a problem of internal integration of the African, the Christian, and the Islamic, in a process requiring the submergence of these cosmogonic heroes in the source of all sources? If in the final analysis the foreign religions become the expression of local religious sensibilities, must not the perspective of the indigene converted be assumed? Would conversion as already posited not entail as consequence the bridging of the cosmogonic differences in the *revealed* religions, African, Islamic, and Christian, through a realization by the converted of the declared or revealed path of the divine from within the source and out of the source? Would it not necessarily

entail a cosmogonic critique of the African, where the conversion of the African to the Christian is suggested, a critique that is not theological or doctrinal, moralistic, or philosophical, but one that represents a process of enlightenment, of a consciousness transformation that leads the seeker to the source of sources where all manifestations are understood as truths or misrepresentations of the essentially divine? Where the African in contact with the Christian or Islamic remains African, would that also not suggest a cosmogonical critique of the Christian or Islamic world views in a similar process suggested by the logic of conversion? Would not the fact of other world views *recognized* as other world views competing for his attention require a journeying to the source, not for confirmation, but for a realization of the truth of all manifestations? Would not the reaffirmation of the African mean, then, a realization of the identity of essence between the truth revealed in isolation and the truth revealed in contrast with the alien? Would reaffirmation not by definition entail *modernization* of the African as it also suggests its universalization inasmuch as that process implies the definition of the Christian as either false consciousness or an implication of the African?

It is precisely because the problem of conversion is very much at the heart of the transformation of consciousness problem that one cannot sidestep the process of the indigenization of foreign cultures through foreign religions by recourse to the political argument. The political argument based upon the relevance of the foreign culture to the nation-state building enterprise already assumes the fact of conversion or assimilation, the fact of enlargement or of truncation, for conversion as we define it entails enlargement and assimilation truncation. In either case, conversion or assimilation, the problem of origin is very much a matter of importance in the establishment of the world emerging from *culture contact*. Either the province of the foreign is widened to include the indigenous or the province of the indigenous is widened to include the foreign. In both cases, there is a widening of scope; the crowding effect suggested in the ideal of religious ecumenism assumes a process of assimilation and, thus, a foundation of alienation for the subsequent world. That a foundation of alienation may support a superstructure of moral habits merely describes the paradox that the quest for disalienation, if not supported by an appropriate epistemology of cosmogonic conversion, may itself perpetuate

alienation by making it the only reality, the only dimension of consciousness available. It is through such a process that the fate of unhappy consciousness becomes a veritable hell.

An emphasis on a philosophy of religion based upon an epistemology of cosmogony articulated through an anthropology of religion suggests that assimilation as opposed to conversion occurs as a process of reduction, as a process of the overthrow of a world and its point of view. Such a process is of necessity violent, and the violence experienced is cosmic as well as cosmological, it is an offense of the soul, and in the soul, and it cannot be justified by the subsequent history of the people. The achievement of an authentic cosmogonic experience is denied a people thus de-natured. The wound to the soul must be laid bare by the removal of the super-structural accretions and accommodations. Thus one must go back to the source of the trauma. (We are familiar with the Western process of the relation to a source, to infancy, in modern psychiatry.) This going back to the origin of the cosmogonically traumatic is a process of healing. But healing occurs as the traumatic is transcended, and the going beyond takes the seeker again to the source of all sources. It is the understanding of the significance of all manifestations including the actualizing and the alienating that puts into perspective the alienation of the victim and the victimizer. Thus, a new beginning is possible and the re-emergence constitutes in fact a rebirth. It is in this healing process that the critique of all faiths leads to a delimitation of the world of betrayals, and of misrepresentation. A process such as that described must of course, in a context where contemporary state practices of Christian, Moslem, and Judaic civilizations are grounded in racist moralities, be extremely dangerous for black African societies assimilated into these religion if they seek to examine the problem of religious conversion radically.

In fact the perception of the problem of conversion in the first place requires the realization of the self-alienation entailed in the fact of assimilation. The rejection of the commitments brought into being through self-alienation implies standing outside of the history of the process of self-alienation, the reduction of the hitherto sacred to the problematic, and the courageous negation of all aborted attempts at world creation. This process of moving from the perspective carved out by the experience of assimilation to that bounded by the experience of conversion calls for the development of world competence in the cosmogonic anthropology of religions.

The study of religions in the sense presented above goes beyond the issues addressed thus:

To be precise, the study of traditional religion by linguistic methods is very prolific (study of myths, legends, tales, proverbs, taboos, rules etc.). But it renders quite unuseful approaches that are structure-functional, ethnological and archeological. But for better results, an interdisciplinary approach is more advisable.

Where religion is the manifestation of the source and where manifestation may or may not be misrepresentation, the subject of religion itself becomes the realization of the source, the instances of such realization; the history of religion must consequently be that of the articulation of the experience of the illuminated from the perspective of the illuminated, from within the experience of illumination. The study of religion from this approach engages all of being; it entails indwelling-in-the-sacred, and indwelling-in-the-source. It is the *expression* of the knowledge of the source that requires the interdisciplinary approach, for that which is to be expressed being an instance of the world requires all that is available in communication to communicate it. Insight into the sense of that communicated, however, can only be achieved through an act of initiation.

If the study of religion, thus, in the final analysis, is a process of initiation into the experience of the cosmogonic, the study of African traditional religion must become a process of initiation in the cosmogonic experience revealing the African traditional essence of the source. That experience becomes also the process of the definition of the African traditional world and of the African traditional humanity. A study of the history of the world cultural contact of the African becomes, consequently, a study of the interaction of worlds sustained by the authors of those worlds from the perspective of the African situated in the Source. The unalienated and through him the disalienated African define African traditional religion and the history of his-being-in-the-world-for-others and in-the-world-of-others. In the context of the alienation of the African the existence of the African as African becomes problematic, and where the African is problematic so also is the history of his being as African. The realization of the historical African as problematic, however, posits the African as ideal, a search. The positing of the ideal in itself assumes the possibility of the actualization of

the ideal. That possibility becomes realizable through a process of a cosmogonic research of the history of the African. Since cosmogonic research by definition is mediated *understudy* of those reputedly wise in the ways of the divine, the source of all sources, the supreme creator, the problem confronting an anthropology of the supreme creator entails notions of proof that go beyond notions of verification. The problem of an epistemology of the supreme creator suggests a discipline for the critique of authorities.

How is authority criticized? How is the truth in authority recognized? These are the questions that make the study of religion fundamental to a critique of civilization and culture, to a critique of the humanistic foundations of the black African world and of its relations to other worlds. The study of religion is therefore always a study of comparative religious experience, a reflection upon the instances of illumination, a study productive of cosmogonic insight only when study becomes once more a baptism, a submergence in and re-emergence from the source.

From this perspective a concern with the African traditional man is a concern with man in *particular* relations to the source of the universe of worlds. It is as that particular relation is defined with the source as referent that the source as god appears as the African, and that appearance defines the African world. When the particular relation is defined with the universe as referent, the African appears as man, for the universe either represents or misrepresents man.

Thus, the study of the African traditional man must of necessity begin with the generic experience, both cosmogonically and cosmologically. The dimension of the African traditional man, as the source manifested, incarnated, and institutionalized, is the universe defined most concretely through the African world. Within such a frame of reference a concentration on the African traditional man avoids the pitfall of ethnocentrism and relativism as it becomes a quest for the understanding of the relationship of other world religions to the African at the source of all sources. It is through such a research into the cosmogonic emergence of origins that the generically African is appreciated in the plurality of emergence that collectively presents the African, that the place of the African in the history of world religions is secured. The concern with the racial history of Pharaonic Egypt, the exegetical investigation of its Holy Texts, the comparison of these with subsequent Holy Texts of the Jews, the Christians, the Moslems (the Abrahamic Religions),

suggest a filial relationship of the Abrahamic religions to the Pharaonic; what is more, in presenting the Pharaonic as an important instance of African traditional man, the terms of discussion become radically altered.

In fact, what becomes crucial is the Abrahamic, through such studies appears to be grounded in the Pharaonic (a contrast of the Egyptian Book of the Dead to the Holy Texts of the Jews, Christians, and Moslems gives credence to this position) is the history of the state systems that were expressions of these religions. Where a history of common origins provides no ethics of inter-state or inter-world relations, where the "son" not only denies the paternity of the "father", but also presents the "father" as a primitive abortion of the source, an atavism, the state as an expression of institutionalized alienation becomes the primary problem. From the African traditional religious point of view it is the history of African traditional world relations from the beginning that constitutes a perspective upon the problem of the state, its civilization and its culture as alienation. Insofar as the concern with African traditional Man is an authentic one, then such a concern must also lead to the placing of the world systems associated with the African in a context of the search for the Ultimate Essence.

To attempt to create a respectability for the African traditional, to revalorize it as an ideological reflex of indigenization, is not only a revelation of the nature of the authority of the neotraditional "son", but, in fact, is a revalorization of cosmogonic alienation. It is as the radically cosmogonic is accepted as the goal of the search for the grounds of authority and, thus, of identity, that the modern African can express the universe through the African traditional with its particular character. Its particular character becomes a world order that is a witness to the unalienated Demiurge reflected in the citizen as the essentially human. It is the human represented that attests to an articulation of the humanities with a different cosmogonic accent. When the modern African speaks of new possibilities, speaks of African socialism, this is an intimation that the humanities associated with world civilizations that threaten to reduce the African to an implication of their systems as the consciousness of their institutionalized authorities are alienating. And it is because of this fact of cosmogonic alienation that there is a need for a different beginning. When the modern African is compelled to assume the responsibility for a different beginning of the universe, such a research into the origin of origins must be mediated.

The bringing into the present of the wise ancestor, the omnipresent, the immortal, is a modernization of the ancestor, for it is the world problems of the modern universe that compel this quest for a different beginning. When it is recommended, the process of re-affiliation with the source through the wise ancestor must be assumed to have found expression through a newly illuminated, through a new defender of the faith. In that case, there is no talk of exaltation but of recognition, for the illuminated, the enlightened must be perceived as such, and when that is so it is the secular authorities that then *humble* themselves through their reabsorption in the enlightened one. It is in the process of that reabsorption that the liberation of the people becomes a necessary implication of disalienation, of communion with the enlightened and with the source of all enlightenment.

African religions be exalted and placed at the service of our society and of man in a liberation perspective, with regards to the foreign spiritual domination and vis-a-vis the contemporary African problems. That religion in this sense should stir up the body, aid the spirit, (the struggle against hunger and underdevelopment). That to achieve this, an African liberation theology should be formulated in the people's fight for freedom. . . .

It is in the process also that the African in African socialism takes its substance and meaning. Insofar as the African is essentially religious, socialism becomes an expression of the unalienated human in political economic relations with others in the world that present themselves as sacred participants in the source. This affirmation of religiosity within the political economy of the world delimits the attitude of the European or non-African to the religious. It also suggests that the institutionalization of the world in the process of a program of disalienation cannot be reduced to a process of the articulation of a particular effort of disalienation. When that effort appears to be itself a partial resolution of the problem of disalienation, the opportunity for more wholesome resolution of the problem must be left open.

The African insistence that the political economic morality can become the goal and medium of religious expressions cannot be negated by reference to a history of the European experience with the cosmogonic; that experience should be understudied and regarded as heuristic. The truth of the African point of view in comparison with the European must, however, assume a process of

integration within the source, and a process of differentiation in the articulation and criticism of the source as instances of manifested divinity. In this process, Africa may have a lot to teach Europe concerning the rehabilitation of the historized universe. But such an Africa must be a cosmogonic project, and it is insofar as that project is a collective project that the contemporary collections of states and peoples described as African become African through their commitment to the African. When such is the perspective, the modern African becomes both the context for the manifestation of the African and for its articulation. To recognize the necessity for the realization of the African is then to recognize the necessity for the redefinition of the universe, to take the given universe as the problem and to assume the responsibility for its representation.

We are forced by the scope of the enterprise to see for the first time the magnitude of the problem that compels an interest in black civilization, both as a project and as a prospect, for it is precisely because the black is not at home in the universe that the search of necessity entails the going beyond this particular universe. Within such a redefinition of the problem, the concern with ecumenicism and the indigenization of the alien become epiphenomenal, and symptomatic.

With such an understanding of the problem, we must inquire into the process of the retrieval of worlds, and the rehabilitation of universes, and seek to delimit the constraints that compel the African to make these tentative epiphenomenal forays into the realm of the primordial source. For it is only insofar as these constraints are identified that a program of education in consciousness transformation can lead to the development of the potential, and thus to the expression of the source in the African. It is also through such a program that the continuity and discontinuity in the cosmogonic history of the African, past, present, and future, can be discerned and made the contexts of initiation into a course of study of the source. And as the source becomes the fountain of African hegemonic morality, a social system resembling the ideal projected into the past can increasingly become a fact of experience of the modern African world.

### **Black Civilization and Philosophy**

This sub-theme Working Group covered the following topics;

1. African wisdom and philosophy.

2. Philosophy and cultural identify.
3. Ethical, social and cultural problems.
4. The problems of an African philosophy and of the teaching of philosophy.

In the discussions of 1, 2, and 4, above, the core of the problem is identified. The Working Group sought to provide an answer to the following questions. How can African philosophy and African philosophical world be presented so as to be distinguished from the European? What is the impact upon African philosophy and the African philosophical world of the colonial experience?

As a preliminary step to answering these questions the subject matter of philosophy was defined as Willed Existence. Philosophy in their view was not the apanage of any people, Euroracialist ethnological and philosophical anthropology notwithstanding. This is the aggressive position asserted for the African's concern with philosophy in general and his philosophy in particular. Let there therefore, contrary to Hegel, be an African philosophy and a research into African philosophy because there is an African philosophy.

We can read it in our tales and legends, our myths and riddles, our proverbs and sayings. . . .

Philosophy in the cultural sphere, appears as the basis, the guide for individual and collective praxis. . . . all these philosophical concepts transmit wisdom and experience accumulated over centuries by our people, and they have been able to *preserve almost intact*, our truest values despite the cultural aggression of the colonial period.

It is this fact, as the argument goes, which makes it possible to identify the African world in contradistinction to the European world, and to recognize the African in that world.

All philosophy is that of a given epoch, of a given class, a given society whose realities it reflects and contests. By both an internal and external definition of the realm of philosophy, the interests it sustains and assumes, the African is asserted and the European is delimited. But there is still a problem, the identity of the African. In the first position affirmed, the cultural character has been preserved "almost intact . . . despite the cultural aggression of the colonial period"; Africa's truest values had survived the holocaust experience. In the second position the impact of the experience is presented quite differently.

Nevertheless, the colonial system has brought almost a deep and serious rupture in the process of normal evolution of our society as much on the economic, cultural, artistic plane as on the philosophical plane. This system has denied our people of *all sense* of culture and civilization. But the African peoples, despite the colonial eclipse, never suffered a loss of personality. . . .

If, therefore, colonization (and this is an historical fact) has denied the African the possibility of all coherent system of thought, of all philosophy—total independence, fundamental *reconversion* of mentalities, sense of responsibility and the sense of history become an indispensable condition of the exhumation of our philosophy, our system of thought and its total bloom.

The two positions asserted for the status of the African world and its reflective philosophy appear to be contradictory. On the one hand the vigorous survival and resilience of the African and thus the continuity of the African world are asserted; on the other, the calamitous impact of the colonial experience on the African world, the consequent demoralization of the African, is presented as an historical fact. How must one reconcile the two positions?

When we consider the hegemonical political issues that underly the whole discussion of the colloquium, the seemingly contradictory become reflections of different faces of a single political problem, a single political platform. The first plank of this platform is recognized as the delimitation of the European; that is done on behalf of a tradition of philosophy which is asserted as non-European, but African. As a corollary, the European is presented in relativistic and political sense. The act of genesis is ideological. This ideologization of the origins of the world and of its organizing philosophy enables the vigorous accomplishment of the delimiting of the European.

But the delimitation of the European does not necessarily imply the definition of the African. If the European is to be delimited, the African must be presented as a lived world with hegemonic interests that sustain its deliberation on the wise ways to develop its view. To assert this world, and yet take into consideration the truth of the history of the African experience of the European, creates the problem of internal consistency. Yet this problem is judged not to be as dangerous as the problem of European world aggression and of European imperialism. The African must do battle against the European for the fundamental reconversion of mentalities and for the achievement of total independence. But who is the hero of the

African world, who contests European hegemony in the domain of the African? Can it be the people denied all sense of culture and civilization? No. An African world reflecting a cultural identity and integrity has to be assumed. Thus, the people are presented at one level as deprived of all their sense of culture and civilization, and at another level, as having successfully maintained their culture and philosophy intact against the European aggression. At the textual level, when existence is considered as past, the African lives "in our tales and legends, our myths and our riddles, our proverbs and sayings." But *within whom* does the African denied at the hegemonical level of cultural identity live? In what institutional corporeal structure is this sublimation of will achieved? This question is answered yet not answered because a stand has been taken by the group that the values of the African that survive are extant in symbolic form in the data that are evidence of the historical African. The fact of past existence seems to be enough to assure a present and future existence for the African. This alone is the boundary between the European and the African, for it shows that the European was once a particular system of thought. But what of the present circumstance of the world? Is the European now the context of existence of the African? Has the once foreign become the now dangerously malignant context of the African's existence? If the past of the African serves as the ground of existence of the present African, what is the hegemonic and cosmogonic connection between the past African whose existence and reflection provide the legitimation for the present African? Is the present African a class or a people? What are the interests that are sought to be developed and preserved through the "exhumation" of the past?

These questions asked imply a criticism of one of the two perspectives the Working Group has employed as a net to catch the elusive African. African philosophy cannot be a world within which the anti-imperialism anti-decolonization struggle is waged, cannot be the battle zone when it is reduced to the *res gestae* of myths, legends, and riddles. Curricula in African philosophy may derive materials for reflection on a particular stage and phase of the African world from the *res gestae* of African ancestors. But if the relationship between the past African and the present African is hegemonically continuous, then the problem of African philosophy requires the presentation of an African world with a continuous hegemonic history. Its philosophy of history becomes the subject matter of reflection and thus of academic philosophy.

African philosophy, to be continuous, must also sustain the representation of an African cosmogonic experience within changing hegemonic situations. It must describe the representation of that experience of the colonial situation. We must at this level become part of the drama of genesis and re-generation. Thus, what is to be defined is the cosmogony of the problematic universe within which the past African in dying transmits the cosmogonic essence of his world to the son who is thus able to wage a war for the sustenance of his lineage. We cannot remain external to this process, its meaning cannot be perceived through data collection. One must resume one's place in the drama of genesis. To present the tradition defined as the African, the root, we must begin at the beginning, become *one* with the ancestor and undergo the ordeal of his birth and of his rebirth, the ordeal of his death and of his resurrection. It is as gods and sons of gods that the awful beginnings of traditions are to be experienced. It is in this role that we can begin to speak to the emergence of the cosmogony of the problematic universe of our worlds, the European and the African, to give expression to their cosmological problems, since we become participants and communicants in the ritual of renewal through new beginnings "*outside*" of the begun. It is as participants, as initiates, that we experience the dangers of reabsorption in the heroic experience of the beginning which is also a preparation for death before the awful unknown. It is as sons of God or Gods incarnated in the ancestors that a lineage path to the source, and through the source, enables the concretized intelligence to become once more dissolved in the primeval without the permanent loss of individuation.

This is the method for the definition of foundations and boundaries, for the recognition of the keys which reveal the cosmogonic meaning and power of rites that too often degenerate into customs and *res gestae*. The subject of the times and thus of all forms of reflection is the drama of the gods and what Wole Soyinka says concerning the producer is equally applicable to the African philosopher whose attitudes to this drama are being described.

The difficulty of today's agent of a would-be ritual communication (call him the producer) is that, where the drama of the gods is involved, his sensibility is more often than not that of an enthusiastic promoter, very rarely that of a truly *communicant medium* in what is essential a 'rite of passage.' To move from its natural habitat in the shrine of the deity, or a historic spot in the drama of a people's origin, or a symbolic patch of earth amidst grain stalks on the eve of harvest, to move from such charged spaces to a fenced arena at a

Festival of Arts, or even to an authentic shelter of the god only adapted for tourists and anthropologists alike; this constitutes an unfair strain on the most even-tempered deity, and also on the artistic temperament he shares with humanity. This is not simply a question of truncation, such as the removal of the more sacred events from profane eyes. The essential problem is that the emotive progression which leads to a communal ecstasy or catharsis has been destroyed in the process of re-staging. So this leads us unintentionally to the perennial question of whether ritual can be called drama, at what moment a religious or mythic celebration can be considered transformed into drama, and whether the ultimate test of the questions does not lie in their capacity to transfer from habitual to alien environments.<sup>2</sup>

This question takes on more immediacy if the drama of the gods is in fact our own "rite of passage" to the awful beginnings for an understanding of the wisdom of the world, a process of the rooting of our existence in the source to permit a state of existence Soyinka described thus:

Where a society lives in a close inter-relation with Nature, regulates its existence by natural phenomena within the observable process of continuity—ebb and tide, waxing and waning of the moon, rain and drought, planting and harvest—the highest moral order is seen as that which guarantees a parallel existence of the species. We must try to understand this as operating within a framework which can conveniently be termed the *metaphysics of the irreducible*: knowledge of birth and death as the human cycle; the wind as a moving, filling, cleansing, destroying, winnowing force; the duality of the knife as blood-letter and creative implement; earth and sun as life-sustaining verities, and so on. These serve as matrices within which mores, personal relationship, even communal economics are formulated and reviewed. Other "irreducible" acceptances may evolve from this; for instance, the laws of hospitality or the taboo on incest, but they do not possess the same strength and compulsion as the fundamental matrix. They belong to a secondary category and may be contradicted by accident or human failing.

The profound experience of tragic drama is comprehensible within such irreducible hermeticism.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Wole Soyinka, *Myth, Literature and the African World*, 1975.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

These fundamental matrices, the metaphysics of the irreducible, are the externalized evidence of cosmogony, and when the rites of passage are to lead to an exhumation of the sacred, then exhumation in effect means not the resurrection, nor Orpheus daring the journey to the netherworld, but the process of illumination through the cosmogonic lineage of the incarnated source, the ancestor, the root that is also the branch, a reabsorption in the source of all sources. Plato's Myth of the Cave is an allegorical description of this process. Knowledge of the incarnated source revealed cabalistically makes the fundamental matrix a sense of the truth of the source, and it is only as an experience that the cosmogonic potency of that matrix is realized.

When this is the object of the African philosopher in search of "roots," the fact of lineage in this cosmogonic process becomes crucial. If the contemporary situation of the African philosopher brings home, in the views of the Working Group, then in effect what is to be done is the re-presentation of the world through a resumed individuation that the transcendence of the problematic universe through the return to the source permits. The African philosopher no longer is the systematizer of the living evident in the dead of data but a sacred *Vehicle of the Illumination*, a medium, a priestly connection between the source and the historical. And the field of that philosopher is the world, the problematic historical. The problem of that philosopher is the world, the problematic historical. The problem of that philosopher becomes the critical analysis of the origins of that world, within a cabalistic history of the origins of worlds, since what is to be given birth to is the Essential Good, the Essentially Good, which this world misrepresents.

the fact that reason and justice are far from having triumphed in the world, what these concepts connote being, according to the interests at stake, in complete opposition; that the relationships between man and woman, races and ethnic groups, social classes are equally far from being harmonious. Our peoples are still engaged in the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism in order to achieve for everybody a life of liberty of culture, shared responsibility and happiness. We are fighting for the fundamental necessities of man, for a life of true democracy. Philosophy must apprehend these problems in all their totality so as to ensure a collective vision, to bring out the values and promote the different forms of expression and practices in the interests of our peoples.

The immediate question of African philosophy must then be how this world is to be re-educated such that all can have immediate access to the Source, to the philosophic experience as a cosmogony. Is this not the question of wisdom and thus of cultural identity? Are answers to these questions not the fundamental matrix through which the African evoked in this passage from the report of the working group could give expression to his world?

All living and unifying/enlivening reflection on African philosophy should emanate from the depth of our Africanness, that which comes from the common history of African peoples and people of African descent everywhere in the world. Only this Africanness which is entrenched in our cultural values offers the guarantee for the preservation of our being in the ever increasing process of social and economic progress.

The common history that can yield a sense of a common Africanness is not the profane history of racial subjection, of racial exploitation. This common history of subjection is the context of the experience of the cosmogonic oneness of African peoples and peoples of African descent. It is the history of this cosmogonic oneness that in short teaches the lessons concerning the place of this world in the order of manifestations of the source, that teaches us the meaning of the limitations realized in our place in this world and puts that instruction in the context of our identity with the source, and thus explains why this world is an education in destiny. It is this history which also teaches us the method of educating our world, of putting this world in the realm of possibilities and enables us to refashion our architectonic will. It also helps us realize the relationship between the African peoples actualized through the will; thus, it helps locate the species within the generic family as it situates the latter in the roots of the source. Africanness from this perspective becomes an internal experience which carries the relationship of the African to the universe of worlds, because it defines the parental relationship between the African and the father of the African, the source of all universes. The realization of this parental relationship occurs in the process of the redefinition of the universe through a new sacred opening, the African.

African philosophy and African religion are thus two attitudes of the source concretized in the African. This is why the working group can make the following statement;

Resolutely directed towards the real, African philosophy is seen as a moral, a metaphysics, a cosmogony, *theory of knowledge* and its own logic.

Externally the African is delimited by the individuality of the authors of non-African worlds. It is this contrast that makes the other worlds an environment of the African. The sense of reality emerges as the cosmogonic problem remains central. But when the comparison between the African and the European is argued through a seeming contrast in the language of the African god and the European god, as a contrast between two modes of expression, a degeneration towards the epiphenomenal is detectable.

Thus going from Europe to Africa [one] also passes through one form of philosophical language to another. Here we find an enterprise more and more distinct by conceptualization and formalization; there it is a form of language many aspects of which are still to be discovered. The refusal of the Western world to recognize a philosophical thought in Africa is partly caused by this indifference. This formal difference does not unfold itself into indifference to the content. In fact, the analysis of the systems of African thought, myths and proverbs, bring out a problematic which refers us to a set of themes well known in classical philosophy such as freedom, responsibility, duality, existence, solidarity. . . .

. . . In the same way this difference would not be able to establish itself on the mode of knowledge used for perceiving the real—and which would mean that the African rely on intuition, emotion and imagination to the exclusion of reason.

This line of argument reveals the problem of the academic philosopher of African origin. The African philosopher whose existence is immediately reason, whose world when it reflects the source of *all* historic sources is the manifestation of the actual in the rational and the rational in the actual, must experience the European philosopher as either wise or ignorant as the latter reflects the truth of the source. The question of the African justifying the source before the European, or seeking legitimacy in arguments that show the African as identical to the wise of classical philosophy, could never arise from the perspective that views philosophy as the expression of cosmogonies. The cultural nationalist arguments of the academic philosopher of African origin are used to justify a claim to equality with the European, and as such, to subsume the African *res gestae* as subjects of European philosophi-

cal traditions which *only African academics can teach*. We must, in due respect to issues raised by the African academic philosopher, deal with the problem of the confrontation of the African philosopher and the European philosopher at the cosmogonic level, in the plains where gods do battle.

If this role of the African philosopher, the messenger of the Source, thus a god of the source, is to manifest a democratic humanism, it must be seen as a role which is the manicheistic opposite of that of the European philosopher that views the African as the vehicle of expression of the naturally enslavable. The African academic philosopher would argue for equality with the European imperialistic philosopher in the hope of creating a liberal democracy permitting the equal exploitation of the world which the exploiting European philosopher engenders. This attitude is the fundamental betrayal of the African philosopher by the African academic philosopher, for it fails to realize the *raison d'être* of both the African philosopher and the African academic philosopher. The African philosopher as the agent of a democratic humanism stands in opposition to the European philosopher. In asserting the will to be human in an enforced involvement between the European and the African, the African does not, on the cosmogonic plane, assert that will in the European world. That world, *i.e.*, the European, insofar as it purports to universalism and appropriates the right of the non-European to total independence of spirit, is a misrepresentation of the human. And it is because the European actively resists the expression of the contrary that the African emerges as African in the first place, as one with a different understanding of the universe, and thus, one with a different understanding of the cosmological relationships between the worlds defining that universe.

The existence of the African is consequently a transcendence of the European which, because it is actively defended racialistically and imperialistically, must be cracked at its foundations to permit the African cosmogonic seed to sprout. The emergence of the African must of necessity be through the earthquake that compels the reabsorption of the European into the awful beginnings. It is thus in the establishment of the world that the difference between the European and the African emerges through the African—for it is the case that the European world, insofar as it is an expression of an imperialism, is one that stands for the negation of the African. The denial of a philosophical identity to the african by the Euro-

pean is a necessary outcome of the manicheistic attitude of the European to the African. It is as the African realizes that the European cannot even speak for the European, let alone for the European and the African, that the African taking the European as the model of a misrepresented universe becomes a model for the truth of the universe, a model with which the African can educate and re-educate the world, and which the European may use as an example for its own rehabilitation in the human.

This perspective cannot lead to a policy which seeks the privilege of equality between Neo-African traditionalism and classical European traditionalism. It can only lead to privilege of duty that the African by destiny in the European world assumes for the expression of a new and awesome beginning through a people *almost annihilated cosmogonically* within the Euroracist world. It can only lead to a recognition of the near escape of cosmogonic death, of the almost realized possibility of permanent entrapment in Limbo.

When the European world is viewed as purgatory, as Karma, then the agenda for modern African philosophers and modern African philosophy cannot without being reduced to a travesty be exclusively what is thus presented by the working group.

Our answer to this is that the formulation of African philosophy must first of all be associated with the reading of ancient texts which stem from tradition, with a view to assimilating them in a framework of constructive criticism. What is thus to be done is to take stock and gather all items of tradition with a view of deciphering their symbols, in order to make their message understood by ordinary people. But beyond this, there is the compulsory work of making conceptual systems and formulas. It is only then that we can really become the owners of the spiritual wealth contained in our cultural heritage, the African spiritual wealth, this missing link that is to restore the continuity in the universal history of ideas.

Seen in the above light, African philosophy will not amount to an ordinary restoration of facts, and of locally accepted beliefs. The African philosophical Truth must rise to universal height. It is therefore less a matter of African philosophy than that of philosophy in Africa, expressed through the cultural cannons of people from Africa and diaspora.

We are also to draw up a balance-sheet of the various experiences of our peoples in their nationalist struggles against colonialism, and in their endeavour to build new nations. So that each crucial period of our history is associated with one or many philosophical systems, expressions of situations, of needs, and helping to understand the

period in a critical and dialectical manner, through a language that would really be philosophical.

A formalization, systematization of the *res gestae* of the past philosophers in the context of contemporary problems of an Afrocentric agenda of nation-building cannot "restore the continuity in the universal history of ideas," cannot make the history of philosophy in Africa a development of the philosophy of the world if it does not begin with a critique of the cosmogonic consciousness of the African and of its spokesman, the African academic philosopher. An agenda which assumes the European cosmogonic consciousness and attempts the indigenization of that consciousness cannot be a serious program of the development of African philosophy and of world philosophy through African philosophy. It could lead to the professionalization of philosophy, to a justification of departments of philosophy on African artifacts. But if the agenda is to be a prelude to the most dangerous research, the research into origins, the systematization of ancient African thought must lead us back to the primary location of resistance to the cosmogonic will and intelligence of the African, to the zone of combat within and without, where the African seeks a re-emergence with the Source; back to a process where all the worlds begun are once more put in his possession so that he can be enabled through these traditions to refashion a world more faithful to the truth realized in the source, a world that becomes the truth's mirror to the universe, a mirror to the cosmogony yet to be realized. When academic philosophy is made the preparation of the initiates within the context of the program for the retrieval of the sense of the demiurge, then it serves its sacred function in the struggle to re-invest mankind with the divine in the persons of the Wretched of the Earth.

It is this realization of the implications of the struggle for re-investment that defines the moral function of philosophical research, for the problem of philosophy is then seen as the problem of going beyond the misrepresentation of the world, no matter how well secured that world is. Questions in the realm of the ethical, social, and cultural receive their precise answers within the fundamental matrix only insofar as the event that beckons to the compassionate lover of wisdom is the rite of passage into the realm of the gods who present moments of the actualization of the source. We begin to see in the deliberations of African philosophy how the cosmogonic problems of the African tear asunder the European and compel a recognition of stature that reduces the Afrocentric and

Eurocentric cultural nationalists to Lilliputian dimensions. We begin to see the dimensions of the problems which philosophy takes as its field of concern and what in truth philosophy is, we also begin to realize the excitement of the open frontier quality of the African and the African world, to appreciate the distance between the academic representation of that world and the cosmogonic representation of the same.

#### WORKING GROUP IV

##### *Black Civilization and African Governments*

In this section, the problem of coherence is both a problem of the nature of the frame of reference for the organization of the Working Group's deliberation, and also the problem of the nature of the discussions within the adopted frame of reference. The acceptance of *government* as the most salient definition of the state implies a history of state development within the black and African world, which ought to have provided the criteria for the selections of the categories for organizing discussions within this working group, and for presenting the recommendations of the same group. The categories for organizing the discussions, however, indicate no philosophy of the history of state development and as taxonomic devices present a scheme in which each item considerably overlaps the rest.

The discussions centering on African governments in general; African systems and modern governments; African government systems; and ideology, party, and political education ought to have suggested the categories for presenting the recommendations. But the listing of the following issue areas as pegs for hanging policy recommendations is an eclectic one:

1. Moral guidelines for political organization.
2. Modern administrative state machinery.
3. Ideology.
4. Political parties.
5. Economy.
6. Other related institutions.
7. The military.
8. African political systems.

That eclecticism is a symptom of a vagueness of understanding of the history of the evolution of the world systems which gives significance to the subject matter itself. What is at issue is much

more than an editorial dispute, for a report that presents the major actor in the African scene, Arab as well as black—*i.e.*, the military—as residual assumes both a philosophy of history and a social science of hegemonic development that are *prima facie* problematic.

That this may be the case is not immediately evident in the method of deliberation adopted by the Working Group, *i.e.*, one of concentrating on issues. The effect, however, of the philosophy of history and social science of hegemonic development assumed by the Working Group is evidenced both in the details of the Working Group's deliberations and in the types of recommendations resulting from these deliberations. The issues discussed by the working group suggest analysis of questions falling under the following problem areas;

1. The nature of modern African state systems.
2. Structures and institutions for the development of hegemony.
3. Revolutionary projects of state and/or nation building.
4. Problems of national development.
5. Matters of historical research.
6. Social science of and for hegemonic development and determining the conditions of hegemony (issues of stability, etc.).

The Working Group's concern with the first problem area falls into the general pattern of the Colloquium's preoccupation. The legitimacy of the modern African state system is called into question both because it is seen as a caricature of its parent European metropolitan state systems, and as a system that represents an African "caretaker" elite. The lack of originality and authenticity in political imagination and institution development is copiously commented upon. Their analysis of the origin, structure, and function of the modern African state system is, however, also a process of re-valorization. The European metropolitan state systems, as well as their African offshoots, are presented as negative ideals. In the same process the traditional systems are suggested as possible political resources, institutional ideals, or political foundations. This then becomes the basis of their concern with historical research into traditional state systems for the purpose of articulating a relevant policy science of state and nation development.

What is secured in the process is a carving out of a geopolitical space to be organized in accordance to ideals that are the negation of the inherited Eurocentric state systems. By this *act* new foundations

of authority are to be established, and through these an authentic African political system generated. What is articulated in the critique of the European state system either in its original milieu or in Diaspora (black and African) is a black and African nationalism. That nationalism we have seen as the source of the ideals of indigenization whose various manifestations have been reflected in the recommendations of the working groups. The preoccupation with traditional African systems, the pre-European system, taking a cultural form, we have termed the strategy of cultural nationalism. Nowhere are the problems of cultural nationalist struggle presented with all its ramifications as in this Working Group. The cultural nationalist strategy takes the apparent form of a critique of the modern European state system both in Europe and in the black and African world. The European system is judged to be a system of alienation and thus one which misrepresents political personality of the human as citizen.

Yet it is the modern state condition, reflecting the authority of the European system, which is accepted axiomatically as the context for the research into the paradigm of state authority. In other words, while the question of the paradigm of political morality is posed and answers for this sought within the modern state system, that state system which that condition supports is seen as the agent of the institutionalization of the non-European that is supposed to be its antithesis. At the philosophical level a contradiction appears. If the critique of the European is valid, then the European cannot be the context and agent for the actualization of its contrary. However, when the critique of the European is seen as a process of the affirmation of the African as contrary, as a *technique* for the delimitation of the African and the actualization of its cosmogonic independence, the contradiction disappears. As an act of will the critique is a negation of the European, an assertion of individuality. But what is in fact affirmed? The right of the modern African authorities to organize for themselves without reference to the traditions established by the Europeans. Within these narrow limits, there are no problems of consistence and/or contradiction. For the danger to the modern African state system must be assumed to be external, Euramerican. The stratagem of indigenization becomes a response to this external danger. If this is the case then the problems spoken to are problems of the resocialization of the black and African citizen.

What then is the cosmogonic example for the resocialization of the black and African citizen? How are the authorities within the black and African world to be represented so that they could be seen as reflectors of the African cosmogonic example? How is the citizen to see through and beyond the Eurocentric state symbols through which the African as world engendering is now presented? In other words, where state authority is founded upon control of institutions such as the bureaucracy, the armed forces, political parties, control of the means of capitalist production, etc., how is the state system thus represented to be seen by the citizen as essentially African? Can it be the case that the process of resocialization instituted through the exploitation of the traditional system, the putative non-European, is one of asserting a principle of authority in which the African has a generic claim of authorship? In other words, can it be that the technique of indigenization is designed to ensure a *cultural pride* in the basis of authority, in the principle of the legitimation of the modern African state system?

What we are suggesting by these questions is that the concern with Europe is not primarily a negation of the European state system but a pincer strategy in which on the one hand the modern state authorities in the black and African world re-affiliate themselves with "a different notion" of authority, and on the other hand create a complementary "psycho-cultural geopolitical space" in which all Africans find a source of cosmogonic pride. As our comments show, the process of reaffiliation is a virtual or an apparent one, the rhetoric of the ideology of *authenticite* notwithstanding. This is the problem with the neotraditionalism of the cultural nationalist. For the reaffiliation does not imply nor entail the rehabilitation of the modern within and through the traditional African system, nor does it suggest a process of the re-education of the modern within and through a black and African system that both relates the traditional African and the European and presents a higher state of ethical development of the human as world citizen.

It is also not clear what hegemonic policies for loyalty development can be derived from this strategy of cultural nationalism, since the realm of the cosmogonic in which the African as actor is essentially identical to any other human is a psycho-cultural zone of sublimated symbolic gestures. The problem that is addressed only moralistically in the catechetical listing of the moral guidelines of a future black and African world is the political-

economic relationship between the European state system and the ideal black and African source of political legitimacy. If the European state system within the black and African world functions autonomously, does this not mean that the black and African ideal world becomes immediately relevant only on the psychological plane as a tactic for achieving a commitment to an Africanized European state system? And if this is the case, does the problem of the development of an anti-European nationalism not remain one of modifying the functioning of the European state system through the generation of political-economic policies that in fact begin the democratizing of authority within the European state system?

To pose such a question is to assume a philosophy of history of the development of the Euramerican world within which the problem of black and African nationalism emerges as the prime task for the authorities of black and African state systems. Why then is the question of nationalism discussed mostly in neotraditionalist terms, and ahistorically? to see the problem of the development of black and African nationalism from this perspective is to see that problem in the light of the history of the world development of Western capitalism, since it is within this order that the issue of the democratization of the Western capitalist hegemony creates the structural preconditions for the articulation of the nationalist ethos. It is as the black and African world becomes the most recent candidate for world capitalist development that the context for the analysis of the relevance of the response of the black and African regimes to the challenges implied in their ambition can be evaluated. What must now be done is to relate the cultural nationalist strategy to its originating condition and context through an explication of the social science for world capitalist development. It is the absence of such a conscious discussion of the social science grounded in a philosophy of history of Western capitalism that makes it difficult for the Working Group to avoid treating the problem of cultural nationalism epiphenomenally.

The importance of the statement made above is brought out more clearly in the group's treatment of the problems of ideology, party, and political education. It is also in this section that the shortcomings of the moralistic approach to hegemonic development are most clearly shown. For the group to interpret its task as that of providing moral guidelines to the regimes in power is to forget that those regimes are already an expression of a moral

system whose further institutionalization creates the problem of political development in the first place. The Group provides a model for a black and African party in the following:

[Any] type of government is always based on ideology. Every state organized itself and this organization is done on the basis of ideology. Most countries in the world have made the choice of ideology that they find relevant to their conditions.

Ideology is capable of enabling people to break out of their underdevelopment. Our ideology has to incorporate African values of solidarity and brotherhood. It has to be an ideology that allows for maximum participation in political process by the people, i.e., peasants and workers, for these groups form the majority of the African population. Our ideology must be built on reality, it should not be detached from the people. It must aim at liberating our people not just from colonial and racial domination but from all forms of oppression including forms that exist in our state systems.

It must give possibilities for progress. Such ideology *could be African socialism* where the major means of production would be owned by the state but where freedom of expression, of debate, of criticism, of intellectual research, intellectual expression of ideas would be respected and guaranteed. Devotion to providing a high standard of living for the people would be rigorously pursued and terror, undue coercion, imposition of leaders on the will of the people would not be tolerated. The ideology has to be committed to total liberation of the African people from want, from indignity, from oppression.

But it is important for the ideology to be realistic in taking into account the very nature of the African society. It has to recognize that Africa is a plural society and that institutions that exist among ethnic groups can be adapted to modern conditions. Political organization on party lines has to espouse the concept of *consensus* which existed in many of the African societies but consensus should not be mistaken for unanimity for the latter is impossible to achieve.

We have to be careful that political parties that exist or will come into existence do not exist for only electing or recruiting elites to political power. Political parties must champion interests of the peasants and workers and in general all groups. Aspirations of the masses must be reflected in political party programs. Elections per se do not lead to elimination of oppression. Political parties should not be organizations that exist for organizing elections only. Self-criticism, i.e., internal self-criticism, should be permitted by political parties. Scholars (African) must take part in this debate.

If we find dialectical materialism and historical materialism

useful in analysing our conditions of development, we must adapt them, and we should not be afraid to do so. Basics do not change, although the particulars often do.

We have presented the model in its entirety so that we can examine it item by item and call attention to the structures of the assumptions upon which it is based. What state of affairs would make it necessary for the obvious to become problematic? Why would it be necessary for attention to be drawn to the elementary nature of ideology? Is it that the operative authorities deny the relevance of ideology to the presentation and experience of political reality, that they present political debates in a duality that makes the status quo organization sacred and the opposing world view ideological and thus profane? Or could it be that within the status quo world, ideology had been given a bad name, making it necessary to reopen the question of ideology through recourse to the realm of political metaphysics? Furthermore, why is the question of the choice of ideology raised? Is the working group assuming that the authorities of the black and African world are uncommitted, that they have not chosen an ideology? Or is the question really being asked of a critic of the ideology already chosen?

When the Working Group describes one of the functions of ideology thus: "Ideology is capable of enabling people to break out of their underdevelopment," is this a relevant question? Is the implied question a critique of the ideology already chosen and institutionalized, one that in effect negates the goals which such ideology was designed to actualize? If it is the case that an alternative ideology to the one chosen is being recommended ("Our ideology has to incorporate African values of solidarity and brotherhood,") what is the ideology that is being rejected or modified? Or, if it is said that the black and African world is yet to be articulated and that what is to be done is for an ideology to be recommended to a political community yet uncommitted, what is the condition of that political community that would prepare it to recognize the proposed ideology as relevant to its hegemonical needs? When the values of the ideology recommended are enumerated, does this procedure not assume a system of institutional interactions defining a condition to be modified, a process of political education resulting in the actualization of chosen goals, a form of political organization that in fact is grounded in a social science of hegemonic development and an information system that

enables the maximum cultivation of the intelligence necessary for the "liberation of our people not just from colonial and racial domination but from all forms of oppression including forms that exist in our state systems"? If this is the case, is a critical examination of the contemporary conditions of the African not a necessity? Can one assume that the situation is an open one? Could it also not be the case that what is recommended is a *counter-model* and that the institutionalization of the same implies a revolutionary transformation of the status quo? In other words, if the state systems adopted are incapable of achieving the hegemonic goals of the African in competition with the European, through what mechanisms is the counter-ideal to be instituted, through what tradition of intelligence gathering, analysis, and evaluation are the advantages of the proposed ideal to be estimated? But if the proposed ideal were shown to be capable of liberating our people from colonial and racial domination and incapable of liberating the same from all forms of oppression including forms that exist in our state systems, what forms of compensatory or equilibrating institutions would have to be devised to incorporate the goals of solidarity and brotherhood in the African state system? Through what hegemonic agency is the new order to be instituted if the contemporary state systems are in themselves part of the problem? And if the contemporary political situation is one already structured in accordance with a value system defined as oppressive and exploitative, why is the ideology recommended—African Socialism—presented tentatively? Is there no information concerning what is the case, its quality of life, etc.? If such information exists, for whom does it constitute evidence of the transformation of the status quo? Are the advocates of change external to those in power? Are they the wide chosen to point the way out of a problematic political existence? Even if they have not been charged by the governments with formulating a master plan for hegemonic development, why do they not present their opinion categorically? Is it assumed that political existence is unstructured and that order emerges interactionally? Or is this tentativeness a reflection not of a liberalness but of confusion, a tugging and pulling in contradictory directions?

The relation between authority and freedom in a world organized in accordance with African socialism is presented. But without a morphology of the world rejected and the world proffered, how is one to understand the nature of alienation within the world,

the type of conflicts generated within that world, the recognized structures of conflict resolution within the same, and the tradition of wisdom that enables the authorities of that world to realize the truth and thus achieve a re-education and reorientation of the political community? In other words, if the morphology of the world relates the way of life (capitalist or socialist) to the institutions of security (the armed forces, the police, the intelligence community, etc.), the institutions of hegemonic expression (political parties, business institutions, unions, armies, etc.), and the institutions of conflict resolution (courts, legal establishment, police, etc.), is not the order thus defined the context for the evaluation of the quality of life, the meaningfulness of the ideology chosen, the history of the effort to transform that order in the light of the criticism of the same? If terror, coercion, and elite rule are to be proscribed, within what context is the recommendation made? What organization of hegemony permits the expression of power and authority in alienated and unalienated forms? What condition makes it immediately impossible for the extant authority to reflect the will of the people?

When it is recommended that the ideology be realistic in taking into account the pluralistic nature of the African society, what aspect, what nature of the society is being defined? What in fact makes the society African? What form of hegemony is presented in the African? If African state systems are in the main organized for the development of a capitalist way of life, is this commitment not the immediate context for the recognition of the function of social institutions, for the determination of the quality of the social formations of the capitalist way of life in the African situation? And what is more, is the significance of the African situation as a new context for Western capitalist development not one more clearly appreciated within a study of the development and evolution of the Western capitalist world? Can it without distortion of the truth be treated ethnographically as *sui generis*? Or, put differently, if the context for the evaluation of the significance of institutions either as media or as resources of hegemonic development in the black and African world is the Western capitalist world order, does this fact alone not suggest that what is regarded as an essential nature of the African society is in fact no longer essential, that it has in truth become an ingredient in the process of the development of the chosen way of life?

What is suggested here is the value of comparative hegemonic politics. Within the same genre, differences in species can be appreciated; such differences may in fact become resources in the actualization of the generic. Where the particularities of Europe are intelligently organized to represent the European, capitalism in Europe assumes a different aspect from capitalism in Asia (e.g., Japan), where the same care is taken in the ordering of the way of life. Is it to this basic administrative fact that the Working Group refers in the following passage?

But it is important for the ideology to be realistic in taking into account the very nature of the African society. It has to recognize that Africa is a plural society and that institutions that exist among ethnic groups can be adapted to modern conditions.

One suspects not. Reference is being made to the mode of hegemonic order in the African society. In the process a duality is created. The modern is contrasted to the ethnic and the ethnic is to be revalorized. It is to be seen more as a resource than as a problem or as a residual category. But what is the modern if it is not an underdeveloped sector, a periphery of Western Capitalist World Order. And if the African is a sector of this order, is the question not one of asking how capitalism is organized within the African sector, how capitalist hegemony is presented within the African periphery, the function of ethnicity for the presentation of hegemony in that setting? Does this not suggest the Western capitalist world order as the context for a more specific analysis of the capitalist organization of hegemony in the African situation? And can such analysis proceed without an understanding and utilization of what we present as the social sciences of hegemonic transformation, administration, and legitimation, where the first deals with the genesis, evolution, and sustenance of a world system, the second deals with maintenance of the world within a context of a universe of worlds, competitive or contrary, and the third deals with the process of the development of commitment and loyalty to the world institutionalized? If the political party is viewed as an agent of world development, are not the capabilities of the party to be judged in terms of the history of world development, the tasks assumed within the order chosen as ideal? How is the value of consensus and unanimity to be discussed unless in terms of the traditions of knowledge and information cultivated within the tasks of hegemony assumed by the African.

Put differently, the meaningfulness of the recommendation that the concept of consensus be sought can only be operationalized as ideal *in the process* of the African's effort to actualize a way of life. If the concept of consensus is to be deemed relevant, that relevance has to be demonstrated. And how is relevance to be demonstrated if it is not against a background of a history and theory of capitalist development in general and in contrast to significant cases of capitalist development in particular? And where the party is viewed as an agent of transcendence, as a medium for the development of a new world, that of African socialism, does not this fact itself suggest an examination of the history of similar cases of transcendence, such as the Russian, Chinese, Cuban, and Chilean experiences, for an understanding of the nature of the problems entailed in that ambition? Is it not within such comparative analysis of relevant cases that one begins to realize the difficulty of struggling against programmed responses and that of ensuring a faithfulness to cherished values?

The assumption made by the working group that the future is a *carte blanche*, an uncharted frontier of possibilities, enables the working group to be eclectic, to give advice concerning the value orientation of parties, and to suggest methods for the maintenance of objectivity in the pursuit of goals. The thrust of our questions, however, is that the black and African world is already part of the Western capitalist order, albeit a peripheral sector of that order, and that the relevant hegemonic problems within that sector are problems of either the actualization of the capitalist ambition or the transcendence of the capitalist order. In either case, the discussions concerning the issues of development must not only be within the appropriate social science, *i.e.*, that of hegemonic transformation, but also within the relevant world experience, *i.e.*, that of the emergence of the Euramerican world both as context of the development of and competitor to the black and African world.

It is within such parameters that the critique of the colonial and post-colonial efforts of black and African political communities for equality with the metropole can be made. Thus the subject of analysis may be the party, the bureaucracy, the army, etc. It will, however, not be illuminating to point out their shortcomings in terms of an abstract model. That form of criticism merely suggests a dissatisfaction with the status quo. If the party is to be used as an agent of world development, it is necessary that the actual experi-

ence of politics involved in sustaining the world desired be used as context and examples of the disciplines to be acquired.

These comments have a bearing on the theme of *historical research* where the subject to be understood is the black and African experience of Euramerican hegemony. If the precolonial "pre-capitalist" African societies are presented as possible examples for the development of a new world and/or resources for the maintenance of the present world, what is the philosophy of history, what is the world system that is the subject of that history, what is the context of operation defining the status of the actor that links the present ambition of the black and African world for parity with Europe or that differentiates from Europe the hegemonic condition of the pre-European and "precapitalist" ancestors? The same contexts have to be specified for the study of the institutions of hegemony, whatever they may be. Even the very selection of the subject of study has to be explained within the goals of hegemonic development. Modern parties are criticized for their elitism, their authoritarianism, etc., but what is the function of the modern party? Are the parties studied as agents of anti-European imperialism, or as agents for the development of a New Order, or as vehicles for organizing competitive but complementary notions of national interests? What factors, assuming a function or series of functions, account for the type of party organization and variation within that type, what factors account for and determine the power and authority of parties?

These questions cannot be answered with the public relations technique of a social science developed under the aegis of Euramerican academia. Where the fact of hegemony is subject, the paths of academic traditions must end in the arena of intelligence agencies, in the structures defined by the security-maintaining institutions. These are not only the supreme military headquarters, the commanding heights, but in fact the process for the manufacturing of realities and of experiences. For the Working Group to have made no mention of the intelligence community, to have defined the armed forces as residual, reveals a lot concerning the distance in context of existence of the black and African as intellectuals and as hegemonic actors. One would want to know then the basis of the hubristic ambitions of the black and African intellectual and of the confidence he has that his recommendations impart wisdom in an arena that he is not only possibly excluded from but of whose existence he may be deliberately kept unaware.

The analysis of revolutionary projects of state-and/or nation-building and discussions of the problems of nation development must draw upon what we have referred to in our comments thus far as the social science of and for hegemonic development. What is this social science and how is it to be understood and articulated? This question is most relevantly and scientifically answered through the study of the Euramerican intelligence community. But at what point is the Euramerican intelligence community perceived as reality, as context, and as problem? Is it not when the scientific observer has assumed the responsibility of bringing into view a world that is autonomous, competitive, equal, and different from that prescribed for him within the Euramerican world? If this is the case, then the process for the delineation of the Euramerican intelligence community is the process for the delineation of the world that is organized through that community. It is therefore a process of participant observation within the context of the politics of hegemonic development, a process of being an agent of the state and for the state. If the condition for a scientific description of reality itself entails access to the state and responsibility for the development of the state, the very process for the organization of the social science of hegemonic transformation itself entails a struggle for access into the arena where the reality of political existence is determined.

It is thus as the struggle for hegemonic development is assumed as the context and medium of intellectual activity that the subject matter of the social science is revealed on the one hand as constraint and alien competitor, and on the other hand, as the self-definition of the hegemonic possibility of the observer, as a process of ontogenesis. If the social science of hegemonic transformation is defined through praxis in the specified context, does this not entail both an internal and external observation of the evolution and development of the world system from the commanding headquarters of hegemonic politics? And if this is so, is not the development of the commanding headquarters itself a precondition for scientific observation of the self as an evolving autonomy-oriented entity?

The critical process involving a differentiation of the Euramerican world, the political historiographical problems studied under the rubric of anti-imperialism struggles, independence, revolutionary projects of national and black and African significance—all these entail the assumption, on the one hand, of the perspective

of the Euramerican intelligence community as determinant of possibilities and, on the other hand, of the perspective of the black and African as challenger and competitor with the Euramerican intelligence community. The phenomenology of the politics of hegemonic development cannot therefore be based on a Cartesian premise. To want to know what is to be done is for one to have put oneself in a state of war with the Euramerican world. How is the scholar as an organic intellectual of the state to be preserved, secured to study that which is the case? How is he to be enabled access into the context where such a study can occur? And how is the process of societal mobilization, whose goal is a world to be protected so that its evolution simultaneously reveals the essence of the Euramerican world and that of the black and African world, to occur?

When the issue of political stability is presented in the report of the Working Group as a consequence of the level of economic development or as an implication of its stage of industrialization, a category mistake is being made. Political stability is an implication of security. And security is always a matter best understood within the functions of intelligence and of the state armed forces. It is as the particular polity is related to the dominant world systems and as it attempts to differentiate itself from these world systems, putting it in conflict with the status quo, that the dynamics of the process of security are made available for study and control. It is true that the Euramerican social science of hegemonic legitimation of administration would want to present the fact of stability as an implication of ethnographic characteristics of the polity, or of an ontological attribute of the society, or as a stage of development; this is the route that the authorities of such social science take to the culture of poverty explanation of the condition of underdevelopment.

It is, however, in the process of mobilizing the political community and devising means for the control of the same that the social science of legitimation is created. Its referent is the hegemonic elite whose will it represents as nature, as science, whose world is represented as the universe. It is as the social science of hegemonic transformation is understood through participant observation of the activity of the intelligence community that the science of legitimation, vulgarly presented as propaganda or public relations, is fully appreciated. And since the process of legitimation is also a

process of consolidation of dominance, for the victims of Euramerican domination to employ the social science developed by their former victimizers for the purpose of control as an explanation of a history of universal authentication is for them to be tricked into an arena in which they can never achieve control of their condition—because that arena is a project of the Euramerican imagination. Such victims are doubly disarmed, and become triply disarmed when they use “facts” from this arena as the basis of public policy. The re-education and rehabilitation of the victims begins to occur as they become involved in the process of confrontation with the Euramerican state system whose context of operation is the Euramerican intelligence community. It is in the context of such confrontation that the Working Group’s concern with examples of revolutionary projects such as those in Ethiopia, Guinea, Tanzania, or Somalia can be put into focus. What is actually the case is what is being done to make the Ethiopian, the Somali, etc., the author of the world, a world that is an example. How that is to be differentiated from games devised to make the authentically revolutionary difficult to apprehend is more than a matter of information; it is a matter of location. Where is the analyst located within the world system of intelligence? What capabilities are being developed to limit the hegemony of the Euramerican world and how is that capability to be institutionalized in the black and African world?

In answering these questions it would become obvious that not only is it a matter of intelligence to define what is revolutionary from what is not, but it is also not possible to learn publicly from an authentic revolutionary example. What can be publicized is not worth learning where the present or future is concerned. Discussions in colloquia about revolutions may be a useful tactic for the definition of the scope of the revolution. The actual process of creating the world earmarked through the discussion is essentially different.

This brings us to the final comment on this Working Group’s attitude to the question of the military. That the military and its ancillary institutions of law and order are the guarantor of security and thus of the condition of existence is common sense. Why is an institution whose role within the modern state system is so primary reduced to a residual category? If it is the wish of the group to make the military of the future residual, if this is the case, why is this not

so stated and why is the process and the world that would make this the case not presented, especially when the military constitutes the government in most of the African states? And, given what is being said about the nature of the Euramerican world system, what system of world security is to be developed that would make the world military establishment, both Euramerican and African, residual? But most especially, how could such a security system fully achieve the integrity of the black and African world, by the elimination of such a bastion of degradation as South Africa? Are these not questions the answers to which can begin to present the scope of a disalienated black and African world?

### **Black Civilization and Historical Awareness**

If the intellectual is to be agent of a people in the process of their cultivation of an awareness of their past in all its totality, must not the intellectual *qua* intellectual be a manifestation of that awareness? And if the intellectual were conscious of the fact and process of the alienation of a people that project their state of hegemonic amnesia, is not the function of the intellectual to re-educate the people to a sense of themselves at the beginning of their history of involvement in the world that misrepresents their hegemonic essence?

These two questions are central to the preoccupation of this Working Group's deliberation precisely because they begin their discussion of the problem of historical awareness by positing as fact the alienation of the people and their intellectual class from the essence of the Euramerican world, and the lack of philosophic awareness of the past by the people.

If what were posited were truly the case, then the questions asked above raise the additional problem of the capability of the intellectual *qua* intellectual to be both agent of consciousness transformation and medium of such transformation. For if the intellectual is alienated within the Euramerican world and suffers the fate of the people on whose behalf it speaks, then how is the intellectual made aware of their cosmogonic status and of the process through which they have come to be what is now a problem of unhappy consciousness? How does the intellectuals' status become the symbol of the status of the people, an icon of the consciousness of the masses whose fate is their motivating force?

It appears that the Working Group treats the problem of alienation at one level as a matter of academic Eurocentrism. From this

perspective the authority of Hegel's philosophy of history and history of philosophy is criticized:

Hegel's assertion that the Blacks had no history, no movement or development was refuted; the contributions of historical materialism and anthropological structuralism in the proper identification of Black African History and Civilisation were indicated.

The criticism of the Eurocentric historiographic language that explicates this judgment of Hegel follows.

Terms like "tribe," "primitive," "pagan," "savage," "barbaric," "uncivilized," "Explorers of Africa," "dark ages," "the age of enlightenment," etc. which were used by the white historians had no relevance to or were biased against Africa and should not be used in speaking about African history and peoples. African contribution to the world (Roman Empire, Morocco to Spain etc.) was indicated[.]

We begin to see that alienation is treated at this level epiphenomenally with the introduction of the fact of "Africa's contribution to the world." This is so because the idea of contribution has developed in response to the Hegelian definition of Africa's cosmogonic potential. And if the world as defined by Hegel is both the context for the assertion, development, and recognition of the African potential, then it is obvious that alienation is treated as a matter of political representation within Hegel's world. Yet, what we suspect is that when Hegel defined the African cosmogonic potential as zero, it was in total contrast to his understanding of the European cosmogonic potential and actuality. The African by Hegel's definition could not, because of his constitution, contribute to the world or be the medium of the unfolding of the world. This being the case, man as historical being and as a vehicle of the Spirit could not appear within the world as African.

When we see that Hegel's world is the actualization of the European potential as his philosophy of history indicates, and that it is this world which presents the materials for the articulation of the political ideals of the European world systems, Hegel becomes a sense of cosmogony that totally annihilates the African as a historic personality. Within such a world view the African by definition could not "contribute," and contributionism by itself comes to represent the African's lack of awareness of his alienation within the Hegelian philosophy of history and history of philosophy. When the African *qua* African reviews his contribution to the

World as understood by Hegel, he does not modify the Hegelian Eurocentrism; at best he comes to an awareness of the manicheistic antagonism of the European to the African. Contributionism should bring the African intellectual to an understanding of Du-Bois's sense of caste segregation:

It is difficult to let others see the full psychological meaning of caste segregation. It is as though one, looking out from a dark cave in a side of an impending mountain, sees the world passing and speaks to it; speaks courteously and persuasively, showing them how these entombed souls are hindered in their natural movement, expression, and development; and how their loosening from prison would be a matter not simply of courtesy, sympathy, and help to them, but aid to all the world. One talks on evenly and logically in this way, but notices that the passing throng does not even turn its head, or if it does, glances curiously and walks on. It gradually penetrates the minds of the prisoners that the people passing do not hear; that some thick sheet of invisible but horribly tangible plate glass is between them and the world. They get excited; they talk louder; they gesticulate. Some of the passing world stop in curiosity; these gesticulations seem so pointless; they laugh and pass on. They still either do not hear at all, or hear but dimly, and even what they hear, they do not understand. Then the people within may become hysterical. They may scream and hurl themselves against the barriers, hardly realizing in their bewilderment that they are screaming in a vacuum unheard and that their antics may actually seem funny to those outside looking in. They may even, here and there, break through in blood and disfigurement, and find themselves faced by a horrified, implacable, and quite overwhelming mob of people frightened for their own very existence.<sup>4</sup>

This is a picture of total human estrangement; the "prisoners" seek to present themselves in terms of the properties of the "free world" to the free world, and discover that the free world in constitutionally incapable of perceiving, let alone recognizing them as identical to them. The fact is that the status of the prisoner defines an anti-human type, and the prison is a system for segregating the anti-humans from the humans, when the viewpoint of the free world is used as referent. The only way out of the prison, then, becomes one of total subversion of the "free world," or of the total subsumption of the being of the prisoner within the being of the

<sup>4</sup>W. E. B. DuBois, *Dusk of Dawn*, pp. 130-131.

free world. The prisoner, then, can only be freed by self-negation or by surreptitious infiltration into the free world; the prisoners could have no public and equal conversation with the free on their terms of liberation or for the reconsideration of judgments of the latter.

By definition, therefore, contributionism cannot be an ideology of liberation, since the African as a social being *merely* reflects the cosmogonic creativity of the European. Hegel had produced the cosmogonic situation that permitted of the evolution of the civilization and culture of imperialism, of enslavement, of colonization. In the process he created a rather narrow arena for the manifestation of the Absolute as European, and thus prepared the world for an ethnocentric Eurocentric definition of mankind. The universe suffers a terrible contraction through Hegel, and when Marx turns Hegel back on his feet, he merely rotates a Eurocentric universe.

This is not to deny the world significance of this Eurocentric universe, but it is to say that the condition for the African's participating in that universe is one of being anti-African and a subversive assimilated European. This brings to the fore the problem of alienation and of the African's responsibility to transcend that alienation through the initiation of a more embracing definition of the human. This is certainly a far cry from an apologetic contributionism that depends upon Hegel and his descendents to review their judgment of the African cosmogonic potential.

The Working Group seems to recognize the fact that a Europe defined through Hegel cannot be an agent and context of Africa's development; they go beyond this to an assertion of the need for an African point of view:

The Colloquium recommended that if our goals are the reconstruction of Africa and of creating a civilization based on our own image, then Africa must first tackle the problem created by international capital and cut off from its tentacles, or at least reduce its destructive influence, and let the African technology develop and flourish using local materials as far as possible, and let production and consumption be as much as possible oriented towards Africa, to satisfy the needs of the Africans—*i.e.*, the African masses, and not the privileged capitalist, bureaucratic or intellectual elite.

In this respect the Colloquium recommends co-operation among African countries and other oppressed peoples.

But Europe is conceived as geopolitically distinct from Africa. Is this the case? Has Europe not been expanded to become the world,

the free world, the developed world in a Eurocentric universe in which Africa represents the essence of enslavement, colonialism and underdevelopment? Has the African not been programmed into accepting the status of the slave whose freedom could only be the achievement of equality with the master? And if this is the case, is not the problem of the reconstruction of Africa immediately the problem of the reconstruction of the Eurocentric Universe so that the European and the Europeanized are perceived as the quintessence of alienated humanity? In that context, is not the problem of international capitalism that of the political economy of the European and Europeanized, of alienated humanity? And if this is the question to be answered, does it not take us back to the beginning problem of how the Europeanized African transcends his Europeanization, which becomes a statement of the alienation of the human within the European hegemonic order? Does this not suggest the definition of the African as a *possible vehicle for the representation of non-alienated humanity*?

Presented in this fashion, the problem of historical awareness becomes one of observing *ab initio* the evolution of the Eurocentric universe, and the process of the involvement of the African in that universe. This suggests a history of philosophy in which the African is defined cosmogonically and thus teleologically. And that definition assumes a historical reality because it is presented through a critique of the misrepresentation of the human by the European.

It is in the critique of the misrepresentation of the human by the European that we confront the subject matter of the Colloquium—the problem of color. The Working Group criticizes the use of color to define civilization or culture thus:

The attachment of the "colour of the skin" to civilization and culture, hence to historical consciousness, was refuted by some delegates. Civilization and culture, the Guinean delegate argued, had no colour. Civilization and Culture depended on material production independent of the colour of the skin. However, given the colonial powers' deformation of black history this reactive assertion had a historical justification. Now we must pass from reactive assertion to positive construction of African history in the context of humanity.

What we seek to explain is the importance of color in the definition of the human. If the European defines the human as

white and cosmogonic activity as the property of the white, and views the black as anti-human, as material, a tool, a space for the representation of the European, then is not whiteness, the summation of the Hegelian cosmology, the problem? And if blackness is to be the contrary of whiteness in the same sense as the European, through a process of inverse revalorization, the European sense of cosmogony still remains as the only sense of the human; in other words blackness still remains an implication of whiteness; the European is represented in two forms, but the European recognizes only one of the two forms—whiteness. Through the colonial metaphysics and political economy Fanon shows that the blackness defining the zone of the existence of the natives, their status, their hegemonic ontology is not a different presentation of an essence shared with whiteness, the zone of the settler.

The zone where the natives live is not complementary to the zone inhabited by the settlers. The two zones are opposed, but not in the service of a higher unity. Obedient to the rules of pure Aristotelian logic, they both follow a principle of reciprocal exclusivity. No conciliation is possible, for of the two terms, one is superfluous. The settler's town is a strongly built town; the streets are covered with asphalt, and the garbage cans swallow all the leavings, unseen, unknown and hardly thought about. The settler's feet are never visible, except perhaps in the sea; but there you're never close enough to see them. His feet are protected by strong shoes although the streets of his town are clean and even, with no holes or stones. The settler's town is a well-fed town, an easy-going town; its belly is always full of good things. The settlers' town is a town of white people, of foreigners.

The town belonging to the colonized people, or at least the native town, the Negro village, the medina, the reservation, is a place of ill fame, peopled by men of evil repute. They are born there, it matters little where or how; they die there, it matters not where, nor how. It is a world without spaciousness; men live there on top of each other, and their huts are built one on top of the other. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees, a town wallowing in the mire. It is a town of niggers and dirty Arabs. The look that the native turns on the settler's town is a look of lust, a look of envy; it expresses his dreams of possession to sit at the settler's table, to sleep in the settler's bed, with his wife if possible. The colonized man is an envious man. And this the settler knows very well; when their glances meet he ascertains bitterly, always on the

defensive, "They want to take our place." It is true, for there is no native who does not dream at least once a day of setting himself up in the settler's place.<sup>5</sup>

From the settler's point of view, whiteness not only defines his right to his town but defines the members of his tribe, his nation. Blackness from the same point of view defines the fate of the native and explains his condition as just. From the settler's point of view the native deserves his town and all that goes with such living conditions. But the native thinks otherwise. Whiteness stands for privilege, for might, for social resources that the native can acquire given the opportunity, luck, or magic. Both the native and the settler, by their values and their social involvement, realize that they are essentially the same hegemonically. But given the structure of the world segregated, the native and the settler cannot share the same town; and of the two towns, only one is viable, only one valuable. The native, out of necessity, must move into the settler's town; the settler, out of necessity, must keep the native out of his town. But what if the native cannot dislodge the settler? What if the native is confined to the native town? Can the native reproduce the resources available in the settler's town within the native's town? Can the native town become in wealth identical to the settler's town? Should the native seek such a goal of development?

From the perspective of *uncritical Eurocentrism*, the Euro-peanized, the black, the native, is compelled to develop the reservation, the ghetto, to revalorize blackness, to make black white by asserting the integrity of the black world. As an immediate expression of hegemonic authenticity in an inauthentic world, it is the last desperate gasp of frustration and persistence for the native to give up "integration" and adopt a "Bantustan policy"; it is easy to show that both "integration" and "Bantustan" policies approach the problem of human development Eurocentrically; that neither policy can produce for the native the settler's standard of living unless the settler's control of the world were directly challenged and the settler's concept of the human radically evaluated. From the perspective of the African it is also not difficult to see how both the settler and the native are expressions of alienated humanity. But it is also easy to see, given the European manicheism, his total

---

<sup>5</sup>Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, pp. 38-39.

commitment to the world view of the settler, how the African is *immediately* limited to the world of the native as a place for the initiation of the truly human. And what is truly human must emerge not only through a criticism of the cosmological differentiation of the human as white and as black, native and settler, but must be implicit in a history of philosophy in which the African essence transcends such cosmological dichotomy. The African cosmogonic potential cannot therefore represent an ideal at the beginning of the European Experience that is identical with the European; the African in this context is not a contrast to the European; the European is its misrepresentation and as such a historical awareness of the African must assume a critique of the European cosmogonic essence as reflected in his hegemonic personality.

What does it mean, therefore, to be African-in-the-Universe? To what sense of being does that refer? We argue that it is not blackness insofar as blackness is an *implication* of whiteness and whiteness the hegemonic emblem of the European. To be European in the sense that Hegel defines the medium of Expression of the Absolute is a misrepresentation of humanity, the quintessence of alienated humanity. We have seen that the being attempting to be human as black within the Hegelian world cannot be and is not recognized as human by the European; the European has created a manicheistic tribalism that defines the "black" not as another type of the human, but as a "non-human," an anti-human. Fanon ineffably captures the European Hegelian Hegemonic ontology:

The colonial world is a Manichean world. It is not enough for the settler to delimit physically, that is to say, with the help of the army and the police force, the place of the native. As if to show the totalitarian character of colonial exploitation the settler paints the native as a sort of quintessence of evil. Native society is not simply described as a society lacking in values. It is not enough for the colonist to affirm that those values have disappeared from or still better never existed, in the colonial world. The native is declared insensible to ethics; he represents not only the absence of values, but also the negation of values. He is, let us dare to admit, the enemy of values, and in this sense he is the absolute evil. He is the corrosive element, destroying all that comes near him; he is the deforming element, disfiguring all that has to do with beauty or morality; he is the depository of maleficent powers, the unconscious and irretrievable instrument of blind forces. Monsieur Muyer could thus state

seriously in the French National Assembly that the Republic must not be prostituted by allowing the Algerian people to become part of it. All values, in fact, are irrevocably poisoned and diseased as soon as they are allowed in contact with the colonized people.<sup>6</sup>

We see that the European racialism is not negated by the reversal of the symbols of authority through a process of revalorization. Humanity is alienated when represented Eurocentrically in the virtual racist dichotomy. If Eurocentric racialism consequently differentiates the universe into a world of man, where mankind is defined as the European, and the worlds of resources for the development of man, the being misrepresented as black remains from the viewpoint of the European a thing outside of the world of man, outside of the history of man. It is not an accident that the black is not a hero in Euroracist history and historiography.

It is in this representation of the problem that we face squarely the problems of alienation. If the black as human is a misrepresentation of the human insofar as black is both an extension of the white as human and an unrecognized extension of the same, is the black self-recognition of black as human a resolution of the problem of alienation? Is the revalorization contained in "I am black and I am proud," "I am black and I am human," "I am black and I am beautiful," a rehabilitation of the human? Insofar as it is a revalorization meant to confront the European with the reality of the black as essentially human, the goal of transracial solidarity is not accomplished. The emergence of voice and will in the black is not accepted by the Euroracist as evidence of the human in the black. If anything it is evidence that the nightmare is now a hegemonical reality; the European Prospero flees from the embrace of the European Caliban; Caliban black and beautiful is the Monster of Frankenstein. To contemplate identity, solidarity, and equality between the creator and the creature evokes the horrors of Hollywood's ghoulish imaginings.

But what if the black seeks not a recognition of his essence from the European but by his affirmation demonstrates a historical awareness of his being as black? If this is the case we must inquire into the quality of that historical awareness. It is in evaluating the quality of that awareness of being-black-in-the-world that we begin

---

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

to see that an understanding of the history of being-black-in-the-world makes the black's affirmation of being black an affirmation of negation of being-African-in-the-universe. And it is also through such an analysis that we begin to see that being-African is *immediately* being-other-than-the-European. The problem of historical awareness becomes in fact the explication of the specifics in being-black-in-the-world and being-African-in-the-universe.

From this perspective we can see that the identity of the African or the black can be defined from two contrasting and antagonistic perspectives. The orthodox perspective in the specification of the identity of the black or the African is the European. It is the European definition that is used by the cartographers of hegemony. It is that definition that presents the black and the African continentally, biologically, and ethnographically. It is, however, a perspective we have shown to be manicheistic, an expression of alienation. It is a perspective that is part of the problem. The other perspective is what has to be clarified; that process of clarification is a process of the development of historical awareness.

If we view the first problem—that of being-black-in-the-world—from the perspective of the non-European, we see that being-black-in-the-world is a description of a status, a condition of existence prescribed by the European. We see it as an end-state considered as a prerequisite medium for the appearance and articulation of being-white-in-the-world. We also see that the world is European, or more accurately, Euramerican—Euramerican both in terms of values and in terms of hegemonic control. The Euramerican world by definition is consequently an expression of alienation, of self-contradiction, for worlds ideally are representations of the human. The Euramerican world as the negation of the hegemony of the being that is black is consequently a misrepresentation, an abortion, a false start. To-be-black-in-the-Euramerican-world is to be existentially a subversive transcending force. To-be-black-in-the-Euramerican world is to be a security risk at a very elemental, ontological, primordial level. The black by virtue of birth is a threat, a criminal, an enemy by birth, by destiny. Alexis de Tocqueville captures this manicheism succinctly in his evaluation of race relations in colonial America:

The Indians will perish in the same isolated condition in which they have lived; but their destiny of the Negroes is in some measure interwoven with that of the Europeans. These two races are attached

to each other without intermingling; and they are alike unable entirely to separate or to combine. The most formidable of all the ills which threaten the future existence of the Union, arises from the presence of a black population upon its territory; and in contemplating the cause of the present embarrassments or of the future dangers of the United States, the observer is invariably led to consider this as a primary fact.<sup>7</sup>

The black by existence in the Euramerican world is implicitly a transcending force and principle—to be black implies more than to be subversive or radically revolutionary; it is an expression of hegemonic anomaly, a presence that describes the given world as an abortion. It is an evidence not of a world not completed, of a job uncompleted, of justice denied or delayed, but of a new and threatening beginning. Thus from the Eurocentric perspective black is evidence of chaos. Faith in the European, in his achievement of necessity implies the removal of the evidence, a final solution. An option that is always considered by the European in his dealings with the black, that becomes real when racial antagonism reaches the boiling point, is genocide. In colonial race relations every settler, every European, is a Hitler.

It is in seeking to articulate what is misrepresented in being-black-in-the-world that we begin to confront the problem of defining the African, from the non-European perspective. But before we tackle this problem it is important to touch on some of the implications of being-black-in-the-world. It is obvious that insofar as the universe is reorganized to present the Euramerican world, the geopolitics of being-black-in-the-world is Euramerican. It is the scope of the Euramerican hegemony that defines the status and condition of being of the black. It is consequently a world order phenomenon, not a national, nor continental, phenomenon. Within the Euramerican world hegemonic being is presented as white, as European; the being of subjection, of enslavement of the colonized, the victim of Euramerican imperialism, is quintessentially presented as black. The problem of misrepresentation, of alienation, is consequently a structural one and entails an abandonment, not a transformation or revolutionizing, of the Euramerican world.

Such an interpretation of the geography of hegemonic aliena-

---

<sup>7</sup>Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, p. 11.

tion does away with the false privileges anchored in a regional or continental approach to the problem of blackness. Within the world defined by the Euramerican the black, whether on the continent or outside of it, reflects the anti-European, the essence of the slave or enslaveable, the "natural" victim of Euramerican imperialism. It is only by analogy, a misleading one at that, that the Continent of Africa represents home and the New World represents Diaspora. The New World is just that, the Euramerican world, and it represents the reorganization of the pre-European universe for the consolidation of the Euramerican hegemony. The relocation, dislocation of populations of the "African" segment of that pre-European universe occurs as an integral aspect of that process of the consolidation of Euramerican hegemony. It is a secondary fact if some or all of the populations of the "African" segment were incorporated in the Euramerican world in this or that place, whether they speak this or that language, whether they wear this or that—these differences are aspects of the facts of administering the Euramerican world. The primary fact still remains as the determinative Euramerican hegemony whose limitation provides the prerequisite opportunity for a reconsideration of what it means to be fully human.

If this is the case, then the Working Group errs in approaching the problem of being-black-in-the-world nationally, regionally, and continentally. To-be-black-in-the-world assumes a world geopolitics. The problem of historical awareness is to make this part of the popular consciousness. When this is the case there would be no need for the "blacks" in Diaspora to combat the "chauvinism" of the Continental "blacks." "Pan-blackism" would also not be a matter of policy but a condition of existence within a Euramerican world in which the universe is structured Euroracially. Historical awareness would develop as research into the evolution and articulation of the Euramerican world reveals in dramatic terms the reorganization of the human society in its present alienated forms. Hegemonic policies that show the present international political order as *mystification* and misrepresentation of the realities of power and authority would of necessity be implications of such research. One would clearly see why the Working Group's endorsement of the multi-cultural state—a continental state system based upon the principle of territorial integrity, a transcontinental alliance system between African states and "black people" of the

Diaspora—is a reflection of the Group's epiphenomenal understanding of being-black-in-the-world. The lack of a philosophy of history hinged upon the evolution of Euramerican hegemony and a history of philosophy hinged upon the evolution of the human in the universe shows in the eclecticism of the Working Group. What sense do we make out of the following observation?

The "balkanisation" of African Historical Consciousness racially, economically and ideologically was treated. African historical consciousness which was collectival and global traditionally, it was said, has now lost this characteristic.

The Conference also discussed the diversity of the history, and therefore of "historical consciousness" of blacks in Africa and peoples of African descent outside the continent, that one cannot speak of African "historical conscience" and civilization as if the blacks of the continent and outside have "unity".

Once the reality of the Euramerican World is misperceived, then the above follows. That the black condition is a fact taken seriously by the Euramerican is to be glimpsed in the following reports:

The United States has drawn up a list of steps designed to signal its determination to bring about a change in South Africa's white minority regime, officials said today.

The steps were discussed at the just ended four-day meeting of U.S. ambassadors to black African nations attended by Andrew Young, the U. S. Ambassador to the United Nations. . . .

The list consists of updated contingency plans devised by the office of William Schautele, the assistant secretary of state for African Affairs. It signals the Carter administration's apparent determination to go beyond rhetoric in applying pressure on South Africa.

The plans underscore the Carter administration's break with former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's Southern Africa policy. Mr. Kissinger in effect agreed to discrimination against blacks in South Africa in exchange for South African support for rapid movement toward black majority rule in Rhodesia and South-West Africa (Namibia).

Measures under discussion here include the possible withdrawal of the U.S. military attache, tightening of visa requirements for South Africans, severing links between the U.S. and South African intelligence communities and curtailing Export-Import Bank Credits to South Africa.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup>U.S. Plans Measures to Prod South Africa," *International Herald Tribune*, May 14-15, 1977, p. 1.

The Carter Administration appears to have decided on a significant change in American policy towards southern Africa. The new approach receives its first formal display this week, when Ambassador Andrew Young leads the United States delegation to a United Nations' Conference on Rhodesia and Namibia in Maputo, Mozambique. . . .

After the shock of Angola's international civil war forced Henry Kissinger to think more seriously about Africa, the then Secretary of State developed a policy of seeking Mr. Vorster's co-operation to bring about negotiated transfers of political power to acceptable representatives of the black majorities in both Rhodesia and Namibia (South-West Africa). While the American public was given the impression *that our diplomatic and military collaboration* with Mr. Vorster was conditioned on such cooperation, he and other white politicians in southern Africa continued to believe that American support would never be withdrawn under any circumstance. Mr. Kissinger thus lacked credibility where it counted most, and the policy faltered. The Geneva Conference on Rhodesia collapsed, South African plans for Namibian independence were burdened with so many guarantees of white power that they became unacceptable to the international community, and the South African Government's response to the Soweto riots took the form of repression rather than reform.

Hence the new policy. Its objectives include the old ones of gaining Mr. Vorster's cooperation on Rhodesia and Namibia, as well as an increased emphasis on alleviating racial injustice in South Africa itself. *They do not include demands for immediate progress toward black majority rule in South Africa, nor do they promise support for armed insurrection or military intervention anywhere in the region.* On the contrary, the intention is to reduce the very real danger of racial warfare.

The success of the policy will depend on the credibility of American resolve. Specifically, it depends on the unmistakable threat that we mean to use our diplomatic and military leverage. It is important that normal diplomatic and trade links between the United States and South Africa be maintained. But special relations—such as use of the American United Nations veto in South Africa's behalf and the presence in South Africa of United States military attaches symbolizing a defense commitment—should be bartered for concrete concessions.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup>*New York Times* editorial, "A New Strategy for Southern Africa," May 17, 1977.

The fact that the racial problem in Africa is not a regional or continental problem is evident in America's concern for Southern Africa. But what is also equally evident is that the capability of the white regimes in Southern Africa to maintain white supremacy also depends upon American support to the white supremacist states of Southern Africa. Until the pressure of world politics on the racial question forced a revelation of the policy options always available to the United States, South African or Rhodesian racial disputes could have been presented as domestic issues. Yet all the time they were always world issues as the role of America in the definition and stabilization of Southern African race relations reveals. What the diversity of response of the victims to the fact of world race relations shows may then be the lack of unity either in goals, or strategies, or scope of operations for the remedy of the problems of world race relations. Where such disunity reveals a lack of historical awareness concerning the fact or the process of its transcendence, it is the function of the "educator" to bring about such awareness and not to endorse what is obviously a misunderstanding of what is the case. To say there is a black world condition that can be presented in essence without the distortions of cultural pluralism, continental chauvinism, or the *divide et impera* of international diplomatic statism, is not to underestimate the problems implied in affirming, let alone articulating the African historical consciousness. But as a preliminary to dealing with the problems it is necessary to assume the non-European perspective on the question.

From this perspective the African is to be contrasted to the black. Black we have shown to be an implication of white within the European social reality. Africa and African is immediately an unbounded reality presented by the European as its contrast. In this sense black is the actualization of the African. In other words, Africa is the potential "developed" as the black within the European world. This is why it is a redundancy from the orthodox European perspective to speak of the black *and* African world. Yes, we are not unaware of the diplomatic problems entailed in developing a continental alliance in the process of arguing for the rights of the "native" in the Euramerican world. We, however, seek a historical awareness of the dilemma of being-black-in-the-world. A non-European view of the matter must, consequently, assume the perspective of the African as the hegemonic contrast to the European in the pre-colonial pre-enslavement point of contact. This

does not mean the definition of the African in neo-traditionalist terms, in ethnic terms, etc. It means the assumption within the unbounded space outside of the European world of a vantage point for the reconstruction of the history of man in the universe through the African. It means the representation of human history within which its European presentation is most vividly shown as a misrepresentation.

What it means, specifically, is a responsibility for the representation of the history of the human in non-alienated form. Such a history is universal history. It is because its achievement requires a medium that there is a need for qualification. When we describe such a history as African we call attention to the medium of the articulation of human history. Yet the specificity of that achievement must not be denied. The concrete qualities of that achievement are in fact those of the transcendence of the Euramerican world, in the burdens implied in being-black-in-the-Euramerican-world. It is that being that locates in time and space the human revealed through the quintessentially non-European.

It is in this respect that a modification of Chinweizu hegemonic topography is called for. It is true that the Euramerican works with the crudest form of dichotomy: Europeans and non-Europeans. It is as the non-Europeans are defined as the world of resources, as those fitted by nature for subjection, that the non-Europeans stand for the Third World, "The Rest of Us." But insofar as the evolution of the modern world, the Euramerican world, shows the universalization of the Euramerican hegemonic racialism, such that "The Rest of Us" under the tutelage of white Euramerica are differentiated in color terms, and blackness becomes the bottom and whiteness the top, and in between are color gradations all seeking identification with the top and dissolution from the bottom, the black condition becomes the context for the articulation of the human history, and it is this which makes the "African" a prospect of a future humanity whose essence is articulable through an adequate philosophy of history.

It is in the development of this philosophy of history that the New Humanities takes on its substance. And it is in this interpretation of the problem that we begin to see that historical awareness is a consequence of a commitment both to an understanding of mankind and to a science of the history of man. We find pale intimations of an awareness of this problem in our intellectuals and

because this is the case we see the task of making the ideal actual as constituting a formidable and awesome historical task. But it is part of the authentic assumption of responsibility entailed in the task that new dimensions to the question of civilization and culture are recognizable and thus developable. This invests the being-that-is-African with a world and universal significance, and moves the essence of his destiny out of the superficialities of the politics of race relations.

The eight public lectures given as punctuations of the routine of the Colloquium discussions can be seen in the light of our exegesis as attempts to clarify the hegemonical questions concerning which there is need for historical awareness. We would confine our comments to four of the eight essays: those of Prof. L. H. Ofofu-Appiah, *On Building an Intellectual Community in Africa*; Prof. J. F. Ajayi, *In Search for Relevance in the Humanities in Africa*; Prof. M. Ron Karenga, *Relations between Africans on the Continent and Africans in the Diaspora: History and Possibilities*; Prof. Wole Soyinka, *The Scholar in African Society*. All four essays attempt to pose the question of what the Colloquium must be historically aware of. From what perspective can the reality of the referent of the Colloquium be perceived, its problem recognized and diagnosed? How does the referent in turn define the intellectual observer?

Prof. Ofofu-Appiah tackles the problem entailed in the questions of building an intellectual community from a perspective which assumes an implicit continuity in the world position and responsibility of the African. In calling attention to the ignorance of the African scholar to the African's world heritage and the organization of world scholarship through which that heritage has been made available to the world, he assumes an interest in a self-consciousness whose articulation constitutes the problem in the first place. It is because a certain lack of self-consciousness is the case that interest in the historic being of that self is also lacking. This is thus not merely a problem of exhortation or information. The problem to which there is a need for a solution is one of a transformation of consciousness of the contemporary African and one of explicating the role of the intellectual community in bringing into being that consciousness. Prof. Ofofu-Appiah finds the African academician ill-prepared for this historic task. The examples given by the Director of the Encyclopaedia Africana Project to substantiate this judgment, however, in themselves suggest that the

Director has difficulty in moving from diagnosis to prognosis. The gap reflects an intellectual perspective that is problematic. One would expect from the Director a history of the political and cultural context and preconditions for the establishment of intellectual communities in general and of intellectual community in African in particular. The historical hints given remain hints rather than materials for the development of an effective cultural and educational policy.

Intellectual development is a slow process, and the impetus for it was given by invention of writing in Mesopotamia and Egypt. Writing was then, as it is now in several parts of the world, the privilege of the few, and there were several rulers who were illiterate. What made the countries which took to writing advance intellectually was partly the fact that the ruling classes saw advantages inherent in having a class of literates. So scholars, scribes, priests, and learned men formed exclusive societies with special privileges. Whatever anyone can say about such a system, none can deny that it made the world more intelligible to the average man; it has reduced ignorance and encouraged the use of reason. Where culture contact made it possible for those who could not originate to learn and disseminate the knowledge they gained from others human society has benefitted considerably.

But what lessons are we to draw from this? There is already an elite of African academicians with an institutional base in the educational establishment liberally funded by the state. Why is that elite not producing the results that Prof. Oforu-Appiah would want? Could it be that the ambitions of such a profession of academicians are directed to goals in contradiction to those that Prof. Oforu-Appiah would want such a profession to assume? If this is the case, how is the relevant community to be organized, within what context, under whose aegis?

One suspects that Prof. Oforu-Appiah employs standards of criticism that remain unnecessarily abstract. Concrete examples are given that suggest an analysis of the history of world political economy. But no analysis of the evolution of an organic intellectual community within the organization of world political economy follows. Instead we are treated to a contrast between policies and practices of previous world powers and contemporary African states.

I am not sure how many African scholars know how Egyptian hieroglyphics were deciphered and who deciphered it. I am not sure

how many African scholars have heard about the Rosetta Stone and the efforts of the French scholar Jean Francois Champollion to translate the Greek on the Rosetta Stone and go on to translate the Deniotic Egyptian before deciphering the Hieroglyphic Egyptian. It was because Greek was important under the Ptolemies in Egypt that today we can understand Egyptian hieroglyphics, since bilingual texts in Greek and Egyptian provided the key to our knowledge of Egyptian. If it did not fall to the lot of a native Egyptian to decipher the Egyptian hieroglyphics, there is no reason why modern Africans cannot study and disseminate the knowledge of hieroglyphics among Africans, since they are an African heritage.

In our desire to build an intellectual community in Africa we must realise that no knowledge or skill is irrelevant to Africa. . . .

No African scholar has yet tried to decipher the Meirotic script, though Americans are busy trying to get to the root of that problem. Where a Museum in Khartoum has Greek inscriptions, it is not a native Sudanese who will explain their meaning to his fellow Africans, but some European scholar whose forebears never heard of Nubia. Ethiopian studies have been advanced in modern times largely by French, German and British scholars, and there is no African university outside Ethiopia where Amharic and Geez are studied. And often if African scholars want to be proficient in these disciplines they have to go to Europe. And yet Ethiopia has had centuries of freedom from foreign rule, and had monks and learned men who left several books for posterity. We cannot explain these shortcomings away just because we are Africans since the opportunities for advancement of learning had always been there, and life in several parts of the world until very recently had been nasty and brutish and short, and yet enterprising and intelligent men had made use of their intellect to leave behind memorials of which most African intellectuals are unaware.

What are the background assumptions behind Prof. Ofosu-Appiah's standards of effective intellectual performance? He assumes a world intellectual community that spontaneously evolves to reflect and apprehend the world. He sees the African as capable of being part of that community. The question is then one of explaining why the African not only does not play his world role, but apprentices himself to one not inherently qualified to be the African's mentor. Prof. Ofosu-Appiah cannot answer the question in terms of the analytic conditions he has set. He as Director knows that the development of knowledge is a social problem requiring state policy and support. The myth of the scholar as a philosophical adventurer motivated by curiosity and self-supporting is rooted

in an ideal of monkish asceticism that has no historical basis. The context for knowledge development is a hegemonic one. And if Africa is presented as a possible hegemonic force, the questions are what resources would be needed to make the possible actual, what would be the African state function of the intellectual in making the possible actual, and what would be his subsequent state function in maintaining and developing what has been brought into being. The role of Euramerican scholars in the Euramerican world requires similar historical analysis. Prof. Ofofu-Appiah's apparent historicism makes him lean dangerously towards a racist analysis of contemporary African reality for he in effect employs the culture of poverty historiography. The opportunity is there, the African does not utilize the opportunity, the African nevertheless wants to benefit from the applied efforts of others who are more thrifty. The conclusion: one must suspect that the contemporary Africans are structurally lazy.

But is this where the learned Professor wants to take us? No, for were he not fired by a contributionist fervor grounded in his evaluation of the African's potential, the gap between the potential and performance of the African would not be a matter of concern for him. We suspect that the Professor in fact is victimized by an adherence to a liberal constitutional ideology which views the intellectual as an estate that merits the support of the state by the fact of its being. In lieu of the state's unfettered support, the intellectual assumes his world responsibility; the important fact is his implicit assumption of the emergence of the intellectual as a separate entity from the other socio-political agencies of the State; once that position is taken, then the intellectual can be contrasted to other intellectuals in history and in different political situations. The questions that this position leaves unresolved are political economic questions: the relationship of the intellectual to the state, and the process of the emergence of the intellectual as a functioning agency of the state and humanity. His defense of the freedom of the press betrays this ahistoric liberal constitutionalism grounded in Miltonian Cartesian metaphysics.

Prof. Ajayi, on the other hand, attempts to grapple with what Prof. Ofofu-Appiah knows but refuses to acknowledge—the political-hegemonic dimension of the problem of the cultivation and organization of knowledge. This problem is presented as one of the search for relevance in the humanities in Africa. The objective of

Professor Ajayi's analysis is to situate the humanities close to the center of the political community in the development of socially relevant policies. The arguments leading to this objective, however, assume a different problem. The argument assumes a change in the status of the humanities as viewed through the iconic perspective of the African historian. In two of three phases beginning with the Second World War, the historian, according to Prof. Ajayi, has faithfully reflected the interests of the indigenous parties contesting for hegemony with the colonial powers. In the period of struggle for political independence, and that just before and immediately after the achievement of political independence—"when the chief concern was decolonization of the main social and political institutions"—there was correspondence between the interests and functions and effectiveness of the indigenous parties of state and the indigenous humanist historian. It is in the third period, "when the politically independent governments begin to grapple seriously with the problems of nation building, social reform, and economic liberation," that the question of the relevance of the humanities to state development has been raised by state authorities. Apparently in the first two periods there was a conscious co-ordination of efforts, and an integration of interest such that both the academic humanist historian and the parties of state were able to mobilize the masses on behalf of the liberation struggle.

History has always been a popular weapon of the Independence movements in Africa if only because the colonial rulers had chosen as a weapon of domination the demoralization and frustration that came from denying basic humanity to peoples of African descent by denying that they had a history. Independence movements replied by asserting much as an article of faith that Africans had not merely a history but in fact a glorious history. A well-known book of the 1950s was actually entitled *African Glory*.

No one who is engaged in a liberation struggle doubts the relevance of developing a sense of history . . .

Historians at the time of the independence movements had to go beyond asserting that Africans had a history. They had to demonstrate by the criteria of evidence acceptable to other historians not merely that African history exists, but also that it has as much time depth as the history of others, and that it contained evidence of the ability of Africans in the past to build and manage large political empires comparable to modern multi-ethnic territories seeking political independence. . . .

In the period of decolonization, while the debate with former colonial rulers continued, there was a fresh necessity de-mythologise Europeans and persuade *the rank and file of political supporters that Africans indeed* had the abilities to take over power from Europeans. The process of decolonization thus involved studies of the colonial period for a more critical review of the role of Europeans, the response of Africans to European domination, and the continuities that survived from the pre-colonial past to the newly emerging political structures. *Governments* sought precedents for their political programmes whether parliamentary or non-parliamentary, village democracy or one party state *and drew on the work of historians for such precedents.*

As the Governments outgrow the slogans of the period of decolonization and begin to grapple with economic imperialism, the need for the transfer of technology and the development of a self-reliant economy, the importance of the old assertion that a sense of history is vital to the liberation of the mind and the conditioning of the nationalist begins to be challenged. An awareness of history by itself does not seem to make any difference to the attitude of people to work, their sense of values or even their patriotism and basic commitment to the future of the nation. The patronage of history in governmental circles declines. Few, if any, are awarded scholarships to study history. The emphasis shifts from the Humanities to Science and Technology. But this does not mean that history has ceased to be relevant or that historians have ceased to search for relevance.

In spite of the apparent neglect and decline in their status, historians have continued to be *relevant*. They now see history as a source of values "that should monitor inter-personal relationships and the relationships of people with the rest of society and the state." There is the positing and doing of socially relevant history—a "more balanced view of history, stressing social and economic factors, migrations, development in the means of production, technology, the system of land tenure, etc."

It must be admitted however that all this refinement and increasing sophistication at the University level is not producing the expected results in society. The historians may be producing socially relevant history, but they have failed to make society aware of this. Unlike the traditional historians, the academic historians are out of touch with the masses and have little or no social relevance and yet the traditional historians are limited by language and historical perspective to ethnic history. The academic historians are discovering that it is not their synthesis and sophistication that affects the

average person's appreciation of history as a cultural phenomenon and source of social and moral values so much as the popular view of history derived from school text books, the mass media, Ministries of Information handbooks and similar works that tend to reflect the historiography of several generations ago. It is this communication gap that tends to defeat the historian's search for social relevance. Historians that are concerned about the social functions of history have to concern themselves also with education, the proper teaching of history at all levels and the projections of history in the mass media.

If the last sentence of the above statement is taken as diagnostic, the problem that Prof. Ajayi is addressing himself to becomes different from that those history he has summarized. That injunction to historians who seek relevance and effectiveness does not assume governmental neglect and indifference, but a problem endemic among historians. For that injunction assumes that it is the historian who has created the vacuum that other agencies have moved into. If the academic historian has the political authority to become the educator and popularizer of "tourist history," then one can assume a gradual dissemination of the university history into the society as a whole. We suspect that even though this is a problem, it is not the central problem to which Prof. Ajayi has been addressing himself. That problem stems from the change in the hegemonic problems of the state that are a common concern to all. If this is the case, then one must ask for a history of the horizontal communication gap between institutions of hegemony, the university and the government, rather than for the history of the vertical communication gap between the academic historian and the masses. For if the academic historian has been doing socially relevant history, and thus remained in consonance with the hegemonic interests of the state, how is one to explain the misperception of the academic historian by the government? Does this misperception not itself make problematic what was assumed to be a history of co-ordinated effort by the academic historian and the party of state that now constitute the government?

It is obvious that the real issue is the lack of access of the university in general and of its academicians in particular to authority roles that determine the state's hegemonic cultural policy. It is assumed that the university once had such access and that it has now, in spite of its exemplary work, been denied such access. A

history of the university in African liberation struggles provides the solution to one aspect of the problem and internal analysis of the state's organization of its hegemonic cultural policies provides the solution to the other aspect of the problem.

It seems to us that, given the character of the university in Africa, there is a need to examine the relevance question throughout the three periods defined for us by Prof. Ajayi. We suspect that the correspondence in goals and achievement in the first two periods was not as a result of the institutional integration of the university in the liberation struggle. To say this is not to deny the historical awareness of some African academicians in the university in these two periods, and of the conscious politicization of their scholarship. But it is to show that the university *qua* university was not organized to advance the nationalist struggle; that African academicians functioning as academicians could not without jeopardy to their role have been involved in the struggle; and that historically they lack the institutional presence to be relevant. After all, the Africanization of the personnel of the African universities, the indigenization of their curricula, and the modification of the academic philosophy of these institutions are matters of the very recent past. In fact one can see this Colloquium as the first public expression by the government and the academicians of the development of an Afrocentric academic establishment.

If this is the case, the problem is how the university makes itself as an institution hegemonically relevant, how it establishes its legitimacy as an agency for the development of the cultural policy of the state. That the exigencies of world hegemonic politics would lead the state to invest in the cultivation of social sciences and the humanities we do not doubt. In other words, the relevance question of humanities and social sciences would always be answered in terms of the hegemonic needs of the state and its *raison d'etat*. The question is whether the most appropriate answers can be developed within the objective conditions of the African world position and whether the university has made a *prima facie* case for being involved in the formulation of state policies in this area of public concern. The problems of nation-building, the mobilization of the population behind the policies of the state, the consolidation of the hegemonic base of the state, the celebration of the world status of the state, all these entail an investment in the humanities, for they basically speak to the problem of legitimation and authenticity.

The analysis of the hegemonic condition of the political community, the development of a state-relevant information base, the articulation of the techniques and instruments of power, all of these mean an investment in the social sciences. The cultivation and transmission of the social sciences and humanities through the formulation and implementation of hegemonic cultural policies entail the development and recognition of institutional competence. How such hegemonic competence is to be developed through the university is at bottom the question being asked by Prof. Ajayi.

The authority sought by Prof. Ajayi must result in the long run when the university impresses upon the society as a whole its understanding of the commonweal and the commonwealth. It is then that the university achieves for itself the prerequisite condition for assuming such a role, *i.e.*, its recognition by the state as an agency of the state and medium of the state. Such recognition becomes an institutionalized reflection of the role of the university in the political economy of the society. This quest for recognition suggests the conscious reorganization of the university, a reorganization that implies an assumption of an ideology of hegemony that is "socially relevant." Put differently, the horizontal as well as the vertical communication gap implies the lack of immediate integration of institutions of hegemony that are the foundations of the African state. And if this is the case, we must assume that either there would be a move towards greater integration of these institutions or further estrangement would result from this lack of integration, since if the exigencies of the state make it certain that a set of functions would have to be performed by the state, and if the university and the government are in conflict, where the government is the effective presentation of the state, would the government not function through the agencies that it spurns as a response to the problems that confront it? What exigencies of the state would teach the lesson that the university ought to be recognized as an autonomous agency of the state with a significant role in the development of its hegemonical cultural policy? Within what context would the state agencies have to be put for the wisdom of such integration to be perceived? These are the questions opened up by the relevance problem and they indicate ways of establishing policy objectives with which the agencies of the state—the government, the parties of state (of which political parties are only one form of manifestation), the institutions of conflict resolution with-

in a given political economy—can be evaluated and strategies for their development and integration be fashioned.

Prof. M. Ron Karenga takes a different route into the problem of historical awareness. He seeks to address the problem attending the articulation of the African world and of its problem of hegemony. He examines the problem of historical awareness by questioning the place of the continental black African in the black world. He begins by asking these questions: What is Africa, What is the African, What ought to be the world project of the African, What ought to be the relationship between Africans on the continent and in Diaspora?

At the beginning Africa was no more than a formative possibility. It was a continent without self-consciousness, a land shared by peoples whose ethnic identities formed the parameters of their practice and projections. . . .

In the second phase, Africa as an identity and challenge became an imperialistic imposition, a conquered continent, integrated into the European world capitalist system. . . .

Thirdly, then, Africa became an *oppositional alternative*, a socio-historical context of theories and practices which challenged the established order and its assumptions. . . .

The fourth and current phase of African history finds Africa a *historical project*, again a formative possibility, but at a higher level of self and human awareness.

This proposed neo-Hegelian philosophy of history attempts to establish the identity of Africa. In the first two stages Karenga asserts that there was no Africa and therefore there were no Africans. In the first stage, Africa was a vehicle and in it were many "tribes." In the second stage, Africa was an imposed or an ascribed condition or status for the conquered. In the third stage, Africa becomes an expression of defiance, a revalorization reality, an "I am Black and Proud" entity—a fact of Negritude.

It is in the period in which ideological formulations are created to counter racist assumptions and projections of imperialism—among which are Negritude, Africanity, African personality, Soul, Ethiopianism, and a host of other ideological assertions to say "I defiantly accept myself and I reject your definition of me." Here is then, defiantly self-conscious Africa, idolizing aspects of itself it had once shamefully rejected and using its culture to mobilize the masses for struggle and development.

Thus, one can say that in the third stage Africa emerges as the affirmation of the negation; a position which suggests that the reality is not what is affirmed but the affirmer. But what is the affirmer that defiantly presents itself through an identity that was fashioned by the Euroracist for its negation? And for whom at the fourth stage is "Africa" a historical project?

Prof. Karenga seeks at the world historical plane to show the multiplicity of situation and condition to a problematic reality. He succeeds in tracing the discontinuities in the phenomenology of Africa and thus of the African, and in showing the plurality of contexts and actors through whose conscious effort the concept of Africa had been given a collective historical definition, he hopes to accomplish his ultimate purpose, i.e., to demonstrate the fact that Africa as an identity and project had become the property of a world community.

We meet here as a world community of Africans, not just as a continent. The African world, if its anything is a community which shares a common origin, a common experience at the hands of capitalism and racism and thus, a common need to free ourselves of their various forms of rule and ruin.

It is a courageous attempt to show the world community as the actualization of a potential, the manifestation of the absolute. Karenga's philosophy of history, however, does not illuminate the actuality; it remains as a series of assertions designed to develop an ideology of *inter-black race relations*. We have shown according to Prof. Karenga how in the first three stages the notion of Africa has its substantive definition in the cosmology of the European, and how a cosmogonic gap appears between the third and the fourth. In short we have here what appears to be a teleology but is in fact a bold attempt to summarize the black experience within the context of the Euramerican domination.

Although the incoherence of Prof. Karenga's philosophy of history is a reflection of a methodology (the history of idea school, with its idealist interpretation of history), he nevertheless employs that method for the justification of his attitude to the continental African.

Although the African community is based on origin and experience, its most definitive basis must be the historical practice we pursue to reclaim and reconstruct our history and humanity self-consciously and in our own image.

The assertion that African community is based on origin and experience is not an implication the philosophy of history proposed but a recognition of a historical fact. Prof. Karenga wishes to recognize that fact but also he wishes to assign it a different significance within the "inter-African" race relations. In putting practice as primary he deemphasizes the origin status and a specific end. He wishes to bring to the attention of the African on the continent the fact that there are Africans abroad, Africans who were made part of the New World in the same process that made Africa at the second stage an aspect of the European world.

The second set of practical suggestions I offer are those to deal with continental African cultural chauvinism. Since we arrived we've had to struggle to insert ourselves in this process and even to sit here in this position. Each day, as you remember, we had to intervene to put ourselves on the agenda. If we are to undermine the cultural chauvinism of Continentals, we must begin by recognizing and respecting the contributions which Afro-Americans and other Africans in Diaspora have made in the liberation and building of this continent. . . .

Secondly, to aid in the elimination of this continental cultural chauvinism, you must stop arrogating to yourself the right to define what an African is and is not, and raising unwarranted questions about who in Diaspora is in fact an African. It will no doubt be a humbling experience to remember that before Dubois and Garvey called out "Africa for the African," continental Africans for the most part were calling themselves by ethnic names. It was, in fact, Afro-Americans like Dubois and Garvey who first defined Africa, and who stood beyond and above ethnic divisions of the continent and demanded "Africa, for the Africans, at home and abroad." Whether Continental Africans think we're African or not means very little in the final analysis. They don't, in fact, have the right to decide that. I'll never surrender my right to self-definition and self-determination.

In the final analysis, the problem is not a matter of self-definition as such. It is obvious that, were the question not one of the development of a consciousness of the African as a citizen of a world community, the question of the limitations of continental cultural chauvinism would not arise. The Boer in Azania defines himself as African as well as Afrikaan, and will not surrender that right. But the Boer is not included within the African world community. One must therefore deal with the historical context of the problem.

Africa has been important within Euramerica for "blacks on the continent and abroad." Africa has stood for the antithesis of Europe, as the identity of the ontologically powerless. It is within the evolution of Euramerican world hegemony that the varying attitudes to the concept, status, and condition of the African have to be evaluated. And it is within this context that the fact of the cultural chauvinism of the continental African is to be appreciated. There was a time when Marcus Garvey on the basis of his qualifications in the New World declared himself through the UNIA Organization as the Provisional President of Africa. President Monroe and the American Colonization Society were also cut from the same cloth as Garvey, for Liberia was established as a light on the dark continent on the theory that slavery was not only a providential design but a school of civilization—nearer the master, nearer to God, nearer to God hegemonically superior to the heathen. That time has passed. There is now a reversal of role. The subjects of *Tarzan* have now become the organizers and managers of state, have become a segment of the black world that views the African abroad as a stranger with foreign ways. Both attitudes are expression of a consciousness that can only be understood within the context of the problems of hegemonic development of the segment of the Euramerican world defined as black, or the contrary of the European.

It is in that context that the hegemonic symbolism of Africa and the African can be historically and philosophically interpreted. And it is in that process that the continental blacks or Africans as the fixed opposite of the European become an important cipher for the translation of the notion of the African into a black world community.

Prof. Karenga's treatise, however, does not take us there. He struggles to reopen the question of identity where it matters most—in continental Africa. But he is confined as to what hegemonical instincts make it necessary for him to seek new theaters for the legitimation of his self-determination.

To this end I have a few practical suggestions. . . .

First, I propose *the institutionalization of Pan-Africanism*, concrete programs and structures to turn theory into practice. In this regard, there should be permanent observer and ex-officio status for Diaspora Africans on all OAU Committees. Next there should be a supra-continental plenary body such as Kwame Nkrumah proposed, *i.e.*, an All African People's Convention. Thirdly, there should be

erected in Africa a Pan-African University with student, faculty and staff from all over the African world dedicated to providing conscious, capable and committed African women and men to solve the problems of the African world. Fourthly, studies on Africans in Diaspora should be established in all major African universities to parallel and complement the African Studies programs we have initiated and supported in the major universities of the West. Finally, Swahili should be adopted as the Pan-African language and taught in every university of Africa as we have introduced it in every Black Studies program in the U.S.A.

These suggestions assume as referent and goal a world community of Africans. They also assume a concept of that referent within the Euramerican world that makes the reorganization of that world community necessary. Yet Prof. Karenga also adopts a different position on the development of the hegemony of that world community. The fact that he does not understand that this second position, the state-nationalist position, may ultimately be contradictory to the Pan-Africanist position, is an evidence of the confusion to which we have alluded.

Pan-Africanism informs us that our ultimate objective is the freedom and liberation of African peoples wherever they are and that crucial to our struggle is an independent socialist and unified Africa. But it is important here to stress the dual emphasis of Pan-Africanism which makes fundamental the struggle for liberation of African people *wherever* they are. Pan-Africanism is not limited to *allegiance to the Continent* and it is not nor can it be a *substitute for national struggles* and the liberation of African peoples in the countries in which they find themselves. Therefore, it is clear contradiction and counter-productive to advocate wholesale exodus or engage in long-distance simulated struggle for African liberation and abandon the real struggle in one's own country. [emphasis added]

The burden of Prof. Karenga's position has been that there is a world community of Africans limited by a common hegemonic condition within the Euramerican world. Such a position cannot present the continent as a contrast to the Diaspora. The introduction of regionalism and statist-nationalism is a contradiction to the fact of an organic black world community earlier asserted. For what is to be made manifest is that the struggle for the liberation of that world community entails the promotion of an African liberation

struggle in all theaters of that community. It is within such a strategy that the distinction between the continent and Diaspora disappears and with it the deletion from the political language of the liberation struggle of the notion of Diaspora, since the homeland is the black world of which the continent is a part.

From this position one would expect that Prof. Karenga would attempt, within an adequate philosophy of history and within the appropriate context, that of Euramerican domination, to show the relative importance of each theater of the struggle to the total liberation of the black world. And this would assume the formulation of a strategy for total liberation by a black world hegemonical authority under whose aegis African peoples organized in different states in different geopolitical spaces are integrated. But Prof. Karenga takes a different position. Without specifically speaking to the problem of the development of a black world hegemonical authority, his acceptance of the international status quo as the context of the liberation struggle in practice means he adopts a nationalist and regionalist approach to the liberation struggle, with leadership and ideological expression of these struggles defined and developed nationally or regionally. The result is not a pilycentric approach to the liberation struggle but one of *laissez-fairism*.

The problem of coordination remains and that problem speaks to the more important question of the relevance and thus the significance of the development of a black world hegemonic authority. Prof. Karenga presents the issues that make the evolution of such authority necessary but he fails to rise above a nationalist position in his understanding of world hegemonical politics.

Through Prof. Wole Soyinka's essay the problem of the development of commitment within the world hegemonic politics is approached more frontally. What is the world community that should evoke the commitment primordial of the black scholar? Prof. Soyinka chooses to answer this question iconically. Taking language as an icon of hegeomny, he rejects the world reality pictured in the Eurocentric notions of Africa because they are expression of the European hegemonic imagination. If the world emerges as a willed vision of the possible, then the entrapment of the mind in the imaginings of a hostile other in effect means the the crippling of the will of the entrapped. How such ensnaring of the will is to be avoided and how the will becomes aware of that already willed in

the process of authentic presentation are the problems that define the method employed by Prof. Soyinka in his effort to make the African scholar aware of his legitimate hegemonic domain.

What then does Africa or black reveal hegemonically? Creatures and creations of guilt-ridden imperialist realities of a European hegemonic consciousness. When these terms are used much more than the affirmation of the negation a la Karenga is revealed; what is exposed if the intensification of the negation of Africa by Europe.

You may have noticed—or perhaps not—that I have used the expression *black* and *African* quite interchangeably. Well, the purists can rest easily in their living graves—I assure them that I have mentally abandoned both terminologies. You may quote whatever source you like for the etymology of the word *Africa*—one thing you will agree with—there is no revelation of a true source in “black Africa” for the term *Africa* or *African*. Or indeed for any of the derivatives from this most confusionist word—Africa. Some groups, particularly in the United States, have tried to confront the problem by spelling Africa with a *k*. This they consider very radical, self-identifying, a sort of rejection talisman residing in the alphabet. But—whose alphabet? I mean, to quote once again a local saying: *Ewo L'Oja N'Nu Oje?* What exactly is the hair-breadth distance between six and seven? To the best of my knowledge the Germans spelt Africa with a *k* and that Afrikanity did not prevent them colonising this continent until the *c* spellers de-looted them of both *c* and *k* as the penalty of losing one or the other of those “world” wars the Euramerican peoples are so fond of waging. So, to my black-spelt, presumably with a double *k*—to my black brother in the United States of America I say simply that your dilemma, as a hysterically sensitive people is the same as mine—neither of us has yet found a definition, so woefully trapped are we in *their* language, and *their* alphabets.

Who has set such traps for the black world community? The Great Powers—not only the traditional cononial powers but the Soviet and Chinese powers as well. And the essence of the trap is to be found in the effort aimed at neutralizing the will to hegemony of black Africa.

I have made a discovery which I want to share with you. I found that a great deal of the ideological steam which erupts from time to time between scholars, writers, politicians, but most especially heads of state on this continent is really not from this continent at all but from some very deep geysers, underground boiling pools located in

the British Isles, on the European continent, the Chinese mainland, the United States of America, the Soviet Union—anywhere at all except from the sub-stratum of the African continent.

The black world reflects the designs of the Great Powers precisely because these Great Powers have organized the world to ensure their dominance and the black world's subjection. How then is the black world to achieve its liberation? This presupposes a state of affairs in which the black world is conscious of itself as a black world and from that consciousness proceeds to a reflection of its condition in the universe of worlds. This is, however, not the case, argues Prof. Soyinka, because the black is woefully trapped in the hegemonic designs of the Great Powers. The first thing is to bring the black to a consciousness of his hegemonic identity and to make the black aware of the history of the universe that is reflected in the cultural habits with which it presents itself. And that calls for a perspective internal to the black world. What is that perspective?

And the internal perspective is simply this: what is black? What is Africa? What is pan? . . . The difficulty is this: however we define pan, negro, Africa, black, etc., the fact that we can never get out of is that it is somebody else's definition. Hasn't Sekou Toure himself written, in a famous editorial concerning this Festival: "The name negro was given to us by the whites"? This is why the Russian progressives are perfectly within their rights—since the language of "black" "negro" is a European one—they are within their right to say "black" is no more. Tomorrow may be the progressives of the European world and our ideological brothers everywhere will also inform us that pan is no more. Then, maybe in 1984, those who named this continent Africa will decree that because of certain unfortunate associations, Africa itself is no more. And of course their reasons will be right because the conception is in their language, and it is their language. If the French Academy for the preservation of the purity of French language can decree words already in common usage out of existence, why should not the Academy of International Progressives decree our identifying handles out of existence?

Where the word is the world and where words can make worlds, the denial of the black voice is tantamount to denying the black the world that can present him. An experience of the process of ontology and cosmogonic within the world hegemonic politics is assumed by Prof. Soyinka's analysis. Thus the speaking for the black, the naming of the black by others, the recognition by the

black of the right of the other to name him, all these are confirmations of the fundamental hegemonic alienation of the black. If the blacks resent this condition and desire to resume their hegemonic role, what must they be aware of? First and foremost of the fact of usurpation.

If I say to myself, I am not part of that history which led to you being uncomfortable over the expression "black," I free myself immediately from the necessity of your decisions. I go further. I look into my own language and rediscover what I called myself before your guilt-rooted word was imposed on my society. And I find, behold—*baiki mutane* (Hausa):*Meedidzii* (Ga):*Enia dudu* (Yoruba). And I discover that these various expressions indigenous to my own peoples bear no connotation of racism, have no experience of the historic malformation which have plagued racist Europe. And I discover that long before the great great to the nth place grandfather of the first white slaver learnt to formulate language or concepts, the Akan people had an expression "*Abibirim, Abibiman*" to describe what we now call the black peoples, the land of the black peoples, Africa, the affair of the black peoples, that which concerns the black peoples, etc., etc., etc., expressions which in all the history of their users never connoted or acted out the imperatives of racism, from that moment on I free myself from the historical hang-ups of other peoples and reject their spurious imposition. From then one, when I hear or say—as I am still compelled to—the word Africa—I hear and think—*Abibiman*.

A change of levels of discourse is now introduced in the above quotation. The argument offered by Prof. Soyinka seems to be a cultural nationalist argument, a neotraditionalist argument. But this is not where he wishes to lead us. The question is what has happened to the world of our fathers, for we are not immediately our fathers' sons. How are we to speak with the integrity and autonomy of our fathers in a world context where we are woefully trapped? A cultural nationalist policy entailing a translation of black into *Abibiman* is dangerously similar to a cultural policy already rejected by Prof. Soyinka. But when we remember that the question that concerns him is one of hegemony, and that language is presented as the icon of hegemonic status, then an awareness of the world of our fathers is an awareness of a hegemonic status that is an expression of the will of being radically different from the European. If the liberation of the black requires the assumption of an identity that is also radically different from the European, an

awareness that such a state of being had been possible is also an encouragement that such a state of being can be actualized in the present. But the world of *Abibiman* is not presented as a useful example, as a potential that is to be developed. In so doing Prof. Soyinka again introduces a different argument. It is an implicit argument. If the black is to express his world and thus achieve his hegemonic identity, he must resume his voice; he already has a voice that suffers from disuse; that voice had projected and concretized the world—the world of *Abibiman*; the black use of his voice is consequently a use of the voice for the rediscovery of the world of *Abibiman*. But is this merely an act of rediscovery, of representation? No, for Prof. Soyinka does not wish to take us to the past world but to bring us into an awareness of the world whose essence remains undeveloped precisely because the sons of *Abibiman* have ceased to be the sons of *Abibiman*.

The questions would then be what made it possible for the sons of *Abibiman* to be alienated from their origin, what was the process of that self-alienation, and how can that process be reversed? These, however, are not the questions that Prof. Soyinka asks. Instead he asks what is the world that emerges when the sons of *Abibiman* ceased to be the sons of *Abibiman*? Within what conditions are the sons of *Abibiman* trapped? How does one begin to develop strategies for their disalienation?

These are the questions which take Prof. Soyinka to an examination of the fact of race in world hegemonic politics.

Who then—for this is the next logical step in thought—who then constitutes the authentic world of *Abibiman*? But is it really *our* problem? Race, which I always define as a unique consciousness of the collectivity of being, is very much a biological fact. History—of which obvious contemporary reality is a part, compels us to add to that the obvious fact that race is also a fact of law. And even without the progression of the truism that law resides in the collective will of peoples or nations, I add to our location of the race conception this humanist assertion: that race is also an act of will. *I hope that even the Apostles Millenium awaiting the raceless paradise will admit that at this moment here, in this material world we inhabit, race is a fact.* A strong believer in miscegenation I shall be quite happy to live in a world without races. But even when the entire world is *cafe au lait*, I suspect that we will discover that the factor of cultural will, of which race will then become the mere expression, will continue to dominate the creative and inventive mind of man. And culture is what the Colloquium is about.

Why is it necessary for Prof. Soyinka to present a case for the reality of race? We suspect because race is of importance in locating the sons of *Abibiman* and in making him aware of their condition. If this is the case, is Prof. Soyinka justifying why the sons of *Abibiman* are correct in being racialist? We suspect not. We do not believe that Prof. Soyinka, contrary to the impression he gives in his explication of the concept of race, is dealing with race as an expression of the hegemonic will of the sons of *Abibiman*. We believe that he is very much concerned about the world hegemonic politics in which race has been used by Europeans to define the sons of *Abibiman* as the Wretched of the Earth, as the ontologically exploitable, as nature's gift to the European, in which a condition has been created that is reflected in the biological, legal, and cultural reflexes of the European. And we believe he is concerned about this because somewhere in the process of the struggle for the liberation of the black world, European progressives and their African supporters deny the reality of race, and in denying the reality of race absolve themselves of the responsibility to do something about restructuring the world distorted by European hegemonic will and thereby refuse to recognize the fact that *their history* makes the black and the European the primary architect of the restructuring of that world. Prof. Soyinka's argument is thus primarily an argument with European socialists (European and African). At the roots of this argument is the question of authority. If European hegemonic racialism is denied by European socialists presenting a philosophy of history which in effect negated the history of Europe in the world, and if they insist on assuming the ideological leadership of the liberation struggle of the sons of *Abibiman*, European socialists in so doing refuse to recognize the structure of the world hegemonic politics through which the subjection of the black has been effectively organized. They also refuse to recognize the black world that evolved within the experience of European domination, and refuse to acknowledge the perspective of the indigenes of that condition; they in effect continue the usurpation of the voice of the sons of *Abibiman* by in effect making the sons of *Abibiman* the sons of European socialists. There are realities of race which a reluctance to deal with racialism at its most profound humanist level cannot obscure. Actions speak louder than ideologies. The present condition of the sons of *Abibiman* is a condition that others are aware of. There are dire

hegemonic consequences in being confined to that condition. To-be-black-in-the-European-World carries with it consequences which those at liberty to do so assiduously seek to avoid. In seeking to avoid being identified as part of the black world, the black world is thus again and again articulated.

The logic of European-dominated world hegemonic politics teaches the lesson that those who should have least possibility for autonomous and authentic self-expression are blacks, and that the archetypal definition of the blacks is *continental black Africans*. Consequently, the Sahara is important, the coalition diplomacy of the OAU notwithstanding. Prof. Soyinka approaches this thorny question diplomatically and symbolically. And it is within the realities of the problems internal to the continent that he advocates a polyracialism which frees Arab Africa from the responsibility of a ritualist coalition with black Africa. One suspects that Prof. Soyinka is pressed to addressing himself to this issue precisely because of the unrelenting racialism of Europe—Europe of both the capitalist West and the socialist East. If Europeans as Europeans cannot recognize the African as a world power whose autonomy Europe continually undermines and if the hegemonic politics of the Arabs make Africa's problems secondary, then black Africa must assume the primary role for its hegemonic development. Where notions of continental unity become vacuous within the realities of world politics, then black Africa must come to see that it stands and must at first stand alone to cause a reorder of the world of which the Arab is a part. The facts show an *immediate* conflict of interest, within continental Africa; they show in fact a difference in hegemonic cultural identity between black Africa and Arab Africa. The problem is that black Africa is unaware that it is alone in the world. It is in making this fact apparent that Prof. Soyinka uses the case of Somalia to call attention to the reality of black Africa, in the hope that were black Africans to see their reality, then they could begin to assess the condition in which they find themselves. If Somalia joins the Arab League, what has it separated itself from?

At the very least, as a thinking and therefore moderately curious being, it is not unlikely that I ask myself, *What exactly has Somalia identified itself out of?* I could equally seek to understand the exact meaning of this act, as a historical act, as an ontological pronouncement or would it be simply as part of the bloc-politics which have come to plague our existence and confuse otherwise objective issues?

Instead, however, I choose to confine myself to the question—and this is my privilege: what, *in cultural terms*, is that entity out from which Somali has identified itself? . . .

I have picked on Somalia purely as an example of the means to self-recognition for the rest of us. For those who are still in any doubt, it is that world, the world out from which Somali has identified itself which has always been known, before foreign tongues came to sow doubts in our minds, as *Abibiman*. And it is that world to which we would like black scholars everywhere to address their intellectual and creative energies. It is that world which we say desperately needs a common language of definition, it is on behalf of that world for which we demand *recognition* from those who insist they are our brother, ideological brothers or brothers within the extended family.

Prof. Husein Adams' criticism of Prof. Soyinka's position stems from what appears to be a shyness on Prof. Soyinka's part to call attention to the status-quo politics on the African continent, to the role of the Arab league in Sudan, Ethiopia, the Horn, etc, to the experience of the Arabs and black Africa during the Oil Embargo, and to the relative importance to both regions of Israel and South Africa. The question that needs to be addressed is: what does it in fact mean within the world to be black African? Prof. Soyinka confuses the matter when he equates the symbol of that world, the world of *Abibiman*, with the black African world in the contemporary world hegemonic politics. It is because the black African world symbolized through the world of *Abibiman* is a world still to be recognized by the sons of *Abibiman* that Prof. Wole Soyinka speaks of the importance of a continental language. And language we must remember he uses as the aspect of hegemony, the personality of authority. Were the world already there, formed and waiting to be rediscovered, it would be a world with its cultural projections. It would be a world only because it has been revealed—its status would be reflected through its language. This is not the case with the black African world. The sons of *Abibiman* are put in a position where they may in fact deny that world. How is that world to be made evident? Prof. Soyinka uses the metaphor of language policy to call attention to the reality of that world. The world of the sons of *Abibiman* is not the nation-state and the adoption of national languages will merely complicate the problems of the self-expression of the black world.

The actual linguist map of Africa already makes its eloquent statement on the artificial existence of our nations; policies which

enshrine a national language at this stage of African self-awareness therefore run counter to the organic reality of African peoples. . . .

With C. L. R. James, the noted pan-Africanist, we envision quite clearly that, "the national state as an ideal belongs to the last century"; the new ideal, whatever form it takes, needs an obvious base of a linguistic communality.

The base, by elimination, is the "black African" that is the center of the black world. For the articulation of the identity of that world Swahili is recommended as its medium of hegemonic expression. But this is a *metaphoric* solution. Something is being said about the presence of the black in world politics. We would attempt to make the arguments which Prof. Soyinka assumes. An internal analysis of the structures of world hegemonic politics and the institutions which express the power and authority of those dominant within the world show that the actors and situations within which they make their will effective are world transformational, global. It is against the background of the globe that they define their hegemonic identity. It is within this context that the status of the black is institutionalized. It is thus as a world community of the deprived that the black confronts the problem of European imperialism. Prof. Soyinka assumes that the realities of nation-state in Europe are not primary but secondary or even tertiary. The question is how the black "tricked" into viewing the nation-state as primary can be made to perceive the truth. On the assumption that the question can be answered, Prof. Soyinka calls attention the implications of the achievement of world hegemony. A world power or a candidate for world power (and the African even only to avoid the domination of outsiders must develop itself as a world power) appears in cultural habits that authenticate an achievement of the status of world. The achievement of world power is also the achievement of a world language through which that power is represented. On the supposition that the black world would liberate itself in the context of an unrelentingly inimical Europe, the black world would of necessity assume a hegemonic linguistic habit quite different from Europe. Here the essence of that habits is its ethics, its morality, and for Prof. Soyinka Swahili is presented as a symbol of a black African world on its way to self-liberation.

This interpretation places Prof., Soyinka's discussion in a different context. The specifics of his proposal become unimportant. Whether Swahili is indigenous or not, whether a continental

approach competes with a national approach, whether other linguistic candidates can be found or not—all these in the long run are irrelevant questions. The practical and important questions are the following.

1. How are political actors within the black world to use the fact of European imperialism as a method for the explanation of the process of European domination of the world, of the process of their own subjection and alienation?
2. How are they to be made aware of the actual dimension of the world that must be retrieved?
3. Through what process is the black African world development of hegemony a critique of historic values and an articulation of the ethical character which its world language reveals and celebrates?
4. What lessons from history are to be learned and within what contexts are they to be evaluated or modified?

As questions concerning the assumptions of the burden of world development their answers would emerge in the activities designed to bring the world desires into view. The context for this task may be linguistic. It is, however, our task to define the hegemonic referent unequivocally. This is the fault of Prof. Soyinka's analysis of the problem of historical awareness of the black world, the vagueness with which the referent and context of the issues of commitment are defined. And this is the source of the deliberate misunderstanding of the position he has symbolically represented.

But if, as a result of direct experience of the realities of hegemonic politics, wisdom teaches an indirectness, a studied aesopianism, and thus a demonstration of what is the case by hints as opposed to bold assertions, does Prof. Soyinka's vagueness suggest that the public arena is a therapeutic theater where the architectonic will seek room for its exercise and where the world is always by definition a shroud of a Gorgonian reality which only the empowered and protected can see without being endangered? And if this is the case, are we not faced with the question of how a method for teaching the *truth* publicly is to be articulated, a method which enables the masses to become the altar of the world that can sustain them and that permits the intellectual to work relentlessly for the actualization of that world? And should we not expect of Prof. Soyinka a tentative statement of such a method that explains his aesopianism as methodological madness?

## CONCLUSION

Our critique of the Working Group Reports has concerned itself with an exegesis of the cultural nationalist strategy. We have suggested that this strategy has been articulated without reference to contexts and philosophy of history. But what has also been eminently evident is the fact that the black and African has assumed a responsibility for autonomous existence and development and has declared himself hegemonically independent of the European. It is in furthering this ambition to hegemonic autonomy that the strategy of cultural nationalism was developed. Although we have examined the formulation of this strategy, Working Group by Working Group, we have done so on the assumption of the future as essentially a *carte blanche*. We have let the architectonic imagination have a free reign in pushing the implications of the Afrocentric criticism of Europe to some of their logical limits. When we, however, consider as fact the consensus evidenced in the adoption of the strategy of cultural nationalism on a world-wide scale, that consensus in itself indicates a response to an experience of hegemony within the black and African world. From this perspective we ask whether cultural nationalism is a rational and effective response to the challenges of hegemonic development and modernization of the black and African world.

What we have done thus far has been in our effort to enable us to make this assessment. But to advance the argument beyond this point already reached, we must now locate the black and African experience of hegemony within the emergence and development of the Euramerican universe. We do so not only to provide the context of that experience but also to show how the black and African response has in fact been at one level of a completion of European capitalist revolution in particular and an extension of the Euro-

pean state system in general. It is as the hegemonic demands in the black and African world are seen as a continuation of the universalization of the European hegemonic achievement, a democratization of control of the European universe, that an understanding of this particular episode in world history requires an appreciation of the drama of history of the European world system that is being replicated and played out within the black and African world.

That a colloquium of the dimension of that held in Lagos could be convened is a testament to the fact that its conveners have become convinced of the fact that their hegemonic problems reflect a common status within the Euramerican universe. Irrespective of the obvious differences in geopolitics, colonial experience, language, and international status, the fact of race as a world-order hegemonic problem was recognized. We have shown how the world significance of race is, however, not adequately treated either in the definition of the constituency of the Festival as "Black and African" or in viewing the essence of the cosmogonic being negated in the Euroracialist hegemonic cosmology as the precolonial precapitalist black African societies. Yet there is a sense in which the experience of European racialism correctly defines the constituency whose representatives were convened for the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture. Such a sense is immediately made evident when the significance of race in the process of the expansion of European capitalist development is understood.

In making the structure of the expression of European hegemony evident, we seek to show that the democratization of the European model world in the universe reorganized by Europe was also accompanied by a replication of hegemonic structures created by the first European capitalist states. Furthermore, we make the assertion that the response of the state authorities in the black and African world does not deviate from this hegemonic pattern; that if anything their struggle for development is evidence of the latest effort at the duplication through the black and African of the European hegemonic achievement. If, in spite of his language of ontological difference and autonomy as expressed by cultural nationalism, the black and African is the most recent candidate aspiring towards hegemonic parity with the European in terms of the European, an understanding of the meaning of the structures through which the European presents his hegemonic achievement is of fundamental importance.

The hegemonic development of Europe occurred and occurs

within the restratification of the precapitalist universe of worlds. Under the Euramerican hegemonic administration that universe has been presented as an international system. The notion of an international system, however, represents a particular technique for the institutionalization of the European hegemony, a *technique* that reflects the character of the European capitalist class organized for the hegemony on a national basis.

This specific pattern of the expression of hegemony cannot be regarded as generic or primary. What it suggests is a particular form of world domination that is most securely expressed within the terms devised for such domination, *i.e.*, the nation-state.

It is in the restratification of the precapitalist universe that the Euramerican world was generated. And it is also within the restratification of that Euramerican world that the necessity and significance of this form of organization and expression of world hegemony is to be understood. We cannot in this work pretend to explain in detail the process of the emergence of Europe as the world power and of the recent differentiation of Europe into subworld powers—the American-dominated capitalist West and the Soviet-dominated socialist East. It is enough to know that it is a Europe that was *first* capitalist that spurned the Soviet Socialist East and in that process maintained intact a European world politics institutionalized in *inter-state* relations that have become the dominant context of world hegemonic politics. In viewing that inter-state hegemonic politics as the dominant context of the process of the democratization of control of the European universe, we can concentrate on the history of European capitalist development without distortion of the content of the history of hegemonic politics in the black and African world-segment of the European-dominated universe. In this respect what is important to remember is that the expansion of Europe, a consequence of its imperialistic restratification of the universe<sup>1</sup> from the fifteenth century on, in

---

<sup>1</sup>We use the term *universe* to demarcate the European understanding. Europe and its ambition define a world that becomes dominant over other ambitions and other notions of the world. It is this fact of the multiplicity of worlds, European and not European, that we define as the universe. As the universe comes to reflect the architectonic will and vision of the European, we refer to this achievement of hegemony as the European world in the earlier phase of its expansion, and as the Euramerican phase in the latter stage of its expansion. The capitalist "revolution" in the black and African "world" takes place as a project for the restratification of the Euramerican world and in turn suggests a *development* of the Euramerican world into a universe of world hegemonically distinct.

effect means the evolution and expansion of a national imperial state, the replication of which within the European contexts enabled Europe to articulate a paradigm state—the European imperial state. It is the logic of the development and expansion of this paradigm state, its universalization as a system of state (the European imperial state system) that establishes the context of the hegemonic struggles of non-Europeans to duplicate Europe's achievement.

We must first and foremost establish the terms of our analysis by providing the morphology of the national imperial state elevated into a world type as the European imperial state. The precondition of the emergence of the national imperial state expressing the capitalist hegemony was and is the expropriation of the world as materials, tools, and processes by a class defined as capitalist. It is this act of expropriation grounded in the use of organized force that simultaneously creates the classes of capitalist and of those who must earn a living in the world they produce but which is owned by the capitalist class that reduces the producers to the poor, that makes the capitalist capable of organizing a way of life for all, and that compels the producers to work for the right to live in the world that they have created under the conditions established by the capitalist.

The emergence of the capitalist is therefore the emergence of a state system which guarantees the achievement of the capitalist as the effective owner of the world and which legitimates the processes through which the mass of society reduced to poverty achieves entry into the world in context, that is structured to secure the control of the world by the capitalist class. The fundamental fact is the act of primordial aggression which creates the condition where one or a few put themselves in a position as owners of the world and thus as owners of property, and where most are put in a position where they own nothing in a condition where they must own something to survive. The act of aggression also remains as evidence of the essential identity of the "owners" of property, of the world, of the instruments of production, and of the relations of production. The "rest" of society in the process comes to accept the *way of life* of the "owners" and also to realize that ownership and security rest in the use of organized force. This establishes the condition for the institutionalization of force, the elevation of security into the cardinal principle; it also defines the essentially manicheistic rela-

tionship between the one and all—the social condition consequent upon the event and advent of the capitalist in a Hobbesian state of nature where security logically lies in each person becoming the Leviathan. The logical condition for the evolution of the state system appropriate to the capitalist condition is set. The state emerges as an advocate of the capitalist interest and thus as an agent to police the political economic process, to maintain the integrity of that process, and to assure law and order within that process.

But since *necessity* has been made the motive force of existence of the rest of society, the necessity to work for the right to live, the necessity to secure a right to a voice in the process of work, and the necessity to organize for security of person and of what is “earned” through work, “class struggle” between the owners of the world and those whose rights to the world have been denied also becomes institutionalized—and that class struggle is by definition a process of “societalized violence.” For insofar as the conditions of existence prescribed by the capitalist in this manichean struggle are in fact and in principle the negation of the rest of society, the affirmation of the right to life identical to that of the capitalist in itself becomes the negation of the capitalist. What is more, the struggle for survival as capitalist goes on within the capitalist class since in principle security is only assured when the world is owned in the absolute sense by one. (This is what explains the richest-man-in-the-world syndrome.) In assuring a coherence to such a state of existence where violence is systemic and the *medium* of social relations, a pattern of security institutions emerges. The police, the armed forces, the intelligence community are all engendered to assure the hegemony of the class in whose image the State is created and to assure maximum discipline and thus an economy in the use of violence. Relations of production and the conditions of social existence are organized in a manner that institutionalizes the law and order desired in the very routines of social existence. Access to life and security in the enjoyment of life are not only made an implication of the status earned through work but also an implication of one’s apparent enthusiastic loyalty to the system. But this condition of life as a negation of the hegemonic ambition of the rest of society must be transcended: the rest of society is compelled to organize for its right to authority in the world against the violent opposition of the state authorities. This organization only emerges as organization when the organizers have been able to overcome the “private” disruptive opposition of the state.

The emergence of resistance at the public level and the evolution of institutions of hegemony (*e.g.*, parties) and of conflict resolution (*e.g.*, the courts) assumes the capacity of the organizers of the rest of society to survive the dangers to their existence which their ambitions provoke. The capitalist class develops its survival powers in this process, for it evolves methods of intelligence for the surveillance of the masses, it institutionalizes a state of war against the organizers of the "rebellion" of the rest of society, it achieves the fragmentation of the rest of the society such that the simple duality of classes becomes replaced by a more complex stratification of classes. The problem of coherence, however, remains; violence is endemic because it is the method for the achievement of hegemony and all that follows—it is the means to success and to failure.

It is in the process of securing internal cohesion, of establishing the actual dimensions which the logic of the process requires, that the "nation" is invented both as a medium for "integration" the classes as well as mobilizing the non-capitalist classes within the capitalist society for the achievement of the domination of other worlds. The nation is created as a substitute for the world already expropriated, as a technique for assuring the pattern of ownership of the world at the time when the strategy of non-negotiable opposition of the capitalist class to the hegemonic demands of the non-capitalist class has proved ineffective to eliminate the internal "enemies" of the capitalist class. But for the "nation" to fulfill its integrative function, it must also be a technique for the re-allocation of hegemony and wealth; faith in the nation and in the reality of the nation is developed as the capacity to own and the right to property are democratized; that "democratic" process requires the conquest of other worlds and the distribution of the loot within the nation. It is thus through imperialism, through the reduction of other worlds to loot, that the democratic process occurs within the core and primary capitalist nation. And it is in this process of compensation through conquest that the capitalist "democratic" nation-state evolves.

Imperialism consequently ensures the democratization of hegemony, not through an intra-system of intra-national redistributive process, but through an inter-system or "inter-national" redistributive process. In this way the national imperial state is created and its emergence consequently creates a duality of the national imperial state and the world of subject peoples—the

colonized, the enslaveable. Its emergence is, thus, also the product of the restratification of the universe of worlds. It marks the process of the expansion of the expropriation of worlds. But sympathy between the expropriated is not achieved, for those expropriated in the core capitalist state have now become *part* of a predatory nation-state. It is in the process of the differentiation of the imperial nation-state from the conquered world that the substance of the nation is clearly developed. Emblems of hegemony are created; all that belong to the conquering state are conquerors, to be treated like lords by the conquered; the conquered as colonized or enslaved or exploited are made to repeat the history of the masses in the core capitalist state. This process achieves its integrity, we must hastily add, because of the ability of the capitalist to eliminate and discredit all other possible ways of life and to make the conquered potential capitalists.

It is because of this achievement that the emergence of the first capitalist nation-states establishes the condition for the emergence of the second, the third, etc. As the nation becomes a hermetic boundary differentiating those within and therefore above from those without and therefore below, the articulation of the capitalist hegemonic ambition of those below of necessity is expressed through an oppositional nationalism. The problems that the "second" nation have to resolve are, however, much more complex than the problems the "first" nation faced. For the second nation must reconcile three histories—the preconquest history, the conquest history, and the indigenous capitalist revolutionary history; it also has the problem of justifying the intra-nation inequality, for if the nation is the world that has been conquered, how is the indigenous capitalist class of the nation to transform the nationalist independence struggle into a consolidation of their class rule? The launching of the nationalist struggle compels the indigenous capitalist class to invest a concept of the nation which justifies the hierarchy established through the alien conquerors as it also mobilizes the resentment of the conquered against the conquerors. The struggle itself creates its heroes. For it must be understood that the "first" nationalist independence struggle in effect threatens the very existence of the "first" capitalist nation-state since it is a radical attack against the imperial nation. The institutions of security, the armed forces, the police, the intelligence community assume their international role in the organization of the National Imperial State; their

function is to produce the incorporation of the conquered worlds as subjects and materials of the Nation; and they also become the major vehicles for the defeat of the national independence struggle. The "nationalists" in the first Nation-State, *i.e.*, the capitalist class, declare a total war on the nationalism of their rebellious subjects. What would be a genocidal war, since the existence of the nation of the first is threatened by the "nationalism" of the second, eventually becomes mediated; the pragmatism which permitted the stabilization of class relationship within the first nation allows also for a stabilization of "inter-national" relations between the first and second nation. The problem of the development and stabilization of the nation remains for both but is most acute for the second nation, for it has not only a greater problem of legitimacy to face but less resources to recreate the nation as a functional substitute of the world which *all of society have just won through the nationalist struggle*; thus both the first and second "nations" become either partners or competitors in the conquest of other worlds for the development of the "mother countries."

As this process spreads it also leads to the "inter-nationalization" of the state system through which the capitalist hegemony is achieved. But the process also makes it much more difficult for that type of state to be secured in the future capitalist nation-states since the hegemonic resources which enable its systematization in the first and second nation-states become more and more difficult to acquire. As the process evolved historically within Europe, what we see is that not only was the capitalist development internally associated with class wars, but that its development as a European system was also accomplished through "inter-national" wars. As the Capitalist State System became European, the pressures for the expansion of the resource base of the national imperial state through conquest of non-Europeans mounted. The wasteful rivalries in the foreign lands which most often led to European wars would have to be modified. In the process of developing a *modus vivendi* outside of Europe, the concept of the European had to be evolved, for it would be this concept which would teach the lesson of how Europe could conquer the rest of the world for the securing of the inter-national system in Europe. And if Europe as a system of capitalist nations were to survive, the rest of the worlds had to be reduced to subject peoples, to materials, things, commodities, etc. It is in the articulation of the concept of the European as an "inter-

national" morality for mediating the imperialistic rivalries between territorially based segments of a Eurocapitalist class that the European came to mean white, and whiteness came to be the status of the hegemonic superiority of Europe to the rest of the world. Europeanness and thus whiteness also came to be the definition of the nation as a world entity just as a territorial chauvinism had been the definition of the nation in the intra-European phase of the expansion of capitalism. The national imperial state would now include peoples other than European, and Europeanness—whiteness—would become the hermetic boundary between the conquerors and the conquered. As capitalism emerged as European, the reorganized universe would make the national imperial state the nexus for the reorganization of different worlds. In some cases, the national imperial state would control worlds in which Europeans are resettled in lands to be made "virgin" by the elimination of its aboriginal populations. In other cases, the State would control worlds in which European subjects are allowed to own slaves for the purpose of a more vigorous capitalist development. In yet other cases the State would control worlds for the sole purpose of their exploitation through the imperialist integration of non-Europeans into its political economy. And it is as a European national imperial state that Europeanness, whiteness, racialism, and thus racism would become the morality of "inter-world" relations.

It is thus in the process of the Europeanization of capitalism that racialism as a European hegemonic cosmology is developed to assure the integrity of the Metropolitan nation-state. It is in this process that non-Europeans are marked out as worlds to be conquered and that would make race a definition of the hegemonic status, potential, and condition of the conqueror and conquered. Race becomes a boundary between nations and subject worlds. Once the Euroracialist morality has been institutionalized, it then is only a matter of administrative ingenuity for categories to be created for the classification of subject peoples. It is in this condition that the problems of legitimation give rise to the development of imperialistic social sciences and humanities for the articulation of a Euroracialist theodicy.

What is important, however, is that each theater of European imperialism calls for the invention of Euroracialist hegemonic ontology. In the confrontation of European with the non-Euro-

peans of Asia, of the Americas, of Africa, of Australia, the non-European *had to be named* for the purpose of their inclusion within the European national imperial state. It is by this process that the hegemonic status of Africa and thus of Africans was defined. *It is a special problem* in the explanation of the process of the European domination of the world, why Africa was defined as the polar opposite of Europe; but whatever the specifics of that process, the designation of Africa as black also defined the entire range of subjection that non-Europeans could experience. Thus, black stood for the potential of the limit of imperialistic exploitation that the exigencies of the problems of capitalist development in the European national imperial state could bring to actuality. The consolidation of the European inter-national system consequently entailed the conquest and incorporation of non-Europe in general and Africa in particular into that system. The articulation of the European imperial state was therefore a process not only of the conquest of non-Europeans, of their subjection, but also of their involvement in the European capitalist system of production. Whether as client-states, or as colonies, or as slaves, non-Europeans were essentially remade in the image of their conquerors. And it is this which then made non-Europe the theater of anti-European capitalist and anti-European anti-capitalist revolutions. Through this process the colonies of European settlers in the Americas, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa would gain their independence. This same expansion of capitalism through nationalist revolutions would in its last phase be a phenomenon of the Asiatic and then of African peoples.

It is this latest phase of the expansion of capitalism within the black world that is our concern. It must be seen that, given the special hegemonic histories of the black and Arab world, their different relationship to Europe, the fact that both share a continent would not constitute a definition of common hegemonic identity and interest. In reviewing the European hegemonic ontology one can clearly see that the black is singled out as an hegemonic archetype, the zero, the naturally enslaveable. It is because of this that an effort was made to use the Sahara as a hegemonic boundary. Africa South of the Sahara was the Sudan, the home of the negro, of the slave. Chief Justice Taney, in the Dred Scott decision, would call attention to the fact that sons of black Africa could never be citizens of a European nation, could in fact never rise beyond the

status of the slave, would always remain unprotected in the state of nature.

The question is simply this: Can a negro, whose ancestors were imported into this country, and sold as slaves, become a member of the political community formed and brought into existence by the constitution of the United States, and as such become entitled to all the rights, and privileges, and immunities, guaranteed by that instrument to the citizen? One of which rights is the privilege of suing in a court of the United States in the cases specified in the Constitution.

It will be observed, that the plea applies to that class of persons only whose ancestors were *negroes of the African race*, and imported into this country, and sold and held as slaves. The only matter in issue before the court, therefore, is whether the descendants of such slaves, when they shall be emancipated, or who are born of parents who had become free before their birth, are citizens of a State, in the sense in which the word citizen is used in the Constitution of the United States. . . .

It becomes necessary, therefore, to determine who were citizens of the several States when the Constitution was adopted. . . . In the opinion of the court, the legislation and histories of the times, and the language used in the Declaration of Independence, show, that neither the class of persons who had been imported as slaves, nor their descendants, whether they had become free or not, were then acknowledged as part of the people, nor intended to be included in the general words used in that memorable instrument. . . .

. . . [Africans] had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior, that they had not rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might *justly and lawfully* be reduced to slavery for his benefit. He was bought and sold, and treated as an ordinary article of merchandise and traffic, whenever a profit could be made by it. *This opinion was at that time fixed and universal in the civilized portion of the white race. It was regarded as an axiom in morals as well as in politics, which no one thought of disputing, or supposed to be open to dispute; and man in every grade and position in society daily and habitually acted upon it in their private pursuits, as well as in matter of public concern, without doubting for a moment the correctness of this opinion.*<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>Benjamin C. Howard, Report of the Decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Case of Dred Scott (Washington 1857), pp. 9, 13-14, 15-17, 60. Quoted in Fishel and Quarles, *The Negro American*, pp. 203-205. (emphasis added)

The emblem of blackness vividly defined by the venerable Chief Justice marked out the archetypical non-European and made him and his world the model of the exploitable. As the black African world became part of the various European imperial states, they also became the racial other that Chief Justice Taney asserted, could never be part of the white race. Each European imperial state in which the black was incorporated consequently became a political society of two worlds, the white race and the black race. The problem of inter-national relations would remain an issue of cohesion and stability of the nation-state within the white race; race-relations would remain a question of an inter-world manichaeism. The non-European, the black, would be regarded as the enemy of the European. Within European colonial relations the European imperial states would automatically close ranks and aid one another in the struggle to contain the rebellions of the natives. This was pragmatism since the development of Europe and the stability of the European imperial state depended upon the containment of the rebellions of the non-European. In this process a European-international system of containment was evolved and became a credit system available to each European imperial nation-state.

In specific terms black Africa would be reorganized through the European imperial state system and its population redistributed in accordance to the *resource needs* of the particular Imperial State. The British, the American, the Dutch, the French, the German share of that world would be administered to achieve the goals of each imperial state within a coordinated European capitalist international political economy. In the process of this reorganization the African as non-European became a hegemonic contrast, a black. And it would be a status of which the African would become aware as he sought first to be part of the "white race," to be an owner of the world in general and of his world in particular. And whether he spoke German or Creole, French or Yoruba, Swahili or Italian, as he saw himself as identical to the "master" and became conscious of the hermetic boundary of race, blackness itself would become a condition that hindered him in the development of his capitalist ambition. And his struggle against the European would of necessity be an inter-world one since the independence struggle of the black world would be a challenge to the European imperial state system. Europe reacting as Europe would see that challenge as inter-national. Because of the importance of black Africa as loot,

the European imperial state has shown the greatest resistance to the black's demand for equality. Yet while the progress of the black would be retarded and postponed, the black's persistence in the struggle to achieve capitalist development has never abated. A European response had to be devised for the containment of the black. In the United States of America the goal of a multi-racial nation-state would be formally defined through the adoption of the post-Civil War Amendments to the United States Constitution. Yet it would not be until 1954 that the issues of multi-racialism would be confronted by the state in the famous *Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*.

Western European imperialist states would maintain intact the dichotomy of races in the national imperial state. They would seek to maintain the mother country as lily white and the colony as the house of the natives. And when the national struggle for independence emerged, effort would be made not only to localize it but also to channel it deliberately into a country-by-country strategy of containment. As the fever of autonomy spread, the colonial empire, previously integrated out of considerations of efficiency, would be deliberately fragmented and ethnic rivalries would be encouraged. The problem of "nation-building" would become the salient issue of hegemonic development for the ex-colonies. The process of indigenous capitalist development, whose European phase we have sketched, is counted upon to ensure the success of the European strategy.

The first problem becomes in fact the ultimate problem, the emergence of the black capitalist and of black capitalism. To have an ambition to be a capitalist is one thing; to realize that the European Inter-national system is a hindrance in the development of this ambition is another thing; to seek to organize as a class and to ensure an autonomous existence is yet another phase of the problem; to aspire to establish a base that would ensure that autonomous existence and enable a capitalist development of the class is the ultimate problem. The success that Europe scores in fragmenting the aspirant capitalist class, in re-tribalizing that class, in promoting ethnic sectarianism and in preventing the organization of the opposition along racial lines, creates the problem of nation-building for the continental black Africans. And it is in dealing with the question of nationalism that the black experience outside of the continent becomes of crucial importance. For within the New

World, "black" national communities have emerged and their existence becomes a definition of the potential that is to be developed as capitalist state systems. The American black experience becomes of paradigmatic importance insofar as it is a presentation of the actual "national" parameter for the black nationalist capitalist development, the United States of America the archetypical European imperial state. In a similar sense Azania is of crucial heuristic importance as a definition of the logic of the European national imperial state. Within its boundary the Metropole exists as the white race; and as a minority it highlights Chief Justice Taney's axiom that to be white is to be ontologically master; and the fragmentation of the black majority into "tribes" is an explication of a strategy applied on a continental basis by Europe in its efforts to retard the emergence of an effective autonomous black capitalist state system. Both the United States and Azania show up the problem of the "national" approach to the black capitalist problem. Transkei is doubly embarrassing because it is both a caricature of the national imperial state and because it is the logical structure of the black African nation-state.

What these two examples show is that the African becomes involved in world capitalist development in a racially determined hegemonic status. *The limitations which he experiences in the process of the expression of his ambition to be like the European are thus racial limitations.* To be confined and limited to notions of territoriality from which the nation and the state are supposed to derive their identity is part of the European colonialist strategy. In affirming the fact of blackness and thus breaking out of a maze designed to frustrate his development of his immediate historical identity, the continental African takes cognizance of the actual hegemonic condition in which he is located. But blackness here primarily calls attention to whiteness, the emblem of the European whose reorganization of the universe has created the problematic environment. It also suggests a world out of which the unique properties of the non-Europeans can be fashioned.

From this perspective the affirmation of a capitalist ambition poses the following question: How is blackness to be recognized as the description of a status-quo of racial subjection and a positing of a world community that represents the colonized world? The problem that is contained in this question becomes obvious because the problem of black development entails the articulation of the

world values through which its capitalist goals can be achieved. Within this perspective both territoriality and nationalism are hindrances. The real base is racial. But race in its historic role is not biological, nor a matter of origin, but a recognition of the immediate hegemonic condition, status, and limitation. It is a definition of context, environment, and opposition. The question is how race can be recognized as a world to be organized in opposition to the European; race as a problem expresses the European; race as *potentiality* expresses the non-European in general, the black non-European in particular. Europe has succeeded in determining the context for the capitalist development of the non-European. It has in theory extended the "inter-national" system to include the non-European worlds. "New nations," "developing nations," "emerging nations," "poor nations," the "non-industrial nations," "the third world" have been created. But these are not real "nations," for there is no restratification of the inter-national system as would be the case when a national imperial state emerges through the crucible of anti-imperialist nationalist capitalist revolution.

Thus the problem of black capitalist development in the black world is now represented as nationalist struggle. This fact itself attests to a lack of historical awareness. The consequences of this lack of awareness are serious. The first is the fragmentation of the black world. This fragmentation confines the "nation" to an unrealistic base. This is crucial for the success of the capitalist state system, for its existence as a state requires the achievement of a realistic base.

It exacerbates the problem of the consolidation of the black capitalist class, for the interests which it unites are still to be realized within the European political economy, within the European Imperial State. The confining of the black capitalist to a territory carved out by the neo-colonialist cartographers of Europe compels the black territorial nationalist to look into the ethnic sectors for allies; in effect the capitalist base within the territory is reduced to ethnic sectors; and even within the ethnic sectors there is further fragmentation.

The most important consequence of this fragmentation is the destructive rivalry it promotes. The "nation," we have argued, is invented as a medium for the integration of the classes through imperialist expansionism. The nation is therefore promised upon the availability of the "open frontier," the world to be conquered—

*Lebenstraum*. The fact of being black in the Euramerican World, however, means that blacks have arrived on the world historic scene as the Wretched of the Earth, as those who have been plundered by all, and who are limited to the "ghetto," to the "slum" of the worlds; who have been deprived of the means of self-protection and therefore lack the means to declare non-blacks an open frontier. In this condition the "inter-nationalization" of black world relations of necessity creates the hegemonic gap which would make each "black territory" wary of the "imperialist" harbored in the other black territories. This real fear makes territoriality a precondition for any development. When the problem of intra-territorial integrity is then coupled with the problem of inter-territorial integrity, we can see why territoriality has become a sacred hegemonic principle of African inter-state relations.

But even if the OAU can guarantee the territorial integrity of each state, the problem of nation-building still remains. How is the capitalist class to justify its existence as a class? How is it to exploit the independence struggle so that it inherits the "territory" from the "mother" country? What vision of the nation is to be institutionalized through which the classes can be integrated? How are the black capitalist classes to acquire the additional resources, "the loot" through which the interest in the nation becomes a medium of the recreation of the colonial state as a black nation-state?

This effort to accomplish the historic ambition must of course yield its harvest of ethnic, territorial, and nationalist chauvinisms, parochialism, and anti-imperialism. The black capitalist must simultaneously fight on three fronts; he must organize against internal enemies, intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic, against other black states seeking the only available open frontier in his territory, and against the European. Intra-territorial hegemonic struggle must create a problem for the black African state systems. Inter-territorial hegemonic struggle would create a problem of intervention of non-black world powers. Even without South Africa the black capitalist agenda evokes nightmares of wars—wars between blacks.

The contemporary African scene is merely an intimation of what the future holds. It is, however, within the problems associated with this agenda that the evolution and functioning of the Organization of African Unity is to be understood. But its continuous relevance depends upon its capacity to generate a non-imperialist morality of inter-state relations. This it can do in principle, but it cannot alter

the immediate dynamics of capitalist nation-building. A non-imperialist nation-building would nationalize as opposed to internationalize the class struggle. But this strategy would threaten the coherence and stability of the nation-state, for it would be difficult for a nation to materially compensate all of the opposing classes to be created without all classes deriving their compensation through a common investment in imperialism.

Yet it was to the accomplishment of this seemingly impossible goal that the Colloquium participants put their creative energies. The result of their effort is the cultural nationalist strategy of the Lagos Programme. The strategy would work if culture replaced economics, if spiritual community replaced the community of predators. But one can appreciate the ingenuity expressed, if not the realism. Such ingenuity is an outcome both of desperation and fanaticism; desperation because the problem of internecine war is a real one and we can from this perspective respect the pragmatism which led the Colloquium to settle for the lowest common denominator, for a consensus and compromise no matter how incoherent the resulting package; fanaticism since the program relected an undeviating adherence to the Europe and hegemonic program in spite of the incongruence between the quality of life desired and the resource base available for the actualization of the ambition.

The Lagos Programme seeking to define what is unique in the black experience would settle for neo-traditionalism. But this itself creates its own problem. For how can the pre-European, pre-capitalist Africa be defined interms of race whose reality is European, imperialist, and capitalist? What is most important is that the quest for the "unique seed" in traditional Africa makes it next to impossible for the problems of nation-building to be discussed either in terms of the contemporary continental African or black world reality. The contrast between the Colloquium with its ultra-modern setting, microphones, interpreters, and state protocol, and the festival of dances, arts and exhibitions representing rural worlds that have become elements and problems of the modern state was a vivid verification of the proposition that the black African capitalist class has yet to rise above the caricaturing of Europe, to make an independent contribution to the history of capitalist nation-building.

It is in this respect that the very fact of the Festival itself, its mere

occurrence, may have been its greatest achievement. The organization of this black world event, the bringing of all the segments of the black world together in one place at a phenomenal cost, in itself is an eloquent statement of the potential of the black world. It is in this sense that the Festival, far from being an answer, is a question concerning the possibilities for the development of a humanizing civilization within the black world. That that question may compel the re-evaluation of consciousness and the articulation of disalienating values we hope would be the project of those whose task it is to monitor critically the progress of those who labor in the periphery of a universe distorted by its Euramericanism for a more coherent and representative future for the human in the black world, the human in the universe.

The articulation of this new humanism within and through the black world must, however, be pragmatically grounded in the realities of the European inter-national state system, even as it becomes the goal and value system of the black world. Because the predominant value system of the black world is immediately Eurocentrically assimilationist, it is critical that even this lowest form of historical awareness be based upon a solid foundation of the social science of hegemonic development. What becomes crucial as a preliminary step is the figuring out of the nature of the European inter-national system that has become both environment and agency for the emergence of the black world.

If the essence of the European imperialist nation-state is its military capabilities given a nationalist expression, then it stands to reason that the basic process for the establishment of the coherence of that nation-state is *immediately* perceivable through the national intelligence community and *mediately* perceived through the inter-national intelligence communities. It is the intelligence community, national and inter-national, that constitutes the operational council of state. Being black places the observer outside of the national and inter-national councils of state. And if it is the nature of the realities of national and inter-national security that these can be seen and their dynamics scientifically appreciated only through participant observation in the policy-making processes of the intelligence communities, how does the black world achieve access into national and international intelligence communities which were organized to exclude them in the first place?

This question, however, suggests the possibility of access. If, as

we have argued, the evolution of Europe as a world power has made race a manicheistic inter-world relation, then within the status-quo situation the black cannot achieve access because the black could never be part of the nation, and hence cannot participate as a member of an inter-national community. This conclusion itself constitutes a hypothesis through which the process of the internationalization of the intelligence community can be studied, while it also serves as a context for the investigation of the relations of the black world to the Euramerican West and Sino-Soviet Socialist East. But much more specifically, it allows for the establishment of studies of the problems of national security in the various regions of the black world. It is important to realize, however, that the study of national security itself presupposes a process of the organization of national security, that it is in the doing that the facts of that which is to be done are realized, and through the doing that a theory and science of national security are developed. It is this which makes the core of the social science of hegemonic development security science and the core of national security science, military science. Since the function of the military establishment of the nation is the defense of the way of life, the political economy of the state, it is the nervous system of the state which not only gives coherence to the state but through which the realities of the state are perceived.

How then is the black world to develop a military science that is by definition the process of the articulation of its hegemonic identity? To pose the question is to make apparent the two problems that the question implies. The first problem is what is the black world, what way of life does it affirm in contrast to the first and second worlds? The second problem is what is the context of the black world, what is its hegemonic environment, thus what are its world ordering and world engendering capabilities? The first problem speaks to the question of the new humanism, to the question of a philosophy of history, and suggests a critique of the immediate Eurocentric assimilationism of the black world leadership. It in effect mandates a systematic study of the emergence of Euramerica and Soviet-Europe; it also calls for a program of research into contemporary Euramerican Capitalism and Soviet-European Socialism. But as a first step it calls for a definition of the criteria of identity of the black world. That world has been defined as a theater of similarly situated actors. Yet within the national and inter-

national system of identification the black actors appear as anomaly. This is in fact the major contribution of the Colloquium, that it made it possible for members of the black world to define the black experience within the European world in a manner which motivated a search for a common non-European identity. We have criticized the choice of new-traditionalism as an answer to the definition of the black world. But even the criticized solution makes the case that the range of emblems of identity, the tribe, the nation and the European, are inappropriate for the representation of the black world.

This is then the first order problem, the articulation of the identity of the black world. This first order problem is however, not a problem of definition, of moralistic propaganda. It is a hegemonic goal, a world policy. In other words the black world emerges as a willed world, as a community envisaged. The architectonic wisdom it reflects becomes of necessity a product of the institutionalization of the critique of European humanism as reflected in the morality of hegemony of the European worlds. But it also entails there articulation of the essence of that black world as a morality of hegemony which expresses the presence of the black in the universe.

The articulation of this morality of hegemony is, however, a question of political economy. The reality of the black morality of hegemony follows the same process as the evolution of the European world. It calls for a presentation of hegemony in concrete terms in the context of rival presentations of hegemony. A more vivid way of saying the same thing is "Put the state where the citizen is." If the Roman is to be respected as Roman in worlds antagonistic to Rome, Rome must be prepared and be in a position to ensure the integrity of the Roman citizen inside and outside of Rome. What is the integrity of the black, what world power will defend that integrity?

These are the immediate questions that agitate the leadership of the black world. These questions also call for the development of a black world Security Science that would enable the black world to defend its integrity. What then must be the character of that black world, what should be its image, how would it be organized as a hegemonic reality? These are the questions that were symptomatically discussed in the Colloquium, and these were the subterranean determinants of the anxieties of Arab Africa and blacks

outside of Africa; these in fact were the essence of the problem of identity encapsulated in the double-barrelled definition of the constituency of the Colloquium—black and African. These questions, however, are not resolvable by a constitutional convention or colloquium; they speak to the problem of world development. That problem calls attention to the question of how leadership is exercised in the process of the articulation and entrenchment of worlds. These questions are partially answered by case studies of success stories; thus, the European experience and the pre-European experiences in Africa and other theaters of the human spirit become legitimate fields of Black Studies—the studies that speak to the problem of the emergence of the black world. It is, however, when the wisdom of architectonic vision of a black world is reflected in the actual state policies of the leadership segment of that world, when the statue-quo identities are consciously reflected, when an active example of the black world is institutionalized, that then and there the prerequisites for the establishment of the black world are created. The history of the United States of America is very instructive. True, it established itself in two world wars as a world power. But it did so both as a defender of Europe and as a agent of development of the European world. Its Marshall Plan and North Atlantic Treaty Alliance are concrete evidence of its leadership in the development and maintenance of the European world.

Yet the problem of black world leadership must be viewed in its historic context, and that context is a European world that is dead set against the emergence of the black world. It is this which makes detente much more dangerous than the Cold War. The European world brought to its national, inter-national, and inter-world sense of priority understands the fact that its intelligence communities have *made* and *revealed*. It has accepted within the assumption of the uninterrupted dominance of Europe a co-existence of the international systems—the American-dominated and Soviet-dominated. In this process a truly European sense of hegemony has become a world order reality. The limits to change are imposed by that European consensus. It is this fact of detente that must provide the sense of urgency for a black world security science that is systematized through regional studies of the black experience. It is this which must galvanize the reordering of the basic institutions of formal and informal education for the achievement of the right to hegemonic integrity and identity of the black. But what is even

more important, it is this condition of inter-world hegemonic politics that must teach the lesson that the institutionalization of the leadership examples manifesting the black entails the organization of a black world security system that in effect becomes the medium, the monument, and the agent of the development of the black world. To the realization of this black world security system whose nervous system runs through South Africa, the United States, the Caribbean, Latin America, in short through every street of the universe now dominated by Europe, where the European opposes the evolution of the human, we re-dedicate the Lagos Programme.

**APPENDIX A**  
**Lagos Programme**



## **Part One**

### **Origin and Organization of the Colloquium**

#### **Origin:**

The World Festival of Black and African Arts has, since its inception in Dakar in 1966, been considered under three main headings:

- a. Events
- b. Exhibitions
- c. Colloquium

The Colloquium, which is the very heart of the Festival is a forum where scholars, writers and artists of the Black World come to pool together their reflections, their researchers and their experiences, around a theme which gives each Festival its distinctive mark, and which is illustrated by all the activities of the Festival. The aim of the Colloquium is to help black peoples to become more familiar with their cultural heritage, to master it better, to tighten their solidarity with a view to ensuring their total cultural liberation, and to pool their efforts together in order to promote and disseminate their cultural values within their communities and all over the world.

#### **The Theme of The Colloquium:**

The theme of the Colloquium of the First World Festival of Black Arts in Dakar was: **Function and Significance of Black and African Art** (for the people and in the life of the people.) The theme of the Colloquium of the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture is:

### Black Civilization and Education

This main theme was sub-divided into ten sub-themes, which were further regrouped into five Working Groups or committees, two sub-themes forming a Working Group, thus:

- |                    |                                                 |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| WORKING GROUP I:   | 1. Black Civilization and the Arts.             |
| WORKING GROUP II:  | 2. Black Civilization and Pedagogy.             |
| WORKING GROUP III: | 3. Black Civilization and Literature.           |
|                    | 4. Black Civilization and African Languages.    |
|                    | 5. Black Civilization and Philosophy.           |
|                    | 6. Black Civilization and Religion.             |
|                    | 7. Black Civilization and Historical Awareness. |
| WORKING GROUP IV:  | 8. Black Civilization and African Governments.  |
|                    | 9. Black Civilization, Science and Technology.  |
| WORKING GROUP V:   | 10. Black Civilization and Mass Media.          |

### Scientific Preparation

The scientific preparations of the Colloquium lasted almost three years. The general theme, with its sub-divisions, coupled with a commentary, was circulated throughout the zones and participating countries through universities and Ministries of Education and Culture. Prospective participants were requested to prepare their contributions to the Colloquium in two specific forms:

- a. Investigations bearing on the concrete realities of black civilization, as laid down in the programme, as well as on experiments carried out in certain countries to integrate them in the educational system.
- b. Synthesis leading to orientations and concrete proposals.

At the International Secretariat of the Festival in Lagos, a Colloquium Division was set up to centralize and co-ordinate the preparation for the Colloquium all over the world. Our dear colleague, Dr. Pio Zirimu was the Director of this Division, when he died only a few days before the opening of this Colloquium. Several pre-colloquia and seminars were held in order to work out the Colloquium Programme (UNESCO in 1973, Dakar 1974, Ibadan 1975).

### **Participating Countries:**

Thirty-five countries registered to participate in the Colloquium. They are:

Brazil, Cuba, Canada, United States, United Kingdom and Ireland, France, Australia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Mauritius, Zambia, Swaziland, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Zaire, Burundi, and Chad. Others are Cameroun, Central African Empire, Republic of Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon, Liberia, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Republic of Guinea, Peoples Republic of Benin, Zimbabwe, Surinam, Mali, Senegal and Mauritania.

Representatives of eighteen other countries joined in the Colloquium during the Festival:

Somalia, Lesotho, Libya, Egypt, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Madagascar, Tunisia, Algeria, Guinea Bissau, Rwanda, Republic of Cape Verde, Upper Volta, Togo, Niger, Malawi, and the Black Communities in Germany and Holland.

Finally, also present were International Organisations, notably the OAU, UNO, UNESCO and the Holy Sea. As France and Mauritius did not participate in the end, there were finally 51 countries represented making a total of about 700 participants, comprising 335 official delegates, the rest being observers.

### **Texts Received:**

At the time the Colloquium was opened, we had received 241 texts: 159 in English and 82 in French.

### **Colloquium Executive Committee:**

The Executive Committee of the Colloquium was made up as follows:

- His Excellency Colonel A. ALI, Commissioner for Education, Federal Republic of Nigeria: Chairman.
- Mr. AMBROSE MBIA, Secretary-General of the International Festival Committee.
- Prof. ENGELBERT MVENG: Professor of History at the University of Yaounde: Rapporteur-General.

Each working group had two rapporteurs in charge of each sub-

theme of the Colloquium. The Chairmanship of each working group was supplied in turn by the leaders of the delegations of the countries taking part in the Colloquium. Also working hand in hand with the Colloquium Executive Committee was the team in charge of the technical organization of the Colloquium. This team comprised:

- Mr. J.C. DE GRAFT, Ghanaian, Lecturer at the University of Nairobi (Kenya), in charge of production and distribution of English texts.
- Mr. C. GRANDERSON, from Trinidad and Tobago, French literature teacher at the Lycee classique at Bouake (Ivory Coast), in charge of production and distribution of French texts.
- Dr. A.U. IWARA, Lecturer at the University of Ibadan (Nigeria) responsible for classification into sub-themes of texts and abstracts received, as well as for the production of Colloquium Reports in English and French.
- Mrs. BASSEY, from Nigeria, responsible for the codification of texts and abstracts received.
- Mr. WINSALA, Senior Assistant Registrar, Conference Centre at the University of Ibadan, in charge of the administrative organization of the Colloquium. The Steering Committee of the Colloquium was helped by UNESCO consultants who were seconded to the office of the Colloquium under the Chairmanship of His Excellency Mr. Mahtar M'Bow, Director General of UNESCO.

They were assisted by a team of translators, revisors, printers, typists and collators.

### Progress of the Colloquium

The Colloquium proceeded in 4 stages:

The opening ceremony on 17th January, 1977, presided over by the Head of State, General Olusegun Obasanjo, Grand Patron of the Festival.

The first week, devoted to the working group from 18th January - 23rd January, 1977.

The second week, devoted to studying Working Group Reports in plenary sessions and to the adoption of the General Report between January 24th to 31st, 1977.

Finally, the closing session presided over by Commander O.P. Fingsi, President of the International Festival Committee on 31 January 1977.

In addition to the discussions of the working groups, round-table conferences and symposia were held. There were at least two in each working group.

Finally, a series of 10 public lectures on different subjects in the programme of the Colloquium was organized.

### MAJOR PROJECT - I

#### Black Civilization and Education

The reports and the texts studied, as well as the group discussions, the symposia and the round-table conferences, show that there are a certain number of points on which the participants agree and some others on which there are differences of opinion.

There were some reservations with regards to the definition of Black Civilization and Black World in their relationship with the African continent, some people insisting on the oneness of the African continent and making no distinction between Black Africa and White Africa, others upholding the specificity of Black Africa, its civilizations, its survivals in the Diaspora, and the reality of a Black World rooted in Africa but transcending the frontiers of the African continent. However, there was total agreement on the necessity for a total cultural liberation, a total mastery of our cultural heritage by our peoples, and on the means of enriching this cultural heritage and handing it down to other generations through education.

The theme of the Colloquium: **Black Civilization and Education**, appears thus as an appeal and a challenge. An appeal for the coming together and the solidarity of Black people in spite of their ideological differences and the diversity of their geographical and historical conditions. It is an appeal to us to master our heritage, to become rooted in it, and to hand it down to posterity. It is at the same time a challenge in the face of countless difficulties [which are so many obstacles] in our way. The public lectures, the papers read, the work of the committees, the debates and symposia have revealed to us that we are not masters of our heritage:

- There were few scientific studies on the different aspects of our civilization contained in the sub-themes of the Colloquium.

- few surveys and evaluations of experiments carried out in different countries.
- only a few teaching aids have so far been prepared for the propagation of our heritage.
- few trained educators for this propagation.

Many texts, however, have been successful in destroying in a permanent way, we hope, most of the myths which were running down our languages, our arts, our philosophies, our religions, our technologies, our systems of government and our historical traditions. Many of them have proved the originality of our cultures, our sense of creativity and invention. Many have stressed the fact that our languages, our arts, our wisdom, our religions, our traditional medicine . . . have not only provided us with reasons for our existence in the past, but also helped us in the present liberation of Africa, and should serve us as a springboard for the great leap into the future.

All the participants at the Colloquium are therefore unanimous in the view that we must learn our languages, arts, literatures, historical traditions, systems of government, philosophies, religious values, technologies and traditional medicine, our mass-media and their use in modern means of communication. We should not only learn them but practice them in our daily life and make them a new kind of expression of our identity, so that we can thus enter into modernity while remaining our very selves.

The question which arises before us is: how can we accomplish such an idea? The answer to this question confronts us with an immense programme or research, for everything, or almost everything still, remains to be done.

### **African Unity and the Unity of the Black World**

The first point on this programme involves African unity and the unity of the Black World. The first is a geographical, historical and political necessity: it is also a cultural exigency. Started under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity, it should be pursued in all domains: economic, political and cultural, while at the same time respecting the individual identity of the African states and peoples. The instance on unity does not exclude the right to cultural difference. The real mission of the Organization of African Unity is precisely to promote this unity while recognizing the complementary nature of African states cultures.

The Unity of the Black World is itself also a historical, geographical and cultural necessity. The appeal made by our brothers of the Diaspora, those of the Americas, those of the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean and Australia, is directly meant for Africa: Africa is the foundation, not only of the ethnic unity of all these peoples, but, above all, of their cultural unity. It is around Africa that all the black peoples dispersed all over the world intend to rebuild their unity. This unity has not yet been achieved: it is an immense building site where work is yet to start.

The foundation stone is being laid by the Lagos Colloquium and hence a new chapter is being added to the history of our times, with its distinct feature of the continued search for links of solidarity among peoples. But what characterizes the common destiny of black peoples throughout the world is their common aspiration towards total liberation, towards the regaining of their cultural identity, and their legitimate place in the making of the world. Thus a common origin, a common historical destiny and common aspirations make the unity of the Black World an historical exigency.

This is why the Lagos Colloquium insists that the structures that make for closer ties and solidarity among black peoples be greatly increased and reinforced. The World Black and African Festival Of Arts And Culture is one of such structures. Other cultural and sports meetings should be organized for artists, writers, scholars, sport tea . . . etc. There should be exchanges of youths, researchers, teachers, and public lecturers. Exhibitions, training and refresher courses, and seminars that would enhance mutual understanding should be organised.

Finally, *a world centre for the study of black peoples and civilizations* should be set up in Africa or in the Diaspora.

### Plan of Action

As far as the very programme of the Colloquium and its theme, Black Civilization and Education are concerned, three crucial points seem to have clearly emerged to guide the steps to make for implementing the conclusions of this Colloquium. The analysis of the ten sub-themes actually reveals that three major obstacles have kept us from integrating our civilization in our systems of education. These three obstacles are:

- a. The absence of in-depth studies on our civilization, studies based on our concrete realities.
- b. The absence of teaching aids that can be used for the transmission of our cultural heritage.
- c. The absence of teachers and educators groomed for this task.

The three crucial points mentioned above are therefore as follows:

- a. A systematic programme of basic researches on the cultural heritage of each country.
- b. A programme for the production of teaching aids for the propagation of our cultures.
- c. A training programme to make educators and teachers knowledgeable in Black and African civilizations.

Finally, to achieve the goals of this Colloquium, an exchange programme at three levels—regional, continental and inter-continental—should be planned in order to enable all countries to benefit from the work and achievements of others.

#### **MAJOR PROJECT - II**

##### **Black Civilization And Education**

By relating these crucial points to each of the sub-themes of the Colloquium, we can work out a general programme making up a veritable MAJOR PROJECT that all our peoples and our States are called upon to implement during the next decade.

#### **PART II.**

The theme of the Colloquium has been divided into ten sub-themes as follows:-

- |                    |                                                 |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| WORKING GROUP I:   | 1. Black Civilization and the Arts.             |
| WORKING GROUP II:  | 2. Black Civilization and Pedagogy.             |
| WORKING GROUP III: | 3. Black Civilization and Literature.           |
|                    | 4. Black Civilization and African Languages.    |
|                    | 5. Black Civilization and Philosophy.           |
|                    | 6. Black Civilization and Religion.             |
|                    | 7. Black Civilization and Historical Awareness. |

- WORKING GROUP IV: 8. Black Civilization and African Governments.  
 9. Black Civilization, Science and Technology.
- WORKING GROUP V: 10. Black Civilization and Mass Media.

The general outline of the following plan of action emerges from each of the sub-themes:

### Black Civilization and Arts

- a. **Basic Research:**  
 Each country should draw up and publish an *inventory of its* artistic heritage. This inventory will include descriptive data sheets, photographic or film documents and recordings.
- **Inventory of Ancient And Modern Plastic Arts:**  
 Sculpture, painting, decorative arts . . . etc.
  - **Inventory of Traditional Architecture**
  - **Inventory of Ancient and Modern Musical Traditions**
  - **Inventory of Ancient and Modern Dances**
  - **Inventory of Forms of Dramatic Arts, Etc.**
- b. **Teaching Aids:**
- **Preparation of Manuals** for beginners in the various artistic expressions.
  - setting-up of collections of educational photographs, films and slides
  - setting-up of libraries of educational recordings.
  - Compulsory inclusion of these subjects in school syllabuses, and in examinations leading to the award of official certificates.
- c. • **Teacher Training**
- The creation of a course on Black and African arts in general studies institutions and in training institutions for teachers.
  - organization of national and regional training courses and seminars for teacher refresher courses in African art.
  - Creation of Black and African arts and civilizations professorships in universities.
  - Employment, in the field of education, in the teaching field, of artists who are drawn from the masses, and who are guardians of Black and African artistic technics and traditions.

## SUB-THEME 2

**Black Civilization and Pedagogy**a. **Basic Research:**

Systematic inventory of *traditional systems of education*: initiation and other rites of passage, professional training by trade craft associations.

- **Inventory of traditional games:**
- Inventory of ancient and modern forms of organizations for training and entertainment.
- Preliminary research on the finalities, the methods and means of action of traditional systems of education . . . etc.

b. **Teaching Aids:**

- Setting-up of archives of audio-visual documents on the traditional methods of education.
- Archives of audio-visual documents on the methods of education, of youth supervision, of cultural assistance that are used in other African countries and in countries outside Africa.
- Archives of audio-visual documents on the various methods of learning and assimilating artistic, scientific and literary subjects tested in the best schools in Africa and in the world.
- Setting-up of infrastructure and technical equipment for the teaching of traditional sports.

c. **Teacher Training:**

- Inclusion in the syllabuses of Teacher Training Colleges and Colleges of Education of a special programme of introduction to traditional and modern teaching methods.
- Organization of training courses, seminars and meetings, at national and international levels, on traditional and modern methods of education.
- Inclusion, in the curricula of sports institutes, of a compulsory programme on traditional sports and games
- Employment in Training Colleges and institutes as well as in professional training and cultural assistance organisations, of competent and serious-minded traditional instructors.

**Black Civilization and African Languages:****a. Basic Research:**

- Inventory of national languages and drawing of linguistic maps of each country.
- Publication of glossaries, dictionaries, and books of basic vocabulary of these languages.
- Research on the linguistic groups and their classification.
- Setting-up of commissions to establish rules of transcription for national languages where this has not been done.
- Research on the use of the same language by several African countries.
- Research into possible adoption of an African language as national language.
- Research into possible adoption of a pan-African language.
- Harmonization of the systems of transcription of African languages, at the sub-regional and regional levels.

**b. Teaching Aids:**

- Publication of grammar books at all levels for the teaching of national languages.
- Publication of collections of texts in national languages.
- Radio and Television programmes in national languages.
- Publication of official gazettes in national languages.
- Translation of national constitutions and similar documents into national languages (the Constitution, the principal laws . . . etc.).
- Introduction of national languages at all levels of education; kindergarten and primary education in national languages, secondary and higher education in a bilingual system (national language and a foreign language).
- Creation and encouragement of publishing concerns that publish in national languages.
- Encouragement of the translation and publication of important texts from foreign literatures into national languages.
- Use of national languages in courts of law, in commerce, and in public life.
- Production of audio-visual documents for the teaching of languages and using them in all spheres of life.

**c. Training of Teaching Personnel**

- Introduction in Training Colleges and Colleges of Education of a special department for teachers of national languages.
- Introduction of Departments of national and African languages in universities where they do not exist.
- Training of basic education and adult education instructors who will teach national languages.
- Organization of scientific committees to introduce scientific vocabulary into national languages.
- The use in the teaching profession of men who are experts in their own languages, even if they do not possess any official qualifications.

**Black Civilization and Literature****a. Basic Research:**

- Inventory of traditional literature, with data sheets of literary types and of works, and a literary map of the country.
- Inventory of modern literatures in national or foreign languages.
- Study of traditional types of literature with their essential themes.

**b. Teaching Aids:**

- As the collection of oral traditions is at an advanced stage in many countries, thanks to the help of UNESCO, and as the teaching of African Literatures has been started in secondary schools and higher institutions of learning, the recommendations of this section will be easier to carry out at least in some countries. It is therefore necessary to envisage in the immediate future:-
- The production of anthologies of traditional and modern literature.
- The publication of the full texts of ancient African authors.
- A pedagogical card-index of traditional and modern authors on the national, continental and inter-continental levels.
- The creation in each establishment of a literary library and of archives of audio-visual documents on literature in national and foreign languages.

- The introduction into the syllabuses, where this has not yet been done, of literary programmes in national languages with the possibility of answering examination questions in the languages.
- The possibility of creating certificates in the languages of the country where they are still inexistent.
- Finally, the introduction in schools at all levels of a programme on the literature of the Black World.

**c. Teacher Training**

Introduction in Training Colleges and Colleges of Education of a programme of national literature, African literature and literature of the Black World.

- Creation of professional chairs in universities where they do not exist, for the teaching of these literatures.
- Creation of associations of literary and artistic critics with the help and support of the states in countries where they do not exist.
- Organization of seminars and conferences on the teaching of Negro-African literatures.

### **Black Civilization and Historical Awareness**

**a. Basic research:**

Most countries, often with the assistance of Unesco, have undertaken collections of their oral historical traditions. This sub-theme of the Colloquium intends to emphasize the manner in which people live and see their own history as well as their own way of transmitting this history. It is here one finds that oral tradition is not the only way of passing on history in our societies. Research englobing all modes of expression of the knowledge people had of their own history as well as their mode of transmitting this history should be undertaken. This research will therefore basically embrace:-

- Collections of historical texts and of oral and written tradition.
- Inventories of monuments and of national, regional, continental and inter-continental historical sites.
- Collections of artifacts of historical significance.
- Methods of interpreting traditional artifacts considered to be true epigraphic texts.

- Inventories of texts relating to the history of rites and of political, economic, cultural and religious institutions.
  - The elaboration of a method of criticism of traditional historical documents which will use oral documents, historical monuments, artistic documents and institutions.
- b. **Teaching Aids:**
- Publication of national, regional and continental historical manuals as well as historical manuals on the black world.
  - Creation of Black and African history libraries.
  - Creation of historical museums, preferably in the universities and institutions of learning.
  - Creation of audio-visual historical archives for use in educational institutions.
  - Organisation of the teaching of national and continental history, as well as the history of the black world at all levels.
- c. **Teacher Training**
- There is at present a programme for the training of history teachers in institutions at all levels. However, this training is not always adapted to African realities.
- Emphasis should therefore be placed henceforth on the training of teachers who are rooted in African realities.
- Training of experts in the collection of historical traditions, which are at once oral, artistic and institutional.
  - Training of African archeologists and pre-historians, based on African sites.
  - Training of archivists and curators that can give to our archives and museums a substance and presentation adapted to the mentality of our peoples and capable of promoting a popular culture.
  - Introduction in the programmes of universities and training colleges of a special course in national history, African history and the history of the black world.
  - Organization of seminars and refresher courses on the teaching of our history.
  - The use in our educational institutions of teachers of traditional history who are keepers of historical traditions, even if they do not possess any official qualifications.

### Black Civilization and African Governments

#### a. Basic Research

- Inventory of traditional systems of government. Inventory of systems of initiation and of the training of chiefs and political leaders.
- Inventory of traditional institutions having to do with Peace, War, Justice, Economic Organisation, Industry, Relations with other communities (foreign policy), and reconciliation procedures within a given community and between one community and another . . . etc.
- Creation of funds for documentation on traditional rulers, under and after colonization; on the colonial powers, on national political institutions and political choices since independence, on national unity, on African unity and on the United Nations.

#### b. Teaching Aids:

- First and foremost, we should review our civic education and draw up a series of manuals and teaching documents adapted to different levels of teaching. Thus in primary education and the first part of secondary education, the manuals should place more emphasis on current national issues.

At the higher and university levels, emphasis should be placed on the study of national political traditions while placing these in the perspective of national, African and world realities.

- We will also have to create an infrastructure of civic training: centres for military and civic training; village camps for young people; urban and rural recreational projects . . . etc. Within this infrastructure, efforts should be made to put into application the lessons drawn from traditional institutions.

#### c. Training of Staff

- In most of our countries, we have educators and civic promoters in educational institutions as well as in youth or political movements.
- The essential thing at present is to give those educators and promoters a training that is more advanced and clear to the realities of the people. They must therefore learn the political traditions of the communities with which they deal,

their psychology, the structures of their societies, and try to propagate national objectives and party programmes through them.

### **Black Civilization and Philosophy**

#### **a. Basic Research**

- Inventory of texts of traditional wisdom by literary themes and types: proverbs, tales, myths, sacred texts etc.
- Inventory of rites and institutions marking the major phases of life: birth, puberty, marriage, agriculture, work, hunting, fishing, metallurgy, craftsmanship, war, peace, death, the hereafter etc.
- Inventory of cosmogonical texts on the origin of the world and its organization.
- Inventory of texts on the origin of humanity, of the society, and of major achievements of civilization.
- Inventory of texts on the great problems of life: good, evil, justice, society, family, power, love, solidarity etc.

#### **b. Teaching Aids:**

- Publication of teaching manuals on Black and African wisdom and philosophy at all levels.
- In the primary school: collection of fables, proverbs and riddles.
- In the secondary school: collection of cosmogonical texts, myths and moral texts.
- In the higher institutions: studies of the great problems of life, of the vision of the world, of man and of God . . .
- Comparative study: comparison with other philosophical traditions.
- Production of audio-visual documents on rites and social, economic and cultural institutions.
- Establishment of a card-index on studies in African philosophy, on African philosophers and on those of the Diaspora.

#### **c. Teacher Training:**

- Creation in universities, where that does not yet exist, of chairs of philosophy, of departments of philosophy and of the possibility of awarding certificates in philosophy at all levels of the university curriculum.

- Introduction in the advanced teachers' training colleges of a programme for the training of teachers of African philosophy.
- Organizing regular seminars on African philosophy.

### **Black Civilization and Religion**

#### **a. Basic Research:**

- Inventory of traditional religions in each country: the beliefs, the rites, morals, the major religious centres and statistics.
- Inventory of revealed religions: Christianity and Islam.
- Research on the role of religions in cultural, economic and social development in the past as in the present.
- Collections of official, national and international texts on the freedom of religion.

#### **b. Teaching Aids:**

- Publication of collections of basic texts of the various religions existing in the country.
- The heads of religious communities will also see the production of teaching material adapted to the cultural traditions of the believers; manuals for religious teaching, hymn books, use of local languages, of musical instruments, of ornaments and dresses of the country in religious ceremonies.
- Creation of an iconography and of an authentic religious architecture inspired by traditional art.
- Encouragement of all religious movements and associations which promote cultural revival in music, dance, plastic arts, architecture etc.

#### **c. Teacher Training:**

- Revalorisation of the function of the religious teacher as an equal of the other teachers.
- Creation of chairs of religious studies in the universities with the possibility of studying for certificates in religious studies according to candidate's choice.
- Recognition of certificates of religious studies awarded by religious institutions.
- Integration of religious personnel in all the sectors of training and development: public schools, health service, social work, rural recreational service, research, crafts etc.

## SUB-THEME 8

**Black Civilization, Science and Technology****a. Basic Research:**

- Each country must create a body for scientific and technical research.
- This body should determine the sectors of life to which priority should be given in the field of research. It should also determine the fields in which research has not yet been undertaken. A special commission should be created and charged with the responsibility of studying the impact of the exact sciences of the life and milieu of children in the villages as well as in the towns, so as to detect the areas of scientific interest among those children. This commission should also draw up a list of technological problems which the average man should try to solve in rural and urban life. This can help in the orientation of the teaching of sciences.

**b. Teaching Aids:**

- To generalize the teaching of science in the schools, one should increase the number of small laboratories and small workshops, and this should be done right from the primary school level.
- The contents of science text books must be drawn from the environment of the child, especially in geography and the natural sciences . . . etc.
- In the secondary schools and higher institutions of learning, laboratories should be obligatory even in the non-technical colleges, and the official authorities should help all the institutions in the creation and equipping of these laboratories.
- Audio-visual documentation archives for the teaching of science subjects: films, slides etc. should be created in each institution.
- Competitions in the field of science should be organized and prizes be awarded in schools and institutions.

**c. Teacher Training**

- The future science teachers should have a profound knowledge of traditional technologies and sciences. The school curricula of the colleges of education and universities should therefore henceforth include the methods by which

our ancestors learnt how to identify and classify animals, plants, minerals etc.; their pharmacopoeia etc.

- In the higher institutions of learning, specialization in the sciences must be carried out more and more with material drawn from the realities of our environment. This is possible in physics and chemistry as well as in the natural sciences.
- It is also necessary to put the African Science teachers in contact with those of the best foreign schools, by organizing meetings, seminars, short training courses, in such a way as to be able to compare methods.
- Finally, associations of science teachers and scientists should be created, and the union of Black and African Researchers embracing the whole Black world should be promoted.

### **Sub-theme 9:**

#### **BLACK CIVILIZATION AND THE MASS MEDIA**

##### **a. Basic Research:**

The Mass Media put a most formidable psychological pressure on our people, and they are likely to profoundly modify our behaviour and the entire orientation of our destiny. Our countries should therefore employ all possible means for the purpose of mastering them.

- Basic research should be undertaken on the types of mass media in use in the traditional society.
- An inventory and survey on the modern mass media in our countries should be made.
- Systematic surveys should be periodically carried out on the impact of the mass media on the life and behaviour of the people, especially among the youth.
- Studies and surveys should also be undertaken on the use of the mass media in education both in Africa and abroad.
- Research should be carried out on the possibility of producing mass media which are adapted to our environment and our development.

##### **b. Teaching Aids:**

The teaching aids which we need here are of two types:

- a. Those which help us to know and use the traditional and modern mass media;

- b. Those which help us to make use of the mass media in teaching.
- The countries must therefore make widespread use of programmes introducing the mass media, and this should be done right from the primary school.
  - For that, an infrastructure endowed with an appropriate equipment should be created—rooms appliances etc.
  - The institutions should be endowed with archives on the mass media: films, slides records, tapes, and photographic libraries etc.
  - At least from the secondary school level it is necessary to initiate the collection of scientific and educative films for the institutions.
  - It is equally necessary to create an infrastructure for mass education by television.
  - African States must associate with each other in order to create a body for the production and distribution of films for children.
  - There should be an increasing use of national languages in the radio, TV and the press.
  - Newspapers in the national languages should be created.
- c. **Teacher Training**
- In addition to the schools of journalism in Africa, cinematographic and tele-visual training schools should be created.
  - The curricula for these schools should include a profound initiation in the traditional means of mass communication, and their utilization.
  - Black and African states should establish a training programme stretching over several years for the technical, teaching personnel in mass media.
  - Creative artists are often the best educators using the mass media.
  - The production of high quality and invaluable programmes by national artists, and the distribution of the same should be encouraged.
  - Finally, it is necessary to see to it that in the very near future, our own schools train all the personnel whom we

need, the technicians and producers as well as the animators, and this should be done in a manner that is more rooted in our realities.

- The states should also support and encourage the organization of festivals, courses, seminars, exchanges at the regional, continental and international levels.
- It is the responsibility of the States to create an infrastructure for the production and distribution of works by the mass media. Our States should create the national service of their cinema, television and radio.

### **Conclusion**

Such are, in a concise form, the outlines of the orientations emerging from all the discussions and reports of the groups. These as a whole constitute a veritable programme of action for the years to come. We can call it the LAGOS PROGRAMME.

### **Final Declaration**

We representatives of the Artists, Writers and Scientists of the Black and African World, meeting at Lagos from January 17 to January 31, 1977, during the Colloquium of the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (Lagos January 15 - February 12, 1977) present this PROGRAMME to all our Governments, to the Organization of African Unity, to regional, continental and intercontinental organizations including the Black African World. We are at their total disposal, with our skill and our experience, to make the dream which brought us together to Lagos, to become very soon a reality.

- Lagos, Jan. 31st, 1977



## **APPENDIX B**



## Reports of Working Group I

### Sub-theme One

#### BLACK CIVILIZATION AND THE ARTS

##### Working Group Officials:

**Rapporteur:** H. Memel-Fote (Ivory Coast)

##### Chairmen

**Chairman:** K. A. Sarpong (Ghana) - 18th Jan. 1977

**Deputy-Chairman** Mauritius (Absent)

**Chairman** F. Gadamu (Ethiopia) - 19th Jan. 1977

**Deputy-Chairman** P. N. Kakooza (Uganda)

**Chairman** Izia Mpey (Zaire) - 19th Jan. 1977

**Deputy-Chairman** G. Anglade (Canada) -

**Chairman** Nda Paul (Ivory Coast) 19th Jan. 1977

**Deputy-Chairman** Luiz Garcia Eduardo (Cuba)

**Composition:** Sixty one delegates and observers (51 from Africa and Madagascar, and 10 from Europe and America) took part in the proceedings.

**Proceedings:** The proceedings took place from Tuesday 18th to Thursday 20th January, 1977 in the form of: a) *Lecture-debates* (3 half-working days), b) *symposium* (1 half-working day), c) a special sub-committee, charged with the responsibility of drafting the recommendations, with Zaire as convener.

##### Themes Discussed

Of the seventeen papers initially planned for this sub-theme,

only fourteen were actually presented. Problems treated fall under four categories:

- the relationships between art and civilization
- the history of black and African art
- traditional black and African art
- modern black and African art.

### **Relationships Between Art and Civilization**

The first problem raised with regard to Civilization is that of art as a factor of cultural identity. Civilization is obviously taken in anthropological sense of the word, while under the term art, the working group brings in all disciplines that are useful to social life and have the characteristic feature of imparting beauty to the world: sculpture, painting, architecture, music and dance, drama, cinema, etc. The black and African art is not only an important and an essential element of black and African civilization and the greatest contribution of the latter to human culture, indeed it is also, for the structure and the history of this civilization, an element and a factor of specificity. It in fact presents particular characteristics shared in common by the black peoples across time and space, from Africa to America and from Oceania to Australia : relationships with practical life, integration of the disciplines, relationship with the sacred, etc. Today, awareness of this specificity creates a link of solidarity between these peoples and serves as an arm for those who fight for equality.

The second problem raised with regard to civilization is that of technical progress. Education in the arts indeed develops aptitudes closely related to applied technology, if not to basic technology. These aptitudes are creativity, aesthetic sensitivity and the capacity to analyse the physical aspect of the world. Nevertheless, progress in the field of applied technology is equally linked to peoples' aesthetic needs. If African technology rests on the aesthetics of black and African civilization and the education related to it, it will experience a rapid and appropriate development.

### **History of Black and African Art**

Not only do African research workers show little interest in the history of African art, they are also hardly critical in their acceptance of the interpretations given to this art by their foreign

counterparts. A certain number of conditions are therefore necessary for the promotion of the history of this art. First of all, the approach to this art must be *critical* (with regard to conceptual framework, chronology, meanings, etc.) Next, this approach must rest on *archaeology*. Finally, it must be *sociological* in highlighting the relationship with the social structure. The most appropriate framework in which the studies mentioned were carried out and have come out most meaningfully is that of the nation or the African continent.

### Traditional Art

The problematics of traditional art is that of the nature, the function and value of this art, examined with particular disciplines as starting point.

The problem of the nature of traditional art is resolved by the renewal of certain *concepts* and by finding a new *qualification* for traditional art. Indeed, in its concept, African drama, in its various forms (story drama, festival drama, ritual drama and mask drama) implies the idea of a performance which is at once a work of art and a collective work of both the artist and the spectators.

This performance interprets and formalizes African culture. In this sense, the African drama distinguishes itself from the Greek or European drama, which is the individual work of the artist, who interprets and formalizes another culture. In the same way, a new definition of the musical instruments makes it possible to incorporate the sum-total of African musical instruments : idiophones, aerophones, cordophones and membranophones.

Finally, traditional African art can be qualified as a high level art, a relatively elaborate art, as seen in the example of the drama, religious sculpture and painting, and, in a general sense, all African classical visual art.

With regard to function, analysis reveals in traditional art various and related functions : intellectual and social function (communication), historiographical function (oral tradition of music), ideological function (propagation of religious ideas), etc.

As for the value of traditional art, it is determined by contemporary preoccupations. From the theoretical point of view, the knowledge of this art helps in understanding the researches of present-day artists. From the practical point of view, this knowledge is capable

of renewing the forms and the language of modern art as it is envisaged by certain studies carried out on traditional drama in America (studies on Voodoo). Finally, this knowledge is a tool and a language of liaison, for it initiated the youth of the world's black communities into the values of Africa.

### Modern Art

Modern African art, through the example of music and sculpture, has given rise to two problems : that of its development and that of its identification.

Today, African art is indeed undergoing the contradictory effect of various external and internal factors. Sometimes, the external factors are negative. Thus, under the ideological and economic effect of European science and technology, African artistic traditions (techniques, tools, and taste for beauty) are adulterated and the social status of the traditional artist is diminished. Sometimes, the effect created by external factors is positive. African music has thus undergone a structural transformation (plan of the scales, organization of harmony, the relationships between artists and the public, etc.) and produced artists of world renown.

But in one case or the other, a reaction has followed as if to stop at a certain threshold of tolerance tendencies towards evolution. The internal factors which bring about this reaction are first of all of a cultural order (attachment to tradition, the need for identification, etc.); they may also be of a socio-economic order (necessity for adaptation and specialization on the part of artists) and even of a political order (ideology).

### Highlights of the Debates

The debates highlighted four major points.

African research on African art should of necessity be preceded by a criticism of the theories and concepts in force (primitivism, folklore drama, etc.) and invent appropriate concepts. This historical and sociological research should explain the high level of accomplishment in art in an Africa that is technologically underdeveloped.

The problem of cultural identity linked with historical, political causes (the slave trade, colonisation, educational system) is one that exists for only Africans who have been uprooted and Europeanized.

The project for a reform of the educational systems and, in this reform, for the teaching of African art, is justified in this context.

The *role* of the artist in the African society was in the past determined by two factors : the project for a communal society and the functional character of art. The artist must maintain this conception of his role. In return, society should guarantee to the artist the conditions for his existence and freedom of expression.

To create a *modern African theatre*, Africans should resolve the technical and structural problems created by the stage and patterns that are imported from Europe.

### Conclusion

In the deliberations of the Working-Group, two facts come out clearly as being very important for the future : *the prospects of a history of black and African art and the integration of art within the problematics of the technological and industrial development of Africa*. However, it is regrettable that the Working-Group, while treating exhaustively the theoretical questions, did not examine the concept of cultural identity from a critical standpoint.

### Recommendations

#### 1. Recommendation Concerning the Method of Approach to African Art

Given the loopholes and shortcomings evident in the knowledge that Africans (artists and research workers) have of African art,

Given that this knowledge is necessary and indispensable for introducing the teaching of this art to schools, research workers must

- a. undertake a criticism of the aesthetic conceptions relating to black and African civilization and endeavour to create concepts that are suited to the knowledge of this art ;
- b. take into account the attitudes of Africans to their art, the deeper meanings given by Africans themselves to this art and the experiences of the artists ;
- c. to this end, consult the masters of African aesthetic tradition, and increase the number of monographs substantially before formulating theories.

## 2. Recommendation Concerning the Artist and Creativity

Given the functional character of art in black and African civilization,

Given that a work of art is black and African not only through its content but also, especially, as a result of its form or style, which bears the mark of black and African aesthetics,

Given that compared with civilization, aesthetics in art is a factor of progress in technology,

the Colloquium recommends that artists should :

- a. get integrated with their people and express their preoccupations;
- b. learn about this aesthetics and create within the framework of this style while avoiding copying the past. Working along these lines, they are free to borrow foreign techniques and seek inspiration from other aesthetic sources in the world.

Moreover, collaboration with men of science is indispensable for creating and developing their own working techniques on the one hand and, on the other hand, for contributing to the development of a more humane form of science and technology, to the benefit of the African peoples.

## 3. Recommendations Concerning the African Artist and the Promotion and Teaching of Black and African Art

Given the importance of the political conditions necessary for the promotion of art in modern black and African civilization,

Given the role of education in the propagation of aesthetic knowledge and in the revival of a collective awareness of cultural identity,

## 4. To the Governments of African States and Black Communities in the World

the Colloquium calls on the governments of African States and black communities in the world to :

- a. guarantee and respect the artists' freedom of expression;
- b. adopt and effectively enforce a law that would rehabilitate the artist in his society and protect him;

- c. associate the artists with the conception and execution of all the work of urban and rural development;
- d. create and develop museums accessible to the people from all points of view, for the preservation of the art and the material culture of traditional and modern Africa;
- e. formulate and enforce legislation regulating exportation of the African cultural heritage;
- f. work towards the effective implementation of UNESCO and QAU resolutions concerning the restitution of the African cultural heritage;
- g. incorporate into radio and television programmes and the columns of the press, educational items on black and African culture and art;
- h. finance the production of films on black and African culture and art;
- i. promote exhibitions and artistic and cultural meetings (symposia, conferences, colloquia, festivals . . .) among African peoples;
- j. ensure exchanges of (1) artistic and cultural programmes on radio and television and (2) books on art;
- k. encourage and support the creation of (1) artistic and cultural associations on the national, regional and international levels, (2) cultural centres in embassies, (3) libraries and theatres accessible to the people from all points of view;
- l. control the flow of foreign cultural elements which by their nature can adversely affect the identity of our culture;
- m. introduce, in relation to the humanities, different artistic disciplines (fine arts and creative arts) into teaching programmes at all levels;
- n. promote special training for artists and guardians of our culture and artistic heritage.

##### 5. To the O.A.U.

The Colloquium calls on the Organization for African Unity to :

- a. implement its Cultural Charter;
- b. create groups of experts in the fields of African music, painting and plastic arts to study and bring up proposals for valid teaching programmes for primary and secondary

schools as well as institutions of higher learning and for adult education;

- c. create an artistic and cultural journal for the continent and the black World.

## 6. Motion of Support for Artists and Men of Culture in Their Fight Against Racism and Colonialism

The participants at the Colloquium

1. Solemnly express their feeling of solidarity and their unflinching support for all artists and men of culture who, side by side with their peoples, in Africa and in the world's black communities, are fighting against racism and colonialism for liberty, equality, democracy and justice;
2. Call on all African member governments of the O.A.U., and the UNESCO
  - a. to encourage through special measures and privileges, the dissemination of works and messages of justice of these artists and men of culture,
  - b. to work for the liberation of those of them who are languishing in the prisons of racist and colonialist regimes.

### Sub-Theme Two

#### BLACK CIVILIZATION AND PEDAGOGY

**Officials:**

**Rapporteur** - Dr. I. K. Katoke (Tanzania)

**Chairmen:**

Prof. F. Indire	(Kenya)
PROF. N. Uka	(Nigeria)
Dr. W Kamera	(Tanzania)
Prof. Emmanuel Namsene	(Central Africa Empire)
Mr. Bai T. More	(Liberia)

The group met in five ordinary sessions three of which were devoted to the presentations of papers on three sub-topics of this sub-theme. The other two sessions were on general discussions and recommendations.

The report is in five parts, namely

Part 1: Officials

Part 2: Summary of Papers read

Part 3: Discussion and comments

- i. Statement of the problems of Education
- ii. General observations
  - a. Traditional Education
  - b. Problems of Modern Education.

Part 4: Africanization of the School system

- i. Teacher Education
- ii. Curriculum, Audio-visual Aids and Teaching Material
- iii. Higher Education
- iv. Women Education
- v. Adult Education
- vi. Evaluation and examination

Part 5: Recommendations.

### Part Two

**SUMMARY OF PAPERS** - Eight papers were presented on

a. "Traditional Education"

The subjects covered in this section included outlines of traditional education—nature, aims and objectives; the inroads of Western colonization and its impact on traditional education; traditional methods in certain African societies - the Yoruba of Nigeria and the Kipsigs of Kenya; forms and functions, secret societies, some of which were regarded as pagan by missionaries who had only misconceptions about them; and the role of women in traditional education.

In short, it was clear that traditional education was communally oriented, and had clear objectives and purpose. It was functional, thus relating memory or theoretical work to practice. It was communicated to the child through his mother tongue and related to his everyday experiences and environment. There are many things which have been ignored by colonial and neo-colonial forces in modern education which are worth awhile studying and being included in the school curriculum which we want to develop.

b. "Problems of Modern Education":-

Seven papers presented-

The papers dealt with a general discription of the origin and

nature of modern education as well as case studies of particular communities such as the pedagogical problems in Zaire; education for development in Liberia; the training of experts, methodology, the irrelevance of the curriculum; the influence of the inroads of foreign religions—Islam and Christianity—which were accompanied by customs and traditions of disciples who brought these religions to Africa. In some parts of Africa, it was observed, European and Arab customs which were brought under the umbrella of these religions are now accepted or regarded as the traditional forms of education in those areas. Hence no effort is made to research into the past to rediscover what actually existed. Modern African education was seen as being class oriented and aims at training individuals for "White-collar jobs". For instance in several countries there are still separate schools for children from wealthy and privileged families. There are separate schools for girls and boys. In many cases boy-schools outnumber girls-schools. Many schools are run under denominational bases thus creating divisions and classes within the children of the same community or country. Examples of good life are drawn from Europe and America thus making the child despise his own traditions, values and surroundings. In most cases the medium of instructions is foreign language—English, French or Portuguese.

In short, modern education is still based on the principles and objectives of the colonial type which aimed at glorifying western culture and creating Africans who would serve the interests of their masters. Furthermore, it tends to create an elitist class.

Because it is individualistic in nature and capitalist in pattern, it does not aim at meeting the needs of the society for which it is directed. The root of the problem in modern education was seen as being that of lack of interaction and adaptations.

c. **"Africanization Of Education System"**-

Six Papers presented.

Five papers were read in connection with this sub-theme. They covered areas such as the concern for relevance of primary school curriculum and the need for modification; African methods of education and problems in current systems; potentials of indigenous languages in primary schools and beyond; and the necessity of reforms from primary schools to university.

### Part Three

#### Discussions and Comments

After presentation of the papers it became clear that a definition of the word "education" was necessary in order to provide a base for future discussions and recommendations. Education whether African, Western or Eastern, was defined as "the totality of experience in response to nature and the environment". It may differ in style, approach, methods and emphasis, due to local conditions and needs.

It was also observed that both traditional and modern systems have positive and negative aspects. Hence it is essential to utilize what is positive when formulating a new system that will be relevant to the conditions and needs of the particular society.

It became equally clear that the situation we are dealing with is much more problematic than hitherto conceived. All modern education systems are not based on the interests of the African and Black peoples because they lack foundations built on our traditions and values such as:

- a. African respect for humanity and human dignity
- b. African sense of community
- c. African respect for *legitimate* and *human* authority
- d. African respect for authentic and positive African moral and religious values and cultures
- e. African respect for the dignity of labour
- f. Motivation and stimulation of creativity

Modern African education is regarding technology and scientific achievements as ultimate aims in human advancement, thus creating materialistic and almost sub-human societies.

With this definition and statement of the problem in modern Education the papers on African/Black Education and Pedagogy noted, with serious concern, the following problems affecting the modern systems of education.

- a. There is contradiction with traditional African systems of education.
- b. There is a lack of aims, objectives and purposes, and relevance to African societies.
- c. Much of it is marred by western influence which the independent nations inherited from the former colonial masters. Be-

cause of these problems, it has become clear that there is a need for re-organization or revolutionization of most of the current school systems in Africa from the primary school level to the university level.

The starting point of this revolution was seen as the introduction of indigenous language or mother tongue as the medium of instruction. Language is a vehicle which transmits knowledge to the child. Such vehicle must of a necessity be that which the child is most familiar with and which relates to his everyday life and understood by his parents and society. Examples were given: experiments made in Tanzania, Somalia and Nigeria, where instructions are given in Kiswahili, Somali and Yoruba respectively, in primary and secondary schools. In this connection mention was made of efforts being made to create technical vocabulary either by selecting indigenous words or Africanization of foreign words through borrowing.

The results of these experiments are encouraging. With the adoption of Kiswahili and Somali in Tanzania and Somalia as national languages it has been possible to prepare many text books and materials based on local resources which can be used in schools as well as adult education classes.

#### **Part Four**

##### **Africanization Of Education System**

From the foregoing remarks it became obvious that the following areas need indigenization as soon as possible in order to bring about the much desired revolution:

i. **Teachers Education**

As observed earlier on, teachers education has not been given the emphasis it deserves. In most cases teachers are trained to teach subjects which are still foreign in character and content. Like the pupils they teach, teachers are alienated from the society. A good number of them still use out-dated methods and teaching materials. Their training is not linked or related to the society which they serve. This kind of teacher training does not help the teacher in solving his own problems, those of the child, or the community. Psychology books and other reading materials are based on experiments done in Europe or America or which have been done by non-Africans.

- ii. **Curriculum, Audio-Visual Aids and Teaching Materials:**
- a. **Curriculum:** There is a great need for reorganizing or revolutionizing curriculum. This reorganization will very much depend on the aims and objectives of education as enunciated and identified by political ideology of each country. It must change in form and contents.
  - b. **Text Books:** These are still written in foreign languages and illustrated by foreign objects. They are mainly printed in foreign countries and marketed by foreign firms. Hence most of them are very expensive and irrelevant to the local needs and environment. They are full of derogatory and debasing terms on African and black peoples who are generally regarded as primitive.

iii. **Higher Education:**

It was observed that there is not much link or interaction between the universities and other institutions for higher learning and those below them. Moreover, most of their courses and researches are not relevant to the African conditions as they are still very much linked or based on those of their western counterparts.

As such, they tend to produce individuals who are good in theorizing by using examples of things prevalent in the West rather than utilizing their knowledge for African needs and realities. They tend to be superficial or operating in isolation from the real problems under the pretext of academic freedom and excellence.

iv. **Women Education:**

There is much disparity and discrimination between male and female education. The same situation applied to employment opportunities. This is a legacy inherited by independent African/Black States from the colonial and traditional systems which did not put much emphasis on female education.

For this reason there are those who still feel that the women's place is in the kitchen. They forget that even in traditional society, as one of the papers showed, African woman played a significant role in the traditional educational system especially in housewifery and mothercraft.

v. **Adult Education**

While attempts are made to reorganize curricula for the

normal schools there is also a need to introduce or intensify Adult Education Programme in many countries. Lack of such programmes has been the cause of break down in communications between illiterate parents and their school-going children. Moreover the high rate of illiteracy has contributed a great deal to the lack of motivation and enthusiasm in the development programmes carried out in many countries.

vi. **Evaluations and Examinations:**

Too much emphasis is placed on paper performance both for the teacher and pupil. The future potentials of the pupil/student is based on the paper grade he gets during a one-and half hour examination, and not much attention is paid to his other performances e.g. sports, agriculture, his relations with and attitudes towards others. Parents and other civic leaders are not very much involved in the process of evaluating school programmes or selecting pupils for further education and employment. The experiments of changing these systems currently being undertaken in Somalia and Tanzania were noted with great interest by the participants.

**Part Five**

**Recommendations**

**I. Preamble**

Whereas African education has for long been based upon European cultural values, principles, control, and methods of education, and whereas the African child has been continuously deprived of his cultural heritage in the process of westernization brought about by colonial domination and neo-colonial tendencies which still persist in many independent African countries today; There is now a great necessity to re-define our educational objectives and purposes so as to reflect the stable and enduring African social, cultural and economic values (e.g. communal orientation, respect for human being, respect for authentic and positive moral and religious values, respect for the dignity of labour) in our educational systems at all levels. The following recommendations are made:

**II. Recommendations**

The following recommendations are hereby submitted by the Pedagogy Group.

**A. Teaching Education**

1. That African Governments should seriously consider all urgent review of the present system of teacher education with a view to providing the teacher with experiences that will make him conscious of the social and cultural realities of the African Government, and appreciative of African values.
2. That the curriculum of Teacher Training Colleges should be made relevant to the needs of the African society and the interests of the African child.
3. That the training given to the teacher should enable him teach both the young and the adult alike, based upon the psychology of the African.
4. That teacher education must afford the teacher an opportunity to acquire the techniques of research, and to be able to study the African child in situ.
5. Teacher training should insist on group work, co-operation between teacher and pupil, and should eliminate the relationship of the inferior and superior, the knowledgeable and the ignorant.
6. Teacher education programmes should incorporate theory and practice that are relevant to the social, economic and political systems of their societies.
7. Teachers should be made to become aware of their role in society as agents of social change.

**B. Curriculum**

8. That African governments should adopt, as a matter of necessity, an indigenous language or mother tongue as the medium of instruction, not only during the first six years of school life, but also as a compulsory subject up to university level.
9. That books should be produced in the mother tongue or the national language of the pupils.
10. That derogatory terms, such as tribe, pagan, heathen, primitive, vernacular, savage, native, etc., should be expunged from our vocabulary.
11. That subject panels should be set up to produce books relevant for each class and level. Inexpensive materials should be employed to facilitate mass production locally of books to meet the needs of the increasing number of school population.

12. That cultural studies be taught through the medium of social studies using an integrated approach in which music, arts and craft, which are traditional modes of production, are combined.
  13. Immediate measures should be taken to provide technical oriented programmes in all schools to facilitate the developmental programmes of African countries.
- C. Adult Education**
14. That a programme of functional literacy to facilitate the efficient performance of occupations by the masses be instituted in all African countries which have not already done so.
  15. That Governments should increase considerably their financial support to universities and other agencies concerned with the education of adults, to enable them hold workshops for the production of reading materials, and other teaching aids.
  16. That educational programmes in health, home-management, economics, and political awareness be provided to forge a link between the educational values taught in the schools and those practised in the adult society.
- D. Education of Women**
17. That emphasis must be given to women education by according them equal opportunity in schools and colleges as a process of liberating them and enabling them to play equal roles as their male counterparts.
  18. That it is necessary, to this end, for all countries to introduce programmes of compulsory education for both boys and girls without discrimination in content and method. Girls should be given training in technical and craft work as for boys; and boys in child care and home management as for girls.
- E. Higher Education**
19. That higher education should be closely linked with primary and secondary education, so that they form a dynamic entity rooted in the social and economic realities of the African countries.
  20. That higher education should no longer be elitist in tendency, so that the working masses could continue their education by being given access to further education.

21. That there should be a measure of decent realization of schools and departments of universities in areas where these schools can more meaningfully conduct programmes of research e.g. departments of agriculture should be located in areas where farming is practised.
22. That research should be so oriented that it will contribute to the solution of developmental problems.

#### **F. Evaluation**

23. That examinations which are career oriented should not be the only measurement by which the child's ability and future usefulness can be assessed.
24. That syllabuses, textbooks and methods should be reviewed periodically to determine their relevance to current needs.
25. That other evaluative devices, such as cumulative records, performances in practical work, social relationships, and attitudes should be employed in judging the child's potentials for service to society.

#### **Conclusion**

While attempting to Africanize the educational system, we should be careful not to throw away useful and valuable aspects of the modern system of education. A selective approach is here recommended, so that the new system we are trying to build will be made up of what is best in both the traditional and the modern systems of education.

## **Report of Working Group II**

### **Sub-theme One:**

#### **BLACK CIVILIZATION AND LITERATURE**

##### **Working Group Officials:**

**Rapporteur:** Professor F. Lumwamu (University of Brazzaville - Congo).

##### **Chairmen:**

**Chairman:** Mr. Ngal (Zaire)—(18th January, 1977)

**Vice-Chairman:** Mr. Mvodo (Senegal)

**Chairman:** Mr. Mwese I Mapoma (Zambia)—19th January, 1977)

**Vice-Chairman:** Mr. B. Matthews (U.S.A.)

**Chairman:** Djibril Tamsir Niane (Senegal)—(20th January 1977)

#### **Working Procedure**

- Three working sessions devoted to the hearing and the discussion of papers.
- A symposium devoted to the problems of the negro-African writer (publication, diffusion, copyright, status).
- A session for the editing of recommendations.

#### **Themes Discussed**

About 15 papers as well as a few others which had a bearing on African languages and literature were presented and discussed.

The discussions touched on four points:

- Traditional literature and modern literature
- Cultural identity as portrayed in literature

- Literary criticism and pedagogy
- The negro-African writer

A synthesis of the debates is as follows:

### **Africinity and Cultural Identity Through African Literature**

Several fundamental questions were tackled: What really is modern negro-African literature? What are its characteristics? How does one recognise a black literary work?

Critics have attempted to define modern literature according to the language of expression, the themes treated, the psychology of its authors and that of the characters they create. Added to these characteristics is that of nationality, the only constant apparently, by which any national literature is defined. It is therefore right to consider African literature as being that created by Africans irrespective of the language used or the subject treated.

The writer's nationality is defined in terms of belonging. The black writer belongs organically and physically to the original condition of Africans in the world. He cannot remove himself from his condition nor can he avoid showing it through his language.

But beyond the nationality, five constituent elements of Africanness are proposed:

- a. The writer must be African; he must use
- b. traditional themes from oral literature
- c. African symbols
- d. linguistic expressions taken from negro-African languages.
- e. local imagery, that is, images from the immediate environment.

In other words, the author should make use of traditional negro-African literature (myths, legends, short stories, poetic forms or procedures, proverbs and other forms of expression of negro-african languages). But the presence of these various elements in an African literary piece of work is not enough to lead to the piece of work being considered a success. The author should furthermore endeavor to make use of African oral tradition in an artistic aesthetic and original manner. In short, from materials furnished by oral tradition, he should create a new piece of work that is really literary.

Opposed to this conception based mainly on the material ele-

ments of Africanity is another, more global, conception of Africanity. This conception avoids becoming burdened with discussions on an author's nationality. This particular problem is considered as having been solved already. African literature, it is noted, presents itself under three aspects:

1. Oral literature
2. Literature written in African languages
3. Literature written in foreign languages  
(English, French, Portuguese, etc. . . .)

It is the last category that is called African literature for various reasons: it came into being after the second world war, as a reaction against the colonial situation experienced by Africans; it is written by authors who are versed in European and American literatures and who have adopted the forms of these literatures to their writings and it draws on the stylistic traditions and peculiarities of modern European literatures. The greatest criticism against it is that it is expressed in European or foreign languages. But what are the specific characteristics of this modern African literature? The concepts of Pan-Africanism, African Personality or Negritude, have essentially political and ideological connotations and have limited the horizon of African literary imagination.

A new definition of Africanity is, therefore, suggested: Africanity is the affirmation of the personality, the identity and the richness of the African way of life in the world literary field. It shows to the world the cultural traits that are common to African peoples; it has domesticated foreign languages and charged them with the specific sensitivity of Africans all through the works of African writers. African artists speak to man and to humanity through a language, images, themes and techniques that belong to Africa. African literature has thus crossed the frontiers of the African universe to become interested in man's condition in general.

One of the fundamental problems evoked during the discussions organized on the theme of Africanity is that of the language in which this concept is expressed. It is easily noted that all African literature referred to as modern is expressed in foreign languages. The black writer, whether he likes it or not, thus chooses for his book, in spite of himself, a public from which the large mass of Africans who are uninitiated in European languages are excluded.

The discussions brought out the fact that the use of African

languages by African writers is not impossible. In countries which have taken to a definite linguistic policy, like Somalia since 1972, a literature in the national language embracing all aspects of the country - political, social, cultural, scientific, etc . . . is developing. Encouraging attempts have been started in Ghana, Nigeria, Zaire, Congo, . . . Here the need for a more complete authenticity becomes evident, as does the obligation for every man of culture in general, and the African writers in particular, to defend African languages and render them famous.

### **Cultural Identity Through Black Literatures**

Many papers, especially those of representatives of the Black Communities of the Diaspora (USA, Canada, Brazil, the Caribbean, Cuba . . . ) talked of the preservation, through the literatures of these communities, of the characteristics and values that are peculiar to them. These communities have, no doubt, been the object of considerable pressures and cultural onslaughts in the course of history. Their cultures have been strongly marked by these, to the extent that one may wonder whether these literatures are not part of the literatures of the communities within which these Blacks of the Diaspora live. But it is noted everywhere today that what is essential is the permanent and continuous effort of Black writers of these communities to define (indeed redefine), affirm and enrich a real cultural identity which has survived all the onslaughts of history.

Some participants wondered, however, if the Black writers of these communities of the Diaspora do not themselves consider their literature as part of the literature of the larger communities to which they belong. The reply is that there is certainly cultural ambivalence. But the Black writers show another form of sensitivity which maintains obvious cultural and ethnic differences that have survived history.

In the search for cultural identity, the originality of the black race is exalted, and the acculturated blacks who do not acknowledge the contribution of African culture to the universal civilization are denounced and fustigated.

In the zone of the Caribbeans, there have also been literary trends manifesting and exalting the cultural contribution of blacks. Nevertheless certain myths, certain social and artistic traditions and

certain African religions have survived there. There is finally an effort to conserve Black Cultural Identity in a bid to construct a specific West-Indian personality.

### **THE AFRICAN LITERARY CRITICISM**

The African literary critics have up till now made use of Western standards in the appreciation of Black literary works.

The role of the African critic among others is to educate his readers; to seek and discover in the works, values which are capable of consolidating the cultural cohesion of the people, in order to enable him participate fully in the task of construction both at the national and African levels; and to discover artistic values appropriate to Black civilization capable of determining its contributions to universal civilization.

It is logical that African critics should keep aside standards formulated in the Western countries by and for the West and seek for new ways and new criteria in the appreciation of Black literary work.

African literature, in its double form of written and oral literature, the privileged witness of the history of the social life of Africans and a platform of the awareness of their cultural identity and of their cultural cohesion. It therefore follows that the African literary critic should find for himself new standards of appreciation of the literary work drawn from the very possibilities of our culture. One could for instance think of the traditional didacticism of oral literatures, and the initiating ceremonies which are present in written as well as in oral literature; one could also study the characteristic concept of the black and African mentality capable of providing the new African critic original theoretical foundations.

### **ORAL AFRICAN LITERATURE**

It is, when situated in the framework of the new perspectives open to the African literary critic, an integral part of our literature. It should therefore be taught as such. It is an important part of our cultural heritage, a leaven for our modern literature and a trustee of our history capable of being an indispensable source for the reconstitution of our past.

Oral literature appears as the trustee of an enormous wealth and a way for African peoples to conserve their spiritual power. It must

not be forgotten that in the history of mankind, the spoken word has preceded writing and that in Africa, oral tradition only deteriorated under the effect of colonization.

Before colonization, Africa had her "speakers" as she today has her "men of letters".

Africa owes it to herself to re-instate her oral tradition, an essential value of her civilization. The invasion of Africa by writing must not result in the loss of the oral tradition which for centuries or even for thousands of years has transmitted all the values of civilisation with which we all claim kingship today. In Africa, an oral policy is required. The elimination of illiteracy on one hand and orality on the other hand, must not be viewed as conflicting but must be regarded as complementary.

### The Negro-African Writer

Several problems concerning the negro-African writer were brought to the attention of the working group. The following established facts were arrived at:

1. The African writer is subjected to the caprices of the European editor who accepts or refuses the manuscripts according to the taste of his European readers. Whereas in actual fact the African author writes for the Africans.
2. The distribution is still monopolized by the old metropolis. A poor distribution can inflict on an otherwise good or even excellent book a very bad fortune.
3. The copyright is the exclusive property of publishers. The transfer of works from one publisher to another is made difficult. It therefore follows that there is a serious limitation in the readership of a book.

The status of the Black writer is not guaranteed. In many cases, he does not enjoy all the freedom of expression that is desirable.

The problem of copyright is linked with the language of the author, and the socio-economic and political system of his country. Europeans don't accept to publish works written in African languages. It is therefore incumbent on Africans to develop a sector of edition in African languages.

Literary prizes are attributed in Paris and not in Africa. It is not always the best works that are rewarded.

The African writer is poor. It is particularly professors and

research scholars who are published. The young talents are often left to themselves.

Oral African literature is the property of the whole collectivity and not that of authors or publishers. Consequently, the latter should not benefit from any copyright. The following conclusions resulted from the discussions held:

- a. It is urgent to start a publishing policy in Africa.
- b. African states should co-operate in this field. They should work together in organizing an effective policy of publishing and of distribution, and establish exchanges between publishers.
- c. The african writer must integrate himself in his society and free himself from Europe. He should publish not only in European languages. It is by this means that he will contribute towards the defence and the illustration of african languages.

### Recommendations

#### To Governments

Taking into consideration the fact that oral african literature transmits the totality of cultural values, and expresses the creating genius of peoples, the Colloquium recommends:

- a. systematic collection of this oral heritage;
- b. elaboration of an anthology of comparative african literatures (oral and written);
- c. teaching of oral literature in the mother tongue of the african child.

Given the fact that the Black and African writer must make himself integrated within the realities of his people so as to be his people's authentic means of expression, the Colloquium

- a. recommends that Governments should guarantee the writers freedom of thought, of initiative, of expression and of association.
- b. encourage literary creativity in African languages.
- c. recommends the setting up of African publishing houses on the regional level so as to ensure the publication and diffusion of African works.
- d. calls on writers to give priority to getting published by African publishing houses.

### To Literary Critics

Considering that the role of african literary criticism is to inform, to form and to educate the african, to discover in the works the values likely to consolidate the cultural cohesion of african peoples and black communities in the diaspora, as well as to discover the artistic and esthetic values peculiar to african civilization, the Colloquium recommends the promotion of a literary criticism based on the criteria of appreciation drawn from the cultural values of negro-african civilization.

### To Governments

The Colloquium appeals to member states of the O.A.U. for the popularization and effective application of the resolutions of the cultural charter of the Organization.

### Sub-theme Two:

#### Black Civilization and African Languages

##### Working Group Officials:

Rapporteur :	Taban Lo Liyong	
Chairmen :	Prof. Bot Ba Njock	(Cameroun)
	Dr. M. Beshu	(Tanzania)
	Prof. Ayo Bamgbose	(Nigeria)
	Prof. M.H. Abdulaziz	(Kenya)

A Committee (ad hoc) of 12 members synthesized and drafted the Working Group Recommendations -

There were four working sessions on;

- African Languages and national languages
- African Languages and expression of cultural identity
- African Linguistics
- Using African Languages in Schools, Public life and Mass-media.

In addition, the group held 4 meetings to prepare and draft its report.

### Themes:

- African Languages and National Languages.

In the quest for unity and national integration, in the process of

nation building, the need to unite various ethnic groups as well as the elite and the masses, the following sub-themes were discussed:

- a. The promotion of indigenous languages for local use;
  - b. A planned multilingualism involving the selection of a limited number of national languages (where they exist) and leading ultimately to the selection of one (or more) of them for national use;
  - c. The adoption of one major indigenous language as the national language (where this does not exist already);
  - d. The promotion of continental African languages leading ultimately to the selection of one of them for continental and world use;
  - e. Swahili was preferred by most delegates to be the continental language.
- ii. **African Languages and Expression of Cultural Identity**
- a. For African civilization to have full meaning and enduring effect, it must be expressed in African languages;
  - b. We have to rescue our cultures by promoting them in our languages;
  - c. Western colonizers imposed their languages and cultural values on us with the intention of destroying our languages and cultures;
  - d. No European language is fit enough to express African cultural values;
  - e. African oral traditions in the vernaculars to be tape-recorded and transcribed; our unwritten history to be reconstructed from linguistic evidence; adequate orthographies to be devised for African languages where none exists already;
  - f. The primacy of orality as the traditional vehicle for African cultural and intellectual development was recognised.
- iii. **African Linguistics**
- a. Two papers demonstrated the fact that African languages have an adequate provision of vocabulary and grammar which enable the languages to be used to express emotions, thoughts, points of view, and ideas in science and technology;
  - b. African languages are expressive. For specific African purposes, they are more expressive than any non-African language; they are also appropriately more expressive of their verbal art, thought and general way of life;

- c. African languages are also organic structures. They grow and develop when there are internal and external stimuli; lacking adequate sustenance, they may die;
  - d. African languages have influenced Cuba's colloquial Spanish and Brazilian Creole, especially in Bahian religious terminologies.
- iv. **Using African languages in schools, public life, and Mass Media**

From oral reports delivered by national delegates, we learnt that:

- a. African governments are at various levels of defining language policies;
- b. In some countries French or English is still being used;
- c. The socialist nations have well-defined language policies and have successfully promoted the use of local or national languages for mass education and mobilization;
- d. A few national language institutes have been established;
- e. Somali opted for Latin script instead of Arabic script;
- f. Education is conducted in national languages in Tanzania and Somalia;
- g. In Australia, no Aboriginal language whatsoever is used in schools;
- h. Some African nations already use indigenous languages in schools, public life, and mass media.

### **Recommendations.**

After having listened to and deliberated upon contributions from different official delegates and participants, the Working Group II on the Sub-Theme, "Black Civilization and African Languages", decided upon the following basic points:

- teaching in African Languages
- literacy campaigns for the masses in African languages
- the use of African languages in public life
- publication and dissemination of literary and scientific works and development of information in African languages
- collaboration in teaching and research on African languages.

Given the necessity for all African countries to dispense teaching in African languages in order to ensure harmonious and balanced training of African youth,

Given the urgent need for all African countries to carry out systematic literacy programmes for the masses,

Given the right of all peoples to instruction and culture through modern methods of the dissemination of ideas and information,

Finally, given the need for inter-African and international co-operation as a factor of progress, bringing together and uniting peoples,

We recommend to the African governments the following:

#### **On the Subject of Education**

1. Teaching in African languages at all levels, from primary schools to universities, with the aim of ensuring proper training of African youth.
2. Systematic literacy programmes for the masses in African languages in order to effectively integrate them into the socio-economic and cultural development processes of our nations.
3. Professional, scientific, technical and technological training of the African citizen in his mother tongue.

#### **On the Subject of Research**

1. The establishment of research centres in African languages and the African literary heritage, both oral and written, in each African country and on regional basis.
2. Research, Description and Analysis of African languages, the languages belonging to the linguistic communities of African descent and other black communities (Australia, Papua New Guinea, etc.).
3. Socio-linguistic surveys in each country to determine the most widely spoken languages in order to promote them as *linguae francae* and thereby contribute to strengthening national unity.
4. The choice and propagation of African continental languages and their propagation to promote African unity.
5. The setting up of an association of African experts in African languages under the auspices of the O.A.U.
6. The need to organize periodical meetings of this association in different O.A.U. member-countries.
7. Collaboration amongst African linguists and specialists in African studies, in nations and communities of African descent and amongst other blacks (Australia, Papua New Guinea) to exchange experiences and information.

8. The establishment of a specialized journal of African languages and languages of communities of African descent and other blacks (Australia, Papua New Guinea etc.)

#### **On the Subject of the Mass Media and Publishing**

1. The development of printed and audio-visual information in African languages.
2. The establishment of national and regional publishing houses for publication and diffusion of works in African languages.
3. Translation into African languages of literary, cultural, scientific and technical works written in other African and non-African languages.

#### **On the Subject of African Languages in Public Life**

1. Appropriate African languages should be granted 'official status' by the government in every African country.
2. Publication of official documents should be made both in English *or* French *or* Portuguese *and* in appropriate African languages.
3. The right should be conceded for local authority meetings to be held in appropriate African languages, with minutes recorded in these languages; and the right should be conceded for any member who wishes to speak in an approved African language at meetings of Legislators or conferences of kings and chiefs.
4. The right should be conceded for any citizen to conduct business in an approved African language, whether orally or by correspondence, with administrative officials.
5. The right should be conceded for local authorities in every African country to issue rate demands and other documents in the appropriate local language.

#### **On the Subject of Co-operation**

1. Governments of O.A.U. member-states must do their utmost to facilitate co-operation and exchanges between African universities and other institutions dealing with research and the promotion of African languages.
2. The governments of Somalia, Tanzania, Guinea, Cameroun, Mali and Ethiopia should provide other African countries with the results of their experiences in revalorising and developing African languages for use in the near future.

3. To request the Government of Somalia to host a conference of African experts in applied linguistics and language policies in the near future.

#### **On the Subject of Cultural Liberation**

The official recognition of creole and languages of other blacks (Australia, Papua New Guinea, etc.) as cultural languages, and their use in educational and literacy programmes.

#### **On the Subject of a Special Recommendation to Unesco**

After having attentively examined UNESCO General Conference Report, 17th Session, 17C/73 of 1972, Paris, entitled "Ten-Year Plan for The Study of African Oral Traditions and The Promotion of African Languages", Working Group II, Sub-theme "African Languages and Black Civilization" asks UNESCO to firmly support the actions of both African governments and O.A.U. in order to hasten the effective application of the ten-year plan.

## **Reports of Working Group III**

### **Sub-theme One**

#### **BLACK CIVILIZATION AND RELIGION**

Working Group Officials

Rapporteur: Prof. BUAKASA (Zaire)

**Chairmen:**

21/1/77 - **Chairman:** Prof. LUGIRA (Uganda)

**Deputy Chairman:** Prof. NDONG (Gabon)

21/1/77 - **Chairman:** Dr. SIMOKO (Zambia)

22/1/77 - **Chairman:** Prof. RACHID (Tanzania)

#### **Proceedings**

The Working Group held three work sessions and discussed 21 papers presented by their authors. It also organized two symposia (debates and open discussions).

*Remark:* We talk of "religion in the singular to denote the whole general field of the religions in all its aspects or sectors, including para-religious sectors.

#### **THEMES DISCUSSED**

1. Present situation of traditional religion in Africa.
2. Nature and elements of traditional religion.
3. Impact of traditional religion on black civilization.
4. The position of revealed religions vis-a-vis the African society.

#### **PRESENT SITUATION OF TRADITIONAL RELIGION**

1. African traditional religion is living, as far as, and even in the

- cities. In other words, it is current, present, and active in the minds of individuals and in collective relationships.
2. It co-exists with Christianity, Islam, etc. These various religions are given a material form through edifices: ancestral shrines, churches, temples, mosques, pagodas, etc. . . . and also have their agents the religious head, the missionary, etc. . . .
  3. Whether they are believers or non-believers, whether they practise their religion or not, Africans respect worship or religion as such.

### **The Nature and Elements of Traditional Religion**

#### **Doctrinal Contents (essential elements)**

- a. Everything in the universe is living and strong;
- b. Belief in two worlds, visible and invisible;
- c. Hierarchy and interaction between the two worlds;
- d. Transcendence of the invisible and sacred world;
- e. Fundamental and vital unity and interdependence of beings;
- f. The beings of the universe of the sacred are: the supreme being (creator), the spirits and the ancestors, the cosmic or earth forces.

### **Worship**

Worship in traditional religion is essentially the worship of the supreme being, of the ancestors and the protecting spirits. It is carried out by means of a mystical and symbolic language (letters, numbers, names, colours, etc. . . .).

### **Method of approach**

The linguistic method (the study of myths, legends, stories, proverbs, taboos, laws, etc.) seems to be the most preferred approach, but it does not stop the structuro-functional ethnological and archaeological methods of approach from being useful. On the whole, an inter-disciplinary approach is more appropriate.

### **Impact of Traditional Religion**

African traditional religion activates every aspect of African culture or civilization. It is one of its fundamental and central

elements, its dominant aspect, to such an extent that one may say that African civilization is a spiritual civilization:

1. In the process and in the course of the education of individuals, religion comes in, charged with a mission for man and society.
2. It demands that society thrashes out the contradictions within it by adopting a system of exchange based on compulsory hospitality and solidarity on the one hand, and the spirit of tolerance and respect for the human person on the other.
3. It demands that society embrace sexuality for the benefit of the social order, as reflected for instance in marriage, for the social aspects of reproduction.
4. It allows the individual, through the worship of the ancestors, to transcend his physical condition and be part of society. In other words:

Through the worship of the ancestors, the individual moves towards his ancestors, takes an interest in them and is part of them. He therefore traces back the line of his ancestry and thus rediscovers himself and establishes his own place in the vital process of the group and thereby rediscovers himself as a "being-with-the-others".

5. It demands the organization of production, of trade, of the distribution of goods and the satisfaction of needs. It achieves this by setting up a legal system based notably, on taboos relating to the days for certain activities (fishing, for example; to the moral conditions to be met before carrying certain activities (for example, sexual continence on the eve of an important fishing or hunting expedition); and relating to the techniques and work tools etc. . . . It should be noted by the way that the destruction of the religious structure and especially the dislocation of religious authority have helped create disorder; encouraged the over-exploitation of the forests, the water resources or the countryside; brought about the disorderly, uncontrolled and arbitrary occupation of land (might being right); created a situation of moral and economic crisis (fall in production, emigration, social conflicts, accusation of witchcraft, etc . . . ).
6. Religion for life, the religion of the African's life in his every moment, which accompanies the African at birth, while eating, drinking, while training man, when he sets out on a journey, when he dies only to be reborn, traditional religion is, as a

doctrine, man's means of ensuring equilibrium with himself, with the society and with the universe. And as the reference for the code of conduct, it is an ethics, therefore a means of protecting society.

### **The Situation of Revealed Religions Vis-a-vis The African Society**

Inasmuch as every religion is always within a particular culture, the Christian, Muslim and Judaic religions are foreign to Africa because, historically, they are not, like traditional religion, moulded in African cultural values. But once they have been accepted by Africans, they cease to be foreign, just as certain writings imported from Europe are no longer thought to be foreign. This being so, in the struggle for the liberation of the continent, the relevant problem is not that of the origin or rightful place of religion, or the problem of the difference in its content. The problem that arises is in fact how religion can be wrested by oppressive groups, whose interests are opposed to the peoples' (the use to which religion is put by racists). On the other hand, when a religion is an element of cohesion, of national unity, of resistance to the invader, of contact with the outside world, it is at the service of the people.

### **Recommendations**

#### **A. PRINCIPLES:**

1. Religion expresses the way the African man has always governed his relationship with nature and with his fellow-men.
2. Religion has therefore not been neutral vis-a-vis history nor vis-a-vis the interests of the African peoples. In other words, religious awareness in Africans is not purely an abstraction, it is a living component of their way of life.
3. When African religion exhorts Man to fight evil and its causes, it is a means of achieving the African Peoples aspirations to happiness, fraternity and freedom.
4. Faith can endure only if it is a living one and it can live only by acting on the cultures which it permeates. Hence religion must enrich theology with all that enables the African Man to accede to the promised land of the Scriptures.

5. Every religious education in Africa is therefore in duty bound to serve as an urge to achieving goodness, progress, freedom and struggle against any form of oppression, man's exploitation by man.

### RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That governments and heads of religious communities encourage research workers, teachers, and scholars to carry out studies and research into African traditional religion, aimed at a better understanding of its worldview and its impact on the daily lives of the Africans. In doing this, they should encourage the translation of the texts of this religion into African languages.
2. That the religions in Africa contribute effectively to the transformation of society and man in their struggle against underdevelopment and its deep causes.
3. That the religions should be based on African values. That, consequently, the Christian and Muslim religions should, like traditional religion, be adapted. That, the need to re-evaluate African traditional religion should, however, be present always in the minds of Africans so as to make for the adaptation and purification of this religion.
4. That heads of religious communities in Africa encourage and facilitate authentically African experiences, and their expression by the liturgy, the sacred art and theological reflection. And that the research undertaken in matters of spirituality should lay emphasis on the pluralistic character of African religious life.
5. That the points that are identical or parallel between African traditional religion and the revealed religions be stressed in order to strengthen the spirit of mutual tolerance and respect.
6. That the religions in Africa give a greater place to the practical aspect of the education of the youths and the emancipation of the African woman.
7. That all the positive values of African traditional religion be encouraged, particularly:
  1. respect of the sacred and of dignity of man, of every man and of man as a whole;
  2. the spirit of openness, tolerance, hospitality, self-sacrifice, struggle and honour;
  3. the life of communion, union, active solidarity and co-responsibility.

8. That religious liberty should be ensured to every citizen and all religious communities, in the respect of the commonwealth, irrespective of the form of government and the political philosophy of states.
9. That meetings and exchanges between the heads of religious communities be organized in order to spread the positive experiences in different countries.

### Sub-theme Two

#### BLACK CIVILIZATION AND PHILOSOPHY

##### **Working Group Officials:**

**Rapporteur:** Souleymane Balde - (Guinea)

##### **Chairmen:**

The five working sessions, including two symposia, were presided over by:

- Gamberbo (Zaire)
- Mamadi Keita (Guinea)
- G.M. Carew (Sierra-Leone)
- M. Traore (Mali)  
and Dr. M Ron Karenga (U.S.A.)

Four papers were presented on the following main themes:

- a. African Wisdom and Philosophy
- b. Philosophy and Cultural Identity
- c. Ethical, Social and Cultural Problems
- d. Problematics of an African Philosophy and Teaching of Philosophy.

The discussions arrived at the following conclusions:

#### I. On African Wisdom and Philosophy

In the European ethnological and anthropological literature of a certain epoch, the traditions, beliefs, and the thought of the African peoples had aroused nothing but scorn. Prejudices and the feeling of an alleged superiority underlying every scientific activity of colonial research workers were solely responsible for the refusal to recognise in the facts of culture observed in Africa highly philosophical values. Today, the idea of presenting Africa as an entirely mystical and irrational entity is a cause that can hardly find

anybody to champion it. On the contrary, we have as our starting-point to a priori principle that there is no *People* without a culture, without a civilization, and that indeed, in a broad sense, philosophy, within the sphere of culture, turns out to be the basis and the guide for individual and collective praxis. Philosophy is the most general aspect of man's answers to the problems raised by his being and his evolution. As the quest for the truth of being, as a calling into question of the order of reality, philosophy is not the prerogative of any people. We can therefore rightly talk of an African philosophy - which we can come across in past and present-day texts, in stories and legends, myths and riddles, proverbs and dicta. All these forms of expression of African philosophy, all these philosophical stays help to channel the wisdom and experience accumulated by our peoples from time immemorial.

Following in the wake of papers that dealt with systems of thought and proverbs of some African communities, the participants were better able still to grasp the African philosophy underlying the myths, moral thought, political thought, judicial sentences.

The African philosophers should make explicit and concrete that philosophy underlying the different forms of expression of thought.

## II. Philosophy and Cultural Identity

Every philosophy is that of a given epoch, a given society, a given class, or a given social stratum whose realities it reflects or contests. We should have a clear vision of our own being not only as individuals but especially as collectivities, Peoples and Nations. Our identity is reflected fully only in its historical, cultural, economic and socio-political dimensions. But then our historical situation reminds us of the fact that reason and justice are far from having triumphed in the world, since the connotations given to these concepts are, according to the interests at stake, diametrically opposed, and that the relationships between man and woman, the races, ethnic groups, social classes are far from being harmonious. Our peoples are still engaged in the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism; they are still fighting for a life of freedom for all, of culture for all, of shared responsibility, and of happiness, for the basic necessities of man, for a life of true democracy.

Philosophy must apprehend these problems in their totality, so

as to ensure a collective vision, bring out the values and promote the different forms of expressions and practices in the interest of our peoples.

All living and vivifying reflection on African philosophy should emanate from the depth of our Africanness, that which comes from the common history of the African peoples and people of African descent anywhere they may be in the world. Only that Africanness which is entrenched in our cultural values offers the guarantee for the preservation of our being, in the ascending process of social and economic progress.

The quest for knowledge on the philosophical mode must be guided by these premises. Because thought in Africa did not acquire permanence in writing and through writing, it did not bring within its fold systematized forms. African thought has remained very much stuck on acts and things. With its strong inclination towards the real, African philosophy presents itself as a moral, a metaphysics, a cosmogony, a) theory of knowledge with its own logic.

By moving thus from Europe to Africa, one is also moving from one form of philosophical language to another. There, we find an undertaking marked more and more by conceptualisation and formalization, here, a form of language many aspects of which are still to be discovered. The refusal by Europe to credit Africa with a philosophical thought partly derives from this difference. This formal difference is not reflected in a difference in content. Indeed, the analysis of the systems of African thought, myths and proverbs, reveals a problematic which refers one back to the well known themes of classical philosophy such as freedom, responsibility, being in nature and in history, the essence and the appearance of things, duality, existence, solidarity, dignity and honour. In the same way this difference cannot be based on the mode of knowledge used for perceiving the real to which is attributed the statement that Africans rely on intuition, emotion and imagination to the exclusion of reason. However, to attempt to translate European philosophy into African languages because from one civilization to another we go from one project to another, is to miss the point.

The colonial system has brought about a deep and serious break in the normal process of evolution in our societies, on the economic, cultural, artistic planes, as well as on the philosophical plane. This system has failed to admit that our people have any culture,

and civilization. But the African peoples, in spite of the colonial eclipse, have never lost their personality. The elite that have had access to European philosophy but were assimilated, were already no longer the reflection of African thought and unable -will they ever be able- to be the authentic expression of the colonizer's mode of thought. If, therefore, colonization, and this is a fact of history, has denied the African the possibility of having any coherent system of thought, of any philosophy whatsoever -total independence, a radical change in mentalities, a high sense of responsibility and of only then that we shall be able to take possession of the spiritual history all become the sine qua non for reformulating our philosophy, our system of thought and for bringing about their full development.

One may then wonder what African philosophers have to do in order to formulate a modern African philosophy. Our answer to this is that for the formulation of an African philosophy, the first step should be the reading of ancient texts which stem from tradition, and contemporary texts, with a view to putting them together in a critical framework. What is to be done is consequently to take stock and gather all items of tradition, decipher or decode their symbols, in order to make it possible for the message they contain to be understood by ordinary people. But beyond this, the work of systematizing and formalizing concepts is imperative. It is only then that we shall be able to take possession of the spiritual wealth embedded in our cultural heritage, that missing link that will come to restore the continuity of the universal history of ideas.

Thus understood, African philosophy will not be a mere restitution of facts and realities of local interest. The African philosophical truth must rise to the level of the Universal. It is therefore less a matter of an African philosophy than that of philosophy in Africa expressed in the cultural canons of the peoples of Africa and those of African origin.

What is involved is also to draw up a balance-sheet of the various experiences of our peoples, in their national struggles against colonialism, and in their endeavour to build new nations. So that to each crucial period of our history will correspond one or more philosophical systems, expressions of situations, needs, interests of social groups, helping to understand the period in a critical and dialectic manner, at the level of a language that would be really philosophical.

### III. Ethical, Social and Cultural Problems

From the Colloquium papers dealing with these topics and attesting to the experiences of many communities, there emerges an ethics that shows a deep sense of solidarity, hospitality, mutual aid, brotherhood, courage and gallantry. All these are values which reveal the humanism of the African peoples.

This humanism which is the distinctive mark of civilization, must be taken up in the projected building of new societies. The functional aspect of philosophical research, which must reflect our positive moral values, becomes evident at this point. And it is to the extent that they channel and organize the peoples' action and life in their struggles against the forces of alienation and exploitation that they show their effectiveness. They are the sap that injects life and vitality into social bodies that are preoccupied with recovering their collective responsibility, their historical initiative, their cultural identity. African philosophy comes out as a revolutionary project in so far as it does not constitute a simple image reflecting the World, Society and Man, more than anything else, it is a calling to question once more of the order of things, it is a project for the ideal transformation of society. Our societies, victims of aggressions of all sorts and of every origin, economic, political, cultural, armed, technical and technological, cannot bring their alienation to an end, unless they get mobilized for action that is inspired by our moral values, and nourished by our humanism. How can we achieve these aims if our educational systems, which are the means of production and reproduction of social relationships and values, continue to ignore this humanism?

### RECOMMENDATIONS

The Colloquium participants

After recognizing that African traditional philosophy is a system of thought worthy of scientific research and having a place among the humanities normally taught in the Universities,

After rejecting the claim of European philosophy to being the universal philosophy,

Recommend to the Ministers of Education and Culture and to the universities in the countries taking part in the Festival:

1. to carry out research dealing with the fundamental questions and elements of African traditional philosophy with a view to

gathering the material necessary for a coherent and authentically African philosophy, that is to say, a philosophy that meets the basic needs of the masses, for the purpose of transforming African societies.

2. to collect for this purpose material, literary, traditional, political texts and contemporary books, capable of helping in the production of philosophical texts.
3. to analyse fragmentary data with a view to arranging them into philosophical syntheses by conceptualizing and formalizing them.
4. consequently to guarantee and to make available financial, material and human resources for the purpose of carrying out these researches in the field of traditional and contemporary African philosophy (philosophies), which will serve as a conceptual basis for the development of African civilization and cultures in the contemporary world.

Taking note of the fact that peoples of African origin have made a significant contribution to the world philosophical heritage, it is recommended that educational institutions, especially teaching units, should:-

5. develop the training of African pupils and students in philosophical reflection so as to develop in them the spirit of criticism, while taking into account the fact that the problems treated by the philosophies are also socio-economic problems.
6. promote the teaching of philosophy in African languages in order to restore the true philosophic thought that is the result of the creative genius of the African masses, who are both the subject and object of our philosophy.
7. integrate into the teaching programmes the historical and critical study of the contributions of African philosophers, for the purpose of awareness and evaluation of these contributions to universal thought.

Fully aware of the need to coordinate and harmonize at the continental level, the researches done into areas of African philosophy, conscious also of the need to integrate with this philosophy all the scientific and technical contributions which can serve the interests of the African masses, participants at the Colloquium call on African governments, Pan-African and International institutions to help them:

8. create and maintain by all means, journals on philosophy, which would raise and study the fundamental problems confronting philosophical thought in Africa.
9. organize in Africa seminars, colloquia, conferences on African philosophical thought, thereby creating opportunities for the clash of ideas and for harmonizing teaching methodologies, indeed for defining new research themes.
10. carry out exchange of documents and works of research and/or researchers in order to propagate throughout the continent discoveries made here and there.
11. bring the results achieved face to face with those of other countries, in other continents, in order to give African philosophy a dynamic content and enable it participate in the universal philosophical thought.

## **Reports of Working Group IV**

### **Sub-theme One**

#### **BLACK CIVILIZATION AND AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS**

Presentation of Papers was by the following:-

1. T. Aletun (Cameroun)
2. M. Jabe (Gambia)
3. H. Matipa (Zambia)
4. M. Nyangira (Kenya)
5. C.H. Wondji (Ivory Coast)
6. Prof. Fall (Senegal)

**Chairman: Ibrahim (Sierra-Leone)T. Aletum's Presentation:**

#### **"Exploration of Traditional Political System"**

He focuses on political and administrative political structures in Africa using Cameroun as a case study. The thesis of the paper is that traditional African political structures could be used to develop modern national political structures.

The present political and administrative political structures are basically imitations of the Western institutions, they have little relevance to the environment and culture of the African peoples.

We need to tap from our culture those values and symbols that will be able to fashion a much more durable and relevant system.

**Dr. H. Matipa - Zambia - Black Civilization and Modern Government (Zambia)**

For this scholar (Minister), Zambia has stressed the idea of

participatory democracy in an attempt to bring about peasant/worker involvement in decision-making both within the political party and in the process of socio-economic development. The ruling political party in Zambia strives hard to make this peasant/worker participation meaningful for it is only within the framework of the political party that peoples participation in development can be achieved.

#### **Prof. Jobe (Gambia)**

Our constitutions are carbon copies of the British and French (5th Republic) constitutions. There is very little in these constitutions that is truly African. Drafters of the constitutions were western educated elites assisted by British or French legal experts. When the constitutions were written and bequeathed to Africa, the Western educated elite thought that they could work but after 15 or nearly 20 years of political independence, the constitutions have by and large failed. Thus, there has to be a serious re-examination of the basis of our present governments. We have to "return" to traditional form of government, i.e. we have to take stock of the good characteristics that existed in traditional systems of governments and incorporate them into modern forms of governments that exist at the moment.

#### **Prof. Fall (Senegal) African Political Parties**

It is generally agreed that political parties' objectives is that of capturing political power so that they can implement their programmes. Evolution of modern political parties in Africa can be traced to the African elite. Some of the political parties were extended to include traditional organization so that traditional rulers or the sons of these traditional rulers emerged as the new leaders of political parties. Even after the emergence of social classes the parties are still led by their founders, often the leader of the party is supreme, he is in effect the political party himself. In many parts of Africa, political parties do not practise free elections of their leaders, neither do they engage meaningfully in parliamentary electoral process. When they engage in parliamentary electoral process, it is a great force, usually rigging the elections. These elections have no meaning, only sons of notables could and do

stand for elections. The ordinary voter (peasant/worker) has no choice. Competition is usually suspect and is discouraged. What we find is a dictatorship of the intelligentsia. The political party belongs to the person who established it or one who took it over. We must educate our people politically and ideologically.

**Prof. Wondji (Ivory Coast)**

**Traditional Societies and the Problem of Development in Africa**

Our system of government must reflect the environment. The characteristics that existed in our societies in pre-capitalist social formations still persist, we cannot *wish* them away, rather we have to tap them, especially the good ones. For example, we know that property was communally owned and that there was a council of elders which made important decisions that regulated the day running of the community. Minorities and individuals were protected, life in general was valued. The elders who ruled had experience and under this social formation production was based on the family/clan units.

Now we find that we are on the periphery of the international system. We are subordinated to international capital. Power in Africa has been personalized and those who hold it know little about the people (peasant/workers). We have to unleash the potential labour of the peasants/workers, and we must give them the right to choose their leaders. This is partly how we can recover our independence.

**Prof. Samkanage (Zimbabwe)**

We have to acknowledge existence of ethnic groups. African leaders play a double standard. Often when they are forming cabinets they attempt to balance them ethnically but when addressing the masses they preach against ethnicity and in fact wish it away.

**Report of Working Group IV  
(January 21, 1977)**

Rapporteur

(Dr. N. Nyangira)

**TRADITIONAL SYSTEMS AND MODERN GOVERNMENTS**

Chairman:

Mr. N. Magwali (Zambia)

**Speakers:**

1. S. Ameh V (Nigeria)
2. A. Eshete (Ethiopia)
3. A. Ibrahima (Guinea)
4. M.I. Mapoma Presented  
Professor M. Kashoki's  
Paper. (Zambia)
5. A. Yusufu (Nigeria)

**Professor S. Ameh (Nigeria)****"Traditional Legal Rights and Modern Governments"**

The paper observes that there is need for protection of legal rights. Indigenous customary law has to be given its right place in our legal systems by Modern African governments. Law has to take into consideration existing social conditions knowing fully well that these social conditions are part of the historical social forces that have characterized the African society.

**A. Eshete (Ethiopia) - Ethiopian Revolution and Culture**

Professor Eshete begins by posing a fundamental question on the topic namely - What was the nature of Ethiopian Revolution? The Social formation that prevailed in Ethiopia before the revolution was a feudal/capitalist formation. This feudal/capitalist formation was corrupt and inert. The mode of production was also characterized by unfair distribution of land and social services in general, there was unfair distribution of wealth. Unemployment and high inflation were endemic.

What triggered the Revolution of 1974 was the famine in Wollo and Tigre Provinces. The revolution was led by students, workers and teachers - these were groups whose social consciousness was generally high. The Military, which moved in, was acting to bring about popular demands of the above groups (teachers, students, and workers). Thus, Ethiopia "Tikidem" has taken measures that are in the interest of workers. For example there has been a rural land decree, nationalizing all land in rural areas. This was followed by another decree on July 5, 1975 that nationalized all urban land and houses. There has been nationalization of 100 leading financial and commercial institutions. To manage the nationalized land, both in rural areas and in urban areas, rural peasant associations,

and urban land associations have been formed. The Ethiopian Dergue emphasizes cultural equality of all ethnic groups. This is unlike the feudal regime of the Emperor that emphasized the Amharah culture.

#### **A. Ibrahima (Guinea) - Political Regimes in Pre-Colonial Africa**

Many traditional political systems e.g. Mali, Songai, existed in Africa. Their resistance to colonialism must be viewed in terms of solidarity in order to combat exploitation.

Real political independence means that we should resist falling back into neocolonialism. One finds that there is no indigeneous bourgeoisie in Africa to-day. The bourgeoisie that exist is dependant on foreign bourgeoisie.

#### **M.I. Mapoma (Zambia)**

Africa is in general a plural society. Our cultural heritage is heterogeneous. We should not deny that cultural diversity exists in each of the African nation states. Very often political leaders use concepts of integration, nationhood, loyalty but very often they do not comprehend what these concepts entail. Very often having a national language is viewed as a sufficient factor in creating nationhood but this is not the case. Primordial loyalties will continue to exist and they are not bad, one can have loyalty to a tribe and to the nation-state at the same time. When we cry for a single nation without ethnic cleavage we appear to be advocating *assimilation* and not integration.

#### **A. Yusuf (Nigeria) Black Civilization and African Legal Systems**

We do not need to have courts, and enforcing agencies in order to have law. At least in a traditional society law existed without courts and specialized enforcing agencies. The level of judicial organization depends on the type and complexity of social organization. In traditional legal systems in Africa the principle of compromise prevailed, conciliation, and mediation were extensively practised and yet our modern governments tend to ignore these and to copy wholesale western legal systems. Mediation and conciliation takes the welfare of the entire community into consideration. The goal is to preserve the well being of the whole i.e. the community.

## Working Group IV

(January 22, 1977)

**Rapporteur** - (Dr. N. Nyangira)

**Theme: TOWARDS AN AFRICAN (GOVERNMENT) SYSTEM**

**Chairman**

J. Ngoue (Cameroun)

Texts Presented by:

1. A. Adejugbe (Nigeria)
2. S. Idele (Nigeria)
3. S. Wakabi-Kiguwa (Uganda)
4. A.G. Hines (United Kingdom)

### **Prof. A. Adejugbe (Nigeria)**

Differences in culture and inequalities in allocation of resources are the main factors that lead to coup d'etat in Africa. Under the traditional system each ethnic group had autonomy over political economic, and social matters. Each ethnic group made decisions concerning their way of life. This autonomy was not emasculated by the colonial regime. The colonial regime through devices such as indirect rule gave some ethnic groups e.g. Baganda, emirates of Northern Nigeria, Barotseland in Zambia etc. a good deal of participation in decision-making particularly over social administrative and cultural matters. However, at independence this autonomy was destroyed. Many independent African governments in their attempts to create unitary states centralized all power in the national political and administrative capital. Power passed from local chiefs, emirs etc. to the political group (elite) that had replaced the departing colonial regime. Local culture was given less and less emphasis. Eventually, due to inequality in distribution of resources, especially essential services, ethnic groups that were not participating in national decision-making became restive and wanted to reassert their autonomy.

Pattern of political parties support was highly regional, which meant that one or a coalition of ethnic groups, controlled the government machinery. In attempt to wrest control of the national administration from the ruling party, the ethnic groups that are not part of the national administration resort to tactics and violent means to topple the national administration. This leads to repression, political instability, ending eventually in a coup d'etat.

### **S. Wakabi-Kiguwa (Uganda)**

#### **A Closer Understanding of Pre-Colonial and Post Colonial African Societies Within the Framework of African Socialism**

"Pre-colonial" Africa had values of brotherhood, co-operation, and living together in peace. There was the spirit of solidarity. Interaction of neighbouring ethnic group always took place in the above spirit. Thus, contemporary intra-African and international relations must take place in the above framework.

It is high time these values were incorporated.

### **A. C. Hines (U.K.)**

#### **The Political Economy of Politics in African and Black Developing Countries**

Hines has a seven category "design of political systems"; In attempting to fashion new political systems in Africa and the black world in general we have to note that the systems be:-

1. Democratic
2. Ideas and programmes should flow freely and the system pragmatic.
3. Citizens be offered genuine choices i.e. between or among a set of possible leaders and programmes.
4. The government be stable and efficient.
5. Interests of the minorities be safeguarded.
6. Practise equity in the allocation of resources.
7. Educate citizens to have a high level of consciousness of their culture.

The paper goes on to discuss two party, multi-party and one party, systems, ruling out the two party model which is not appropriate in a plural society.

#### **QUESTIONS AND OBSERVATIONS**

1. Concepts used (by Mr. Wakabi-Kiguwa) of pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial tend always to suggest that until Europeans came we had no awareness of our own existence which is erroneous and hence to be avoided.

2. Prof. Adejuge's paper tends to suggest that ethnic cleavage is a necessary and sufficient factor that accounts for military intervention in politics in Africa. This is simplistic, and one can come up with many instances of coup d'etats where the ethnic cleavage was not a factor in the military take-over of government.
3. We have also to make a distinction between tribe and tribalism. Tribe(s) exist but tribalism is an acquired trait that may be the result of external forces to Africa.

### Symposium

(January 23, 1977)

Rapporteur:-	Dr. N. Nyangira
Chairman:-	Prof. Wondji (Ivory Coast)
Theme:-	Ideology, Party and Political Education

Types of government is always based on ideology. Every state organizes itself and this organization is made on the basis of ideology. Most countries in the world have made the choice of ideology considered relevant to their conditions.

Ideology is capable of enabling people to break out of their under-development. Our ideology has to incorporate African values of solidarity and brotherhood. It has to be an ideology that allows for maximum participation in political process by the people i.e. peasants and workers, for these groups form the majority of the African population. Our ideology must be built on reality, it should not be detached from the people. It must aim at liberating our people not just from colonial and racial domination but from all forms of oppression including forms existing in our state systems.

It must give possibilities for progress. Such ideology could be African socialism where the major means of production would be owned by the state but where freedom of expression, of debate, of criticism, of intellectual research, intellectual expression of ideas would be respected and guaranteed. Devotion to providing a high standard of living for the people would be rigorously pursued and terror, undue coercion, imposition of leaders on the will of the people would not be tolerated. The ideology has to be committed to total liberation of the African people from want, from indignity and from oppression.

But it is important for the ideology to be realistic in taking into account the very nature of the African society. It has to recognize that Africa is a plural society and that institutions that exist among ethnic groups can be adapted to modern conditions. Political organization on party lines have to espouse the concept of consensus which existed in many of the African societies but consensus should not be mistaken for unanimity for the latter is impossible to achieve.

We have to be careful that political partition that exist or will come into existence do not exist for only electing or recruiting elites to political power.

Political parties must champion interests of the peasants and workers and in general all groups. Aspirations of the masses must be reflected in political party programmes. Elections per se do not lead to elimination of oppression. Political parties should not be organizations existing for organizing elections only. Self-criticism, i.e. internal self-criticism should be permitted by political parties. Scholars (African) must take part in this debate.

If we find dialectical materialism and historical materialism useful in analyzing our conditions of development we must adapt them, and we should not be afraid to do so. Basics do not change although the particulars often do.

### Recommendations

Noting that the present political structures are basically imitations of Western institutions having little relevance to the African environment, values, and culture the commission recommends:-

1. Incorporation of traditional political institutions and values into our modern political systems. These institutions (traditional) include councils of elders and customary courts.
2. That symbols of our traditional systems be respected and retained. Traditional institutions e.g. ethnic councils of elders be allowed to play ceremonial and symbolic functions.
3. Decision-making and resolution of conflict be governed by the idea of consensus, dialogue, consultation, mediation and moderation.
4. Autocracy, domination and dictatorship be eliminated.
5. Legislatures be broad enough to include diverse interests such as the military, trade unions, intellectuals, women organizations and elders from ethnic groups etc.

6. That free, genuine elections be held and individuals representing special interests be replaced at the end of the life of each legislature.
7. That practice of detention without trial of political opponents be removed as this practice is alien to Africa.

#### **Modern Administrative State Machinery**

1. Adapt scientific knowledge and techniques to administration.
2. Maintain high standards of efficiency by adhering to merit in recruitment, and deployment of personnel.
3. Foster greater commitment to objectives and goals of the State.
4. Practice openness and devotion in serving the people without expecting special favour or reward.
5. Have respect for and consult with political leaders.

#### **Ideology**

Recognizing that governments are always based on ideologies, the commission recommends that our ideology is that of **African Socialism** whose values and principles include:-

1. Collective (Communal) ownership of the means of production e.g. land. Collective ownership in the present situation entails state ownership.
2. The family which has always been and still is the basic Unit of production.
3. Production was meant for satisfaction of the wants of those that produced the wealth, such wealth not geared towards profit, nor for accumulation.

Underlying the philosophy of African Socialism are many other values which are:

4. Belief and practice of the principle of consensus in decision making.
5. Acceptance of the idea of dialogue and consultation in problem solving or conflict resolution.
6. Practice of toleration.
7. Profound belief in humanism, brotherhood and sanctity of life.
8. Closer co-operation leading to togetherness, unity, solidarity, fraternity, harmony, cohesion and general oneness.
9. Respect for the wisdom and authority of elders, their knowledge and experience.

10. Belief in drawing on the past in solving problems of the present thus affirming constant communion with the ancestors through sacrifice.
11. Exercise of discipline throughout life with each state marked by initiation and ceremony.
12. Belief and respect for dignity of the group, individual achievements being seen as part and parcel of group achievements.
13. Commitment to organization and participation.

### **Political Parties:**

In order to put the above ideology of African socialism into practice, party or parties must embrace and practice it, we recommend that political parties allow for:-

1. Freedom of expression, debate, and constructive criticism.
2. Recruitment of leaders through open elections, competitive and genuine.
3. Involvement of a cross spectrum of the society (peasants, workers and other groups) in decision making both within the party and in each nation state as a whole.
4. Respect for academic research and intellectual expression and publication of ideas.
5. Raising the level of consciousness of the people (peasants and workers).

Political Parties should also encourage:-

6. Political education at all institutions of higher learning irrespective of the area of specialization of the student.
7. Establishing institutes to facilitate item six above.
8. An increase in intra-African interaction through visits and seminars of parliamentarians, local government councillors, magistrates and lawyers.
9. Penetration of its organization to the grass roots thereby increasing level of participation hence awareness.
10. Elimination of all forms of dictatorship, domination, and repression by a single individual leader or small group.
11. Removing political parties based on one ethnic group.

### **ECONOMY**

In order to exercise control over the destiny of our economy we must:

1. Form a trading block to facilitate increase in intra-African trade.
2. Promote industrialization but avoiding duplication of industrial projects.
3. Accept a standard currency on which other currencies may be pegged.
4. Exercise control over the basic means of production (the State exercising this control).
5. Place production in the hands of the people.
6. Encourage fair and equitable distribution of land and wealth.
7. Strive to achieve self-sufficiency in food production.

#### **Other Related Institutions - The Military**

1. We have to maintain well trained, well equipped forces capable of checking external aggression.
2. Our forces have to participate in direct material production. By so doing, they will be closer to the people.
3. We need collaboration in intra-African training.
4. We must be prepared to take part in liberation of areas of our continent still under colonialism and apartheid.

#### **African Political System**

Noting that Africa was balkanized by the European colonialists we recommend:

1. Increased regional political/economic unity; the goal being eventual continental unity. In the diaspora e.g. the West Indies, we encourage greater co-operation between component States.
2. Strengthening of the Organization of African Unity especially in the military field so that a direct and positive engagement in liberation of Southern Africa (Namibia, Zimbabwe and Azania) can be realized as soon as possible.

#### **Sub-theme Two**

##### **BLACK CIVILIZATION AND HISTORICAL AWARENESS**

##### **Working Group Officials:**

**Rapporteur:**

**Dr. Aleme Eshete (Ethiopia)**

<b>Chairmen</b>	<b>Topic</b>
Prof. Samdange (Zimbabwe)	1. Historical Awareness (18/1/77) 8 papers presented
Dr. Hailu Fulas (Ethiopia)	2. National and Local History (19/1/77) 12 papers presented.
Dr. L.W. Bertley (Canada)	
Prof. N.A.S. Diop (Senegal)	
Vice-Chairman.	
Dr. Hines (Canada)	3. British & North American Black Experience (20/1/77) (Symposium: 10 speakers)
Prof. Antonio Vieira da Silva (Brazil) Vice-Chairman.	
Prof. Makono (Congo) Vice- Chairman.	

### Topic one

#### Historical Awareness:

#### Synthesis of the Discussions

The western imperialist ideology, following Hegel, in denying history to the black man and in placing him as a foot-note to universal history, intends to produce a history that is Europeo-centric and racial, and to show African civilizations as inferior. European historians speak of African history, in such terms as "the primitive and barbarian tribes", who were still, at the advent of colonialism, at the first stage of human society. However, we now know the rich contribution made by pre-colonial Africans to the history of humanity, and we now understand with much more clarity the history and civilization of the Africans thanks to methodological renewal taking place in the social sciences by the use of historical materialism and structuralism.

It is therefore urgent to proceed to a scientific rewriting of African history and to insist on the contributions of the Africans to the history of humanity. In the same way words like "tribe", "primitive", "pagan", "savage", "babarian", "dark ages" etc. by which European historians justified the colonial enterprise, should disappear from the African historical vocabulary.

The anthropological and historical researches of the last few

years have brought to light some facts about the historical consciousness of ancient African societies. This was found to be a global and unitary consciousness which included all the past history of man and nature; a sociocentric consciousness in as much as the objective of history was the construction and preservation of the human society; finally a consciousness where the future was the essential factor of temporality. But this historical consciousness has been transformed by exogenous factors (slave trade, colonisation and its consequences) into a "divided" and "shattered" consciousness creating today the crucial problem of its reunification, reintegration, and therefore its reconstruction.

The important role that historical consciousness should play in the reconstruction of African societies is not inspired only by tradition - where history was incorporated in all the activities of public life - but also by common successive oppressions which the Africans suffered. History should, therefore, occupy today a privileged position in the political and moral education of Africans in order to clear their consciousness of the world and to give dynamism to their struggle against racism, colonialism and imperialism.

History, being a factor of cultural identity by its virtue of being the expression of collective memory, should help to reconstruct a new culture. This cultural reconstruction will signify the respect, preservation and development of all African cultures within the present African states and in the world. It will also signify the condemnation of servile imitation of the west and the resulting "mental colonization".

## **II. National and Local History Synthesis of Discussion**

In order to reconstitute African history in its totality and unity, and therefore reunify the Collective African Consciousness, it was necessary to conduct research on local, national and regional basis. And this has been undertaken in different parts of Africa and the world.

Thus certain malpractices of colonialists and imperialists, who had created ethnocentrism in order to divide the African peoples, and render their domination easier, who had separated by artificial boundaries, culturally homogeneous peoples, stopped by these barriers economic and cultural relations which existed in the past between various regions of the continent through a number of trade routes and river routes (Nile, Congo, Niger etc.) was raised.

The cultural convergence between black Africa and the Dravidians of India, the vitality of African culture in Brazil and Surinam as well as in the West Indies was also raised. Finally, the Archaeological researches that were made in Ethiopia did not only raise questions of interest to Ethiopia, but also an interest in prehistoric African Studies in general.

These facts raised by national historians show the necessity to make more profound researches, but also to look beyond the nation-state for the points of convergence likely to produce a valuable synthesis for all the continent. The National and Local history must be a contribution for pan-Africanism so that Pan-Africanism will truly be the expression of Negro-African solidarity, and uniting all peoples of African descent.

### **III. British and North American Experience: United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States of America**

#### **Synthesis of Discussions**

To start with, a certain number of facts were given: The blacks were victims of racist laws in Canada and United Kingdom; in the face of this racial oppression, the blacks were disunited because of their different origins (West Indies, North America); the black delegates from the U.S. warned Africans to take a critical stand towards the new President Carter who presents himself as a radical democrat. Finally, it was deplored that Africans of the Continent were not sufficiently informed about the condition of blacks abroad.

But it was agreed that the profound roots of the intolerable conditions of blacks in U.K., U.S. and Canada, being capitalism and imperialism, the Black peoples should unite with the working classes of Canada, U.K., and U.S. to get rid of the common enemy. The cultural solution ("Black is Beautiful", the Rastafarian movement, etc.) could help to reinforce the collective identity and cohesion of different groups, but are not sufficient for organizing consistent struggle. This could be obtained only by organized struggle of all classes oppressed by the imperialist powers, and coordinated with the liberation struggle that is taking place in Africa and the rest of the world.

### Recommendations

#### On African Historical Heritage

- The Colloquium recommends that works giving the global picture of all research and publications in African history accomplished year by year be organized, unless this is already being done by UNESCO.
- The essential areas of colonial mystification of African history be identified and refuted if necessary.
- Integrate research and publications in African history on the continental level to give a picture of the history of the development of Africa as a whole and not to stop with isolated national histories. At the moment, even at the level of national histories, some states have done more research and publication on their history than others. Therefore, there is a very unbalanced knowledge about the history of African countries today. The Colloquium, therefore, recommends that the level of historical heritage studies in African countries be examined, and those that lag behind be advised to give more emphasis to historical heritage studies, so that the imbalance that exists at the moment will be rectified.
- Develop an ideology to interpret and explain African history in the context of humanity in terms of historical materialism and the like.
- Encourage more research on African history, not "Establishment History" but history of the African peoples, in their villages, in the farms, in their home-industries and in the markets, using oral tradition as much as possible.
- Choose selectively and critically what is humanistic, progressive, and collective in African heritage to help in developing African culture and African consciousness, unity and identity as well as a sense of nationalism in the struggle for liberation being prepared to do away with the traditions that hold back progress, that are individualistic and unscientific.
- Encourage more publications and periodicals in African studies and as much as possible in African languages, and start immediately a Journal of African Studies.
- Establish an Organization of African Studies based in Africa which will keep abreast of research and publications in African studies, disseminate information on African Studies, coordi-

nate research in African Studies so that particular countries, areas, and periods are neither over-emphasized nor over-neglected, and finally to follow up meetings and conferences abroad where foreign scholars gather to talk about Africa, and arrange as much as possible for African scholars to attend such meetings so that they will be able to present the African point of view.

### **On the Teaching of History in African Schools and Universities**

- That African historians should develop a progressive ideology to study and interpret African history and the contribution of the Africans to mankind.
- African historians should meet together and discuss ways and means for teaching African history of relevance to the African society. If history teaching has been neglected up to now, and said to be leading to a blind alley, this is because it was not inspired by the African Society. It was an imitation of the West, when it was not an importation. Therefore, the Colloquium recommends that imperialist history books be removed from schools in Africa and the rest of the World; and African historians were invited to stress authenticity in producing works on African history, and free themselves from uncritical imitation of the West. African history thus prepared, it was recommended, should be given a privileged position in African schools and universities, and not a second class position as in the past.

### **On Cultural Imitation of the West and "Mental Colonization"**

- The Colloquium recommended that African government should organize and subsidize African nationalist and anti-imperialist men of culture to develop an ideology of culture and work for the liberation of culture on the national level from imperialist domination.
- Encourage men of art and culture (play-writers, painters, musicians, poets, etc.) to use African (traditional historical) and contemporary inspiration, African material, African content and form, to their works of art and culture, and free themselves as much as possible from imperialist cultural domination.

- Eliminate as far as possible imperialist cinema, music, politically and culturally subversive materials, etc. (and in particular those that falsify African history) as well as imperialist-financed associations and organizations with "moralistic" or "education" aims wherever available.
- Africanize as much as possible the teaching personnel in African Schools and Universities using wherever necessary and possible the skill of scholars of African descent living outside the continent.

#### **On the Problem of the Culture of Minority Communities Within Nation-states**

- The Colloquium recommends that minority communities should be given freedom to enjoy their own culture within the nation-state, and let the proper undiscriminating economic development determine what elements of culture they were prepared to take in and assimilate and what elements of culture to contribute in the building of a National African Culture.
- The Conference also recommended that African governments should not destroy culturally distinct communities by artificial local-government boundaries; further it was recommended that such artificial district, regional or provincial boundaries if already made should be rectified to allow the free development of the minority communities.

#### **On Archeological Research in Africa, and Museums**

##### **A. Archeology**

- Given the rich and brilliant ancient African civilization and the importance of prehistorical research in the reconstruction and understanding of the African past; given also that Africa has now been accepted as the original home of mankind,

The Colloquium recommended strongly:

##### **a. To African States**

- to promote research in this field;
- to accelerate the training of highly-qualified specialists so that we will not continue to depend on the specialists of the western countries as we do now.

a. **To African Archeologists**

- To keep on with their research in spite of the great difficulties,
- to diffuse as widely as possible their findings in the universities, museums, and other places so as to permit the African masses to benefit from them and to develop historical consciousness,
- to develop exchange of African Archeologists between different countries, and to establish technical cooperation in this field.

B. **Museums**

- Conscious of the fact that Museums were the best place for the preservation and display of cultural objects; conscious that the present Western type, elitist structure, of museums was not favourable to the diffusion and education of the masses through Museums;
- The Colloquium recommends that sufficient number of museums structured and oriented to serve the African masses, be built in different populated areas of each African state;
- The Colloquium also recommends that the concept of museum, solely as a centre of exoticism or tourism for Western consumption, a place where one saw only foreigners, should be done away with;
- Pertinent to African civilization, the working-group recommends the promotion of an African literary criticism based on the criteria of appreciation, entrenched in African cultural values.

**On Ethnocentrism and Balkanization in African States**

The Colloquium recommended that present African Governments must continue to fight against ethnocentrism in the economic, social, cultural and political field and as an ideology for national unity in the context of multi-cultural societies. Although ethnocentrism is not the fundamental contradiction, it is always a tool used by imperialists. In spite of this, however, the principle of unity in diversity of culture should be maintained, and the sure way to eliminate ethnocentrism is by an equal and indiscriminating planned economical, social, cultural and political development of all peoples and regions of the nation, and by the full participation

of all the ethnic communities within the nation-state in the development of a national culture, using the masses, and not the elite, as criteria. The Colloquium also urges African historians to avoid ethnocentrism in the writing of African history.

#### **On Artificial Boundaries Created by Colonial Powers Preventing Free Movement of Peoples and Ideas**

The Colloquium recommended that in accordance with the O.A.U. Charter, contacts among the peoples of all African countries should be promoted, in the search for economic, cultural, and political unity on regional and gradually on the continental level. Furthermore, the Colloquium recommends that as transport and communication are amongst the most important factors for the contact of peoples and ideas as well as for trade trans-continental transport systems, north to south, west to east, etc. must be highly encouraged in Africa. The Colloquium also recommends that continental dimension be given to African history as taught in schools and as reflected in text-books. Finally the Colloquium recommended that African Governments should encourage movement of Africans and especially African researchers and scholars in Africa and in countries where Black communities are found.

#### **On the Use of African Historical Consciousness as an Arm in the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa**

The Colloquium recommends that the history of the Africans in Southern Africa (South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia) and other oppressed black peoples should be given priority, and studied more deeply so that "historical consciousness" could help to create cohesion and a sense of oneness amongst the nationalist fighters, as well as to mobilize the masses in their struggle for political and economic independence and social emancipation.

#### **On the Destruction of African Economic Structure and Technology by International Capital, and its Orientation to Satisfy the Needs of the Imperialist Powers**

The Colloquium recommended that if our goals are the reconstruction of Africa and of creating a civilization based on our own image, then Africa must first tackle the problem created by international capital and cut off from its tentacles, or at least reduce its

destructive influence, and let the African technology develop and flourish using local materials, as far as possible, and let production and consumption be as much as possible oriented towards Africa, to satisfy the needs of the Africans - i.e. the African masses and not the privileged capitalist, bureaucratic or intellectual elite.

In this respect the Colloquium recommends co-operation among African countries and other oppressed peoples on such issues as the struggle for a new economic order.

### **African Cultural Contributions in Brazil, Surinam and Dravidian India**

That further research be made on the position of the assimilation and contribution of the Africans in Brazil. Further research was also recommended on African cultural contribution in Surinam.

Next the members of the Colloquium strongly urges that the interesting research started on the relation between the Dravidians of India and Africa should be given all possible moral and material support.

Finally, the Colloquium recommends that research of the African culture among the peoples of African descent should be co-ordinated together and integrated with research made in Africa so as to give a global picture of Africanism.

### **On Unity Among Blacks of African Descent**

The Colloquium recommends that the greatest attempt should be made to create unity among the peoples of African descent on the basis of economic and social demands, and on the basis of their struggle together with the oppressed masses of the society.

### **On U.S. Government Anti-Progressist and Anti-Liberation Activities in Africa and Particularly in Southern Africa**

The Colloquium recommends African Nationalist fighters fighting against white domination in Southern Africa, and against imperialism, social and economic injustice in other parts of Africa to be vigilant to U.S. or other imperialist governments activities of various kinds aimed at undermining liberation wars and the struggle for progress and development, and aimed at keeping African countries, sources of raw materials, and markets for imperialist goods.

### **On the Development of Social Strategies**

The Colloquium recommends:-

1. A synthesis of nationalism and socialism; national consciousness and commitment informed by socialist awareness.
2. Unity with the working peoples of all nationalities.
3. Unity and struggle with all oppressed and progressive peoples.

### **On "Return" to Africa of Peoples of African Descent in U.S., U.K. and Canada**

1. That Africans outside the continent recognize the basic obligation they have to remain in these states where they reside, out of respect for the history of their struggles to build viable African communities in the face of cultural, political, economic and social adversity, and to continue this development for their survival and the enrichment of all African civilization.
2. Recognizing, that some Africans would wish to return to the place of their origin, they are welcome as equal participants into the full range of African life practice. However, the Colloquium recommends that "return" to Africa should be seen in the light of the returnee's determination to join the struggle for the liberation of African countries from International Capital or Imperialism as well as for the development of national economies geared to satisfy the needs of the African masses.
3. Return must be rejected when used as a means of social escape.
4. That the greatest contribution to Africa and humanity is to wage and win the struggle that liberates the society to which one belongs.

### **On Promoting Knowledge Between Africans in the Continent and Peoples of African Descent**

1. The Colloquium of Festac should resolve to be a permanent body of scholars of the African world convening on a regular basis, at least every three years.
2. All continental African universities should make a serious attempt to develop programmes and courses in studies on the peoples of African descent outside the continent to parallel and complement African Studies in major universities outside the continent.

3. Continental Africans must learn and project the indispensable contributions which peoples of African descent outside the continent have made to the idea and practice of Pan-Africanism, as well as the liberation and reconstruction of the continent.
4. African universities should give scholarships to peoples of African descent outside the continent.

**On Multi-Cultural Education in Multi-Cultural Societies: (U.K., U.S. and Canada)**

The Colloquium recommends:-

1. Instituting and strengthening Black and African Studies programmes.
2. Instituting and strengthening studies in working class culture and history.
3. Instituting and strengthening comparative studies in the cultures and histories of all oppressed peoples.

**On Combatting Psycho-Social Problems Arising from Societal Discrimination and Racial Prejudice: (In U.K., U.S.A. and Canada)**

A psychological strategy is the building and strengthening of political consciousness and commitment to the betterment of the condition of African Communities, by reference to the development of both national and cultural identity, and also by identification and unity in struggle with other working and oppressed peoples wherever possible.

**On the Use of Portuguese as One of the Working Languages in Pan-African Gatherings**

The Colloquium recommends that Portuguese should be hereafter used as one of the working languages in all Pan-African gatherings, given the vast numbers of Africans who speak it both on the continent and in the Diaspora.

## Report of Working Group V

### Sub-Theme One

#### BLACK CIVILIZATION, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

##### Working Group Officials:

**RAPPORTEUR:** Prof. Dan. N. Lantum (Cameroun)

**CHAIRMAN:** Prof. Alfred Opubor (Nigeria)-18/1/77

**CHAIRMAN:** Namsene Emmanuel (Central African Empire)-19/1/77

**VICE:** Akakpo Amouzouvi (Togo)

**CHAIRMAN:** Dr. George Alakija (Brazil)-19/1/77

**VICE:** K. A. Sarpong (Ghana)

**CHAIRMAN:** Jose Massip (Cuba)-20/1/77

**VICE:** Prof. B. O. Gibirita (Congo)

#### SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS

21/1/77

##### Presentation and Revision of Report

A. **CHAIRMAN:** Chen Chimutengwende

**RAPPORTEUR:** Prof. Dan. N. Lantum

B. **CHAIRMAN:** Prof. Dan N. Lantum

**RAPPORTEUR:** Chen Chimutengwende

The Working Group discussed two topics:

A. *Science and Technology*

B. *Modern and Traditional medicine*

##### A. Topic: Science and Technology

For this topic of the Sub-theme: Science and Technology, nine papers were presented and discussed at length.

The substance of the debate and discussions that took place during the three working sessions on this sub-theme will be presented here under the following sub-titles: historical perspectives, fundamental questions, transfer of technology, training for technology, political aspects of technological transfer, and the current position in which developing countries find themselves in the historical process of the evolution of science and technology.

### **HISTORY PERSPECTIVES**

Talking about historical perspectives of world technological evolution, several speakers rejoiced at the solid contribution Africa had made to world technology, especially in ancient times, a contribution which gave birth to ancient civilizations of the world. They also asserted that the African and black peoples of our epoch could still make similar contributions. So, it has been definitely demonstrated successfully that the original adaptation of African architecture to their physical, chemical, socio-cultural and cosmic influences in their different environments gave these African communities a unique identity and personality as well as stable civilizations of their own. It was, however generally, felt that other forms of foreign technology which could bring certain advantages to African and black peoples should be judiciously adopted to ensure technological progress. One example given was that in communities with great population densities, the multi-storey building pattern could be adopted and constructed in African court-yard fashions in order to retain the essential, social, and cultural ties within families and lineage groups. The need to conserve the original cultural and artistic forms in the adopted technology was stressed by speakers, and they related this to the vital necessity of avoiding cultural alienation.

### **TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY**

The chief problem identified in this area was not so much one of importation primarily, as one of black peoples, especially in Africa and Australia, developing their own indigenous technologies to solve their own problems as experienced in the framework of their own civilizations. The plea was made by several speakers that we should study concrete methods of adopting and adapting modern technology in various fields to satisfy our local needs, especially at

village levels. The example of research in Mali and Niger to use solar energy to solve drought problems in the Sahelian zone of Africa was considered praiseworthy by speakers. Some experience was reported also of the importation of ploughs (in Mauritania) which were apparently beautiful but which turned out to fatigue the farmers easily. In addition, these implements were neither durable nor were they adapted to the texture of the soil of the country that imported them. Thus, technology needed also to be adapted for the users as well as for the use, and where these characteristics were not present, such technology should be abandoned. Trial and experimentation were therefore a *sine qua non* for adoption and adaptation of technology. One other example of the importation of machines to replace human labour in the processing of *bay* leaves in Trinidad was cited to show that the unplanned transfer of technology, especially on a large scale, could be destructive to the importing country. In this, the sudden mechanization of a labour-intensive industry rendered several members of the population jobless and poorer. This type of transfer therefore belonged to the class of technology considered as dangerous.

To counter the minority view that we should rely entirely on our traditional or indigenous technology, several speakers insisted that as part of world culture we could not afford to refuse to import technology, firstly, because we cannot afford and have no valid justification for living in isolation from the rest of the world; secondly, because although we are currently behind in the technological race we had once been in the forefront and contributed to world technology for universal consumption; and thirdly, because we have a right to share in the universal pool of science and technology. As such, our main objective should be, they asserted, to study how we can use what already exists in the world to develop our talent and resources to achieve what we want to do, as well as find out how our traditional technology could also continue to make contribution to world science and technology.

The sharing of traditional technological experience with our neighbouring States with similar problems, or the joint collaboration of States at regional or zonal level to harmonize technological resources to solve common problems, was considered a good method of intra-continental transfer of technology. The exchange of students and experts among the African States and black communities of the world could also help in identifying common areas of

need in technological development as well as sharing and strengthening our technical know-how. It was also supported that population factors must be taken into consideration when planning total national development.

### Fundamental Questions

A strong warning note was sounded that speakers should avoid the sentimental consideration of "culture" as if it were a static or permanent thing but should recognize that it evolved continuously by renewal and revitalization in the development process which we call human progress. The relevant fundamental questions to keep in mind should be the following:

What is black culture in terms of technology?

What would be considered as technological development in the context?

What are the basic technological problems within the African and Black cultural groups?

What kinds of technology do our people need to survive better, to increase their life expectancy, and longevity, and to maximize their human potential in order to enjoy life more fully?

In the area of architectural designs, for instance, the criteria to consider in borrowing or adapting technology in our setting were the natural ones which include climatic factors such as temperature and light; and other considerations such as safety, ventilation, solidity, and durability of structures. If these criteria preoccupied the minds of our technologists in the construction industries, they would probably play down their tendency of promoting prestigious shapes and forms which took no serious consideration of our ecologic conditions. Besides, some of those innovations were generally too expensive for our local economies and they further consumed scarce capital.

### Training

Training in basic sciences as a prerequisite to the learning and development of technological skills was seen by many speakers as the imperative approach to realistic technological growth in those black States and communities where modern technology was not yet advanced. One strong hope and goal was that African and black peoples could still develop new sciences just as their forefathers had

done and thus they can make absolute contribution to world science. The need for the formation of technological associations by Africans was a well-felt one. Through such associations they could study ways of improving traditional technologies, adapting newer technologies to solve problems in African ecological settings, and most of all, they could re-educate their peers trained in Europe and elsewhere outside the present frame of reference and thus make them well adapted to serving in the countries or communities of their own origin.

Research for simple labour-intensive machines to improve working efficiency at the village level was seen as a priority area of realistic development in most of the African States. That technology should be placed at the service of the people, was stressed several times. Further, it was emphasized that technology which served only the elite should be carefully avoided in the planning for true technological progress in Africa. The primary concern must be directed to the people.

In the teacher training schools in some African countries, it was reported that a lot of initiative was already being taken to train teachers to fabricate their own audio-visual aids for use in local schools. This was producing good results, it was added. Several speakers commended this effort.

One problem which militated against the importation of technology was the psychological mal-orientation of the villagers to receive the technology. It was thus felt that technical innovation, especially at village level, must be accompanied by appropriate mass education in order to ensure proper understanding for proper exploitation. To absorb technology into a peoples culture, the people must be adapted to it as well as the technology must be adapted for the people.

The question of brain-drain came up several times. Many speakers pleaded for a careful study of this problem in order to maintain a balanced viewpoint. Some of the common causes of brain-drain included the following:

- a. mal-utilization by developing countries of specialists over-trained for local needs.
- b. mal-valorization of their know-how and discouraging salaries.
- c. the suspicious and unsuitable political climate.
- d. problems of social and cultural readaptation after long years of absence, and

- e. the attractions for international positions. Whatever were the reasons, the speakers felt strongly that the brain-drain phenomenon was robbing developing countries of precious technological know-how and suggested that appropriate measures should be taken at all levels to deal with the problem.

### Political Aspects of Technology

During the debates the following points were frequently stressed:

- a. That technologies are usually adapted to the culture and ideology of the controllers, and that, in fact, industries are usually constructed to produce economic results which tend to satisfy ideological objectives.
- b. That technology can therefore constitute a means of subjecting the consumer countries to the cultural styles and ideological practices of the producers.
- c. That certain technologies could in fact destroy the socio-cultural and economic balance of recipient countries. Careful planning was therefore needed in developing countries if such dangerous technologies were to be avoided.
- d. The siting of dangerous industries, such as nuclear installations, which had serious adverse consequences both in the short and long term on the lives of the citizens of African countries was unanimously condemned when they served only the interest of the foreign imperial powers.

It was therefore felt that talking about technological development in Africa without national or continental ideologies was not being realistic because the objectives and overall goals of such action were not clear. Where ideologies exist, the basic concepts of science, technology and methodology always needed redefinitions in terms of the ideologies. The need for the ideologies was, therefore, that they not only gave us the framework for orderly planning and action but also gave meaning and direction to our civilizations.

In some African countries, it was mentioned, the ideological framework to socio-economic and cultural development had permitted them to reject certain capitalist technologies which were elitist in character and served only the interest of the makers. Television was mentioned as one such technology for some countries. In this instance, the ideology had stressed the politicization of technological planning and had categorically placed the major

emphasis on the technology that would serve the masses for their own self-development.

#### GENERAL POSITION OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

From the above discussion the working group identified certain characteristics common among the African and black people in the area of science and technology:

- a. That developing countries to which many FESTAC countries belong were indeed far behind in the science and technological race.
- b. That a certain lethargy, often associated with the harsh consequences of colonial domination or slavery was a common feature which demanded planned measures for awakening the spirit of the people.
- c. That the continuously widening gap between the developed and the developing countries (including most of FESTAC countries) constituted a matter of grave concern because the overwhelming superiority of imperial powers still had a colonizing effect on our people by forcing them to the position of perpetual consumers.
- d. That the pace of technological development needed serious acceleration in most of the African countries and black communities of the world.

#### Science and Technology: Resolutions

Recognizing the generally low level of science and technology in the Third World to which most of the FESTAC countries belong;

Mindful of the general lethargy of the masses, as one consequence of the colonial domination of the African peoples, towards modern science and technology;

Recognizing the grave need for modern science and technology to solve the basic human problems of clothing, shelter, food and disease in order to reduce the alarmingly high rates of morbidity and mortality, improve life expectancy, longevity and productivity of the African peoples;

Recognizing that unplanned technological transfer can radically destroy socio-economic and cultural balances in recipient countries by altering the tools, tempo and intensity of traditional working systems, by altering the traditional concepts and value systems that

determine social mobility and status, by altering even the nature of inputs, outputs, the character, and the final destiny of production;

Recognizing that technological transfer does not only or necessarily imply economic development but total change in the social, economic and cultural dimensions in the life of nations or communities;

Recognizing that true development implies the intrinsic progress of the people and not the artificial change of the environment which does not engage the creative genius and involvement of the masses of the population;

Recognizing that technological transfer often serves as the instrument for the perpetuation of neo-colonialism which exploits the consumer countries and makes them remain totally dependent on the providers of technology;

Recognizing the fundamental concern of the people that technological transfer, although a necessary element for their development, should not destroy the high cultural values that provide social cohesion, national identity and the dignity of the people as a group;

The FESTAC colloquium recommends as follows:

1. That African peoples all over the world should start and intensify the teaching of the basic sciences and technology early in their school and other educational systems in order to reach the masses, and thus rapidly raise their level of technological know-how.
2. That African countries should encourage the development of appropriate traditional or indigenous technologies having as their objectives the solution of the problems posed by the fundamental basic need of man,
  - a. through research institutions;
  - b. by funding indigenous effort and
  - c. by appropriate legislation and policies which direct socio-economic and cultural development.
3. That African governments should adopt the philosophy and the practice of using harmonious and integrated development plans which will, in the immediate and long run, assist them to carry out the positive transformations necessary for economic, social and cultural progress, for the improvement of the standard of life for the working masses, and which will rely on the people's own energies as well as ensure the respect for the national identity.

4. That African governments develop policies that will orientate their national institutes of scientific and technical research to work towards the mastery of a wide range of modern technological skills and tools in order to accelerate national technological development which will thus help the people to advance from their present stage of being consumers of technology to one of being producers of modern technology responding to their needs.
5. That in the importation of technology African governments should carefully study and plan the control of certain inherently dangerous technologies which radically destroy the socio-economic balance of consumer countries, or destroy the human ecology by their pollution effort.
6. That for planning technological transfer and development, African governments should give due consideration to demographic phenomena, such as population growth, urbanization, population dynamics, migration trends in rural areas, and socio-cultural problems associated with these demographic factors. Further, African governments should also pay attention to the distribution of population in relation to the already developed technology which can serve them.
7. That the UNESCO and OAU should take appropriate measures to salvage and preserve the culture, traditions and technical know-how of special black groups of the world, such as, the aborigines of Australia,
  - a. by ensuring their survival;
  - b. by cultural and educational exchange programmes with other black peoples of the world;
  - c. by special localized cultural assistance programmes and
  - d. by collaborating with other national and international agencies to foster the full application of the fundamental human rights.

#### **B. Topic: Modern and Traditional Medicine**

This report covers the discussions which followed the presentation of articles on the above topic as well as the debates during the symposium. The important points which emerged and were discussed for a good while were: Technology and Traditional Medicine.

The general opinion was that African governments should

discourage the importation of non-essential foreign foods like margarine which is falsely presented as butter. Other foods suggested for direct ban included imported mineral waters and intoxicating wines. A well supported suggestion was that simple industries for the processing of local fruit juices should be developed at village level; firstly, in order to utilize the raw fruit products which are abundant and wasting in our towns and villages; secondly, in order to improve the nutritional resources of the people; and thirdly, as a realistic means of checking by substitution the importation of synthetic soft gassed drinks like coca-cola with relatively low nutritional value. The need to train our masses to develop a taste for African food products was very much stressed. Speakers argued that the development of taste for foreign foods and drinks in developing economies was not conducive to African development since it created a perpetual dependence on foreign producers.

### **Traditional Medicine**

The salient points raised in the debate are presented here. The role of traditional medicine in the African civilizations was recognized as an undeniably significant one. The long lasting suppressive influence of colonialism was regretted, and it was observed that it still continued in certain countries of Africa. However, the serious effort towards the revival of traditional medicine by many modern African governments was acknowledged with felicitation. In this context, it was frequently observed that in many parts of rural Africa, traditional medicine still remained the only effective form of the healing practices since western imported medicine had not yet penetrated these areas to the level of total population coverage.

Considering the spectrum and scope of practice, it was identified that traditional medicine practice was much wider than the common scope of western imported medicine, because the former while dealing reasonably adequately with the physical aspects which is the chief domain of the latter, also added the complex but essential metaphysical and mystical components which are often manifested as essential ceremonies, rituals, and incantations which originate in the profound African spiritual and socio-cultural value systems and beliefs. The consensus of opinion was that in the study and preservation of traditional medicine all effort should be made to

cover its wide spectrum and to preserve all aspects of it. The need for setting up academies of traditional medicine in Africa was felt imminent as that was considered the most realistic way of reviving and developing this important aspect of African cultural heritage to its full bloom.

It was reported that in recent years the governments of Africa had given their full support through the OAU for systematic research in traditional herbal medicine, and that the University of Ife in Nigeria was already operating a research grant from that source to the appropriate effect. Other universities and national scientific research institutes, notably in Nigeria and Cameroun, were mentioned to be seriously engaged in similar research activities.

As far as the problem of official recognition of traditional medicine at national level was concerned, Zaire was reported to have taken the lead in this area by giving licences to well initiated traditional healers who were practising the profession in the true authentic spirit. Other countries with similar positive outlook had not yet gone that far, but had set up multi-disciplinary national committees, including among them traditional healers in some cases, to work out statutes that would define the proper role and status of traditional medicine within the framework of general medical practice and the health industry in their respective communities.

The question of integrating African traditional medicine and conventional western medicine was taken up several times. Of course, in countries like Zaire with open licensure, as already mentioned, there was no longer any problem since government, as a matter of policy, had permitted traditional medicine-men to practise in public hospitals or work in health teams with western trained physicians as the needs presented themselves. There also some western type physicians and qualified nurses had gone a good way to study traditional medicinal plants and therapeutic procedures, and with combined traditional and imported technology, they had demonstrated success in the improvement of preservation technics, distribution systems, and the dosage of traditional medicaments. Thus, these drugs could now be exported without damage to their form and efficacy.

From the discussions it also emerged that in some countries dialogue between western physicians and traditional healers was still difficult to achieve either because the former were not aware of

the best methods of approach and/or because the latter were still suspicious of western physicians as the remnants of the colonial past. Some measure of success had however been reported in Sierra Leone and Ghana where traditional healers, notably those working on maternity care, have been integrated in primary health care teams. In this experience they freely contributed their humanism and the profound understanding of the personality problems of the African mother, while at the same time learning principles of western medicine, such as, aseptic technics, ante-natal care and nutrition. In this mixture, the two systems of medicine proved complementary and reinforced each other by covering up the deficiencies of either system, and the end-product was definitely better than for each of the systems. By this integrated approach the problems of prenatal mortality, maternal mortality, and high delivery rate away from public hospitals, have been tackled with increased confidence. The University of Ibadan was mentioned to be developing similar styles of integration in their community health project at Ibarapa. In Cameroun, apart from the current effort by the authorities to study traditional medicine through standing committees and the institute of traditional medicinal plants, progress had been made by way of introducing elements of traditional medicine in medical curricula, and courses are now being offered in order to increase the awareness of future doctors and health technicians to this strong and flourishing arm of the traditional sciences and the healing industry.

### **Traditional Medicine: Resolutions**

Mindful of the destruction and the suppression of the genuine and the valuable traditional medicine profession of Africa during the colonial epoch.

Mindful of the continued suppression by or the indifference of several African independent national governments which inherited the negative attitude of the colonial masters towards traditional medicine;

Recognizing the fundamental and the genuine and inevitable place of traditional medicine within the healing sciences and art in the Africa socio-cultural milieu;

Happy about the recent continental trend of reawakening and concern for the restoration of traditional medicine to its rightful place within the framework of total socio-economic and cultural development;

Recognizing the need to accelerate the pace of development in this area of African authentic cultural development;

We recommend as follows:-

1. That African governments take appropriate steps to accord due legal recognition to traditional medicine and to elevate it to the same status as is being enjoyed currently by western imported medicine within the national government institutions.
2. That African governments initiate appropriate activities that will lead to the full revival, understanding and practice of genuine traditional medicine:
  - i. By encouraging the creation of traditional medicine healers' unions and associations;
  - ii. by conducting censuses of genuine and initiated practitioners of traditional medicine and appropriately licensing them;
  - iii. by funding the setting up of traditional medicine schools or institutions which will develop appropriate syllabi, and which will eventually grow into fully-fledged academies capable of awarding valid certificates, diplomas or licences to its students;
3. That African governments and universities encourage and finance research into traditional medicine by Africa multi-disciplinary teams consisting of individuals with adequate African cultural knowledge capable of penetrating and appreciating the total spectrum of traditional medicine which comprises of the physical aspects, the metaphysical dimension and the mystical components, and who will eventually compile the pharmacopoea of African traditional medicine.
4. That appropriate African authorities promote the integration and harmonization of western and traditional medicine by encouraging research, creating opportunities for collaboration in hospitals and public health establishments, and the introduction of traditional medicine into the curricula of medical schools and other centres where health personnel of various types are being trained to deliver total health care to the masses in the African cultural milieu.

#### **Nutrition: Resolutions**

1. Recognizing the varied ecological nature of Africa and the

serious nutritional problems that prevail consequent on climatic variation, we recommend that a programme for internal trade and distribution of food and agricultural products be *created* to link up the productive and less productive zones and thus relieve famine and nutritional problems.

2. Recognizing that instead of developing African food and nutritional resources by very elementary technologies foreign technical assistance agencies have tended to impose synthetic food products and expensive consumptive attitudes and tastes, we recommend that African governments at national and regional level take the initiative of developing African food resources and appropriate industries and in organizing food distribution, in order to maximise local food production, and consumption.
3. Recognizing the grave need for nutrition education to the population, especially the rural masses where mal-utilization of food resources is often the problem rather than scarcity, we recommend that authorities intensify nutrition education to our populations, using all effective methods and techniques possible including the mass media, popular education centres, and the systematic teaching of the subject as an important subject at all levels of the national educational systems.

#### WORKING GROUP V REPORT

##### Sub-theme 2

##### BLACK CIVILIZATION AND MASS MEDIA

JANUARY 21 - 24, 1977

**Chairmen:** Mr. E. Jengo (Tanzania)  
Prof. A. E. Opubor (Nigeria)  
Prof. P. B. Camara (Guinea)

**Rapporteur:** Mr. C. C. Chimutengwende (Zimbabwe)

In all, fifteen papers were presented in Working Group Five on the Sub-theme BLACK CIVILIZATION AND MASS MEDIA. Eleven of the fourteen authors briefly summarized their papers and answered questions on them. The other four papers were circulated as back-ground information for the discussions.

The papers and discussions dealt with various aspects of mass communication media as follows:-

1. The importance and power of the media in transmitting cultural, political and educational messages;
2. Traditional and modern forms of communication;
3. Technology and the media;
4. Neo-colonialism and the political and cultural outlook of the media in Africa;
5. Information work and the liberation movement; and
6. The media in the social, cultural and economic development process.

The term mass media was understood as covering the press, radio, television, cinema and all other large scale information media. Their content is public and can reach vast audiences in a short space of time.

It was stressed that mass communication was essential to every nation trying to modernize itself and to every movement trying to spearhead the struggle for liberation and the democratization of society.

The media can effectively help to maintain contact and understanding between the government and the people, between rural areas and the cities, and among nations. Nationally, the media are an important integrative agency. They are a powerful force as an educator, agitator, mobilizer, motivator and entertainer. Their power can be great and immeasurable. They can create a feeling of involvement and participation. It is through them that the national agenda of the day is presented to the nation. They are a national forum for the continuous debate which is necessary in every country, on issues and problems. No developing country, therefore, serious with its development programme or a country struggling against neo-colonialist social and economic structures can afford mass media which are mainly for commercial purposes and not committed to the national cause.

While it was the general view of the Working Group that inter-personal communication or face-to-face communication was the most effective way of communication among the people, inter-personal channels of communication themselves are speeded up and fed by the mass media. The two forms of communication are complementary. The traditional methods of communication were almost entirely inter-personal. The main forms were:

Proverbs

Poetry

Theatre i.e. Indigenous Dances and Songs

Stories

Rituals.

It is important that these methods of communicating should be researched into, developed and integrated with the new methods of mass communication. It is by publishing and broadcasting in African languages that one can use proverbs, rituals, stories, etc., and be able to reach more people for the development of the country. What language must be used is a very important question. It partly decides who the media are intended to serve - the elite or the people?

Language being a vehicle for culture and communication, the mass media must be made to give priority to local and not foreign languages which are mainly used by foreigners and the local elite whose culture is more foreign than African. Ignoring African languages which are spoken by the majority of the people means that the media will not be able to transmit the cultural, political and educational messages conducive to a speedy socio-economic development process.

There must be a proper and suitable style and presentation for each medium and its audience clearly defined. This is the role of mass communication research centres which must be created in different universities and be supported by the state. These centres could study and identify all these problems and alternatives for the policy planners of the state on the media and the economic development programme. The journalists and other media workers must be fully trained as one of the national priorities and according to specific national objectives. The press men must be people who understand the material conditions of the people, identify with their aspirations and the struggles against the forces of oppression and under-development.

On the question of technology and the media, it was realized that the media are technological devices for communication. The printing machines, the radio and television sets and equipment are usually imported from abroad. Many African States cannot even afford much of the technology necessary for an up-to-date mass communication system. But the group felt that the problem is not one of not being able to acquire the most sophisticated media technology for the most sophisticated and fastest ways of commu-

nication. It is not even a question of which medium is more effective than others. The real problem is what are the actual objectives in our present communication work? What are we doing with the media we already have? What are the national priorities or policies for the media as an instrument of liberation and development in our countries? What does the development plan say about it? What section of the population in our countries is served by the media? Why? Once our governments and people have sorted out their minds on these questions, we could then move forward to discuss the scientific and technological aspects of mass communication; decide what we need and what we can afford and the best ways of using the media. It is a question of setting our priorities right and being guided by the principle of self-reliance as much as possible.

The Working Group discussed the idea that mass media need an industrial structure of a complex, scientific and technological character, and the relationship between the transfer of ideas and the transfer of technology. It was the general opinion of the group that the less developed countries should make sure that they do not culturally and politically get dominated by the multi-national corporations and governments of the countries where they get their technology from. At present, the exchange of information and ideas between the former colonial powers and the ex-colonies is one-sided. It is from the developed or the stronger to the less developed or the weaker at the disadvantage of the latter.

Those who dominate the world or society also dominate the dominant media. They are bound to use the media to promote their interests to the disadvantage of the dominated. But people do not change their views and attitudes so easily. In fact the media tend to reinforce existing opinions than change them. While the power of the media is recognized, it is also true that they are only one of the factors which influence people. In a society where the media are clearly an instrument of the oppressor, for instance in Cuba before the revolution, they are not able to influence the oppressed to accept their oppression for ever. The Cuban revolution was eventually successful in spite of the negative position of the media, at that point in time. In Zimbabwe and Azania the media are totally opposed to the liberation of the African people. Although the African people largely depend on them for information and entertainment, the over-whelming majority of the Africans in these

countries remain faithful to the struggle for liberation. The struggle continues unabated.

Speaker after speaker emphasized the point that the mass media in Africa were introduced as instruments for aiding and consolidating the system of colonialism. The media were seen as one of the sectors which have strongly retained their colonial outlook in most parts of independent Africa. Although the media could be an extremely useful and effective instrument for the total liberation and development of Africa, most governments seem to ignore its mobilization, educational and development potential or at least do not use the media as fully as they should. This is a result of having twisted priorities and having no coherent and comprehensive policy on national development.

The media have never been a neutral element in society. They are not independent agents and cannot be. They operate under the law. They are owned by someone for certain reasons. They are run in accordance with the wishes of the people who own them. They are run by human beings who are members of society and represent certain views and interests like every other individual citizen. The media therefore reflect the political and economic system or philosophy in any country. The dominant media automatically represents the dominant ideas and culture of the ruling centres or power. If they don't, sooner or later there will be an unavoidable clash between the government and the media. The government would win in such a clash unless there was a successful revolution or counter-revolution.

In the post-independence period, another manifestation of imperialism reveals itself in the way the mass media in most parts of Africa are dependent on western sources of information, technology of the multi-national corporations, and their organizational structures and ethics which are carbon copy of those of the "former" colonial powers. Most of the newspapers are not only versions of the "France Sori" or the "Daily Mirror" of London, but poor imitations of them. The orientation of their content, the pattern of media ownership, the cultural and political outlook of the media staff, all clearly show that the media cannot be agents of liberation, national development and for spreading the authentic culture of the African people unless the media themselves are liberated first. It is because of this colonial outlook and their being a dependent institution that many people nationally and internationally do not

take the African media seriously. So they continue to rely on foreign broadcasts and newspapers. (Of course another reason is that the educated elite mostly trained in Western Europe and North America and after having spent years of socialization abroad, when they come back they want to continue to depend on the Western media. Culturally most of them are now westerners.)

Unlike the media situation in other continents, the relationship between the African media and the state has not been properly defined. Because of this situation, very often the journalists are not sure what to and what not to print or broadcast. Instead of writing a comment on certain issues they find that the safest thing to do is to use the material from foreign news agencies. The idea is to avoid being held responsible for certain opinions and possible innuendoes. For the media to play their proper role effectively, they should be at the service of the majority of the people and not give priority to the parasitic elite imbued with the western culture. They should reflect the aspirations, the struggle and progress of the masses. The music and other cultural programmes or items should be geared to the promotion and development of the peoples music and culture. The information in the media must focus on the need and methods of change. They must identify and expose the relics and machinations of imperialism. They must help the people to raise their consciousness and their level of participation in the decision making processes of their countries. The media should be made useful instruments of informal education and in literacy campaigns.

On the use of the media in schools, it was strongly argued that the media were under-utilized except in countries where there is free and compulsory education plus a massive state directed national literacy campaign. At this stage, therefore, the starting point is one of defining national priorities with clear media objectives and this is a political question which has to be solved first in most countries before any serious progress can be made.

On the question of film distribution, the group was disheartened by the fact that the majority of films shown in cinema houses in many countries of African and the Black World deal with non-African realities and when they deal with African and Black life, they tend to trivialize, misrepresent and distort it. This situation is unfortunate, especially in view of the growing number of young talented film makers in Africa and the Black World. The work of these film makers is not generally well known because it does not receive the blessing of the dominant film distribution cartels.

The group felt that one other important aspect of FESTAC is that it had been able to bring together mass media workers, trainers, researchers, experts and other interested people to share their experiences and exchange ideas on the question of mass media. It was further strongly suggested that resolutions to be passed in the *Working Groups* should be followed up through the appropriate channels and we must make sure they are not thrown into the usual dustbin of international resolutions. At this point, one participant informed the Working Group about the existence of the *African Council on Communication Education* which was formed in Nairobi, Kenya, at a Conference in December 1976, of mass communication researchers, trainers and experts from different parts of Africa. It publishes AFRICOM, a bi-lingual newsletter bi-monthly. Both institutions and individuals can qualify for membership. It exists to co-ordinate and encourage communication research, education and the practice of journalism.

The group agreed that there was an urgent need for such an organization or institution. It is through their own well-supported research that African States can be helped to employ their mass media effectively. At present, researchers, from outside Africa guide much of our media use in Africa.

The group also stressed the fact that the major problems of African were not of Africa alone. Other countries of Asia, Middle East, Caribbean Islands, South and Central America have similar problems and it is essential for them to co-ordinate their efforts. African states would not be able to achieve real understanding among themselves and other "Third World" countries if the media and the sources of information are controlled or heavily influenced by the former colonial masters, or if the media continued to be run by people who did not identify clearly with African liberation and development.

### Recommendations

- Fully aware of the central role of the mass media in the political, cultural, scientific, technological and professional development of the African countries and communities of people of African descent;
- Conscious of the need to transform the mass media into effective, educational and mobilizing instruments in the struggle for liberation and development;

- Realizing the need for Africa to liberate its media from the tutelage of the international press agencies and to effectively counteract the massive foreign influence of those foreign media opposed to African economic, political and cultural independence and development;
- Considering the need to make the mass media accessible to the majority of the population;
- In conformity with the recommendations of the Conference of African Ministers of culture held in Accra in 1975 in connection with the position of the mass media in a dynamic cultural policy, orientated towards the promotion of the true interests of the African peoples; in connection with these objectives, we recommend the following measures:
  1. That the OAU draft an elaborate charter for the mass media defining the rights and obligations of the press men;
  2. That there be a programme of exchange of journalists between African countries and regular continent - wide conferences of journalists and other media personnel which should include people of African descent outside Africa;
  3. That the OAU organizes the African national news agencies for the purpose of establishing a Pan-African news agency which would be a machinery for direct exchange of news and programmes between African States, black communities internationally and thus avoid being dependent on foreign news services;
  4. That the OAU should investigate the aims, activities and seriousness of purpose of the recently formed *African Council on Communication Education* based in Nairobi with a view to getting support for it as the continent - wide organization for the promotion and co-ordination of communication research education and the practice of journalism;
  5. That a well-financed and high-powered journal on mass communication research and the media in general in Africa should be established by the OAU and/or UNESCO;
  6. That an institute of cinematography should be created in order to promote the African cinema in the field of conception, production and distribution, and for the production and distribution of audiovisual materials;

7. That more attention should be given to the efforts of local scholars, artists, scientists and others in the media than to foreigners and that African governments should establish more publishing houses with special interest in manuscripts written in local languages; and that the media be made to use African national languages in order to reach more people;
8. That an appropriate institution or organization be found which will encourage direct contact among Africans, people of African descent, all those struggling for liberation around the world, and encouragement be given for the exchange of audio and video cassettes recorded by local groups and sent by one group or community (say in East Africa) to another (say in the Caribbean or Australia);
9. That training institutions must be made to pay more attention to the needs of rural and non-elite people in their curricula and orientate their students to acquire expertise in communicating with the non-elite, and this may involve training in traditional media and interpersonal communication techniques;
10. That all countries participating in FESTAC undertake to increase the amount of time they spend on their media on information and programmes reflecting the culture and struggles of other Black and African peoples and all those fighting for liberation internationally;
11. That since the liberation movements recognized by the OAU struggling for the freedom of Azania (South Africa), Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia (South West Africa), Djibouti (Somali Coast) and communities of African descent internationally have to fight against massive, well-financed and well co-ordinated propaganda offensive of the white racist regimes which they are struggling against, and since this enemy propaganda offensive is both internal and external, it is essential, therefore, that the IFC of FESTAC(1) recommends to the OAU that a high powered machinery be established to supplement the propaganda

---

(1) IFC = International FESTAC COMMITTEE.

FESTAC= Ild World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture.

work of the liberation movements and the liberation movements could then be left to concentrate on internal information work, and the new propaganda machinery of the OAU would concentrate on information and research work for the international community.

## NOTES

(Nigerian  
d Studies...  
: attende  
nelli and  
an before  
College  
where h  
e Phi Bet-  
lations, i  
.D. degre  
Universit  
1969, Pro  
isco Stat  
e, Rutger  
age of Nev  
a tenure  
*k Politics*  
ontribute  
magazines  
*emma C*  
his variou  
o a dabble

nation

mal

orporation  
10023, US

## NOTES

## NOTES

## NOTES

## NOTES

## NOTES

## NOTES

## NOTES

## NOTES

la, a  
loric  
he  
Ugr  
jada  
uth  
re,  
aude  
Rel  
Ph.  
the  
in 1  
anc  
lege  
olle  
ntly  
3lac  
as co  
1 m  
Dile  
i to  
also

he  
nfor  
sion

nati  
if  
ns G  
t, N.

## NOTES

## NOTES

da, a  
Norl-  
1, he  
Ug  
Ibad  
outh  
hire,  
lauc  
I Re  
is Pr  
n the  
y in  
-rane  
olleg  
Coll  
ently  
Blac  
has c  
nd  
Di  
on to  
is al

or the  
of Infr  
ivisic  
DS

stern  
m of  
stions  
ork,

## NOTES

**Moyibi Amoda**, a Nigerian, is an authority on Black World Studies. In Nigeria in 1941, he attended the University of Ife, Ibadan, and then the University of Ife College Ibadan before attending Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, where he graduated summa cum laude Phi Beta Kappa in International Relations, in 1963, receiving his Ph.D. degree in International Science from the University of California at Berkeley in 1969. Prof. Amoda taught at San Francisco State University, St. Mary's College, Rutgers University, and the City College of New York. He is presently a tenured professor and author of *Black Politics, Black Power*. Amoda has contributed articles to books and magazines, including *Nigeria*, *Dilemma of the Continent*. In addition to his various academic activities, Amoda is also a dabbler in painting and other visual arts.

Produced for the  
Federal Ministry of Information  
Cultural Division  
LAGOS  
by  
World Press International  
a division of  
Communications Corporation  
New York, N.Y. 10022, U.S.A.



**Professor Moyibi Amoda**, a Nigerian, is an authority on Black World Studies. Born in Nigeria in 1941, he attended Government College Ughelli and Government College Ibadan before departing for Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, where he graduated *summa cum laude* Phi Beta Kappa in International Relations, in 1965. After receiving his Ph.D. degree in Political Science from the University of California at Berkeley in 1969, Prof. Amoda taught at San Francisco State College, St. Mary's College, Rutgers University, and the City College of New York, where he is presently a tenured professor. Author of *Black Politics*, *Black Vision*, Amoda has contributed to several books and magazines, including *Nigeria*, *Dilemma of Nationhood*. In addition to his various interests, Prof. Amoda is also a dabbler in the martial arts.

produced for the  
Federal Ministry of Information  
Cultural Division  
LAGOS

by  
Third Press International  
division of  
Okpaku Communications Corporation  
1995 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10023, USA



Professor Moyibi Amoda

Nigeria Magazine  
Cultural Division  
Federal Ministry of Information  
LAGOS