Black Globalism

The International Politics of a Non-State Nation

Sterling Johnson

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To Maya, Julian, Keturah, Emmanuel, Christina, Elijah, Natalie, Candace and Phillip

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Contents

List of Abbreviations

AAPRP	All Afrikan People's Revolutionary Party
ACS	American Colonization Society
ACS	African Civilization Society
AFL	American Federation of Labor
AHA	American Historical Association
AIPAC	American Israeli Public Affairs Committee
ALSC	African Liberation Support Committee
AMEC	African Methodist Episcopal Church
ANC	African National Congress
BISSAL	Blacks in Solidarity with Southern African Liberation
BPP	Black Panther Party
BSL	Black Star Line
CBC	Congressional Black Caucus
COMINFIL	Communist Infiltration Programme
COMINTERN	Communist International
COINTELPRO	Counterintelligence Program
CORE	Congress of Racial Equality
FASP	Foreign Affairs Scholars Program
FEPC	Fair Employment Practices Commission
FOR	Fellowship of Reconciliation
FRELIMO	Liberation Front of Mozambique
FSAEP	Free South Africa Education Program
FSAM	Free South Africa Movement
FSO	Foreign Service Officer
GAO	General Accounting Office
HUD	Housing and Urban Development
IASB	Inter-American Service Bureau
ICAW	International Council of African Women
ICWU	Industrial Commercial Workers Union
INR	Bureau of Intelligence and Research
MFDP	Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party

MMI	Muslim Mosques International
MOWM	March On Washington Movement
NAACP	National Association for Advancement of Colored People
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Association
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NCNC	National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons
N'COBRA	National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America
NNBL	National Negro Business League
NNC	National Negro Congress
NOI	Nation of Islam
NOW	National Organization of Women
OAAU	Organization of African-American Unity
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PAC	Pan-African Congress
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
PCDE	Provisional Committee for the Defence of Ethiopia
PUSH	People United to Save Humanity
RAM	Revolutionary Action Movement
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordinating Conference
SAMP	Southern Africa Media Program
SCLC	Southern Christian Leadership Conference
SDS	Students for a Democratic Society
TLG	Thursday Luncheon Group
UNIA	United Negro Improvement Association
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
USIA	United States Information Agency
WILLPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
YATS	Youth Attitude Tracking Survey

Preface

For more than 400 years Africans in the United States have fought to realize the principles embedded in the Declaration of Independence and framed in the US Constitution. Many psychosocial issues facing the African-American community, such as the fratricide, the destruction of the family and teenage pregnancy originated aboard the first slave ship, *Jesus*, which landed in Jamestown Virginia in 1619. The vision of a 'return' to Africa, politically, spiritually and economically originate in that same year. Historically, the nature and intensity of the African-American relationship to Africa has been a barometer of the level of racism and sense of alienation felt among black people in American society and politics. This international and foreign policy activity by African-Americans has taken on many cultural, economic, political patterns and themes often linked to the domestic racial environment.

It has long been recognized that national political systems. like all organized human groups, exist in, are conditioned by and respond to a larger environment. International political systems are shaped by, and are responsive to, developments that occur within the units of which they are comprised. It is only within the past few decades that these national and international linkages have been subjected to systematic, sustained and comparative inquiry (Rosenau, 1969). Race has always been a factor in both American politics and in African-American political weakness. Only in rare instances, such as the case of Italy's invasion of Ethiopia, has the foreign policy decision-making elite taken into account the wishes of the nation's largest ethno-racial minority. Yet African-Americans have regarded the United States as their country for far longer than most minority whites (such as the Irish, Italians, Poles and Germans) and furthermore, black religious and intellectual leaders have long taken an interest in US foreign policy as an important function of their Americanism (Deconde, 1992). However, for much of history, the US government and the US Constitution have excluded citizens of African origin from the inalienable rights guaranteed to these other groups. This has meant, that for much of US history, African-Americans have had to engage in 'transnational relations' – that is, contacts, coalitions, and interactions across state boundaries that are not controlled by

the central foreign policy organs of governments (Keohane and Nye, 1970). The concept of non-state nation is also applicable to the Native-American (Indian) nations, the Palestinians, the Basques of France and Spain and the Kurds of Iran, Iraq and Turkey.

In 1947 W.E.B. DuBois cogently described the essential context of black **non-state nation status.**

> The so-called Negro Group...while it is no sense absolutely set off physically from its fellow Americans, has nevertheless a strong hereditary cultural unity born of slavery, common suffering, prolonged proscription, and curtailment of political and civil rights. Prolonged policies of segregation and discrimination have involuntarily welded the mass almost into a nation within a nation. (DuBois, 1947:1)

Indeed the 1968 Kerner Commission Report on Civil Disorders predicted the division of the USA into two nations: black and white separate and unequal. America is more segregated today than at the time this report was delivered to President Johnson.

There are over 200 million Africans in the Americas. The 25 million black *Norte Americanos* of the United States are only a fraction of the African-American population. Those of Brazil, Venezuela, Columbia, Trinidad, Haiti, Surinam, Guyana and other American nation-states, represent an impoverished sleeping giant that, when awakened, will challenge the wealth and privilege enjoyed and controlled by the North American and European capital. This book is not about these Spanish-, French- and Portuguese-speaking African-Americans, although their fate is also tied to the future of the **international racial dominance system.** In this work the use of the term 'black' is used as a synonym for African-Americans of the United States and, in some instances, those Africans with British citizenship. Black Americans, of course, have been both a minority in the demographic sense and an oppressed group in the sociopolitical sense – that is, that they are denied a proportionate share of status, wealth and power.

The 1980s witnessed a resurgence of African-American interest and activity in US foreign policy and toward the Third World in particular. This interest includes unprecedented African-American political and economic power ($400 billion in spending power). **Most notably, the African-American community would use this electoral and political power to influence US foreign policy and help supplant the rule of apartheid and minority rule in South Africa.**

In 1985 TransAfrica, the African-American US foreign policy lobby, led anti-apartheid demonstrations and helped move anti-apartheid legislation leading to majority rule in South Africa.

In April 1991 300 African-Americans met in Abidjan, the capital of the Ivory Coast, for the first African-African–American 'summit'. In 1992 a second such summit convened in Libreville, Gabon. These represent the most recent such attempts to re-establish links with Africa. Here Africans, African-Americans and other members of the African diaspora established an ambitious development agenda that included:

- raising over \$2 million for debt relief for sub-Saharan African countries
- establishing the '1000 teachers for Africa' programme which has already sent teachers to many African states
- a 'Best and Brightest' bankers training programme to help hundreds of African bankers and develop African banking systems
- a dual citizenship programme that will, in time, connect unprecedented numbers of African-Americans to Africa
- developing health programmes, literacy projects, skills centres and schools.

In March 1993 the Clinton administration put its legal stamp of approval on the Bush administration practice of intercepting and turning back Haitian refugees. The Clinton administration urged the Supreme Court to let the policy of repatriating Haitian boat people intercepted at sea without first giving them an opportunity to apply for political asylum continue. Jesse Jackson and some other African-American leaders condemned the policy as racist against Haitians, others did not agree with Jesse Jackson's view that it was racist (Sowell, 1994). Some began to lose their patience with Clinton who had vowed to end the Bush repatriation policy during his 1992 presidential campaign. Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) Chairman, Kweisi Mfume, expressed CBC's concern over the policy, saying that the Caucus members would urge Clinton to abandon the repatriation policy, push harder for Aristides's return, and admit more than 200 Haitian refugees held at Guantanamo Bay naval base because they or their relatives had tested HIV positive (Idelson, 1993). TransAfrica therefore helped form public opinion that eventually pressured President Clinton into restoring Haiti's democratically elected president, John Bertrand Aristide.

In June 1995 TransAfrica called for an economic embargo against the government of Nigeria, denouncing the Abacha regime for its human rights violations and for the arrest and detention of legitimate and elected political leaders. This not only marked a dramatic change in African-American and African international relations, it also signals the beginning of a resurgence of African-American international interests and foreign policy activity. Illinois Democratic Senator Carole Mosely Braun's August 1996 visit to

Nigeria was criticized by TransAfrica's Randall Robinson and CBC members as a tacit endorsement of the Abacha regime.

Throughout the history of the African diaspora, individuals have debated, organizations have been created and policies articulated and mandated concerning the prognosis for Africa and how African-Americans might best contribute to the continent of their origins. The agendas of these summits shared many concerns with previous Pan-African meetings – that is, issues of trade and development and the destruction of racial dominance. These themes have included plans for emigration, repatriation, segregation, colonization, expatriation, Pan-Africanism and, more recently, reparations.

Calls for reparations to both Africa and African-Americans are also a reaction to the deteriorating economic power of Africans to the Western world. One question on the Pan-African agenda is whether African-Americans can do anything to reverse the spectre of a weak, marginal Africa in the emerging world economic regime. Which methods of seeking to influence US governmental behaviour are most efficacious? What economic initiatives are possible? Can appropriations and authorization for trade and aid to Africa be protected and expanded? What role can non-governmental actors continue to play in Africa's economic crisis (Ndibe, 1993)?

This historical pattern suggests that African-American international activity reflects conflict in the domestic racial environment – namely, the structural violence, the institutional racism and the doctrine of white supremacy which are products of US governmental policy toward African-American's human and political rights. African-American calls for emigration and colonization in *ante bellum* history were reactions to the Fugitive Slave Laws, The Dred Scott Decision, the Kansas-Nebraska Act and other federal governmental policies that threatened all Africans in America, both slave and free. The Civil Rights Movement internationalized the African-American community, raising political awareness of Africa and leading many to embrace African culture and reject the institutional racism of white supremacist culture. Contemporary activists, such as some participants in the Million Man March, call for reparations for slavery and discrimination and advocate separation in response to conservative reactionary calls to end the federal protection against institutional discrimination such as those idealized in affirmative action programmes.

African-American international political and economic activity accompanies a political debate that began long before 1776 and continues today. Many individuals gave their time, fortunes, families, and often their lives, attempting to realize an international solution to America's race problem. Among some of its most notable participants are many names familiar to the student of American history, including: Frederick Douglass, Martin Delany, William Lloyd Garrison, Bishop Richard Allen, John Brown, Ida B. Wells,

Robert Campbell, Paul Cuffee, David Walker, John Russworm, William Monroe Trotter, Daniel Coker, Edward Wilmot Blyden, Henry Highland Garnet, Alexander Crummell, Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, Booker T. Washington, **W.E.B. DuBois**, Adam Clayton Powell Sr. and Adam Clayton Powell Jr., **George Padmore, Marcus Garvey,** A. Philip Randolph, Henry Winston, **Malcolm X,** Martin L. King, Kwame Toure (Stokely Carmichael), Jesse Jackson, Kweisi Mfume, Ronald Dellums, Huey P. Newton, Randall Robinson, Louis Farrakhan and many others.

Part I of this book looks at the roots of Pan-Africanism. Chapter 1 examines the spiritual roots of Pan-Africanism and focuses on the role of the oral tradition, Ethiopian Christianity and African culture in early slave revolts. Using the individual level of analysis, Chapter two considers the emigration debate and the efforts of David Walker, Paul Cuffee, Edward Blyden and others to offer solutions to their people. **Part II** focuses on individuals as global actors in the spread of Pan-Africanism. **Chapters** 3 to 7 focus on the nationalism and Pan-African strategies of Martin Delany, Bishop Henry Turner, Chief Alfred Sam, Booker T. Washington's diplomatic and commercial ventures and the lifetime efforts of Pan-African visionary W.E.B. DuBois and his roles in the NAACP, American communism and the Cold War. **Chapter 8** explores Garvey and Garveyism, the United Negro Improvement Association and the Black Star Line, and **Chapter** 9 considers the impact of Malcolm X on African-American internationalism. **In Part III** the book then moves on to examine the activities of various African-American organizations including the NAACP, CORE, SCLC, PUSH, the Black Panther Party, Kwame Toure's All Afrikan People's Revolutionary Party and the African-American foreign policy think tank and lobby, TransAfrica in Chapter 10. Chapter 11 investigates the role and influence of black legislators on US foreign policy decision-making, the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) and the CBC's impact on the Clinton administration's foreign policy towards Haiti and NAFTA while Chapter 12 explores the history and plight of African-Americans in the US foreign service, institutional apartheid and its impact on US external behaviour. **The final chapter** considers the status of African-Americans in the international political economy, paying particular attention to the reparations debate and offers of foreign aid to the African-American non-state nation.

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Acknowledgements

PART I
THE ROOTS OF
PAN-AFRICANISM

1 The Spiritual Roots of Pan-Africanism

The first Dutch slave ship, *Jesus*, reached Jamestown in 1619. During the middle passage – the term used for the voyage of the slave ship – many members of its African cargo jumped overboard and died in a vain attempt to swim back home. Those Africans who arrived in the New World brought with them their culture.

The majority of Africans enslaved in North America were from the central and western areas of Africa – from Congo-Angola, Nigeria, Dahomey, Togo, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone (Thompson, 1981:148 and Rawley, 1981:335).[1] Slave ships became the incubators of slave unity across the cultural lines which divided them in Africa. The shared experience erased barriers between one group and another and fostered resistance thousands of miles before the land of enslavement appeared on the horizon. The folktales that accompanied the early African slaves told of the traumatizing experience of the middle passage and became part of a collective conscious history and folk memory. Among the oldest and most important of these is *The King Buzzard*, an Ibo symbolic tale. The essence of the story revolves around a chief who betrayed thousands of his people, enticed them aboard a ship and tricked them into slavery. Although the dialect is English, the interplay of voices and African traditions and sentiment make the story impossible to capture on paper (Stuckey, 1987:4–8). The Buzzard symbolized the traitor who, must enter upon an endless journey of spiritual unrest, a punishment which is a form of hell. But the categories of heaven and hell do not distance the storyteller from the original African chroniclers of the event, and they reflect not New World religious concepts but, rather, African ones.

According to the Ibos, the spirit of the deceased returns to this world in the form of an animal if, he has 'murdered' one or more human beings. Although the return of the spirit in the form of an animal may be widespread in West African religions, the return as a buzzard as a repercussion of crimes

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committed is not. The African concern for the fate of the spirit is so universal that the tale stands as a metaphor for treachery performed anywhere at any time in history. The story would have been understood by Africans on the plantations of the South, in the North, and elsewhere in the Americas.

The *King Buzzard* tale originated prior to the nineteenth century, for in one account the storyteller says that his father made a reference to 'dat ole thing' occurring 'way back in slavery time – way back in Africa'. The Ibo elements in the tale were used to interpret the concrete experiences of those who created it. Although they were important at the time of their creation, African ethnic tales at some point lost much of their relevance. (Stuckey, 1987:4–8).

The Africans understood that they were being carried out of the land of their birth to an unknown destination. The story of *Gullah Joe* covers the fate of Africans from capture on the west coast of Africa to enslavement in the New World and provides additional evidence that Africans had a previous lifestyle that was preferable to North American plantation life. Gullah Joe betrays a considerable degree of acculturation or adaptation to the environment in the United States, for the old African refers to 'some er dem niggers' jumping off the boat and being drowned. Then Joe describes how the European 'overpowered dem what was on de boat an th'owed' em down in de bottom er de ship. An' dey put chain on em....' The story reveals the tension between loyalty to the tribe and loyalty to the community of blacks in South Carolina as indicated by Joe's desire to see his tribe 'one more time'(an idea strongly linked in his mind to freedom or a return to Africa) (Stuckey, 1987:6).

For the slave, the retention of important features of the African cultural heritage provided a means by which their new reality could be interpreted and their spiritual needs at least partially met. The division between the secular and the sacred, which is so prominent in Western culture, did not exist in Africa before the introduction of European Christianity and the European slave trade.

For decades before, and generations following the American Revolution, Africans engaged in religious ceremonies in their quarters and in the woods unobserved by whites. From their earliest arrival until the outbreak of the Civil War, millions of slaves practised traditional forms of worship with no concern for white approval. However, the possibility that whites might discover the guiding principles of African culture kept Africans on guard and led them to keep the essentials of their culture hidden. Such secretiveness was dictated by the realities of oppression and helped to prevent whites acquiring knowledge of slave culture in order to eradicate it (Stuckey, 1987:7).

Part of African culture was the oral tradition of recording history, which is an increasingly recognized method of historical documentation. Slave

songs are part of this oral tradition. They contain psycholinguistic evidence of the African slave's longing for freedom and Africa. One such song, *Deep River,* originated in Guildford County, North Carolina (where it signified both a body of water and the Quaker meetinghouse) (Fisher, 1953). One slave reportedly told his Quaker benefactor that he wanted to 'cross over' to Africa, the home of camp meetings! On the Port Royal Islands of South Carolina, in 1823, Africans sang of the African home of which their forebears knew. Around 1824, a song on these Islands expressed the slave's intentions to follow earlier colonists back to Africa and echoed the colonization propaganda that emigrants were doing their Father's will by expatriating themselves to Liberia.

The slave songs heard at camp meetings invariably and subtly rejected the idea that Africans were born to serve whites. They were clear enough about their faith to create an art form that, through emotional tone alone, spoke of their unhappiness. These Negro spirituals formed the basis of the only musical art form indigenous to America: the blues and jazz.

Perhaps the most familiar of these songs is the spiritual *Steal Away* where the lyrics 'steal away, steal away, steal away to Jesus', have less to do with the Nazarene than with embarking on a return trip to Africa on the same vessel that brought them to the colonies. Despite these heartfelt desires, so very few Negroes sailed to Africa that even the most enthusiastic advocates of colonization doubted its feasibility. For many slaves, the delay in their manumission and repatriation was the work of the devil. *Jesus* had brought Africans to the American shores so that they might return home with the gospel light. Jesus had been prevented from doing his work by Satan who had 'rolled stones in the way'.

The 'parting songs' of Africans who sailed for Africa played a part in conditioning those who remained behind for colonization. These songs compared the difficulty of securing emancipation for repatriation to that of Daniel's deliverance from the lion's den. During the Civil War, African slaves on the Port Royal Islands, were understood to sing that Daniel locked the lion's jaw and would similarly end their servitude expressing their longing for the opportunity to return home, (Fisher, 1953). These Port Royal 'wish songs' were misunderstood by the slave owners and were dismissed as unintelligible.

Between 1824 and 1825, the 'Jacob's ladder' theme began to emerge in Negro spirituals. At that time, news from Liberia about the American Colonization Society (ACS) and its call for the gradual emancipation of the slaves was of great interest. The ACS had attempted to select only deeply religious and pacific African emigrants. A colonizing missionary leader in Liberia, Lott Cary, led his fellows in a mutiny in 1823–24 because the colonists were denied their expected home rule for which they had peti-

tioned the Society's slave holding Board of Managers. The Board influenced the US government to send the warship *Porpoise* to Liberia. Ralph Randolph Gurley, the ACS secretary, peacefully negotiated a constitution with the colonists. When slaves in the eastern states heard the news from Liberia, many of them wished that they had been there but, for safety's sake, the musical expression of that wish be veiled. At first, slaves wished that they had been in Liberia during the mutiny because they would gladly have laid down their lives for what they believed was a just war. Fighting to make that country right for its people would have been progress – in other words, like climbing Jacob's ladder (Fisher, 1922).

Spirituals were born as the religious vision of slave society came into focus and the slaves began to apply their spiritual consciousness to their material conditions. As Sterling Stuckey observes:

> Too often the spirituals are studied apart from their natural, ceremonial context. The tendency has been to treat them as a musical form unrelated to dance and certainly unrelated to particular configurations of dance and dance rhythm. Abstracted from slave ritual performance, including burial ceremonies, they appear to be under Christian influence to a disproportionate extent. Though the impact of Christianity on them is obvious and considerable, the spirituals take on an altogether new coloration when one looks at slave religion on the plantations where most slaves were found and where African religion, contrary to the accepted scholarly wisdom was practiced. (Stuckey, 1987:5)

For almost two years, beginning in 1823 until the ban on news from Africa was lifted in 1825, not a word was heard directly from the Liberian colonists. The recipients of mail from Africa called the people together (perhaps to help them decode the letters) who reacted to the news in song. They sang of freedom and reacted to the news as if they had heard directly 'from heaven' (Fisher, 1922).

Being on good terms with the ancestral spirits is an important part of African spirituality. This was true in North American slave culture as well, particularly in South Carolina during the 1820s, where Africans were the majority population. Blacks in the rural areas of South Carolina were isolated from whites and maintain, to date, cultural and linguistic distinctions from other African-Americans. There, an essentially African religion was practised, with free blacks and slaves gathering to worship. The assumption that American-born blacks were the only acculturated blacks and that being acculturated meant no longer being African is to underestimate African culture and to overestimate the culture of the slave master (Stuckey, 1987:43).

Pan-African Slave Revolts and Ethiopia

It was this racial climate that produced the 1822 Denmark Vesey conspiracy in Charleston. Vesey was born into a Pan-African environment. He was a slave when Pan-African consciousness was born, and a young adult when hundreds of thousands of Africans were imported into the West Indies and North America. Nearly 40 000 slaves were brought into South Carolina alone between 1800 and 1807. Vesey's vision was fused with those of Africans from various parts of Africa and those in the New World. His formative values came from contact with Africans and, to a lesser extent, with whites, the latter accelerated by his facility in several European languages – an achievement not uncommon among Africans in the New World (Dalby, 1971). At church and in his home, Vesey preached from the Bible, comparing the Negroes to the children of Israel and quoting passages which authorized slaves to massacre their masters. Joshua, 6:21, was a favourite citation: 'And they utterly destroyed all that was in the city, both man and woman, young and old, ox, and sheep, and ass, with the edge of the sword' (Stuckey, 1987). Vesey's brand of Christianity complemented the African religious and cultural practices widespread in Africa, which encouraged insurrection by preaching the conjurer's doctrine of invincibility.

Vesey surrounded himself with lieutenants from several African ethnic groups: Monday Gell, an Ibo; Mingo Harth, a Mandingo; and Gullah Jack, an Angolan. His choice of leaders from different African peoples was designed to maximize cooperation among the ethnic groupings. These ethnic fighting groups may well have been a combination of African-born and first-generation American Negroes. The conspiracy gave direct political expression to the values found in the folklore of South Carolina blacks, one in which Ibo and Congo-Angolan influences were considerable (Starobin, 1970:30–31).

Africans were at the centre of this conspiracy which involved native-born Negroes from both the city of Charleston and the surrounding countryside. The conspiracy relied heavily on the participation of urban slaves who constituted 60 per cent of the Charleston population. Vesey's ultimate objectives are not clear. The overthrow of the whites in the region would not ultimately lead to freedom, but merely to endless battles with the whites on American soil. Given the proximity of the Atlantic ocean, sailing back to Africa may have been Vesey's intention. However, this would almost certainly have ended with a fate similar to that of Joseph Cinque, who led a revolt on the Cuban slave ship *Amistad* in 1839 and, more than three decades earlier, to that of Babo on the *Trial*. In both instances the revolutionary African's plans were thwarted because they had to rely on white navigators and contend with ethnic revolts at sea. Nevertheless, in both revolts, as in

the Vesey conspiracy, the Africans displayed a capacity to cooperate (Stuckey, 1987:35–37).

In the conspiracy, African nationalism provided the impetus for diverse African peoples to cooperate in a struggle for freedom from slavery and oppression. As Starobin notes:

> The memory of their previous cultural identity and national independence was still strong, and they could appeal to other blacks on this basis. A profound consciousness of the African homeland was revealed when Prince Graham, after his conviction, at his own request, was transported to Africa on board a vessel which sailed from Charleston. (Starobin, 1970:4)

The conspiracy was betrayed. Monday Gell testified against the others in exchange for leniency. Mingo Harth, Gullah Jack, Peter Poyas and Denmark Vesey remained silent throughout the interrogation. Peter Poyas responded with a cryptic smile, and from the gallows stated to the others 'Do not open your lips; die silent, as you shall see me do'. Vesey, it appears, remained silent from the moment the plot was discovered until his death. In the event 35 conspirators were hanged in one morning of mass executions; 53 were released, either found innocent or discharged; 31 were sentenced to death or pardoned on condition they be deported from the United States; 11 were found not guilty but their owners were required to send them outside the boundaries of the United States; and more than 40 were sent to Africa or the West Indies where they developed and practised their own version of liberation theology.

Another spiritual source of Pan-Africanism (Ethiopianism) is found in an obscure passage of Psalms 68:31 which prophesied that 'Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God'. The use of 'Ethiopia' as a synonym for black Africa as a whole, and not merely for the actual Christian kingdom, also known as Abyssinia, has remote origins in the English language and was commonplace during the Renaissance and Reformation. In Elizabethan drama, Africans are often referred to as 'Ethiops', and the Greeks referred to the 'Ethiopians' or the 'burnt face people'. The term planted the belief that blacks were a chosen people with a special and distinctive destiny – a providential role similar to that of the Old Testament Jews. It also sowed the seeds of Pan-Negroism, or Pan-Africanism (Drake, 1970; Chirenje, 1987).

The idiom of Ethiopianism was central to the rise of black political protest literature in Jacksonian America. In 1829 Robert Alexander Young, a black New Yorker, published *The Ethiopian Manifesto, Issued in Defence of the Black Man's Rights in the Scale of Universal Freedom*. This work was addressed not only to American blacks but to 'all those proceeding in

descent from the Ethiopian or African people'. It paraphrased the biblical prophecy to make it an explicit affirmation of black nationality:

> God ... hath said 'surely hath the cries of the black, a most persecuted people, ascended to my throne and craved my mercy; now behold! I will stretch forth mine hand and gather them to the palm, that they become unto me a people, and I unto them their God.

Young predicted the coming of a messiah who would 'call together black people as a nation in themselves' (Stuckey, 1972: 37).

In the same year David Walker published a more elaborate and inflammatory call for black liberation. His *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*, which called for the slaves to rebel against their masters, sent shock waves through the South. In the introduction to the third edition (1830), Walker announced that his primary purpose was to convey to

> ... all colored men, women, and children over every nation, language and tongue under heaven, a hope for divine deliverance from oppression ... the God of the Etheopeans [*sic*], has been pleased to hear our moans ... and the day of our redemption from abject wretchedness draweth near, when we shall be enabled ... to stretch forth our hands to the LORD Our GOD. (Franklin, 1943:60)

A similar theme is found in the writing of Reverend Henry Highland Garnet's 1848 address, *The Past and Present Condition, and Destiny of the Coloured Race*. A Presbyterian minister, Garnet, described Africa's glorious past and the achievements of ancient Egypt and Ethiopia. In the same address, however, he explicitly rejected the notion that African-Americans had a separate destiny from white Americans (Fredrickson, 1995:60).

The thought and writings of Edward Blyden and Alexander Crummell during their Liberian colonization years reflect the essentials of an Ethiopianist world-view. They differ in emphasis, however, with Crummell stressing the religious or spiritual aspects of African redemption and Blyden paying greater attention to the political and economic prerequisites for self-determination. Crummell's Pan-African vision was based on three premises – the idea of racial solidarity, the belief that each race had characteristics suited to itself and the destiny of African people to be led to a glorious future through Christianity. He believed that there could be no effective Pan-African movement unless black people assumed the highest roles in the Church and in the state (Rigsby, 1987:60). For Crummell, true Pan-Africanism meant the modification of time-honoured traditions of the native Africans with the new ideas which the Negro settlers had learned in the USA – a dialectical synthesis of the best from the past with the best from the present. To effectively fulfil his role, the black had to bring Western civilization to

Africa, not to replace African civilization but to stimulate its rebirth. How-
ever, the evidence strongly suggests that the native Liberians were exploited
by the colonizing Negroes. Indeed, the very constitution of the Republic of
Liberia denied the vote to native Africans and excluded them from citizen-
ship rights (Rigsby, 1987:95–1103).

Blyden and Crummell shared a providential view of African history. The
Africans of antiquity, especially the indigenous Egyptians and the Ethio-
pians, had attained a high level of civilization and were in fact the progenitors
of European civilization. Europe had progressed mainly because of its em-
brace of Christianity (an African religion originating in the Ethiopian Coptic
Church), which was essential to the highest form of civilization (Fredrickson,
1995). But an officially Christian Europe had flagrantly violated the ethical
precepts of its own religion by enslaving Africans and taking them to planta-
tions in the New World. The natural characteristics of Africans as a gentle
and hospitable race enabled them to respond to the altruistic ideals of their
European religious mentors without being infected by their actual greed and
hypocrisy. For Blyden, the building of 'Negro states' was an essential part
of the race redeeming process.

Alexander Crummell, on the other hand, was more deeply attached to
orthodox Protestantism and in 1882 delivered an address entitled *The Race
Problem In America*. In this paper he discussed the importance of race in
human affairs. 'Races, like families', he wrote, 'are the organisms and
ordinances of God. The extinction of race feeling is just as impossible as the
extinction of family feeling.' Races and nations maintained their essential
traits. This was true, he argued, of the Europeans who had migrated to the
United States. The Irish remained Irish, the Germans German, and the Jews
Jewish. He took issue with assimilationist black progressives such as
Frederick Douglass who viewed the ultimate destiny of African-Americans
as a biological amalgamation with whites. Racial or ethnic diversity, includ-
ing differences of colour, and the natural desire of each group to associate
mainly with its own kind did not preclude peace and equality among races
(Fredrickson, 1995:71). Crummell was determined that black Americans
should retain their links with Africa. To those who sought assimilation of
the black race into white society he answered that the race problem could
not be settled by extinction of the race and he openly condemned advocates
of integration:

> That the colored people of this country should forget ... that they are colored
> people ... Turn madman and go to the lunatic asylum, and then, per chance, you
> may forget it! ... The only place I know of in this land where you can forget that
> you are colored is in the grave. (Rigsby, 1987:154)

Crummell distrusted politics as the solution to the race problem through-out his life. He outlined the theory of grooming black leadership later developed by W.E.B. DuBois.

African–Indian Alliances

In 1920 the father of modern African-American history, Dr Carter G. Woodson, wrote: 'one of the longest unwritten chapters in the history of the United States is that treating the relations of Negroes and Indians.' He believed that slaves 'found among the Indians one of their means of escape'. Melvin J. Herskovits of Columbia University conducted anthropological research in New York, West Virginia and Washington which determined that 25–33 per cent of African-Americans have Indian ancestors. During the earliest years of the colonial period Africans and Native Americans formed an alliance that was peaceful and prosperous and which was considered a threat to colonial interests. In the words of a French historian, the alliance between Africans and Indians was 'the gangrene of colonial society'. Anthropologist Richard Price has described the alliance's first step: 'The Indians escaped slavery first and then, since they knew the forest, they came back and liberated the Africans.' Unburdened by racial prejudices Native Americans opened their villages as sanctuaries to those fleeing bondage (Katz, 1990).

The first documentation of the alliance was made in 1502 when King Ferdinand received news from his New World Viceroy, Nicolas de Ovando of Hispaniola, that Africans had fled among the Indians and taught them bad customs and could never be captured. Evidence suggests that the earliest slave revolts united Native Americans and Africans. In 1527 the Spanish Viceroy, Mendoza, reported that rebellious 'blacks had chosen a king and ... the Indians were with them'. Years later, Viceroy Enriquez warned that 'the time is coming when these [African] people will become masters of the Indians, inasmuch as they were born among them and their maidens, and are men who dare to die as well as any Spaniard'(Katz, 1990). Before 1700 most maroon (runaway slave) leaders had been born in Africa, but thereafter leadership was taken by black Indians experienced in fighting, trading and negotiating with Europeans.

This North American alliance was strongest in Florida where the first Africans arriving on the peninsula had taught the Seminoles the rice cultiva-tion methods of Sierra Leone and Senegambia. The two peoples fought the US military for 42 years, at times tying up half the army. 'This, you may be assured, is a Negro not an Indian war' said US General Jessup in 1837 (Katz, 1990).