

**common  
PROBLEMS,**

**common  
SOLUTIONS:**

**Toward a  
Scientific Basis for  
Pan African Revolution**

**ABDUL HAKIMU IBN ALKALIMAT**

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**TOWARD A  
SCIENTIFIC BASIS FOR  
PAN AFRICAN REVOLUTION**

***ABDUL HAKIMU IBN ALKALIMAT***

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Peoples College Press is dedicated to serve the struggle against imperialism, racism, and colonialism. Our publications will include both original and re-published works and will be in three basic categories Pan African Analysis, National Black History, and Political Theory.

This essay raises the central issues of ideological development facing Black people today. It is the first in a series of pamphlets focusing on problems of theory. It is intended for people who are asking basic questions such as:

Who are we?  
What is a correct analysis?  
What is ideology?

The historical forces of racist exploitation have raged through the years blinding Black people from reality. The issues raised by certain popular positions are frequently obscured by their opaque reflections revealed in the white media, and by the expressive emotional style associated with our mass movement. Moreover our intellectuals have often played faggot roles by being second rate bitchy white imitators, screaming in expressive protest over white rejection. So while there have at times been heated debates, this has not established a way to create history as much as to insure that history would repeat itself.

History can best be created by those who come to understand it, and those who understand it know that every man chooses to be part

of mankind's problem or part of a solution to the problem. Black people throughout the world have had to deal with this problem of history, not as an ideological weapon but as "value free" social science, not as the dynamic of a people's reality but as the chronology of personalities and events, not as freedom but as slavery. Black people everywhere have had common problems throughout history but have never had common solutions. What we need are common solutions, correct solutions, revolutionary solutions. This article deals with developing a common ideology for Black people everywhere. It is the necessary theoretical task so that we can move to create a new history of an United African people a history moved by the Revolutionary Theory of scientific socialism.

This article will deal with three specific questions:

1. What is Ideology?
2. What are common African problems?
3. What are common African solutions?

Clarifying the nature of ideology creates a framework for dealing with the nature of our reality. Answers to the last two questions make up the substance of Pan African ideology, of relevance to all African Peoples everywhere.

An ideology is a set of beliefs about history and contemporary society. It establishes a view of how things ought to be and requires a moral commitment to change them that way. There are five basic parts to an ideology.

(1) *IDENTITY*: Who are we (am I)? Who were we (was I)? Who are we (am I) going to become? These identity

questions reflect three approaches; historical, participational, and, referential identification. While these approaches are all different, it is their collective substance that account for who we are. We must know who we are if we are to know our friends and enemies.

(2) *ANALYSIS:* What is (was) the structure of the world? How does it change? What ought to happen? Black people must understand systematically the structure and process of historical forces. For it is only through a clear precise grasp of our past that we will be able to forge out a future that is positive and worthy of our peoples effort.

(3) *COMMITMENT:* What is our (my) desire for change? And to what extent are we (am I) willing to go to achieve that change? While there are always different levels on

which most people operate, it is important to have total commitment from as large a group as possible so that the future outlined in the analysis will be worked for by any means necessary, even if it means, doing what the less committed view as impossible.

(4) *PROGRAM:* What is the organizational plan? What are our (my) strategies? We need to examine the past patterns of organizations so that we will be able to develop lines of communication, processes of decision making, and guidelines for specific roles and responsibilities in such a way that avoids the errors of the past. The program represents the tool by which the collective frees itself as well as constructing the next way of life.

(5) *ACTION:* What tactics are necessary? What are our (my) specific activities? As the logical devel-

opment of the above components of ideology are dealt with, it becomes necessary to determine the specifics of what we are going to do. Once we have our program outlined, then we can prepare ourselves for action, with general training for everyone, with special instruction for those who will perform special functions.

All of these five factors must be dealt with in order to have the full comprehensive ideological force necessary. A meaningful course of study for people who want a grasp of the entire ideological spectrum held by various Black individuals and groups would be to probe various positions for the problems and solutions they isolate as important in each of the above five areas. It is only through this kind of systematic detailed study that we can make intelligent dec-

isions about the correct ideological position for Black people, today.

#### IDEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR BLACK PEOPLE EVERYWHERE

Ideology	Problem	Solution
1. IDENTITY	1. TRIBALISM	1. (FAM) AFRICANISM
2. ANALYSIS	2. COLONIALISM	2. SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM
3. COMMITMENT	3. SURVIVAL	3. REVOLUTION
4. PROGRAM	4. CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT	4. NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT ORGANISATION
5. ACTION	5. EPISODIC PROTESTS	5. PROTRACTED STRUGGLE

The "Ideological Framework" for Black People Everywhere" is an outline that begins to probe problem and solutions common to Black people by presenting a definite position.

## IDENTITY

The major problem facing Black people is tribalism. Tribes are separate communities of people that try to maintain a specific way of life. They can be totally inclusive of a person's life or at least the major activities of importance to an individual. The more tribes that develop, the more Black people are divided. Contrasted with tribalism is PanAfricanism, the unity of All Black People. This unity is held to be based on many different things, among the most important things are race and geography.

There are basically two types of tribalism --that based on tradition and the other based on colonialism. Today, traditional tribes can be distinguished primarily on the continent, although most have been affected by colonialism. Specific

factors of importance include language, religion, political structure and style, and economic base. For example, two major tribes in Nigeria are the Hausa and the Ibo, both in different language groups (Hamatic and Nigritic language groups respectively). Hausa is primarily Islamic while Ibo has been Christianized. The Hausa is an urbanized warrior tribe with a rigid patriarchal authority system. The Ibo is a trading-agrarian tribal group characterized by near equalitarian values. One could have cited the Kikuyu and Luo tribes of Kenya, for each of these sets of tribes also are prime examples of how traditional tribal differences can be accentuated into levels of fratricide that is influenced by and profited upon by colonial forces.



Among Black urban dwellers in the United States, gangs have developed among young people, particularly those under the heaviest weight of colonialism --the ghetto poor. In many cases these groups have grown to include entire communities of people, and have called themselves "teen nations." Much like the war in Nigeria, some teen nations are at war with each other although all are at war with the establishment and the police. In contrast one could examine the competition between the Negro college sororities and fraternities for a highly ritualized version of the same thing. The rites of passage in each case is equally dangerous, and the loyalty is all demanding. The same tribal phenomenon can be seen quite clearly in several religious sects including some attempt to replace the ancestral tribalism of ancient Africa.

The most common form of tribalism that stands as a barrier to African unity is the colonial national state. Contemporary African countries were established by European colonial governments at a conference in Berlin, 1884-85. Since the only major considerations were the vested interests of the colonialists, traditional tribal areas were violated in most cases placing part of a tribe in one colony and part in another. Moreover, in some cases traditional animosities were forced to be under one colonial administration, frequently making near permanent the tactic of divide and conquer. It ought not be overlooked that this same incongruity between tribes and nation states is to be found on the European and Asian continents. (And while European nationalism has reached high peaks, it is still important to

understand the tribes that exist to have a proper historical understanding of events, e.g. Italy, Germany, and Russia).

Consequently nationalism can be either a solution to traditional tribalism or the creation of a new colonial tribalism that prevents continental PanAfrican unity. One must make a distinction here in how the term nationalism is used either for a colonial state or the entire continent - - colonial nationalism versus continental nationalism. It is important to understand that slavery in the west physically removed Africans from their traditional tribes but did not wipe all culture away. For example, in Cuba the Yoruba culture flourishes in the most Black part of the Island, Oriente province. And one can easily trace similar cultural survivals in Haiti and Brazil. However, in most

cases the major cultural manifestations today is the result of African culture adapting under the weight of oppression. So many people see the major imprint of African culture in the west in hypenated forms, e.g. Afro-Cuban, Afro-Brazilian, or Afro-American art and culture.

Black nationalism in the USA is a different phenomenon because there are few authentic cultural survivals that have remained intact that control a major part of a community's life. (Some exceptions might include the Sea Islands of Georgia, and some communities in North Carolina, and Louisiana). While we have not continued carrying the external culture of tradition, we have been moulded into a PanAfrican community forcing our cultural values and style to become manifest in western forms. We now see experi-

mentation with various cultural activities to connect up with the wisdom and insight of our ancestors

Black people in the U.S.A. are a PanAfrican people because there are no serious traditional divisions except those that are recreated. Most important is the fact of a common language. The oppression of the west has resulted in the breakdown of traditional language and the near universal use of the colonial language English. This has become a topic for white linguists who have used the term substandard, to describe the use of English by Blacks in the United States, although this reeks of the academic imperialism that has been western anthropologists' major function. Also, there is the entire continent when speaking or thinking of Africa, extending fraternal identification to all indigenous Black Africans on

the continent. (Even if this is because we don't know what our precise tribal identity really is).

#### BASIS OF PAN AFRICAN IDENTITY

Type	Time	Form
HISTORICAL IDENTITY	PAST	TRADITIONAL TRIBALISM
PARTICIPATIONAL IDENTITY	PRESENT	COLONIAL NATIONALISM
REFERENTIAL IDENTITY	FUTURE	CONTINENTAL PANAFRICAN NATIONALISM

The matrix of forces that give rise to African identity are summarized in the chart. Even though one's tribal ancestors give proof of the colonist's lie about history tribalism is a thing of the past. We must not be "slaves to the slavery of our forefathers," nor be destined to replicate what is truly glorious about our past. The fact that tribal conflict brutalizes Africans today is proof that colonialism profits by helping the dead rule the

living. Our tribal historical identification is at best inspirational.

Colonial nationalism is the force that drives together tribes oppressed by common colonial administrations, but it is reactionary when it leads to reformist deals to make oppression lighten up a bit, or to promise not to export the forces of National Liberation. Nationalism is revolutionary when it brings people together to violently tear colonialism down, in order to build a socialist society, e.g., FRELIMO in Mozambique, MPLA in Angola, PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau, SWAPO in Namibia, (South West Africa) Zapu in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and ANC in Azania (South Africa). These struggles against European control ultimately can only be understood on a continental scale. If one examines the post-independence stage of countries

tied economically to European power then it is clear that no African will be free unless all are free and united. Imperialism is a world system against which there must be a world revolutionary struggle.

PanAfricanism must become the most important identity for Black people everywhere. It is an identity of the future because it necessitates a total restructuring of the world. An identity of the past will make us the walking dead, while identity of the present inevitably will result in compromise to consolidate the gains of the moment. Ancient African royalty is cool on an inspirational level when we all claim descendency from the throne. But who would desire the creation of royal families among us today if the hierarchy put us on the bottom. And when they shout "I am somebody" it rings true on the most basic

level of psychological self acceptance. However if a colonized man has the white man's foot up his ass and he says I am somebody without getting free and kicking ass, then he is resigning himself hopelessly to colonial oppression. An identity of the future requires movement and struggle for a goal. To achieve this goal we need a plan based on a correct analysis of our condition, what we're up against.

### ANALYSIS

The issue of analysis is equally important because it requires both the identification of the problem as well as the solution. The ruling class has focused a considerable portion of their Social Sciences to an analysis of colonized people, and methods to intensify colonialization. What is important, though, is that the analysis has always

been based on European assumptions and conceptual framework. We must see the white man's concepts about us another social disease he has put on the world, and turn it back on him in fatal proportions.

It is possible to look at European Bourgeoisie terminology and terms more in the interests of African (Black) peoples and see that one's conceptual framework for interpreting research makes impact on what people understand and believe.

<i>TERMS OF WHITE SOCIAL SCIENCE</i>	<i>TERMS OF BLACK SOCIAL SCIENCE</i>
segregation integration equality assimilation	colonization liberation freedom Africanization

White social science has held the problem was segregation and the solution assimilation. This was to be achieved through integration for equality. We know this as brainwash tricknology. All of the white terms march us toward a marriage with those we meet everyday as our enemies and serves to reduce social and political realities to individual "accomplishments." So any individual Black would easily measure his apparent success in white terms while the only reality in Black terms is a collective reality.

# CAPITALIST SYSTEM OF EXPLOITATION

WHITE SKIN PRIVILEGE		
	White	Black
Support It	WHITE RULING CLASS ESTABLISHMENT	BLACK PETTY BOURGEOISE
Oppose It	WHITE RADICALS WORKERS	REVOLUTIONARY BLACK WORKING MASSES

As the chart indicates the major struggle is between the Black Revolutionary Mass and the European Ruling Class Imperialists. We can safely say that this is the death struggle for the survival of one group or the other with a significant aspect being the political direction of the other two forces. The correct revolutionary analysis includes the need (1) to facilitate the colonized (Black) Bourgeoise to renounce their class interests and join in solidarity with the Black

Revolutionary Mass, and (2) to expose the fraudulent and reactionary intention of colonial pacification programs to recruit more Blacks to achieve as well as aspire Bourgeois status. But stopping there would encourage race war based on strict racial polarization. Also, the correct revolutionary (1) encourages whites to reject class interests of their system setting whites against each other, and (2) views white radicals as potentially revolutionary but only to the extent that our interests coincide.

Any analysis of African Colonization, unique in blending racism and class exploitation, must provide a critique of the past system and a model for a better system. The two competing systems of solution are capitalism and Socialism. As we look around the world capitalism is always associated with colonizers or

colonized countries, whereas Socialism is connected with countries after their colonial liberation, e.g., Cuba, Tanzania, Guinea, Congo-Brazzaville, and China. Socialism provides an understanding of political economy based on property relations the basic concept being the collective interest of all men exclusive of interests to support exploitation. This must be dealt with since it is a living historical alternative to capitalism. But we must avoid romantic hopes for socialism. Nkrumah clarifies this when he instructs:

"Socialism is not spontaneous. It does not arise by itself. It has abiding principles according to which the major means of production and distribution ought to be socialized if exploitation of the many by the



few is to be prevented...It is the elimination of fancifulness from socialist action that makes socialism scientific. To suppose that there are tribal, national, or racial socialisms is to abandon objectivity in favor of chauvinism!

No simplistic analysis will adequately deal with our complex problem.

### ***COMMITMENT, PROGRAM and ACTION***

There is no ideological development without dealing with identity and analysis because all else follows. This is when there is ideological coherence of a position rather than ideological contradictions or omissions. When one has a view of the future, and a clear understanding of historical alternatives

it is necessary to decide how committed one must be to make the desired alternative happen. A total ideological commitment involves a moral imperative, a passionate obsession to realize the goals of analysis because only that is just and right. All forms of life are committed to survival, the lowest common force including the possibility for recreating itself. Even slaves are committed to survival. Revolution is the creation of a totally new alternative, and is the only commitment consistent with creating a new history, a liberated people.

But the best ideas of the most committed must face the test of the people's reality, a complex maze of historical forces flowing and erupting. Historical stages are predictable, but episodes and actions are not. The events of history are both



accident and design, with reason and emotion mixed as in man. So when we the people rise up we must do so as giants among men -- strangers to the past of slavery, models of revolution for the present, and prophetic forces for the future hopes of our people. Our organization must be grounded in our present day realities but only justified by the future we work for.

The recent escalation in the decade of civil rights protest activities was grounded on optimistic notions about the natural capacity of colonized society to decolonize itself. "One man, one vote" has been a universal cry for rights by colonized people. We now know that would mean voluntary suicide for colonialism, the romantic illusion of bourgeois slave self-deception. So instead of civil rights, the focus is on human rights, a focus

necessitating the development of a national liberation front organization. The civil rights movement spoke to the needs of middle class Blacks, whereas a national liberation front would include all of the peoples' interests. As suggested earlier, "the goal of the national liberation movement is the redemption of complete and unconditional independence, and the building of a society of peoples in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

This discussion has presented a basic framework for ideological development. It is obvious that such a framework is necessary because there has been so much ideological confusion throughout the PanAfrican world. We must know that our course is just and right, and that history is ours. This is what Amus Mor really means when he says:

Please Black America  
Heed my song  
You know the monkey  
shook his tail  
And say "It won be long.



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