NATIONBUILDING
Theory & Practice
in Afrikan Centered Education

by Kwame Agyei Akoto
NATIONBUILDING

THEORY AND PRACTICE

IN

AFRIKAN CENTERED EDUCATION

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Pan Afrikan World Institute
Washington, D.C.
DEDICATION

To the current and future generations
of brothers and sisters,
daughters and sons of Afrika,
who with courage, perception and commitment
have undertaken the mission of rebuilding Afrikan culture
and civilization.

To those who labor quietly and anonymously,
but intensely and with true love,
to recapture the minds, hearts,
and souls of our children, and our people,
that we may together build a better world for ourselves,
vindicate our ancestors, and rescue humanity.
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Odumankroma

the Abosum and Nsamanfo
Asuo Gybei...

Medasi,
Medasi,
Medasi
Medasi Pa!!

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IN

AFRIKAN CENTERED EDUCATION
Introduction

One of the more profound discoveries that culturally conscious Afrikans in America make during the course of parenting and teaching is that the final outcome of otherwise carefully planned and painfully executed childrearing and teaching strategies is determined by agencies beyond their control. The determined parent/teacher responds to this problem in either of four ways; (a) isolation, (b) accommodation, (c) confrontation, and (d) reality construction. The first two options are essentially defeatist.

The first, isolation, usually produces a socially non-functional and neutralized personality. The second option, accommodation, comes after either physical or emotional exhaustion from the teaching/rearing task, disinterest, or what is increasingly more common, neglect. The consequence is that the child is raised by the chaotic but purposeful influences of the streets and the media. Those influences are purposeful in that they invariably reproduce and reinforce the racist and exploitative conditions that engendered them. The third and fourth options, confrontation and reality construction, are linked, in that both are proactive. Confrontation alone, however, is counterproductive in that it is often spontaneous and driven by passion. It usually lacks thorough analysis, and lacks comprehensive and detailed objectives and strategies. The fourth option, reality construction, includes the intuitive
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and studied awareness of social injustice, and the urge to resist the tyranny of complacency, fear, and white cultural hegemony that characterizes the confrontation option. Reality construction, however, grounds the passion-driven third option with the conditioning of protracted struggle, cultural and political theory, and a firm commitment to institution building. The fourth option, reality construction, is the essence of nationbuilding.

When parents and teachers opt for nationbuilding, they commit themselves to a world vision or world order that compliments their sense of cultural/historical awareness and their unique humanity. The commitment to creating a world order that is consistent with our cultural identity is not unique to this generation. Indeed it has characterized the resistance and rebuilding efforts of our people since our first encounter and awareness of the avarice driven morality and inhumanity of the Arab and European imperialists. The option of nationbuilding is the continuation of a three millennium war to maintain the sanctity of our souls, the sanity of our minds, and the integrity of our cultural/historical reality. We have lost ground, and we have lost battles, but the greater balance of our victories has sustained us and will undoubtedly see us through to ultimate vindication and true nationhood.

Nationbuilding is predicated upon historical awareness and cultural consciousness. To engage in nationbuilding, the leadership of the nation, cultural group or community, must work to counteract generations of miseducation and the consequent psychic dependency, defeatism, self hatred, misguided loyalties, and the inferiority complex of our people. Culturally conscious parents within individual families have in fact acted to reeducate themselves and then collectively sought to counteract the culturally debilitating effect of media and popular sentiment on their children. The nation, the several communities, and the families additionally have responded by establishing networks of institutions that concretize, reinforce, perpetuate, and expand on the vision of nationbuilding. Over the last twenty-five years those institutions have included publishing companies, Afrikan dance and drumming troupes, rites of passage groups, study groups, political pressure groups, assorted Afrikan centered conferences, Black Studies departments at universities, and after school reinforcement programs.

The concept of nationbuilding in this volume arises out of the efforts of scores of independent Afrikan centered educational institutions established in this country since the mid sixties. It is also a reflection of the incessant efforts of Afrikans in this country since our forced 'immigration' four centuries ago to build institutions that provide some measure of cultural, political and economic independence. The purpose here is to further that ongoing process of refinement in the areas of educational theory and practice as it pertains to the needs of Afrikans both in the diaspora and in the motherland. The observations, analysis, tactics, and theory presented here are the outcome of this writer's two decades of experience in parenting, teaching and institution building. It is also reflective of the experiences and continuing efforts of numerous institutions, individuals and groups in a movement sometimes referred to as the independent Pan Afrikan school movement. The efforts of individuals and families to sustain the institutions within the movement have been nothing less than heroic. As a consequence, today the movement is alive and growing. The increasingly popular embrace of Afrikan centered values and behaviors, the growing populations in the independent schools, the increasing numbers of startup Pan Afrikan schools, and the lively debate in the public school systems are strong indicators that the work within the movement has been successful.

The essays that comprise this volume have been organized into three complementary sections. Those sections include Conceptual Foundations, Interactions, and Paradigms. The essays were composed in response to very real issues experi-
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enced by the independent schools, and particularly those issues that arose during the growth of NationHouse Positive Action Center, the institution cofounded and directed by this writer.

Conceptual Foundations

Nationalist/Pan Afrikanism is an ideology with strong roots in the Afrikan community. Though sometimes it has appeared to be dormant, it has always been present. The essential features of the ideology have been forcefully and clearly addressed for generations, but overall the ideology has lacked coherency and adequate theoretical clarity to apply at the grassroots level of organizing, or apply to the conditions encountered in personal interactions. The conceptions of culture, history, and spirituality have not always been presented in a coherent fashion. The initial essay was designed to provide a broad framework for the parent, teacher and institution to clarify those features that are essential to their actions.

The definition of Afrikan centered or Afrocentric education must be given by those who have labored conscientiously and often in anonymity to establish it. This essay is intended to provide both insight and guidance on the evolution and the direction that a truly Afrikan centered education must take.

Interactions

The several short essays that comprise the two sections of Interactions are arranged generally in sequence. They have been included to demonstrate the immediacy of issues and concerns that parents, teachers, and school administrators of the Pan Afrikan schools must address daily. The Interaction essays arise out of direct interaction of students, parents, and teachers. They serve as bridges between educational theory and the reality of practice and application.

Paradigms

In the two essays included in this section, the concepts and theories addressed in the initial section are operationalized. The two areas addressed are at the heart of the educational process, pedagogy and curriculum. A coherent and comprehensive approach to both within a Nationalist and Pan Afrikanist perspective has not been well articulated in the past. The result has been innumerable curricula and methodological tracts that lack any overarching philosophy and objectives. Most often the efforts only superficially reflect the cultural and ideological construct that inspired them. In the two essays, an effort is made to provide direction in this area. The concepts included in these essays reflects the efforts of several independent schools, particularly NationHouse, and is currently being implemented by NationHouse. (One version of the second essay appears in a forthcoming publication by Dr. Mwalimu Shujaa entitled Too Much Schooling, Too Little Education.)

Summary

The theory, methodology, systems, and institutions that will assure the survival, independence, and prosperity of Afrikan people in the coming century will grow out of the collective efforts of parents, teachers, and theorists who are unqualifiedly committed to Afrikan liberation, independence, and nationbuilding. No singular name and suffix 'ism' can ever justly be attached to the ideas and actions that grow out of this movement. The history of the movement is the history of Afrikan struggle for vindication and reconstruction. The concepts and models presented here are by no means final or complete. They will continue to evolve and be refined. They are now being actively tested and evaluated, and results will be soon forthcoming. This effort is intended as one of many to come that will serve to advance the cause of Afrikan centered education and nationbuilding.
Conceptual Foundations
A few years ago during the latter weeks of September 1980, professor John H. Clarke, delivered a message to the Ankobia society of Washington, D. C. to the effect that whatever it is that we may undertake, "if it isn't about nationbuilding, then it isn't about anything." It is a statement that can be taken literally. Nationbuilding is the conscious and focused application of our people's collective resources, energies, and knowledge to the task of liberating and developing the psychic and physical space that we identify as ours. It involves the development of behaviors, values, language, institutions, and physical structures that elucidate our history and culture, concretize and protect the present, and insure the future identity and independence of the nation. Nationbuilding is the deliberate, keenly directed and focused, and energetic projection of the national culture, and the collective identity. Nationbuilding is occasioned by the generation and release of tremendous amounts of energy, not unlike a pregnancy and a new birth, or a spring thunderstorm and the new growth following. With either analogy, it is critical that the terms and conditions that occasion the emergence of this new reality be clear and unambiguous. Those conditions, terms, and descriptive language must be defined by the creators of that new
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reality. That new reality, for us, is a renewed national and cultural consciousness. The emergence of this new consciousness, this renewed Afrikan centered reality, marks the rebirth of the Afrikan personality and the revitalization of the Afrikan nationality. This is nationbuilding.

Without the consciousness of nationality, a people are like rudderless ships in a storm, or more aptly, they are like the splintered pieces and debris left after the breakup of a ship in a storm. They are unaware of their former whole identity or direction. They lack cohesion and are bunched together like so many millions of individual splinters as a consequence of any and all opportunistic currents that move them. In that people’s confusion and lack of direction they become the pawns and playthings of those who are directed and powerful. They are in effect, about nothing for themselves. They are a purposeless population, and subject to interminable exploitation by others.

The Holocaust of Afrikan Enslavement and the New World Order

A frequent and relevant question of the day centers on the definition of the phrase “new world order.” Common sense and a general awareness of history tells us that that phrase in the hands of mainstream politicians and opinion-makers means, essentially, sustaining the existing cultural and political-economic hierarchy of nations and races.

The concept of a new world order does, however, evoke an issue that is very much at the core of the consciousness of Afrikans in America and indeed, Afrikans throughout the diaspora and Afrika. That issue is one of cultural identity. It is a pivotal issue for Afrikans because no other people have experienced the sustained humiliation of enslavement, dispersal, and the legal and socially enforced alienation from their history and their culture. That alienation, humiliation, and self hatred that accompanied the destruction of our civiliza-

...tions and enslavement of our people have defined our conceptions of ourselves as a people, as families, and as individuals. The instillation of “raw fear and awe of the whites’ power”, the “unconditional submission,” the conceptions of personal and racial inferiority, and the personal identification of self with the persona of the white masters were the essential elements of the process of making slaves of Afrikans. Those elements have yet to be completely exorcised from our collective psyche. They manifest themselves in our family dynamics, in the interaction of Afrikan men and women, in our manner (or lack) of child rearing, in our concept of appropriate education, in our choice of spiritual system, our choice of religious imagery, in our definitions of physical beauty, in the manner of our philosophical inquiry, and in our political and economic choices.

The Holocaust of Afrikan Enslavement paralleled the usage of the stratagem of conquest and pillage during the period of European imperialism, inclusive of American expansionism. That stratagem was designed to divorce those colonized/dominated people from their culture, making them suitable consumers of European manufactured products, producers of raw materials for Europe’s industry, and sources of cheap labor. Where cultural resistance manifested itself among the dominated population, genocide was an optional recourse, or confinement to reservations, bantuslands, and ghettos.

A prime example of the effort to divorce a people of their cultural roots is the popular and newly resurrected myth of the “American Identity” or the “American race” which assumes “a severance of roots, [historical and cultural] a liberation from a stifling past.” This severance of roots further assumes a conscious choice and free will to sever those roots. The subsequent “nestling in the bosom of the American race” was promised the individual (necessarily devoid of attachments or identification with culturally unsavory and incompatible groups/races) untrammeled and unfettered liberty and free-
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don, and those individual freedoms would be protected by the constitution.²

The circumstance of the Afrikans’ arrival in America and the documented intentions of the “founding fathers” regarding the status of those Afrikans, makes abundantly clear that there is no salvation, collective or individual, in the mythical, “homogenized”, “Anglo Saxon-based”, multiculturalist “race of men”. Integration/assimilation for Afrikans, given the Holocaust and its institutionalized and psychic entrenchment, is impossible without a thoroughgoing and self (meaning Afrikan) directed effort to reconstruct our unique cultural identity and dynamic; and thereafter deciding whether or to what extent we surrender our cultural uniqueness to the “80%” European/white reality. The fundamental truth of our existence in this country is that our presence in the American experiment, though fundamental to it, was involuntary. The complicity of a few rogue chieftains in the European slave trade can in no way moderate the responsibility for the most heinous crime in the history of humanity, the Holocaust of Afrikan Enslavement. Walter Rodney observed that “on the whole, the process by which captives were obtained on African soil was not by trade at all. It was through warfare, trickery, banditry, and kidnapping.”³ Although the memory and awareness of our humiliation and exploitation is lost to many of our people (a process aided by public education and the popular media), our social, economic and political condition is a legacy of that holocaust.

Ideology and The Afrikan Condition

Often when we undertake efforts to define or clarify the condition or status of Afrikan people in the nation’s and world’s political economy, we usually begin with an exposition of the two major ideological orientations within our community; nationalism and integration/assimilationism. These ideologies are expressions of the general Afrikan cultural

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construct. They differ and sometimes rival each other because of differing perceptions of that cultural dynamic. The language and goals that evolve from the differing perceptions further differentiate the ideologies. Each initially developed out of a concern with the welfare and development of the Afrikan race and were linked in that fundamental concern, and in their identification of Afrikans as a distinct national group.

With each ideology there has historically been a consciousness of our Afrikanity. The integrationists of the early nineteenth century saw no great conflict in advocating integration and racial self sufficiency simultaneously. That race consciousness was lost among advocates of the integrationist/assimilationist perspective when non-Afrikans were allowed to influence and define the parameters of Afrikan debate and action. The dominance of whites in the 19th century Abolitionist movement permitted them to dictate the direction or non-direction of the movement. Indeed during this period according to Stuckey, “the integrationist contribution to liberation theory... was almost nonexistent; its essential hollowness was its bequest to the post-emancipation era.”⁴

In modern times the theoretical contribution of integration/assimilation has been equally limited, most often a shallow mimicry of white theorists and statisticians. The prominence of integrationist ideals during the last fifty years, and the legislative and material successes gained during the era of Civil Rights were gained at the expense of a monumental loss of social, political and cultural independence by Afrikan communities. The prominence of integrationist/assimilationists ideals was facilitated in part by the fifty year effort of J. Edgar Hoover and others, to destabilize, terrorize, and disinform the Afrikan community, and otherwise destroy Black nationalism as a viable force. The popular nationalist sentiment however undergirded the civil rights movement, providing it with much of its militancy. Nationalism itself exploded into prominence during the sixties. Although the nationalism of the sixties lacked the necessary levels of ideolog-
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logical coherency and consistency, its impetus toward national reaffirmation, and self-sufficiency, and its grounding in historical analysis has proven to have been more substantive and accurate that the miscegenate homogenization championed by integrationist/assimilationists then and today.

The unstated assumption that underlies most discussions of ideology within the Afikan American community is the assumption regarding the eighteenth century origins of the distinct Afikan American sense of nationality. The assumption is that Afikans had no sense of nationality before encountering the European or the Asian; that the religions of Asia and Europe provided the stimulus and concepts for the organization of the nation-state in Afrika. Similarly, discussions of ideology usually assume that the era of European colonialism provided the impetus for national consciousness and independent/indigenous political thought. This truncation of Afikan history, conscious and unconscious, lies at the root of the cultural and ideological confusion in our communities, as well as in the minds of our people. The truth is that those foreign and culturally antagonistic ideologies contributed less to Afrika’s development than to Afrika’s dismemberment and domination, and final enslavement and exploitation of its people.

Historical and Cultural Continuum

If we are to understand finally, with perfect clarity, just what our position and direction in today’s world are, we must be clear about our origins and our identity. Too often we downplay the tenacity and strength of the historical and cultural continuum that is Afrika in our analysis of our current condition. We often begin our analysis with a peripheral and superficial historical exposition of ancient and traditional Afikan societies. The very substantive and surviving linkage between those traditional societies and the contemporary condition of Afikans is treated as tenuous and insignificant.

As hellacious and horrific as the Holocaust of Afikan Enslavement and the destruction of Afikan civilization were, that experience and the accompanying Eurocentralization and the antecedent Arabization of our consciousness and material environment has not and could not alter the cultural fundamental that defines us. Our encounter with the lecherous barbarity of the Asian and European did not sever our linkage with our history, or remake us as animated colored caricatures of Aryans and Semites. It must be equally clear that the history of Afrika is not all “princes, pyramids and pageantry.” Despotism and derangement are not the exclusive preserve of Europeans and Asians. The true history of Afrika, whether triumph, trivia or treachery, is nonetheless our history with its own unique dynamics and is central to our being. It is the prerogative and the final obligation of Afikan people to reestablish that cultural/historical continuum, and rid of the pernicious effects of Arabization and Europeanization, as well as to rectify those internally generated aberrations.

Tradition as The Source of Afikan Identity

Ali Mazuri, writer and narrator of The Africans TV series, proposes that Afrika has a triple heritage, traditional Afikan, Christianity/European, and Islamic/Arab. If anything, this concept of a triple heritage is a measure of the confusion that besets even the most accomplished intellectuals among us. It should be unambiguous, and unapologetically clear that Afikan tradition is central and fundamental to the Afikan cultural continuum. Tradition implies fundamental. Tradition encapsulates history, which is the kernel of culture.

This traditional Afikan historical dynamic must include the civilizations of Ethiopia/Kush that spawned Kemet. It must include Nubia, Punt, and the nameless city-states of a green Sahara. It must include ancient Ghana, Zimbabwe, Ife, Asante, and Zulu. All other cultural/historical constructs that do not derive directly from the described historical continuum
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must be seen as deviations, mutations, borrowings, or impositions just as those branches of humanity we describe as Caucasian, Semitic, Asian are genetic mutations of the fundamental genotype. Afrikan. Us. Our beginning is our history from the first moment of human consciousness. The current and historical cultural/ideological/religious legacies of Asia and Europe are legacies of our humiliation at the hands of foreign invaders. We have not internalized what we know logically and what we know intuitively, that we are the first people; that conceptions of our identity and direction must begin with us, with our true and unadulterated history.

The experience of the Holocaust, and the continuing experience of Eurocentric cultural hegemony act to cloak and confuse what remains intact; the fundamental essence of Afrikan culture. It is the failure to systematically research, rediscover, reconstruct, actualize, and revitalize our own cultural essence that limits the scope of our socio-political theory, and restricts the policy/operational options available to us, and usually dooms us to repeat the mistakes of our European/Asiatic mentors/masters. Those mistakes are invariably compounded because of culturally misaligned research tools and methodology.

Without the sustained and vigorous effort to recover our own unique cultural dynamic, we limit ourselves to the ideational and spiritual constrictions of the very people who are our forebrought enemies. We define ourselves in terms derived of their historical treatises, their economic theories, their philosophical and moral speculations, their spiritual conjectures, their political doctrines, and their reasoning processes; all of which are culturally and historically determined. Those processes and ideas are unique to them and serve their interests primarily.

We build huge religious edifices, the world’s largest cathedral, the most grand churches, the most opulent mosque, the biggest temples, all pursuant to European and Arab nationalistic religious doctrine. Most often they are built in the midst of our peoples’ poverty and exploitation. We subject our people to interminable famine and war in the name of foreign ideologies; Marxism-Leninism one day, democratic liberalism and market economy the next. We engage in fratricidal conflict and pointless debate over terms and language that we do not define, that are in fact based on assumptions and values that are antithetical to our interests. We engage in scientific, or philosophical inquiry using culturally misaligned methodology and language. Much of the work by political theorists that we hold in highest esteem is flawed by the subconscious dynamics of cultural alienation and inferiorization born of unconscious self denigration.

As exacting as Fanon’s analysis of colonialism is, he trivializes the traditional culture of the common people as “fantasies” that are characteristic of “the disintegration of the personality” that serve to “canalize” the aggression of the oppressed native. Fanon’s work was revolutionary, but finally limited by the linear-analytical reasoning he adopted from his French mentors. For Fanon, historical progression toward the “new man” was not only a movement away from the “atomic and spiritual disintegration” of Europe, but a movement away from the apparently even less desirable traditional cultural roots, toward “a new history of man.” For Fanon, the European colonial experience, though barbaric, was a necessary historical encounter that essentially divested the “native” of any substantive link to the metaphysical and unscientific “fantasies” of traditional culture. The “new man” and new reality for Fanon was to be defined almost exclusively in the course of the struggle for liberation.

If we look further, less the theoretical and semantic restrictions of Marxist historical materialism and Freudian libidoal subconscious, we discover that those same fantasies carried Toussaint L’Ouverture to victory over three of Europe’s most powerful armies. Those same “fantasies” inspired and guided Palmares, the Maroons, and Nat Turner. They stimulated Frederick Douglas, Harriet Tubman, the Outlyers of the
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southern U.S. swamplands, the countless runaways, and con-
tinues to provide inspiration and guidance to those who seek it out.

Equally celebrated as the work of Fanon is the work of Walter Rodney which is limited in that the accomplishments of Afrikan societies are lauded or celebrated to the extent that their accomplishments approximate those of Europe. The bronzes of Ife are praised because they approximate the finest of ancient Greece. The Yoruba and Asante become noteworthy because they were entering the stage of a market economy.10

During the colonial era Europe was the center of technological development and dominated the world as a consequence. It is clear now given the resurgence of ethnic nationalism, that technological mastery was a transient cloak over the much deeper and essential features of national culture. The so-called success (for whites/Europeans in America) was due entirely to the confluence of three factors; (a) the abundance of land and natural resources in the western hemisphere, (b) The Europeans’ new technological proficiency, and (c) the European moral vacuousness that permitted them to systematically and callously eradicate the indigenous American population and possess their lands, destroy the civilizations of Afrika, enslave its people, and take possession of Afrikan land and natural resources. Europeans were thereby able to garner adequate wealth and opportunity to ameliorate any potential ethnic rivalry amongst themselves. The important point here is that culture is much deeper and more essential to the historical character of a people than technological achievement; that culture is the basis on which technology is built. Further, technologies reflect the historical/cultural assumptions of the nations in which they are spawned.

The basis for our future as a people must begin with a clear understanding that our identity and our origins are the essential components of Afrikan culture. To understand our status, and our future as a people, we must know our culture.

We must know the essential dynamics and invariant features of that culture. What is culture, and what does it do?

Culture and The Cultural Sphere

"Culture is that totality of values, beliefs, and actions that characterize a people. Culture consists of the behavioral patterns, symbols, institutions, and values of a society, and is unique to that society. It is the spiritual, ideational, and material composite that distinguishes one society from another. It shapes and is in turn shaped by events in the realm of the spiritual, ideational and the material. All inquiry and solution, truth and beauty, tradition and purity, meaning and reality are culturally relative. There are no culture-free or values-free human endeavors. Culture is not a static phenomenon. Culture continually evolves as a society evolves and develops. Culture is that composite of socially and historically determined behaviors that nourishes and thereby defines the intellectual and spiritual parameters within which the human individual develops and exists."11

Culture can be represented as a sphere, as represented in Figure 1, with history positioned as its dynamic and seminal nucleus. History here extends beyond mere inquiry and exposition. It is instead the constant and living interaction of a people in their several environments throughout time. That interactive process occurs in such a way that the experiences of antiquity form a continuum with the present and the future, and where the essential dynamics of antiquity are reenacted in the present and anticipate the future. History is not static, nor is it concerned only with the past. "The historical factor is the cultural cement that unifies the disparate elements of a people into a whole."12 It is the consciousness of that historical continuity or continuum that provides the binding element of the entire cultural sphere. The dynamic nature of history accounts for the dynamism of culture.
The unique character of the basic social unit of a culture, the family, is fashioned within history, as the individual is thereafter fashioned within the family. The clan/community is a further extension of the family. As these social units interact within their environments, their integrity and development is sustained through several interactive and cohesive modalities. Those modalities include language, ritual, pattern, and symbols. These modalities serve to facilitate group and national consciousness, and social order. They serve to facilitate social interaction and social bonding. Ritual is a particularly salient feature in Afrikan culture. According to Richards,

“African life is replete with ritual. It states interrelationship with other beings in the universe... Ritual is, in a sense, the ultimate philosophical expression of the African world-view, for it is the modality within which the unity of the human and the divine is expressed, in which the unity of spirit and matter is perceived, and in which the Eternal Moment is achieved.”

Every culture evolves its unique language, its social patterns, and symbols. Those modalities are unique as they grow out of that historical interaction of the people and their several environments. The interactive and cohesive modalities reflect the fundamental assumptions and meaning that undergird the culture of a people. Both the cognitive processes and the worldview are reflected in the interactive modalities. “The determining mode of the African world view is harmony, the discovering of the point of harmonious interaction. The European mind is literal, while African conceptions are expressed symbolically.”

As people evolve throughout history, they invariably organize their experiences and their reflections and elaborations on their experiences into various domains of knowledge. Those domains are necessarily linked to the historical nucleus of the culture, and are a consequence of that historical dynamic. Those domains include philosophy, morality, spirituality,
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ethics, politics, ideology, aesthetics, science, law and others. The several domains and the particular disciplines of knowledge serve as the fixed institutional foundations of the nation. Education is unique among the domains in that it is both process and institution, and additionally it serves to perpetuate the whole of the cultural reality. These domains of knowledge and the institutions that occasion their operation within the society are the immediately perceived features of the nation and serve to identify it and its people.

The nation-state apparatus develops as the nation or several closely related nations encounter environmental factors that demand coordination or resources beyond those available. For example, the frequent and massive inundations of the Nile "obliged the first African populations...to rise above individual, clannish, and tribal egoisms or to disappear. Thus emerged a supratribal authority, a national authority, accepted by all, invested with the powers necessary to conduct and coordinate irrigation and water distribution, works essential to the general activity." 15

Diop has identified four types of state structures, and they differ according to their seminal motives. The "African type" which was born as a consequence of the need to engage in large hydraulic works, typified by ancient Kemet. This type is founded on a collectivist basis and is supported and defended by all of its members as the means to insure the survival of the collective. The second type of state results from resistance to a common enemy. Several culturally related nations form a confederation not for conquest but for common defense against an outside enemy. The Asante Federation dating from its origins in the 17th century CE is a model of this type. The earlier Empire of Mali had similar origins. This particular state gives privilege to the military classes, where the first type, the Afrikan type, distributes privilege widely among all social classes. A third type occurs when the traditional mode of production collapses and the only instrument of domination

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of one class over another is the state. This type is represented by ancient Athens.

A fourth type is the "Spartan or Tutsi type." The conquering national culture or group does not integrate with the dominated group, but bases its domination on absolute separation and domination. The basis of the division is usually ethnic or racial, and is always resolved by genocide. Modern states that have evolved according to this model and based on genocide include nearly all those states founded by Europeans during the period of colonialism/imperialism. Among those modern states founded in genocide are all the American states, including the USA, Canada, Mexico, Brazil, etc. Others include Australia, Tasmania, Greenland, South Africa, and New Zealand.

The state evolves because of the need to marshall resources to protect the integrity of the nation, its people, its core social units, its interactive modalities, its institutions; its culture and its ethos. In order to effect its purpose, the state necessarily maintains a defensive capacity, and a central governmental authority. It maintains relations with other states, and it guards the territorial integrity of the nation. The state exists essentially to protect and promote the interests of the national culture and its people.

It follows as Diop observes that "for every individual his or her own identity is a function of his or her people. That is to say that the identity of the individual is a function of the collective identity. Consequently, one must define the cultural identity of a people." 16 The component factors of the collective identity, or the component factors of culture according to Diop, include the historical factor, the linguistic factor, and the psychological factor. Although Diop omitted it, we must add a fourth factor, the spiritual factor.

We can define history as the chronology of a people's interaction with their several environments. Those environments include the environment of the physical world (climate, terrain, fauna and flora), the politico/economic environment

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(interaction within the group and between groups), and the
spiritual environment (acknowledgement, or non-
acknowledgement, encounters, interaction, responses). It is
the interaction of the people, their learned behaviors, biologi-
cal/genetic adaptations, and spiritual responses over the course
of time that shapes their cultural identity. It is the conscious
and subconscious identification with that historical continuum
that provides the cement that binds a people into a whole.

Historical Cycle

To describe history as a continuum is not to suggest that
history is a never ending unfoldment of new, unprecedented
and unanticipated phenomena. In a real sense, history is cyclic.
There are constant recurring themes and dynamics that are
actualized in different environments with different and
sometimes the same actors. In the history of Afrikan people
there are several major themes that can be identified that typify
our experience over the last three thousand years. Among
those themes are

A. The progressive loss of historical consciousness
B. The erosion of cultural awareness and allegiance;
cultural alienation
C. The contraction and peripheralization of the tradi-
tional spiritual core of national culture
D. The indomitable core will to resist subordination and
persistent efforts to reconstruct the Afrikan reality.

Included here is an outline of Afrikan world history over
the last three millennia. Figure 2 is intended to represent
history as a cycle, but in the form of a spiral. The cycle is a
statement of historical generalities, and simply facilitates the
transmission of certain concepts. Principal among those
concepts is that the collapse of Afrikan societies was less a
function of the military or technical supremacy of invading
armies, than a reflection of the weakened spiritual/cultural
core of our societies. That weakened spiritual/cultural dy-
namic corresponded to the periods in our history of weak
leadership, the uncritical adoption of foreign cultural values
and behaviors, and the consequent rivalries, confusion and
chaos. This recurrent pattern of internal weakness and ambiguity
facilitated the penetration and domination of our societies by
Asians and later Europeans. Throughout the three millennia
of foreign encroachment and destruction, the tradition of
resistance, rebuilding and reclaiming our traditions has re-
ained strong even if dimmed, whether in the 25th dynasty of
Kemet, ancient Ghana, Mossi, Asante, Yoruba, Zulu, Zim-
babwe, Ndondo, or Dessaline’s Haiti. The alternating
periods of empire, decline, and reconstruction transpired
within a larger cycle of decline and ultimate vindication and
reconstruction.

The Historical Cycle (Figure 2) is designed to represent
Afrikan history as a complex dynamical system. The motion
lines represent the transient state between order and chaos,
between cultural coherency and cultural entropy. They fur-
ther indicate that although the global trajectory of history is
repeated, the particulars are infinitely variant. The terminal
position at either pole of the cycle-spiral is a position of relative
stability. Within the pole positions, the historical trajectory
maintains its course at the plane of order or disorder until that
moment when some factor within, though it may be a con-
sequence of some external factor, sends it careening towards
the opposite pole. The determinant factor in the nation’s
history according to Diop17 and Cabral is cultural identity or
cultural awareness.18 It follows then that the dynamic of
Afrikan history from the order of cultural coherency to the
chaos of cultural entropy occurred at that point in our history
when some inconsequential event set in motion a sequence of
events that undermined and eroded the vitality of the cultural/
historical consciousness of the nation, eventually leading to its
decline. Similarly, an event at the pole of chaos will excite the
national consciousness in such a way as to propel it towards to
the opposite pole of order and cultural coherency. The process is inexorable, and is unaffected by any episodic spikes. The process can be defeated or altered only by the manipulation of the cultural dynamic in either of two ways: “the permanent, organized repression of the cultural life of the people concerned, [or] assured definitively only by the physical liquidation of the dominated population [genocide].”

The attempt to systematically repress the cultural dynamic of a people is never permanently successful, as is evident in the resistance to cultural and politico/economic imperialist efforts in Afrikans populations on the continent and in the diaspora. It is evident even amongst repressed European ethnic groups in Europe itself. Genocide, however, has been employed successfully by Europeans in the Americas, Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand and by Arabs in Northern Afrika to defeat the historical cycle.

The Historical Cycle/Spiral as a complex dynamical system is inspired in part by developments in the field of chaos, or order in disorder, which in large measure is anticipated in the Kemetic doctrines of opposites, harmony and transmutation. The science of Chaos recognizes that within systems of apparent unpredictability and randomness, there are structures of order. In chaos there is order in disorder, an apparent unity of opposites.

The cycle model achieves a measure of accuracy only in macro-historical terms. The transient state of Cultural Regression in Afrikans history has occurred over a three thousand year period. The Afrikan world has obviously experienced a state of cultural entropy; the nadir of our history being experienced over the last three centuries in Arab and European destruction and domination of Afrikan civilizations, the Holocaust of Afrikan Enslavement and colonialism, and continuing underdevelopment and dependency throughout the Afrikan world. If we think of the pole of chaos as a vast vortex whose energies converge in a rounded concave terminal area, instead of ending at a singular terminal point, that terminal area would
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be bounded roughly by the 1885 partition of Afrika and Marcus Garvey’s 1920 First International Convention of Negro Peoples of the World. The cycle model predicts, however, that this state of cultural entropy/chaos is nonpermanent. The current development of a broad based and international movement of Afrikan centered and Pan Afrikanist theory, with a substantial popular base indicates that the spark which would propel us beyond this plane/pole of cultural entropy/chaos has already occurred.

There are seven broad phases in our Pan Afrikan World Historical Cycle that describe the deterioration and retrograde processes of Afrikan history and its inevitable reconstitution and progressive development. Those phases include:

A. Cultural Coherency and Order
   1. Cultural Consummation and Unity
   2. Era of Empire and Expansion

B. Cultural Deterioration
   1. Penetration and Benign Infusion by Non-Afrikans
   2. Civil Conflict and Competition
   3. Weakened National/Cultural Consciousness

C. Defeat and Humiliation
   1. Alien Domination/Colonization
   2. Flight and Dispersal of Afrikan Population
   3. Holocaust of Afrikan Enslavement
   4. Dormant National Consciousness

D. Cultural Entropy and Chaos
   1. Cultural Alienation and Dormancy
   2. Loss of Historical Consciousness
   3. National Resistance and Colonial Divestiture
   4. Nominal Political Independence and Chronic Economic Underdevelopment

E. Rebirth
   1. Collapse and/or Abandonment of Non-Afrikan Institutions and Cosmology
   2. Historical Revitalization

F. Cultural Reconstruction
   1. Cultural Reclamation and Reconstruction

G. New Order
   1. Pan Afrikan World Union (Political and Cultural Unity - Functional Pan Afrikan World Governing Council, Coordinated Economic Development)
   2. New International Order of Cultural Pluralism and Political/Economic Parity

The identification of the seven historical phases within the cycle facilitates a broad awareness of the continuity of our history and enhances the historical consciousness that is so critical to the conception of nationhood. The further delineation of two greater divisions of Retrogressive (A,B, and C) and Progressive (D, E and F) highlights the abiding optimism that is characteristic of our tradition and which is addressed in the fifth phase (the indomitable core will to resist subordination and to reconstruct the Afrikan reality). “The historical conscience, through the feeling of cohesion that it creates, constitutes the safest and the most solid shield of cultural security for a people. This is why every people seeks only to know and to live their true history well, to transmit its memory to their descendants.”

History as a Weapon of Cultural Aggression

It follows that the major weapon of cultural aggression, and the major prop of cultural alienation/inferiorization is historical distortion. The current adversarial and often hysterical reaction against Afrikan centered thought is found in its greatest intensity among white academia, policy makers, and most recently, publications like Time Magazine and The Washington Post, The Washington Times and other major newspapers. This adversarial reaction towards Afrikan centered education can be seen as an autonomic reaction of the white
supremacist mind to defend the established racial/national hierarchy. The now standard strategy, made so abundantly clear as the white propaganda machine recently cranked out nonstop anti-Hussein/Wehrmacht gibberish, includes trivialization, ridicule and villainization. According to the *Time Magazine* writers, the Afrocentrism movement is a cult within the multiculturalism movement, led by opportunists and con artists, and based on superficial research and a misreading of history; a cult that further threatens to balkanize, breakup or “disunite” the American nation-state and redefine the American personality with the heightened risk of civil or ethnic conflict. They ask somewhat cynically, “who are we?”

The major focus of their argument, and the point around which the most intense rhetorical invective is generated, is the matter of historical revision. The historical controversy revolves essentially around the origins of civilization, and the historical basis of the contemporary political and economic dominance of whites in the world. On the first issue the question is whether homo sapien sapien was Africoid, although he originated in Afrika and his/her distinctly Africoid remains are found throughout Europe and Asia. Secondly, did Europeans of the 15th-19th centuries rescue the world from tyranny and barbarism? Or did Europe decimate one race (the indigenous American), enslave and disperse another (Afrikan), and reduce the third to dependency (Asians), and enrich itself (European whites) in knowledge and material wealth in the process? Was that process one of rescue, as the new defenders of “cultural pluralism” maintain, or was it one of monumental moral depravity and greed? This history by Europeans of European “discoveries” and exploits is a history we now know to be a gross distortion of truth according to the research of men and women like Houston, Diop, Van Sertima, Williams, etc. It is in fact the basis of the white man’s (and his woman’s) sense of self, and the foundation of their rationale for continued world dominance.

The recovery of that historical consciousness among Afrikans must be given the highest priority. That recovery, however, is more than the simple acquisition of a knowledge of historical facts. The facts or truth of Afrikan achievement are readily available to all people. Indeed, as Chancellor Williams and other historians before him observed, the basements and warehouses of European museums provided exceptional resources for the study of the material artifacts of Afrikan culture. Indeed the truth of Afrikan genius although denied vehemently by European colonial propagandists, was well known to Euro-American academia.

The essence of that historical conscious for Afrikans is the will and the ability to personalize that history, the process of identifying oneself and one's family in that history, seeing oneself in that history and growing out of that history. The consequence of that intimate identification is the development of ways of thinking that are consistent with that history, and patterns of behavior that answer the imperatives and dynamics of that history in the most progressive way.

The highest manifestation of this historical consciousness corresponds to what Asante calls Afrocentric Awareness, the fifth level of personal transformation. It involves the adoption of new criteria for life; where Afrikan centered values and definitions dictate the rhythm of one's life. This new consciousness corresponds in part to Fanon's "fighting phase" where the formerly culturally alienated are completely reenculturated in such a way that their identification with their own culture is complete, and their commitment to battle for its existence and development is concretized.

In the organizational experience of the NationHouse organization over the last twenty years, the current phase has been identified as the phase of Nationalist reconstruction wherein our organizations/institutions reflect a recovered and revitalized Afrikan centeredness in both their structure and operations, and in their mission and actual productive work. The organizational focus is nationbuilding, not social
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The institutions provide the context for interpersonal relationships, family dynamics, educational processes, and development projects that act in accordance with the heightened need for high moral standards, serious study, self discipline, and productivity.

Psychological Factor of Culture

The stage of personal transformation that Asante calls personal transformation, is similar to what Diop calls the psychological factor of culture. It is a description of those cultural/psychic invariants that survive among a people in spite of national or racial domination. That set of behaviors that is unique to Afrika has been described by Diop as including cosmological optimism, communalism and collectivism. We might add the sense of rhythm, song, spontaneous free-form creativity, and the celebration of the ancestors as continuing members of the family collective, and the central place that the intuitive, psychic or subconscious (vibes) play in personal and collective perceptions. Asa Hilliard has described the cognitive style of Afrikans as socio-centric, wholistic, affective, humanistic, flexible, and expressive.

The cognitive style of Afrikans is unique, but does not limit our ability to process and master knowledge and skills generated by other cultures. The same would be true of other people relative to knowledge acquired from Afrikan cultures. The manner in which Afrikans process information is a reflection of the unique history of the Afrikan world. Those processes are characteristic and invariant because of their antiquity, their consistent socio-historical reinforcement, and the bio-genetic adaptations that evolved to accommodate them.

Spiritual Basis of Afrikan Culture

The psychological factor is in large measure an extension of the spiritual factor. Tradition tells us that the physical form is actuated by the spirit. Spirituality is a critical component in the cultural personality of Afrikans as it is historically central to the experiences of Afrikans wherever they are. Spirituality refers to that real and knowable domain of existence that occurs contiguous with the material world, precedes it, and is sequent to it. The relationship of the spiritual to the material is interactive and constant. Spirituality is not to be confused with religious dogma, mysticism or the mythological, dark and foreboding realm inhabited by demonic fleshhungry bogeymen.

Spirituality encompasses the celebration of the ancestors. It encompasses the reliance on intuition or vibes to gauge interpersonal relations. Spirituality involves the knowing or intuitive and subconscious awareness of the unity or wholeness of all creation; of ancestor, the living, and the unborn. To say that we are a spiritual people is to say that we define and identify ourselves as one with all of creation. It is to say that we as individuals and as a people are linked substantively to the collective energy/force/consciousness of all those who have gone before us. It is to say that our physical form is actuated by the metaphysical, the spirit. It is to say that in our physical form we can affect that collective metaphysic and be affected by it; that we can physically manifest the collective spiritual consciousness or the consciousness of our individual forebears, and actively commune with that consciousness.

The concept of spirituality as the core factor in the cultural ethos, the socio-historical identity of Afrikan people, is a simple one. The concept is made complex because of our collective tendency, one born of our humiliation and subjugation by Caucasians during the Holocaust of Afrikan Enslavement, to define ourselves, our history and reality in terms of the Caucasian (European and Asian). The meaning of spirituality for Afrikans is consequently confused because of the confusion and misalignment of distinct cultural realities. Those conflicting cultural realities are extensions of the circular and holistic cognitive style of Afrikans, and the linear, analytic
and materialist cognitive style of Europeans. That confusion is further compounded because of the power relationship between subordinated and dependent Afikran nationalities, and dominant Caucasians of Europe and Asia, and the symbolic forms associated with that power relationship, namely language, rituals, behavioral and cognitive patterns, and associated values.

Spirituality concerns itself primarily with one's conception, image, and interaction with the acknowledged primal creator force. Every self-conscious nation, race, or people will identify that creator as a paramount idealization of that people's concept of themselves. If they conceive of their ideal selves as characterized by truth, justice, propriety, harmony, balance, reciprocity and order; their self-reflective creator will manifest the same. If they should conceive of themselves as being in competition and conflict with the given natural order, as destined to reconfigure that order, and then dominate that transformed order, then their creator will manifest the same unifocal and vengeful character. Every nation, race or people will find the quintessential source of meaning and being in the will and power of the creator force. That people will be guided and inspired by that paramount power of which they themselves are in fact an extension and expression. That people will name and interact with that creator in their own language, and will represent that creator force or its intermediary agents in ways very consistent with the character and the culture of the people.

Nyame, Onyankopon, Inkosi, Olodumare, Katshonde, Ra, ... the creator force or God in the Afikran cosmology represent the undifferentiated life force or spirit present in all creation. The physical form of the individual person is activated by the spirit and that spirit is enshrined in that body. That single spirit, the Kra of the Akan and the Ka of Kemet, is simply one differentiated form of the greater god-force, and returns to that greater undifferentiated whole upon the expiration of the physical form. Throughout Afrika and throughout Afikan history, we have paid homage to a multitude of deities and ancestors, which are uniformly perceived as intermediary agents of the primal and singular creator force. Those deities exist because of the traditionally (Afikan) recognized need to facilitate human cognition through particularization, structure, and analogy. Comprehension of the whole of the undifferentiated god-force is impossible. Particularized according to characteristics, and personalized according to local tradition, the imperceptibility of the whole god-force was made cognitively manageable. The ancestors, whose Kra or Ka departed their bodies upon death remained accessible to the living because the living sustained that nexus or connection of the spiritual form and the physical world through collective and individual ritual. The concept of polytheism among Afikrans is a bogus conception born of European and Asian ideologists' need to discredit Afikan culture in order to more effectively dominate Afika's people. Afrika has never been anything other than fully cognizant of the one god-force. Indeed, consciousness of the god-force began with Afrika and matured in Afrika before its dispersal to the plains of Asia and caves of Europe.

The centrality of the spirituality to the cultural reality of Afikrans has not limited Afikan mastery of the material world. Indeed the world's first and best model of spiritual and material mastery was Kemet. Kemet was technologically advanced in geometry, algebra, trigonometry, anatomy, medicine, astronomy, physics, architecture, etc. It was equally, if not more advanced in its conceptions and practices of spirituality. Kemet did not seek to find the god-force in the course of its scientific inquiry. It would have been clear to them that the sub-atomic particles of the infinite microcosmic world did not provide any special access to the god-force. The same is true of the the quasars, galaxies, great attractors, etc. of the infinite macro-cosmic. Study and mastery of the material world merely facilitates the development of the spirit within us. We, being of the spirit, are like it; we are the source,
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the product, and the potential, the father, the son, the mother and daughter, the creator and created.

Just as spirituality is fundamental to our being, and thereby our culture, it is also fundamental to our current and historic condition of humiliation and subordination. Our conquest by the marauding armies, and commercial agents, of non-Africans was facilitated historically and currently by marauding religious proselytizers, evangelists, missionaries, etc. Had we maintained our spiritual grounding, our essential cultural integrity could not have been fragmented. We would have maintained the political and moral will to thwart foreign domination. The foreign armies would have eventually left or died of disease and isolation. The commercial agents would have been forced to offer trade on favorable terms. The non-African “religions,” however, served to alienate our people from their spiritual foundations. Our linkages with the power and will of the creator force, of Onyankopon, Nyame, Chuku, Kyumbi, etc., were not completely severed, but severely constricted by the perversions, the contorted myths and hidden agendas of non-African “religions.”

It is likely that our material impoverishment and dependency will continue so long as we subordinate ourselves to alien and imperialistic religious concepts. Our collective march toward true liberation and development will begin as we discard the “religious” shackles of two millennia, and reassert our connection with, and the centrality of the Afrikan creator-god force; a creator god force to be called by any name that is Afrikan.

Spirituality in the reconstructed and revitalized cosmology of the Afrikan nationality must take its impetus and substance from the traditional spiritual formations of Afrika. Given that material and social environments have evolved continually in response to changing conditions, simple replication of traditional structure would be inappropriate and would likely result in abuse. The essential substance and fundamental assumptions, however, must be at the heart of the spiritual system.

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Principal among those fundamentals are: everyone has a direct linkage to the creator, each must find his/her own path; our ancestors dwell among us and are available to us; that spiritual awareness; connectedness is a way of life to be celebrated daily in a variety of forms; and the strength of the national collective grows out of its spiritual foundations.

Functions of Culture

The several component factors are themselves dynamic and serve to point out the overall dynamic nature of culture. Culture is everything a people does. That everything, however, is an interactive and interrelated composite. Culture defines the parameters within which a people act. People, through their constant interaction with their environments, are constantly shaping their culture. The principle functions of culture include serving as the cement for social and national integration/cohesion. It functions to define the boundaries of thought and behavior that insure the existence and survival of the nation. In establishing those boundaries, culture prescribes a necessary range of conformity, and conversely it prescribes appropriate sanctions for those who venture beyond those bounds. The specific functions of culture²⁹ include the following:

A. Provides a lens of perception or cognitive framework in which to view the world
B. Delineates standards of evaluation by which to measure worth or legitimacy, beauty and truth
C. Defines the conditions and/or means that motivate or stimulate a member (institutional and individual) of society and prescribes sanctions for disruptive digression
D. Defines collective and individual identity, roles, and responsibilities
E. Provides a common language or means of communication
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These functions are fulfilled as the people, the nation, responds institutionally or collectively to its environments. Those institutions that evolve from the people's historical experience provide for stability and clarity, and facilitate the orderly intergenerational transmission of that culture.

Nationbuilding as Re-Afrikanization

Nationbuilding finally is the systematic and sustained effort to reconstruct the national culture in all of its dimensions. That effort must begin with the reconstitution of the historical nucleus, the fuel core of culture, whose dynamism radiates outward and energizes and defines the language, symbols, institutions and state apparatus of the national culture. This effort or process corresponds to what Cabral calls "re-Afrikanization," and entails the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the historical continuum and the historical consciousness that was aborted during the Holocaust of Afrikan Enslavement.

This nationbuilding, re-Afrikanization, process must necessarily follow the outlines of the cultural sphere elaborated earlier. It would entail three basic overlapping stages including: (A) Rediscovery/Historical Recovery, (B) Redefinition/Cultural Reaffirmation, and (C) Revitalization/National Liberation. It must begin, as indeed it already has, with the systematic "exhumation and revivification" of Afrikan history throughout the continent and the diaspora, from antiquity to the contemporary. The first stage must include the recovery and revitalization of the the core values of antiquity, particularly as represented in the sacred works, philosophy, language, and other symbolic forms. The linkage with the civilizations of ancient Kush and Kemet are critical to the entire Afrikan historical continuum.

It is equally important that the simultaneous effort to recover and revitalize the core values of the surviving traditional societies be maintained, as many of those societies can trace their formation and evolution directly to Kemet, or at least to the same seminal, Afrikan, cultural formation of antiquity. Much of the work involved in this effort will involve stripping away the perverse influence of Asian and European cultural invasions, and the losses due to neglect and alienation. Many of the values and social formations will be similar if not the same as Kemet. It is nonetheless crucial that actual physical linkages be reestablished and maintained, that wherever possible the traditional formations be rescued and adapted to modernity.

The process of historical reconstruction will facilitate a method and standard by which to identify and evaluate those values and behaviors acquired during this period of "generalized and endemic [cultural and political/economic] anarchy" that is the legacy of the Holocaust. The object of this effort is to firmly establish the historical/cultural continuity from Kush/Kemet, through traditional societies to modernity.

This process of evaluation of contemporary behaviors and values necessitates the elaboration of an Afrikan world ideology. The cultural and nationalist tradition is well represented in modern times by leaders like Martin Delaney, Marcus Garvey, the men and women of the UNIA, Lumumba, Malcolm X, Diop and countless others. The tradition of activism and study has provided the basis for the formation of a comprehensive and coherent Afrikan ideology. That ideology is critical for the development of the institutional and physical infrastructure that will insure the strength, permanence, and continued development of a truly Afrikan centered nationality, firmly fixed within a revitalized, Afrikan, historical continuum. This Afrikan world ideology will occasion the formation of a world organization of Afrikan peoples of the kind called for by Chancellor Williams, lately by Chinweizu, but anticipated...
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The evaluation of contemporary behaviors and values also implies that some acquired behaviors and values must be abandoned. A strong, comprehensive, and independent educational base, along with control and ownership of media (print and electronic), study groups, and cultural-arts associations and institutions is critical to advancing and sustaining new Afrikan centered behaviors. The population, particularly the youth, must be convinced that those behaviors that are a consequence of our forced estrangement from our own culture, and which are adverse to the interests of the new nationality, must be and can be abandoned.

A priority of all the institutions within the Afrikan centered community must be the rehabilitation of the family. Independent community based institutions must see themselves as extensions of the family. Effective parenting within a viable family, which family is also supported within a supportive network of families is a central requirement for the perpetuation of those new Afrikan centered values among the youth. This network of families and institutions must seek to channel the development of the young and rescue those who might be led astray by the propaganda of non-Afrikan cultural-political formations.

The third stage of the re-Afrikanization/nationbuilding process includes the creative and directed fusion of tradition and modernity. This fusion is guided by the principles and priorities of an Afrikan world ideology, and is consistent with the imperatives of Afrikan history and culture. That fusion must reflect the values fundamental to the Afrikan historical continuum and at the same time possess the capacity to function effectively in the modern international arena.
Conclusion

Our mission as institutions, and as a people, is multifaceted. We must first clear away the cloak of confusion and distortion that has obscured the historical continuum of Afrikan people, of the Afrikan nationality. In the course of study and work, of bonding and building, we have to identify the essential truths and dynamics of that continuum, screening out the distortions, the perversions that were either imposed on us during the three millennia of foreign conquest and domination, or which were adopted in our confusion and ignorance of the way of our ancestors.

We must also remain conscious that culture is dynamic. It is not a fixed phenomenon. There are internal dynamics that may lead to a constructive division and replication. There are also dynamics that are external to our own national culture which we must anticipate and to which we must adjust. Cultures interact in ways that involve mutual enrichment, a sort of intercultural orbit and interaction. In this instance, each cultural entity maintains its distinct identity, but contributes to a truly democratic and pluralistic world order characterized by mutual respect. The encounter of different cultures may involve violent collision resulting in a new reality, or the progressive depletion, exploitation, and distortion of the weaker culture. This latter scenario has been the condition of the Afrikan nationality in the era of Eurocentric cultural hegemony. This is the scenario that we must reorder, and which Europeans, their white American siblings and their colored adjuncts will forcefully resist.

The future of the world is pluralism, and mutual cooperation of different world cultures. Our first and foremost priority, however, is to reconstitute and revitalize our national cultural identity. We must reestablish the historical consciousness that defines us. We must strengthen the spiritual linkages with our ancestors and each other. We must build this nation, this nationality, because our lives, our unique con-

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sciousness and capabilities, our very distinctive cultural reality, and that of our children, depend on our continuing success in this nationbuilding process.

ENDNOTES


6. The current response of white academia and opinion makers and their Negro buffers, much as it was a quarter century ago, is to promote the merits of miscegenation and individualism. The prominence of mixed race Benetoctr ads in our communities and the mixed couples on popular TV sitcoms is typical. In their attacks on Afrocentrism and it advocates, this same group has rediscovered “cultural pluralism”, finding precedent for it in the eloquents of the “foundling fathers”. This newfound “American ideal” of cultural pluralism is a facade for the continued European/white dominance with neither recognition or desire to redress those conditions borne of the Holocaust of Afrikan Enslavement and destruction of Afrikan civilizations.


9. Ibid.


14. Ibid.


16. Ibid, p. 211.

17. Ibid.


19. Examples of episodic spikes include the rise of the magnificent kingdoms like Ghana, Mali, Songhay, and the catastrophe of the Holocaust of Afrikan Enslavement. As monumental as these events were, they did not disrupt the dynamic of the historical cycle as modeled.

20. Ibid.


24. Diop, Cheikh Anta, Civilization or Barbarism. p. 212.


27. NationHouse is an Afrikan centered, community-based organization founded in the early seventies with roots in the student activist movement of the late sixties at Howard University. The organization operates an independent school, medical office, Afrikan centered summer encampment, and after school youth program, and has organized a land development cooperative. NationHouse evolved at the same time as similar organizations in New York, Trenton, Newark, Chicago, Los Angeles and other major cities. The impetus for their development was the need to institutionalize the cultural consciousness/self sufficiency movement.

28. The distinction is one of ideological goals and priorities. Nationbuilding as an ideological theme stresses the development of the institutional infrastructure and cultural dynamic of the nation as the final solution to our condition, whereas maintenance prioritizes aid and support the victims and casualties of the current white dominated socio-political order. See Marcus Garvey's "The Principles of the Universal Negro Improvement Association" Nov. 5, 1922 in Philosophy and Opinions.


Afrikan Centered Education

People rise and fall within the context of the nation institution. When they lose the ability to master and control the nation institution they lose their freedom. This is where we are: a nation within a nation searching for the concept of nation...¹

Education is the ritualized reaffirmation of the national identity. It is anchored in the real and idealized history of a people. The nation's education is shaped and given impetus by the cultural and ideological assumptions, dynamics, essential values, priorities and goals of the nation. Education, formal and informal, lies at the very core of the nation, as it involves the codification, perpetuation, interpretation and transmission of the national history and culture; which history and culture are the fundamental building blocks and cohesive force of the nation.

For Afrikans at this juncture in history, the issues of culture and identity must supersede all other concerns. The issue of identity, collective or national, and the personal identity that flows out of the collective, is fundamental. The issues are fundamental because the essence of our Afrikanity, of our unique cultural, spiritual identity is being eroded by the
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relentless thrusts of alien religious and ideological proselytization, the propaganda of non-Afrikan centered media, and the cultural and political demands of foreign dominated centers of finance.

The gravest consequence of Afrikan enslavement and humiliation has been the inculcated willingness of our people to abandon the essence of our identity. That essence includes our sense of spirituality, the conception of our origins and nature of our being. It includes our historically and culturally determined values, our outlook, and behaviors. In so doing, successive generations of Afrikans have unwittingly relegated our cultural heritage, our unique sense of the world, our ancestors’ legacy, and our children’s future to an inferiorized status. Like Kemet under the imperialist weight of Rome, we have become a population whose destiny is determined by the political whims and economic needs of “superior” civilizations. This process of inferiorization has assumed unparalleled prominence in the lives of all Afrikan people, both in the diaspora and on the continent. Its historical origins can be traced to the period in which Afrika was “penetrated and dominated” by Asians and Europeans. This process of inferiorization is a direct consequence of that penetration and domination. It is characterized chiefly by the concept of the superiority of European-American and Asian (Arabic) culture/civilization. This sense of white superiority and Afrikan inferiority has assumed a tragic prevalence in the conscious and subconscious minds of Afrikans. Both on the continent and in the diaspora, our people’s sense of value is directly determined by Eurocentric agencies of certification and validation. Our leaders cannot lead unless they have been validated by the white-dominated popular media. Our systems of governing are judged primitive unless they are properly validated replicas of the white western governments. Our sense of physical beauty frequently amounts to no more than a slavish imitation of caucasionized department store mannequins, that have little or no precedent or relation to Afrikan culture or physiology. We

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have an abundance of bleaching creams and hair relaxers in villages where there is no running water or electricity. In the diaspora, the most prominent business entrepreneurs have acquired their fortunes through schemes that exploited Afrikan self-hatred and the attendant physical disfigurement. We risk cancer, physical disfigurement, the disrespect of our children, and the disdain of culturally self-conscious nations of the world as we race along in ape-like bliss toward the abyss of cultural alienation and racial oblivion.

Inferiorization

This process of inferiorization is accomplished primarily through the agency of formal education/indoctrination; not through armed might, but through non-Afrikan or alien culturally centered educational systems, including the philosophy, the pedagogy and the curriculum. It is further facilitated by the religious proselytization, electronic media propaganda, and financial thrusts mentioned above. This process is one of cultural diffusion that functions to minimize and dismiss the imperatives of Afrikan culture and identity, and substitute the imperatives and parameters of alien cultural formations, usually European, American or Arabic. This process of inferiorization and substitution determines the choices we make at the personal and collective level, as it determines the design and priorities of our institutions, and shapes the character of the governments we design to further and protect our national interests. A non-Afrikan centered education among Afrikans is effectively a de-Afrikanization andindoctrination procedure that serves to condition the Afrikan person to assume his/her place in a Caucasoid dominated “global village.”

Where the content, form, and implementation of the education of a people is controlled by another people, that education serves no other purpose than the subordination of the less powerful group, and maintenance of control by the
militarily in the affairs of its former colonies (Chad, Central African Republic, Rwanda...). Cultural ties have remained strong in each of the former francophone, anglophone, and lusophone countries, where the colonial languages are still the official languages. Diop has eloquently pointed out that no factor can be more culturally alienating than education in Nigeria, D.C.: conducted in the colonial language, prolonged in subsequence to that of the European. Carter G. Woodson observed the same phenomena in late nineteenth and early twentieth century in the poignant statement:

Negero educators of today may have more sympathy and interest in the race than the whites now exploiting Negro institutions as educators, but the former have no more vision than their competitors... a Negro teacher instructing Negro children is many respects a white teacher. This engaged, for the program, in each case is about the same.

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Education, by definition, is culturally referencing. Education in its current form is indistinguishable from the process of cultural enculturation. Education, in its narrow form, required a cultural context in which academic content acquired meaning. Analytical skills are socially defined, but perceived culturally to be, which phenomena is invariably central to the national culture. Formal educational systems are integral of the nation-state, and of the cultural ethos that engenders that state. Those systems serve to perpetuate that culture, the government, and the economic and social...
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political order. That educational system will not only promote the essential themes of the national culture, but will advance the essential tenets of the dominant ideology. For example, where the nation’s genesis is permeated with genocide, white supremacy/racism etc., the character and structure of the educational process will reflect that genesis.

Afrikan centered education is rooted in the unique history and evolved culture of Afrikan people. It is defined in its singular commitment to the elucidation of that history, that culture, and the confirmation, invigoration and perpetuation of the Afrikan collective identity that emanates from that history and culture. Afrikan centered education is concerned with the origins, current status and future of the Afrikan world. Afrikan centered education is committed to correcting the historical distortions born of three millennia of foreign invasion, destruction, enslavement, physical and mental colonialism, cultural disruption, and dependency. Afrikan centered education is committed to rooting or anchoring the spiritual and intellectual energies of Afrikan people in the spiritual, moral, and philosophical traditions of Afrika. Afrikan centered education, whether in the several nations of the diaspora or on the motherland, is concerned to fully develop the sense of Afrikan nationality within a broader Pan-Afrikan world. Afrikan centered education is concerned to sever irrevocably the pathological and slavish linkage of Afrikans to the European or Asian ethos. Afrikan centered education is concerned to enable the Afrikan person with nationbuilding, nation management, and nation maintenance abilities. Afrikan centered education is concerned to motivate teacher, student, parent and community to advance the Afrikan nation/world by any means necessary.

Historical and Ideological Currents

The future of the Afrikan world must begin with a confirmed sense of Afrikan nationality defined within the universe of

Afrikan spiritual, moral and philosophical traditions and committed to the material and spiritual development and independence of the Afrikan world. Only an unambiguously Afrikan centered education can possibly accomplish this goal.

Afrikan centered education is to be distinguished from the current educational philosophies being employed in independent Afrikan nations and national enclaves in the Americas, Asia, the Pacific, and Europe. Afrikan centered education rejects the implicit and explicit superiority of European and Asian intellectual, political, and spiritual traditions that characterize the systems of former colonies, dependencies, and slave populations of the Afrikan world. It rejects the false historical notion that Asian (Arabic) and European civilizations rescued Afrika from barbarism and godlessness. Afrikan centered education seeks to restore the traditions of Afrika to prominence, to revitalize those traditions and imbue them with the liberating and progressive dynamics of nationbuilding.

The current developments in Afrikan centered education are extensions of the efforts undertaken in this country and throughout the Afrikan diaspora in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by the Prince Halls, the Richard Allens, and the countless and nameless heroes and heroines who stole off in the late evening to learn to read and compute by moonlight under the constant threat of mutilation and death. These early efforts of Afrikans in the diaspora were reflective of their awareness of both their Afrikanity and their separateness from the ruling elite and dominant Eurocentric culture of the Americas.

The philosophical and practical currents in the education of Afrikans have paralleled the ideological sentiments of the Afrikan population as projected in their constant resistance, and as expressed by their chosen leadership. The initial response of Afrikans to the horrors of enslavement, the middle passage and the attempted dehumanization can be best characterized as a nascent Pan-Afrikanism. This will to resist among enslaved Afrikans in the Americas was evidenced by the
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efforts of the new arrivals to maintain their sanity, and their humanity through the maintenance of the traditions of their homelands. These efforts at resistance are evident in the nationbuilding efforts of the Maroons, Palmares, Dessalines of Haiti, the outliers of the North American swamplands, Vesey, Prosser, and countless others.

The ideological sentiment of Afrikans in this country varied in general according to the status of Afrikans relative to the evolving American nation-state. Those sentiments are reflected in the Afrikan reaction to colonial and early American legislation to restrict the status of chattel slavery exclusively to Afrikans. It was further reflected in alliances with Amerindians in flight and armed resistance. It was reflected in the Afrikan response to the irony of the American “founding fathers” rhetoric of liberty and justice for all. The ideological sentiment of Afrikans was expressed in legal petition, temporary alliances with the French and Spanish, pursuit of repatriation, and countless acts of resistance and rebellion.

There were of course several ideological currents within the Afrikan community, one or another achieving greater prominence at different times. Each ideological current carried with it a set of basic assumptions about the status of Afrikans in the white dominated American political economy, as well as a set of socio-political and economic goals. Those assumptions and goals directly influenced the sentiment and expectations of Afrikans regarding the education available to them, and impacted on the philosophy, design and implementation of Afrikan education. Those ideological currents were never exclusive of one another. They are analogous to a quilt where one pattern might be dominant at a particular point in the process of completing the whole creation. The several ideological currents must be seen as the varied responses of a people who had been physically vanquished in a war which destroyed their civilization and where the dominant power sought to subjugate them both psychologically and spiritually.6 In a very real sense that war continues today. Indeed it is the

analogy of war, and the objects and stratagems of that war, which are most instructive in distinguishing the contemporary ideological currents.7

Forged Unity of Pre-Existent Nationalities

The seminal ideology of Afrikans in the diaspora had its beginnings in the holding pens of slave houses on the “slave coast” of Afrika, the Elminas and the Gorée Islands. Those pens and “the slave ships were the first real incubators of slave unity across cultural lines, cruelly revealing irreducible links from one ethnic group to the other, fostering resistance thousands of miles before the shores of the new land appeared on the horizon.”8 This seminal ideology of Afrikans in America is best termed the Forged Unity of Pre-Existent Nationalities. This forged unity carried with it clear and unambiguous conceptions of the relationship of the Afrikan reality to the European-American. The relationship was one of enduring warfare; of physical, psychological and spiritual resistance. This seminal ideology was very much nationalist and Pan Afrikanist in sentiment. Its impact educationally can be seen in the persistent transmission of the communal spirit in the face of brutal beatings, maiming, separation, incarceration and murder. The major concepts of that ideology include traditional spirituality, racial allegiance, traditional customs and morality, national resistance, and the inevitable vindication and victory of the race. These concepts were preserved and transmitted from generation to generation.

The direct linkage with the continent was preserved in places like South Carolina, where the slave trade continued up to the outbreak of the Civil War. This ongoing trade provided an unbroken infusion of feelings and visions of national integrity and freedom. This continual infusion, though a tragic reminder of the the dominance and cruelty of the white slaveholders, served nonetheless to keep alive the visions of freedom and nationhood.
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The will of Afrikans to resist enslavement physically was never broken and was evident in the countless acts of arson, poisoning, appropriation of slaveholder property, destruction of tools, work slowdowns, feigned ignorance, secrecy, physical attacks, escape, and collective insurgency. The slaveocracy responded to the physical resistance of Afrikans by tightening controls governing them, limiting certain personal liberties, keeping closer surveillance, promoting slave collaborators through the provision of rewards, enlarging the class of slave catchers and slave breakers, increased threats, and actual sales to break up families. South Carolina actually legislated state compensation for the incarceration or execution of “bad” slaves. Though the physical war was one sided, the enslaved Afrikans fought even more valiantly on the psychological front:

The steadfastness and resourcefulness of slaves in the battle to free themselves psychologically as much as possible from the totality of their masters’ control has never been fully told. This stems most likely from the arena in which that struggle occurred. It was fought largely on a psychological battleground where ideas burrowed deep and stayed entrenched despite the onslaught of enemy advances. More important, in all the varied campaigns between these contestants, that mental war front never toppled, for it was there and only there that black combatants could usually win.  

Racial unity, national integrity, national resistance, cultural awareness, self reliance, and faith in the ultimate triumph and vindication of the race were the quintessential values of this seminal Afikan ideology. The same values are the bedrock of today’s nationalist Pan Afrikanism, of which Afikan centered education is one component.

Paternalism

The slaveholder’s stratagem of choice in the battle for the mind and soul of the Afikan was the ideology of Paternalism, and the principal weapons were the Christian church, followed in relative lethality by the criminal justice system, the white press, and white academia. The ideology of Paternalism sought to convince both the enslaved and the slaveholder that slavery was the best of all possible worlds for the Afikan; that the slaveholders were “benevolent patriarch[s] who cared for, protected, and cherished their slaves. In return the supposedly grateful and loyal servants labored happily and diligently to please their beloved masters.” A central tenet of this ideology of paternalism was that Afrikans were traditionally “godless pagans, or at best devil worshippers given to cannibalism”; that “Afrikans were not capable of self government or civilization, and existed in darkness awaiting the civilizing effort of the white man”. Afrikans were indeed the “white man’s burden.” This paternalist ideological current is still prominent in the racist/white supremacist ideology of Euro-Americans and their black apologists.  This ideology convinced a few privileged “house negroes”, and provided the essential assumptions that underlay the later development of accommodationism. Paternalism was fundamental in the thinking of the white missionaries who were instrumental in providing much of the educational experience available to free and enslaved Afrikans in antebellum America. Paternalism is alive today in white America, as evidenced by the response of the white press and academia to “Afrocentric education”.

Nascent Nationalist Pan Afrikanism

The currents of race consciousness, resistance and aspirations of liberty that motivated enslaved Afrikans also infected their free brethren. Among those free Afrikans in the northern states and scattered through the antebellum south, the currents of a nascent nationalist Pan Afrikanism found expression toward the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, in the mutual aid societies, the independent church movement, social and fraternal organizations, and the national Negro Convention Movement. The fires of
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Afrikan nationalism were stoked by the words of Dessalines “the Avenger”: “Independence or death! Let these sacred words serve to rally us... let them be signals of battle and of our reunion,”11 and his cry of “death to the whites” which reverberated throughout America and Europe. It is during this period that we find David Walker’s Appeal, Henry Highland Garnett’s call for a Negro nationality, and Nat Turner’s strike for liberty. This period saw the beginning of independent Afrikan educational institutions both among free Afrikan and among the enslaved that strongly repudiated the theories of racial inferiority and promoted self reliance. Self Reliance/self sufficiency as an ideological current was to persist throughout the remainder of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century.

Integration, Accommodation, and Assimilation

The activities of liberal whites, including the Quakers, and the activities of the prominent white abolitionists provided a stimulus for the growth of the integrationist ideology and sentiment. Prominent among the integrationists was Mary Ann Shadd, who professed that racial parity could only be achieved through integration. The integration of this period, however, was undergirded by a strong appeal to self sufficiency. The advent of the civil war, and the emancipations of Afrikan ignited hopes of integrationists and accommodationists that America’s white supremacist legacy would be abandoned. Those hopes were quickly dashed by the intransigence of the South and the hidden agenda of northern Republicans. The freed Afrikan was abandoned to the terrorism of the south by the Hayes compromise, “the counterrevolution of 1876”, but not before leaving their imprint on the movement for universal education in the south. “The first great mass movement for public education at the expense of the state, in the south, came from Negroes... Public education for all at the public expense was in the South, a Negro idea.”12 Though some prominent Afrikan leaders advocated integration/assimilation, the masses

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of Afrikan were driven by the urge for freedom and self sufficiency.

Frequently, the impetus for the educational movement during the reconstruction era is attributed to “yankee benevolence or federal largesse”, but it was observed by most that the “ex-slaves’ educational movement was rooted deeply within their own communal values.”13 The sense of race pride and independence left many missionaries astonished and chagrined to discover “that many ex-slaves had established their own educational collectives and associations, staffed schools entirely with black teachers, and were unwilling to allow their educational movement to be controlled by the ‘civilized’ yankees.”14

The enthusiasm and tremendous energy of Afrikan displayed in building independent educational institutions, and promoting self reliance and justice for all, was betrayed by the opportunism and insincerity of northern politicians. The priority of the northern whites was speedy political reconciliation with their southern brethren, and economic advancement; justice, empowerment and reparations for Afrikans be damned. The post reconstruction years saw the virtual reenslavement of Afrikan, wide spread brutality, and rampant racism in both the North and the South. These were the years of the White Citizens Councils, and the Ku Klux Klan. These were the years of white racist terrorization of the Afrikan community, rampant lynching, and burnings. Schools and educated Afrikan were high priority targets of this era.

Educationally, Afrikan continued to advance self reliance and independence in their educational institutions. The educational philosophy that was designed to accommodate the Afrikan to the servile position that white America deemed appropriate was developed by Samuel Chapman Armstrong of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. Armstrong’s ideology of accommodationism was adverse to the ideology of self reliance, dignity and freedom of the independent Afrikan educators. “The ex-slaves struggled to develop a social and
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educational ideology singularly appropriate to their defense of emancipation and one that challenged the social power of the planter regime. Armstrong developed a pedagogy and an ideology designed to avoid such confrontations and to maintain within the South a social consensus that did not challenge traditional inequalities of wealth and power." Armstrong's ideology and pedagogy centered on preparing teachers who would in turn would prepare Afrikans for a subordinate social role in the south, and who would manifest no desire for political power, or in any way challenge the southern planter class or the emergent southern industrialist and northern investor. Armstrong's ideology attracted substantial amounts of money from northern businessmen and philanthropists.

Armstrong's prize pupil was Booker T. Washington, and the efforts of Washington at Tuskegee are often linked with Armstrong's at Hampton. Washington expressed great admiration for Hampton, and he ostensibly modeled Tuskegee's industrial education program after Hampton's. Washington did in fact receive substantial amounts of money from sources initially associated with Armstrong at Hampton. To his credit Washington did believe that the Reconstruction era Federal government was mistaken in failing to provide the freed Afrikans with land and general education. Washington's advocacy of suffrage for Afrikans further distinguished him from Armstrong. Washington's efforts at Tuskegee also emphasized self reliance to an extent that exceeded the efforts at Hampton under Armstrong.

Pan Afrikanism

The close of the nineteenth century saw a resurgence of racial pride and race consciousness. Prominent among those who advocated "Afrika for the Afrikans" was Bishop McNeil Turner. This era saw the emergence of "Pan Afrikanism" and a resurgent Afrikan nationalism. Dubois' advocacy of political self sufficiency gained prominence after the death of Booker T. Washington. After the UNIA convention of 1920, Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association exemplified the popular nationalist sentiment of Afrikans worldwide. Its programs and political initiatives in economic and political self sufficiency grew directly out of the traditions of race pride, self reliance, and resistance evident in the earliest ideological traditions of Afrikans in this hemisphere. Garvey was particularly inspired by Washington's ideology of self sufficiency and incorporated that theme in the educational program established under the UNIA. Though the Garvey movement declined in the late 1920s, there was a resurgence of race pride and consciousness in the late thirties when the Italian invasion of Ethiopia confirmed Garvey's prediction. This period also saw the emergence of nationalist movements on the Afrikan continent culminating in the 1945 Pan Afrikanist Congress in Manchester England.

The founding of the NAACP in 1909 served to invigorate the integrationist/assimilationist ideology among Afrikans in America. The NAACP's commitment to end the disenfranchisement of the Afrikan population, and to assure fundamental civil rights, was ultimately compromised by its "policy of non-economic liberalism whereby blacks had to forswear any program for economic advancement as a matter of civil rights principle." The NAACP and the movement for integration had one of its greatest triumphs in the 1954 Brown decision by the Supreme Court. It is clear now, however, that that decision did little to improve the relative educational and economic position of Afrikans in this society. The current of self sufficiency and race consciousness was largely abandoned by the advocates of the integrationist ideology. The thrust toward integration eventually led to a diminution of black control of the educational process of our children, the loss of innumerable teaching, administrative and support positions, and the loss of the cultural and social centers of countless Afrikan communities. It exacerbated what had been consequential class differences within the Afrikan community as the well educated abandoned the Afrikan communities in.
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pursuit of their assimilationist fantasies in white professional/social circles and suburbia. Additionally, many of the historically black universities were threatened by the integrationist legacy of “non-economic liberalism” and the white liberalistic thinking that has permeated the ideology of civil rights leaders since the founding of the NAACP.18

The sixties saw a groundswell of nationalist consciousness, fed in part by the independence struggles of Afrikan countries, the nationalist/Pan Afrikanist teachings of Kwame Nkrumah, Patrice Lumumba, and Malcolm X. The renewed interest of the Afrikan community was in part a reaction to the increasingly transparent racist resistance of the white political and economic leadership to substantive socio-political and economic gains by Afrikans in this country. Though that black consciousness movement was compromised by its lack of ideological coherency, and the FBI’s massive and sustained program to destroy the movement, the underlying nationalist/self-reliant ideological current endured as it has always. The contemporary Afrikan centered education movement hails the advent of the ideological current of a comprehensive nationalist Pan Afrikanism, firmly grounded historically, and more coherent theoretically. Though the integrationist/assimilationist sentiment is still prominent amongst Afrikans, the integrationist ideology has receded somewhat, its appeal compromised by recalcitrant and endemic racism unveiled by the America’s economic stagnation.

Independence or Infusion:
Priorities in Afrikan Education

There are two currents in the contemporary Afrikan centered education movement. That current which has sustained the historic focus of self reliance and self sufficiency, race consciousness, and commitment to nationhood, has concerned itself with developing independent institutions, supported wholly by the Afrikan community This current can be ideni-

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tified as the independent current within the movement and is a component of the comprehensive nationalist Pan Afrikanist ideology described above.

A parallel current in the Afrikan centered education movement, best termed infusion, can be characterized as a radicalized integrationist thrust. It is motivated by the same economic and psychic dependency that Booker T. Washington, Garvey, DuBois, and Malcolm X criticized. Its ideological aims are unclear, and it pays lip service to the need to consolidate and expand the independent institutional base of the Afrikan nationality. This thrust has a serious liability, in that its most vocal advocates are themselves frequently dependent upon white controlled institutions for their sustenance and intellectual validation,19 and have achieved their prominence largely as a result of a reactionary and hysteria-oriented white media. Those infusionist advocates, though well meaning, have served as beacons for racist and opportunistic white academicians and politicians, who together with their white brethren in the media, and their political and economic connections, will attempt to misrepresent and discredit the movement to the Afrikan population. These white reactionaries and their ‘colored’ accomplices in the press and academia, are typically motivated by the potential profit and the attention that “white hopes” usually command when acting in the capacity of sentinels for the cause of white culture. They will attempt to set in motion the same corrosive dynamic that resulted in the weakening of the black consciousness movement in the seventies. There are a number of anti-Afrikan code words and phrases that have become the favorite tools of Eurocentric propagandists. The conceptual or propaganda tools of choice to date include “multi-culturalism”, the “charm of Americanism,” “splendid diversity,” “separatist impulse,” “Balkanization,” and “pluralistic society.”20 Each of them is a propaganda ruse intended to camouflage the centripetal and hegemonic position of white supremacist European culture.

Because many of the issues of this particular current in
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Afrikan centered education are defined in the language, institutions, and value references of mainstream white supremacist ideology, the agenda and direction of the infusionist current tends to be reactionary. Infusion advocates find themselves in endless rhetorical volleys with the self-proclaimed defenders of European culture, where each party makes endless claims and counterclaims, most of which are usually insubstantial, and irrelevant. By engaging in fruitless debate, and being maneuvered into reactionary postures, the infusionists inadvertently allow Eurocentrists to determine the content, direction and priorities of their efforts, and perhaps more tragically, the debate itself provides standing and credence to the same Eurocentrists (white and colored) who have already been discredited in their failure to effectively educate our children.

The concern is correctly expressed that concerted efforts must be made to “infuse” Afrikan centered content into the public school curriculum where the overwhelming majority of our children are being educated. The concern is valid, but in a situation where less than ten percent of the teachers in the entire U.S. public school system are Afrikan and fewer are administrators, and where 99% of those are adverse to anything Afrikan centered, the infusion battle must logistically be deprioritized to the more urgent and demanding need for independent institutions to supplement and correct the distortions of the public schools and to replace them where possible. The obvious need of the infusionists to appeal to white educators and politicians means that their efforts will be characterized chiefly by appeals to the libertarian intellectual traditions and sense of fair play of those same educators and politicians. Whether the tactics are confrontational or accommodating, the object of those appeals will be to gain the approval, permission, sanction of those non-Afrikan ‘authorities’ to impart some part of our heritage to our children. Chancellor Williams has addressed this particular posture with the observation, that historically “equal rights and equal justice will never come from appeals to the mighty, and granted as an Act of Grace, but only from a united people engaged in great and vast undertakings of their own.”

What routinely occurs with efforts to ‘infuse’ Afrikan centered content is a now standard sequence of obstacles beginning with administrative obfuscation, followed and augmented by multicultural flotus (dilution and divisive stratagems), then the exertion of power politics and financial power to maintain Eurocentrist hegemony. The mainstream politicians, and school administrators justify their obstinate defense of Eurocentric hegemony because, “though flawed, its the best we have” or more accurately, “lump it, because you people don’t have the political will or power, nor the economic muscle to do anything about it.” This saga of obfuscation, dilution, slothful incrementalism, underfunding and termination is being played out in city after city. In Washington D.C., for example, a strong grass roots drive for an “Afrocentric curriculum” has been effectively frustrated by a disinterested bureaucracy, political and financial power plays by white and allied politicians, and a hostile white press. A new superintendent, committed to multiculturalism in a 98% Afrikan school population, along with the blessing of a well oiled and heeled white minority political machine have essentially checked the Afrocentrist dynamic. Meanwhile, the independent Afrikan centered schools are experiencing record enrollment figures, and are swamped with applications even in the present climate of economic depression.

Afrikan centeredness, as it relates to the philosophy, character, and content of education, has been aggressively pursued by the independent Pan Afrikanist schools for twenty-five years. The immediate historical precedent for the current movement are to be found in the work and teachings of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), the efforts of the Nation of Islam, and the teachings of Malcolm X. The earlier efforts of Prince Hall, Richard Allen, Madam Deveaux, the Sabbath Schools, the
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Freedom Schools, and the countless and unknown efforts to establish independent schools, are important as evidence of the historic and continuing passion for education and self improvement that Afrikans have maintained throughout our sojourn in this country. The contemporary movement can trace its beginnings to three distinct sources; Malcolm X’s black nationalism and later the cultural nationalist theory of Maulana Karenga, outgrowths of the Freedom School efforts of the Civil Rights movement, and the efforts of the Council of Independent Black Institutions (CIBI).

The efforts of independent black institutions (IBIs) have been focused in the inner city at the grassroots level. The ongoing efforts of the IBIs have been crucial to the maintenance and development of the Afrikan centered education movement, as those institutions and the individuals connected with them have served as incubators for the current popular acceptance of Afrikan centeredness during a period when materialism, self interest, and individualist self gain reigned supreme. The Pan Afrikanist school movement saw its greatest numbers and popular acceptance during the early seventies when the black consciousness movement of the sixties was still influential within the Afrikan American community. By the mid to late seventies the Black Awareness movement had been seriously compromised by the disinformation/destabilization campaign of the FBI, the cultural distortion of the media, the aging and abandonment of the movement by many of the professional and educational elite. Additionally, the movement was weakened from within by opportunism, ideological conflict, paranoia, ineffectual leadership, lack of managerial skills, and a weak financial base. The number and size of Pan Afrikanist school start-ups diminished correspondingly, and many failed.

The decade of the eighties constituted a period of retreat and dormancy. A number of the surviving institutions altered their cultural orientation to attract the professional or otherwise full paying clientele. The study of Afrikan languages such as Kiswahili, requirements of traditional dress, intense cultural

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references throughout the curriculum, the themes of self sufficiency and Pan Afrikan unity were abandoned or moderated to appease the culturally moderated and neutered Buppies who often frowned on the intense ideological and cultural focus. The interests of that clientele who most often found it necessary or desirable to interact with whites professionally and socially, were best served by a curriculum that sought to blunt the personal and collective memory of the barbaric cruelty of the Holocaust of Afrikan Enslavement, and soften the anger or psychic dissonance that attends that memory, or the direct linkage to the contemporary crises afflicting our communities, and the Afrikan world.

Although it is unfortunate that several of the founding members of CIBI failed (including Shule Ya Watoto in Chicago and Uhuru Sasa in New York), and that many others were reconfigured (including Weusi Shule in Brooklyn), the role of the IBI remains the same. That role is to serve as the center of a cultural community, wherein an Afrikan American cultural continuum fully conscious of its Afrikan-ness is explored, reconstructed, perpetuated and transmitted. The IBI, in Imari Obadele’s words, must serve as a liberated zone where Afrikan culture, spirituality, and economic self reliance is nurtured by a supportive community and is shielded by the communal energies of that community from the assimilative thrusts of white supremacists and its Negro apologists.

The Afrikan centered education movement must be understood as a part of a historical continuum; a part of that three millennia struggle to reconstitute Afrikan civilization, to vindicate those innumerable souls lost and being lost in the most heinous crime in human history, the Holocaust of Afrikan Enslavement. Afrikan centered education is one battle front in the ongoing war to recover and reconstitute Afrikan civilization and dignity. This is a battle for the mind and souls of our people, and like any sustained battle, the advantages and

* Shule Ya Watoto has recently reopened as an after school program.
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ultimate victory lies with the morally righteous, the best prepared and the most determined. We must engage this battle with the intensity of a Dessalines, the perseverance of a Mandela, the conviction of a Garvey, the thoroughness of Diop, and the vision and sense of destiny of an Aha Menes. Nationalist/Pan Afrikanism and Afrikan centered education is a part of a historical continuum that is global in dimension.

It is significant that the two Afrikan populations whose struggles most parallel each other, Azanians (South Africa) and Afrikans in America, are both presented with the opportunity to construct a philosophy and system of education that is a true reflection of the Afrikan cosmogony, and which actively and unapologetically advances the interests of the Afrikan world. The Azanians have reached this juncture through the undying support of the people for independence and liberty. The Afrikans in America are presented with the opportunity once again because of the tremendous groundswell among the people for an educational and cultural experience that reflects their unique Afrikanity, and offers the opportunity for their children to advance the status of the nation/race toward national identity, dignity, and sovereignty.

The educational interests of these two nationalities must supersede interest in mere literacy. For the leadership, practitioners, and theorists in these nationalities and other Afrikan nations to limit their efforts and vision to literate and computational competencies would be to betray the very soul of the Afrikan world. The vast literacy campaigns of Ghana, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe among others can never lead to true national/cultural sovereignty because their ideological foundations fail to address the need to reconstruct the Afrikan cultural identity after centuries of European efforts at dismemberment and inferiorization. Too much of the educational efforts of nominally independent Afrikan nationalities assume that the philosophy, design and content of European education is superior to one fashioned from the revitalized Afrikan

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This war to liberate the Afrikan mind entails abandonment of the familiar chains of dependency. It requires the reconstruction of the Afrikan cultural personality. When the shooting and shouting stops in Azania and in America, the war will still be far from concluded. It will end only when we can definitively say that we have recaptured the minds of our people. Chancellor Williams tells us that “this is Task Number One. It will not be easy, and will not be easily achieved in a single generation.” We will be able to claim ultimate victory when our progeny carry with them the memory of the present generation’s success in building the institutional foundations, to the final stages of reconstructing an Afrikan civilization on a par with the accomplishments of our most celebrated ancestors of antiquity.

ENDNOTES


7. Ideology as used here flows out of the racial/national consciousness and is the organized expression of its adherents desire for, or possession of power. Ideology is a set of coherent ideas, values, and language that
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reflect a particular view of the racial/national entity. Ideology acts to
mould its adherents into an integral unit, as it mobilizes that unit in
pursuit of the stated objectives of the ideology.

8. Stuckey, Sterling, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Founda-
3.


10. Ibid, p. 27.


12. Quoted in Harding, Vincent. *There Is a River: The Black Struggle for


15. Ibid, p. 6.

16. Ibid, p. 34.

T. Washington*. New York: University Books Title published by Carol
Publishing Group, 1989, p. 83.

p. 125.


20. White universities, school boards in largely white communities,
Eurocentric black-run school systems (e.g. Wash. D.C.), white
dominated granting agencies; these and other non-Afrikan controlled
or interested institutions are uniformly antagonistic to cultural or
ideological currents that seriously threaten the dominance of
Eurocentric thought, and act to maintain conformity among those

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who are dependent upon them through indirect and direct coercion.
Indirect coercion includes the use of various propaganda initiatives.
Direct coercion includes threatened or actual diminution of funding,
termination, non-consideration of raises and tenure, and severance.


23. Williams, Chancellor. *The Destruction of Black Civilization: Great
Issues of a Race From 4500 B.C. to 2000 A.D. Chicago: Third World
Press, p. 360.

Interactions
Nationhood or Dependency

An increasingly prominent theme in world affairs is the twin issues of globalization and nationalism. While English has become the global language of business and finance, apparently signaling a closing of ranks of the white world, other Europeans of the European Economic Community are erecting legal and financial barriers to "American" cultural products, signaling a new nationalism. The Chinese have attributed their recent social problems to the evils of western influence. Political liberalization in the Soviet Union has unleashed a torrent of ethnic nationalist outrage.

Similarly, on a recent radio talk show, the feature issue was the ability and willingness of Afrikan Americans to 'make it' as a nation in the absence of any Caucasians. The question belies some misconceptions regarding the interdependent relationship of all nations in the contemporary world, but it nonetheless serves to highlight a crucial truth. That truth is that every people identifiable and distinguishable by its history, culture, physiology and political/economic status does in fact constitute a nation. These nations and nationalities, as clearly evident in current events worldwide and throughout history, are asserting their cultural independence and are insisting on employing their unique cultural/national reality as a conduit to facilitate their participation in an emergent global but pluralistic world community.
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The answer to the broadcaster's query is an adamant affirmative. Afrikan Americans can and must assert their cultural, economic and political independence. We must establish institutions that are committed to and capable of building an Afrikan American national consensus; that are capable of marshalling our substantial material and intellectual resources; that are capable of establishing and legitimizing and sanctioning collective and individual behavior in political, moral, ethical, and spiritual spheres.

The evolution of Afrikan American national consciousness in this hemisphere should have flowed naturally and forcefully in the tradition of our Asante, Yoruba, Mandingo, Zulu, Ovambo and others' natural ancestors. That nationalist consciousness, however, has been aborted and dammed by the bulwarks of racism and white supremacy, genocide, and the attendant self hatred, fear and self destruction.

That dam will be broken, but the current or tide that breaches and breaks the spine of white supremacy will not be directed by the old line institutions in our community. They lack the vision, the strength, the will, and the commitment. The challenge before us is to create and sustain the new institutions capable of the task before us as a people. In Chancellor William's words, we either accomplish this mission as a people, as a generation, or be forgotten and despised by every generation that follows us.

Afrocentricity

Afrocentrism has become a hot issue in intellectual and professional circles, in the print and electronic media, and among the general populace. It was the topic of serious consideration in a recent Newsweek editorial. When the course of a given discussion concerning Afrocentricity turns to education, there are three related questions that invariably arise. Those questions are respectively; What is Afrocentricity? What is Afrocentric education? Does an Afrikan child really need an Afrocentric education?

A complete understanding of Afrocentricity requires the illumination of the cultural, socio-economic, and historical underpinnings of the concept. It is equally important to examine Afrocentricity in the emerging real plurality of world cultures that simultaneously spells the demise of Eurocentric cultural and political/economic hegemony, and the emergence of a new national and international order. Afrocentricity is one of several cultural, nationalistic movements that are forcing political pundits to junk the popular theories championing first a bipolar world (US - USSR), then a tripolar world (US-USSR-Japan), then quadrupolar world (US-USSR-Japan-EEC), and so on. Similarly, the nationalistic rumblings inside the USSR and eastern Europe were hailed as the triumph of the political economy of the west. Before the reverberations of the celebration died down, however, the cultural nationalistic
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movement of Afrikan America found its collective voice in the concept of Afrocentricity. Suddenly, and equally predictably, the rules changed. Eurocentric cultural and socio-political hegemony is all right in the US of A, and although nationalistic resurgence is fine in the “evil Soviet empire”, it has no intrinsic value in the American political economy.

Central to the concept of Afrocentricity is seeing the world through the glasses of one’s own culture and history. The validity and the increasingly apparent vitality of the Afrocentric movement is rooted in a history and cultural dynamic that is uniquely Afrikan. We are because of our history, because of our collective responses and interactions with our physical, social and economic environments over eons. To deny the cultural, spiritual, psychological, and physiological consequence of that history is lunacy. To consciously affirm that cultural dynamic in thought and behavior and then institutionalize that dynamic is Afrocentric.

Too many Afrikans still labor under the popular myth of universal culture or cultural neutrality that is heavily promoted by the media and major educational institutions. There is no universal culture, because there is no universal history beyond the generality of the human condition; food, clothing, housing, and recreation, and everybody does even those things differently. The myth of universality as popularly defined is an increasingly porous cloak for Eurocentric (caucasian/white) hegemony. Dubois noted at the turn of the century, that the history of the world is the history of the races. It should be clear to any student of history, that Euro-America’s time in the spotlight is over.

Afrocentric education is then based on the twin reality of a vibrant Afrikan cultural dynamic, and the newly emergent reality of a pluralistic world order where every culture informs that new order. The culturally neutered position that Afrikan Americans have no distinct cultural heritage would confine us to a posture of political and cultural peripheralism. The posture of Afrikans in America would be tantamount to an incidental appendage with a truncated past and an aborted future.

Education in its totality is concerned with the total development of the human character. Several studies, common sense, and the twenty odd years of the independent school movement have demonstrated conclusively that cognitive development, as well as social and emotional maturation, is most effectively achieved when the cultural context, the academic content, and the physical environment is aligned and consistent with the cultural orientation of the child.

Over the last twenty years, our people have bought into the Bethesda and Potomac Marylands; the Harvards and Princetons, the Georgetown Days, the Jewish Days, the French Internationals; bought out the Lord and Taylors and Woodies; the Mercedes and the BMW’s. While we have engaged in material excess, our children have fluttered away like moths blinded by the midday sun. We have lost them to drugs and mindless materialism, and we have lost them because of our own cultural ambiguity in the face of a relentless and spell-binding Eurocentrism, and its nefarious partner, racism/white supremacy.

We have been advised to pursue a nationalist agenda consistent with our history and culture by some of our most celebrated elders including Chancellor Williams and John Henrik Clarke, and by some of our most venerated ancestors including Malcolm X, Paul Robeson, Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. DuBois, Nat Turner and countless others. Afrocentricity is not a mere option or alternative. It is an imperative of sanity, survival, and meaningful and lasting development for the Afrikan world.
Ideological Clarity

We've noted in this space before the flowering of a new movement of cultural awareness and ideological clarity throughout the Afrikan American community. This new movement parallels the emergent world order of democratic pluralism that has had its most momentous expression in the release of Nelson Mandela, the SWAPO victory in Namibia and the triumph of democratic forces over communism in eastern Europe. This newly emergent Afrikan centered movement among Afrikan Americans has its most immediate historical precedent in the cultural awareness movement of the sixties and early seventies. Like the movement of the sixties, and the then worldwide movement toward ending Euro-American colonial domination, there are a number of key principles and dynamics that can and must be identified if the essential dynamics of the movement are to be sustained and protected against revisionist elements. In examining this new movement we must look at both the source of the movement, and the direction of the movement.

The essential historical source of this new movement is the collective racial awareness of our Afrikanity. That collective racial memory/consciousness is what sustained us throughout the middle passage and the centuries of racist oppression since. That consciousness has weathered legal and extra-legal efforts by white supremacists over four centuries to distort or eradicate it. This current movement has been stimulated in part on a mass level by the resurgence of overt racism in the white body politic, and by the growing prevalence among whites of an insidious form of racism as expressed in the media coverage of drug usage, of Black on White crime, Justice Department prosecutions, etc. The current movement is also the expression of the universal urge of an oppressed people to gain national independence and to correct an inherently unjust situation.

If this movement among Afrikan Americans is to be sustained, three conditions must be met. Those conditions are clarity, personalization, and institutionalization. Those of us who identify with the movement and are affected by it must be clear on the historical basis for the movement. We must at all times be cognizant of the historical precedent of Afrikan civilizations dating from pre-Nile valley civilization extending through the Nile valley and every region of Afrika. We must be alert to and knowledgeable of the spiritual, moral, philosophical, aesthetic, linguistic, scientific, economic and political ideals and actual constructs that our ancestors created in response to their environments. Those same ideals and constructs should inform and condition our response to the myriad of social crises that confront our communities, be they drugs, racial violence, discrimination, or family instability.

Knowledge of those ideals and those accomplishments alone is insufficient. Too many of us are satisfied with the intellectual high that this new awareness gives us without accepting the responsibility inherent in that knowledge. A large number of brothers and sisters who attend lectures and collect the tapes of prominent lecturers have become lecture junkies. They jam the telephone lines of the popular talk shows, but they have not personalized the essential messages of the speakers. This new awareness, this new information, particularly the spiritual, moral and philosophical ideals, must be fully personalized; that is it must be fully incorporated into our every thought, and qualified only by the exigencies of the contemporary world. If family and children have been para-
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mount in the culture of our ancestors, then as we incorporate
them into our value construct, the anti-family behaviors that
result in emotional and social cripples, shattered families, and
distressed children would be strongly condemned. Those
anti-family behaviors would include financial irresponsibility,
spousal abuse (physical and emotional), non-involvement and
non-support of one's children, child abuse, sexual aberrancy,
infidelity, promiscuity, inappropriate criteria for mate selection
(sex, romance, etc) and others.

If we recognize the primacy of spirituality in the cultural
construct of our ancestors, then we would replace the aimless
ness and emptiness of our lives with a spiritual construct
appropriate to the times but consistent with the essence of
ancestral traditions. If we accept the aesthetic philosophy of
our ancestors, then we would appreciate the inherent beauty
of our physical selves instead of enriching manufacturers of
whitening cosmetics, fashions, and hair preparations. If we
were to incorporate the moral philosophy of our ancestors
(including Maat), there would be no place for drug abuse
(including tobacco and alcohol), opportunism, conceit, selfish
ness, or religious intolerance.

Beyond the knowledge and the personalization, there is
the need to institutionalize the knowledge, values and rela
tionships that our forbears provided us. Building, sustaining,
and advancing institutions is crucial for the perpetuation and
continued development of our cultural legacy. We must build
and support independent Afrikan centered institutions of
education, finance, art, publishing, health, retail sales, etc.

That responsibility for building and supporting independ
ent institutions extends to hands-on involvement as well as
financial contributions, investments, purchasing services and
goods, etc. We must perpetuate and advance our culture on
the level of clarity, personalization and institutionalization,
lest we commit racial suicide, leaving the souls of our ancestors
to wander in perpetual limbo and our children to wall in an
infinity of meaninglessness.

Culture & Standards of Beauty

Two of the many issues that have occasioned the reemergence of an Afrikan centered consciousness (Afrocentrism)
within the Afrikan American community are hairstyle and
dress. During the course of the sixties, the debate around
these two issues often attained epic and rancorous proportions
with sometimes counterproductive results. As Afrocentrism
reemerges in the nineties, these and other issues will un
doubtedly arise. One important lesson of the sixties that
should inform those discussions is the impropriety of drawing
lines and assigning values to individuals according to rigid
ideological formulae and insufficient analysis.

A frequent and mistaken assumption made regarding the
issue of hairstyle in the sixties was that someone with
straightened hair was automatically assumed to be less clear
and consequently less committed; and similarly, someone
with an afro was assumed to be dogmatic, narrowly over
committed, etc. In addition to these assumptions, there were
parallel assumptions made regarding the moral and ethical
content of one's character vis-a-vis one's preference for a given
hairstyle and preference of dress.

As we grow in this new awareness, it will be important that
we first separate the issues of one's basic character from one's
cultural and ideological orientation. A distinction should be
made for purposes of clarity of conception, though they are
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not mutually exclusive. One who espouses Afrocentricity is
not necessarily a person of honor, nor is the individual that
espouses an assimilationist orientation necessarily dishonorable.
The content of one’s character — including the virtues of
truthfulness, humility, trustworthiness, respectfulness, toler-
ance, wisdom and intellectual openness — is not contingent
upon one’s ideological orientation. Nor can those virtues be
measured by the presence or absence of a given hairstyle or
preference of dress.

Many of us will be strong in our ideological and cultural
orientation, but we must avoid the mistake of narrow dog-
matism in our attempt to win others to our perspective. The
strength of our convictions must be based on historical truth,
and measured by the long term well being of our people. The
effort to convince others must be conditioned by tolerance,
patience and understanding, and ultimately tempered by the
conviction that a solid and unqualified commitment to
Afrocentrism in word, lifestyle and thought is the best route
for our people.

The issue of hair, like a myriad of other issues, must
ultimately be resolved within the context of Afrikan world
history and the consensus we reach on the future of our
people. The issue of hair, like the issues of names, dress,
spiritual systems, speech patterns, interracial marriages, and
family structure, must be seen within the historical construct
of the Holocaust of Afrikan Enslavement and the destruction
of Afrikan civilization. Franz Fanon, in Wretched of the Earth,
admonished us that the European imperialists sought not only
to distort if not destroy the history of the oppressed, but to
deny our very humanity. His admonition constitutes a critical
component in our effort here to construct a set of principles or
evaluative criteria by which to measure the cultural validity of
a given practice or value. The implication of the reality noted
by Fanon, and also noted by Amical Cabral (Return to the
Source), is that those elements, traditions, behaviors and styles
that are fundamental to the oppressed people’s culture are the

very elements that form the basis for cultural resistance and
cultural reconstruction.

Cultural alienation is an age old strategy of conquerors
pioneered by our own Kemetic ancestors according to Yosef
ben-Jochannan (Black Man of the Nile). The practice then, as
now, was to identify and educate the physical and intellectual
elite and the youth in the values of the conqueror’s culture
apart from the influence of the culture of the victim. One’s
allegiance and orientation was shaped indelibly in the interests
of the conqueror. It is noteworthy that the first non-white
nation to rise up and successfully challenge the economic and
political preeminence of white imperialism in modern times is
that nation whose culture survived the colonial era fully intact;
Japan.

Another crucial element of those evaluative criteria is the
fact that all cultures borrow from one another, but such
borrowing assumes that the borrowing cultures regard each
other as coequals and maintain an attitude of mutual respect.
Additionally, those borrowed elements are conscious and
voluntary, and do not alter the fundamental character of the
borrowing culture. Thus far we have outlined four principles
that can serve as criteria for evaluating the cultural validity of
specific behaviors.

a) The destruction of Afrikan civilization, disruption of
Afrika’s historical development, and the attempted
eradication of the memory of Afrikan culture by its
people were the deliberate acts of a people driven by
economic and political gain, and moral depravity.
Those behaviors adopted by Afrikans during the period
of their domination and which are grounded in the
cultural, physical and psychic acquiescence that occa-
sioned that domination serve only to perpetuate the
inferior status of Afrikan people.

b) The fundamentals of culture provide the basis for
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resistance and reconstruction. Where those fundamentals have been distorted, diluted, or lost, the potential of the group to engage in cultural and socio-political resistance or national reconstruction is severely limited, if not destroyed.

c) National development and advancement in the contemporary world political economy by a nation is assured to the extent that its cultural/historical continuum is uninterrupted and is consciously sustained. Where that historical continuum is interrupted either by external or internal factors, and cultural awareness is compromised, the nation will be relegated to the status of perpetual dependency.

d) Cultural borrowing is normal between national equals, and is imposed between non-equals. The dominant group in a given society will act to ruthlessly exploit whatever creative resources or energies are produced by the dominant group and redefine those energies in the context of their own cultural dynamic, even as the dominated group is progressively depleted of its own unique resources and its cultural identity.

This list of evaluative principles could be extended, but a final principle is the general consensus within the Afrikan community that the objective of Afrocentrism is Afrikan self determination. Thus a fifth principle would be:

e) The interest of Afrikan people is best served through the pursuit of self determination as a people. That pursuit begins with the revivification of one's cultural heritage.

If we briefly examine the issue of the practice by Afrikan people of permanent hair alteration, or nasal reconstruction - like the ubiquitous eyelid reconstruction among Asians - we can safely conclude the following:

The prevalence of hair straightening, etc., is a consequence of a lack of cultural memory, and therefore the lack of a preference for a condition or style germane to Afrikan because of the lack of culturally reinforced practices; which practices were outlawed or consciously discouraged during enslavement. Hairstyles, like dress and language, spiritual practices and values were outlawed or discouraged during the course of enslavement and are currently discouraged as dangerous or undesirable differentiations that incite racial and ethnic conflict. The concept of beauty is a fundamental element of culture, and that concept was consciously undermined as our civilizations were destroyed. The perfection that was blackness was distorted to connote evil and the essence of imperfection. The development of capitalism and imperialism could only be sustained with Afrikan labor, which required the creation of racism, and the myth of white supremacy, and the eradication of any contravening elements, including the humanity of the enslaved. The preference and dogged infatuation in our community for hair straighteners is not the borrowed cultural practice of equal nationalities, but the conscious and subconscious accommodation of a dominated people to the fact of their domination. The act of the dominated victim in recreating him/herself in the image of the dominating conqueror is fundamentally an act of submission, the humiliation of which has been lost to our collective memory over many generations.

Self determination must begin with thoroughgoing reconstruction and analysis of our history and culture, and reestablishment of our connectedness with the essential features of that cultural dynamic. The concept of beauty is one essential element that must be reestablished and reconstructed.
Family, Culture and Community

This school year has begun with record numbers again. The level of interest from all sectors of the community exceeded our capacity and expectations for all divisions. A cursory survey of other area schools indicates similar levels of interest. These levels of interest have not been seen since the early seventies. The motivating elements, then as now, involve a balance of three major factors; cultural/racial awareness, academic achievement, and an emotionally nurturing environment. In addition to a nurturing environment for the children, many parents are themselves looking for an environment that is culturally enriching and intellectually stimulating.

These factors in combination make up for the type of community that was characteristic of the Afrikan hamlets and townships in the American south before the massive urban migration and the consequent breakup of families and clans that made up those communities. What was expected of the youth in those communities was essentially the same as what we expect today in the independent Afrikan centered schools that form the center of the new urban Afrocentric cultural communities.

The older communities sought to impart some sense of community and racial allegiance, as well as provide the youth with the best education possible. Similarly, the independent

Afrikan centered schools such as NationHouse Positive Action Center and Ujamaa in Washington, Afrikan People's Action School in Trenton, New Concept Development Center and Shule Ya Watoto in Chicago, functioning as community centers or cultural focal points, have as their mission the provision of an educational experience that will guarantee that the student is challenged to fulfill his/her intellectual potential, and is able to function in any environment, be it hostile or not. The mission goes beyond that of the old community schools; seeking not only to instill racial pride, but additionally to inspire a commitment to reconstructing and expanding our communities and the Afrikan world in a way that is consistent with our racial and cultural heritage. The qualitative difference is that the older communities were limited by the socio-political conditions of the time to a defensive posture. The mission of the contemporary Afrikan centered schools must be to take that mission to the level of an intergenerational crusade for nothing short of full self determination for the race.

The key determinants of the vitality of those old communities were the cohesion provided by the shared culture, and the value placed on family. Culture and family are the two elements that must also be at the center of our efforts here at NationHouse. The cultural/ideological orientation of the school must be clear to every member of the community. We must further understand that our membership requires an active role; active not only in work, but also active in intellectual and cultural growth. We must grow as our children grow. The school community must grow and expand as a family whose sense of direction and whose cohesion is intensified over the course of sustained and consistent work and study, disappointment and triumph. Our perspective on our personal conditions and the future condition of the race must be one of ultimate triumph, regardless of reoccurring setbacks.

What that perspective speaks to is faith, or Imani. That faith in our ultimate victory, and the clear vision of what it is
Expectations

In the past week, two very different circumstances produced two related and immediately relevant concepts. An editorial in a recent edition of the local centrist/liberal newspaper by a politically neutralist Negro columnist on the limitations of Afrocentric education was the source of the first principle. The second principle stemmed from an observation made during one of our weekly staff meetings. The first principle involves the role, if any, that the awareness of Afrikan history plays in stimulating the intellectual appetite, and facilitating the character development, of Afrikan youth. The second principle involves the much written about and often misunderstood principle of the expectations we have of our children in the classroom, our homes, and in life. The two are linked in a way that can elucidate and expand on both Afrocentric education and our roles as teachers and parents. The linkage between the two concepts can be simplistically understood in terms of who expects, how they expect, and finally, what they expect. The three queries (who, how and what) can be further described as three crises that confront us as parents, as teachers, as families, as a community, as a nation, and as a race. Those crises are, respectively; the crisis of identity, the crisis of action, and the crisis of goals.

"Expectations" is a simple word that carries with it a number of underlying assumptions that should be examined
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In order to understand how expectations as a concept are so important to us as parents and teachers. To say "expectations" is to first ask who's expectations, or "who expects". This question of the identity of who must be clearly answered. With the average Afikan American, this constitutes the first of our three crisis: the crisis of identity. The question of who can only be answered by resorting to history, the cultural continuum that defines the family, the individual, the community, the nation and the race. And herein lies the importance of our first concept: history and national/racial culture play a crucial role in character formation.

The second assumption reflects the second query, that of "how we expect". To have an expectation implies an action. Is the action of expecting an imperative, a request, or a fantasy? The expectations we hold and actions we take regarding our progeny, or our community and race for that matter, can be firm and resolute, they can be vague and ambiguous, or they can be ethereal and nonexistent. It is here in the very nature of expecting, whether within the family, the community or the race, that we have a crisis of action.

The determining factor for any single way of expecting (imperative, request, fantasy) is the relative viability of the cultural identity, which will be determined largely by the historical continuum and the people's consciousness/awareness of that continuum and the culture that flows from it. For example, if the level of cultural awareness and allegiance among the people is weak and nonviable, then the expectations relative to the culture will be equally weak, and more like unspoken requests and fantasies. The real imperative will flow from the culturally (socially, economically, politically) dominant group, and will work to the benefit of that group and simultaneously to the detriment and destruction of the weaker culture.

Beyond the question of "how we expect", is the third assumption/question that underlies the concept of "expectations." That question is one of the object or goal of the action - "what we expect." We expect many things of our children, and those expectations may be categorized in ways that are consistent with the implied action underlying them. Those categories are three, the first of which includes goals of focused continuity. In this first category we are concerned to establish or reaffirm a continuum that in turn reaffirms a definite identity, interest, or focus. Expectations of this type will lead to nationhood and self determination.

The second category includes goals of accommodation and compromise. In this category, we are interested to achieve those ends that are noncontroversial, that do not result in any perceived alienation or adversarial intentionality. We are here willing to concede large measures of self identity or self interest in order to avoid potential alienation. Expectations like these led our centrist Negro columnist to the erroneous supposition that Afrikan centered education cannot provide for the development of Afrikan youth.

A third and final category is that of indeterminate goals, or goals of chaos. There is no explicit, or even implied, statement of objectives that flows from either a distinct cultural continuum/identity or a well defined interest. Behaviors typical of this category include parents who choose to initiate careers and personal interests full-time during their children's formative years (birth - 21) without adequate provisions for the children's spiritual, emotional and moral development - those things that can't be bought.

Our initial concept was the role of Afrikan history in stimulating intellectual development and achievement. The mistaken assumption that our centrist columnist made, and that many educators make, is that effective Afrikan centered education can be broken into discrete components, packaged and administered by anyone. It cannot be. It is important to place the history of Afrikan people at the center of the Afrocentric education. The culture and ideologies that are born of that history must be given equal importance. Additionally, the cultural/ideological alignment of the teacher,
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parent, and school must be treated equally. If that Afrikan
centered educational process is to be truly effective, then the
teacher and the school must be one with that history and that
culture. The efficiency of the elite Eurocentric schools and the
homogeneous Japanese schools are evidence of the efficacy of
this statement.

If our children are to perform academically, morally and
culturally, then the expectations that we have of them must, in
the first instance, be informed by the level of our own
historical/cultural awareness and actions. If we are truly
confident of the validity and worth of our ancestors’
achievements — if we are firm in our identity within our
cultural heritage and committed to its recovery, refinement
and perpetuation — then our expectations of our children will
be firmly and resolutely directed toward the goals of family,
community, national reconstruction and self determination.
With these conditions met, we will be assured of our children’s
and our people’s survival and prosperity.

Paradigms
Notes on an Afrikan Centered Pedagogy

Afrikan centeredness as a worldview, as a comprehensive cultural whole, presages an Afrikan centered education, which in turn entails the elaboration of an Afrikan centered pedagogy. This Afrikan centered pedagogy is a studied, vigorous, and creative elaboration of the fundamental precepts of Afrikan culture and ideology in the area of teaching methodology. The pedagogy of Afrikan centeredness, like Afrikan centeredness itself, is not a simple negation of the hegemonic assumptions of Eurocentric pedagogical theory. An Afrikan centered pedagogy is concerned with the acquisition of self determination and self sufficiency for Afrikan people, but ultimately with truth, and the “Afrocentric mission to humanize the universe.”

The elaboration of an Afrikan centered pedagogy must begin with a description of the historical and political-economic context in which the discussion occurs. The Afrikan nationalist dynamic that underlies Afrikan centeredness has always been prominent in popular sentiment and the social philosophy of the Afrikan population and its leadership. Historically, Afrikans in America have vacillated between nationalist and assimilationist socio-political sentiment. The new resurgence and popular expression of this nationalist sentiment is very much like the current nationalist struggles of our brethren in southern Afrika, as indeed the two struggles have paralleled each other for very nearly a century and have been linked for
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that same period. The Afrikan nationalist struggles parallel the resurgence of the repressed national cultures of Eastern Europe and throughout Asia; the plethora of voices emanating from a disintegrating Soviet Union; and the resurgent militancy of the Amerindians. The era of pluralistic cultural/nationalist expression coincides, not incidentally, with a leveling of the international political-economic landscape. The era of the unipolar, bipolar, and tripolar superpower nations whose whims determined the course of world events has come to an unceremonious end. The failure and collapse of one European political economy based on Marxism (socialism and communism), and the fragmentation and reordering of the other (capitalism), has facilitated the flowering of long dormant and repressed nationalisms.

This leveling of the socio-economic and cultural landscape or world order has occasioned the flowering of national cultures that have heretofore been systematically repressed and stifled by both the Marxist and the liberal Democratic regimes of the West. Both are Eurocentric phenom- ena, and both have reaped gross profits from the Eurocentric hegemony in international affairs in cultural, political and economic spheres. That repression has been accomplished through methods of simple brute force such as military invasion and occupation, enslavement, forced migration, genocide, legalization of language and tradition, imposed structural dependency, and political repression; and secondly by methods of mental manipulation such as religious indoctrination and mystification, miseducation, racist scholarship, institutionalized racism, cultural repression and inferiorization, and mass propaganda. The consequence of both methods has been psychic and spiritual negation of the dominated people. Both methods of repression have been cloaked in self serving accommodationist myths such as the melting pot, the common culture, the democratic or federalist ideal, the universal cultural ideal, etc. The expression of nationalist or ethnocentric sentiments by those repressed nationalities have been, and still

Notes on an Afrikan Centered Pedagogy
are, greeted with charges of separatism, reverse racism, inciting racial animosity, misguided militancy, balkanization, narrow nationalism, etc. Defenders of the “American ideal [of] common citizenship [of the] multi-ethnic society”6 revel in the collapse of socialism and the “evil empire” but are blind to the west’s legacy of genocide, enslavement and pillage against Afrikins and Amerindians, having camouflaged and denuded its psychic and moral significance in the tapestry, lights and sounds of Hollywood and TV merrymaking. It is that same merrymaking propaganda machine that has dulled the thinking capacity of the general population, spawned mass depoliticization and civic cowardice, thereby seriously compromising the viability of America’s democratic experiment. That same propaganda machine has functioned parallel with the myth-perpetuation/social reproductive agenda of the educational system to mask the fundamental socio-economic, cultural and moral contradictions in western (European-American) “democracies.”

Afrikan centeredness must be understood in this historical and global perspective. As a worldview it is not isolated from the events and dynamics of the world. It is informed by the struggles of fellow Afrikins, and by similar struggles of other people. Afrikan centeredness is a nationalistic cultural expression of Afrikan people that seeks the truthful reconstitution of Afrikan history and culture, and the transformation of the Afrikan man, woman and child and their world. It aspires ultimately to inform concretely and positively the human condition.

Pedagogy is ostensibly concerned with the methodology of teaching. We cannot realistically deal with methodology, however, without examining two additional and related matters. Those matters are concerned with first, the nature of the teacher’s character: the mwali. The second matter is concerned with the goals or object of the methodology. The three queries to be examined in elaborating an Afrocentric
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pedagogy then are how, who, and why. Our purpose here is
best served by examining the three issues in reverse order.

Why: A Reexamination of Pedagogy

The ends or goals of pedagogy will parallel or echo the
overall goals of the educational system of which it is a part.
That educational system itself must serve to perpetuate the
nation-state and the underlying cultural reality that spawned
it. As a consequence, the assumptions and principles that are
fundamental to that nation-state, that culture, will be found in
the methodology that the agents of the nation-state determine
to use in enculturating not only its youth, but all its people,
and through every medium available to it. Education stands
in the same relationship to the national culture as childbearing
stands to the human species; that is, it assures the perpetuation
or permanence and continuity of the species. The character,
composition, direction and vitality of education, like that of
human progeny, issue directly from the essence of the parents’
body. In the case of education, it issues from the historical
continuum that lies at the base of culture.

Afrikan centered education is the codification or system-
ic expression of Afrikan people’s will to recover, recreate and
perpetuate our cultural heritage. As a dynamic enterprise, it
enriches that culture as it acts to illuminate it, as it attempts to
enculturate the people whose collective and historical expe-
riences shape and are shaped by that culture. Afrikan centered
education speaks to the Pan Afrikan world and simultaneously
addresses the several national expressions of that world. For
Afrikans in America, Afrikan centered education occasions the
resurgence of a national consciousness and an urge for an
independent national existence. This consciousness is neither
new nor unique. Its immediate precedent was the period of the
sixties, and before that the period of the early twenties and the
work of the UNIA and Marcus Garvey.

Notes on an Afrikan Centered Pedagogy

The depths of the original cultural homogeneity of the
continent, and the gross and non-differentiated inhumanity of
the Holocaust of Afrikan Enslavement, colonial domination,
and neocolonialism have all served to establish a potent bond
of transoceanic and transnational fraternity amongst Afrikans.
Consequently, Afrikan centered education in Afrikan Ameri-
can communities will operate on the same principles and have
the same goals as an Afrikan centered educational philosophy
in Ghana, Zimbabwe, or Azania. The essential goals are
genuine self sufficiency and self determination. In each na-
\c
tionality, that education will seek to purge itself and the nation
of the perversive effects of current, recent and remote domination.
\nLanguage, values, behaviors, images, systems, institutions,
and relationships must all be thoroughly and critically reex-
a
\m
amined. That education will seek to rediscover the essential
truths of its immediate traditional forebears, and ultimately
seek to rediscover and reclaim its spiritual and material link-
ages with the classical civilizations of Kush, Kemet, Nubia,
Axum and Meroe.

That process of rediscovery and reclamation is not directed
toward simplistic and misguided replication of either traditional
Afrikan models or European models. The needs of the
contemporary world cannot be adequately met by superim-
posing the mores of classical and traditional societies. Much
of the historical environment that occasioned the development
of certain philosophical and social constructs no longer exists.
The aim of education is not to reenact ancient rituals, values,
behaviors, and relationships that are irrelevant in modernity.
It must instead act to illuminate those timeless and dynamic
features of the traditional and classical societies. The concept
of Maat, and the entire ethical and moral philosophy that
surrounds it is invaluable. The concept of God in man, the
essential “cooperative democratic” nature of traditional so-
cieties, and the preeminenence of family are timeless values, as is
the general wholistic conception of the universe. The concept
of duty before right is also an essential value in traditional
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society. Beyond those values that continue to be fundamental to traditional societies and that warrant serious and critical attention are the equally meritorious political and social structures. With modifications for technological developments, the structure and operation of the Asante confederation, the Akan Abusua system, or the Najama Ya Itwika of the Kikuyu, or the Induna of the Zulu and other traditional models might be better suited to Afrikans than the obviously inefficient structures inherited from the colonial powers.

A common and tragic concession to political and economic expediency amongst Afrikans is the uncritical adoption and/or continuation of European based systems and philosophies of education, a practice that can only result in continued dependency and inferiorization. Well intentioned Afrikan educators have often turned to so-called progressive or radical education theories and practices that are Eurocentric to fix the problems they experience with Eurocentric models of education. Those "radical" philosophies of Eurocentric thinkers (who proclaim themselves to be guided by precepts of social transformation and democracy) are uniformly flawed in their incomplete treatment of cultural difference. Additionally, those well intended Eurocentric theories and theorists continue to assume a universality of cultural response and cultural ideal. Freire, for example, whose philosophy and accomplishments have inspired many, retains an essential Marxist analysis of social history, and suffers in as much from the same limitations of Marxism as it relates to culture and race.

There is an assumption of universality that permeates Freire's writings which is derivative of a Eurocentric philosophical treatment of the nature of knowledge and the nature of "man-world" relationships. This universalist perspective is typical of those "radical" Eurocentric political theorists who routinely understate the significance of national and racial cultural difference. Given the reemergence of nationalism among Europe's and Asia's ethnic groups with the collapse of communism, and the continuing tensions among the traditional nations of Afrika, this tendency toward understatement should be sufficiently contradicted by reality to be permanently laid to rest.

Freire's delineation of problem posing pedagogy, dialogue as methodology, and cultural action is profound. His conception of culture anticipates a "metalanguage" of "revolutionary pedagogical principles" which is consistent with the general universalist orientation of his work. Freire describes culture as a "superstructure which can maintain 'remnants' of the past alive in the substructure undergoing revolutionary transformation." In spite of Freire's apparent grounding in the concept of "unity between subjectivity and objectivity" and "conscientization," he is nonetheless limited by the Marxist structural paradigm wherein culture is incidental to social relations and historical dynamics. The fact that he fails to acknowledge or factor into his theories the rich, varied and vigorous cultural traditions of Afrikan Brazilians, 50% plus of the population, can only be attributed to the theoretical limitations of his essential Eurocentric and structuralist perspective.

For Freire, the past is synonymous with oppression and psychic invasion by the oppressor culture. There is no provision for the dynamic ethnocentric features that shaped social interactions and relationships: features that further shaped the traditions, philosophy, morality, art and spirituality that preceded the era of capitalist domination, that are coterminous with it, and that will likely usher in the succeeding era.

Freire echoes Franz Fanon on the regenerative impact of the liberation struggle on culture and the oppressed. Fanon, however, links the fight for national existence intimately with the "fruitfulness" and "continuous renewal and deepening" of the national culture. Fanon's concept of culture embraces the concept of broken continuity that is elaborated as well by Amilcar Cabral. Cabral posits that the dynamic of traditional culture, though aborted by colonialism, nonetheless provides...
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the wellspring for national resistance and reconstruction. Cabral's call for a process of “re-Afrikanization” is a call to reestablish the Afrikan historical continuum that undergirds Afrikan culture. It is clear that the disruption of that historical continuum explains the current cultural distortions, the weakness of the political organizations and the dependency of the Afrikan national economies.

The reasons for the drain of talent that Afrikan continental and diasporan nations experience, as well as the graft, nepotism, incompetence, and waste, can be found in the educational structure, philosophies, theories, subject content, and pedagogy inherited from the colonial powers. Those European colonial powers educated the teachers and administrators for the singular purpose of maintaining Eurocentric thinking and behaviors that continue to serve and protect European economic and political interests. Jamaica, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Nigeria and other former British colonial nations still employ vestiges of the British system, including British and American texts and curricula. The national exams are often still sent to Britain for evaluation.

Where the national system is modeled after the oppressor's and carried out in the oppressor’s language, and where the standards of success are still determined directly and indirectly by the oppressor, dependency and the inferiorization of the indigenous culture can be the only result. Indeed it was the design of the colonial powers, in view of their reduced capacity to contain the political and economic demands of the indigenous populations after World War II, to protect their interests after “independence” by the transference of power to “acceptable African collaborators”, or by muting the “radicalism of popular leaders through ‘material temptations’”, and by physical removal where necessary.

The objective of an Afrikan centered pedagogy is the illumination and bequeathal of the amassed wisdom and cultural legacy of one generation to the succeeding generation. To ensure the continued and expanded viability of that culture, that process must occur within a context of mutual discovery, inspiration, creativity and reciprocity. An Afrikan centered pedagogy, a pedagogy derived of the Afrikan world historical continuum and cultural dynamic, endeavors to stimulate and nourish the creative and critical consciousness, and through study and application, to inculcate a firm and conscious commitment to the reconstruction of true Afrikan nationhood, and to the restoration of the Afrikan historical/cultural continuum. It endeavors to create a dynamic and liberated Afrikan personality which is realized as mwalimu (teacher) and mwanafunzi (student) interact with each other, and simultaneously act to transform their environments into dynamic models of liberty and humanism, but in a fashion that reflects their fundamental Afrikanity.

Who: The Character of the Mwalimu

That individual who assumes the role of mwalimu, or who is so appointed, must be one who is not only studied in the history and culture of our people, but one who is in complete identification with it. The mwalimu must not only be involved in the study of the culture, but must be involved in a concrete and ongoing way with advancing the cultural and/or political interests of Afrikan people. The mwalimu comes before his wanafunzi (students) as a representative of the whole culture. The mwalimu is entrusted with the task of inculcating the essential values of that culture and thereby guaranteeing its continuation. The mwalimu comes to the classroom representing in one sense the limitations of tradition and the existing order. The mwanafunzi comes to the classroom representing the new order or unlimited potentiality. The mwalimu, as a representative of the current order, brings with him/her all the accumulated wisdom of tradition and must seek to impart that wisdom in a way that inspires and fuels the new energy and unlimited potential of the mwanafunzi. The mwalimu must possess a general command of that accumulated
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wisdom, along with a specific mastery of a chosen area of
speciality. Beyond that general competence, the mwalimu
must possess a deep-felt and infectious drive to achieve greater
command of both the wisdom of tradition and modernity.

The mwanafunzi must be so motivated by the mwalimu as
to welcome that wisdom as fuel for the long run and not as a
burden. If that wisdom, the cultural treasure and inheritance
of the nation, is perceived as burdensome, then the mwalimu
and the nation have failed, and the national/cultural continuity
is in jeopardy. The mwalimu is the essential conduit and nexus
between tradition and the potential of the nation.

The mwalimu can only be effective in fulfilling that task if
he/she is an active participant in that working collective that
is devoted to the cultural, political and economic development
of the Afrikan community. The mwalimu must bring enthusi-
asm, conviction, ideological clarity, moral integrity, and
courage, as well as knowledge, to the teaching/learning
environment. The latent messages and information shared by
the mwalimu through physical nuance, voice pattern and tone,
hair style, dress, and character are as important to the effective
teaching/learning environment as the structured lessons. If
the mwalimu is deficient in either area, the respect of the
wanafunzi, and the efficacy of the teacher/learner encounter
will be compromised. Given the critical role that the mwalimu
must play in the maintaining and enhancing the national
culture, it is no wonder that in classical Afrikan civilizations
and in still viable traditional societies, the higher or core
knowledge was entrusted only to its most esteemed elders and
spiritual leaders.15

The effective Afrikan centered teaching/learning envi-
ronment includes the immediate relationship of mwalimu and
mwanafunzi, teacher and student respectively. That envi-
ronment extends to and includes the active involvement of the
family, the school as a community focal point, and the
community itself. Each of the several active elements, mwalimu,
mwanafunzi, family, school, and community, must be cultur-
ally and ideologically aligned. The cohesive and motivating
factors that energize the environment are the shared identity,
values, language, and goals: in sum, the Afrikan nationalistic
consciousness and socio-political development of the Afrikan
community.

Each of the several active elements are arranged so as to
augment and reinforce the cultural context of the educative
process. Parental involvement is made mandatory by school
policy and is facilitated by the organization of the school and
the communitarian management philosophy of the school
administration. Wazazi (parents) are expected to be intimately
involved in the mwanafunzi's intellectual development, and
are provided with opportunities for intellectual growth
themselves. Wazazi are expected to maintain an enthusiastic
commitment and involvement in cultural activities, and with
other wazazi and families. Wazazi involvement in school
management is facilitated through representation on appro-
priate committees, involvement in school support and devel-
opment projects, and the ready accessibility of information.
Wazazi (or families) should receive periodic narrative evalu-
ations of their participation in school affairs. The wazazi's
presence in the classroom itself, in a functional capacity, is
vitaly important in reinforcing the linkage between school
and family. It is imperative that they perceive their role as
essential and substantive. The school itself must see itself as
the hub of a dynamic community which provides a variety of
experiences for cultural development and reinforcement, as
well as opportunities for the application and reinforcement of
academic principles.

Within the classroom itself, the mwalimu must maintain a
personal presence of authority and control but with compassion
and sensitivity. That presence consists of a demeanor that
demands order and discipline, yet encourages the pursuit of
liberty. This essential presence is further characterized by self-
confidence, enthusiasm for learning and teaching, cultural
awareness and commitment. This presence will be apparent to
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the wanafunzi, and the wanafunzi, always alert to "vibes" and the nuances of unspoken language, will respond in a way that insures a productive and invigorated teaching/learning environment.

The initial response of the wanafunzi in the classroom is usually one of clear resistance and challenge. Indeed, the wanafunzi's demeanor is always characterized by some resistance, a certain measure of which is necessary and beneficial to the teaching/learning environment. That resistance is a function of both psycho-affective development and a manifestation of "oppositional behavior" born of the repressive socio-political and cultural condition of Afrikan people. Some of the immediate sources of that resistance include the increasing fragmentation of the community, and the atomization of the family as a consequence of the individualist propaganda of commercial interests. Other sources of that resistance include the prominence of non-Afrikan and non-community sources of information and values (particularly the infatuation with violence), and the prevalence of disregard for the traditional sources of authority within the family and community. The resistance that the perceptive mwalimu observes in the mwanafunzi goes beyond simple obstinacy, marginal self-motivation, negative attention getting, or simple mischief making, though it may be masked by these secondary behaviors.

It is the task, then, of the mwalimu to facilitate the redirection of the mwanafunzi's energy away from reactionary individual challenge and toward the social challenge of cultural/political analysis, study, and reconstruction of the Afrikan world. Given a strong, cohesive and functioning family/school/community environment and a capable and creative mwalimu, that resistance, like seedlings before the last spring frost, can be nurtured and shepherded into prominence. When that resistance is so nurtured, and thereby focused and defined through Afrikan centered dialogic methodology, that resistance can manifest itself in the creative, irrepressible

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and revolutionary spirit of a Harriet Tubman or Yaa Asantewa, or the force of a Marcus, Malcolm, Martin, or George Jackson. Among the male wanafunzi during the preadolescent/adolescent years, that resistance and the accompanying urge to redefine perceived problematic situations, is further intensified by the emergence of the "warrior spirit". It is the emergence of this virile and expansive warrior spirit that in traditional societies occasioned the prolonged isolation of the manchild. The purpose of that isolation was the inculcation of self-discipline, self-awareness, knowledge and appreciation of tradition and the boundaries and needs of social order. In the absence of that socially mandated training in discipline and order and of structured avenues for the application of that warrior spirit, it was clear to our ancestors that the spirit would be self-destructive and would indeed disrupt the very fiber of the society. The current epidemic of self-destructive violence among our young males that now paralyzes our communities is a direct consequence of inadequate institutional capacity to direct that warrior spirit. There are three directions possible for the manifestation of that resistance/spirit. They are (a) undisciplined and wanton mischief and self-destruction that serves to sustain our collective powerlessness and repression; (b) an aggressive accommodationism that acts as an agent of Eurocentric hegemony to further entrench our subordinate social status; or (c) a medium for attaining national liberation. It is the mission of the mwalimu, acting within the collective of family, school and community, to recognize that resistance, that spirit, and to heighten and focus it within a valuing context that is Afrikan centered. Thereafter, in collaboration with family, school and community, the mwalimu must channel that spirit to the purposes of national liberation and nationbuilding.

As indicated before, the mwalimu brings the accumulated wisdom of tradition and contemporary society to the classroom. The mwalimu's historical, cultural, and political knowledge must be comprehensive, and the mastery of some particular
area of study must also be complete. The mwalimu must be generally knowledgeable of the history of Afrika: of the major events and themes that characterize that history. He/she must additionally be knowledgeable of the involvement of Afrikans in world history, as well as the current involvement of Afrikans in the specific discipline being taught. That history and the Afrikan cultural/ideological construct it engenders provide the context for the skills and processes that are the objectives of the instruction.

Problem solving and inquiry skills in math and science can be developed using social, historical or technical situations that involve Afrikan people. The study of political parties could begin with a comparative study of the single and seminal multi-party systems in Afrikan states. The crises of drugs and homicides in our communities or the continuing legacy of instability amongst continental states are socio-political problems that can be used to facilitate those thinking skills and processes. The problems of agricultural production, economic systems, and health issues on the continent and in the diaspora are areas particularly rich for math and science studies, since the abundance of scientific data and technological options lends itself to research, synthesis, hypothesizing, and application skills. Critical and creative thinking, comprehension, decision making in the arts, literature and the social sciences can be developed using information and examples from the Afrikan historical/cultural experience. In using experiences from the real world, the subject area is demystified and brought within the realm of the possible for the mwanafunzi. Real life and historical Afrikan experiences identify and connect the mwanafunzi with the Afrikan cultural/historical continuum as they facilitate critical/creative analysis, and discovery of social relations. This real life context facilitates the interaction of the mwalimu and mwanafunzi, which must at all times be characterized by a reciprocity that occasions intellectual discovery and development by both.

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How: Methods and Goals

We have described the interaction of mwalimu and mwanafunzi as interactive, meaning that there is a vibrant exchange of information, mutual learning and inspiration. This interactive and reciprocal act of communication between mwalimu and mwanafunzi is exemplified by the communal circle in traditional Afrikan societies. It is the circle, with its counterclockwise motion, that facilitates the spiritual communion in traditional spiritual systems. It was the circle with the family elder or griot at the head that facilitated the intergenerational flow of history and culture. It is thus the interactive circle, so potent and central to our cultural experience, that must be adapted for use in an Afrikan centered pedagogy. That circle, which is explicitly collective and communal, can best facilitate the kind of dynamic and reciprocal discourse that is essential to the development of the truly liberated Afrikan personality. The circle is particularly well suited to facilitating the active participation of all its members, and it allows the mwalimu to easily adjust his/her posture from an egalitarian posture, to that of mediator, facilitator, lecturer, adversary, and various degrees in between. The circle is fluid enough that opportunity for mwanafunzi initiative and creativity is possible, and it can further the development of cooperative skills and a sense of reciprocity and mutual accountability. It can also facilitate the development of leadership and constituent skills.

The circle supersedes the mere stationary positioning of mwanafunzi and mwalimu in a circular arrangement. The central concern here is with the dynamic of the learning process, which the circular arrangement certainly facilitates. The interactive circle demands (a) a constant reciprocal flow of ideas, (b) actual physical movement by the mwalimu in order to vary his/her physical and psychic proximity, (c) maintenance of a certain level of intensity and anticipation, and (d) assurance of input, feedback and attention to all
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wanafunzi. Beyond the positioning and the interactive process, the circular dynamic is consistent with the Afrikan cultural/cognitive style. Hilliard and Akbar, among other Afrikan centered psychologists, have determined that the Afrikan cultural/cognitive style is characterized by the following:

A) Having circular cognitive organization
B) Sociocentric
C) People oriented
D) Intuitive
E) Relational
F) Spontaneous
G) Adaptive
H) Wholistic
J) Altruistic
K) Highly affective
L) Inferential reasoning style
M) Having non-verbal proficiency
   (body language, tonal nuance, etc.)
N) Empathic

The circular and wholistic features of the Afrikan cultural/cognitive style correspond with those cognitive processes that are associated with the right side of the brain. For the mwalimu or mzaizi (parent), it should be noted that neither hemisphere of the brain is entirely exclusive of the other, and that although the Afrikan brain centers and originates in the right, it is by no means limited regarding competencies associated with linear/analytic properties of the left hemisphere. It is also significant that the principle concern of the most advanced sciences is finding wholistic solutions to scientific and technological problems. Those problems include parallel processing in computer design; the attempts at unified theories in physics and psychology, and the linkage of science, mathematics, and humanities by the emerging science of chaos. This concern with wholistic solutions to the mysteries of the material world is an echo of the philosophy and scientific inquiries of ancient Kemet.

Included here are two different graphic representations of the interactive circle. The initial representation focuses on the actual learning/teaching encounter and demonstrates the interactive roles of family, school and community in that encounter (Figure 1). The second representation is intended to demonstrate the complementary roles of the principle actors in the whole enculturation process. Those actors are family, mwalimu, school, and community. Those actors and the wanafunzi are further interlocked by four connective elements in the collaborative effort that enculturation requires: (a) ideological alignment and mutual growth, (b) mutual commitment and accountability, (c) cultural alignment and involvement, and (d) physical proximity with substantive interaction (Figure 2).

The dynamism of the discourse within the interactive circle is what Freire describes as dialogical education. The essence of dialogical education is dialogue: which is “the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world... [it is] the encounter in which the united reflection and action of the dialoguers are addressed to the world which is to be transformed and humanized.” Dialogue, or reciprocal discourse between mwalimu and wanafunzi reaffirms the humanizing and civilizing feature of language. This very human interaction, even at the pre-school and primary levels, is most effective when used according to the child’s cognitive level. At this academic level and every level, the assorted manipulanda of texts, computers, assorted visual aices, etc are secondary, sometimes non-essential reinforcement media. Often the excessive use of manipulanda fosters the individualistic and materialistic focus of western society, and thereby undercuts the communalistic and collaborative nature of learning in an Afrikan centered context. Furthermore, the reliance on manipulatives diminishes the mwalimu’s responsibility as the primary human and humanizing conduit for
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cultural regeneration. Manipulatives alone cannot teach. The more fundamental skill for the mwalimu is the ability to manipulate language in such a way as to excite and direct the cognitive processes of the mwanafunzi.

Dialogue is perhaps more graphically demonstrated in the relationship between the traditional master drummer and the master dancer.

"The dancers move, and the musician finds the corresponding sounds. It is dialogue. Visible waves of body movement that seek and are answered by audible waves of music. The dialogue continues. Sometimes it becomes a debate, a competition."19

The relationship of the mwanafunzi to the mwalimu is like that of the drummer to the dancer. The drummer follows the lead of the dancer, and in this dialogue both are challenged and inspired to greater heights of artistry than anticipated. Ultimately both dancer and drummer, and the dance itself, are transformed.

Dialogue assumes a cultural and ideological context. That context is defined in different ideological perspectives on the reality of physical, spiritual, and socio-political conditions of a given culture. Dialogue occurs as the mwalimu seeks to illuminate the historical and contemporary relationships and processes that constitute that reality. Thereafter or during that process the mwalimu engages the mwanafunzi in critical and creative examination of those processes and relationships. During that examination both mwalimu and mwanafunzi whose interests are social/cultural transformation-reconstruction are themselves transformed.

Genuine dialogue, initiated within the interactive circle, and/or directed by the mwalimu, must aggressively engage the mwanafunzi in intellectual exchange, which exchange arises out of the work that is oriented toward general cultural-ideological goals. The goals of reconstruction and
reinvigoration of Afrikan culture, and the rebuilding of the Afrikan nation/world must be the ultimate objectives of all pedagogy. Each teaching/learning encounter must be informed by that objective.

In pursuit of that objective, the independent schools under the structure of the Council of Independent Black Institutions (CIBI)²⁰ have found it effective to incorporate valuing objectives as key components of instruction. Those valuing objectives employ the principles of the Nguzo Saba (Seven Principles) as the vehicle for imparting values that are consistent with and derivative of the ultimate objective.²¹ The principles of the Nguzo Saba include Umoja (unity), Kuujichagali (self determination), Ujima (collective work and responsibility), Ujamaa (cooperative economics), Nia (purpose), Kuumba (creativity), and Imani (faith).²²

Consciousness of those ultimate cultural/ideological goals will be less developed in the young mwanafunzi. With the younger mtoto (child), the mwali must engage them in dialogue that employs language and concepts appropriate to the child’s cognitive development and performance level. The mwali must create a physical environment of displays, learning centers, and activities within the classroom that reflect not only the cognitive level of the mwanafunzi, but also the level of cultural/ideological consciousness that the mwali determines is within the grasp of the mwanafunzi. Beyond the actual physical displays, the dynamics of the classroom and the actual teaching/learning process should facilitate the development of the creative and critical thinking abilities of the wanafunzi. The development of those abilities requires several elements including the mwali’s presence described earlier. It also requires that the actual content of the lessons reflect a balance of three considerations: a) school/community prescribed curriculum content, b) mwanafunzi interests, c) subject matter and activities that the mwali, mindful of mwanafunzi expressed interests and demonstrated readiness, determines to be most appropriate.
Practically speaking, the mwalimu will utilize a variety of teaching or assisting strategies during the course of a structured learning experience. Though it is imperative that the mwalimu remain conscious of the ultimate cultural-ideological goal or macro-objective, the actual teaching/facilitating/assisting process will encompass three broad phases. Those phases include (a) Didactic, (b) Dialogic Examination and Analysis, and (c) Synthesis and Application. Each phase has corresponding strategies, and content and cognitive objectives. The phases are not exclusive of each other, and may indeed occur simultaneously. (See Figure 3.)

The mwalimu must remain aware that each instructional phase, and the entire teaching/learning encounter, is aimed at cognitive reconfiguration. Cognitive reconfiguration refers to that process of altering existing patterns of thought and valuation, and stimulating or coaxing into action and directing the mwanafunzi’s self-generative abilities to create new patterns. The mwalimu must recognize that the difference between imposed patterns of thought and valuation on the one hand, and that process that is self generated in free association with the culture/collective on the other, is the difference between propaganda and teaching from the perspective of a humanizing Afrikan centered pedagogy.

The mission of Afrikan centered education echoes the objective of Pan Afrikanist ideology; the cultural, political-economic, and spiritual reconstruction and liberation of the Afrikan world. Within that broad mission, the objective of a pedagogy of liberation and nationbuilding is to facilitate the reordering of the mwanafunzi’s existent cognitive processes, and further to rehabilitate dormant structures unaffected by encounters with white supremacy. Additionally, it aims to facilitate the development of new processes that complement the new spiritual/political/cultural order; processes that are fully aligned with the traditional Afrikan cultural/historical continuum. Finally, pedagogy must serve as midwife in the birth of a re-Afrikanized, liberated, thinking human being.
Figure 3: Teaching/Facilitating/Assisting Process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Synthesis and Application</th>
<th>1. Role playing (Dramatization)</th>
<th>1. Evaluation and Synthesis</th>
<th>1. Independence</th>
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<td></td>
<td>2. Simulation and enactment</td>
<td>2. Reasoning (Inferencing)</td>
<td>2. Spirit</td>
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<td>3. Theory construction and</td>
<td>3. Decision Making (Choosing</td>
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<td>evaluation</td>
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<td>4. Project construction</td>
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Notes on an African Centered Pedagogy:

The progressive development of cultural consciousness of the wanafunzi will correspond with their relative cognitive abilities. In the instance of preschoolers, primary and early ideological focus and objectives. That focus is an implicit and essential component of that wanafunzi presence described earlier and must be a prominent feature in the character of the mwalimu. During the course of the late middle and high school years, progressively more ideological focus is provided by the community and nation. The wanafunzi must be aware and visibly affected by the power of the mwalimu and his ideological goals throughout the formal instruction of those cultural, cultural conviction, purposefulness and ideological clarity. Equally important is the explicit elaboration of those ideological clarity and social interaction. Also necessary are classroom displays, and the level of mwalimu expectations. Dialogue in this fashion is fundamentally generative. When undertaken as an essential component of a comprehensive educational program, its outcome goes beyond mere transformational processes and ideological goals for the wanafunzi. A new social order and a new person, a liberated personality, is thereby sustained by the very dialogical methodology, which is the essence of understanding the hegemony of European culture, and the dominance of that culture, the mwalimu, and institutionally based perpetuation of that culture. Parents, school and community, the wanafunzi, provide the truth of our history, our current condition, and our future as a people. The mwalimu would betray their mission were they to go and take, that brought them into existence.
to engage in actions that discouraged creative and critical thought, that divorced their dialogue from the reality of the Afrikan struggle for cultural/historical truth and national reconstruction. Our children’s commitment to this struggle and to the culture and ideology can only come through the exercise of their individual thought processes: that is, through the knowledge and discovery of historical truths; through comparison; hypothesizing and testing through debate, trial, and application; through analysis and synthesis; through creative and critical thinking; through problem resolution processes; and through final evaluation and decision making.

It is the absence of thoughtful and engaging dialogue referenced on creative and goal-oriented work that portends the presence of indoctrination and propaganda. Propaganda seeks to “invade the whole man, to lead him to adopt a mystical attitude and reach him through all possible psychological channels and it does not tolerate discussion... it excludes contradiction and discussion.”24 We have seen occasion where well intentioned waliimu in independent schools and cultural enrichment programs have approached child and adult alike as mere psychic receptacles to be filled with historical truth. This truth thus implanted is then expected to neutralize the psychic and spiritual distortions/disorders born of miseducation, and birth a new person. In actuality, this approach denigrates the intellectual capacity of the mwanafunzi and implicitly places the mwalimu in a dominant position similar to the hegemonic position of Eurocentric culture.

There is no rebirth here, only dogma and the frail trappings of fragmented cultural consciousness. Both dogma and incomplete consciousness fail ignominiously when confronted by strong argument, material inducements, or the relentless propaganda of the popular media. Too many of the children and adults who have matriculated through our programs have abandoned the Afrikan centered cultural framework because we were not successful in reaching them psychically and spiritually. We erroneously assumed that the truth alone, once

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presented, would set them free. We naively underestimated the relentless and hypnotic effect of Eurocentric social propaganda. It is true that many of our people are so culturally alienated that engaging them in meaningful interaction is impossible.

The task of the mwalimu is to make the teaching/learning experience of the interactive circle sufficiently intense, stimulating, and comprehensive as to both counteract the Eurocentric cultural hegemony and facilitate the self determined, creative and critical synthesis, discovery, and commitment to a self reflective cultural formation: an Afrikan centered nationality.

The battle front for Afrikans in America is the consciousness of our people, and the dominant culture will use every vehicle at its disposal to maintain its grip on that consciousness. It is the mwalimu — confident, capable, and committed, employing a broad repertoire of techniques within the interactive circle — who stands as the first sentinel in the war to recapture our people’s minds, engender the liberated Afrikan personality, and reconstruct the Afrikan nation/world.

ENDNOTES


2. Refer to the works of Lerone Bennett, Maulana Karenga, Sterling Stuckey, and Harold Cruse.


4. The reference here includes consideration of the divergent nationalist interests of Japan, a newly assertive and unified European Community, the U.S.A. and other capitalist powers. The W.W II legacy of American dominance in international finance and productivity is being rapidly eroded, with fears of imminent decline prevalent within the mainstream American polity.
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18. Freire. Pedagogy of the Oppressed


20. The Council of Independent Black Institutions was formed in 1968 as a national organization of independent Afrikan centered educational institutions. Activities of CIBI include teacher training, national student activities, curriculum development, clearing house for information on independent schools, and accreditation.


23. Fanon, Franz, The Wretched of The Earth. p. 245.

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An Afrikan centered curriculum must be concerned with addressing several questions, including the following: what knowledge and skills (spiritual, intellectual and physical) are valuable; how is that knowledge and those skills to be transmitted and their mastery assured; and what are the specific social and personal objectives of that curriculum. Answering these and related questions within a coherent and consistent framework, one informed by the generally accepted precepts of Afrikan nationalism and Pan Afrikanism can provide us with the substance of an Afrikan centered curriculum. The complexity and difficulty of answering these questions is compounded by the number and variety of the sources for the answers to the questions. Those sources include; the diversity of opinion and experience within the Afrikan centered community, the historic models of Afrikan American education, models from progressive continental Afrikan nations, and the long tradition of nationalist thought and action. The difficulty of developing a truly Afrikan centered curriculum, however, is more than offset by the urgent need for continuity and clarity within the Afrikan centered/nationalist cultural/ideological tradition. A truly Afrikan centered curriculum would not only bring greater focus and order to those institutions charged with education, but the need to operationalize certain concepts and objectives of Afrikan centered education for inclu-
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sion within the curriculum. It would stimulate additional critical/creative dialogue among the advocates of Afrikan centered education and Afrikan nationalists/Pan Afrikanists.

The effort here will be confined to discussing what can be considered the four most crucial areas to be addressed in constructing a curriculum that can be considered truly Afrikan centered. Those areas are curriculum philosophy, curriculum design, curriculum implementation and curriculum evaluation. The scope of the curriculum elaborated here begins at the preschool level (2 1/2 years) and continues through the high school level, and reflects the work of several independent Afrikan centered institutions. Much of the work of preparing an Afrikan centered curriculum has been anticipated by the work of the independent Afrikan centered schools over the course of the last twenty-five years, and much of the discussion here will be informed by the experience of those institutions.

Curriculum is less an exact discipline than a pragmatic response to the dominant or prevailing ideology, available resources, and political considerations. In this regard the Afrikan centered institutions, not unlike other educational systems, lack the level of ideological or philosophical consistency and internal coherency that their stated curriculum objectives require. The lack of ideological coherency that is found within the independent schools is in large measure a reflection of the fragmentation of nationalist thought that has made it almost "impossible today to codify nationalist thought so as to make much practical and programmatic sense" in educational terms. The current dialogue, literature, and research being produced by the advocates of Afrikan centered education have provided the independent schools with a greater measure of ideological coherency.

Those stated objectives of the independent schools can be categorized in three curricular domains. They include, first, the objectives that are inherent within the cultural/historical construct defined by Afrikan nationalist/Pan Afrikanism, the cultural/ideological objectives. A second curricular domain

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would be those socio-political and economic objectives that fall within the particular ideological parameters of Pan Afrikanism. A third curricular domain would be those objectives that are concerned with the psycho-affective and spiritual condition of the Afrikan family, the individual, and the community.

The domains of the curriculum reflect the sources of curriculum. The primary source is the cultural formation within which the curriculum is to be constructed. That culture, for the purposes of transmission within a formal system of education, is organized in relatively distinct areas of accumulated knowledge. A second source of curriculum is the particular ideology which defines and prioritizes social objectives and values, and elaborates an intradisciplinary language for its advocates and practitioners.

A third source includes those political considerations that emanate from within the Afrikan community and those that originate outside the community. Within the community those political considerations revolve principally around the issue of developing a consensus on theory, and the priority of collective and institutional action. Those considerations that originate outside the community include the deterioration of education processes within the public schools, the conservative and adversarial posture of school boards and administrators, the requirements of licensure and accrediting agencies, test and textbook publishers, the national task force reports on education and their impact on public policy, the hostility of the white academia and the popular media, international developments and relations, and others.

A fourth source of curriculum are the families, the individual children and adults that are the intended beneficiaries of the curriculum. They are far from being passive recipients. Their constructive and dynamic interaction with school teachers and administrators are what energizes the curriculum. It is the people origin of the Afrikan centered curriculum that contributes to its uniqueness. The development of the Afrikan centered curriculum has been led by practitioners, the teachers,

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PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS

The philosophical foundation of an Afrikan centered curriculum consists of nationalism/Pan Afrikanism as an ideology and popular movement. The philosophical foundation is crucial because that foundation determines in large measure the goals of the curriculum. That philosophical foundation also serves as the basis for educational principles and policy upon which decisions about schools are made. Arguments by mainstream, Eurocentric curriculists that curriculum should not be based on a singular philosophy second ignore the reality that much of what passes for education in this country is indeed based on a singular philosophy, that of white Judeo-Christian nationalism. It is interesting that as the white leadership and the white population adjust to the changing mosaic of national and world affairs, they are rediscovering and reaffirming the determinative “whiteness” component of their “European American” ethnicity. What has traditionally been presented as the “universal” norm and standard has been no more than a manifestation of Euro-American hegemony that masked “a nation that lies to itself about who and what it is...a nation of minorities ruled by a minority of one...White Anglo Saxon Protestants.”

The history of nationalist thought, of which Afrocentrism is a contemporary expression, begins with our arrival on these shores. Nationalism for Afrikan in America was initially confirmed in the early “sense of nationhood in slavery that arose out of that sense amongst our ancestors which was at times [a] resistance [that] was fierce and roused feelings of unity in blacks, especially when they were fighting to hold on to their children.” The early nationalist/separatist urge is...
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Martin Delaney, Alexander Crummel and Bishop Henry McNeil Turner would champion the cause of emigration; returning to Afrika "to create an event, and establish a national position for ourselves: and never may we expect to be respected as men and women, until we have undertaken some fearless, bold, and adventurous deeds of daring... a nation, to whom all the world must pay commercial tribute." It was Delaney who anticipated Marcus Garvey in his attempt to "develop and express an Afrikan nationality based on the homeland experience, yet at the same time participate responsibly in struggle against the bondage of Afrikan people in the Americas." That "Afrikan nationality" found expression throughout the 19th century in calls for commercial development within the Afrikan community with affirmations of the "key to business is race unity" by The Invincible Sons and Daughters of Commerce, 1899.

The themes of Afrikan nationality, Afrikan development, economic self determination, racial unity and development, institutional development, and cultural identification with Afrika reached their highest development under the leadership of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Garvey echoed Delaney in exhorting the race to "build [its] own government, industry, art, science, literature and culture... [because] no Negro shall be truly respected until the race as a whole has emancipated itself through self-achievement and progress... working for the universal emancipation of our race and the redemption of our common country, Africa." The confluence of organizational genius, charisma, political climate and inspiration permitted Garvey to build "a mass organization that went beyond mere Civil Rights agitation and protest and based itself upon a definite, well-thought out program that he believed would lead to the total emancipation of the race from white dominion."

Building on the foundation provided by Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X was able to galvanize the

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Afrikan American population in a way reminiscent of Garvey and Delaney with his linkage of our Afrikan heritage and the nationalist struggles of the continent, and those of Afrikans in America:

"it is impossible for any black group in America to become involved in any kind of political organization that doesn't have some roots directly connected with our roots on the Afrikan Continent.

The nationalist intellectual tradition was constrained in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by several factors, including the spiritual and psychic debilitation and impoverishment of Afrikans both enslaved and free. The education and intellectual tradition within which the most outstanding spokesmen were educated was judeo-christian Eurocentrism, and most of those leaders had few opportunities or resources to reestablish their cultural linkage with the motherland, Afrika.

A strong and recurrent theme in nationalist thought from the middle 17th to the contemporary Afrikan centered education movement, is the theme of justice, compassion, and concern for the status of Afrikan women. The call for racial unity on this continent was linked with declarations of human equality and the "position of the women [which shall determine] the potency and respectability of [the] nation."

In contemporary nationalist thought, much of the initiative to redress the limitations of that intellectual tradition and thereby provide nationalism with the coherency and dynamism must be credited to Cheikh Anta Diop. Diop's exhaustive and impeccable research and tireless advocacy of the primacy of Afrikan civilization and its gift of science, mathematics, religion, philosophy, script, and government to the world, provided much of the basis for the current Afrikan centered movement. Diop's formidable research and advocacy added impetus to the coterminous efforts of Chancellor Williams, John Henrik Clarke, and Yosef ben-Jochannan. These researchers and historians were joined by others of equal inspi-
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ration and competence who, conscious of the cultural and ideological construct in which much of history is perceived, interpreted, documented, and transmitted, are still actively unveiling the true history of Afrika and its people.

That history and the continental and global Afrikan culture it engendered provide the basis for the current Afrikan centered movement. That movement has gained, through intense and ongoing Afrikan centered research and discourse, the intellectual clarity and focus and the cultural grounding that escaped the early advocates of nationalism. The principal advocates of Afrikan centered education and worldview echo their nationalist forebears of three centuries in emphasizing: the primacy of Afrikan civilization; our Afrikan heritage; the reality of an Afrikan American nationality; Pan Afrikan cultural, political, and economic cooperation and development (self sufficiency); spiritual and moral upliftment; equal rights and participation of women; independent institutions; humanism; and justice. Perhaps most importantly, the current Afrikan centered movement provides the nationalist movement with a dynamic, immensely competent, and creative intellectual core that provides the nationalist movement with coherence, incisive and inspired analysis, clarity, and vision.

Afrikan Centered Thematic Inventory

The major recurrent themes in nationalist/Pan Afrikan theories of liberation provide the philosophical foundation of the Afrikan centered curriculum. Those themes can be broadly grouped into three curricular domains described earlier: culture and ideology, socio-political and economic, and spirituality and the psycho-affective. Within each domain, the major themes and their fundamental assumptions and aims are listed below. The combined listing provides us with an inventory of major Afrikan centered themes, fundamental assumptions, and curricular aims that can be derived from those assumptions. The themes and assumptions include nationalist concepts and sentiments that have been voiced by Afrikan people throughout our history both in this country and Afrika. The concept of an inventory is appropriate in that it reflects the idea that effective ideology is finally a collectively determined phenomenon based on a consensus born of intergenerational experience and reflection. The curricular aims which flow from those themes and assumptions are an effort to operationalize the major tenets or assumptions of that ideology both for use in the classroom and for use in the determination of the theoretical parameters of Afrikan centered educational theory. We will refer to the inventory of themes and assumptions here as the Afrikan Centered Thematic Inventory (ACTI).

The Afrikan Centered Thematic Inventory

I. Spirituality and the Psycho-Affective

SPIRITUAL AWARENESS
Fundamental Assumptions:
1. The Afrikan man/woman lives in a spiritual world, every thing he/she does is linked with all of nature/spirt. ........................................... 22
2. The human is divine and the demonstration of this joining of divine and human is the height of religious experience, as the spirits manifest themselves in us (spiritual possession). .......................... 23
3. The divine essence consists of complimentary elements, female and male. .......................... 24

Aim:

To transmit the knowledge of Afrikan spiritual tradition, and develop an appreciation for tradition and the ability to apply the major principles to self, family and community

MORAL CONSCIOUSNESS
Fundamental Assumptions:
1. Moral wisdom is the service of social and human good. ........................................... 25

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2. Restore and enrich righteousness through the practice of truth, justice, propriety, harmony, balance, reciprocity and order. ........................................... 26

3. Royalty is royal worth, the highest in character, wisdom, sense of justice and courage. ......................................................... 27

4. The trouble of one is the trouble of all. ........................................ 28

Aims:

To foster an understanding and willingness to be guided by those principles that characterize the righteous and just person

Family as Basic Spiritual and Moral Unit

Fundamental Assumptions:

1. The family is the primary social, judicial, economic and political unit in the society. ......................................................... 29

2. I am because we are, and because we are, I am. Afrikán Proverb

3. The family can only grow, it cannot diminish, for the ancestors and the unborn are continuing members of it. ......................... 30

4. The extended family is a cooperative in spirit and practice. It should become the basic economic unit of the nation. ..................... 31

5. If a family unit cannot instruct the young in harmonious patterns of relating between adult males and females, then ultimately the people will perish because adult male and female alienation eventually leads to the end of the procreative process. Without the young, the people will have no future. ....................................................... 32

Aim:

To develop an understanding and appreciation for the dynamics affecting the Afrikán family; to recognize its centrality to the Afrikán nationality, and work to revitalize it.

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SELF KNOWLEDGE/PRACTICE

Fundamental Assumptions

1. The personal is inseparable from the social, that righteousness and restraint are always achieved, tested and tempered with others. ........................................ 33

2. Righteousness begins with family relations that makes one praised by the father, loved by the mother and cherished by brothers and sisters. ........................................ 34

3. Self discipline and silence is the preeminent virtue of the good man/woman. ................................................................. 35

Aim:

To facilitate the achievement of total knowledge of self as a unique extension of the collective, defined by the collective and committed to it.

ANCESTRAL Veneration

Fundamental Assumptions:

1. Follow in the footsteps of the ancestors and honor them, for the mind is trained through knowledge. Khemetic Proverb

2. The ancestors, though departed from the physical world, dwell in close proximity and they can provide guidance and inspiration to the living. ........................................ 36

3. Our ancestors deserve respect because they are our predecessors and they are our elders. In the spiritual state they are in unhindered touch with the essence of things. ....................................................... 37

4. The elders of the community do not die, but upon physical death are reborn into the spiritual realm as ancestors, and so long as we remember them they continue to be part of the family and community. ....................................................... 38

5. Rites of ancestral veneration are methods of communion and communication.

Aim:

To facilitate the acquisition and valuing of the wisdom of the ancestors; and to foster a commitment to restore their works and make those works even better than before. ...................................................... 39
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II. Cultural and Ideological

THE PRIMACY OF AFRIKAN CIVILIZATION AND THE AFRIKAN ORIGIN OF THE HUMAN SPECIES

*Fundamental Assumptions:*

1. Afrika is the cradle of humanity and civilization.
2. Fossil evidence, molecular biology, logic, and history prove conclusively that the earliest and modern humans were Afrikans; that all the other races of humanity were relatively recent, environmentally-induced, genetic mutations of the original Afrikan/Black race.
3. Afrikans created the first civilizations in the world, predating others by thousands of years.
4. The earliest civilizations were founded by Afrikans who in early prehistory entered a large north-south migration to the Nile valley then fanning out across the continent.
5. The story of the black kingdoms of Southeast Asia is in essence the story of the Black race in early Asian history; builders of the earliest kingdoms, only to be overwhelmed in the end. The early and intermittent Black influence in Asia, however, is permanent and everlasting, and the Asian nations of today, whether conscious of it or not, have merely raised themselves under an African tutelage.
6. The indigenous people of Kemet were Afrikans of the same type as their tropical western, central and southern Afrikan brothers and sisters.
7. Kemet was the center of the body of ancient wisdom, and knowledge, religious, philosophico-scientific, spread to other lands through student Initiates.
8. The early civilizations of West and South Afrika, including Ghana, Nok-Ife and Zimbabwe, date back to 1000 BCE and were coterminous with Pharonic Kemet.
9. Afrikans of ancient Kemet and Afrikan civilizations within the first one and one-half millennia CE established and maintained trade and relations between indigenous American and Asian civiliza-

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Aim:
To develop and inform a complete and more comprehensive historical consciousness, from antiquity to the contemporary, that will be the basis of Afrikan unity and development.

AFRIKAN HERITAGE AND CULTURAL UNITY

*Fundamental Assumptions*

1. The Afrikan languages constitute one linguistic family.
2. The study of Afrikan phenomena, events, ideas, and personalities must begin with the analysis from the primitivism of classical Afrikan civilizations (Kemet, Nubia, Axum, Meroe).
3. The fragmentation and isolation of Afrikan people over the last two, millennia is a consequence of the conquest, and destruction of Afrikan civilizations and enslavement of Afrikan people by Asian and European invaders.
4. All of Afrika's various ethnic and national formations must discover the profound over-all kinship, including cultural, linguistic, social and historical, which makes them part of a wider spatial and socio-cultural community and which provides the basis for Afrikan unity.

Aim:
To develop an appreciation of the need to foster cultural, and political unity among all Afrikan people, and to commit oneself to that task.

AFRIKAN CENTERED HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE
(AFRIKAN PERSPECTIVE ON ALL KNOWLEDGE AND INTELLECTUAL ENDEAVOR)

*Fundamental Assumptions:*

1. Afrikan history is the struggle and record of Afrikans in the process of Afrikanizing the world; i.e. shaping it in their own image and interests. Afrikan history is a solution to Afrikan identity in
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terms of determining origin and achievement. .... 52

2. A strong vision and identity with our past is the only sound basis for constructing an independent future. Once we have identified and eliminated the cause of our historical downfall, we will be in a position to reclaim our worldwide freedom. .... 53

3. Knowledge occurs within the context of the culture that discovers or invents it. That knowledge is centered within that culture and does not exist apart from the values and dynamics fundamental to that culture.

Aim:

To develop a commitment to reconstruct Afrikan culture through the reclamation of Afrikan history and the critical/creative analysis of all knowledge and experience from an Afrikan centered perspective

IDEOLOGICAL CLARITY AND COMMITMENT

Fundamental Assumptions:

1. An ideology is a set of principles drawn from the historical experience of a particular people and as such, it provides the guidelines for action, for change, in the direction desired by that people... 54

2. The development of an ideology of Afrikan unity and liberation requires a dedicated group of Afrocentric scholars, researchers, and activists who are committed to extracting from history and contemporary experience those principles that will guide Afrikan to liberation, independence and self determination. ........................................ 55

3. Integration/assimilation as an ideology has contributed little to Afrikan liberation, because its fundamental premise validates the existent socio-economic order that subjugates and exploits Afrikan people.

4. Afrikan nationalist thought must organize itself into a unified force with clear and concise programmatic applications. ........................................ 56

5. The political, economic and social philosophy of Black nationalism instills within the Afrikan the

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racial dignity, the incentive and the confidence that he needs to stand on his own feet and take a stand for himself. ................................. 57

Aim:

To foster an identification with and a desire to participate in the ongoing dialogue aimed at creating a coherent and dynamic Afrikan/nationalist ideology for the liberation and independence of Afrikan people

BEAUTY AND AESTHETICS

Fundamental Assumptions:

1. The standard of beauty within a race is determined by that which is typical or unique to the race, not by comparing it to other races. We must not lose our identity to emulate someone else through bleaching processes and hair straightening escapades... but celebrate that which is typical of Afrika. .................................................. 58

2. All aesthetics [conceptions of beauty] find their sources in spiritual, emotional, and intellectual resemblance..it reflects the idealized versions of ourselves, of our culture. .................................................. 59

Aim:

To foster the development of a sense of the beautiful and righteousness that is Afrikan centered

WHITE SUPREMACY AND RACISM

Fundamental Assumptions:

1. There is only one functioning racism in the known world, white supremacy. Racism is a universally operating system of white supremacy and domination in which the majority of the world's white people participate and benefit. The goal of white supremacy is none other then the establishment, maintenance, expansion and refinement of world domination by the group classifying itself as the white race. .................................................. 60
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2. Whites of color-deficient Europe have responded psychologically with a profound sense of numerical inadequacy and color inferiority and developed an uncontrollable sense of hostility and aggression... the most profound aggression has been directed towards Black people, who have the greatest color potential and, therefore, are the most envied and feared in genetic color competition. .........................................................

3. Racism is both overt and covert. It takes two closely related forms: individual whites acting against individual blacks and acts by the total white community against the total black community. We call these individual racism and institutional racism. .................................................................

4. Personal racism remains unabated... Institutional racism has [given] way to process racism. The idea is to give the impression of running while standing still. .................................................................

5. Racism incorporates bias, prejudice and bigotry, and simultaneously supersedes them to incorporate the willful, systematic, and sustained inferiorization of a people's (phylogenetically and culturally determined) history and culture, and the domination, restraint and exploitation of that people economically, politically and socially. Racism is psychic and cultural. It is both individual and collective, institutional and procedural; covert and overt. It is affected only through force and power; that is, the conscious wielding of vastly superior political and economic power, and the power of social propaganda to maintain the superior status of the dominant people vis-a-vis the subordinate people.

Aim:

To develop an awareness and sensitivity to the dynamics of white supremacy. To facilitate the development of personal and collective strategies to counteract the effects of racism/white supremacy.

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III. SOCIO-POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC

PAN AFRIKAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC UNITY, COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Fundamental Assumptions:

1. The future of Blacks all over the world is interconnected. It was so in the past when Black civilizations were under serious pressure. It is even more so in the present. A continental African state is a prerequisite for the survival of Black societies wherever they might be. Black communities must find a way to articulate their historical unity. The ties between Black Afrikans, and the Blacks of Asia, Oceania, the Caribbean, South America and the United States must be strengthened on a rational basis. .................................................................

2. The white man as an enemy of Blacks will become less and less a fact and his hostile or contemptuous attitude will change to more and more respect if and when this race begins to move forward on three fronts; massive organization, nationwide economic development program promoted by a unified race organization, and political action. .................................................................

3. [Afrikan] people of the world will have either to consciously, through their own organization, go forward to the point of destiny as laid out by themselves, or they must sit quiescently and see themselves pushed back into the mire of economic servitude. .................................................................

4. Economic activities are fundamental and indispensable to any upward movement. .................................................................

5. The African revolution will have to be technical, spiritual and cultural. It will have to preserve and enhance the best of old Africa, which will be the main ingredient for the Africa still to come. At the heart of the solution will be the concept of Pan-Africanism — a dynamic program of Pan Africanism — working for the unity of African people throughout the world. .................................................................
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Aim:
To instill a commitment to developing Pan Afrikan cultural, political and economic unity and cooperation.

AFRIKAN AMERICAN NATIONALITY

Fundamental Assumptions:

1. We are a nation within a nation. ......................... 69
2. The Afrikans in America, never quiet, never docile, never willing to accept the condition of degradation and enslavement forced upon them, from the beginning...sought to free themselves from slavery and oppression and to build one or more new states to protect their persons and their national personality. ............................................. 70
3. A great nationwide organization unifying the race would provide the organized power base, the only position respected at this stage of human development, for great achievements. ....................... 71
4. Independence of nationality, independence of government is the means of protecting not only the individual, but the group... Nationhood is the highest ideal of all peoples. ......................... 72

Aim:
To foster the commitment to the development of an organized, unified, productive, and dynamic nationality of Afrikans in America.

NATIONAL AND COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

Fundamental Assumptions:

1. The age of the single Big Leader Spokesman has passed... What is required, in fact demanded, for Black survival is a form of national council of collective leadership, a new concept of leadership. 73
2. Leadership of the Afrikan American nationality should be provided by a modernization of the traditional council of elders, which would become the highest governing authority on the local community, state and national level. .................. 74
3. The people are the first and final source of power.

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[The leadership] are the elected representatives of the people and the instruments for executing their will. ................................................................. 75

4. Effective leadership requires vision, administrative skill, inspiration, ability to motivate, flexibility, ideological and moral consistency, organizing ability, historical consciousness, ideological clarity, and courage. .................................................. 76

5. Our children should be picked out and trained for leadership from birth. You can watch how that child handles a fork; watch that child's ability to share with a group; watch that child's ability to protect the group and accept the training that will make that child improve. We should spot leaders early and begin to train them. We should make a priesthood of this effort. ........................................... 77

Aim:
To develop an awareness of the necessary qualities of leadership and to inculcate those necessary values and skills of leadership that are essential to the liberation and development of Afrikan people

COEQUALITY OF MEN AND WOMEN: EQUAL RESPONSIBILITY AND PARTICIPATION

Fundamental Assumptions:

1. On the basis of sexual equality and the heightened preeminence enjoyed by the Afrikan woman, we may infer that the Afrikan man and woman by mutual agreement organized the Extended Family on a matrilineal basis. ........................................ 78
2. When both the Black male and the Black female take up the struggle for justice against white supremacy, they are endowed with the strongest possible insurance that they will remain united. They are united in a common effort against injustice, and simultaneously they express the strongest possible statement about respect and love for themselves as individuals. In doing this, the Black male and Black female are declaring that they have conferred upon themselves the highest
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possible value, which is essential if there is to be self and group defense. ........................................... 79

Aim:

To develop a sensitivity and commitment to eliminate any behaviors typical of sexism or sexual exploitation.

DEMOCRATIC PLURALITY OF RACIAL/ETHNIC NATIONALITIES IN THE AMERICAN POLITICAL ECONOMY

Fundamental assumptions:

1. The problem of the [American nation-state] is that the peoples of the subordinated Indian, New African, and Puerto Rican nations have been denied the right to self-determination. .......... 80

2. Every other ethnic group in America, a 'nation of nations', has accepted the fact of its separateness and used it to its own social advantage. .......... 81

3. The American constitution does not reflect the fact that the United States is a nation of nations, an aggregation of ethnic and religious groups having or seeking power. .................. 82

4. The very logic of self defense necessitates the group consolidation of the [Afrikan American] for that very purpose. But ethnic group unification for self-defense must also carry with it the logical commitment to economic, political, and cultural unification which is the very opposite of individual tendencies toward integration and assimilation. .. 83

5. The country is not homogeneous. A fateful triangular tension among national groups is coming to the fore...this triangle comprising Anglo Saxon nationalism, Black nationalism, and Jewish nationalism (Zionism) .................. 84

Aim:

To foster a profound awareness of the psychic and constitutional entrenchment of white racial/ethnic supremacy in the U.S. and to develop a commitment to advance the Afrikan nationality within the "nation of nations" that the American political economy in fact is

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HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Fundamental Assumptions:

1. We shall never use our physical prowess to oppress the human race, but we will use our strength, physically, morally and otherwise, to preserve humanity and civilization. .................. 85

2. The Afrocentric method seeks to transform human reality by ushering in a human openness to cultural pluralism which cannot exist without the unlocking of the minds for acceptance of an expansion of consciousness. .................. 86

Aim:

To foster an awareness of one of the higher goals of social activism, the creation of a world order that is culturally pluralistic and truly democratic, equalitarian, and just.

IMPEDEMENTS

Fundamental Assumptions

1. The necessary re-education of Blacks and a possible solution of racial crises can begin, strangely enough only when Blacks fully realize this central fact in their lives: The White man is their Bitter Enemy. For this is not the ranting of wild eyed militancy, but the calm and unmistakable verdict of several thousand years of documented history. .................. 87

2. Recently there has been an unravelling and an analysis of the core issue of the first global power system of mass oppression - the power system of racism (white supremacy). Once the collective victim understands this fundamental issue, the ultimate organizing of all the appropriate behaviors necessary to neutralize the great injustice of the white supremacy power system will be only a matter of time. The length of time required to neutralize global white supremacy will be inversely proportional to 1) the level of understanding of the phenomenon; plus 2) the evolution of self-and group- respect, the will, determination and
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discipline to practice the appropriate counter-racist behaviors. .......................... 88
3. The greatest weapon used against the Negro is 91
DISORGANIZATION. ........................... 89
4. ... If you have no confidence in self you are twice 90
defeated the race of life. With confidence you have won even before you have started. .... 90
5. With our goodness (our built-in hope), our 91
beautiful humanity, our belief in justice for all
people, we fall into their traps... Because we have
not learned to practice, figuratively speaking, the
essential selfishness of survival, we should give no
piece of the pie until every member of our family
has a piece of the pie... When we began to lose
these nation lessons we began to move deeper and
deeper into a trap, into a trap of dependency. .... 91
6. In the years since our forced exile from Africa we
have been in one crisis after another over leader-
ship. We stand at the crossroads of history
engaged in a sad debate over direction and
definition in political leadership... The one thing
oppression does to a people is to kill in them the
mind and the will to assume responsibility. When
you get on the edge of power you experience a
critical moment of self-discovery and that is the
tragic separation from having lost power, and this
is part of what our conflict is about. ............... 92
7. If African people the world over are to save
themselves, they must find a way to reclaim some
of the life sustaining things they lost in slavery,
colonialism and through the massive anti-African
propaganda dispensed by Europeans all over the
world. It is basic that African people, and all
people, regain their self-confidence and their
image of God as they originally conceived Him or
Her to be. In the conquest of most of the non-
European world, Europe's greatest achievement
was the conquest of the mind. ..................... 93
8. Whether we wish to acknowledge the fact or not,
there are three hegemonist forces engaged in a
new scramble for Africa right now, a whole
century after the infamous Berlin Conference...

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There is the West, which we all know about and
which most anti-colonialists focus exclusively
upon. There is the Soviet Bloc... Then there is
the Arab world which, using oil money and Islam,
has revived its ancient mission to take over and
arabise Africa... Arabisation means the abandon-
ing of African names, clothes, languages customs,
religions, architecture, social organisation, political
norms, etc., and substitution of Arab ones usually
under the guise that they are Islamic, not Arabic.94
9. Objections, even violent objection, to any
organisation exclusively for the black race can be
expected from those Africans who are victims of
the various pseudo-universalists doctrines which
make white hegemony acceptable to its victims.
For instance, African Christians... [adherents of]
Afro-Arab solidarity; those white sponsored
universalisms have strong appeal for those blacks
who are anxious to escape their racial particularity
into some alleged universality. ........................ 95

Aim:

To inculcate a clear understanding of the historical
impediments to Afrikan liberation and develop-
ment, and further to provide a clear criteria for
identifying and handling those less obvious
impediments to the advancement of the race.

INSTITUTIONAL GOALS

Fundamental Assumptions

1. NATIONHOOD is the only means by which
modern civilization can completely protect itself.
Independence of government is the means of
protecting not only the individual, but the group.
Nationhood is the highest ideal of all peoples...
All of us may not live to see the higher accom-
plishment of an African empire - so strong and
powerful, as to compel the respect of mankind,
but we in our life-time can so work and act as to
make the dream a possibility within another
generation. .................................. 96
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2. What is proposed here is a moratorium on futile rhetoric and the beginning of real racial unity through an action program never attempted before... A mass organization expressly planned to enrich the lives of the people on all fronts, and directly through the peoples' ownership of, and profit-sharing in all economic enterprises... a program to form hundreds of organizations into one vast nation body of millions, with each society carrying on its own functions as before except in matters concerning the whole race, or organize by families and individuals, community by community and state by state. 

3. There is a need for an operational definition of Pan Africanism and Afrikan nationalism that will be broad enough to include all Africans in the world. We have lived through the longest and most tragic Holocaust in human history. Every attempt has been made to dehumanize us and deny our humanity. I am of the belief that faith has preserved African people for a special purpose on the earth. We are the only people who can make universal promises and keep them, because we have no designs on the lands or the resources of other people. Part of our mission should be first and foremost to deliver Africa to African people. And from the vantage point of our Africanness, we can give the world a new definition of freedom and responsibility. If this is our mission it is also the legacy that we leave for our children and other children still unborn.

Aim:

To foster a clear understanding of our mission to build the institutional infrastructure of an independent nationality, and to foster a conscious commitment to advance the Afrikan nation and race toward independence and freedom, and the human race toward greater humanity.

Towards an Afrikan Centered Curriculum DESIGN

The generative theme of Afrikan centered nationalist thought, and the theme which lies at the basis of the ACTI is nationbuilding. Nationbuilding entails reaching back into historical origins, "rescuing and restoring" the culture and history of Afrikan people (Sankofa). Nationbuilding further encompasses the process of elaborating an ideology which in turn serves as a cohering force for the constituency that is mobilized by it toward specific goals. Nationbuilding as the generative theme for the philosophical foundation of the Afrikan centered curriculum will necessarily act as the guiding principle for the design of the Afrikan centered curriculum.

Given the guiding role of nationbuilding as a theme and the subset of themes in the ACTI, it follows that the design of the Afrikan centered curriculum must meet several criteria. First, the organization of the subject content must be integrated both horizontally and vertically, in such a way that it stresses wholism, and provides adequate detail appropriate for the level of instruction (cognitive level of the students), and comprehensive enough to maintain the interrelated nature of the curricular fields. Second, the curriculum must be purposeful and mission oriented; that mission being the reconstitution of Afrikans in America as a unified cultural, political, and economic, self-determinant national entity. Third, the curriculum must reflect a humanistic concern with the self awareness of the learner, and the dynamic and reciprocal relationship of teacher, learner, family and community. The fourth criteria of the Afrikan centered curriculum is that it be integrated with the real efforts of institutions and individuals that are actively engaged in the nationbuilding process.

The three aforementioned curricular domains of the ACTI are the Cultural/Ideological, the Spiritual/Psycho-Affective, and the Socio-Political and Economic. A fourth domain is required in order to facilitate the mastery of scientific and technological...
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processes that the contemporary societies increasingly demand. The fourth domain is labeled simply Technology. In order to fulfill the fourth criteria of Afrikan centered curriculum as described above, a fifth curricular domain must be added; that of Practical Applications or Nationbuilding.

Curricular Domains

The five curricular domains provide the basis for the organization of the subject content within the curriculum. Each curricular domain consists of one or more curriculum fields. The curriculum fields provide the actual structural basis for the organization and presentation of subject matter within the curriculum. The purpose of listing the several fields under the curricular domains is to establish their relationships with the assumptions and aims of the ACTI. The curriculum fields are listed below under the curricular domains, and include the subject areas that would comprise the respective fields.

I. Cultural/Ideological
   A. Culture and Ideology
   B. Creativity

II. Spiritual/Psycho-Affective
    A. Self Knowledge
    B. Ethics and Morality

III. Socio-Political and Economic
     A. Political Economy
     B. Cognition and Inquiry
     C. Technology
     D. Mathematics
     E. Sciences
     F. Computer Sciences

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IV. Technology
    A. Mathematics
    B. Science
    C. Computer Science
    D. Functional Skills

V. Nationbuilding (Practical Applications)
    A. Career Development Apprenticeships
    B. Research Theory and Practicums
    C. Community Development Projects
    D. Organizational Experience

Each curricular domain includes several specific subjects that are integrated to reduce the compartmentalization that is typical of subject centered curriculums. The experiences of the independent schools have demonstrated that when the several related subjects are grouped into a singular curricular field and taught by a single instructor or team, the subject material is made more meaningful to the students. The students also recognize the relationship of the several areas of study and the demonstration of the social relevancy is facilitated. Additional benefits of this design include the ability of instructors at all levels, primary through secondary, to focus their own attention and additional study on related fields of study. Generally, the instruction at the primary and middle school levels is organized so that a single instructor is responsible for all subject areas. Given the natural inclination of individual instructors to favor the area of their greatest competence, the use of the curricular fields model at the primary and middle school levels has the potential to achieve greater levels of productivity, in terms of material covered and experiences provided, as well as increases in the level of accountability.

At the advanced middle school levels and the secondary levels, the combination of several subjects within the curricular fields requires larger blocks of time. The usual time period may
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vary from ninety to one hundred and twenty minutes. The requirements of greater depth of study in several subject areas at the secondary level necessitate a combination of greater intensity in the classroom, well organized teaching teams, and longer school days.

Additionally, the limited availability of texts written in a way consistent with this design limits the degree of textbook reliance. Consequently, the teacher is provided the occasion to synthesize not only the usual content of the respective disciplines or subject areas, but he/she necessarily incorporates the interests of the student and the resources available in the school and broader community. The broader fields of study also increase the opportunity for the development of creative and critical thinking and the development of the thinking processes (comprehension, concept formation, oral discourse, composing, problem solving, decision making, research, principle formation). An additional benefit is the eased facilitation of correlation of instruction between the principal instructors or teams from the several curricular fields.

The scope and sequence of the learning objectives through the respective levels of preschool, primary, middle and high school will occasion some narrowing of the fields at the more advanced levels of the respective disciplines. At the advanced levels those disciplines or subject areas will require greater depth. In such instances a premium is placed on correlated or parallel planning and delivery.

One of the major problems of this design involves the selection and ordering of the content of the several subject areas in a way that does justice to the coherency of each particular discipline. The design is intended to foster within the student a wholistic and coherent approach to knowledge, and at the same time be manageable by the instructor(s). In order to meet these criteria, and avoid the additional problem of each field becoming no more than a "potpourri" of unrelated and shallowly treated subject fragments, a model for organizing the content of the several disciplines is proposed.

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below. It combines and extends a concept that was explored by the Council of Independent Black Institutions (CIBI) in the development of its social studies curriculum guide. The curriculum guide is organized in strands that are derived both of cognitive considerations and ideological considerations. The strands are a) Family, b) Community, c) Nation, and d) Race.

Ideological Themes

The design here requires a further elaboration of the design explored in the social studies guide. The organizing factors here are derived of two of the same considerations, cognitive and ideological. The ideological considerations flow directly from the ACTI and serve as general themes in the organization and presentation of learning experiences. The ideological themes serve to reinforce the sense of wholism and cultural awareness that is essential to the Afrikan centered curriculum. The themes were chosen because they correspond to the major tenets of the Afrikan centered historical/cultural construct. Additionally they facilitate the transmission of the principal values of Pan Afrikanist/nationalist ideology. The ideological themes also correspond to levels of cognitive ability and task readiness of the mwanafunzi. If we use Bloom's taxonomy of thinking skills, Foundations and Identity correspond to knowledge and comprehension. Harmony and Rhythm are analogous to application and analysis. Independence and Spirit correspond to synthesis and evaluation.

The ideological themes or determinants include:

A. Foundations
1. Origins
2. Basic Concepts
3. Generative Themes
4. Fundamental Values
5. Ancestral Wisdom
6. Language
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B. Identity
   1. Consciousness
   2. Purposefulness
   3. Particularity

C. Harmony
   1. Unity
   2. Coherency
   3. Organization
   4. Clarity
   5. Reciprocity
   6. Resolution

D. Rhythm
   1. Process
   2. Energy/Force
   3. Pattern

E. Independence
   1. Freedom
   2. Power
   3. Self Determination
   4. Resistance
   5. Permanence

F. Spirit
   1. Faith
   2. Wholism
   3. Metaphysic
   4. Transcendence

They ideological themes are designed to act as bridging for subject content, cognitive objectives, and the cultural/ideological objectives. The following is an example of their application.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Content</th>
<th>Cognitive</th>
<th>Cultural Referent</th>
<th>Ideological</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Integers</td>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>Arguments pro and con regarding repatriation</td>
<td>Foundations .......... origins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attributes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Harmony .......... unity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.................. reciprocity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These ideological determinants are cross referenced with the cognitive determinants. For each of the several cognitive phases, there is a set of learning objectives in each curricular field. Each learning experience is further organized according to the several ideological themes.

Cognitive Determinants and Phases of Development

The cognitive determinants of the curriculum correspond to that sequence of non-discrete phases beginning with childhood and progressing through eldership. Each phase has a social focus and a cognitive focus. The organization of the several phases is derived from the sustained and active observation, interaction and expectations of members of several independent black institutions (IBIs) over the course of two decades. It has been observed that while there is a general pattern of development common to all children, the specific nature of that development will occur in accordance with the conscious and unconscious expectations and demands of the family and broader culture, given adequate culturally/socially supportive institutions and practices. Consequently, any listing of phases of development is as much a statement of observed human development as it is a statement of culturally and socially determined expectations of each member of that society.

The cognitive and social focus mentioned above corresponds to the unique potentialities of the individual for
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humaness, and those culturally determined expectations and needs of the collective. The paradigm of individual duty to the collective is fundamental to the Afrikan spiritual/psychic makeup. It is the role of the wazazi and mwaliimu to identify and facilitate the realization of those potentialities in such a way that they are harmonized with the character and dynamic of the collective. Those potentialities should unfold in a way that they enhance the collective and the collective reciprocates in nurturing the realization of the individual’s full and unique humanity. The interrelationship is fully reciprocal and mutually enriching.

PHASES OF DEVELOPMENT

Phase One (Immediacy): Social Focus - family and self; Cognitive Focus - identification and interpretation of the immediate and the concrete

This phase recognizes the primal and central role of the family in the formation of the individual. It is in this initial phase that the essential conception of self as an extension of the collective is established. Cognitive development is focused primarily on establishing meaning and patterns in the immediate social environment. Beyond emotional stimuli, the environment is perceived in concrete and narrow terms. Language, behaviors, and values are acquired primarily through imitation of modeled behaviors of family members. This phase includes the early and much of the middle childhood years.

Phase Two (Abstraction): Social Focus - peer/age group and community; Cognitive Focus - Creative and critical thought, theoretical elaboration

The onset of this phase is occasioned by the period of pubescence. During this phase the social focus is expanded to

Towards an Afrikan Centered Curriculum

include the peer/age group and a sense of community. The family focus of the earlier phase is not lost however. In fact the effective functioning at the community level assumes a firm grounding in the family collective. There is a conscious effort to shape one’s personality through self-evaluation of frequent trial, and responses of peers. This is a period of intense self-consciousness. It is at this stage that philosophical speculation and logical thought can be sustained, although the experiential base of mature rational thought is as yet lacking. The assertion of this new cognitive ability and the corresponding increase in mastery of symbolic forms, including verbal and nonverbal language, often assumes a rebellious nature. Actions and thought at this phase are typically impulsive and superficial. It is at this phase that historical consciousness and cultural awareness is grasped, though its significance is not often fully appreciated. This is a period of intense physical, intellectual, and spiritual energy. It is also a period where parental involvement and institutional and community support and guidance is most needed, both for the healthy maturation of the child, and the future of the community.

Phase Three (Realization): Social Focus - community, nation; Cognitive Focus - symbolic and pragmatic synthesis and creativity

In this phase the socio-historical consciousness matures and becomes a considered element in one’s behavior. Awareness of that historical process and the attendant cultural awareness matures, and the corresponding need to establish one’s place in that historical process is awakened. The issue of one’s role and place in society becomes paramount and is consummated in the establishment of family. The issue of personal productivity is consummated in career. Personal experience, as well as the experience and history of the collective are prominent features in decision making and personal deliberations.
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Phase Four (Consummation): Social Focus - race and universe; Cognitive Focus - wholism, intuition, legacy, and spirit force

Having successfully established family and self, and satisfied those duties and responsibilities associated with maintenance and development of the community and nation, one enters the fourth phase, that of consummation. This phase is marked by a fully developed worldview and life philosophy. The focal point of reference is the wholistic nature of being and becoming. The concern with one’s own legacy is balanced with the urgency to share one’s lesson’s of life in an effort to facilitate the maximal development of those generations that follow. There is a unique awareness of the spiritual force and one’s proximity to that force.

Curricula Fields

The five curricular domains, Cultural/Ideological, Spiritual/Psychological, Socio-Political/Economic, Technology, and Nationbuilding; provide the basis for organizing the several curricula fields and their component subject areas. The domains also provide the basis for organizing the mwalimu into teams for the actual instructional process. Additionally, the domains provide the basis for the organization of the class schedule. The schedule should provide blocks of time, not less than ninety minutes, for each class.

The curricular fields and the subject areas include the following.

Cultural/Ideological

History
- Afrikan American History
- Civilizations of the World
- Classical Afrikan Civilizations

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- Concepts and Applications
- Current Trends and Developments
- Holocaust of Afrikan Enslavement
- Pan Afrikan World History
- World Geography

Language and Culture
- Afrikan Languages (Regional-Twi, Wolof, Yoruba, Zulu, Amharic; Pan Afrikan-Kiswahili)
- Concepts and Applications
- Current Trends and Developments
- Metu Ntr (Classical Afrikan Language and Script)
- Other Languages (European-French, Spanish, Portuguese; and Asian-Chinese, Japanese)

Culture and Creative Expression
- Aesthetics (Afrocentric)
- Audio Visual Communication
- Concepts and Applications
- Current Trends and Developments
- Literature (Afrikan)
- Literature (International Models)
- Music and Dance (Traditional and Modern Afrikan)
- Speech and Debate
- Visual Arts (Traditional and Modern Afrikan)
  including electronic media
- Written Expression (Creative and Functional)

Philosophy and Ideology
- Afrikan Nationalism and Pan Afrikanism
- Classical and Traditional Afrikan Philosophical Systems
- Concepts and Applications
- Current Trends and Developments
- European and Asian Philosophies

Spiritual and Psycho-Affective

Ethics and Morality
- Afrikan Spiritual Systems (classical and traditional)
- Classical and Traditional Ethical-Moral Systems
  (e.g., Maat, Akan, Kikuyu)
- Concepts and Applications
- Current Trends and Developments
- Other Spiritual/Religious Systems of the World
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Self Knowledge
- Concepts and Applications
- Current Trends and Developments
- Family and Interpersonal Relations
- Models of Leadership
- Personal Philosophy
- Physical Development and Self Defense

Socio-Political and Economic
Political Science
- Afrikan Americans and Electoral Politics
- Concepts and Applications
- Current Trends and Developments
- Government (National and Local)
- Holocaust of Afrikan Enslavement
- International Relations
- Racism and Western Development
- U.S. History
Business and Economic Development
- Banking and Investments
- Concepts and Applications
- Current Trends and Developments
- Economic Development Models
- Economics

Technology
Mathematics
- Algebra I
- Algebra II and Trigonometry
- Arithmetic
- Calculus
- Concepts and Applications
- Current Trends and Developments
- General Mathematics
- Geometry
- Historical Contributions, Current Involvement, and Social Utility

Science
- Agronomy
- Astronomy
- Biology
- Chemistry

Towards an Afrikan Centered Curriculum

- Concepts and Applications
- Current Trends and Developments
- General Science
- Health and Nutrition
- Historical Contributions, Current Involvement, and Social Utility
- Life Sciences
- Physical Sciences
- Physics
- Technology and National Development

Computer Science
- Applications
- Concepts and Applications
- Current Trends and Developments
- Historical Contributions, Current Involvement, and Social Utility
- Literacy (Including survey of modern development in computer and communications networks)
- Programming
- Systems Design and Analysis

Functional Skills
- Automobile Maintenance
- Carpentry
- Concepts and Applications
- Current Trends and Developments
- Domestic Electrical and Mechanical Systems
- Typing

Nationbuilding (Practical Applications)
Career Development Apprenticeships
- Career Orientation
- Work Experience

Research Theory and Application
- Africology and Research Methodology
- Field Research Experience (social, anthropological, etc.)

Community Development Project
- Field Experience
- Needs Analysis and Project Design

Organizational Experience
- Active Membership
- Organization Design and Dynamics
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The incorporation of 'Current Trends and Developments' provides the opportunity to examine and evaluate the application of the subject area in real life, and to incorporate the experiences of the students themselves and members of their family and community who may be active in the subject area. The close proximity of professional, retail, studio, scientific, and manufacturing concerns would facilitate adjunctive experiences to the classroom. Additional exposure and opportunity to know of real world application is through television science specials, newspapers and magazines and occasional well planned and relevant field trips to museums and other appropriate sites.

Figure 1 identifies the principle factors in the organization of the Afrikan centered curriculum. Each set of learning experiences/objectives will be developed in the several curricular fields. Each set would additionally correspond to the appropriate level of the development phases and be organized according to ideological themes. In this way objectives can be developed for wanafunzi at all levels in the learning environment.

Holocaust of Afrikan Enslavement

While the encounter of Afrikan civilizations with other nations in antiquity and more recent history is covered in Pan Afrikan and Classical Afrikan History, the systematic enslavement and inferiorization of Afrikan cultures by Arab and European nations demands special attention. Like most of Afrikan history, the Holocaust of Afrikan Enslavement has been distorted, excused, and buried under centuries of academic, religious and political propaganda. The object of this course, like the object of the historical courses, is truth. The subject must be examined in its historical as well as its moral, psychological, spiritual, economic and political dimensions. It must be made dramatically clear to the wanafunzi that the
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enslavement and dehumanization of Afrikans by Arabs, and the “the trade in Afrikan lives by Europeans constituted the most thoroughly destructive act ever to be perpetuated by one group of people upon another.”102 The role of religion and propaganda must be examined, as both the Arab and his European sibling used Islam and Christian propaganda to justify their plunder. Elements of the course should include the following:

A. Definitions and precedents, contemporaneous historical incidents
B. Duration and scope (historical and modern)
C. Psychological and historical predispositions to genocide in Arab and European cultures
D. Economic motives
E. Afrikan response (resistance and complicity)
F. Demographics (numbers lost through warfare, capture, transport, disease, resistance...)
G. Resistance and vindication
H. Modern legacy (psychological, social, political/ economic)
I. European and Arab religious, academic and political propaganda
J. Moral, legal, economic, and social implications

Creative and Critical Thinking

Each of the several curricular fields includes the area of Concepts and Applications. The inclusion of this area is intended to provide for the subject related development of the creative/critical thinking, the core thinking skills, and thinking processes. The assumption here is that the development of thinking skills is inextricably linked with the mastery of subject matter. Thinking assumes that there is something of substance to think about. The objective of developing creative/critical thinking skills is to equip the student with the ability to be discerning and analytical, but insightful, intuitive and imagi-

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native as well. Critical thinking and creative thinking are not mutually exclusive processes. At any one moment, one is either thinking more or less creatively or critically. In developing these skills, it is essential that the instructor be sensitive to the individual learning style of the student as well as aware of the unique cognitive style of Afrikans.103 Those skills associated with critical thinking include the following:

1. Defining thesis or question
2. Clarifying criteria and/or standards and source thereof
3. Gathering accurate and reliable data
4. Evaluating credibility of data source
5. Defining and judging definitions of terms
6. Evaluating thesis or questions relative to data
7. Detecting bias, inconsistencies, stereotypes, and emotional appeals
8. Distinguishing fact from opinion, cause from effect
9. Identifying assumptions
10. Identifying logical fallacies
11. Making judgements after considering relevant evidence and/or sound reasons

Those skills usually associated with creative thinking include the following:

1. Intuitive grasp of issue, process and solution
2. Wholistic perception
3. Identification of the unique
4. Flexibility and adaptability
5. Improvisation and focused spontaneity
6. Imagined new uses of old information
7. Identification of forms, patterns and elements and new ways of synthesis
8. Evaluation and changing process or product in terms of stated goal
9. Change and alteration as a consequence of insight gained from evaluation
10. Contemplation of new possibilities104
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The subject area of Technology, Science and Mathematics, includes the subject component of Historical Contributions, Current Involvement and Social Utility. This objective is intended as a vehicle for the incorporation of the historical contributions of Afrikans, beginning with the seminal efforts of the Afrikan classical period in ancient Kemet and other regions of the continent up to times before colonial subjugation. Current involvement provides the vehicle for examining the recent and continuing efforts of Afrikans in the field. An examination of the current involvement provides the opportunity for the wanafunzi to identify role models, as well as identify areas of interest for eventual study themselves. Social utility provides the occasion for the evaluation of current theories, processes, and technology for their usefulness as solutions to problems faced by the Afrikan community, and their cultural impact if employed.

Character Development

The focus of the curricular domain of Spiritual/Psychosocial is the character development of the collective and the individual student. The study of spiritual systems and the ethical/moral systems is intended to provide the student with a functional set of behavioral standards that is grounded in the classical Afrikan system of Maat and the related traditional systems. The study of those same systems is augmented with the study of Models of Leadership. The focus of the Models of Leadership includes style, vision, political-economic environment, ideology, leader-constituent interaction, organizational abilities, ethical behavior, and formative family influences. Given the close scrutiny of historical personalities relative to established ethical/moral and ideological criteria, the student will be provided the opportunity to identify with those personalities, to fashion their own characters with the positive aspects of those personalities, and ultimately to know themselves. Additionally, the skills of self analysis and evaluation are developed. Consistent with the classical and traditional Afrikan ethical/moral systems, and in line with nationalist/Pan Afrikanist ideology, certain character traits should be given special emphasis. They include the following;

1. Humility
2. Respectfulness
3. Generosity
4. Service Orientation
5. Family Centeredness
6. Reverence for Tradition (ancestors and elders)
7. Person-in-Community Orientation
8. Truthfulness
9. Righteous Thought, Emotion and Behavior
10. Studiousness
11. Self Discipline
12. Self Confidence

The fifth curricular field, Nationbuilding or Practical Applications, serves to position the student as an active participant in the nationbuilding process; that process includes institutional development and maintenance, information gathering, processing and distribution, economic development, political empowerment, etc. This field can facilitate national and international research, exchange and development programs and thereby advance real Pan Afrikan unity and cooperative endeavor. Most importantly, the Nationbuilding field makes the entire educational endeavor comprehensive and whole.

IMPLEMENTATION

The effective implementation of the curriculum assumes capable and motivated teachers, students, and parents. The bulk of those occasions where the student is engaged in structured learning activities relative to the curriculum will be provided by the teacher. It would follow that much of
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curriculum implementation is a function of instructional methodology or technique. An Afrikan centered method of delivery, or instructional methodology is a critical component of the Afrikan centered curriculum, and has been addressed in the previous chapter, *Notes on an Afrikan Centered Pedagogy.*

"An Afrikan centered pedagogy, a pedagogy derived of the Afrikan world historical continuum and cultural dynamic, endeavors to stimulate and nourish the creative and critical consciousness, and to inculcate through study and application, a firmer and conscious commitment to the construction of true Afrikan nationhood, and the restoration of the Afrikan historical/cultural continuum. It endeavors to create a dynamic and liberated Afrikan personality." 105

Beyond the matter of instructional methodology, the effective implementation of the curriculum requires a cultural/ideological alignment or consensus within the community of which the school is the focal point. The role and relationship of the several factors in curriculum development and implementation are represented by Figure 2. The school leadership itself must be firm in its commitment to the curriculum. The school leadership and teachers must also be personally committed to the central values inherent in the curriculum; nationbuilding and character development. It is crucial that the parents are provided with ongoing occasions for curriculum-related and supportive instruction and involvement in curriculum-related activities. Those occasions for parent instruction should involve not only the presentation and discussion of subject matter, but a central feature should be a discussion of the curriculum impact on the student. That feedback from the parent should comprise a valuable assessment tool in perfecting the curriculum. Additionally, a concerned, active and informed parent body is critical in confronting the myriad of negative and culture-destabilizing problems that confront the student and the entire community. Those problems include; drug abuse, overt and covert racism, apathy, violence, limited material and personnel resources,

**Figure 2**

**FACTORS IN CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT**

**AFRIKAN CENTERED THEMATIC INVENTORY**
Provides essential societal goals and defines the cultural context.

**CURRICULAR FIELDS KNOWLEDGE BASE**
Defines the scope, organization and content of the learning/teaching program.

**IDEOLOGICAL THEMES**
Provide thematic and organizational linkage between culture, ideology and curriculum.

**PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT PHASES**
Determine cognitive and moral sequencing of curriculum content and its scope and intensity.
and the popular media fixation on materialism, exploitation, individualism, and Eurocentric focus.

In *Notes on an Afrikan Centered Pedagogy*, the interactive circle was described as a vehicle for the facilitation of the dynamic and creative interaction of student and teacher. This same concept can be applied to the necessary and dynamic interaction of the several active and interested constituents to the curriculum and learning process. Those active and interested constituents are represented graphically in Figure 1. The inner circle, and the more immediate actors, include the family and student, the school, the mwalimu, and the community. The constituents of the outer circle define the broader context in which the curriculum and learning processes occur. They include the culture and ideology of the nation, the spiritual environment and interaction, the socio-political and economic environment (particularly as it is determined by the dominant nationality), and the psycho-affective environment.

It is critically important to recognize that the school only provides one portion of the education of the individual. That comprehensive process can be described as the process of enculturation or socialization, as it involves ultimately the transmission of culture and ideology and the perpetuation of the social order. That process is both formal and informal, conscious and subconscious, overt and covert, structured and random. That apparently informal portion of the enculturation process involves a myriad of interpersonal and institutional interactions that reinforce the general cultural/social order in spite of their seemingly random and unstructured occurrence.

The more successful of the Afrikan centered institutions have incorporated the concept of the interactive circle by establishing several auxiliary programs involving the arts, commercial enterprises including food, housing and essential services, expanded educational programs including adult seminars and summer camps, and spiritual and cultural programs. The school remains very much at the hub of this community. The effect is to establish a comprehensive net-

**Towards an Afrikan Centered Curriculum**

work or constellation of Afrikan centered interactions and connections that reinforce and augment the learning process centered in the school. The progressive dynamics of the traditional village are thereby recreated. These school-centered communities serve as the anchor for broader metropolitan Afrikan centered communities such as those in Washington, Philadelphia, Trenton, New Brunswick, Detroit, East Palo Alto, and Chicago.

**EVALUATION**

Curriculum evaluation is a multifaceted affair. It involves the timing of the evaluation, determination of the evaluator, the purposes of the evaluation, scope of the evaluation, nature of the evaluation, and the structure or organization of the evaluation. The nationalist/Pan Afrikanist curriculum is still very much in its formative stages. Although the independent Afrikan centered schools have been in operation for well over twenty years, the lack of a coherent philosophical foundation and limited financial resources restricted the work on a curriculum model. Consequently most of those institutions adopted an eclectic approach which revolved around the subject centered design. That basic design was augmented by a comprehensive integration of historical and cultural references. The degree of cultural/ideological "intensity" varied from institution to institution. The more intense models required traditional Afrikan dress, traditional Afrikan names, the study of Kiswahili; integrated the theme of Afrikan consciousness throughout the curriculum; and emphasized Afrikan and Afrikan American history. The more intense schools were founded by organizations or collectives who were themselves active in the promotion of Afrikan centered culture and ideology. Many of the cultural components of even the culturally intense schools were site specific, and consequently varied significantly.
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The less intense schools generally treated the cultural and historical references superfluously. The cultural content was limited to picturesque wall displays, and memorization of historical facts. Otherwise, the curriculum design and content followed standard Eurocentric models, often incorporating techniques and materials identified with "progressive" or "radical" Eurocentric curricularists.

Despite the variations of design and implementation amongst the several Afrikan centered institutions, the design for a comprehensive Afrikan centered Pan Afrikanist curriculum will result from their ongoing efforts. The effort undertaken here is a formative reflection of their continuing efforts. It is possible now to contemplate a truly Afrikan centered curriculum because of the tremendous effort being undertaken by the researchers and theorists of Afrikan centered ideology and education.

Any evaluation of a curriculum model must establish congruency between the curriculum objectives as suggested by the Afrikan Centered Thematic Inventory (ACTI) and the actual outcomes. Given that the effort here is referenced on the work of the culturally intense independent schools, an examination of the actual outcomes of those programs would serve as a measure of the effectiveness of the curriculum model elaborated here. However, the lack of readily available, long term, follow-up studies and a definitive statement of intended and actual outcome does not at this point permit that measure. Evaluation of the curriculums of the independent schools has not been undertaken systematically, in part because of the lack of coherent curriculum philosophy.

The intended outcomes, like the balance of the curriculum, will be determined in large measure by the philosophical foundations of the curriculum. The generative theme of the ACTI is nationbuilding. Given the scope of that task, it should be clear that the commitment and energies of institutions and individuals engaged in fields other than education will be required. That generative theme does suggest, however, that

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those students who can be said to have been shaped by that curricular experience should manifest a genuine commitment to the culture/ideology in word, thought and behavior. The intended outcomes would also include academic competence, and solid character development consistent with those traits emphasized.

The criteria for evaluation of the Afrikan centered curriculum will have dual components which are reflective of the historical and current duality of purpose that it must serve. The Afrikan centered curriculum must serve to (a) advance the Afrikan American nationality, its cultural and ideological goals; and (b) facilitate fully functional and/or exceptional performance in the white dominated American political economy.

Capability or function within a social order that is dominated by Europeans does not imply acceptance of a subordinate status. As stated in the the ACTI, one of the goals of the Afrikan centered curriculum is fostering a commitment to cultural pluralism with equality and justice; but with a fully developed Afrikan nationality as the basis. The role that the Afrikan centered curriculum plays in the development of that Afrikan nationality and its attendant spiritual, socio-political and economic formations must be advanced with the same intensity as the literacy campaigns of Tanzania, Guinea Bissau, and Zimbabwe. The role of the Afrikan centered and Pan Afrikanist ideology is crucial to the effort to develop a truly liberated Afrikan nationality. The success of the campaign to advance a truly Afrikan centered education will determine the cultural viability, if not the actual physical survival, of Afrikans for generations.

Figure 3 demonstrates those features and outcomes of the Afrikan centered curriculum compared with the outcomes of the Eurocentric curriculum. The center area of the graphic shows those areas where the curricula may share fundamental processes, even though the cultural context will differ.
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Ultimately, the nature of the generative theme, nationbuilding, requires that the institutions that are charged with administering the nationalist/Pan Afrikanist curriculum must redouble their efforts, and/or combine their efforts with like those of minded institutions and organizations of culture, business, and politics to develop the community-based, national and international infrastructure (physical and institutional) into which the graduates of the independent schools can direct their creative energies. That infrastructure entails the basic framework of values, behaviors, language, rituals, technology, associations, buildings, land, communities etc., within the Afrikan American nationality, and the Pan Afrikan world. It involves the coordinated and purposeful actions of cultural, economic, and political institutions in the interest of the Afrikan population and is consistent with the cultural/ideology of nationalism/Pan Afrikanism. The desired outcome is that our children will take their place within that infrastructure and propel it into a future of true independence and self-determination.

ENDNOTES


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15. Aptheker


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72. Harold Cruse, Plural But Equal, Pg 386.

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81. Ibid

82. Ibid

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88. Garvey, Marcus, Philosophy and Opinions, Pg 11


90. Ibid

91. Clarke, John Henrik, African World Revolution


93. Ibid, Pg 168

94. Garvey, Marcus, Philosophy and Opinions, Pg 6.

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97. The term Sankofa has its origins amongst the Akan people of West Afrika. Sankofa is associated with the Adinkra symbols and has an accompanying proverb that states that ‘in order to go forward, one must know the past.’ Another version of the proverb is “go back and fetch it.”


100. Richards, Marimba, Pg 12.


103. See chapter “Towards An Afrocentric Pedagogy”
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Fathers in the School

A major, and indeed imperative component of effective childrearing is the available and involved presence of both male and female energies during the childhood years. A currently prominent proposition concerning the Afrikan American community is the “declining presence, the unavailability and disinvolveement of the black male”. Too few of us question the accuracy, perspective, or purpose of this proposition.

Recently, while pondering yet another front page Washington newspaper, radio, TV, etc., diminution of the Afrikan American male, the discussion of the moment turned to the involvement of men in NationHouse Watoto School. With a little research we found that at every level of NH Watoto, Afrikan men and Afrikan women are working together intensely, consistently, harmoniously and purposefully.

- Among the founders there are two men and two women.
- Among the administrative staff there are two men and three women.
- Among the teaching staff there are five men and five women.
- Among the parent auxiliary leadership there are three men and four women. (During the school year 87-88, there were four men and three women.)
- A cursory review of the number of families in NH Watoto
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reveals fully 87% of all families enrolled are ones in which the father figures are active and prominent in the lives of their children. Among that percentage are a number of single parent fathers.

- At our last Watoto parent meeting 57% of those in attendance were men and 4% were women.

The clear conclusion we can draw regarding the incessant barrage of scholarly dissertations, media stories and “reputable survey results” that purport to demonstrate conclusively the impotence and/or absence of the Afrikan male, is that that proposition is suspect, if not false.

There are three related points that should inform our perspective on this and all issues that are thrust into our reality by the mass media.

a) The media is owned by white, judaeo-christian Americans (disproportionately Jewish), and speaks/appeals to an almost exclusively white (white-oriented) clientele. It unashamedly reflects and promotes the economic, political and cultural interests of white Americans.

b) Afrikan Americans historically and currently are the spoils of war taken from their land during the course of the European imperialist invasion, destruction and subjugation of traditional Afrikan nations. Our forbears were prisoners of war and we are a domestic colony of 30 million POWs taken in the 400 year military, economic, political and cultural onslaught against Afrika and its people.

c) We are a vanquished nation, and in any war, the vanquished inevitably find that the victor humiliates, conscripts or kills the males, compromises the women, confiscates the material wealth, distorts or destroys the history and culture, and educates the children in his interests.

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We are at war and the white mass media, in its “reality creating” role, is even more effective than drugs, alcohol and handguns. We will neither identify nor resolve the real problems in our community if we have to look to the white media, white people, or black people talking to and like white people, for an exposition of those problems. We must depend instead on capable and committed Afrikan men and Afrikan women, who are committed to each other, their children and to institutions that reflect themselves.

It is clear that the men and women of NH Watoto have made that commitment. We are certain that similar commitment is occurring currently in other Pan Afrikan oriented institutions.
Collective Responsibility

The recent deaths of two young people who were close to the heart of the local Afrikan centered community have served to highlight the urgency of the need to strengthen the infrastructure of the entire Afrikan community. The final responsibility for our children's safety, and the final responsibility for marshalling and shaping the spiritual, intellectual, and physical potential of Afrikan youth lies with the community. Where that community lacks coherency or cultural/ideological focus, its members, particularly the children, will fall prey to every new sugarcoated social poison that emerges from the perversion that is the racist and immoral social order of America.

The community, as used here, is an extension of the family and is an expression of those shared values and traditions that bind individuals and families into a coherent and consistent whole. Beyond the basic unit of the family, the community consists of institutions that facilitate the functions of the family and expand upon those functions. Those institutions are themselves interlocked with other institutions, families and individuals. The binding agents that cement the several elements into a singular unit — the community — are culture and ideology, or common values, behaviors, and goals.

The crises that confront and compromise Afrikan children and adults alike are in large measure consequences of the underdevelopment of the Afrikan community and nation. Underdevelopment is more than economic weakness. It extends to the spiritual, psycho-emotional, moral, and ideological underpinnings of the community. And those underpinnings are continually subject to the debilitating thrusts of white supremacy. It can be said that the prime directive of white supremacy is to compromise the moral and spiritual integrity of the Afrikan community through the distortion of the history and traditions of Afrika, coopting Afrikan leadership and its skilled and gifted, and generally miseducating Afrikan people. The physical and the economic integrity of the community is undermined through the historic practice of limiting access to those financial resources necessary to real and sustained development. The epidemic of violence and substance abuse in our communities is not accidental, and if not consciously planned, it most certainly is consciously allowed to happen and, indeed, worsen. Given the corporate, religious, educational, and governmental promotion of American affluence and the structural inaccessibility to Afrikans of that affluence, then the option of illicit and violent means is a predictable occurrence. If the crime and violence also serves to compromise, dilute, or otherwise limit Afrikan demands and influence in establishment political and economic arenas, a double benefit accrues to those in power: fewer militant Afrikans to compete for limited and diminishing resources or to demand inclusion in the circles of power; and fewer Afrikans to contend with, period.

Only when we fashion new institutions with new agendas will we be able to successfully address the crises of broken families, substance abuse, sexual aberrancy, immorality, political fragmentation, economic weakness and others. The success of those institutions will be guaranteed when we act collectively to form a new cultural and ideological consensus. In acting to build those institutions, and the cultural ideological consensus necessary to their survival, two principles that are fundamental to Afrikan culture come into play. Those principles are
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primacy of the family and the collective before the individual, and b) the primacy of duty before rights.

Each of the principals has immediate implications for the current and prospective membership of Ankobia. It is our forebears duty as Ankobiamen and Ankobiawomen, and it is the implied duty of every conscious Afrikan in our community, to commit ourselves individually and our families to rebuilding the infrastructure of our community. That infrastructure must include institutions like Ankobia to which we are individually accountable for our cultural, ideological, ethical, and moral behavior, as well as our intellectual development and physical condition. That infrastructure includes the independent schools, which must be supported, but also held accountable to the community to provide our children with a culturally focused and generally high quality educational experience. As with the schools we must support those culturally focused service and manufacturing institutions, and we must likewise expect only the highest quality product.

Building a community is costly in time, energy and resources. It is a task that does not provide direct returns, immediate tangible benefits, or privileges. Building the community is our duty. It is a duty we must undertake to fulfill without excessive concern for the additional inconvenience, time or resources it requires. It is a duty that involves attending early morning and late evening meetings. It is a duty that involves intellectual work and physical work, that demands personal accountability and adaptability in one’s behavior, that demands substantive and real personal interactions, that demands substantial financial outlay, that demands time. It is a duty that must be fulfilled if our children are to live; if they are to blossom to their fullest potential; if they are to carry forth in this mission to build a new reality for our people.

Family & Achievement

It is instructive sometimes to examine the experiences of other people in order to gain some measure of insight into the workings of one’s own situation. Such was the case upon reading a research article in a recent issue of Scientific American. The article deals with the reasons for the exceptional academic achievements of immigrant Asians. The researchers identified that the principle determining factors in their academic success are (a) family as the central cultural institution, and (b) maintenance of traditions associated with their indigenous religious traditions, including collectivism, mutual obligation, cooperation, and harmony within the family. The researchers found that the western values of “seeking fun and excitement, and material possessions” among the new immigrants correlated with lower grade averages. Families who valued their cultural traditions and actively sought to transmit them to their children had children with grades significantly above those who did not value and transmit their traditions. The researchers found that the children who were the most emotionally balanced were from those families where the emphasis was on family unity and cooperation, traditional cultural values, and productivity.

The researchers’ findings have a familiar ring for us here at NationHouse and other Afrikan centered schools because we have been preaching these points for well over twenty years.
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We have incorporated them into our school and curriculum philosophy and design. Our early arrival at these conclusions was the product of intense and interested involvement in parenting, teaching, and building institutions grounded in family and traditional Afrikan cultural/spiritual systems.

The issue of family unity, mutual responsibility, respect, and cooperative effort has been prominent in Afrikan traditions from time immemorial. The family and the community it spawned is what facilitated our survival during the Holocaust of our enslavement by Europeans and before them by Arabs. Our history in this country is replete with stories of how families rigorously enforced codes of morality, discipline, respectfulness, cooperation, and purposefulness throughout the period of slavery. It was the Afrikan family that fostered the awe-inspiring surge of Afrikans to gain formal education at the close of the civil war in this country; that inspired record numbers of independent institutions of learning, worship, industry, and economics. It was the Afrikan family that nourished the genius of Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Mary McCleod Bethune, Fannie Lou Hamer and our other heroes and freedom fighters.

It is clear that the elements which we identified early in our development as an institution are still essential elements in the effective education of our children. They include the following:

(A) Family unity
(B) Active and substantive involvement of both parents with their children
(C) Parental or family emphasis on mutual respect
(D) Family emphasis on clearly defined moral behavior
(E) De-emphasis of fun and material acquisitions/possessions
(F) Family focus on traditional Afrikan history, culture philosophy and spiritual systems
(G) Meaningful and consistent involvement with school
(H) Family emphasis on shared responsibility, task orientation, and purposefulness

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The very elements that would assure our children’s success and our culture’s survival are at risk in the age of video, cable, hand-held electronic games, form-fitting body suits, nudity, random and indiscriminate sex, random morality, random and excessive violence, inconsequential relationships, and general over-stimulation. One of our children’s favorite phrases, one that should send shock waves through our consciousness, is “I’m bored” or “that’s boring.” When that phrase is uttered, it is an indication that we have surrendered some part of their being and our collective souls to the clutches of white western infamy.

It is our obligation as parents to maintain and build institutions like NationHouse in order to maintain an environment that is safe and protected, and righteous. As a people we don’t have any option but to maintain institutions and communities that are designed solely to assure the survival and development of our people. We must establish and maintain firm guidelines for ourselves as parents and families, and for our children. Failure to do so means that we will lose them.
Nationbuilding: A Proactive Response to National Crisis

These are indeed stressful and sometimes bewildering times. There are the innumerable accounts of massive suffering in the motherland; the consequence of wars the causes of which are lost to the combatants themselves. There are more frequent incidences of moral turpitude in the citadels of religion and elected office. The crass opportunism and short memories of Afrikan Americans elected to high office fuel a sense of despair and disgust. The resurgence of overt racism among whites, the emergence of a racist sentiment among immigrant Asians, and the ceaseless spectacle of white America choosing our leadership or crucifying our chosen leadership through editorial fiat or prosecutorial edict continues unabated. Indeed the tendency has been exacerbated by the conservative tide among whites. The spectacle of miseducation, drugs and their destructive consequences, and the scourge of sexual abuse and aberration continues to tear away the heart of our communities. These and a plethora of other difficulties are further compounded by the gargantuan task of building an ideological and organizational consensus and collective commitment essential to solving these and other problems.

Our individual and collective response to the crisis of our community and of the race provides an instructive measure of the viability and vitality of the cultural dynamic that defines us as a people. An all too frequent response both individually and organizationally is one of denial and avoidance. Individually, we consciously and unconsciously shun situations and information that would challenge and undermine the porous myths of a racial and class equanimity propagated by the ruling white elite. The racial self serving editorials and editorializing news articles/programs are accepted without question. The philosophical assumptions and the historical truthfulness and interpretation that underlie those editorials are never examined or analyzed. Denial and avoidance is a typical response of the dominated who are awed by the power of the ruling elite and feel themselves powerless to effect any real change. And like the tragedy of abused children, the abused clinging desperately to the abusing parent. The consequence of this response is perpetual cultural enfeeblement and eventual eradication as a distinct and viable cultural entity. We would become perpetual invisible shadows cut off from our history, dangling precariously at the mercy of the moral whims of the white elite.

A second response is one of defensive accommodation. With this response we acknowledge the overwhelming weight of historical, anthropological, biological/genetic evidence of the primacy and continued cultural viability of Afrikan people. The limitation of this response is that this new found awareness is fashioned into badges, Kente strips and aggressive demeanors that intensify the expressed determination to achieve the respect as well as the positions and status otherwise denied us because of a presumed ahistoricity and cultural inferiority. However, those positions, the status and the symbols and certificates thereof, the institutional and cultural context in which they occur and from which they are derived are a-priori and unqualifiedly Eurocentric.

After exhaustive research and verification of the heroic nature of Afrikanity, we are often satisfied to parade our new found humanity and heroism before the world hoping at least for vicarious if belated validation and certification from the ruling white elite. We hope for a truce on historical distortion, and cultural inferiorization through appeals to reason and
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morality. No fundamental questions of morality, ethics, or national character are raised or considered, that would challenge that overbearing and hegemonic Eurocentric cultural construct which has distorted and crippled the intellectual potential of our people. But it is nonetheless from this very Eurocentric construct that we seek final validation and acceptance.

A third response encompasses active resistance, but extends it to and beyond a critical problem posing consciousness. It extends to include cultural and socio-political reconstruction; nationbuilding. Active resistance is still moored to the oppressor’s cultural milieu and, though standing in opposition to it, it is nonetheless defined by it.

Nationbuilding as a response to the crises that confront us goes beyond the external socio-political condition that may stimulate it. Nationbuilding for us, Afrikans born in America, must have as a priority the reestablishment of firm linkages to Afrikan tradition, Kemetic through the era of the Holocaust. In establishing that linkage, we must not seek to replicate meaningless customs or structural and behavioral features that are irrelevant or would result in internal conflict, stagnation, or inefficiency. The object of reestablishing that linkage is twofold:

a) It would provide a definition of our national culture beyond that of the contemporary Eurocentric, cultural, hegemonic influence and beyond our immediate “problems.”

b) It would provide cultural (institutional and personal) grounding and the provision of a base construct from which to establish a culturally consistent, fully functional, and truly Afrikan centered ideology with its attendant socio-political and economic goals. It would provide the basis for moral and ethical codes of behavior and accountability. It would prompt the design of institu-

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tions that are culturally and ideologically aligned, with consequent increased levels of creativity, personal allegiance, and productivity.

We must begin with culture. As a people, the issue of culture is perhaps more important to us than most because of the disruption and the distortion of our history and culture during the course of the two millennia war of conquest against Afrika and the subsequent Holocaust of Afrikan Enslavement. That war and the subsequent Holocaust were perpetrated by Asians and Europeans. Their success, however, was facilitated by internal weakness, the most glaring of which was cultural fragmentation and stagnation.

These bewildering times are the waking calls of a new world order. The Soviet Union and other European countries have splintered along long dormant cultural fissures. The Kurdish resistance, the ongoing Tibetan resistance, the emergence of Amazonian Indian resistance efforts, the uprising of Native Americans in Canada, and countless other cases are evidence of the rise of a truly pluralistic world order, and the demise of the myth of the one world culture constructed along Eurocentric lines.

Of immediate concern here are the activities of Ankobia and the responsibilities of its membership. As an organization, we have fashioned a real linkage with the traditional as we seek simultaneously to establish an institutional order that is progressive, creative, and efficient. It is incumbent on each of us and our families to recognize the racial and world significance of what we are undertaking. Our task is not a minor one. Our task is nationbuilding, and the guiding directive must be to build the nation.

The vision is one of a truly self sufficient Afrikan nation peopled by families and individuals bound to a code of ethics and committed to advancing the cultural heritage of our people. Our vision must remain clear, and not be clouded by seemingly interminable problems and crisis. We must ap-
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Proach our vision with an informed faith, not a blind faith. That faith must be one that is informed by a critical knowledge of our history, our cultural reality and the current world conditions. It must be a faith borne of unqualified confidence in the justice of our efforts, our ability to successfully hurdle any obstacle, and in the knowledge that the souls of all those who struggled before us will aid us and cover our backs.

Sankofa:
A Conclusion
and yet
a Beginning
Those institutions that form the nuclear core of the Afrikan nationalist movement flicker persistently, though somewhat dimly, like stars in the haze-enshrouded night skies of the worn asphalt centers of Eurocentric civilization. Our progressive movement away from those centers is a movement toward rebirth. The more spiritual/psychic and socio-political distance we place between ourselves and the constrictive and debilitating grasp of Eurocentric civilization/culture, the more radiant those stars will appear, their numbers and radiance increasing until the entire sky is filled with an interlocked web of rhythmic luminescence, eventually fusing into a firestorm of radiancy, the center of a renewed universe; Afrikan rebirth and redemption. The skies must have appeared that way to Nzingha, Dessalines, Nat, Harriet, Marcus, and Lumumba.

The movement toward that Afrikan rebirth will be defined from within by the clarity of purpose and mission, and the conviction and competence of the several Afrikan centered, nationalist/Pan Afrikanist institutions (both the leadership and constituencies) that comprise the physical and institutional infrastructure of the movement. It will be defined from without by the frantic but deadly resistance and virulent attack by agents and elements of the non-Afrikan centered/white cultural hegemony. The movement today is part of the three millennium war being waged for the body and soul of Afrika.
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The activist/builders of the movement have aggressively engaged our perennial enemies in a decisive battle for the mind and spirit of our people. It is on this battleground that we have survived, though under siege. It is on the terrain of mind and spirit where we must marshall our resources to retake the entire spectrum of our people’s minds. This is the first, final, and determining effort of this age old war. We must prevail here or perish.

Afrikan centered institutions must act as staging areas in the thrust to retake and hold the minds of our people. Those institutions include families, educational institutions, cultural arts organizations, publishing companies, economic cooperatives, health and legal service organizations, food and housing cooperatives, etc. Each of them must be well organized and focused so as to be maximally effective in this effort. The movement itself must take example from Nzingha’s reconquest of Ndondo from isolated bases in the interior. We must take example from Yaa Asantewa and Candace, from Toussaint and Dessalines, from the Palmares, from Shabaka and Pianky, from Ahmose and Nahmer.

Our efforts, if we are to succeed in this endeavor to redeem and rebuild Afrikan civilization, must be firmly grounded in history. We must recover and reconstruct Afrikan history as a chronology of indomitable will and inevitable triumph. We must additionally firmly anchor the movement in that fundamental, Afrikan, spiritual matrix that superseded the hollow religious/cultural credendum of our Arab and European tormentors. Access to that matrix will be gained through identification and substantive involvement with the reconstructive efforts of existing traditional spiritual/cosmological systems, themselves only surviving fragments of the greater and original whole. Our efforts must be truly Pan Afrikan, linking the sons and daughters of Afrika throughout the world in nationbuilding.

Our success will be assured only if we link ourselves, our institutional infrastructures, in ideology and action. Alone

and isolated we risk death by fiscal, physical, or cultural/spiritual termination, or the slow and tortured death of assimilation and gradualist dissipation. Our collective actions, those securely anchored in history and spirituality and properly led and executed, will assume the character of the firestorm described above.

The essence of our endeavor is a return to the very source of our being as a people in order to recover, reconstruct, reinvigorate and reestablish the collective identity and presence of Afrika in the world order. This is a movement for our ancestors and a movement for our children. This renewed Afrikan nationality must be grounded in its history and spirituality, energized by its culture and perpetuated by its institutions. This is sankofa, returning from the chaos and perversity of white dominion to the womb of our history in order to birth a new reality of Afrikan freedom, independence and prosperity, and ultimately a world order consistent with the truth, justice, balance, propriety, harmony, reciprocity, and order of Afrikan humanity. That birth shall be occasioned by the fusing of innumerable institutional and individual energies into a singular collective/whole Afrikan nationality, heralding the end of this night-shaded era of our humiliation and confusion, and the dawn of our new beginning.

We will prevail!

Sankofa

"Se wo were fi na wo sankofa a yenkyi."

"It is not a taboo to go back to fetch what you forgot."
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In **NATIONBUILDING**, Agyei Akoto has produced a volume that challenges all Afrikan people, particularly those of us in the United States, to confront with seriousness the responsibilities of educating for liberation, and the reality that the goal of liberation must be nationhood. This book is a masterpiece of vision. More importantly, by writing candidly about the experience produced by 20 years of sustained kazi (work) within a collective of creative thinkers and doers, the author helps readers understand how the wisdom he reveals in **NATIONBUILDING** was developed. One appreciates, through Agyei's writing, that nationbuilding is the process that gives us form and substance within humanity; it is through this process that we create and recreate the culture that defines our lives. This is a book for the serious and the committed. Read it!

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**NATIONBUILDING** represents one of the most brilliant and masterful applications of Pan Afrikan Nationalist philosophy to the practice of Afrikan Nationbuilding, informed by the collective wisdom of Afrikan historical/cultural continuity that I have ever read. It is a beautiful synthesis of Pan Afrikan Nationalist thought/philosophy applied to Afrikan centered practice, i.e., the rebuilding of Afrikan cultural infrastructure. **NATIONBUILDING** presents an operational paradigm of Pan Afrikan Nationalism applied to education, informed by years of development and practice, which should stimulate the systematic expansion and escalation of Afrikan nationbuilding models throughout the Afrikan diaspora in particular, and the Afrikan world in general. Few analyses have succeeded in presenting such a critical synthesis of Afrikan history, philosophy, pedagogy and practice appropriately adapted to our contemporary condition. It is "must reading" for all seriously committed Afrikan Nationalists!

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Agyei Akoto's conceptual formulations have the benefit of his 20 plus years of experience as a Pan Afrikan Nationalist. As a result we finally have a clear statement of the Afrikan nationalist paradigm. In this work, he clearly delineates the process and strategy of nationbuilding and its inextricable relationship to Afrikan centered education. At a time when our dialogue is being determined by the definitions of European academia and European controlled media, Akoto's perspective is refreshingly and authentically Afrikan focused. It is clear that he is neither addressing non-Africans, nor is he hampered by a dependency on Eucentric conceptions. He writes authoritatively, and with commitment to Afrikan people, unfettered by the ideological ambivalence which has plagued Afrikans in the diaspora and on the continent for many decades.

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