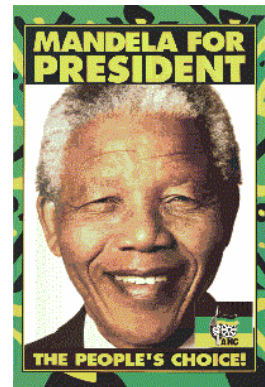
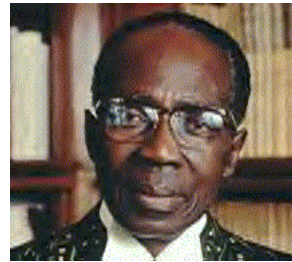


BLACOLOGY NET-INFO RESEARCH

AFRICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT: Blacological Cultural Nationalist in Africa



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I. INTRODUCTION

The Net-Info Research is a collection of information gathered for a subject or interest. This information is received from the Internet. It consists of documents acquired while scanning the Internet for information pertaining to class assignments, topics or individual interest. This research is primarily the writings, articles, and materials of the authors on their web pages. These articles are the facts and works of those who have researched the subjects. These articles, writings, and materials assist or provide knowledge and documentation on subjects or topics that are of interest to Prof. Walter Cross CEO/President of The Blacology Research and Development Institute Inc. (A Cultural Science) and a candidate for Ph. D. in African Studies at Howard University. This Net-Info Research is for, "Reviews on Scholarly Articles of Blacological Cultural Nationalist", an assignment that was given in the class, "African Political Thought", by Dr. Sulayman Nyang in the Fall Semester of 1999. The assignment was to provide 30 page term paper analyses on major and minor African Thinkers. As a Blacological Cultural Scientist I selected Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Leopold Senghor, Amilcar Cabral, Sekou Toure, Kenneth Kanuda, Jomo Kenyatta, and Nelson Mandela as example of the utilization of Blacological Thought in the arena of Politics. These Cultural Nationalist are also major contributors to the redemption of Black people and redevelopment Black/African Culture. Net-Info Research is a method of utilizing the Internet information to support academic studies. This Net-info Research is a collection of articles on a Blacological Perspective of Anti-Colonialism. This is a brief analysis on some of the 20th Century Black/African Freedom Fighters and their Independence Movements. See your Internet address provided for you on the reference page for a more detail informative update. I chose these articles because they utilized a Blacological Perspective in Cultural Politics and exhibited the necessity for a monolithic cultural autonomy.

I. SCHOLARLY ARTICLES

A. November 1997 Number 8

KWAME NKRUMAH THE FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE 10 DECEMBER 1947 - 6 MARCH 1957 PART II

The fog-filtered African sun on 10 December, 1947, witnessed Kwame Nkrumah's return to the Gold Coast, disembarking at Takoradi after an absence of 12 years. He found a country still very much under British colonial domination, but was soon aware that demand for major political change was fermenting just beneath the surface. Wallace Johnson's communist West African Youth League had infiltrated from Nigeria in 1937 and had stirred the political pot throughout the Gold Coast.

Johnson's star waned when he was convicted of sedition and deported in 1938. However, he left behind the residue of discontent with colonialism and a growing but leaderless demand for self-rule. The colonial government moved quickly and decisively to suppress every contentious political movement. Chiefs who showed any inclination towards independence were quickly destooled. Anti-tax movements were rapidly suppressed. Suspect civil servants were sacked and, in some cases, detained. Any challenge to British rule was abruptly terminated. It was into this period of suppression that Kwame Nkrumah arrived home. Within days, he returned to his home at Nkroful for a brief family reunion. Word spread quickly that Nkrumah was home and after a fortnight, he began a series of speaking engagements and meetings in order to sense the level of unrest that lay just beneath the surface throughout the country.

A series of meetings with the leadership of the United Gold Coast Convention, (UGCC), founded on 4 August, 1947, and lead by Dr. J. B. Danquah, resulted, on 20 January, 1948, in the appointment of Nkrumah as General Secretary of the Party. From that moment at Saltpond, the die was cast. The Gold Coast had its' leader and was on a fixed and determined course towards independence from Great Britain.

Nkrumah began an intense speaking tour throughout the country, and with his unique, impassioned rhetoric, soon had the entire country seething with Pan-African enthusiasm and demands for self-rule. Boycotts of European goods were initiated, labor strikes became common place and work slowdowns began in all areas of the Gold Coast's commerce and industry.

The 28th of February, 1948, was a landmark day in the nation's history. A large contingent of former servicemen who were tired of unfulfilled promises by the government, drafted a petition seeking redress of grievances for presentation to H.M's Governor, Sir Gerald Creasy. As they marched, unarmed and defenseless, they were set upon by government troops at Christianborg cross-roads. When the smoke cleared, sixty-three former loyal soldiers lay dead or badly wounded on the streets of Accra. Gold Coast would never be the same. Rioting and looting lasted for five days.

On 1 March, 1948, the Riot Act was read and Governor Creasy declared a state of emergency. Strict press censorship was imposed over the entire country. On 12 March, the Governor issued Removal Orders and police were dispatched to pick up and arrest the entire UGCC Central Executive. Kwame Nkrumah, Dr. Danquah, E. Akufo Addo, William Ofori Atta, E. Obelsebi Lamptey and E. Ako Adjei were arrested, detained and exiled to the Northern Territories.

On 14 March, 1948, Cape Coast students demonstrated, demanding the release of the Party leadership. Once again, the government responded with great force, leaving the dead and dying in its wake. Meanwhile, the Colonial Office in London, greatly upset by events in the Gold Coast, appointed a Commission, chaired by Mr. A. K. Watson, Recorder of Bury St. Edmunds, with a mandate to investigate the reasons for the disturbances and to make recommendations for the continued governance of the colony. They began their in-country interviews and deliberations on 1 April, 1948.

With the country in chaos, Governor Creasy finally acceded to demands and on 12 April, 1948, the Party leadership was released from detention. On 19 April, he lifted the 1 ½ month press ban. These actions served to superficially quiet the country, but it did nothing to suppress the now flourishing and rampant demand for self-rule. On 26 April, 1948, the Watson Commission concluded its deliberations and shortly thereafter, presented its report to H.M.G. The principal recommendation was that a Constitution be drafted as a possible prelude to eventual self-rule. To that end, an all African Constitutional Committee was appointed under the Chairmanship of an esteemed African jurist, Mr. Justice Henley Coussey of the Gold Coast High Court.

In the meantime, Nkrumah toured the country addressing huge crowds of every persuasion, every tribe, every religion and every class of society. "Self Government Now" echoed throughout the land. The strength of the three words grew at each speaking venue until it became the heartbeat of the country. With adult public opinion rapidly falling into line, Nkrumah next moved to mobilize the youth of the Gold Coast. On 26 February, 1949, he announced the formation of the Committee on Youth Organization (CYO) designed to bring young people actively into the political fray.

At the UGCC Easter Convention at Saltpond, Nkrumah rebuked the membership claiming that they were not working hard enough, that they did not fully understand and support his vision of self-rule. In a highly tense and acrimonious exchange, Nkrumah tendered his resignation as General Secretary of the party. On 12 June, 1949, at a CYO rally in Accra, Nkrumah announced the formation of the Convention Peoples Party (CPP), calling for political unity and a nationwide unified demand for self-rule. "If the Coussey Committee does not find for self-rule now, we will shut this country down, we will strike, strike, strike!"

On 7 November, 1949, the Coussey Committee Report was published. Contained therein, were a number of mechanisms for inclusion of Africans in government, but it stopped short of advocating or even suggesting self-rule. While the Coussey report was comprehensive and generally accepted by political moderates, Nkrumah was furious because of its self-rule shortcomings. He announced formation of the Ghana Representative Council (GRC) as the principal body to initiate appeal against the report. Plans were announced for a nationwide Positive Action strike to begin 1 January, 1950. He renewed his nationwide tour, calling on "all men of goodwill, organize, organize, organize. We prefer self-government in danger, to servitude in tranquillity. Forward ever, backward never". The chant "Self-government now" was taken up in every corner of the country.

New Years Day, 1950, dawned with labor shutdowns in every industrial and commercial facility. Government responded immediately with a State of Emergency announced by the Governor. Flying squads of the Gold Coast Constabulary swooped down and arrested more than 200 CPP and CYO leaders, including Nkrumah. Arrests and detentions did not stop the movement. Enough people stepped into the leadership void to perpetuate the movement. The "Gold Coast Leader" was initiated, first as a sub-rosa broadsheet and within a month, as a widely distributed CPP propaganda newspaper. In the meantime, the government accepted the Coussey Committee report and began implementing its recommendations, beginning with municipal

elections in Accra on 8 April, 1950, Cape Coast on 12 June, 1950 and Kumasi on 4 November, 1950. CPP won in a landslide, to the shock and chagrin of H. M. G. Although still in prison, Nkrumah recorded an extraordinary plurality of 22,780 votes out of 23,122 votes cast.

NKRUMAH, UPON HIS RELEASE FROM DETENTION

On 19 February, 1951, the new Governor, Sir Noble Arden-Clarke, signed the Bill of Release freeing Nkrumah and others from prison after 13 months of detention. An invitation to State House on the day of his release resulted in Nkrumah being asked to form a government and become Leader of Government Business in the first African dominated government of the Gold Coast and the National Assembly. Nkrumah accepted, but he warned the Governor that he considered the Coussey generated Constitution to be "bogus, fraudulent and unacceptable, as it does not fully meet the aspirations of the people of the Gold Coast". He added that he would not rest "until full self-government within the Commonwealth was achieved". With that statement, he announced his first cabinet of 4 Europeans and 7 Africans. The die was now cast. The sun would soon rise on a new nation, Ghana.

For the next year, Nkrumah focused his effort on the development of an equitable constitution and creation of massive nationwide self-help schemes. Work was begun on the enormous Volta River hydroelectric project and others of national importance. On 5 March, 1952, Nkrumah was made Prime Minister. Work continued on a new Constitution. The country's first Five Year Development Plan was published and through its implementation, 9 Teacher Training Colleges, 18 Secondary Schools and 31 Primary and Middle schools were built. In the Northern Territories, 10 new hospitals were built. Major roads were constructed linking Accra and Cape Coast and Kumasi and from Tamale to Bolgatanga.

Nkrumah stepped up his pressure for negotiations for full Independence. Finally on 18 September, 1956, the Secretary of State for the Colonies announced a firm date for Gold Coast Independence, 6 March, 1957. On 12 November, 1956, a new Constitution was approved along with the nation's renewed name, Ghana, after the ancient traditional Ghana Empire, the oldest known state of West Africa, which flourished from the third to the seventeenth century. On the appointed day, 6 March, 1957, the new nation was born. At midnight at Accra's Polo Grounds, Prime Minister Nkrumah announced that "the long battle is over and our beloved country Ghana is free forever". Always the Pan-Africanist, mindful of the rest of Africa, he said: "We again re-dedicate ourselves in the struggle to emancipate other countries in Africa, for our independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent."

B. Julius Nyerere

Julius Nyerere, Tanzania's midwife A rare African leader who left the political scene on his own By S. Predrag SPECIAL TO MSNBC HARARE, Zimbabwe, Oct. 14 —

The death of former Tanzanian President Julius Kambarage Nyerere at 77 marks the passing of one of the last of Africa's post-war independence leaders and a man who, typically, left his nation's top job voluntarily and largely lived by the socialist tenets he espoused.

Nyerere spent much of his tenure after 1968 desperately tried to get his own concept of socialism established in a country which had only 30 university graduates at the time of independence. ALONG WITH Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, Guinea's Sekou Toure and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Nyerere was one of the towering figures of post-war Africa's move from

colonialism to independence. He was also an avid promoter of African unity and a founding father of the Non-Aligned Movement.

A lifelong socialist whose lived to see his economic ideas fall from favor, he is nonetheless remembered for his efforts in the fight against colonialism and apartheid, as well as his attempts at achieving African unity and prosperity. Known as Mwalimu — Swahili for “teacher” — Nyerere was the son of a minor chief in Butiama, near Lake Victoria, in an area which was known as the British protectorate of Tanganyika. Born in 1922, the young Nyerere used to walk 25 miles to his primary school in Musoma. He later obtained a Teacher’s Diploma at Makerere University in Uganda and eventually a Master of Arts from the University of Edinburgh in 1952. Tanzania's Julius Nyerere dead at age 77 The mid-1950s were not an easy time for educated, politically aware Africans. When British colonial authorities forced him to choose between teaching and his political activities, Nyerere, in 1954, formed the Tanganyika African National Union, or TANU, which would grow to spearhead the battle for the independence of Tanzania.

COLONIAL OFFICIAL TO PRESIDENT

In 1960, Nyerere political activism thrust him to the top of the country’s political ladder. In the dying days of British rule, he became prime minister of the colony. Within a year, on Dec. 9, 1961, Tanganyika became independent and a year after that, Nyerere became the country’s first president. Tanzania was formed as a union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar Island, with Nyerere as its president. He would remain in the presidential palace for over two decades. I met the late Nyerere on several occasions and remember him as a modest person who spoke softly and eloquently about the difficult problems facing Tanzania and Africa. Ten years ago, he was still arguing the “benefits of socialism in African conditions,” despite the fact that his pet project, ujamaa villages, a sort of African cooperative village system, was a dismal failure.

Indeed, he spent much of his tenure after 1968 desperately tried to get his own concept of socialism established in a country which had only 30 university graduates at the time of independence. He called this brand of rural socialism ujama, or “familyhood.” By 1972, only around 10 percent of the rural population were engaged in the ujamaa village production. The number later increased dramatically, predominantly because of state “persuasion.” Advertisement Nyerere ultimately did acknowledge that his project was not economically viable because the state coffers of this poor African country could not sustain the enormous costs it entailed.

PAN-AFRICANISM

Faced with defeats at home and enormous financial trouble — Tanzania is still to this date one of the most debt-ridden African countries — Nyerere turned to the continental and international arena. His socialist views and his refusal to toe the line often put Nyerere at odds with the great powers. During the Cold War, when Africa was viewed as a battleground between the West and the Soviet bloc, his ardent support of liberation struggles in many African countries ruled by right-wing dictators alienated Washington, London and Paris.

For years, Tanzania, starving for cash and sympathetic to their revolutionary rhetoric, flirted with China, and occasionally with the former Soviet Union and Cuba. But under Nyerere’s rule, Tanzania was never part of the Soviet bloc. The frustrating international landscape, in part, led Nyerere to yearn for unity on both a regional and continental level. He was one of the founding fathers of the Non-Aligned movement, which lost most of its influence following the end of the Cold War and the break-up of the Soviet Union.

In 1967, he was instrumental in forming the East Africa Community (Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda), which was a non-starter in many aspects and, 10 years later, ceased to exist. In 1978, Nyerere sent his troops to neighboring Uganda to oust Idi Amin, a notorious and erratic dictator, who six years earlier reportedly wrote a letter to his Tanzanian counterpart which said: "I love you very much, and if you had been a woman I would have considered marrying you." Nyerere wanted to get rid of Amin not only because of regional and African concerns, but also for Tanzanian interests, although sending troops across the border was a rather controversial step at the time.

STEPPING ASIDE

In 1985, Nyerere did something quite unusual for an African leader: he voluntarily decided to leave his presidential palace, calling elections to replace him in a move that foreshadowed the wave of democracy that would sweep through Africa. Nyerere kept the top post of his Chama Cha Mapinduzi party after leaving the presidency, resigning the party job in May 1990. In Africa, most leaders would be horrified at the very thought of one day having to leave their "thrones." Former dictators, such as Zaire's Mobuto Sese Seko, Haile Mengistu Miram of Ethiopia and Mohammed Siad Barre, packed away all the gold, diamonds and hard currency they could get their hands on before being driven into luxurious exile by rebels.

Apart from Nyerere, the only other African leaders who left office voluntarily are Senegal's Leopold Sedar-Senghor, Sir Ketumile Masire of Botswana and, most recently, in June of this year, former South African President Nelson Mandela. Nyerere never left politics altogether, though. Last March, he launched yet another campaign against poverty. "When we were fighting for our independence, we used to tell the citizens to unite," he told an audience during the campaign. "We should not just keep on whining that we are poor, we are poor," he said. "We must do something about it."

C. Leopold Sedar Senghor

Senghor, Léopold Sédar (1906-), president of Senegal (1960-1980), and an internationally respected poet, philosopher, and theoretician. A French-speaking African intellectual, Senghor defended and promoted the cultural heritage of Africans, developing the idea of *négritude*. He led the movement for Senegal's independence and was elected the nation's first president. Stability, fairness, and cultural vitality marked his 20 years in office.

POET-POLITICIAN

Senghor was born a member of the Serer ethnic group in the small town of Joal, located on the Atlantic coast of West Africa in what was then the French colony of Senegal (in French West Africa). He attended Catholic mission school and remained a devoted Christian throughout his life. After attending high school in Dakar, Senghor won a scholarship to study in Paris, France, where in 1935 he became the first African to receive the *agrégé* (doctorate) degree. He then taught at a French secondary school.

During this time, Senghor wrote poetry about his feelings as an African far from home and how he differed from the French people. Together with Aimé Césaire, a fellow student and poet from Martinique, Senghor developed the concept of *négritude*. Senghor used the term *négritude* to refer to the distinctive culture shared, he believed, by Africans and all members of the African diaspora (people of African ancestry around the world). He believed that all of these

peoples should be proud of their *négritude*, develop it, express it, and offer it to the world as part of the universal human heritage. At the same time, they should borrow the best of European civilization, being careful to "assimilate, not be assimilated." Senghor served in the French army during World War II (1939-1945), was captured, and spent two years in German prison camps. After the war, Senghor was recruited by the French Socialist Party to represent Senegal in the French government. He was elected to the French Constituent Assembly in 1946 and then to the French National Assembly (which succeeded the Constituent Assembly). Senghor's first collection of poetry, *Chants d'ombre* (Songs from the Shadows) was published in 1945, and his second, *Hosties noires* (Black Hosts) in 1948. That same year he also published *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malgache de langue française* (Anthology of New Black and Malagasy Poetry in the French Language), which included a long preface by French existentialist author Jean-Paul Sartre. Senghor became widely recognized by the French as the authentic voice of Africa, the defender of *négritude*, and, as Senghor had hoped, "the trumpet of my people."

In 1948 Senghor resigned from the French Socialist Party to found a new Senegal-based party, the *Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais* (Senegal Democratic Bloc), which he believed could better represent the interests of his African constituents. Although Senghor believed that socialism was the most beneficial form of social organization in the West, he rejected many basic Marxist ideas, instead advocating a uniquely African form of socialism. He saw no evidence of class struggle in Africa (an assumed precursor to the development of a classless society according to Marxist thought). He also criticized the practice of socialism in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) for its use of force and insistence on atheism. Africa, he believed, could adopt socialist planning and technology, build on its own community-based principles, and create an African socialism in keeping with African strengths and traditions.

Senghor worked for greater political autonomy for French-speaking West Africa as a whole. As France moved toward granting independence to its colonies individually, Senghor fought against the division of the French West Africa federation, believing that disunity would weaken all the individual African territories economically and politically. He was unsuccessful, however. In 1960 France dissolved the federation and granted independence to its members as separate states. Senghor engineered the union of two of them, Senegal and the Sudanese Republic (now Mali), as the independent Mali Federation, but the federation split apart within three months. Senegal became independent in August 1960, and Senghor was elected its first president.

PRESIDENT OF SENEGAL

As president, Senghor sought continued close ties with France, believing French support and investment would bring economic prosperity to Senegal. His prime minister, Mamadou Dia, disagreed, arguing for a more independent and radical socialism. After a brief power struggle in 1962 in which Senghor prevailed, his political power was never seriously challenged. Senghor sought economic collaboration with his African neighbors and helped to create the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. In 1966 he hosted the First World Festival of Negro Arts in Dakar, an event that attracted 10,000 visitors from all over the world to witness the accomplishments and vitality of the culture of *négritude*. Senghor's remarkable patience and gift for crafting workable compromises marked his political style. He was successful as a politician, preserving peace and stability in his ethnically and religiously diverse country. He was less successful in the economic realm. Senghor accepted the popular economic wisdom of the time that developing countries must concentrate on exports. However, Senegal had few natural resources or other goods to export. Prices for its main crop, groundnuts, declined, and there was persistent drought in the 1970s. Although Senegal remained poor, Senghor was able to make

strides in education and health. He maintained a relatively free press and held regular elections in accordance with the constitution. Political challengers were persuaded to form coalitions with his single ruling party. Senghor was reelected in 1963, 1968, and 1973.

In 1976 Senghor introduced amendments to the constitution to foster multiparty politics. Senghor won Senegal's first multiparty election easily in 1978. In 1980 he resigned in favor of his prime minister, Abdou Diouf, thus becoming the first leader of an independent African country to give up power voluntarily.

Senghor has been called one of Africa's leading intellectuals and one of the most important French poets of the 20th century. Throughout his long and active political life, he continued to write poetry and philosophy, and to articulate his ideas about négritude, socialism, and culture. His creativity, thoughtfulness, and profound religious belief enhanced his ability to maintain balance and perspective in his political life. In addition to those mentioned above, Senghor's published works include the highly acclaimed collection of poems *Ethiopiennes* (1956), *Selected Poems* (1964), *On African Socialism* (1964), and *Négritude and Humanism* (1964), a reaffirmation of the values of traditional African culture. In 1984 he was named to the Académie Française, the first black person to receive France's highest honor for enduring contribution to French life and letters.

D. Amilcar Cabral

Cabral, Amilcar (1924-1973), leading nationalist politician in Guinea,

Cape Verde and Angola from the late 1950s until his assassination. Educated in Lisbon, Cabral was one of the founding members of Centro de Estudos Africanos (Center for African Studies) in 1948. In 1956, when based in Africa, he founded and became secretary general of the Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde (PAIGC: African Party of Independence for Guinea and Cape Verde), the same year he set up the Angolan liberation movement with Agostinho Neto. For much of the 1960s he conducted a war of liberation against Portugal and effectively controlled every part of Portuguese Guinea not occupied by the Portuguese army. The next step to independence that he took was the creation in 1972 of the Guinean People's National Assembly. He was assassinated in Conakry on January 20, 1973.

AMILCAR CABRAL - OUTSTANDING LEADER OF AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT - A TRIBUTE(4)

"How is it that we, a people deprived of everything, living in dire straits, manage to wage our struggle and win successes? Our answer is: this is because Lenin existed, because he fulfilled his duty as a man, a revolutionary and a patriot. Lenin was and continues to be, the greatest champion of the national liberation of the peoples." These were the words addressed to the delegates attending the seminar on "Lenin and National Liberation" held at Alma Ata, capital of Soviet Socialist Republic of Kazakhstan, in 1970 by Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the PAIGC, who met his death on 20th January 1973 at Conakry, Guinea, at the hands of a traitor, Innocenta Canida, an agent of the Portuguese colonialists who had infiltrated into the ranks of the movement three years ago. These words reflect the revolutionary thinking and life-work of this utterly dedicated patriot, outstanding African revolutionary of our time and the father of the new independent sovereign State of Guinea in the process of birth. It was the cognition of the scientific theory of revolution, of Marxism-Leninism, to which he was introduced by his contacts with the Portuguese Communist Party during his student days in Lisbon which was to combine within him, in the words of the statement of the Central Committee of the South African

Communist Party, "a deep understanding of the processes of the African revolution with an untiring devotion to practical struggle."

Ideological base

Whilst eschewing dogma, he continually stressed the need for a firm political and ideological base for a revolutionary: "If it is true that a revolution can fail even though it is based on perfectly conceived theories -- nobody has yet made a successful revolution without a revolutionary theory." Cabral was above all a man of action. Born on September 12, 1924, at Bafata in what was then the Portuguese West African colony of Guinea, he spent part of his youth in Bissau, the capital. He was able because of his family's relatively comfortable position, to go to secondary school and then to the University of Lisbon, where he qualified as an agricultural engineer in 1951. Returning to his country he served for two years in the colonial administration as an agronomist which provided him with ample opportunity to learn at first hand of the dire poverty and intense suffering of his people, especially in the countryside. His experiences made him more determined than ever to find ways and means of working for the freedom of his country and delivering his people from the yoke of colonial bondage. This inevitably led him into bitter conflicts with the governor of the colony and he transferred himself to Angola.

There in 1956 he helped to form what is now the most important national organisation of Angola, the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola). In the same year he also became one of the founders of the African Party of Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands and was its leader until the time of his assassination.

Under his leadership the PAIGC mobilised the country's patriots to struggle for the freedom of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands, created the people's army and led the national-liberation war against the Portuguese colonialists. Cabral knew and understood his enemy well, and every phase of the struggle was carefully planned and action meticulously organised. The cadres of the PAIGC were given political education as well as military training and he stressed always "that we are armed militants and not militarists."

The race question

Cabral saw the task of the national liberation movements as not merely usher in Black rule replacing white faces with black ones; it was not only to raise a different flag and sing a new anthem but to remove all forms of exploitation from the country. "Bearing in mind the essential characteristics of the present world economy, as well as experience already gained in the field of anti-imperialist struggle, the principal aspect of national liberation struggle is the struggle against neo-colonialism." Cabral was careful to distinguish the colour of men's skins from exploitation and repeatedly emphasised that the struggle was against Portuguese colonialism and not against the Portuguese people. He made it clear that:

"We are fighting so that insults may no longer rule our countries, martyred and scorned for centuries, so that our peoples may never more be exploited by imperialists not only by people with white skin, because we do not confuse exploitation or exploiters with the colour of men's skins; we do not want any exploitation in our countries, not even by black people."

Though the focus of Cabral's activity was always the struggle against Portuguese colonialism, he was an internationalist and saw his people's struggle as merely one front

of a common international struggle against imperialism which "is trying simultaneously to dominate the working class in all advanced countries and smother the national liberation movements in all the under-developed countries."

Socialist allies

The historic role which the socialist community, as an integral and powerful part of the world anti-imperialist front, is playing for peace, independence and socialism was clearly understood and recognised by Cabral. At a conference held in Dar-es-Salaam in 1965, Cabral had said:

"It is our duty to state here, loud and clear, that we have firm allies in the socialist countries ... Since the socialist revolution and the events of the Second World War, the face of the world has definitely changed. A socialist camp has arisen in the world. This has radically changed the balance of power, and this socialist camp is today showing itself fully conscious of its duties, international and historic, but not moral, since the peoples of the socialist countries have never exploited the colonised peoples."

He had very close association with the Soviet Union which he visited on many occasions and made a major contribution to the promotion and strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and the Soviet Union, between the PAIGC and the CPSU.

Speaking as the head of the PAIGC delegation at the Joint Meeting in the Kremlin dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the USSR, Cabral said:

"Availing ourselves of this opportunity we want to express on behalf of our people fraternal gratitude to the Soviet people, the CPSU, its Central Committee for the versatile assistance you render us in our bitter struggle against the Portuguese colonialists, against the war and genocide, for independence, peace and progress of our African Motherland."

The assassin's bullets struck down this great African leader just as preparations were going ahead for the convening of the National Assembly in the early part of this year for the adoption of the Constitution and the official declaration of the new independent sovereign State of Guinea. This foul deed was engineered by the Portuguese colonialists with the nefarious aim of sowing confusion and disruption among the ranks of the PAIGC and of causing disunity among the national liberation movements of Southern Africa. It shows that the evil triumvirate of Caetano, Smith and Vorster will stop at nothing to stem the irresistible advances of the courageous and steeled guerrillas and brave freedom fighters of Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa in their noble struggle to free the whole of southern Africa from national, racial and social oppression.

In our own country, South Africa, Vorster faces the ever growing tide of indignation and resistance of the Black masses against apartheid tyranny and especially of the bulk of the Black working people against the whole of the inhuman cheap-labour system and starvation wages. In spite of the use of the deadly modern weapons of war, terror and devious manoeuvres, the colonialist and racialist regimes are doomed. The new State of Guinea shall be a reality, the whole of southern Africa shall be freed.

However, the struggles ahead call for, on our part, ever stronger unity and organisation of masses, ever greater vigilance against the manoeuvres and machinations of the enemy, ever more determination and will to sacrifice in our efforts to exterminate the forces of oppression and win

final victory. By the death of Amilcar Cabral, Africa has lost one of her great revolutionary leaders. We, the fighting black people and all the revolutionaries of South Africa, salute this indomitable fighter. We shall see to it that the cause - which is also our cause - to which Amilcar Cabral devoted all his energies and ultimately gave his life, will triumph.

E. Sekou Toure Guinea History

In 1891 Guinea became a French colony. In 1958 independence was granted under the leadership of Sekou Toure, his party was the Parti Democratique de Guinee. Guinea was for many years one of Africa's most reclusive states this was due to Toure's stand against French colonialism. He rejected General de Gaulle's offer to become a member of the French commonwealth as an alternative to total independence and he declared that his country would prefer to be in poverty and in liberty rather than in riches and slavery. The French retaliated by withdrawing all aid. Toure became very paranoid about conspiracies and held show trials, by the end of the 1960's, 250,000 Guineans were living in exile. He even accused nations of plotting against him.

In 1970 there was a Portuguese backed invasion by Guinean descendents; this attempt to change the situation failed. Toure was forced to be less harsh in order to attract capital and technical aid for his country. This caused relations with France to improve following the visit of Giscard d'Estaing in late 1978 and so aid came flowing back in.

In March 1984 Toure died. In April 1984 there was a military coup staged by a group of Colonels wanting to liberate the political structure by eliminating all pro Toure elements. The coup opened up Guinea and returned it to the Western fold. The leaders of the country, President Lansana Conte and Prime Minister Diarra Traorte then dithered.

In July 1985 the show-down came. Traore attempted to stage a coup while Conte was away for a summit meeting of the ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States); the coup failed through lack of support. Conte consolidated his power and was forced to adopt austerity measures in order to secure an IMF stand by loan.

Touré, Sékou (1922-84), first president of Guinea (1958-84), who led his country out of the French colonial empire. Born in Faranah, the great-grandson of the resistance fighter Samory Touré, he was largely self-educated. At the age of 19, Touré became an administrator in the Post and Telecommunications Department, Conakry. An active unionist, he was named secretary general of the departmental union in 1945. Touré also became involved in the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT), the Communist-dominated French workers' federation, and was elected president of the CGT in Africa in 1956.

Having turned to politics in 1946, when he was cofounder of the African Democratic Rally, Touré was elected mayor of Conakry (1955), deputy from Guinea to the French National Assembly (1956), and vice president (prime minister) of the governmental council of Guinea (1957). He then held the presidency of Guinea from independence (1958) until his death. Socialist in economic outlook, Touré ruthlessly suppressed dissent, and after his death the government of Guinea acknowledged that numerous human rights violations had occurred under his regime.

Guinea has always had an independent streak. While other former French colonies maintained strong ties with France, Guinea—led by strongman Sekou Toure—struck out on its own. “We prefer poverty in freedom to riches in slavery,” Toure declared, and, following his own peculiar brand of socialism, he led Guinea from being one of the most prosperous African

colonies to being one of the poorest countries in the world. What's more, Toure seemed to equate independence with detachment, and the nation became increasingly isolated.

Since his death in 1984, however, the country has slowly opened, revealing to travelers a land that has an almost innocent quality about it. (One positive result of Guinea's independent streak is that it has evolved very differently from its regional neighbors.) Guinea's terrain seems to have a mind of its own as well, shifting dramatically the farther inland that you go: Steaming mangrove swamps on the coast give way to an area of muggy jungle, while the forested uplands, laced by rivers and gushing waterfalls, lead to a cool mountainous interior. To the east are undulating savannas.

In Guinea, as in much of Africa, the rather arbitrary drawing of colonial borders has made for a culturally and ethnically diverse population. Originally known as Jalonkadougou, the highlands of modern-day Guinea were once part of the Mali Empire. Later, Fulani immigrants arrived, bringing the teachings of Islam with them, and by the 18th century, Muslims had consolidated their power, forming the Kingdom of Fouta Djallon. They engaged in the slave trade with Arabs in the north and with Europeans on the coast. The French arrived in Guinea in 1849 and, taking advantage of factional strife, gained control and administered the area until independence in 1958.

Toure ruled from independence until his death in 1984. The military regime that took over from him made slow but steady progress in rebuilding the nation, and the country held its first multiparty elections in June 1995. Guinea is now one of the few African nations where the standard of living is on the rise, thanks to its rich mineral deposits and other natural resources. Guinea has significant deposits of bauxite, diamonds, uranium, gold and manganese. Its soil is fertile—rice, bananas and coffee are grown—and abundant waterways and hydroelectric dams have given its economy a boost.

F. DR. KENNETH KAUNDA HIS LEGACY OF GREATNESS May 1997 Number 2

The turn of my calendar page has led to this month's newsletter, in place of my planned Great Epic Newsletter about Sir Harry Johnston. Sir Harry will definitely be with us in June. April 28th (1924) is the birthdate of another of Africa's great sons, Dr. Kenneth David Canada, Founding Father and first Head of State of the Republic of Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia).

As in the previous newsletter about the LIBRARY OF DR. H. KAMUZU BANDA

(April, 1997) this epistle will try not to stray into the political arena, although I would really like to very much, given the treatment of these great men, both my friends, at the hands of the new, so-called Democratic governments. But I digress and will abstain from political commentary. I will, however, share with you a little about this extraordinarily talented, caring man. Kenneth Canada was the youngest of eight children. He was born at the Lube Mission Station in Northern Rhodesia to a loving and caring family presided over, until his untimely early death, by his honored father, the Reverend David Canada, an ordained Church of Scotland missionary and teacher. His mother was one of the first women teachers in the country.

In addition to great love and spirituality, young Kenneth's childhood was greatly influenced by books. He read continually, encouraged by his parents to search diligently for knowledge in the pages of all of the books available to him. Kenneth's early years were marked by excellence, a standard that continues to this day. He excelled at Manual Secondary School in Lusaka.

After graduating, he earned a teaching certificate and returned home to take up the post of headmaster at Tinselly Mission. In 1949, his life changed forever. Political change was fermenting as Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, Harry Nkumbula and others intensified their fight against Britain's imposition of Federation for Central Africa, what in 1953 was to become the hated Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Twenty-five year old Kenneth Kaunda began a bicycle tour of Northern Rhodesia with his ever-present guitar, singing original freedom songs. His unique political efforts resulted in the establishment of 116 branches of the African National Congress (ANC). In 1953, the ANC membership elected him Secretary General of the party. His leadership challenge to the British government resulted in his imprisonment in Lusaka.

Like Dr. Banda who has always claimed that his thirteen month Gwelo imprisonment was "the vacation" that allowed him to think and plan creatively, so too Kenneth Kaunda used his time in Her Majesty's "Hotel" to formulate and develop the revolutionary political concept that eventually was called "Zambian Humanism", an expression of faith in the common men and women and a belief in non-violent attainment of all goals. He left prison determined to live an exemplary personal life, renouncing all forms of indulgences including tobacco, rich, unhealthy food and drink and alcohol in any form. He became a vegetarian. His personal life style to this day is one of careful moderation and morality. In 1958, Kenneth Kaunda or, as he is affectionately called by his many friends worldwide, "KK", broke away from the ANC and formed the Zambia African National Congress (ZANC) which was quickly banned by the colonial authorities. KK was first restricted then re-arrested and whilst in Salisbury prison, suffered a recurrence of tuberculosis. Nine months of prison solitude, controlled at all times by his strict personal discipline, resulted in his full recovery and finally, release in 1960.

He immediately formed and became President of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), the political party that ultimately, working with Dr. Banda's Malawi Congress Party in Nyasaland, overthrew the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In 1962, KK was elected a member of the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia and Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare in the coalition government of the United National Independence Party and the African National Congress. In 1963, with Zambian independence on the horizon, KK became Prime Minister. Finally, on October 24, 1964, in the full realization of all of the desires of Northern Rhodesia's majority African population, H. E. Kenneth David Kaunda assumed the elected office of President of the new Republic of Zambia.

His "new" office did not result in a "new" man. He worked with his usual passion and dedication, often 18 to 20 hours a day. When in need of a moment's respite, he sat at his piano or strummed his ever-present guitar, playing and singing hymns. Although raised by his father as a

Presbyterian, KK and his wife Betty were happy and spiritually replenished worshipping regularly with fellow citizens of all denominations represented in Zambia.

As Head of State, he delivered passionate speeches on subjects ranging from poverty alleviation and drunk driving to AIDS and apartheid. As the Chairman of the Frontline States, it was KK's leadership that resulted in the release of Nelson Mandela and the incredible changes that have taken place in South Africa. Despite an intense, never-ending work schedule, KK had time to write a number of powerful books. Foremost among these are *BLACK GOVERNMENT?*, Lusaka: United Society for Christian Literature (with Colin Morris); *ZAMBIA SHALL BE FREE*, London: Heinemann 1962; *LETTER TO MY CHILDREN*, London: Longman 1973; and *KAUNDA ON VIOLENCE*, London: Collins 1980.

LETTER TO MY CHILDREN is an extraordinary book, bearing the noble soul and spirit of this great man as he leaves to his progeny this choice legacy dealing with faith, values, humanism, music, courage, freedom and other important and life-guiding issues. A truly

marvelous volume of great value to all who read it. Of equal importance were the thought provoking books that were written to expand and fully develop the concept of Zambian Humanism. Noteworthy examples are Timothy K. Kandeke's *FUNDAMENTALS OF ZAMBIAN HUMANISM*, Lusaka: National Education Company of Zambia, 1977; Bastiaen de Gaay Fortman's *AFTER MULUNGUSHI* (for which KK wrote the foreword), Nairobi: East African Publishing 1969; and Henry Meebelo's *MAIN CURRENTS OF ZAMBIAN HUMANIST THOUGHT*, Lusaka: Oxford University Press 1973. All three of these (and others) do justice to this important concept of Governance, use of power and the elevation of the human life and spirit.

Dr. Kenneth Kaunda left office in October, 1991, defeated in a "free and fair election". He was very much a political victim of the times; the end of the cold war with former friends, big powers, including the United States, turning against him and supporting his opponent; the worst drought in recorded Central African history, resulting in a hungry populace; an overwhelming AIDS epidemic which, very sadly, claimed his own son, and a very young discontented population with no sense of KK's historical accomplishments, and little or no desire to work hard to overcome obstacles and continue the development of Zambia. Dr. Kaunda and his wife Betty live in retirement in Lusaka. He travels occasionally. In mid-1996, I spent the day with him in Vancouver, BC, where he attended the International AIDS Conference.

We talked about many things. . . memories of yesterday and dreams of tomorrow. KK lamented the loss of so-called friends when one is out of power and, indeed, went so far as to say that he has few friends now outside of Zambia. I responded by saying that his friends are numerous and give him credit for his many years of dedication and achievement. With those words, there was a knock at the hotel room door. I rose and answered it, admitting a room service waiter with coffee for me. He stepped into the room and stopped short with his mouth agape. "Are you Dr. Kenneth Kaunda?" "Yes I am". "My God. My God. You have been my political idol for years", said the waiter, a Fijian Indian immigrant to Canada. He was truly in shock. I took the tray.

Dr. Kaunda rose and shook his hand and embraced him. They spoke for a few minutes and Dr. Kaunda walked with him to the door. When he returned, I said "Your Excellency, on my honour Sir, I did not orchestrate that. It is just a small example of the many, many friends who care for you very much and pay you respect for all that you have done and continue to do in Africa."

He is still the dear gentleman of yesteryear who evoked a fond memory of a 1967 visit to the red-brick, Georgian-style, State House in Lusaka, when His Excellency, Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, offered to serve me tea. When I protested he smiled his charming smile and said "Please, Dr. Brody, I want to show you what a fine houseboy I was". And the tea, indeed, was beautifully served.

G. Jomo Kenyatta

Jomo Kenyatta: Kenya's first statesman KENYA NEWS QUIZ LINKS

Jomo Kenyatta's image still looms large today 20 years after his death. This is taken from an advertisement for Kenya National Breweries. Jomo Kenyatta was Kenya's first post independence leader and the man who dominated the political scene there for over 20 years until his death in 1978. He was then succeeded directly by one of his lieutenants, Daniel arap Moi, who is still president today. Kenyatta was born in 1890 and educated at the Church of Scotland

mission just outside Nairobi. He worked for Nairobi Municipality in the 1920s but quickly joined the first stirrings of nationalist movements in the Kenyan capital. In 1928, he became editor of the Kikuyu Central Association's magazine 'Muigwithania' and the following year went to Britain to present the case of the native African majority of Kenya. He submitted evidence to the infamous Carter Land Commission which, called to deal with African feelings of injustice at the growing power of the white settler movement in Kenya, ended up exacerbating them by giving the European colonialists virtual carte blanche to the country's rich farmlands.

Kenyatta left Kenya for 15 years, from 1931 to 1946 when he travelled extensively in Europe. When he returned to Kenya, he was given the leadership of the newly formed Kenya African Union, the party which still dominated political life in Kenya today under the name the Kenya African National Union, or KANU for short. In October 1952, when Britain declared a state of emergency, Kenyatta was convicted of orchestrating the Mau Mau rebellion, and sentenced to seven years in jail. The trial caught world attention but an appeal was rejected and Kenyatta was to remain in prison until 1961. As soon as he was freed in August 1961, he again assumed control of KANU. By then, Britain had convened a conference to discuss Kenya's future as an independent country which it was clear would not be as a South African style white dominated system. Accommodation with African nationalism had to be made and Kenyatta was a key figure: in 1962 he entered the Legislative Council, in 1963 he became a minister in the Coalition government.

In 1964, Kenyatta became the first president of the Republic of Kenya a job which he retained until his death on August 22, 1978. The Kenya which Kenyatta ruled over notched some notable achievements in the struggle to develop. In the first 10 years of independence, Kenya doubled its national income, provided the basis of a free education system and boosted key export crops like tea and coffee. But it was also a country where, as in so many other developing countries, the free and pluralist days of the fight against colonial rule quickly evaporated away, leaving monolithic one party rule in its place.

The main opposition party to KANU, the Kenya African Democratic Party, voluntarily dissolved itself in 1964 to join the coalition government. Two key independence leaders Tom Mboya and J.M. Kariuki, were murdered when they began to represent a threat to the one-man rule of Kenyatta. Mboya, who as minister for Economic Planning was responsible for developing many of Kenya's non-aligned policies, was gunned down in 1969. A young Kikuyu warrior was later executed for the murder. Kariuki was a very outspoken member of parliament in the 1970s, whose famous catchphrase was: 'Kenya has become a nation of 10 millionaires and 10 million beggars'. His body was found several weeks after disappearing in 1975. His killers were never found.

These years of Kenyatta rule also saw the first sedition trials and reports of coup attempts, as Kenya slipped into a pattern that was becoming all too common in Africa. In 1971, the government announced it had uncovered 'Operation Doomsday', a plot to overthrow it over the Easter weekend which was foiled at the last minute. But in retrospect, some analysts see life in the Kenyatta years as being freer than under his successor Daniel Arap Moi.

H. Chronology of Mandela

1912 The African National Congress (ANC) is founded; its goal is to end white domination and create a multi-racial South Africa. July 18, 1918 Rolihlahla Dalibhunga Mandela is born in a small village in the Transkei province in the Eastern Cape of South Africa. (see map)

The Madiba, his tribal clan, is part of the Thembu people. His family has royal connections; his great-grandfather was a Thembu king and Mandela's father is a respected counselor to the Thembu royal family. His father has four wives and Mandela is one of thirteen children. The family lives in a traditional thatched hut and raises livestock. On his first day of school, Rolihlahla is given the English name Nelson by an African teacher. 1927 Mandela's father dies, and at the age of nine Mandela becomes the ward of the acting regent of the Thembu people, chief Jongintaba Dalindyebo. He is raised lovingly, but with discipline, by the chief and his wife in the Thembu royal household. 1939-1940 After receiving a good education at local boarding schools, Mandela enters Fort Hare University and completes two years before deciding to leave for Johannesburg to avoid a marriage arranged for him by his guardian, chief Jongintaba. 1941-43 Mandela meets Walter Sisulu, who becomes a mentor and lifelong friend. Sisulu introduces Mandela to the law firm Witkin, Sidelsky and Eidelman, where he obtains a position. Mandela earns his B.A. degree, enrolls in law school and joins the ANC. 1944 Believing that the ANC leadership is too staid, Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu form the ANC Youth League. They plan to organize mass support for the ANC and make it a more activist organization. Mandela marries Evelyn Mase, a nursing student living in Johannesburg, who grew up in Mandela's home province. 1948 The National Party comes to power under Dr. Daniel Malan. His platform is called apartheid, meaning "apartness." They implement new laws supporting racial discrimination and oppression including the Separate Representation of Voters Act and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act. 1949 In response to the new apartheid policies, the ANC Youth League drafts a Program of Action calling for mass strikes, boycotts, protests and passive resistance. 1950 The National Party passes the Suppression of Communism Act, the Population and Registration Act, and the Group Areas act, which strictly enforce apartheid policies and are intended to crush any mass movement. 1951 Mandela becomes national president of the ANC Youth League. June 1952 After Malan rejects the ANC's calls for legitimate rights for blacks, the ANC launches the Defiance Campaign, a nonviolent mass resistance. Mandela is its volunteer-in-chief. In the next five months, over 8,500 take part in the campaign. July 1952 Mandela is arrested and charged for violating the Suppression of Communism Act. He and other ANC members are found guilty, but the sentence of nine months imprisonment is suspended for two years. September 1952 Mandela is banned from attending meetings or gatherings for the next two years. These bans continue on and off for the next nine years. December 1952 Mandela and Oliver Tambo open a law office in downtown Johannesburg and take on a heavy load of cases involving blacks persecuted under the new apartheid laws.

At the annual ANC conference, Mandela becomes its deputy president. He draws up a plan for the ANC to work underground--the M-Plan. June 1955 The ANC creates the Congress of the People, representing members of all races, to develop a set of principles for a new South Africa. They also establish the Freedom Charter, which supports the abolition of racial discrimination and oppression. December 1956 Mandela is arrested along with over 150 other people and tried for high treason. The "Treason Trial" takes up most of Mandela's time over the next few years. 1957 Mandela divorces Evelyn; their three children stay with her. June 1958 Mandela marries Winnie Madikizela, a social worker from Bizana in Pondoland. Winnie takes on a more politically active role while Mandela is tied down by his trials. Over the next few years, two daughters are born, Zenani and Zindzi. September 1958 Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd becomes prime minister and strictly enforces apartheid policies. As former minister of native affairs, Verwoerd had been responsible for much of the apartheid legislation. 1959 Parliament passes the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, which forces the resettlement of blacks into eight separate "tribal homelands." The ANC vigorously opposes the act. However, some tribal leaders adopt the Bantu policy and work with the government. April 1959 A former ANC

Youth League member, Robert Sobukwe, launches the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), a new political group that opposes including whites and Indians in the anti-apartheid struggle. March 21, 1960 Sharpeville: Anti-apartheid protesters gather to challenge South Africa's pass laws that prescribe where blacks can go. The police open fire and 69 people die--most of them from bullet wounds in the back.

The government declares a State of Emergency and bans the ANC and other opposition groups. Mandela is arrested. Oliver Tambo leaves the country under orders to work for the ANC cause from exile. March 1961 Mandela and the other defendants in the Treason Trial are found not guilty. It is a big victory for the ANC. 1961 The ANC responds to government's banning by endorsing an "armed struggle." Mandela goes underground and launches the armed struggle by forming Umkhonto we Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation)--or MK. MK's policy is to target only government offices and symbols of apartheid, not people. Mandela escapes the country and travels in Africa and Europe, studying guerrilla warfare and building support for the ANC. August 1962 Returning to South Africa, Mandela is arrested, convicted and sentenced to five years. He is held on Robben Island. October 1963-1964 Although already serving a sentence, Mandela is brought to trial again along with other ANC leaders, and charged with sabotage and attempting to violently overthrow the government. Known as the Rivonia Trial, the accused escape execution, but the judge sentences them to life in prison. In the winter of 1964, Mandela and his comrades are sent to Robben Island (see map). 1966 Verwoerd is assassinated by a deranged white farmer; John Vorster succeeds him as prime minister. 1968-69 Within a one-year period, Mandela's mother dies and his oldest son is killed in a car crash. Mandela is not allowed to attend the funerals. 1976 Soweto students protest mandatory instruction in Afrikaans, the language of the white rulers. Protests spread throughout Soweto. In crushing it, the government kills 575 people over an eight month period, a fourth of them under age 18. 1977 Winnie is banished to Brandfort, a remote township. Her daughter Zindzi goes with her. Over the following years, Winnie will spend over a year in jail (including solitary confinement) and face constant police harassment and humiliation. In response, she becomes more aggressive and militant in opposing white rule. 1978 Vorster resigns; P.W. Botha, who held various political appointments in the National Party, takes over as prime minister. 1980 In exile, Oliver Tambo and the ANC launch the "Release Mandela" campaign. In the following years, numerous countries and international groups sign petitions, pass resolutions and hold rallies for Mandela's release. March 1982 After 18 years on Robben Island, Mandela is transferred to Pollsmoor Prison on the mainland. 1983-1984 Angered by rent increases and Botha's plan for giving Indian and mixed-race voters--but not blacks--token places in Parliament, black residents of townships south of Johannesburg start an insurrection that spreads across the country. The police respond brutally. In one township, Langa, 20 people are fatally shot at a funeral procession.

The resistance escalates. Township operatives organize strikes and boycotts to make black townships "ungovernable." MK guerrillas begin killing farmers, policemen and accused collaborators. 1985 In January, United States Senator Edward Kennedy visits South Africa to show his anti-apartheid support. He is hosted by Bishop Desmond Tutu the recipient of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize; Kennedy also visits Winnie Mandela. South Africa's church leaders take up the anti-apartheid cause, led by Bishop Tutu.

During the summer, anti-apartheid rallies and protests take place in New York City, Atlanta and Washington. World famous musicians, including Bruce Springsteen and Miles Davis, release the anti-apartheid disk "Sun City." The song "Free Nelson Mandela" reaches the Top Ten on rock-music charts in England. Botha offers to free Mandela if he will renounce violence. Mandela's daughter Zindzi reads his response rejecting the deal to a packed stadium near Johannesburg. In November, Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee makes an unexpected visit to

Mandela who is hospitalized for prostate surgery. Although a social visit, it marks a turning point. On Mandela's return to prison, he is put in a separate cell from his comrades so the government can have private access to him. April 1986 Winnie's increasingly controversial and militant activities culminate in a speech at a funeral in which she endorses "necklace murders"--the death by burning tires around the necks of those who collaborate with the government. Her speech is widely reported in the foreign press as a call to violence; it is privately denounced by the ANC. June 1986 The government declares a State of Emergency in response to widespread unrest in the black townships. July 1986 Secret talks, approved by Botha and led by Coetsee begin between Mandela and the government. Mandela makes the decision without consulting other leaders of the ANC organization. August 1986 A few months after the Reagan administration reassess its policy on South Africa, the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee votes overwhelmingly for strict economic sanctions against South Africa. Over the next few years, major U.S. companies start closing down operations (some only partially) in the country and U.S. banks stop loaning money. 1987 As talks with the government continue in earnest, Mandela tells his ANC comrades such as Govan Mbeki and Ahmed Kathrada about the negotiations. Their reactions range from outrage to strong support. Rumors start within the ANC that Mandela has "sold out." June 1988 On the 24th anniversary of Mandela's imprisonment, a rock concert called "Freedomfest - Nelson Mandela's 70th Birthday Celebration" is held outside London and televised in 60 countries. December 1988 After being treated for tuberculosis, Mandela is transferred to Victor Verster Prison. He is housed in an isolated cottage with a pool, a chef (Jack Swart), and gardens. His meetings with the government continue.

The same month, four young males, including 13-year-old Stompie Seipei, are abducted by members of the Mandela United Football Club (a group of young men acting as Winnie Mandela's bodyguards) and beaten inside Winnie's home. The other youths escape, but Stompie disappears. His battered body is found weeks later; Winnie is eventually implicated in the whole affair.

July 5, 1989 After numerous delays, Mandela and Botha meet for tea at the president's residence. The meeting is cordial and Mandela presses for the release of Walter Sisulu from prison. August 1989 Botha resigns and FW de Klerk is sworn in as acting president. Mandela is encouraged when de Klerk releases most of the Rivonia Trial prisoners, including Sisulu, and begins to dismantle the apartheid structure. He abandons the long-term master plan of congregating blacks into separate homelands, and accepts the principle of "power sharing" with them. De Klerk recognizes that apartheid is not working. Despite millions of arrests for violations of the pass laws, blacks continue to migrate into banned areas. December 13, 1989 Mandela and de Klerk have the first of three initial meetings. February 2, 1990 In a dramatic speech to Parliament, de Klerk announces the lifting of the bans against the ANC and other political organizations. February 11, 1990 After 27 years of imprisonment, Mandela is released. His new life is busy, visiting old friends and supporters, becoming deputy president of the ANC, and traveling with Winnie to the U.S., Europe and North Africa. In Sweden, he visits his old friend Oliver Tambo. May 1990 The ANC and the National Party begin negotiations on forming a new multi-racial democracy for South Africa. These talks will be off and on for months, with delays due to the ANC's anger over the violence in the black townships. Mandela and de Klerk continue to hold private meetings. July 14, 1990 Inkatha Freedom Party, a Zulu group led by Chief Buthelezi, is launched as a political party. They are odds with the ANC, particularly over the armed struggle. Although Mandela reaches out to Buthelezi to resolve their differences, the Inkatha targets ANC strongholds in the Natal province and widespread violence escalates, with support from the white police force. August 6, 1990 The ANC and the government sign the Pretoria Minute, in which both parties agreed to end the armed struggle.

Mandela presses de Klerk to investigate police brutality and government support of the violence in the Natal province. Their relationship is strained over the issue of violence. February 1991 Winnie's trial starts for the kidnapping and assault of four youths by the Mandela United Football Club. Throughout the years of the controversy Mandela stood by his wife; he attends the trial. She is found guilty of kidnapping, but not assault, and sentenced to six years in prison. In her appeal, she is given a suspended sentence and fined. July 1991 For the first time, the ANC holds its annual conference in South Africa. Mandela is elected ANC president. December 20, 1991 The first formal negotiations with the government take place at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA 1). Mandela lashes out at de Klerk in a speech, after de Klerk berated the ANC in an earlier speech. They don't meet again for five months. April 13, 1992 Mandela announces his separation from Winnie. She resigns as head of Social Welfare for the ANC, but not from the National Executive Committee. Violence continues in townships with frequent clashes between police and residents. Mandela is outraged and says the police are supporting the violence rather than stopping it. Mandela holds de Klerk responsible; de Klerk is adamant that he does not have the power to control the violence.

May 1992 Another round of talks are held at CODESA 2 to construct a plan for a future democracy. The talks end in stalemate, but both sides agree to continue to work towards a solution. June-September 1992 Frustrated over the unsuccessful negotiations, the ANC decides on a policy of "rolling mass action" consisting of strikes, protests and boycotts, to show the government the support the ANC has across the country. Meanwhile, the violence continues with an Inkatha raid on ANC members that leaves 46 dead in Boipatong township.

The rolling mass action culminates in a general strike protesting the violence. September 1992 The increasing death toll forces Mandela and de Klerk to restart negotiations. They sign the Record of Understanding, which promises to establish formal investigations into the violence and police actions. It also establishes an elected constitutional assembly that will develop a new constitution for the country. April 10, 1993 Chris Hani, a popular young ANC leader, is killed by a white extremist. Mandela appears on television calling for restraint and successfully heads off violence. December 1993 Mandela and de Klerk are jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. April 26-29, 1994 For the first time in South Africa's history all races vote in democratic elections. Mandela is elected president and the ANC wins 252 of the 400 seats in the national assembly. May 10, 1994 Nelson Mandela is inaugurated as president of South Africa, with his daughter Zane beside him; de Klerk is sworn in as deputy president. March 1996 Mandela divorces Winnie; to the end, she tried to prevent the divorce. July 18, 1998 On his 80th birthday Mandela weds Grace Rachel, the widow of a former president of Mozambique.

III. BLACOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Blacologically Speaking, Pan-Africanism is Black/African concept it was put in to effect by the post bondage or emancipated Black Culture. It was and is a philosophy that belief in the unification, redemption and the development of Black/Africanz all over the world. Pan-Africanism has been watered down by the settlers and colonialist with multi-culturalism. Once the settlers and colonials begin to see how they could use Pan-Africanism to acquire control

over the entire continent they begin to acknowledge the benefits in Pan-Africanism. Ali Mazrui said that even Cecil Rhodes saw himself as a Pan-Africanist. In order for Black/Africans to be specific as to their redemption and development they must be Blacological in their efforts to achieve these goals. Black/African have a special and unique struggle. They are suffering from the exploitation of the settlers, captivity, and colonialism. This problem is specifically a Black/African phenomenon. A multi-cultural Pan-Africanism is a further extinction of what is wrong with the advancement of Black/Africa. Before we can clean up some one else's house we must get our house in order. As the Blacological Cultural Nationalist have shown us we must do for ourselves. It is not a matter of segregating our selves from others. It is a matter of Black/Africans doing for them selves. The Bible says that before you sweep in front of some one else's door sweep before your own. Everybody has their own interdisciplinary cultural science or some thought that is recognized in their own ethnicity or heritage. The independence of Black/Africa was sure to come. It was an hour waiting for its time. No people can be subrogated for ever. The phenomenon of the Blacological Cultural Nationalist was a prophecy that became a reality. These are Black moshias that we produced by traditions and necessities of cultural survival. In the Black/African it is a belief that our ancestors will come back to assist us in our redemption and our survival. These BlackAfrican Political Leaders are the manifestation of our spiritual beliefs.

These Blacological Cultural Nationalist are an example of the products of Black Culture. These brothers gave all they had to give. Malcolm X = El Hajj Malik Shabazz said that it was nationalism that made the Black people free in African. It's nationalism that will be the mechanism that will provide for Black/African redemption and cultural redevelopment. After researching and reading these Blacological Thinkers or Blacologist I was inspired to write the following Blacological Thoughts. We must begin to utilize the messages and information that

has been left us by our ancestors. They have provided for other cultures wisdom beyond compare. Others have listen to what our scholars have said and emerged to a better life. Our Cultural has solved some of the most difficult problems facing mankind. It was our cultural knowledge that brought civilization and culture to the world. Black/African people must utilize the gifts and talents we have. When Martin Luther King Jr. II gave his I Have A Dream Speech he was not only talking to white people he was talking to us as well. We must go against the tradition that a profit has no honor in his home. Black/African people must be the iconoclast of this unwritten law. We must begin to use that the prophecy of our cultural wisdom. In the spirit of Martin Luther King Jr. II I wrote this Blacological conclusion. This is what The Blacological Cultural Nationalist inspired me to write:

Blacology: The Conscience of Black Culture

This year finds us bewildered people. We neither have culture within nor culture without and yet my brothers and sisters this year a hope for culture can no longer be dismissed as a kind of pious dream of some utopian hopper. If we don't have culture in this world, we will destroy ourselves by the misuse of our own neglect of our heritage. If we don't learn to love our culture we will perish as fools.

Now let me suggest if we are to have equality, our culture must be acknowledged as substance. Yes, as a culture and individual we must identify who we are. We are tied together, we are interrelated. What affect one directly, indirectly affect the other. If we do not love our culture others can not trust us to love theirs. Martin Luther King Jr. II taught us, "we are all caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny what ever affect one, affects the other."

Have you ever stopped to think that when you wake up in the morning you can't go to work without depending on other brothers and sisters. Somebody might call you and say good morning. You turn on the radio and listen to WHUR, *WHUT*, WOL1450AM, WMMJ102.3, WKYS93.9FM, AND WPGC95.5FM already your depending on half the brothers and sisters in your culture. When you go into your kitchen" see pictures of your mother, father, sister, brother, nieces, nephews, children and friends before you get out the house in the morning you are depended on more that half your culture. Maybe you want to go home for Christmas, go to the family reunion. No Black/African can live alone, no family can live alone and as long as we try the more we are going to have cultural problems and self hatred. We will not have equality until we recognize this basic fact, of the necessity of culture".

How can one avoid being depress, when he sees with his own eyes evidences of brothers and sisters who denied them self cultural identity. How can one avoid being depressed when he see with his own eyes the lack of cultural affirmation. There are no grammar school teaching Blacology, there are no middle schools teaching Blacology, no High Schools, No colleges or Universities. When I beheld these conditions something inside of me said, we Black/African stand ideally by while our children are being starved of cultural relevance and knowledge. I started thinking about the fact and an answer came. I said to myself, I know where we can educate Black children on Blacology, in the Black churches, Black Schools, Black Colleges and Universities. There is the solution to the problem. We could use all those books wrote by Black writers and authors collecting dust in the Library's at Black Colleges Universities, public libraries all across the Black culture and the Black world. We have a surplus of cultural knowledge. We can solve this problem of Black children going into the world starving from the lack of knowledge about heritage. We must not allow for another generation of Black children to become adults without cultural solidarity. We no longer want our children to go to bed hungry for cultural identity, starving for self worth.

In order for the little light within our children to shine we must teach them Blacology a Black cultural science. We must teach them of the philosophies, theories and beliefs of the

Blacologist. We must teach what Black people want, what Black people need and the future direction of the people.

The next thing we must be concerned with if we are to teach Blacology is sacredness of all their cultural knowledge. Everyone brother and sister is somebody. So we must learn that Black life is too important to be killed on the battle fields of the Black community.

The Black man is more than a n-I-g-g-e-r, more than servants. The black man is a child of God, made in his Image. Therefore, we must be respected as such. Until black men see this everywhere, until Black nations see this everywhere, we will be fighting ourselves.

One of the strangest things, is that all of the Blacologist talked about culture. The Blacological thinkers of today talk eloquently about culture. The Blacologist of the past came giving their life for culture. They were Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Leopold Senghor, Amilcar Cabral, Kenneth Kaunda, Jomo Kenyatta, and Nelson Mandela. These were Blacologist seeking a Black - a cultural science. What is the problem, we must not talk about Blacology (culture) as a distant goal, an as end we seek. One day we must come to see that Blacology is not merely a distant goal we seek, but it is a means by which we arrive at the goal of cultural equality. We must peruse cultural ends through Blacological means. When we truly believe in the scariness of all Black/African personality. We won't exploit our people anymore, we won't trample over our people with the iron feet of the oppressor. We won't kill Black people anymore. When we learn to love our cultural we will learn the power of creative and redemptive love. There are 4 types of Black loves. Black man loves, black woman, black family love, the love of Black culture and to love your self. The love of Black man to Black women, some of the most beautiful love ever to have been expresses is this kind of love. Black people talk about this loves. Black poets, writers, musicians in their writings, music and poetry. Black writers such as James Baldwin, Paul L. Dunbar, Langston Hughes. Sisters such as Gwendolyn Brooks, Nikki Giovanni, Phillis Wheatley. Black musicians such as Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, Bessie Smith, Ethel Waters. the list could go on, but I think you know what I mean chose some for

yourself. These brothers and sisters talk about the love of Black men to Black women and the Black woman to the Black man.

There is the love of the Black family. You love your brothers and sisters. This is the kind of love. where you love black people because they are your friends, neighbors and family. This is a kind of intimate love. This is the kind of love you have for Black people because you get along with them well and those that you like. You love them because you are loved. Then the Black culture teaches us about another love and it is the love of culture. The love of culture is understanding, creative, productive love. Good will for all Black men. Cultural love is an overflowing love. It is more than friendship. Culture is an overflowing love which seeks nothing in return. Black Theologians would say it is the love of God operating in the Black man's heart. So, when you rise to love on this level, you love all Black men, women, and children not because you like them, or because their ways appeal to you, but you love every Black/African man, woman, and child because God love them. These are cultural aspirations, unalienable rights, that all people are involved in by the creator's will and they are life, liberty, and the-pursuit of happiness.

This is what the Blacologist meant when they were talking about love your brother and sisters. I'm so happy they did not say like because I find it hard to like brother and sister who make the job more important than the future of Black/African children and the Black culture. I can't like brother and sister who would exploit me. I can't like brother and sister who would ignore the injustices placed on Black youth of America and the world. I can't like brother and sister who threaten to kill Black people day in and day out. Cultural love is greater than like, it is creative, redemptive, Good will for all Black/African people.

The 4th love is to love yourself, when I say love yourself, I mean you must learn the greatest love of all, is Our self. That means anything that you represent is you. If you don't love Blacology you don't love your mother, father, sister, brother, to be truthful to you, you don't love

yourself. Learning to love yourself is interwoven with everything that is your culture. If you don't love your culture you don't love yourself. You must learn to love yourself (culture) when no one else does. Never let anyone teach you to hate yourself (culture).

I have seen too much hatred, to want to hate myself. Hate is too great a burden to bare. Somehow we must be able to stand up before our most bitter opposition and say that Blacology is the unity, and solidarity of Black culture. Believe what you will brothers and sisters but, we will gain your confidence by our ability to love our culture. Support injustice of police departments, denounce your culture, come into your neighborhoods and exploit your brother and sister. But be assured we will wear you down by our compacity to love you. We will so appeal to your heart and conscience we will WIN you in the process. Our victory will be a cultural victory.

As culture, we must understand the power of creative and redemptive love, love of culture. From the struggles of our past, we must acknowledge that from struggles comes growth. Culturally we have grown into a people of creative and redemptive love. This is a justifiable right, to love all Black people not because you like them, but because God loves them.

If there is to be peace, culture, and good will toward all Black/African people we must finally believe in the ultimate reality of culture and that is cultural equality is based on moral foundation. Truth crushed to the earth will rise again, no lie can live forever. I try to talk to some black people about the vision I have had. I must confess today that not long after talking about this vision. I saw it turn into a nightmare. Yes I'm personally the victim of deferred dreams, of blasted hopes. In spite of that I close today by saying I still have a vision because you can't give up on life. If you lost hope somehow you lose that vitality that keeps life moving you lose that courage, that quality to go on in spite of. So, this can not be our fate. As we continue to hope for cultural solidarity and good will toward all Black people. Let us know that in the process that we have cultural companionship.

So, today, I still have a vision that black people will rise up and come to see that they are made to live together as brothers and sisters. I still have a vision this morning that one day Black

children will be judged on the basic of the content of their character and that character will be molded by Blacology a black cultural science. As long as we use the ology of other cultures we will have second class character. We will be judged with 2nd class citizenship. I have a vision that brotherhood will be more than just a word at the end of a sentence, it will be the first order on our black cultural agenda and culture will role down like water and productivity like a mighty stream. I still have a vision today that all Black/African people will believe in their culture and that Black people won't exploit Black people anymore, and Black people will no longer rise up against Black people anymore. Neither will they study self Hatred anymore. Yes, I have a vision that Black men will develop their Ideals, Philosophies, concepts, theories and beliefs into an Interdisciplinary Cultural Science entitled, "Blacology". Black/Africans must make vehicles to take us into 21st Century and Blacology will be the vehicle of Cultural Prosperity. I have a vision that Blacology will put an end to second class citizenship and minority status and make Black culture the reality by which we achieve equality.

IV. Definitions:

Blacologist- Those who perpetuate the Science of Blacology or Black culture.

Blacology - is the scientific study of the evolution of Black/African people and their culture, an interdisciplinary behavioral cultural Science, the utilization and perpetuation of the ideas, philosophy, theories, conceptions and beliefs of the Black historian, structured and organized into a cultural science both oral and written. It is a science that is operatively Black/African; a strategical science of morality, values and cultural affirmation; and a science that will establish and develop acquisition within our culture, for our prodigy and unborn generations.

Blacological Thought - Thought that is of, from, by, for and about Black people, thought that is developed from the struggles of Black people and their culture, the affirmation of Black

Thinking, thought developed from being identified, acknowledged, and defined as Black people. Under segregation Black people could not sit on the front of the bus nor live in white neighborhoods. This developed for Black people thought for survival under those laws. The thinking of Blacks develop under racism and inequality.

Blacological Theory - those concepts and beliefs that are operatively Black or African, A method used by Blacologist. What Black people think according to how they live, proven through time and space.

Negrology- the scientific study of the Negro and its culture, the perpetuation of the ideas, philosophies and conception of Negro history and it historians, i.e. Carter G. Woodson, Booker T. Washington, Marcus Garvey, Mary McCloud Bethune, etc.

Blacologically Speaking - addressing an issue, subject or topic from a perspective that is based on the struggles, advancement, development of black people and their culture, speaking from a culturally conscious point of view that is operatively Black, from the Black experience.

Negro - an evolutionary identity of Black people, chronologically existed from the late 1700's and mid 1900's, which meant in the evolutionary struggle a people utilizing assimilation, integration, and colonialism as a means of survival. An identifiable method of survival associated with ex-slaves, to be identified by white people.

Negrological - to think according to the tenets of assimilation, integration, and colonization into Euro-American culture, acknowledging Euro-culture as the majority culture and the best culture. A thought pattern of survival for Black people. A method of trained thought as second class citizens.

Blacological- from the logic of Black people and there culture, a logical thought that is advantageous to the redemption and redevelopment of Black people and their culture (i.e. How is that going to help Black people, their culture?)

Blacological Cultural Nationalist-one who is loyal to the political independence of their culture, a perpetuator of ethnic self-reliance, an agent of group solidarity and autonomy, one who is dedicated to the redemption of the Black/African people and the redevelopment of Black Culture.

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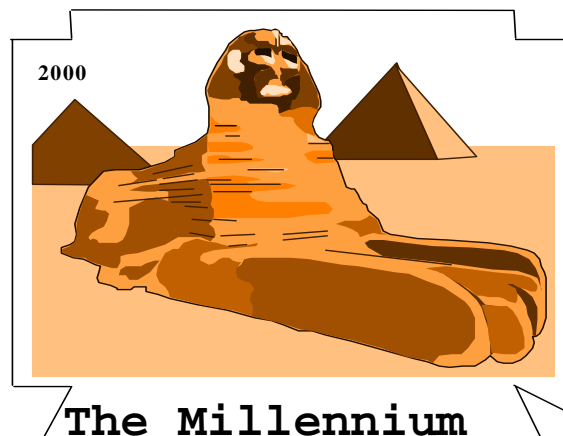
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