OPTIMIZING THE FUNCTIONAL UTILITY OF AFROCENTRIC INTELLECTUAL PRODUCTION: 
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SYSTEMIC RACE CONSCIOUSNESS & 
NECESSITY OF A SEPERATIST EPISTEMOLOGICAL STANDPOINT

A Thesis 
Submitted to 
The Temple University Graduate Board

In Partial Fulfillment 
of the Requirements for the Degree 
Master of Arts

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May 2018
ABSTRACT

This research aims to reinforce the functional aspect of the Afrocentric paradigm by coupling the development of Afrocentric consciousness with a systemic race consciousness so that the intellectual production coming out of the discipline of Africology can more practically address the needs of Afrikan people under the contemporary system of white supremacy. By examining strengths and limitations of some existing theories and concepts within Black Studies, the goal of this examination becomes to more effectively address the problems of the epistemic convergence Eurocentrism structurally imposes on Afrikan people seeking liberation. Through an examination of how the cultural logic of racism/white supremacy has determined the shape and character of institutions within the United States, this work will argue that the most constructive political disposition for an Afrocentrist to take is one of separatist nationalism. The argument being made is that this ideological component is a necessary catalyst to produce Afrocentric scholarship that has optimal functional utility toward the goal of achieving sustainable liberation for Afrikan people from the Maafa.

Keywords: Afrocentricity, Separatism, Race Consciousness, Eurocentrism
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CHAPTER 1: THE BEGINNING

Introduction

“Thus imperialism, like the prehistoric hunter, first killed the being spiritually and culturally, before trying to eliminate it physically. The negation of the history and intellectual accomplishments of Black Africans was cultural, mental murder, which preceded and paved the way for their genocide here and there in the world”

~ Cheikh Anta Diop

The imperative of European Imperialism then colonialism\(^1\) throughout Afrika and the rest of the world has deliberately resulted in a global order of widespread systemic anti-blackness/anti-Afrikanness to advance the interests of whiteness and to develop a modern world for white people on the exploited backs of Afrikan people with plundered mineral resources from the Afrikan continent. The military and intelligence apparatuses of Western imperial states have continually extended from the state to local levels within their own countries and abroad to insulate a global system of Pan-European and white racial domination which inevitably has perpetuated and reproduced the damages inflicted upon Afrikan peoples of the world throughout the Maafa\(^2\). To sustain this global order, Europeans have imposed Eurocentric miseducation upon diasporic Afrikans internally within their own states and externally upon continental Afrikans in Afrika via colonialism. These institutions of Eurocentric miseducation have endured national liberation struggles throughout the Afrikan continent and shifts in varying

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\(^1\) The distinction made between Imperialism and Colonialism is a reflection upon the chronological order of which the two connected, yet distinct phenomena were imposed upon Afrika and its indigenous people. Imperialism is warfare exacted by a foreign nation unto another nation in the pursuit of conquest for the purposes of annexation, control, and/or extraction of resources. Colonialism refers to the settlement of the conquered nation by the foreign victors of imperial war, then the development of an apartheid apparatus for protracted reign over the indigenous.

\(^2\) Ani, 1992
political climates in most if not all places where Afrikan people are throughout the Afrikan diaspora resulting in the predominance of contemporary (neo)coloniality of today across the Afrikan world.

One of the most devastating and persisting effects of the Maafa on most Afrikan people is the infliction of an inferiority complex upon them, which causes them to assume the superiority of whites. Through processes of enslavement, enslaved Afrikans were made to think of themselves as dependent on their European enslavers through vicious attacks of psychological, cultural, and physical violence. Because of the diversity of violence perpetually inflicted upon Afrikan people by an interconnected seemingly totalizing system of white supremacist institutions, Afrikan people have been culturally dislocated and therein politically disoriented. Afrikan people have continuously resisted the Eurasian custodians of the Maafa since their initial antagonisms and failed incursions into Afrika since Antiquity, until their eventual and perpetual imposition upon Afrikan people in the Afrikan continent and throughout the world today.

One of the most significant challenges to the conceptual domination of Eurocentrism that has accompanied the intellectual imperialism of racism/white supremacy has been the development of Afrocentricity, which was produced by Dr. Molefi Kete Asante. Dr. Asante articulates Afrocentricity as “a consciousness, quality of thought, mode of thought, mode of analysis, and an actionable perspective where Africans seek, from agency, to assert subject place within the context of African history.” Afrocentricity is such a revolutionary challenge to the

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3 Smith, 1995: 78
4 Fanon, 1961
5 Asante, 2007: 56
6 Williams, 1974
7 Asante, 2007, Pg. 16
system of white racial supremacy because it methodologically decolonizes, or rather re-
Afrikanizes the minds of Afrikan intellectuals that would otherwise accept deeper levels of
European cultural assumptions as neutral. This unconscious perpetuation has often advanced
the European intellectual form of colonization, which intellectually “lynches” or “decapitates”
many Afrikans. This removes the desire to and the understanding for why we must remove
ourselves totally from the influence of European cultural hegemony. By understanding ourselves
as subjects, Afrikans can then act within their own cultural values and political interests to pursue
liberation for themselves more effectively with conceptual clarity from discursive Eurocentric
ideas grounded in the history of Europeans and/or Eurocentric interpretations of any history.
Afrocentricity defies the conventions set in place by racists by rejecting the alleged neutrality of
European culture and insisting upon the historiographic centering of the Afrikan as subject within
their own history producing clarity of consciousness for historical actors in the present moment.
These are the first hugely fundamental steps for Afrikan intellectuals to take if they are ever to
liberate themselves from the European cultural matrix.

One of the key aspects of the Afrocentric Paradigm is the functional aspect which has
been insisted upon by Dr. Ama Mazama and as she articulates:

“Afrocentricity...must prove able to activate our consciousness, to open our heart in
such a way that membership in the Eurocentric plantation is no longer appealing or an
option. Although it is incorrect and unfortunate that many have attempted to reduce
Afrocentricity to an intellectual exercise, confusing it with the creation of a shallow
discursive space with no serious and real implications for one’s life choices, the lives
of many others who have been deeply touch by Afrocentricity is indeed a true
paradigm for African liberation.”

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8 Asante, 1987
9 Asante, 1987; Mazama, 2003, pg.29
10 Mazama, 2001
This intellectual maroonage off of the conceptual Eurocentric plantation is representative of why the functional aspect of the Afrocentric Paradigm is its most important component\textsuperscript{11}. The institutional reinforcement of these conceptual spaces is inseparable from the material realities determined by conflicting historical processes where Europeans have and continue to reproduce their systems of white racial domination and where Afrikans have perpetually struggled to produce survivable terms for themselves upon which they can live, given the perpetual attacks of the Maafa. Separate material spaces are and should be the objective for Afrikans seeking autonomy outside of white domination. The significance of Afrocentric intellectual production cannot purely be an intellectually exercise for us as though we are at an ancient Greek symposium, but needs to ultimately be applicable to a given aspect of our contemporary struggle for Afrikan liberation from white racial domination. Any corrective to a problem that is interrogated by an Afrocentrist must be practical for application outside of any philosophical circumstance.

Dr. Mazama’s understanding of Afrocentricity is that “it cannot and must not be reduced to an epistemological project\textsuperscript{12}.” Afrocentric thinkers have neither the luxury or political necessity for purely abstract and ungrounded philosophical engagements as the Maafa continues to rampage throughout the world. The implication of this is profound because it means that an Afrocentric perspective cannot be simply reduced to an epistemological standpoint because Afrocentricity cannot be reduced to purely a philosophical project. To maximize the functionality of Afrocentric praxis, a separatist disposition must be taken because of the accompanying

\textsuperscript{11} Mazama, 2003: 31; 2001: 17  
\textsuperscript{12} Mazama, 2001: 17 ; 2002: 218
political obfuscation of integration-ism. It is essential for Afrocentrists to have clarity within the discipline of Africology to help the political advancement of Afrikan people toward liberation from white racial domination and the conceptual defense of the Afrocentric perspective. Afrocentricity can be an intellectual spear and shield so long as it has not been rendered impotent by breach or dilution of obscure aspects of Eurocentrism.

The central questions that will be examined in this study will be: How can an ideologically separatist black nationalist disposition help optimize the practical or functional utility of scholarship produced by Afrocentric intellectuals, if at all? What constitutes this disposition and what are its potential limitations?
Methodology

Historical analysis is what determines the assumptions that undergird a given theory. Often the location and cultural disposition of a theorist determines the interpretation of history and ultimately produces as well as shapes some of the limitations within a theoretical perspective. All theoretical lenses project cultural assumptions into interpretation of data shaping perception and interpretation of history, therefore reality. If a Eurocentric theorist extrapolates European cultural assumptions into their interpretation of Afrikan history, that theorist will likely misinterpret the Afrikan phenomena under evaluation and may even harmfully misrepresent or pathologize Afrikan people in the process. Eurocentric misinterpretation becomes increasingly exacerbated when an analysis of Afrikan phenomena is deployed from a disposition that is intelligible and complicit with an ideologically white supremacist framework. As Dr. Asante states, “the problem of knowledge regarding Africa is that too many of the Europeans who have written of Africa have had the European project of white domination, of white power, of white race supremacy at the very top of their agenda in the explanations and interpretations of phenomena they saw or information they were given.” For these reasons, it is my duty to give a multi-dimensional analysis to the materials of this study as a part of an engagement in intellectual warfare with the custodians of white racial domination.

Utilizing Afrocentricity as a mode of analysis is crucial to this study because an Afrocentric methodological approach to our history is necessary in providing us with an understanding of the true depth and degree of Afrikan historical victories, giving us a victorious consciousness in the

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13 Asante, 1999, pg.29
14 Carruthers, 1999; Rashid, 2012
present moment. By centering the experience of Afrikan people within the assumptions of Afrikan cultural values, historical inquiry can then reveal what Afrikan people have done on their own behalf; agency.

Within the essay by Dr. Danjuma Sinue Modupe called “The Afrocentric Philosophical Perspective,” the three pyramidal elements of the Afrocentric rise to consciousness are outlined as grounding, orientation, and perspective. “Grounding is the acquisition of knowledge and experience centered in the history and culture of people of African descent, continental and diasporan. Orientation is having and pursuing intellectual interests in the African and the formation of a psychological identity direction, based upon that interest in the direction toward Africa. And Perspective is a self-conscious ‘way of seeing’ and ‘shaping’ the world which reflects African interests and which is indicative of the quality, kind and amount of grounding and orientation.” While these elements are greatly significant in the development of Afrocentric consciousness a limitation concerning one’s ability to utilize this consciousness in a constructive fashion is the lack of acknowledgement that one needs to understand how a system of white racial supremacy works.

Grounding without specificity would allow one to cherry pick their way through history without developing a historiographic understanding for how the system of white racial domination is constructed. By perpetually reproducing racist social taxonomies, Europeans deliberately attempt to build totalizing structures which ontologically reduce Afrikan people to facilitate their own interests. Because of the oceanic size of European imperialist an colonial

\[15\] Modupe, 2002: 63
projects have been across the world, Europeans have control over enough material resources to perpetuate their masquerade that supposes Eurocentrism to be universal. Understanding, or at minimum consistently suspecting, this essential quality of whites, their institutions, and their accompanying Eurocentric ideas is what I refer to as “Systemic Race Consciousness.” Having systemic race consciousness in conjunction with Afrocentric consciousness is a necessity to develop functionally constructive ideas and ultimately scholarship that will advance Afrikan people toward liberation.

According to Dr. Molefi Asante, “Afrocentric scholarship is itself praxis. Afrocentricity as paradigm has propaedeutic value because a myriad of assumptions and basic propositions employed by African American Studies can be examined. Such scholarship as praxis reduces the tendency for individuals to make random non-connected comments, even though comments might be informative. The logic of procedure provides groundwork for others to follow; this is the value of Afrocentric scholarship as work." To ensure, that there is a consistent relevance of this Afrocentric inquiry to existential conditions of Afrikan people determined by racism in the United States there are some additional methods to be considered. Dr. Joshua Myers attempts to offer additional methods for Afrikan-centered that should fulfill the goal to need to develop a systemic race consciousness in conjunction with Afrocentric consciousness. Dr. Myers offers six methodological considerations that he unearthed from the works of Dr. Cedric Robinson. The

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16 Systemic Race Consciousness is a term that is original to this paper that is attempting describe and explore how racism functionally operates on a collective and interpersonal level in the interrelationships of Afrikan people and Europeans.

17 Asante, 1987: 175
ones I found most useful for the purposes of this paper adhered to building historiographic context around Afrikans in each focus of study. Here are a few that will be of great use:

1. Understandings of Western ideas and institutions proceed with a critical, thorough and historically-sound assessment of the genesis of that idea within Western civilization.

2. Broad understanding of the imposing social structure gives clarity to the ways in which African resistance and/or acquiescence is meted out as well as their continuities which spring forth from African understandings of reality (i.e. their own governance structures).

3. The Africana community writ large is the object [origin] of inquiry; it is the methodological impulse which informs how knowledge is ordered.  

These methodological tools will enable an analysis that compounds the Afrocentric engagement with history with a complementary understanding of some of the larger forces of European Imperialism that have formed a variety of political, social, and ultimately ecological factors which shape Afrikan phenomena. Enhancing the Africological inquiry with a thorough understanding of aspects which arise in Western Civilization that shape the global system of white racial domination is a sure way to produce optimally constructive Afrocentric scholarship that can be applied to other forms of Afrocentric praxis.

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18 Myers, 2012: 50
Literature Review

The nature of this thesis is to explore the relationship between culture and ideology within the United States. Because it is a racist society that has been shaped in very similar ways as other societies formed by European Imperialism have, by focusing on the works of important international as well as domestic historical figures and scholars who have written on culture, integration-ism, and separatism, the value of this inquiry will be highlighted. Due to the fiscal limitations, this study will only highlight brief historical events to illuminate significant conceptual nuances that are pertinent to the arguments being made.

To begin a discussion on the diverse usage of the term “culture,” I have chosen to focus on aspects of the works of Harold Cruse and Dr. Marimba Ani. Due to the intent of racists to veil their racist bias, Eurocentrism has deceptively attempted to neutralize\(^{19}\) and suppose itself to be a universal standard. The degree to which that cultural neutrality is challenged is exemplified in the (lack of) clarity per the ideological disposition of each author. Here, we deal with Harold Cruse because of his diverse familiarity with “Black Thought” and his own ideological promiscuity. In his book, The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual, Harold Cruse’s use of the word “culture” suggests he understands culture to be phenomena that is important and socially experienced pervasively by a distinct group but not a factor that determines the institutional structures of society. Cruse never clearly defines culture, but his discussion of cultural revolutions, cultural democracy, and cultural leadership provide clear insight into the ways that many Afrikan thinkers of his time in

\(^{19}\) See Pg.36 of this study for elaboration on “neutralization”
the United understood politics and culture to be two distinct phenomena that sometimes intersect with each other. This understanding is displayed here:

“...the Negro intelligentsia cannot give cultural leadership on these questions because they have sold their birthright for an illusion called Racial Integration. Having given up their strict claim to an ethnic identity in politics, economics and culture, they haven’t a leg to stand on. They can make no legitimate claims for their group integrity in cultural affairs.”

Cruse sees significance in culture as he notices that the integration-ists have and seek to assimilate into the culture of whites. He clearly understood culture as an important factor connecting not just the social interrelationships between Afrikan people but also their politics. Once cultural assimilation took place by intent, conscription, or confusion the integrationist is no longer representative of the predominant interests of the black community. Now that is a very valuable insight that he provided, but the limitation in Cruse’s conception of culture is a common one. The same quote above displays that there is a distinction between his understanding of “culture and economics,” which suggests to me that he has unintentionally accepted the neutrality of European culture as the determining factor in institutional structures. He sees “culture” as what exists or what is produced within those structures. An example of this subtle yet profound misunderstanding is when Cruse refers to “the idealization of everything African, the return to the natural quality of African hairstyles,...[and] the adoption of African tribal dress” in “the Afro-American nationalistic mood” as “protective mystiques.” Without reference to the autonomous institutional efforts of these nationalist organizations, he reduces the rejection of whiteness by blacks and the implication of Afrikan aesthetic reclamation to “fantasies of black supremacy that have little to do with the actualities of the real world.” His conceptual grasp for

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20 Cruse, 1967: 111
21 Cruse, 1967: 439-440
22 Cruse, 1967: 440
a more robust understanding of the politically-economic and structural implications for culture may be limited because of the general climate of white dominance in his historical moment, but I suspect his inquisitive yet uncommitted ideological leanings had more to do with it.

Dr. Marimba Ani defines culture as Wade Nobles does, as “a process which gives people a general design for living and patterns for interpreting their reality.” Dr. Ani understands culture and ideology to fit together nearly synonymously. One way she describes this ideological emphasis on culture is: “It ‘tells’ its members ‘what to do,’ thereby creating a ‘voice’ of prescriptive authority. To its members, culture re-presents values (which they themselves have created together out of shared experiences) as a systematic set of ideas and a single coherent statement.” She suggests later that “the ideological thrust of culture is inescapable.” With her robust definition of culture, Dr. Ani then draws upon three KiSwahili terms to more acutely qualify other aspects of the European epistemology and manifestations of behavior. First, she develops the concept of asili, which is a KiSwahili word that means “beginning,” “origin,” “source,” “nature,” “essence,” and “fundamental principle.” It has also meant “seed” and “germ,” to more simply refer to the genesis of cultural particularities within her study of European cultural thought. The other two accompanying concepts she uses are “utamawazo” which means “thought as determined by culture” and the “utamaroho” means “the collective personality” of the members of a culture. She explains that the asili is the “DNA of culture.” The asili is the genesis of all thoughts, behaviors, and creations within the given culture. Her concept

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23 Ani, 1994: 4
24 Ani, 1994: 5
25 Ani, 1994: 5
26 Ani, 1994: 11
27 Ani, 1994: 15
of asili is especially important to the study at hand because it allows for a functional conceptualization of the shared cultural continuity of Europeans across space and time. Her assumption that every culture has an asili can be used so that the Afrikan asili and the European asili can be identified and distinctions can be determined through historical comparisons. The clear use of the term “culture” in Dr. Ani’s text is robust enough to capture the essential factors that shape how institutional structures determined and controlled by Europeans behave and are utilized ideologically along the distinct interests of European culture.

Tony Martin gives thorough primary source documentation as substance to display the separatist ideological principles of Marcus Garvey in his book, Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Garvey’s emphasis on race first, nationhood, and self-reliance were exhibited at the core of his and his organization’s, the U.N.I.A., political philosophy here:

**What We Believe**

The Universal Negro Improvement Association advocates the unity and blending of all Negroes into one strong, healthy race.

It is against miscegenation and race suicide.

It believes that the Negro race is as good as any other, and therefore should be as proud of itself as others are.

It believes in the purity of the Negro race and the purity of the white race.

~ Marcus Garvey

One of the critiques of Garvey raised by Martin was Garvey’s reversals of Darwinist language against pseudo-scientific racists and advancing black self-reliance. Because of the “survival of the fittest” discourse, many racists couched justifications for anti-black/anti-Afrikan genocide in the

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28 Ani, 1994: 11-12
29 Martin, 1976: 31
Darwinist biological evolutionary theories which supposed the inherent inferiority of Afrikans. Due to the threat of miscegenation with the supposedly inferior races, racists felt that the white race needed to exterminate perceived degenerate races of world to ensure the evolutionary trajectory of the white human race. Marcus Garvey “turned their arguments into the cause for self-reliance” by arguing “white philosophers, Darwin, Locke, Newton and the rest...forgot that the monkey would change to a man, his tail would drop off and he would demand his share.”

While Garvey is drawing from a Eurocentric theoretical disposition, the directional approach to his message is a challenge to white domination through the upliftment of the black race and the contradiction of the supposed racial inferiority of black people. The last crucial part of Garvey’s idea for a separate black nation was the necessity for black people to have power. Garvey did not understand the problem of anti-black racial hatred and oppression to be a moral issue purely about prejudice. Garvey’s understanding of the racial power dynamics resulting in black oppression was that “(white prejudice was manifested) not because there is a difference between us in religion or in colour, but because there is a difference in power.” Again, there is a conceptual limitation because there are important distinctions to be made between black people and white people; Afrikans and Europeans are fundamentally different in many ways; but the emphasis on power is key. Garvey understood the question of power and autonomy to be answered through an independent economic base.

Integration can often be an obscure term because of its widespread usage within political discourse. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is one of the most famous proponents of integration-ism for

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30 Martin, 1976: 32
31 Martin, 1976
32 Martin, 1976
the Afrikan population into white American society. For Dr. King, integration meant a moral reconciliation between the collectives of white people and black people in America so that black people would be afforded equal access of opportunity to pursue the American Dream. This is displayed here:

“In our kind of society liberation cannot come without integration and integration cannot come without liberation. I speak here of integration in both the ethical and political senses. One the one hand, integration is true intergroup, interpersonal living. On the other hand, it is the mutual sharing of power. I cannot see how the Negro will be liberated from the crushing weight of poor education, squalid housing and economic strangulation until he is integrated, with power, into every level of American life.”

Dr. King understood integration to an exercise of power on behalf of the already ruling class of American society, white people. A reflection on the past situations of interracial interpersonal living can only draw attention to the Antebellum period of American history. Was chattel enslavement not integration? In sharp contrast from the separatist disposition of Marcus Garvey, for instance, the burden of Afrikan liberation from white domination has been given to the perpetrators of the original crime of anti-black/anti-Afrikan oppression. The shared emphasis on the need for economic empowerment is consistent between the positions. The necessity for moral reckoning by white people is a resounding sentiment from Afrikan people with integrationist dispositions who would rather neglect the historicity of perpetual white racism.

33 King, 1968: 64
Order of Analysis

First, I will give an examination of the failures of integrationist initiatives throughout the history of the United States to show a collective unwillingness, lack of interest, and inability of white society to structurally integrate any critical mass of black people into itself. By engaging aspects of American history and Afrikan responses to racism, I will demonstrate how white supremacy is a system that cannot be reformed or pivoted to benefit the collective interests of black people, and how therefore racism in the United States is permanent. This is one key factor for “systemic” race consciousness.

With a conceptual turn away from integration-ism and by building on Martin Delany’s thesis of black people in the United states being a “nation within a nation,” I can show how an ideologically separatist black nationalist disposition is conceptually consistent with the aforementioned “permanence of racism” thesis. Displaying how the habituality of racism in American society reflects the historical behavior of Europeans and this perpetual white antagonism further emphasizes the need for Afrikan people to materially institutionalize separatism.

Engaging the works of some Afrikan-centered/Afrocentric scholars like Cheikh Anta Diop, Jacob Carruthers, Frances Cress Welsing, Marimba Ani and others qualifying the historical animus of European imperialism, colonialism, and white racism can be located within the origins of European culture. Diop’s Two Cradle Theory and Welsing’s Cress Color Theory provide conceptual bases for European behavior and white racism. The system of white racial domination in the United States is the systematic institutionalization of European culture and that dislocates Afrikans through cultural hegemony. Understanding this bring us to a clearer understanding of
how historically their tendencies of xenophobia and perpetual antagonism reflect their cultural disposition.

Finally, to demonstrate conceptual problems of epistemic convergence between Afrocentricity with Eurocentrism, I will display some of the contemporary institutional and persisting conceptual problems that Afrocentrists are presented with in their attempts to produce Afrocentric scholarship consistent with Dr. Mazama’s functional aspect of the Afrocentric Paradigm. Some barriers and pressures Afrocentrists are faced with, but have been answered are questions about pairing race first and Afrocentric theory with Eurocentric class analysis and Eurocentric gender theory. In this section, I will discuss problems of simultaneity, the terms of debate around essentialism, and some implications.

As a corrective, systemic race consciousness presents a complementary addition to Afrocentricity by way of allowing the Afrocentrist to accurately map out the history of conflict between Afrikan people and their Eurasian colonial enemies in the United States. A separatist black nationalist disposition is the result of a clear historical consciousness or systemic race consciousness and it allows the Afrocentrist to see the reality and perpetually antagonistic nature of racism/white supremacy as they engage in the scholastic aspect of our struggle for liberation.
CHAPTER 2: THE INQUIRY

The Failure of Integration

“The only difference between America and South Africa, South Africa preaches separation and practices separation, America preaches integration and practices segregation. This is the only difference, they [Americans] don't practice what they preach, whereas South Africa practices and preaches the same thing.”

~ Malcolm X

“The myth of integration as propounded under the banner of liberal ideology must be cracked because it makes people believe that something is being achieved when in reality the artificially integrated circles are a soporific to the blacks while salving the consciences of the few guilt-stricken whites.”

~ Steven Bantu Biko

Integration, assimilation, segregation, and apartheid have all been deployed as policies and tactics of white domination across various aspects of the Afrikān world, and in other projects of European imperialism and colonialism. The French adopted openly assimilationist policies as a part of their imperial agendas throughout Afrika, the Caribbean, and Asia. The French would miseducate, “groom”, and Europeanize minorities of their colonial subjects by convincing them to adopt French culture, while plundering the material resources unearthed and produced by a greater majority of a conscripted indigenous population. Assimilated Afrikans misunderstood themselves to be Frenchmen, were told by whites that they were indeed Frenchmen, and in turn helped whites to retain control over the larger population of Afrikan people under imperial or colonial domination. Another more recent example of the dubious nature of European imperialism/colonialism is the collapse of the formal apartheid system in South Africa. Whites

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34 Bouhen, 2011
35 Conscription usually refers to the forced enlistment of a given population into an army. The mental subjugation that is assumed by the victims of imperialism due to the hegemonic influence of the conqueror is a form of conscription, as to where the victim becomes complicit in their own oppression against their own interests.
“compromised” on integrationist reform policies such as “one man, one vote” as a supposed middle ground where they complied with some of the moderate demands from the African National Congress, while insulating white domination under terms of reconciliation and retaining their imperial foothold in the cape of Afrika. The larger implication is that South Africa remains a haven and outpost for white racial domination in that region of the Afrika which coordinates with other Western (neo)colonial powers to breach the sovereignty of bordering countries throughout the cape of Afrika for retention of their spheres of influence, political hegemony, and kleptomaniacal material interests to this day. All these policies of European imperialism, colonialism, and racism that have been deployed by whites were produced utilizing syntheses of various Enlightenment philosophies, all of which are conceptually Eurocentric.

The Eurocentric ideas which elevate Europeans in the minds of conscripted Afrikans have historically been systematically imposed through various institutions of American society such as churches, universities, and government in aspects like the Christian religious doctrines of Manifest Destiny, the biological (and sociological) evolutionary theories of (Social) Darwinism, and the racial codification of the law. Europeans have propagandized aspects of themselves to perpetuate the nationalist myths of American exceptionalism and white superiority. Europeans have hegemonically supposed their own moral virtue to be higher than that of Afrikan people through the anthropomorphizing of whiteness into images of divinity; white Jesus; that they imposed unto enslaved Afrikans with Christianity. Evolutionary thinking taught throughout American universities was couched within the myth of white superiority and canonized after the

popularization of the works of Charles Darwin and Francis Galton\textsuperscript{37} which are now, as was then concurrently, seminal texts for theories of evolutionary biology. The Darwin text, \textit{On the Origin of Species}, was produced with the explicit intent to provide “objective” scientific credence to anthropological ideas that the white race is further “evolved than the Negro and aboriginal races of the world\textsuperscript{38}.” Francis Galton was one of the early developers of what later became the eugenics movement.

Returning to the chronology of American history, the project that ultimately became what we now know as the United States of America cannot be divorced from the other European projects of imperialism. In fact, the American project is a nationalist project of white supremacy that began with the near total extermination of the indigenous peoples of the North American continent and then later became an imperial project for aiding the facilitation of global white domination. Afrikan people were kidnapped, enslaved, and shipped from the shores of West Afrika across the ocean into North America as a part of a European crime syndicate that primarily dealt in the trade and commerce of Afrikan flesh for labor\textsuperscript{39}. Despite the small minority of token instances where “free” Afrikans participated in the fruitful exploits of American society, the overwhelming majority of Afrikan people had been subject to the miserable brutality of chattel enslavement. After the Civil War ended in 1865 and chattel enslavement was legally terminated, rather than incorporate the large population of Afrikans into the infrastructure of American society, whites sought ways to continuously exploit Afrikan labor through peonage and convict-

\textsuperscript{37} For further reading on Darwin and Galton refer to Bibliography: Darwin, 1989; Gilliam, 2001

\textsuperscript{38} Crutcher, Maafa 21 Documentary

\textsuperscript{39} Bouhen, 2011; Clarke, 1998
leasing. Throughout the period of Jim Crow segregation in the North and the South, anti-black violence was used as a tool for economic debasement of Afrikan families\textsuperscript{40}. The further development of convict-leasing after Antebellum enslavement into the beginnings of what would soon be known as the prison industrial complex after the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements of the 1960s and 70s has been a process for re-enslavement of the Afrikan population in America under different terms, yet still within the caveat of the Constitution of the United States\textsuperscript{41}.

From the historiographic perspective of Afrikan people in the United States, it’s more accurate to say Afrikan people are not merely a disenfranchised demographic of American society, rather its more consistent to understand them as colonized by American society. America is a white settler state. The consistent failures of integration-ism\textsuperscript{42} in the United States should be interpreted as failures by some black people to effectively assimilate into a European colonial apparatus that is imposed upon and exploits them to facilitate this white project. The collective of Afrikan people in North America generally hasn’t ever been considered by powerful whites in the overall policies inclusive to American citizenship, nor socially or conceptually included in “humanity.” By assimilating into European culture, mentally conscripted Afrikans believed that they could evolve into the supposedly virtuous lawful company of their white masters. Given the historical processes of Antebellum chattel enslavement and Jim Crow segregation/apartheid, the integrationist initiatives of the 1950s and 60s had leaders chosen and elevated by whites based on inferiority complexes instilled into Afrikan people during aforementioned episodes of American history. Usually the failures of integration are posited as moral dilemma where there

\textsuperscript{40} Blackmon, 2008; Wells-Barnett, 1895
\textsuperscript{41} Alexander, 2013; Kambon, 2015
\textsuperscript{42} Bell 2002; Curry, 2007
was a failure of white society to realize and accept “disenfranchised” blacks into their good graces then include them in the material benefits of citizenship\textsuperscript{43}.

The understanding of the centrality of race as the primary determinant that shapes the institutional structures and social taxonomies of American society is a crucial component to any conceptualization that is to be of constructive use for Afrikan people here. According to Dr. Tommy Curry, “race must me understood as a product of the self-sustaining interest whites had in preserving their superiority; but, on the other hand, it cannot be ignored that African descended people have epistemically contoured race toward their own cultural ends\textsuperscript{44}”. Afrikan identity is also organized around the sociological relationships between black people, in the Afrikan continent and throughout the diaspora. A culture. In its broadest context, Afrikan culture is Afrikan people seeking to retain and reproduce their own way of life and survival by engaging with or against environmental conditions, whether naturally occurring or manufactured by enemies. Cedric Robinson describes the formation of what he understands to be the Black Radical Tradition as “…the continuing development of a collective consciousness informed by the historical struggles for liberation and motivated by the shared sense of obligation to preserve the collective being, the ontological totality\textsuperscript{45}”. The advancement of most if not all interests for Afrikan people living under the American system of white racial domination must be tied to our race as black people. Black racial identity is the marker to identify prominent masses of the Afrikan people. Simply put, you won’t find a large mass of culturally Afrikan people with white skin. Black politics are Afrikan cultural formations. Potency is determined by Afrikan cultural

\textsuperscript{43} Alexander, 2013; Blackmon, 2008; Kambon, 2015
\textsuperscript{44} Curry, 2007: 46
\textsuperscript{45} Myers, 2012; Robinson, 1983: 169
retention. Afrikan people cannot afford to “think past” race and focus only on Afrikan culture because there is the potential to abstract ourselves outside of our material condition. Offering purely philosophical solutions to material problems shaped by white domination that we face on the ground isn’t constructive.

One of the key problems many have in understanding racism/white supremacy is recognizing and consistently operationalizing the distinction and significance between just ‘race’ and ‘racism.’ Analyses of ‘race’ can vary according to situation, but racism/white supremacy can only be fully understood with a systematic analysis. “Traditional approaches view the prejudices associated with individual and cultural racism as universal traits that can be manifested in any group, at any time in any given social situation.” Isolating situations of racial prejudice from the greater systemic causality of white supremacy, centers an afflicted individual or group of individuals rather that the oppressed collective in the analysis. This is a necessary tactic for understanding the nuances of particular events and sites of analysis but is an insufficient method for analyzing the systemic quality of white supremacy and the historical personality that has characterized the general trends of Europeans’ behavior toward Afrikan people.

Invoking an idea of Martin Delany will help with the task of conceptualizing the status of Afrikans in America without relenting against the systemic imposition of oppression by their political enemies. In his work *Condition, Elevation, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States*, Delany writes:

“There have in all ages, in almost every nation, existed a nation within a nation—a people who although forming a part and parcel of the population, yet were from force of circumstances, known by the peculiar position they occupied, forming in restricted part of the body politic of such nations is also true... such then is the condition of various classes in Europe; yes, nations,

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46 Jamison, 2017: 43; Jones, 1997
for centuries within nations, even without the hope of redemption among those who oppress them. And however unfavorable their condition, there is none more so than that of the colored people of the United States. This notion of Afrikan people in America being a “nation within a nation” has been drawn upon by many revolutionaries, scholars, and intellectuals since for conceptual space to produce functional practices toward the liberation of Afrikan people under American domestic colonialism. This colonial status has been observed and described by white intellectuals such as De Tocqueville, Gunnar Mydral, Kenneth Clark, Andrew Hacker, Studs Terkel and others. Some of the most notable examples of Afrikan revolutionary organizations who have echoed Delany’s radical sentiments for the need for black people in America to establish a separate nation are the United Negro Improvement Association, Nation of Islam, and The Republic of New Afrika.

Beginning with the assumption that the conceptual framework through which we should interpret the historical experience of Afrikans in America as “a nation within a nation,” naturally contextualizes the terms of anti-black/anti-Afrikan oppression in the United States as a form of colonialism. This is consistent with pronouncements by intellectuals like Harold Cruse that “from the beginning [of American history], the American Negro has always existed as a colonial being,” ultimately shaping later iterations of internal (neo)colonization theory and race realism.

Within his book, *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism*, Derrick Bell fully acknowledges the shortcomings of integration-ism with his central thesis which proclaims

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47 Delany, 1852: 12-13
48 Wilson, 2011: 504
49 Wilson, 2011
50 Allen, 1990: 6; Cruse, 1967
51 Allen, 1990; Calvert, 2001; Wilson, 2011
52 Bell, 2002; Curry 2007; Wilson, 2011
that “racism is permanent in American society.” As Bell argues in the 1990s that the few, yet achieved, merits of civil rights legislation gained in the 1960s have been withered away over the decades, he shows how this decadence reflects the cyclical nature of American racism which is a teleological feature of American society. In Bell’s words:

“Black people will never gain full equality in this country. Even those herculean efforts we hail as successful will produce no more than temporary ‘peaks of progress,’ short-lived victories that slide into irrelevance as racial patterns adapt in ways that maintain white dominance. This is a hard to accept fact that all history verifies. We must acknowledge it, not as a sign of submission, but as an act of ultimate defiance.”

This pessimistic attitude is not a complete nihilism of the abilities of black people in America, but rather it is a grounded nihilistic conclusion about the historically amoral white racist collective that has retained structural power in America since its conception. Equality is a philosophical standard that holds little value for a people who have a different yard stick of success for themselves outside of a binary with their oppressive political enemies. The standard of achieving alternate forms of liberation outside of seeking equality and inclusion in to white/American society have been articulated within the ideological discourse of black nationalism and explored throughout the historical mobilization of black nationalist organizations. As a functional, though continually repressed, response to white domination “black nationalism was the earliest and most dominant branch of African thought in America prior to integration.”

Recognizing that there are various strands of Black Nationalism, the overarching definition for a black nationalist disposition here will be “a consciousness of a shared experience of oppression at the hands of white people, an awareness and approval of the persistence of

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53 Bell, 2002
54 Bell, 2002: 12
55 Curry, 2007; Stuckey, 1972; Moses, 1978
group traits and preferences in spite of a violently anti-African larger society, a recognition of bonds and obligations between Africans everywhere, [and] an irreducible conviction that Africans in America must take responsibility for liberating themselves. The principal difference between the black nationalist disposition and an integrationist disposition is where the burden of responsibility lies. Because integrationists seek access and proximity to white society the burden of responsibility rests within the hands of white people with power. Integration-ism is contingent on a moral reckoning by the white brokers of power who have continually oppressed, exploited, systematically massacred blacks to advance their interests to sustain white domination and affluence. Black nationalism places the moral responsibility to salvage, rebuild, and protect communities of Afrikan people within the hands of Afrikan people themselves.

This self-help idea within black nationalism is very different from the scapegoating tactics within both racist conservative and liberal pathological discourse, which blames intra-racial violence on pathologies of black communities. Here are some examples of how these different ideological dispositions play out in public discourse.

Generally, people who abide politically by conservatism in the United States are those who prefer to strictly retain the political traditions that are customary to American society. Conservatives have the greatest tendency to be white (rich and poor), overtly racist, and/or dislocated black people. This is not a historical account of the political parties engaged in the electoral college of the American democratic republic, but rather a general summation of the ruling traditions throughout U.S. history. The political philosophies of conservatives are often

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56 Curry, 2007: 43; Stuckey, 1972: 6
attached to their material and structural consequences that are to the benefit or detriment of whites in power or more generally, because their philosophies tend to be historically grounded, accompanied by power, and are used to advance interests of their white supremacist constituency. Their power is not only insulation from progressive tides of social movements, it also allows them to exercise substantial influence institutionally to produce social climates that reflect their racist exploitative interests. Often conservative public discourse pathologically suggests that “the blame is on blacks for starting their own problems, so the responsibility is with blacks to fix their problems.” They project anti-black/anti-Afrikan pathology unto the victims of their collaborative efforts while removing the blame for their complicity from themselves.

Liberalism is generally a political philosophy of the “progressive minded” folks who want to reshape the United States into a state that maximizes the democratic ideals of the Constitution without alienating any side of their often racially amalgamated constituency. By playing both sides of an asymmetrical war against the oppressed internal nation of black people, white liberals often choose between their individualist interests via conformity to or paternalist advocacy for concessions to dependent black people. The liberal discourse tends to be more moral and abstract in nature due to their lack of power and their dependency on allocations from more powerful and conservative parties. Dr. Curry writes, “under the integrationist teleology, the jettisoning of race is consistent with a normative universalism that equates truth and progress with the elimination of racial distinctions57.” Their political obfuscation then translates to apologetic black people who seek integration58 on Eurocentric terms. Liberal public discourse

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57 Curry, 2007: 43
58 Wilson, 2011
often faults no one by saying, “the blame for all of the problems of race fall on all of us, so the solution to these problems are all of ours.” Racist paternalism and anti-black pathology persist. As to where black nationalist discourse largely says, “the blame for starting problems in our communities is on the system of white supremacy, so the responsibility to fix the problem falls on us who understand this.” This systematic understanding of white domination that black nationalists are forced to have because of their assumed accountability is crucial for a corrective to the inferiority complex many black people have been indoctrinated with.

With the understanding that white domination in the U.S. is systemic in nature, reforming the structures and institutions of its composition can at best only be half-measure to ending anti-black oppression. The legal system, while rigidly enforced upon people without power or who aren’t of valued status within white society, has repeatedly proved to be an insufficient measure against racism. The problem with relying on the criminal justice system to solve the problems afflicting Afrikan people in the United States is that the criminal justice system is an institution of white supremacy and is complicit in continually reproduced damages to Afrikan people. Racism is frequently extralegal for this reason. Even when a racist act falls within the jurisdiction of a given set of laws, whites are often exonerated. Rather than jumping through the everchanging hoops of the legal system which black people have consistently never had control over or significant influence over in their own interest and terms, Afrocentrists should operate from the assumption that the cultural logic of white supremacy will determine the environment in which their intellectual production will be utilized within.

60 Jamison, 2017; Ani, 1994
Perpetual White Antagonism

“If you don’t understand racism/white supremacy, then everything you do understand will only confuse you”
~ Neely Fuller Jr.

“If you begin your history with slavery, then the best you will ever be is a good slave”
~ Kwame Ture (a.k.a. Stokely Carmichael)

To identify the animating cultural logics of European imperialism, colonialism, and ultimately systemic racism it is necessary to look to the broader historical trends of European thought and behavior to understand the nature and quality of white racial domination. Beginning chronologically at the earliest expression of European civilization will allow us to see the adolescent nature of European imperialism which will ultimately morph into its contemporary racialized organizational structure. Looking to Cheikh Anta Diop’s Two Cradle Theory will give an understanding of the development of the Northern Cradle to illuminate xenophobic aspects of European culture which later manifest again within contemporary expressions of whiteness. Building on what’s provided by Diop, Dr. Jacob Carruthers’s concept of “fundamental alienation” demonstrates some of the qualities of European thought which form an inclination toward perpetual imposition. Next, Dr. Frances Cress Welsing’s Cress Color Confrontation Theory will allow for the formulation of insight into the genetic and psychological interests which shape the behavior Europeans have historically displayed toward Afrikan people, especially. These theories will give a robust understand for the qualitative nature of the contemporary system of white
racial domination and will reinforce the significance of a systemic race consciousness for Afrikan people and a separatist black nationalist ideological disposition.

Other scholars such as Vulindlela Wobogo, Nah Dove, Karanja Keita Carroll, Daudi Ajani ya Azibo, and others have utilized Diop’s Two Cradle Theory to locate the origin of white racist behavior of Europeans within their cultural root in Antiquity. Cheikh Anta Diop’s Two Cradle Theory describes how it is a natural progression for any group of human beings to share a culture after living together for extended periods of time. There are distinct influences of different geographical spaces on the groups of people living in each environment shaping distinct cultures. The models for the Northern Cradle were located on the Eurasian steppes\textsuperscript{61} making Rome and Greece the most significant civilizations in the region. The models for the Southern Cradle were located the Nile Valley\textsuperscript{62} where Kemet and Nubia were the dominant civilizations. The peoples of Western Asia were within what Diop called the Zone of Confluence, where peoples of the Northern and Southern cradles mixed culturally and biologically.

In the Northern Cradle, the dominant culture of the indigenous people in the region of the Eurasian steppes north of the Mediterranean was predominantly shaped by destitute environments and harsh unpredictable climates. This geographical circumstance along with the scarcity of food and other material resources necessary for survival led to the pervasive development of nomadic cultural groups throughout the region classified as the Northern Cradle by Diop. The early cultural formations of people indigenous to the Northern Cradle are described as having individualistic intra-group behaviors, xenophobic out-group behaviors, patriarchal

\textsuperscript{61} Diop, 1962: 64
\textsuperscript{62} Diop, 1962: 47
social dynamics, an exploitative orientation to material, alienated cosmological assumptions related to meta-physical phenomena.63

In the Southern Cradle, the dominant culture that had been developed and established within the Nile Valley of Afrika was predominantly shaped by an abundance of natural resources and a relatively stable tropical climate. According to Diop, due to the environmental conditions people indigenous to the region of the Southern Cradle lived within they developed a sedentary culture. Some of the dominant aspects of Southern Cradle cultural formations were collective-oriented social structures, xenophilic relations with benign out-groups, non-hierarchal dual gendered familial structures, assumed ontological unity of the total cosmos, and others64.

The cultural continuity of Europe from the civilizations of antiquity to the modern capitalist states of today is historically displayed in the waves of conquest between European nations. Wobogo argues that white racism originated in pre-capitalist European nomadism because he understands the “ethnocentric-xenophobic mentality” to be a cultural particularity of Europeans. Dove argues that the racist behavior of Europeans has its origins in their “culturally patriarchal” disposition and is “genetically influenced.” By “genetically influenced,” Dove is referring to the role the genetic insecurity whites are socially complexed with due to their apparent genetically recessive skin color. The women in Europe have been politically and socially debased within their own societies as their value has been reduced to their reproductive capabilities by European men. Part of why European men socially repress European women they

63 Carruthers, 1995; Carroll, pg.15; Diop, 1962; Dove, 1998; Dove, 1995: 262; Wobogo, 1976
64 Carruthers, 1995; Carroll, pg.12, Diop, 1962; Dove, 1998; Dove, 1995: 262; Wobogo, 1976
65 Carroll, pg.15; Wobogo, pg.22
66 Dove, 1998: 527
share a society with is to retain control over the reproduction of more men to satisfy their fixation on war and jingoism\textsuperscript{67}.

In his book, *Mdw Ntr=Divine Speech: A Historical Reflection of African Deep Thought from the Time of Pharaohs to the Present*, Dr. Jacob Carruthers conceptualizes a process in Greek thought where abstract concepts and thinking are divorced from empirical reality called “Fundamental Alienation\textsuperscript{68}.” This process despiritualizes abstract ideals within European thought, rather than inseparably implicating them within the totality of the cosmos as Afrikan spiritualized ontologically bound assumptions would. From within the cultural assumptions of Europeans, ideas and abstractions are not connected to the material realities. Fundamental alienation directly shapes the alienated cosmological assumptions from Eurasian people of the Northern Cradle. The idea of the Creator Divinity is fundamentally alienated, so conception of God is purely abstract. Along with the alienation of divinity, ideals are alienated within in European thought as well. This is also reflected in the ideal nature of Plato’s Republic\textsuperscript{69}.

Striving toward neutrality, objectivity, or omnipotence simultaneously produces a God complex and an epistemic puritanical antagonism toward plurality. With a presumption of objectivity, once you know the universal truth, that’s it. There are no new truths. There is no dynamism or motion. Within this epistemology, if someone grows and learns enough where they uncover a new truth then that means their original position wasn’t the “one truth.” Objectivity is static. When a perspective is unable to grow and learn more complex truths than was already understood, that perspective is dogmatic. Within this Eurocentric epistemology, diversity of

\textsuperscript{67} Ani, 1994
\textsuperscript{68} Carruthers, 1995: 89; Rashid, 2012
\textsuperscript{69} Ani, 1994; Carruthers, 1995
perspectives presented within a given collective cannot be fully embraced. Plurality of perspectives is equivalent to plurality of truths or beliefs and for “objectivity” to be sustained, the “objective” view must be dogmatic and it must impose itself upon dissenters. The logic described here reflects the historical processes of religious evangelicalism and cultural hegemony performed by Eurasians across the world for millennia. Abstract concepts, being alienated and despiritualized, can now be used as rhetorical weapons of moral evangelism and epistemic imprisonment. Dr. Marimba Ani calls these tools of universalist deception, “rhetorical ethic” or “Christian ethic.”

This concept of rhetorical ethic is a European phenomenon which refers to a “gap between verbal expression and belief or commitment; between what people say and what they do.” Because of the fundamental alienation within the European worldview, the implications of words are alienated from their invocation. Dr. Ani describes how Europeans use this rhetorical ethic to the end of advancing expansionist ideologies:

“The Christian statement said that religion should be ‘universal,’ thereby discrediting other religions that were obviously and avowedly culture-bound. It claimed, in fact, to be the properly ‘universalistic’ religion; giving European conquerors the moral justification they needed to turn their politically aggressive actions into seemingly altruistic ones.”

Some of the examples of seemingly benign or altruistic universalisms that Europeans have used as purely abstract weapons of Eurasian intellectual imperialism are “communist utopia,” “democracy,” “humanity,” and even as of recently in the United States “Make America Great Again.” Due to the two-sided nature of European ethic, “Europeans have developed and entire

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70 Mazama, 2002
71 Ani, 1994: 315
72 Ani, 1994: 315
73 Ani, 1994: 318
A semantical system designed for export—for the purposes of nationalistic propaganda—for appearance—for others.”

To counter, within an Afrikan context there are ontologically bound abstract concepts which are understood to be inseparable from implication upon their invocation like concept of Ma’at which means order, balance and other cardinal virtues that governed Kemet, an Afrikan society. One of the pictographs used to write the word is a stone cutting and measuring tool. Ma’at was appropriated from the literal work of masonry to become a metaphor that could be used to measure abstract concepts and equivocate them to being square, plumb, or sound. Such abstractions include someone’s character, the quality of their actions, or other intangible aspects of human personalities. Ma’at could be used for individuals as well as a measure for collective or societal stability.

This summary of events in Kemet is telling of the essence of Ma’at in relationship to not just cosmological matters but also to the political and social realities of Afrikan people. Dr. Carruthers offers us numerous examples of how Ma’at was used as an ethical barometer in social and political matters relating to everyday social life. One example Carruthers directs us to for clarity is the story of “The Eloquent Peasant” where a farmer who was a victim of corruption displayed his gift of “good speech” as he insists that Ma’at must be done and restored by the ruler.

74 Ani, 1994: 320
75 For a further examination of “The Eloquent Peasant” and his grievances in relationship to Class and Ma’at refer to Chapter 9 of The Egyptian Philosophers by Dr. Molefi Kete Asante (Asante, 2000: 75-84); and look at Chapter 2 of Mdw Ntr: Divine Speech by Dr. Jacob Carruthers (Carruthers, 1995: 56-62)
The functionality of objectivity in perpetuating Eurocentrism and white racial domination in that “her focus is not only on the motivating factors underlying the behaviors, but also on the terminology that is used to normalize racist behavior and strip it of its racial implications by shielding it under the cloak of objectivity and universalism.” Another scholar that refers to the role of genetics in the shaping of the behavior of Europeans is Dr. Frances Cress Welsing. While there has been some criticism of Dr. Welsing’s “Cress Color-Confrontation Theory” by referring to it as biologically determinist, there has yet to be sufficient refutation of the sociological aspects of her theory which remain consistent with the historical behaviors of white people. The significant parts of the Cress theory are where Dr. Welsing articulates how white people genetically and socially relate to Afrikan people. On a collective consciousness level, Dr. Welsing argues that black skinned people are perceived by white skinned people as a threat to the genetic survival of white race. Here Dr. Welsing states how genetically:

“Is it not true that white people represent in numerical terms a very small minority of the world’s people? And more profoundly, is not ‘white’ itself the very absence of any ability to produce color? I reason then that the quality of whiteness is indeed genetic inadequacy or a relative genetic deficiency state, based upon the genetic inability to produce the skin pigments of melanin (which is responsible for all skin color). The vast majority of the world’s people are not so afflicted, which suggests that color is normal for human beings and color absence is abnormal.”

Dr. Welsing describes how this manifests socially, or rather psychologically, here:

“the white or color-deficient Europeans responded psychologically, with a profound sense of numerical inadequacy and color inferiority, in their confrontations with the majority of the world’s people – all of whom possessed varying degrees of color-producing capacity. This psychological response, whether conscious or unconscious, revealed an inadequacy based on the most obvious and fundamental part of their being, their external appearance.”

77 Welsing, 1974; 1991
78 Welsing, 1991: 4
79 Welsing, 1991: 4-5
This color-confrontation with other melanated peoples of the world shaped how white peoples of the world shaped their societies. Regardless of the sedentary quality of Afrikan societies, the insecurity white people had caused them to produce social systems that were antagonistic toward groups of black-skinned Afrikan people in close proximity to them who were largely disinterested with them outside of defense from Eurasian raids in Afrikan territories. Together, the genetic insecurity, the environmental acculturating within the Northern Cradle, and by now the fear of retribution correlate, if not prove, that white racism is amorally within the collective interest and cultural disposition of Europeans to sustain wherever they are. Their despiritualization or fundamental alienation makes Europeans prone to not just perpetual antagonism and jingoism, but also to hegemonic imposition of their culture. Eurocentrism is never idle and there is no neutrality. Looking to the history of the United States, the constant unprovoked psychological, violent, attacks on all Afrikan people reflects the perpetually antagonistic historical character of the white collective. Systemic race consciousness leads one to understand that institutionalized separatism takes the question of perpetual white antagonism into account when functionally looking for a liberated future for Afrikan people.

80 Diop, 1963; 1974
Problems of Epistemic Convergence

“There’s one thing you have to get through your mind, and keep it! Nothing that ever came from the European Mind was meant to do anything but facilitate the European Domination of the World! And I said there is no exception!”

~ Dr. John Henrik Clarke

“The white man’s propaganda has made him master of the world, and all those who have come in contact with it and accepted it have become his slaves.”

~ Hon. Marcus Mosiah Garvey

An important feature to highlight about European Imperialism is its perpetually totalizing tendencies. Europeans sought to conquer and gain control over every aspect of every group of people they encountered including both their geographic and conceptual territories. Cultural others were relegated to positions of inferiority within the mind of Europeans and this manifested in the mischaracterizations of the cultural productions of non-Europeans, including their ideas and concepts. Because Eurocentric ideas of are grounded in European history, which makes them an amalgamation of European cultural agency in conceptual form, the self-determining agency of Afrikan people outside of conscription to European agendas is theoretically marginalized from most if not all Eurocentric ideas. An example of this is Karl Marx. Marx only factored Afrikan people into his conceptualization of class-conflict as objects of enslavement, but failed to realize the full range of their cosmological assumptions, ontological orientations, and axiological systems which may have and did contradict the supposed universalist teleology of “human” behavior under capitalist exploitation. Given the alien nature of Marx’s ideas, concepts, and theories to Afrikan agency and self-determination, application toward Afrikan phenomena would be extrapolation and a hegemonic act of dis-agency. This can

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81 Dove, 1995; Robinson, 1983
be seen in the common neglect of the role and full significance of Afrikan spiritual traditions had in Afrikan resistance to European imperialism by Marxists in their historical materialist analyses of Afrikan history. The Pan-Africanist and Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyist historian C.L.R. James’ neglect for the role of Voodoo in the Haitian Revolution in his seminal text, The Black Jacobins, is but one example.\(^{82}\)

Dr. Asante mentioned in a lecture a brilliant understanding of this phenomena when he stated, “even many of the most severe critics of Eurocentrism have yet to escape it.\(^{83}\)” Many Afrikan intellectuals have attempted to repurpose or reform the ideas of Europeans to advance the interests of Afrikan people under European domination. The problem for Afrikan people is that if Eurocentrism isn’t totally rejected, then remaining trapped within the European cultural matrix is inevitable. Even within attempts to resist and fight against to dominant paradigms, without epistemologically separate position outside of Eurocentrism an Afrikan would remain “lynched” or conceptually incarcerated.\(^{84}\)

Afrocentricity is so clearly a sufficient corrective to this totalizing aspect of Eurocentrism because it provides conceptual ground for Afrikan people to stand on, on their own terms. The relocation to an Afrocentric position isn’t merely a reactionary flight from Eurocentric conceptual space, but it is an epistemological project of conceptually rebuilding and returning to who we are. This was brilliantly articulated by Dr. Molefi Asante in a response to Cornel Wests’ disinclination to being “centered and rooted.” He wrote “one must be open to the possibilities of dynamism, moving and flowing, but you have to be moving and flowing from some base. Those

\(^{82}\) James, 1938; Hutton, 2005; Nobles, 2015; Carruthers, 1985
\(^{83}\) Asante, Lecture Notes from African Philosophy course in Spring 2017
\(^{84}\) Asante, 1987; Hotep, 2008; Wade Nobles, 1986
who do not move from a base are just floating in the air. Providing a base, the separatist disposition manifests conceptually in an Afrocentrists’ scholarship. One of the rigid stipulations of Afrocentricity is that “an Afrocentrist will never reject the centrality of Afrika as a source of knowledge.” The basis for this premise should not be understood as a rigid continentalism predicated on locality, but rather a recognition that all black people are indigenous to Afrika and therein, Afrikan culture which has been produced by the self-determination of black people all over the world is a sufficient source of knowledge and concepts for Afrikan people to utilize toward their liberation.

Blackness and Afrikanity, inseparably, have been characterized by diabolically essentialist stereotypes and caricatures by white supremacists who were mass producing images and ideas to serve as pretexts to justify imperial and colonial exploits such as chattel enslavement, segregation, and criminalization of black people. After the period of integration-ism in the 1960s, politics that were organized strictly based on blackness or Afrikanity as a common ground for Afrikan people to unify (i.e. black nationalism, Pan-Afrikanism), became understood by the white masses to be a reversal of racism. Many Eurocentric scholars became cautious and paranoid of casting blanket generalized interpretations of Afrikan people with the worry of being lumped into the supposed racist “past” of Europeans. This shift began to implicate mainstream discourse around politics pertaining to race and racism, making it largely apologetically racist in the public sphere. As Black Studies emerged as within the universities across the United States, discourse

85 Asante, 1987: 13
86 Peller, 1990; 1995; 2011
about blackness and Afrikanity became largely framed in terms of essentialism vs anti-essentialism\textsuperscript{87}.

In the academy, many scholars have retreated into a reactionary, yet consistently Eurocentric disposition, for their analyses of Afrikan people; anti-essentialism. The anti-essentialist side argued that black people were not monolithic and the side who continually argued that black people do share common traits, of which should be the basis for black solidarity were deemed racial essentialists\textsuperscript{88}. This pejorative is used as an attempt to bully race, Afrikan-centered, or Afrocentric scholars into compliance with Eurocentric terms of discourse. Utilizing this rhetorical ethic of universalist Eurocentric ideas, racists can deceive and conscript Afrikan people into their ways of thinking, behaviors, and political agendas\textsuperscript{89}. The veil of supposed-universalism that accompanies Eurocentric ideas works as an epistemic prison for those who assume the perspective and orientation.

The token ascension of Barack Obama to the pinnacle of integration-ism, one of the most powerful offices of the contemporary climate in the era of white racial domination, the Presidency of the United States greatly exacerbated this problem. The discourse around race became even more severely slanted toward color-blindness and post-racialism, giving rise to post-structuralist frames\textsuperscript{90} through which scholars insisted upon philosophical understandings of race and racism; an interpretive fluid understanding of race; debased of historiographical context and systemic race consciousness. With the logic that a common essence or trait is never shared

\textsuperscript{87} Curry, 2010; 2014; Azibo, 2011
\textsuperscript{88} Azibo, 2011
\textsuperscript{89} Ani, 1994
\textsuperscript{90} Gordon, 2012
between individuals, Afrikan people are still left without a unifying principle for themselves. From their anti-essentialist positions, there is an assumption made by many Eurocentric academics that any position that assumes a collective political or cultural interest of Afrikan people is essentialist, therefore too simple, static, and monolithic to begin an “objective” or sufficient analysis of Afrikan people.\(^91\)

Beginning with the history of both Europeans and Afrikans since the late 15th century, it can be largely shown that anti-black racism has been and continues to be the central factor that determines and sustains class status in societies of European (neo)colonial determination, while gender and sexuality have been nuances to the institutional structures formed by larger historical projects. The additive method\(^92\), not only obfuscates the analysis by imposing Eurocentric theoretical constructs unto of Afrikan phenomena, but also suggests an anti-essentialist presumption about Afrikanity. If Afrikanity isn’t allowed to stand on its own terms, then the pairing of other non-Afrikan identities and paradigms often invites theoretical perspectives outside of the scope of Afrocentricity which usually originate from within the domain of Eurocentrism. Some of the popular Eurocentric theoretical impositions upon Afrikan people through this “pairing” are feminist and Marxist assumptions, given the compulsory mandate that race be accompanied by class, and gender in liberal arts colleges throughout most American universities.\(^93\)

In his book, *The Invisible Jim Crow*, Dr. Micheal Tilletson has a concept called Agency Reduction Formation. Dr. Tilletson defines Agency Reduction Formations as “any system of

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\(^{91}\) Azibo, 2011; Asante, 1987; 2007; Curry, 2010; 2014

\(^{92}\) Weems, 2004; Curry, 2014

\(^{93}\) Curry, 2014
thought that distracts, neutralizes, or reduces the need and desire for assertive collective agency by African Americans." Because institutions of white supremacy reproduce systems of thought which reify the behaviors and ideological agendas of the white collective, it can only be expected that these same institutions and systems of thought would effectively decrease assertive Afrikan agency toward the end of eliminating white domination.

Simultaneity is double consciousness, a twoness, or from an Afrocentric perspective, confused consciousness. Understanding that ideas emerge from a cultural assumption, all ideas are inseparable from the system of thought they emerge from. Afrocentricity emerges from the Afrikan mind seeking clarity for itself on its own terms. Eurocentrism is a fundamentally different system of thought that Afrikan people are forced to grapple with, defend themselves from, and fight against. Epistemic convergence between Afrocentricity and Eurocentrism compromises the ability of an Afrocentrist to produce Afrocentric scholarship with functional utility. No one can serve two masters. This is part of why ‘Afrikan-centeredness’ often hasn’t been a sufficient designation for the quality of thought that is consistently of value toward producing Afrikan agency. As Dr. Ama Mazama has written, “the term African-centeredness’ is clouded with confusion and would need to be defined by the many who use it, especially in free distribution with the term Afrocentricity. An intellectual is an Afrocentrist or they are not.

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94 Tilletson, 2011: 60
95 Mazama, 2003: 7
Afrocentricity needs to be paired with systemic race consciousness. Race has had a central role in the construction of systems which have and still oppressed Afrikan people across the world for about the past 500 years. This is a significant detail of history, yet because of its persisting impact and influence over the lives of Afrikan and every other people across the world, we cannot simply move past the far-reaching implications that have been produced by the utilization of race without fighting through them. Knowledge of the origins of the racial construct may cause some to discard race and its accompanying logics as illegitimate. Race is a product of the European cultural ethos but it also primarily shapes the extant form of the US society. It can be quite dangerous to understand cultural identity as beyond racial identity. A systemic race consciousness coupled with concepts that are grounded in an Afrocentric historiography must be consistently applied throughout the logic of any ideology that is anti-racist, anti-European cultural hegemony.

Understanding that racist Europeans comprise the systems of interlocking institutions for white racial domination and continually produce ideological strategies of European cultural domination work in conjunction will optimize the capabilities of Afrocentrists to produce functional ideas which can be used to build functional responses.

Understanding that integration has perpetually failed is important moving forward. American society will never structurally integrate any critical mass of Afrikan people into itself because the Europeans that make up its composition have a vested interest in the maintenance
of an apartheid state, though not nominally. Integration-ism has only resulted in the further
integration of African minds with Eurocentric ideas and confusion. From a separatist
disposition, Afrocentrists can clearly understand the relationship of the Afrikan “nation within a
nation” to both the conservative and liberal wings of white supremacy. Understanding how
these wings of white supremacy work in conjunction to maintain structural control over the
systemic oppression of the Afrikan population is systemic race consciousness.

The historical account which displays the persistence of anti-black racism is evidence of
the domestic context for why integration failed, but looking to a global and ancient context for
how Europeans have been particularly jingoistic better frames the problems at hand. Not only
was integration not achieved in the United States, should it even be an ideal for Afrikan people
given the historical display of perpetual white antagonism? The inclination of Europeans to
project their genetic insecurities on Afrikan people and fabricate their own pretexts to attack
further emphasizes the necessity for Afrikan sovereignty.

The conceptual dimension of white racial domination, Eurocentrism, is the mode of
thought that is inseparable from the consequential racist behavior toward Afrikan people.
Adoption of any aspect of this conceptual apparatus by Afrikan people, especially Afrocentrists,
would be to further negate authentic expression of Afrikan agency toward the end of liberation.
There are no black versions of European thought because thought is determined by culture not
race. While race cannot be abandoned by Afrikan people in their struggle against white racial
domination, Afrikan culture greatly enhances the conceptual nuances of the struggle.
Afrocentricity is our greatest intellectual weapon and systemic race consciousness is an
augmentation that will ideologically align us to optimize the functional utility of intellectual production that comes from the utilization of Afrocentricity.
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