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RESEARCH ARTICLE

POLITICAL SANKOFA: THE AFRO-ATLANTIC ROOTS AND ROUTES OF WALTER RODNEY\'S INTELLECTUAL FORMATIONS

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Abstract

This essay broaches the historical concept of Political Sankofa. For West Africans, and the larger African Diaspora, the Akan concept of Sankofa engenders a look into the past to remember what has been lost. This step towards Africaness, whether physical or psychological, was strengthened by peripatetic Pan Africans, however, that era of collaboration is over, and Pan African politics has transformed. This unique collaboration reached its climax in the 1960s when most colonial territories in Africa and the Caribbean began to achieve political independence, however, independence was not enough to secure sustainable socioeconomic and spiritual progress. Political Sankofa attempts to fill that void in which positive values from an African past are used as a gauge to determine vigilance and vision. This essay attempts to offer an analysis by securing the voices of those who were directly responsible for coalescing the diaspora into a Pan African community. Also, the Walter Rodney Archives was instrumental in providing the personal desires and fears of this very Pan African, who I regard as one of the last of a dying breed. His work throughout Africa, the Caribbean, and the United States solidify one of this essay' s thesis that the routes are tantamount to the roots; and the ' Homeland' is not paramount to the Caribbean homeland, where many have sacrificed their lives to secure a future for their progeny. Ultimately, the quality of identity and leadership is at the crux of this essay, and the contemporary implications regard the cultural and economic sensibilities of the African Diaspora and the wider global agenda.

Introduction:-

This essay is the result of an investigation into Sankofa; an Akan proverb '*Se wo were fi na wosankofa a yenki'*, meaning "It is not wrong or shameful to go back for something you have previously forgotten."[1]In its post-colonial context, Sankofa could be a literal, figurative, physical or psychological return to Africa and/or African cultural consciousness and social sensibilities.[2] Furthermore, there is a holistic and metaphysical meaning that warrants interpretation, and as this essay attempts to elucidate,Sankofa engenders a rejuvenation of positive African values as

[1] Kofi Poku Quan-Baffour, "The Wisdom of Our Forefathers: Sankofaism and Its Educational Lessons for Today," Journal of Educational Studies Volume 7, No. 2(2008):25.
[2] Elleni Tedla, Sankofa: African Thought and Education, (NY: Peter Lang1995),1

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a foundation for the future.In connecting African roots to Diasporic routes, the African Diaspora can learn and borrow from each other, seeking advice and counsel.[3]Diasporic individuals left the Caribbean, to study the larger world, and while some returned, some did not. One of my fundamental questions regards whether a return to a Caribbean birthplace can be considered a physical aspect of Sankofa. In my formulation of Sankofa, both the roots and the routes are equally important, and transnational collaboration between academics and activists has often been a result of a Sankofa experience. Thus, I advance the historicalparadigm; *Political Sankofa*, as the synthesis of the Sankofa experience and the political power that real change requires. Political Sankofa encompasses both the mental and physical journey to an African past, in which the journey back through time and space is tantamount to the origin, and where the diaspora becomes 'home away from home'. Political Sankofa represents the conscious access to valuable Afrocentric sensibilities about freedom, justice, history, memory, and political sovereignty, sensibilities that were syncretized in the diaspora, for the benefit of the diaspora.Christel N. Temple proposes that the practice of Sankofa involves the legacy of organic African behavior, the rejection/re-evaluation of Eurocentric worldviews, and a general "psychological step towards Africaness", in which Temple credits the global Pan African community for its empowering and innovative uses of Sankofa.[4]In my formulation, movement and migration, guided by Sankofa, produced and re-produced this Pan African community.

'Absence makes the mind grow fonder'. Movement and migration affected the identity of peripatetic individuals, as well as the identity of the communities to which they traveled, allowingmanifesting new methods of problem-solving, andresisting the reality of insularity. Pan-Africans, particularly those from the Caribbean, changed the nature of the diaspora, sowing the seeds of Political Sankofa. In this essay, I investigate individuals, institutions, and identities, before analyzing how Dr. Walter Rodney fits in with the intellectuals and intellectual energy of those who came before him. Dr. Rodney (b. 1942) in (then) British Guiana, was an academic and activist until his premature death in 1980. This essay attempts to present a sample of late 19th and 20th-century men and women from the 'Afro-CaribbeanAtlantic', who manifested real changeand provided a path for Rodney's intellectual formation. The political lives of these peripatetic Pan Africans reveal the transformation of individual and institutional agency into political power, and the themes that emerge in this essay include the creation and consolidation of the Pan-African World, the ebb and flow of migratory knowledge, the quality of identity, and the quality of leadership. In the modeling of diaspora, the memory of, the myth of, and the eventual return to an original homeland is paramount, however, in many formulations of diaspora, communities often transcend national boundaries.In the African Diaspora, continuous movement, migration, and memory allowed individuals to envision a different version of the past and a different vision for the future. Furthermore, this diaspora was unified through its struggle against Empire; a paradigm in which this essay negotiates with the activists and academics that this paper examines.

Community, Institutional Formations, and Identity

At the beginning of the 16th century, the forced migration of Africans immediately produced a dream of returning home that had always been elusive. Wherever enslaved labor was needed, Africans and their descendants were forced to relocate, many times leaving their families and kinship relationships behind,thus movement and migration have always been part of the psyche of the Pan-African world. One of the first free mass movements of Pan African people in the diaspora was a direct result of one of the greatest political movements of the Western Hemisphere; the Haitian Revolution, where a well-organized slave revolt transformed into a political revolution. After the Haitian Revolution at the beginning of the 19th century, with the vision of Toussaint Louverture, the lines of migration began to connect the Caribbean in ways that would forever shape the possibilities of, and potential for, intra-Caribbean dialogue.[5] This is not an intimation that intra-Caribbean migration began with the Haitian revolution.However, this migration was, at minimum, stimulated in a way that was not possible before Haitian freedom, and from Louisiana to Bahia, Brazil, the Haitian revolution was inspirational to nonwhites in the Caribbean.[6]In *Liberty, Fraternity and Exile…*, Matthew J. Smith addresses some of these bonds, between Haiti and Jamaica, that ultimately created one of the first transnational collaborations of racial struggle against Empire by people of African descent in the Caribbean,

[3] Tedla,Sankofa, 2.

[4] Christel N Temple, "The Emergence of Sankofa Practice in the United States: A Modern History," Journal of Black StudiesVol.41, No. 1 (2010): 128.

[5]Walter Rodney, Unpublished Essay. 'Toussaint Louverture'. Box 15 Folder 18. Walter Rodney Papers. Robert W. Woodruff Library of the Atlanta University Center, Inc.

[6]Laurent Dubois, "The Haitian Revolution And The Sale Of Louisiana," Southern QuarterlyVol.44, No.3 (2007):18.

and introduces this "mobile community of refugees and exiles."[7]The nascent network between the two islands represents the 'primary strands' that began to link the Caribbean. These links were responsible for the breaking down of national and cultural boundaries that separated the two peoples, uniting and strengthening them.In the 19th century, Jamaica and Haiti were connected by the movement and migration of people and ideas.[8] Essentially, this system of support would come to define the network that makes up the diaspora, and as Horace Campbell contends, "Edward Blyden, Sylvester Williams, and Dr. Robert Love were among the blacks in the Caribbean who gave expression to the international black grievances against floggings, low wages and colonial bureaucratic commandism."[9]

A study of Reverend Robert Joseph Love is especially important in attempting to understand the motivations, movement, and migrationof Dr. Walter Rodney. Love (b. 1839) was a schoolteacher inthe Bahamas, then spent many years in the United States. After working with the newly freed Blacks in the Episcopalian church, Love spent time in charge of a congregation in the United States south, then in New York to study medicine at Buffalo Medical College in the 1870s. By 1881, he returned to the Caribbean and was invited to Port-au-Prince by an Episcopalian bishop, James Theodore Holly, a U.S. emigrant.[10] These types of transnational meetings represent the trend that movement and migration would create and standardize. In Haiti, Love was a churchman, a doctor, and a defender of Jamaicans, who by this time had formed the largest foreign colony in the new republic, and because he entered Haitian politics, he was deported from Haiti to Kingston, Jamaica. In a sketch of Love, appearing in the *New York World* in January 1892 'after his deportation from Haiti to Kingston' he stood proud and tall, eerily resembling Marcus Garvey.[11]By 1893, only two years after his expulsion, Love became a public intellectual in Jamaica, and through his lectures on the Haitian Revolution and West Indian emancipation, he becamemore involved in building connections between the two islands. Love was "devoted to Jamaican affairs, explicitly attaching himself to the island's history of protest."[12]Furthermore, as Jorge L. Giovannetti writes, some of the first individuals and identities that migrated across 'linguistic and political' barriers often became the historical agents we now recognize; Caribbeans who "moved from one island to the other, from their individual countries to the mainland, from region to the metropolis and back again."[13] In 1894, Love's *Jamaica Advocate* was launched as an outlet for elite and middle-classJamaicans tomanifest a more harmonious society on both islands, and between them.Love wasmemorialized at a meeting of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in 1914 at Collegiate Hall. His political life and his uncompromising advocacy for his people were lauded by Amy Ashwood Garvey (co-founder of the UNIA and Marcus Garvey's first wife). Love's legacy can easily be found in the energy he brought to and left on, that island on which he was buried; an island where his spirit remained.

Dr. Walter Rodney hailed Marcus Garvey as the greatest organizer in Caribbean history, and, in many ways, saw him as a spiritual mentor. Marcus Mosiah Garvey and Amy Ashwood Garvey left Jamaica for the United States to expand the UNIA. The Garveys' mantra of self-determination, anti-racism,and the simplistic notions of repatriation was only a part of the UNIA's overall approach to Black Power. Disharmony in the Afro-Caribbean existed between secular and religious groups, and disunity existed between socioeconomic classes. Furthermore, there was a social conflict because of 'Pigmentocracy'; the notion of privilege based on the degree of blackness and skin tone.The UNIA preached 'Unity without Uniformity' and manifested a mission of uniting efforts without losing the specific identities of regional and national struggles against colonial subjugation and self-oppression. This purview of the Garveys' migratory efforts is offered as an analysis of the trail of intellectual energy that Rodney inherited. The reality that Marcus Garvey, born in Jamaica in 1887, had his greatest following in Harlem, New York City, is evidence that his migration produced transnational collaboration.In *Escape from New York: The New Negro Renaissance Beyond Harlem*, Frank Guridy reveals that Garvey's 1921 trip to Cuba marked the creation of a new

[7] Matthew J. Smith, Liberty, Fraternity, Exile: Haiti and Jamaica after Emancipation, 1st edition (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 7.

[8] Smith,Liberty, 11.

[9] Horace Campbell, Rasta and Resistance: From Marcus Garvey to Walter Rodney, (London: Hansib Publications 2007), 50.

[10] Smith,Liberty, 218.

[11]Smith, Liberty, 273.

[12]Smith, Liberty,256.

[13] Jorge. L. Giovannetti, "The Elusive Organization of 'Identity': Race, Religion, and Empire Among Caribbean Migrants in Cuba," Small AxeVol. 10, No.1 (March 2006):1.

Negro transnational affiliation. In the Caribbean, classism, racism, and 'Pigmentocracy' permeated the Cuban landscape during the 19th and 20th centuries, and to be Black in the Black Atlantic meant that you were often part of a second-class citizenry, producing the need for Afro-Cuban political organization. As Giovannetti confirms, there was "a history of Afro-Cuban organization, from the nineteenth-century cabildos to the societies of color at the turn of the century."[14]However, the nomenclature 'Garveyite' quickly became known to represent the transcendence of cultural, national, and regional affiliations. At the beginning of the 20th century, Cuba became a hub for mass migrations of people from throughout the Afro-Caribbean. This was prompted by the completion of the Panama Canalin 1914, and the decline of the banana industry in Central America. Over 100,000 migrants came to Cuba from the British West Indies, joined by over 100,000 migrants from Haiti. Two of these migrants were the parents of Dudley Thompson, whose movements and migrations will be discussed in more depth throughout this essay. Because of the huge Afro-Caribbean presence on the island, "Cuba had the largest number of UNIA branches outside the United States by the mid-1920s."[15] The UNIA's parades, royalty rituals, and regalia were present in Harlem as it was in Cuba. In 1924, when the Cuban division of the UNIA in Camaguey organized a Negroes Day commemoration, their symbols of pride would be seen, felt, and transmitted as the UNIA's Black Cross Nurses, the Motor Corps, and the UNIA Juveniles were in the procession.Ultimately, the sense of racial pride, and even more important, Black female pride, were transmitted to a welcoming population.

Afro-women havealways been at the forefrontof the diasporic struggles against sexism, European domination, and exploitation. Furthermore, the void in Afro-Women's political voices is especially problematic since women have traditionally played important political and socioeconomic roles in pre-colonial Africa. As Rhoda Reddock purports, there was "an alternative trajectory of early 20th-century Caribbean Pan-Africanist women's consciousness and organizing, one that was unapologetically feminist."[16] The reality that women were in positions of leadership in an organization as robust as the UNIA showcases this consciousness, and the Garvey movement provided an environment for women's voices to thrive, albeit, not the same equity as the men. In my definition, *Political Sankofa* is reflective of a diasporic paradigm where women's voices are exalted,where social historians areresponsible for recapturing the experiences of these voices. This subaltern perspective, with its 'bottom up' approach, is antithetical toImperial history. Ultimately, Pan African feminism is essential to Feminist history.

Amy Ashwood was a true leader of the Pan African World.Born in Port Antonio, Jamaica, Ashwood spent some time in Panama, as her parents had moved between Jamaica and Panama because of economic opportunities. In 1914, Amy Ashwood acquired funds for the UNIA headquarters. "Inflamed by a 'joint love for Africa and our concern for the welfare of the race', the pair set up the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in a building rented by Ashwood, using her father's business credit."[17]In 1916, Marcus Garvey left for the USA and was joined by Ashwood in early 1919. In Harlem, the two worked to manifest their vision for the UNIA, where Ashwood became Secretary and worked closely with the UNIA's Black Star Line; the UNIA's steamship company. Amy Ashwood helped to build the organization into the largest, and one of the most influential institutions during the Harlem Renaissance. However, due to her strong matriarchal will, she and Marcus were separated only a few years after marriage. "Like most nationalist organizations, the UNIA was organized around a discourse of manhood contextualized by Booker T Washington's ideology of Black self-reliance."[18]Amy regarded herself as Marcus's equal, and "though Amy wrote that at least one of her reasons for leaving Garvey had been her desire 'to help Afro-American women to find themselves and rise in life', in fact she left for London and a tour of Europe in 1922", with clear visions of Pan African feminism.[19]Amy Ashwood's intellectual and institutional legacy in the African diaspora can be traced in the Caribbean, North America, Europe, and West Africa, and her contributionsare as salient asthe men that this essay explicates.

[14] Giovannetti, "The Elusive Organization of Identity," 22.

[15] Frank Guridy. "Making New Negroes in Cuba: Garveyism as a Transcultural Movement." In Escape From New York: The New Negro Renaissance Beyond Harlem, by Davarian L. Baldwin and Minkah Makalani. (Minneapolis: University Of Minnesota Press, 2013), 184.

[16] Rhoda Reddock, "The First Mrs. Garvey: Pan-Africanism and feminism in the early 20th century British colonial Caribbean," Feminist Africa Issue 19 (2014): 59.

[17] Hakim Adi and Marika Sherwood, Pan-African History: Political Figures from Africa and the Diaspora since 1787 (London; New York: Routledge, 2003), 69.

[18] Reddock, "The First Mrs. Garvey," 61.

[19] Adi and Sherwood,Pan-African History, 70.

The term 'African Diaspora' in its modern usage appeared in the 1950s and 1960s and is a direct result of the real-life work of individuals like Amy Ashwood, whose transnational activism has its roots along the routes of her Atlantic movements and migrations. However, and more definitively, Diaspora is also a process; an incomplete process, a process that builds the spirit of those who wish to travel along these routes; a process that builds the spirit of those who receive guidance from travelers before them; a process which builds institutions; producing and reproducing identities, and finally; a process that produces progress. Essentially, the work of men and women like Amy Ashwood shows that the *Afro-Caribbean Atlantic*needs to be historicized from within, as Social History.

Dudley Thompson's life; chronicled in his autobiography *From Kingston to Kenya: The making of a Pan Africanist Lawyer*; is another important reflection of the power of movement and migration. Born in Panama to Jamaican parents, he moved back to Jamaica where his parents wanted him to "grow up where we had our own roots, where we would be owners not tenants."[20] During World War II, Thompson became a Flight Lieutenant in the Royal Air Force in the Bomber Command over Europe, and after the War, in 1946, he was accepted into Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar, obtaining a Bachelor of Civil Law, qualifying later as Barrister-at-Law.Thompson,like most in the Diaspora who traversed from the periphery to Metropole, was changed by his experiences, and as World War II began, he admitted the zeal to fight for Britain was a result of colonial indoctrination. The myth of Britain is a sentiment that many from the Diaspora lost when they saw poor uneducated, unclean whites for the first time. In their home countries, whites were usually at the top of the food chain, representing the top tier of socio-economic classes. As a result, Afro-Caribbeans sometimes lost that sense of inferiority that they felt in the Empire's peripheries, and this was the reality for Thompson. Thompson socialized with intellectuals like George Padmore, who became his mentor. Thompson'suniversal, migratory knowledge was, in many ways, fused with the university knowledge he would gain when, in 1947, he became a Rhodes Scholar. Thompson's circle of associates and friends included Jomo Kenyatta; first president of Kenya, Kwame Nkrumah; first president of Ghana, the Caribbean novelist George Lamming, the historian C.L.R. James, and Forbes Burnham, who led the political movement that won independence for Guyana in 1966, becoming its Prime Minister and first executivePresident.

At the advice of George Padmore, Thomson's next journey found him in Kenya, instead of back to Jamaica where he was invited to work by Norman Washington Manley. Manley had also served in WWI for the Royal Field Artillery, receiving a military medal, and like Thomas, Manley was a Rhodes Scholar who attended Oxford. In Jamaica, Manley founded the People's National Party in 1938 and was premier of Jamaica from 1959 until Jamaica's full independence in 1962. Dudley Thompson chose to moveto Kenya, in part, to 'broaden his horizons.'[21]To 'broaden his horizon' meant that Dudley envisaged a future of political independence for the diaspora. This poignant statement reflects the vision of the future that Sankofa engenders, and 'Political Sankofa' establishes that 'the glance back' is to produce a productive and prosperous political future'.In 1951, Thompson and his family decided to settle in Moshi, a small town in Tanganyika, near the Kenyan border. In Moshi, ethnic conflict centered around the divisive nature of European, Indian, and African cultures. Per Thomson, while the social stratification in Kenya was one of political apartheid, in Tanganyika it was a matter of social custom. The religious difference of the region was prevalent as Animists, Christians and Muslims maneuvered the cultural landscape. In Thompson's eyes, what bound these groups was not only their subjugation to White settlers but more importantly, their struggle to gain political equality, and equity, and to regain the land which was taken from them. His work and his reputation as a lawyer in the region began to spread as he began to represent locals with cases involving land disputes, especially against white settlers. In Kenya, Thompson then began to collaborate with his old friend Kenyatta "advocating a system of land registration for Africans."[22]Thompson's prayers were for other professionals including lawyers, teachers, and engineers, from the Caribbean to come and apply themselves in various parts of the African continent. Two decades later, Walter Rodney answered this call, working as a teacher and collaborating with the Nyerere government of an independent Tanzania (formerly Tanganyika) in the 1970s. Although academically a Marxist, Rodney was more inclined to the notion of African Socialism preached by Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere. In *American Africans in Ghana,* Kevin Gaines argues that "Nkrumah's position asserted the primacy of 'scientific socialism' and an anti-capitalist emphasis on class conflict over less

[20] Dudley J. Thompson, Margaret C. Thompson, and Margaret Cezair-Thompson, From Kingston to Kenya: The Making of a Pan-Africanist Lawyer,(Dover, Mass: Majority Press, 1993), 5.
[21] Thompson, From Kingston to Kenya, 51.
[22]Thompson, From Kingston to Kenya, 59.

confrontational notions of classless, indigenous African socialism."[23] Nkrumah saw African Socialism, not as a fetishized memory of a classless African society but, as a legacy of communalism that had always existed in Africa. This paradigm is a manifestation of 'Political Sankofa', where positive and productive ideas recreated from memory are used. African socialism is a reactivation of traditional African cultural traits based on egalitarianism, and because of movement and migration, these ideas would have crisscrossed the Atlantic and Caribbean waters. The political energy that Thompson experienced in Tanganyika becomes clear by his revelation that when Julius Nyerere had introduced himself to him, Thompson advised him to "organize, organize, organize…merely confirming a decision that (Nyerere) had already made."[24]

Thompson's work in Kenya with the Kikuyu in 1949 was overshadowed by that ethnic group's 'supposed' violent uprising against foreigners; the Mau Mau rebellion, where the British appropriation of land had caused tension, resulting in violent outbreaks erupting in 1951.[25] In a few short years, over 11,000 African rebels were killed, and 80,000 Kikuyu were detained in camps. On the other side, over 100 Europeans and 2,000 African sympathizers lost their lives.When Jomo Kenyatta was arrested for being the ringleader of the rebellion, his first request was to send for his lawyer Dudley Thompson. After the trials in Kenya, Thompson prepared to return to Jamaica in 1955, however, his vacillation to call Jamaica his home is revealing. 'Home' was neither Africa nor Jamaica, but rather, both places. 'Political Sankofa' is more than a recognition of history and traditional culture, it transcends the spatiality of 'Mother Africa'. Dudley Thompson's life and travels, beginning with the urge to fight during WWII area testament to the idea that the diaspora was stitched together by travelers and/or migrants. This paradigm has precedent in WWI when thousands of Jamaicans, and other Caribbeans, traveled to Europe to serve in the West India Regiment. These migrations produced communities that would become permanent fixtures of London and other locales in Europe, during and after the interwar period.Paul Gilroy addresses these 'UK Blak' communities and the nature of identity and agreed that "if these populations are unified at all, it is more by the experience of migration than by the memory of slavery and the residues of plantation society."[26]In this way, I argue that the racial struggle against inequality and injustice bonded these immigrant communities together, and thus, the fight against Empire, as the visceral core of Pan-Africanism, is at least tantamount to the idea that African cultural similarities and sensibilities are what binds/bonded the diaspora together. As it relates to one of the conclusions of this essay, when political independence was gained, and the fight against colonialism and/or neo-colonialism was won, the diaspora, which was held together, in part, by this struggle, became less robusttowards the end of the 20th century.

The relationship between institutions and identity is one of the major underpinnings of this essay, and the communities that were produced by movement and migrations were often supported by existing institutional formations that became the structural support, in a myriad of ways, for the identities this essay chronicles. These institutional formations: recognized as books, clubs, organizations, and newspapers, in part, unified the diaspora for a major part of the 20th century. The peripatetic progenitors of these institutions, as well as the intended local and international audiences, harnessed and transmitted intellectual energy that was never lost, moving through space and time, like the individuals who all found themselves working in the heart of the Empire to defeat Empire.

Henry Sylvester Williams (b.1869), recognized as the father of Pan Africanism, was born in Trinidad. He studied law in Nova Scotia, North America,and in1896, he arrived in London to attend Kings College. The following year, he was admitted to Gray's Inn, the same institution in which, many decades later, Dudley Thompson received his legal qualifications. Williams was a true public intellectual, an activist, and an academic. He spoke and lectured to, university students, and non-academics, about the need for representative government in Trinidad. "In 1898, Williams founded the African Association… [and] immediately set about organizing public meetings." This Association wasthe first to call for a Pan-African Conference, and transnational support was eventually provided by individuals like Booker T. Washington; president of the Tuskegee College in the United States.[27]In July 1900, Williams organized the first Pan-African Congress in London, where W.E.B. DuBois was the notable attendee. Three years later, DuBois' statement that "the problem of the twentieth century is the color line, -the relation of the

[23] Kevin K. Gaines, American Africans in Ghana: Black Expatriates and the Civil Rights Era (North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press 2006), 253.
[24] Thompson, From Kingston to Kenya, 70.
[25]"Mau Mau Rebellion," Funk & Wagnalls New World Encyclopedia.
[26] Paul Gilroy. The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness. Reissue edition. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1993), 81.
[27] Adi and Sherwood, Pan African History, 191.

darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea" would be congealed in the Pan African lexicon.[28] Maulana Karenga affirms Dubois' hope that the diaspora saw "Africa, not simply as a continent, but also as a world community rooted in a rich, ancient and ongoing history"[29]. As a result of the first Pan African Congress, the Pan-African Association (PAA) was created to secure political rights for diasporic individuals and improve their socio-political conditions. The PAA, formed in London, would spread to Jamaica and Trinidad, where many branches would be set up. The brevity of William's monthly publication; *The PanAfrican,* is not as salient as the legacy that he left for others to follow in London. As a matter of serendipity, Williams' mother, "(living) in striated circumstances…had to take in boarders. One of these was H.A. Nurse, whose son Malcolm, known later as George Padmore, carried on the Pan-African tradition started by Henry Sylvester Williams."[30]W.E.B Dubois sustained the Pan-African organizational concept and with the help of others, organized four more international congresses between 1919 and 1945. The Fifth Pan-African Congress of 1945 had taken place in London right after the end of WWII, in which Dubois and Padmore were in attendance.

Malcolm Ivan Nurse (b. 1902), a Trinidadian, was a childhood friend of C.L.R James, and like Henry Sylvester Williams, Nurse left for the United States to further his education, studying law at Howard University in Washington DC in the mid-1920s. George Padmore later became the editor for the UNIA's paper *The Negro World*…Padmore'scollaborations in London with T. Ras Makonnen, C.L.R. James, and Amy Ashwood were instrumental in paving the way for great gatherings like the 1945 Pan African Congress**.** Until he left for Ghana in 1951, Padmore wrote for a myriad of Black newspapers around the world including the *Public Opinion* (Jamaica), the *Ashanti Pioneer* (Gold Coast), the *Chicago Defender*, and W.E.B. DuBois' *Crisis.* When Padmore accepted Kwame Nkrumah's invitation to be an advisor after Ghana's independence in 1957, he was a 'mobile institution', with the knowledge, wisdom, and ability to collaborate with diverse individuals and their unique struggles.

Ras T. Makonnen, sometimes T. Ras Makonnen, had "taken the name of Haile Selassie's father in solidarity with Ethiopia's struggle against Italy."[31] Makonnen was born George Thomas Nathaniel Griffith in Buxton, British Guiana, and after graduating from Queens College in Georgetown; the same institution that Walter Rodney would graduate from many years later, Makonnen went to Texas to study mineralogy, and then to Cornell University, briefly studying agriculture. Spending his holidays in Harlem, Makonnen"and his West Indian and African friends…listened on the street corners and at other meetings to Black socialists and communists, including George Padmore."[32]In Britain, he began to work closely with C.L.R James and Padmore.In *TheNegro Worker*, Padmore advanced the "theoretical articulation of the complex relations between radical intellectual work in the metropole and black mass resistance in the colonies themselves."[33] Padmore was adamant about the kind of leadership that existed in the ongoing struggle against colonialism and insisted that it was not the responsibility of the intelligentsia and the Black Middle Class to lead the working class. Makonnen was interested in connecting groups, offering his financial and administrative assistance to the *International African Opinion*; whose mission was to educate and service the diaspora. In the mid-1930s, out of the formation of the International African Friends of Ethiopia (IAFE) formed by C.L.R. James and Amy Ashwood, emerged the International African Service Bureau (IASB). The IASB was organized by George Padmore in 1937, and its executive committee included Makonnen and Jomo Kenyatta, among others.In the IASB's journal, the *International African Opinion,* edited by James, readers were privy to reviews of books like Zora Neale Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, and Kenyatta's *Facing Mount Kenya*. The diasporain London wasaware of the difference and divergence between Negro American identity, Afro-Caribbean Identity, and African identity, however, the IASB and its publication were most interested in formulating an international African identity. By 1946, "Makonnen began to advertise the 'Panaf Service as importers and exporters, publishers, booksellers, printers, and manufacturers' representatives', [in] Manchester, which was also the

[28] W.E.B. Dubois, The Souls of Black Folk. Electronic. (Pa: Pennsylvania State University 2014), 16.

[29] Maulana Karenga, "Names and Notions of Black Studies: Issues of Roots, Range, and Relevance," Journal of Black
Studies (2009): 7

[30] Adi and Sherwood, 194.

[31]Gilroy, The Black Atlantic, 37.

[32] Adi and Sherwood, Pan African History, 117.

[33] Brent Hayes Edwards, The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2003), 300.

PAF's home."[34] Makonnen used profits from his businesses to fund the Pan African Federation (PAF). Marika Sherwood contends that"Makonnen probably became a founder member of the first attempt to form a Pan African Federation in mid-1936, which brought together representatives from North, South, East and West Africa, and the Caribbean."[35] In 1946, funds were used to bring Norman Manley to Britain to defend a Jamaican airman accused of murder, and funds were also used to establish a home for abandoned children fathered by Black servicemen with White women who disowned their children. Furthermore,the revelation that Makonnen had "no ties with Guyana… [as his travels] was to get knowledge to prepare [him] for working in the West Indies or Africa" is an important one.[36] In Ghana, he toured the continent in preparation for the 1963 Organization for African Unity conference in Addis Ababa.[37]As head of the national press set up by Nkrumah; the *Guinea Press*, he was critical of corruption in Ghana and was subsequently demoted. After the fall of the Nkrumah government in 1966, he was imprisoned for many months, but international pressure, especially from Jomo Kenyatta, allowed for him to be released, migrating to Kenya in 1967 until his death in 1983.

In London, Padmore, Makonnen, and James often visited theFlorence Mills Social Parlour, opened by Ashwood in 1935. Cyril Lionel Robert James (1901-1989) was born in Trinidad and attended Queen's Royal College where, upon graduation, he was invited to teach. One of his students was Eric Williams, who would later become Prime Minister of Trinidad. In the 1920s, James wrote for a publication,*Beacon*, a political and literary journal. James's literary contribution includes the Caribbean classic; *The Black Jacobins*, a seminal work that offered a new unique Caribbean perspective on the Haitian Revolution. Like his friend Padmore, he too was a guest of President Nkrumah at Ghana's independence celebrations in 1957. "Eric Williams, then Chief Minister of the colony of Trinidad, in 1958 invited [James] to edit his party's newspaper, *The Nation*, and to become secretary of the West Indian Federal Labour Party, the ruling party of the Federation of the West Indies."[38]James's movement and migration continued, when in the mid-1970s, he accepted an invitation to teach at the Federal City College in Washington, also teaching courses and lecturing at other universities. Throughout his life, James had also traveled to Guyana, Trinidad, andTanzania, giving lectures on political economy in the Caribbean. In 1974, James and Julius Nyerere planned the 6th Pan African Congress in Dar-es-Salaam, but James did not attend "in protest at the decision by Caribbean governments and/or the International Steering Committee to only permit official representatives to attend."[39]In 1974 Walter Rodney, a young but well-known public intellectual, who initially was looking forward to attending, also refused in protest because of this very reason. This points to both James' and Rodney's commitment to 'non-elite' leadership, emphasizinggrass-roots guidance and mobilization.

It is important to recognize that the collective efforts of individuals such as James, Padmore, and Ashwood,were not in service of elites and politicians, rather, they were equally concerned with collaborating with working-class people. Furthermore, because of the multiplicity of Black cultures in London, James became concerned with the nature of Pan-African modernity, i.e., artistic forms as cultural resistance. Minkah Makalani's poignant statement is apt that "for James, the masses offered a model for heretical thinking about ways to draw on received knowledges, modern forms, and Western reason and find out what was born of the colonial context, and develop that into a distinctively new form."[40]In London, Dudley Thompson described this moment as a period in which he came into contact with artists, activists, and academics from the entire diaspora who all felt collective empowerment, revealing that they " had more than proved (their) equality and had earned the chance for self-government. That was what the Fifth Pan-African Congress demanded in 1945."[41]

The Pan African Federation (PAF) was reformed in Manchester in 1944, under the presidency of Dr. Peter Milliard, a British Guianese, who along with Padmore, James, Ashwood, and others organized the 5thPan African Congress,

[34] Adi and Sherwood, Pan African History, 120.
[35] Adi and Sherwood, Pan African History, 118.
[36]Adi and Sherwood,Pan African History, 121.
[37] Ama Biney,The Political And Social Thought Of Kwame Nkrumah, (NY: Palgrave MacMillan 2011), 8.
[38] Adi and Sherwood, Pan African History, 97.
[39] Adi and Sherwood, Pan African History, 98.
[40]Minkah Makalani,"An International African Opinion: Amy Ashwood Garvey and C.L.R. James in Black radical London," In Escape from New York: The New Negro Renaissance Beyond Harlem, by Davarian L. Baldwin and Minkah Makalani. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 95.
[41] Thompson,From Kingston to Kenya, 31.

and Makonnen's financial savvy, in part, was responsible for their success. The Congress challenged the exclusion of the colonies in the Atlantic Charter; signed by Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt in 1941, which affirmed 'the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they may live.'[42] Amy Ashwood chaired the first session, where she called for the acknowledgment and inclusion of women in the struggle. The Pan-African Congress's intent was twofold; to inform political consciousness on a national level, and identity on an individual level.

The engineering of transnational identity is at the heart of this essay and is crucial to the concept of *Political Sankofa*. The limitations of a Pan African and/or Afrocentric identity is that it may produce unity and solidarity, but not necessarily political power. In this way, 'Political Sankofa' is reminiscent of Kwame Nkrumah's 'African Personality'. The African Personality advocated the push for political power "rather than Negritude's assertion, as formulated by

Leopold Senghor, of the unity of African cultures."[43]As activists, academics and artists traversed the diaspora, their developing identity represented the activation of a unique type of political personality. This historical convergence of people and ideas created an increasingly interconnected world, producing a more robust Pan African community identity.

The work of Edward Wilmot Blyden; a progenitor of Pan Africanism, revealed an appreciation of the greatness of an ancient African civilization thatengineered one of the greatest civilizationsalong the Nile Riverin 3000BC. "Blyden was a son of the Caribbean and a pioneer of Pan-Africanism, whom Garvey publicly acknowledged as a mentor."[44]By allowing themselves to understand ancient African economic and political power, Blyden and Garvey envisioned a world beyond simple social mobility; a world where African nations and Caribbean nations controlled their destinies. This reality elevated the consciousness of many who might have believed that their economic sensibilities could not match those of Whites, and Garvey's temerity was an inspiration to those who would follow and join his movement. In this way, Garvey's Black Star Line, which traveled from North America to the Caribbean, transformed notions of spatial and social mobility and thus informed identity in a manner that was never felt before.As Jonathan P. Eburne states, Garvey desiredto reverse"'the sleep of the past' that constituted an erasure of persecution and potential greatness alike… [and]…sought to inaugurate a new system of historical relations that likewise sloughed off the 'lethargy' of canonical Western historiography."[45]

Like Garvey, Franz Fanon's life and work is a great insight into Walter Rodney's philological sensibilities and were also an inspiration for Walter Rodney's movement and migration. Frantz Fanon (1925-1961) was an Afro-Caribbean born in Martinique, and at the start of WWII, with the French installation of the Vichy government, Fanon left "Martinique to the British-controlled island of Dominica, [where] he joined the Caribbean Free French Movement in 1943."[46]He then volunteered for active duty in the French army, however, notions of identity were challenged like many of those who travel to the colonial metropoles. As William Strickland affirms, some Martiniqueans did not believe the European French was deeply racist, "however, the voyage to Casablanca and the nine months stationed in North Africa cured Fanon and his friends of that notion."[47]In France, he enrolled in medical school, graduated, and before returning to Martinique, he became involved with a newspaper, where a series of essays evolved into his first book; *Black Skin, White Masks*which reflected the reality of personal racial torment Fanon felt in France. By1954, Fanon was practicing psychiatry in Algeria, where he began to understand the psychological and psychosocial effects of racism.Ultimately, Fanon evolved the notion of Negritude and was not as interested in similarities of sensibilities as much as the remedies for diasporic social maladies. For Fanon, the reparation of the colonized mind, and socio-economic justice, were paramount. Since physical and emotional violence against Black bodies were standardized, to equally match colonial violence, Fanon stressed that

[42]"Atlantic Charter," Funk & Wagnalls New World Encyclopedia. (2016)

[43] Gaines, American Africans in Ghana, 78.

[44] Claudius Fergus, "From prophecy to policy: Marcus Garvey and the Evolution of Pan African Citizenship," The Global South, Volume 4, Number 2 (2010): 31.

[45] Jonathan P. Eburne, "Garveyism and Its Involutions," African American ReviewVol. 47, No. 1 (2014):2.

[46]William Strickland. "Frantz Fanon: His Life And His Work", Afro-American Studies Faculty Publication, Paper 8 (1979): 68.

[47]Strickland, "Frantz Fanon", 68.

"decolonization (would be) a violent phenomenon."[48]Fanon's influence can be seen in Rodney's *The Groundings With My Brothers*, where Rodney stated "violence aimed at the recovery of human dignity and at equality cannot be judged by the same yardstick as violence aimed at maintenance of discrimination and oppression."[49]By the late 1960s, Rodney was proud of the activism and student riots against the government of Jamaica. And by the 1970s, he was connected to political violence in Guyana; an unfortunate reality that contributedto his assassination in 1980.

Walter Rodney

Walter Rodney was one of the last great public intellectuals in the African Diaspora. The unique admixture of academics and activism in the Caribbean and Africa that began in the mid-19th century climaxed in the 1960s. In this epoch, thediaspora was united through its fight against colonial powers, and with the goal of political independence achieved, the diaspora was less united. Stokely Carmichael is another academic/activist born in the 1940s who had a similar global impact. Their life stories do not mirror each other, however, their ideas about Black Power warrant a comparative dialogue. This last section focuses on Rodney's life, his movement, and migration within the Caribbean, to England, Africa, the United States, and back to the Caribbean. It is important to recognize that these places and spaces were already full of radical intellectual energy. For example, radical political energy in Londonwas mature by the time Rodney began to study at the University of London. Unlike Stokely Carmichael, aka Kwame Ture, while Rodney returned to the Caribbean, Kwame Ture decided to migrate to Ghana. This distinction may not be as important if one understands the entire diaspora as 'Home'.

Kwame Ture was born Stokely Standiford Churchill Carmichael in Port of Spain, Trinidad. Reflecting the intra-regional nature of Caribbean people, his mother was born in the US Canal zone and his paternal roots derive from Barbados. He moved to be with his family in the Bronx, New York City at the age of 10, then attended Howard University in Washington DC. In 1961, he spent his 20th birthday in a prison cell revealing that "it would be the first of many I was to spend in Southern jails."[50] His political agitation against a racialized United States had prompted a hybridity of non-violent and violent reactions. The American South was vastly different from New York City, and shortly after joining the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), his notion of Black Power evolved into a more radical revolutionary stance. In 1967, he left for a five-month world tour visiting places such as Cuba and London, and in 1967 while in London, he spoke at the Dialectics of Liberation Conference, where C.L.R. James was in attendance. At the conference, Stokely Carmichael identified American imperialism and international capitalism as the main threats to social justice and racial equality. Heabsorbedthe energy of a radical Black London that, for a long time, fought for the struggles of many different localities in the diaspora. In Cuba, he was invited to speak at the Organization for Latin American Solidarity Conference in Havana in the same year. There, he hailed Fidel Castro and Che Guevara as heroes, and as Peniel Joseph reveals"Stokely told one reporter that the conversations [there] were the 'most educational, most interesting and most enlightening of (his) public life.'"[51]Stokely's experiences with Kwame Nkrumah left an impact on him, and his name change was a result of meeting Nkrumah.In October 1968, Stokely Carmichael shared a platform with Walter Rodney at the Congress of Black Writers in Montreal, Canada.[52] The assassination of Martin Luther King in April of that year prompted a transition to a more militant formulation of Black Power, which both Kwame Ture and Walter Rodney advocated. The Congress of Black Writers was initiated by the Conference Committee on West Indian Affairs, which organized a series of conferences between 1965 and 1968. Guests included Orlando Patterson, C.L.R. James (giving a total of 24 public lectures between 1966-67), and George Lamming, who stated at the Conference Committee's first conference: "what you are doing here tonight has many echoes in London and with many of your compatriots who work in various activities throughout Africa."[53]In 1968, Rodney then a teacher at the University of West Indies, Mona, Jamaica (UWI-Mona), showcased a radical intellectuality displayed in Montreal that provoked the Jamaican government which did not allow him back in Jamaica. His speech 'African History in the Service of Black Liberation' was read there for the first time. Rodney professed that African history, beyond its emotional

[48] Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, (NY: Grove Press 1963), 35.
[49] Walter Rodney, The Groundings of my Brothers, Third Edition (Jamaica: Miguel Lorne Publishers 2001), 22.
[50] Peniel E. Joseph, Stokely: A Life, 1st edition (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 2014), 35.
[51]Joseph,Stokely, 204.
[52] David Austin, "Introduction to Walter Rodney",Small AxeVol.5 Issue 2 (September 2001):63.
[53] Austin,"Introduction to Walter Rodney," 61.

significance, was "actually more relevant to the social development of Africa and that the history of blacks in the New World would serve as a more useful tool in working out a 'revolutionary strategy' for the Americas."[54]
WalterRodney (b.1940)participated in politics from an early age. His parents' political affiliation with the People's Progressive Party (PPP), allowed him to be a part of political meetings, and hetraveled to various parts of the country, sometimes delivering political pamphlets.Rodney attended Queens College in Georgetown and was a young activist whowas engaged in discussions and debates regarding the nationalism that swept the country in the 1950s.Guyana had always been multi-racial;Afro, Indo, and small, important groups of Chinese,Portuguese, and Indigenous people. The social stratification of the Afro and Indo-Guyanese began as a machination of colonial policy that was designed to undermine Afro-Guyanese labor after emancipation in 1833/34, with the influx of indentured labor from India which began in 1838 and continued for a majority of the 19th century. Thus, ethnic politics was a part of the political psyche in Guyana, and as Franklin W. Knight contends "in the smaller islands, a number of factors (had) coincided to make dual party, democratic politics a difficult achievement."[55] In 1950, the multiracial PPP attempted but ultimately failed to represent Afro and Indo-Guyanese, and as a result, the divisive natureand legacy of this failure can still be seen in Guyana in the 21st century.Rodney "grew up in a divided society, in which the majority of one's day to day contacts were with one's ethnic group. There was a certain isolation…"[56]Rodney's experiences produced an amelioration of the insularity and prejudices that existed in his own Guyanese identity.

Rodney's first migration began in 1960 when he accepted a scholarship to attend the University of the West Indies-Mona(UWI-Mona) in Jamaica. There, he quickly realized the conflict between the intelligentsia and the masses; a reality that the Jamaican elite enjoyed, and he felt the "hostility by the political elite to black nationalism coupled with cold war anticommunism, and narrow-minded Jamaican nationalism which portrayed [him] as a foreigner from Guyana who was interfering in national politics."[57] In Jamaica, Rodney connected with the Rastafari movement and their articulation of Black Power. Rastafarians in Jamaica were known for their spirit of resistance against colonial rule, Capitalism, and Individualism, and in the 'Dungle' (tenement yards/slums of Kingston), Rodney moved among these Rastas, beginning to *overstand* the solidarity and self-sufficiency that guided their quotidian lives."Rastas took care to learn about those herbs and plants which had medicinal value, and took greater care to prepare the kind of food which guaranteed good health."[58] Cultural resistance also manifested as 'Rasta talk', in which racial memory was paramount, and Rodney understood that his *Groundings* with Rastas was part of the tradition of oral history in the African Diasporawhich did not confine the sources of his knowledge to the University. From these sessions, he learned as much as he taught, andas a result, a young Walter Rodney became convinced that Rastafarian life was a manifestation of Black Power. Rodney's wisdom concerning language and diet provided him with a visceral formulation of Black Power. Furthermore, Black Power was not new to the Jamaican landscape, as Anthony Bogues reveals "radical twentieth-century political and social Caribbean history [had] been swirling throughout with practices and ideas that range from the black internationalism of the universal Negro Improvement Association of Marcus Garvey, to the black religious nationalism of Rastafari."[59] Rodney's experiential education continued in Cuba with students whom he "got some insight at an early period into the tremendous excitement of the Cuban Revolution."[60] In Cuba, Rodney witnessed how revolutionary theory manifested revolutionary action, suggesting that Fidel Castro was a Black man because he struggled against American and European imperialism. Thus, Rodney understood the efficacy of coalition building, and as Kevin Gaines stipulates, Rodneybelieved that "the identification 'black' should be extended to all the nonwhite oppressed people of the Caribbean…[and his] belief in

[54]Austin, "Introduction to Walter Rodney," 64.
[55] Franklin W. Knight The Caribbean: The Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism, Second Edition (New York: Oxford University Press 1990), 303.
[56] Walter Rodney, Walter Rodney Speaks: The Making of an African Intellectual (Trenton, N.J: Africa World Press1990), 2.
[57] Rupert Lewis, Walter Rodney's Intellectual and Political Thought, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998), 85.
[58]Horace Campbell, Walter Rodney: A Biography and Bibliography, Review of African Political Economy, No. 18, Special Issue on Zimbabwe (May-Aug. 1980): 122.
[59] Anthony Bogues, "Black power, Decolonization, and Caribbean Politics: Walter Rodney and the Politics of the Grounding with my Brothers, boundary 2Vol. 36, Issue 1 (Spring 2009):30.
[60] Rodney,Walter Rodney Speaks, 18.

transracial alliances made the formation of his working class opposition party possible [in Guyana]."[61] Rodney graduated from UWI-Mona and won a scholarship to attend the
University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), which was designed by the British to train colonial administrators to govern the Empire, however, Rodney's plans were not in sync with this design, and as Rupert Lewis affirms, Rodney perceived SOAS as a defender of bourgeois ideology.[62]Rodney's dissertation, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast 1545-1800*, was the precursor to his first published work; *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, which represented a scathing scholarship on the pernicious impact of European colonialism and Eurocentric historiography.In 1972, upon publishing of the book, Rodney received scorn from some of his colleagues, as "such opinions were not welcome from somebody brought up, and educated in the British imperial traditions."[63] The work of Andre Gunder Frank's *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America…*published in 1967, and Rodney's work, followed the ideas of the 'dependent school of thought', which expanded the analysis of reciprocal development in Europe and underdevelopment in the peripheries of Empire. Furthermore, Rodney's research in West Africa revealedthe social violence andgenerational trauma that promoted a socio-economic depression, that still exists today.His research focused on the reduction in the African labor force, and the population in general, which stifled creativity and ingenuity. In addition to this, his book addressed the exacerbation of violence between African kingdoms, engineered by Europeans.

Eric Williams, his movement and migration, and his work *Capitalism and Slavery*were alsoinstrumental in Rodney's intellectual formation. Eric Williams (1911-1981) was Prime Minister of Trinidad from 1961 to 1981 and, like others chronicled in this essay,heattended Oxford. He taught at Howard University in Washington D.C, before returning to Trinidad, helping to organize the country's first formal political party.[64]During his time at Oxford, he met with C.L.R James and had discussions with him about his dissertation. James states that "Williams used to come by my house and spend his vacations with me. When working on *The Black Jacobins*, I went to France to do work there…Williams would go with me."[65]The parallels between *The Black Jacobins, Capitalism and Slavery*, and *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*, represent a 'Caribbean School of thought'; a 'singular tradition of thought in Caribbean economic history'. This tradition of thought purports that the European Industrial Revolution was, in large part, funded by the surplus profits of the slave plantation system in the Caribbean.Furthermore, Williams' insistence that the British abolition of the slave trade in 1807 was the product of economic and practical decisions, rather than moral ones, "is inspired by a section of James Black Jacobins."[66] In addition,the Williams-Rodney thesis argues for a "reciprocal causation between the early development of capitalism in Europe, particularly in Britain, and the underdevelopment of Africa."[67]

After graduating from Oxford, Williams began to teach at Howard University in 1939, which he called 'Black Oxford', and in 1940, Williams' movement through the Caribbean in places like Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico prompted him"to write and publish *The Negro in the Caribbean.*"[68] In 1955, a speech entitled 'Economic Problems of Trinidad and Tobago', "marked his transition from public intellectual to social activist intellectual", claiming that colonial governments did nothing to ameliorate the economic deficiencies of Afro-Caribbeans.[69] Ultimately, Williams' evolution from academics to politics is indicative of my notion of *Political Sankofa* andwas a blueprint for Rodney's entry into the political realm in Guyana.

While in London, Walter Rodney took part in public debates organized by Africans and Caribbeans and was part of the close circle around C.L.R. James. These formative experiences and intimate moments cannot be underestimated,

[61] Gaines,American Africans in Ghana, 267.
[62] Lewis, Walter Rodney's Intellectual and Political Thought,41.
[63] Clayton Goodwin, "Remembering Walter Rodney", New African, (June 20101): 86.
[64]"Eric Williams,"Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 6th Edition (2015).
[65]Maurice St. Pierre, Eric Williams and the anticolonial tradition: the making of a diasporan intellectual, (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press 2015), 39.
[66] William Darity, "Eric Williams and Slavery: A West Indian Viewpoint?"Callaloo, Vol. 20, No. 4, Eric Williams and the Postcolonial Caribbean: A Special Issue (Autumn 1997): 802
[67] Terrence Mcdonough. "Williams-Rodney thesis." Encyclopedia Of Political Economy, Vol. 1 (1999): 1249.
[68] Darity, "Eric Williams and Slavery", 807.
[69] St. Pierre, Eric Williams, 117.

as Rodney began to understand the importance of transnational collaboration and problem-solving. Rodney reveals, "James mastered a whole range of theory and historical data and analysis…James added dimension which nobody else in the group could…"[70]From James, he began to understand the efficacy of intellectuality, and the joy of public accountability. Rodney then left London for Tanzania, accepting a post in the History Department of the University College, Tanzania. In Tanzania, Rodney appreciated Julius Nyerere's version and vision of African Socialism. The Arusha Declaration, promoted by Nyerere and his political party, reflected Socialism, not in theory, but practice, advocating the sharing of natural resources and the absence of exploitation in national economic policy.These ideas contributedto Rodney's philological sensibilitiesand represented the kinds of ideas he wished to transfer to the Caribbean. Rodney revealed that his "return to Africa was never an end in itself. It was always as a means to an end…by picking up a certain amount of information within an experience on the African continent itself…Specifically, I was returning to the Caribbean by way of Africa."[71]Rodney's goal was to inform and motivate the public, serving as a bridge between the 'Ivory Towers' and the 'Streets' that are overlooked by these towers. In Tanzania, Rodney began to give lectures off-campus, becoming increasingly interested in how problems could be remedied using practical, rather than theoretical, applications. Histransient separation from the 'Ivory Towers' manifested in a mental divergence from the ideological rigidities of academia, and since his formative years, Rodney had the impression that education would not solve everything. As a mature intellect, his ideasabout Eurocentric historiography ended when *A history of the Upper Guinea Coast*…evolved into *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. As a teacher, his vacillation between academics and/or politics produced a conflation of the two as an answer to the question of Black Power. In an unpublished, handwritten essay; 'Academics vs. Politics', Rodney articulates the pursuit of knowledge vs. the pursuit of power.[72] It is important to note that this distinction plays an important part in my definition of *Political Sankofa*.

Rodney's intellectual formation evolved because of real people, real problems, real solutions, and real histories. The definition of 'real history' relates to the perspective of Eurocentric versus Afrocentric, and Imperial history versus Cultural or Social history. This paradigm is useful for the examination of African History and culture and the contestation of Eurocentric ideas. In *Grounding With My Brothers*, Rodney articulates, "I got knowledge from them, real knowledge…you have to listen…you get humility…They live and they are physically fit and have vitality of mind…and they create, they are always saying things".[73]Rodney began to understand that his academic training needed to be attached to the activity of the masses. Heunderstood the impact he could have on others, to inform and reform identity, inside as well as, outside the 'Ivory Towers', and began lecturing at The University of the West Indies-Mona (UWI-Mona), and at off-campus sites as he did in Tanzania. Anthony Bogues adds that upon "his return to the Caribbean, Rodney embodied a set of experiences that linked him to the past political experiences of early twentieth-century black radicalism, as well as the most radical segments of the African national liberation struggles."[74] In Jamaica, he witnessed an energy of protest and bellicosity that he admired, insisting that"revolutionary violence itself is important in the sense in which Frantz Fanon analyzed it, as a necessary thing which people will seize when faced with the possibility and in the process transform their very personalities"[75]. When Rodney left for Montreal, Canada, he was banned from re-entering Jamaica. This led to violent riots and revolts in Kingston, mostly led by students, and his notoriety in the Caribbean began to increase. He would return to Tanzania, teaching and working with the Nyerere,and before returning to Guyana, Rodney toured North America, where he lectured and corresponded with numerousinstitutions and personalities. He held professorships at McMaster University in Ontario, Canada, Cornell University, and SUNY Binghamton in New York State. In 1975, Ralph David Abernathy; President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference reached out to Rodney to formulate new moral and socio-economic strategies for Black people in Atlanta, Georgia, and the United States south.[76]In 1975, Rodney gave a series of lectures in Atlanta, at request by the Institute of the Black World (IBW), where his commitment to Pan African collaboration becomes even clearer. Rodney informed his audience that"to

[70] Rodney, Walter Rodney Speaks, 28.
[71] Rodney, Walter Rodney Speaks, 33.
[72]Walter Rodney, Unpublished Essay. "Academics vs. Politics". Box 13 Folder 1. Walter Rodney Papers. Robert W. Woodruff Library of the Atlanta University Center, Inc.
[73] Bogues, "Black Power," 144.
[74]Bogues, "Black Power," 134.
[75] Rodney, Walter Rodney Speaks, 45.
[76] Walter Rodney, Letter, Ralph David Abernathy to Walter Rodney, 1975, Box 2 Folder 34. Walter Rodney Papers. Robert W. Woodruff Library of the Atlanta University Center, Inc.

talk about international solidarity within the black world…we have a series of responsibilities…to define our own situation…to help others in a different section of the black world to reflect on their own specific experiences."[77]

Upon his return to Guyana in 1974, after being offered a position at the University of Guyana, he was denied the position due to pressure from Prime Minister Forbes Burnham and his People's National Congress(PNC) party. His political agitation and working-class alliances produced a political rift between him and Prime Minister Forbes Burnham.In Guyana, Rodneywas aware of the counterproductive nature of racial and communal violence between Afro and Indo-Guyanese. He located these two groups as part of the same diaspora struggling against the British and American Empireand fought against Stokely Carmichael's formulation that "Black Power was for African People."[78]In 1979, Rodney, along with a group of Afro and Indo-Guyanese, founded the Working People's Alliance (WPA), which would eventually evolve into a political party. In 1978, the documentary film; *The Terror and the Time*, directed by Rupert Roopnarine, chronicled the effects of British Colonialism and Cold War Imperialism in the Caribbean region from 1953 through the 1960s. In connection to this film, a 1979 pamphlet produced in London reveals three intensely politicized articles: *'PNC Terror against activists'*, *'Rodney banned by Burnham government from taking up academic appointment*', and *'WPA becomes political party...The WPA constitution is already available to be implemented by founding and provisional members'*.[79]Rodney'snew commitment was to achieve political power,and he had traveled the globe, becoming aware of what he had realized long ago in Guyana; the necessity of transcending racial politics. Rodney understood that diasporic identity and national identity as Guyanese were more important than racial identity. Although an intellectual, some of the activist ideas he brought back to Guyana proved unsuccessful. Rodney, along with others, was charged for burning down PNC government buildings, which was the cause of his arrest in 1979. Arguably, the violent, revolutionary reputation of Rodney's activism, may have created the political environment responsible for his assassination. By 1980, Prime Minister Forbes Burnham was President,however, Rodney suspected interference by the United States and the Central Intelligence Agency (C.I.A) and made his suspicions public. In May 1980, Rodney was invited by Prime Minister Robert Mugabe to the Zimbabwe Independence Celebrations.[80] Although Rodney was banned from leaving the country, he was able to sneak out and attend the celebrations. Mugabe offered Rodney a permanent position at a research institute, but Rodney was adamant about returning to Guyana to continue the political struggle there.

Rodney left the Caribbean and returned with a vision of political power, and his academic reflections on Socialism began to manifest in Guyana. In a presentation addressed to/for the Members of the Insurance Institute of Guyana and Friends entitled '*Social Security under Different Social Systems*', Rodney reveals his quest in "challenging and changing this security that is motivated by capitalist values and transitioning it into security based on socialist principals."[81]In a second typescript; *'Socialism and Democracy'*, his writings reflect the attempt to undermine the trivialization and vulgarization of the word 'Socialism', by examining the supposed contradiction between theoretical democracy and the actual practice of democracy. Rodney was interested in all forms of Socialism; African, Scientific, and Marxist notions, and articulated socioeconomic forms like Feudalism, Capitalism, and Greek Democracy as the antithesis of Socialism.For Rodney, these ideas were antithetical todemocracy founded on socialized property, prosperity, and equality for all, and believed that socialismwould "flower to an extent that it [would be a] working people's democracy."[82]

Walter Rodney was as committed to the cultural, economic, political, and spiritual advancement of Black People as much as any of the individuals chronicled in this essay, however, his efforts would be cut short because of his assassination in 1980. The reality that he may be one of the last public intellectuals in the Pan African diaspora, marks the end of a unique type of Pan African collaboration. The 1950s and 1960s representa special moment in

[77] Kurt B. Young, "Walter Rodney's Pan African Nationalism,"A Journal of Social Justice, Vol. 20 (2008): 492.
[78] Rodney, Walter Rodney Speaks, 76.
[79] Political Pamphlet, 1978, Box 1 Folder 5. Walter Rodney Papers. Robert W. Woodruff Library of the Atlanta University Center, Inc.
[80]Horace Campbell, "Walter Rodney: A Biography and Bibliography,"Review of African Political Economy No. 18, Special Issue on Zimbabwe (May-Aug. 1980): 135.
[81]Walter Rodney, Unpublished Essay. "Social Security under Different Social Systems". Box 20 Folder 37. Walter Rodney Papers. Robert W. Woodruff Library of the Atlanta University Center, Inc.
[82]Walter Rodney, Unpublished Essay. "Socialism and Democracy". Box 20 Folder 37. Walter Rodney Papers. Robert W. Woodruff Library of the Atlanta University Center, Inc.

transnational collaboration when nations in the diaspora began to win political independence from Empire. This was a direct consequence of the decades of transnational efforts to affect identity, institutional formation, and political power in the Caribbean and African Diaspora. The historical epoch that produced Rodney and others before him, ended, and the diaspora no longer needed this type of robust collaboration, because the goal of political independence had been achieved.As Rodney traveled, he connected with a dynamic diaspora, and this changed as the Pan African World became less unified. Furthermore, with the emergence and wide availability of digital connectivity, movement and migration diminished. The argument that technological advances increase connections is appropriate, but the purposes of these connections and collaborations are not what they once were. Individuals now engage with the Diaspora in a way that is less personal and less important. In effect, I am arguing that there is little need for the Peripatetic Public intellectual in the Diaspora. Individuals such as Edward Wilmot Blyden, Henry Sylvester Williams, Marcus Garvey, Amy Ashwood Garvey, C.L.R. James, and George Padmore represent the first, and Rodney the last of a dying breed.

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