PHILOSOPHIES OF AFRICAN RENAISSANCE IN AFRICAN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

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> "Each race is endowed with peculiar talents, and watchful to the last degree is the great Creator over the individuality, the freedom and the independence of each. In the music of the universe, each shall give a different sound, but necessary to the grand symphony." Thus, "be yourselves … if you surrender your personality, you have nothing left to give the world." "The African must advance by methods of his own … distinct from the European."[1]
> "What shall it profit a race if it shall gain the whole world and lose its own soul?"[2]
> "How can a people be alive when its God and spirit are dead?"[3]
> "By seeking to run away from themselves and emulate the white man, they are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them as black."[4]
> "An unambiguous identity, an African identity; a people with a particular history, a people with a particular civilisation, a people who are unique in their socialisation."[5]

These quotations express a similar view of Africa and of culture in general. They fit together as if belonging to one author. Yet, it are quotations of African authors who lived more than 100 years apart, namely Edward Wilmot Blyden, sometimes identified as "the greatest nineteenth century black intellectual," Joseph Casely Hayford, a prominent intellectual and political leader in the Gold Coast between 1890 and the 1920s, K.C. Anyanwu, a contemporary Nigerian philosopher, Steve Biko, the late South African Black Consciousness activist, and, finally, the introduction to a comprehensive 1998 South African book titled *African Renaissance*.

Quotations from many other African and African-American intellectuals could have been added, such as from Marcus Garvey, Léopold Cédar Senghor, Cheikh Anta Diop, or from contemporary American Afrocentrists or African ethno-philosophers. However, for my purpose the quotations suffice. They show that similar lines of thought have reappeared at different times in African intellectual history. We may learn from this history, from the earlier formulations of the idea of African Renaissance as well as from the debates among African intellectuals about them. Such historical debates were often of high intellectual standard and very interesting indeed, although rarely studied today even by African philosophers. The historical debates provide insight into the rich, multifaceted and inspiring meaning

that the idea of African Renaissance can express, as well as insight into a set of standard intellectual weaknesses and political pitfalls that it can entail. Intellectual history may thus help us to asses in exactly which respects today's protagonists of African Renaissance avoid the classical problems related to their position and in exactly what ways they contribute new elements for a renewed blossoming of a philosophy of African Renaissance.

Such a comparative perspective between present and past intellectual movements should be careful to avoid simple equations. Ideas are always part of a very specific debate, and receive their meaning in this specific intellectual, political and cultural context. Discourses are always historically situated and cannot be compared in a simple way. It can happen, therefore, that ideas with a similar intellectual content can still serve quite different intellectual and political purposes, depending upon the specific historical context. For instance, Blyden, the conservative neo-traditionalist, and Biko, the activist, were politically worlds apart, despite their intellectual similarity; and both of them were politically at quite a distance from the African Renaissance promotion in South Africa today, which was ignited by the ruling president and party.

This essay proceeds in three steps. First, it discusses the intellectual structure of the view about African culture that is expressed in the quotations above. Second, it reviews the classical criticisms that this view about African culture has raised in historical debates. Finally, with the help of another great African intellectual - Amilcar Cabral -, it tries to "draw the line" between what may be very enlightening and liberating ways of mobilising culture and identity for an African renaissance and what may be misleading, an even objectionable and politically suspect references to cultural 'roots', 'tradition', and 'Africanness'.

The Intellectual Structure

In the past fifty years, the analysis of the African condition has mostly been undertaken from a development paradigm, or from a paradigm around terms such as oppression and imperialism. Presently, however, it has become popular to think in terms of what could be called a culture paradigm. This "cultural turn" can also be observed in analyses of Western societies, for instance in the characteristic of these societies as 'multicultural', as well as in analyses of international relations in terms of a 'clash of cultures'. This culture paradigm has received new impetus recently by ethno-religious global terrorists claiming to defend the true Muslim world. Note that the notion of "crusaders" - as name for their enemy - is a term that refers to religious wars, whereas their aim seems to be primarily political, namely eliminating American presence in the Gulf region. The American response with an

unmistakably geopolitical agenda is often worded in similarly cultural terms, namely as a defence of the core values of Western civilisation.

In Africa - as well as in writings about Africa - a culture paradigm has become more popular in the last decade. However, such an approach is far from new. As the quotations at the beginning of this essay indicate (and as I have shown in more detail elsewhere), one can identify in African intellectual history a family of authors, all sharing the idea that there is an distinctively African culture and life-experience, or a way of "being-in-the-world" as some philosophers inspired by Heidegger phrase it.[6]

Let me try to map the ground plan, the *genetic code*, so to say, of this intellectual family. In my view, this ground plan can best be read from the classical nineteenth century work of Edward Wilmot Blyden. Blyden was born in a family of free blacks on the small Caribbean island of St. Thomas. He migrated to the "Negro" republic of Liberia at the age of eighteen, in 1851, shortly after Liberian independence. He became a flamboyant public figure, a self-educated, prolific writer, and the leading spokesman and inspirer of the West-African so-called "educated elite". He preached a reaffirmation of African identity and 'race pride' in opposition to colonial and missionary paternalism.

Initially, Blyden (like his colleague Alexander Crummell) considered it to be his mission to bring Christianity and the message of Pan-Negroism to Africa in order to civilise the "pagan, black brethren", who had to be "raised from the slumber of the ages and rescued from a stagnant barbarism". But he overcame these Abolitionist prejudices by studying African history and societies, as well as by travels to the interior and even to Egypt.[7] Thus he became a vocal African cultural nationalist. At some point, he even considered Christianity to be unfit for Africa, which was a revolutionary view in the historical context of the West African coastal settlements where the missionary societies were ruling much of the society.[8]

Blyden was probably the first author to use the seminal term "African personality." His later work provides an elaborate, what one could call 'Afrocentric', philosophy. He framed many of the standard statements about Africans and African culture, such as that it is spiritual, social, communal, consensus-minded, full of emotion, rhythm, and of sensitivity. In his own florid style:

> The supple, yielding, conciliatory, obedient, gentle, patient, musical spirit that is not full of offensive resistance - how sadly the white man needs it! … the Anglo-Saxon. He is so dreadfully determined, so intolerant and self-assertive, intent upon carrying his point at all hazards, having good in view of course; but the wheels of his mind and understanding need oiling sadly with the oil of African good nature.[9]

Blyden was a remarkable intellectual who developed these ideas in a more consistent and sophisticated manner than most of his twentieth century followers, and applied an 'Afrocentric' view to a broad range of issues. He discussed, for instance, possible causal explanations for Africa's specific character by theorising about the natural environment, climate, human 'races,' and about the divinely sanctioned order of things. Furthermore, Blyden elaborated on the normative and practical consequences of the view that there is a specifically African 'race'. Many of his texts and sermons concern race-pride, the obligation to guard one's African identity and to save "the African as an African." For this purpose he was proposing the outlines of an African curriculum, propagating African institutions of higher learning, and an African church.

Blyden's texts stand out by the superb way in which they express many of the deep sentiments, worries and hopes related to this idea of "Africa". In his florid and imaginative style of writing, he depicted the African condition as a perilous act in the world-historical drama that started with the arrival of the white man in Africa and that threatens everything truly 'African' with extinction. Given the magnitude of this drama, no political remedy, such as the expulsion of the white man from Africa, can be an efficient remedy. The basic task is cultural, namely that Africa returns to its African roots. Towards the end of his life, Blyden went so far in his culturalism that he did not even have a problem with colonialism, if Africans were given the space to live according to their own culture.[10]

From Blyden as an historical exemplar - an ideal-type of a culture-centred view of Africa - I can now proceed to an analysis of the logic of such a view. What ideas and typical combinations of ideas typify the logic of a culturalist, 'Afrocentric' position?

The 'genetic code' of a Blydenite model of thought, I maintain, is the combination of two basic assumptions. First, an essentialist idea of cultures, i.e. culture conceived of as a kind of 'body' or 'entity' held together by a strong internal coherence of even a core or essence. Second, the idea that people 'belong' in a culture, that a person should be anchored in a culture, that the cultural framework is a condition for being authentic. Following Samir Amin in his famous study *Eurocentrism*, one can call such model of thought "culturalist". The culturalist way of thinking, then, identifies cultural (or racial) units and perceives the natural place of a person to be within his or her unit. Although present-day authors usually speak in terms of 'cultures', whereas Blyden spoke in terms of 'races,' I would maintain that the culturalist logic is in both cases the same.[11]

Once an author adopts the basic assumptions of a culturalist framework, a number of other ideas follow almost automatically. I mention just four. First, a culture tends to be conceived of as a complete mode of being that is distinct from

other modes. Typically, however, this mode is not given a characteristic in its own right but in its distinctions from the opposite modes. In most texts, the African mode is not sketched in direct opposition the Western template by stating that it is *not*-individualistic or *not*-materialistic; the "We" is constructed as the mirror-image of the "They" (see below). A second consequence of culturalist assumptions is that cultural identities are perceived as having deep roots. One could also say that the "We" is projected back into history, defining its long ancestry and suggesting roots deep down in the psyche. European culturalists tend to reconstruct their prehistory back to ancient Greece, African culturalists trace a history going back to ancient Egypt. A third consequence is that one tends to perceive everyone within the cultural unit as belongs naturally together. Differences of interest and of views tend to be played down or are declared to be artificial. The Beninese philosopher Paulin Hountondji called this "the myth of unanimity". The counterpart to this tendency to perceive natural unities is that persons or elements coming from outside the cultural unit automatically obtain the status of 'alien' elements whose influence will disturb rather than enrich the culture. A final consequence of culturalist assumptions is a tendency to construct 'overconditioned' boundaries. Instead of the complicated realities on the ground where linguistic, ethnic, national and historical boundaries rarely overlap, one tends to create a picture of coinciding boundaries of a continent, a race, a culture, a colour, a personality, a history, a philosophy, a political orientation, and religious orientation. Culturalist thought tends to over-generalise and absolutise cultural divisions.

Reading from African Intellectual History: Inspirations and Classical Problems

Armed with the insight in the logic of culturalist positions which I obtained of the previous paragraph, I can now try to develop a more critical view at this type of discourse. What is the message and inspiration of discourses on African Renaissance? What are its classical pitfalls?

Let me start with a remark about methodological issues that come up in the assessment of political discourses. Both the nature of such discourses and the position of the analyst have to be clarified. Discourses on African Renaissance aim generally at much more than formulating a factual state of affairs, such as the claim of a basic unity of African cultures or statements about the specific nature of the African culture or personality. They can also be attempts to inspire fellow Africans, to define a 'way ahead', to claim recognition, to defend dignity or to impress non-Africans. Similarly, they can be attempts at justifying political leadership, creating a context for overcoming differences between groups; they can also be claims against dominant 'truths' in the guise of received views on development, progress,

civilisation, or the good life. Finally, they can be statements of philosophical alternatives to standard views about man and society.

In view of this broad scope of practices of which a discourse on African renaissance may be part, the analysis that I propose to make in this essay and that focuses only on philosophy or politics can easily appear too one-sided and cheep. However, the fact that the agenda of African Renaissance can be broad and multifaceted does not exclude the possibility of critical assessment. Especially where 'renaissanists' explicitly make philosophical or political claims, such assessment is legitimate and even necessary for the progressive development of ideas on African Renaissance. Furthermore, assessment brings into play the assessor. If hermeneutics brings into play the person interpreting, as Gadamer taught us, then this is *a fortiori* the case with critical assessment. The position that I want to take here can be compared to that of the parliamentary journalist who critically questions delegates and office holders (being often more persistent in his questioning than the office holders like!), but who does not himself attempt to take office. The criticism that is attempted here tries to compare African Renaissance philosophies basically to their own standards, especially to their aim to formulate a new and viable, 'African', approach to solve problems in Africa. How successful can they be in achieving this aim?

I will scan the major debates in African political thought in the last hundred years, such as that on Negritude, on Ujamaa and Zambian Humanism, on African Socialism, ethno-philosophy and Afrocentrism, and on democracy, to highlight the classical problems that can arise when analysing the African condition in terms of culture and identity.

Empirical matters

A first classical problem is that of empirical underpinning. What reasons are given to accept the statements about African culture, African identity, African philosophy, or African personality? Texts that make an effort to sketch what the author considers to be the typically African nature of his or her object mostly do without detailed empirical data of references to studies that provide such data. The reader is expected to accept the validity of the statements on the authority or origin of the author. Complications in data collection, questions of validity or reliability of information and issues of interpretation seem to be absent.

The classical example of this problem of empirical grounding is Placide Tempels' highly influential book *Bantu Philosophy* which appeared in the 1940s. *Bantu Philosophy* provides an elaborate exposition of Bantu thought, but finally it is unclear to what degree it informs us about the way Bantu people think and to

what degree it is Tempels' thought or a transformation of the European Scholastic philosophy in which Tempels was brought up. Similar problems haunt a large number of text on African culture, personality of Philosophy.

It is interesting to observe that where empirical grounding is taken seriously, such as by the philosophers Henry Odera Oruka, Kwame Gyekye and Barry Hallen who engage in interviewing sages or analysing proverbs and other linguistic forms, very interesting insights are presented. Typically, such studies concern specific African cultures. The generalisation to Africa as a whole (South of the Sahara or 'Negro' Africa) is not automatically assumed but is something that has to be argued for separately.[12]

There is also an awkward problem with any claim to identify something specifically African, a problem that has received almost no attention. If one claims that some characteristic is typically African, then one needs not only confirmation that Africans conform to this characteristic, but also that non-African do not. This second claim is even more difficult to prove than the first. In this context, it is relevant to study similar intellectual movements in other parts of the world. Gavin Kitching alerted to parallels between African discussions and those of the Slavophiles in Russia in the nineteenth century.[13] The Slavophiles formulated a Slavic alternative to western capitalist society drawing inspiration from indigenous social and cultural forms.

Empirical grounding is not necessarily of great relevance, however. For academic studies it is, but for political ideologies or statements that aim at mobilisation for cultural renewal or cultural self-consciousness it is not. Many statements of African Renaissance, Consciencism or Ubuntu philosophy may, after all, be more of the second type. Even the rhetorical structure of many texts seems to suggest such a reading. They spend rather little effort in spelling out the empirical nature of African life-forms, but concentrate upon indicating the sharp differences between the claimed African philosophy, personality or culture from the European model that serves as its 'other'. The line of reasoning is more a logical exercise of inversion than an empirical one of corroboration.[14]

The politics of African Renaissance

A second set of classical problems with culturalist constructions of an African culture or of a "national culture and identity" concerns politics. At a quite banal political level, one can observe that the best known statements of national culture and identity have served as an ideological instrument of African elite politics. If we take the examples of Consciencism, Zambian Humanism, and Ujamaa, they are, with hindsight, designs at the top-level of society hardly even resonating among the

people whose philosophy is supposed to be characterised by the president-philosophers. The life-time of the philosophy has generally not been longer than that of the period in power of the national leader: the Osagyefo (redeemer), the Mwalimo (teacher), or the 'father of the nation'. From a political point of view, the ideas functioned as classical examples of new elite ideologies, a smoke-screen of attractive words that could cover an actual practice that conforms alarmingly well to the logic sketched magnificently by Frantz Fanon already in 1956 in the essay "The Pitfalls of National Consciousness."[15] There are also striking similarities in the ways in which these national philosophies or African philosophies were launched. Typically a few years after taking power, seemingly as a response to some disappointments about the results achieved by the new government, and part of a radicalisation in the fields of ideology, of Africanisation, limitation of opposition and, in the 1960s, also nationalisation of parts of the economy. Typically, the leadership set up an ideological institute, funded separately from the universities, to further develop and propagate the ideas; Nkrumah set up the Winneba Institute, Kaunda the Institute for Humanism. In South Africa, an African Renaissance Institute has been set up.

A more fundamental political issue related to declarations of national or African culture and identity is the question of spokesmanship. Who speaks? On behalf of whom? With what right? Who is excluded? The self-appointed role of spokesman of their culture, which the president-philosophers assumed, always excludes those who do not fit the proclaimed cultural identity. Zambian national culture, for instance was defined as fundamentally religious by president Kaunda. This made my colleague Roni Bwalya in the Department of Philosophy at the University of Zambia exclaim: "sorry, I am honest when I say that I am not a believer, should I therefore conclude that I cannot be a true Zambian?" One can contest the wisdom and even the legitimacy of trying at all to proclaim a national or continental cultural identity.

The Eurocentric hyperbole

A third field of classical problems related to culturalist thought, in the form of ethnophilosophy, nativism or Afrocentrism, has been highlighted with great sophistication by contemporary African philosophers such as Paulin Hountondji, Kwame Anthony Appiah, and Valentin Mudimbe. They show that exactly by trying to depict Africans and African cultures as non-European, culturalists replicate very European conceptual oppositions (such as between Europe and Africa, between white and black, between primitive and modern, reason and emotion or intuition) and even tend to replicate part of the racist imagery of the exotic and the African

that was developed within the romantic tradition in Europe. As Appiah states, it is “a reverse discourse: the terms of resistance are already given to us, and our contestation entrapped within the Western cultural conjuncture we affect to dispute;” (188) “few things are less native than nativism.” In the article "Europe Upside Down: Fallacies of the New Afrocentrism" he also points out the dramatic simplifications that are often presented as African culture. The concept of "ntu" (universal force) as the stem of muntu (man), mantu (person), kintu (thing) that is given a central place in characterising African culture in the well-known book of Janheinz Jahn, *Muntu: African Cultures and the Western World* is a case in point. Imagine the reverse, Appiah suggests, that someone comes to Europe and identifies the concept of "thing" with the stem "-ing" as the core of Western culture.

Practice

A final domain of classical problems surrounding culturalist statements of African culture concerns problems of practice and implementation. Even if the image of African culture can be correct, politically unsuspected and avoiding the logic of oppositional stereotyping, what useful practical strategies follow from it? The idea of "working from African cultural roots" contains promises of appropriateness to African societies, of mobilising creative forces from African actors, connecting naturally to peoples lifestyles and understanding, even of leading to more humane and less exploitative social conditions. The development strategies that it suggests will be "African and therefore appropriate." When is comes to practice, however, the specifically 'African' perspective provides far less tools for action than was hoped for. The idea of an African type of democracy around the idea of consensus, for instance, remains a general idea, not elaborated to the level where institutional frameworks, political rules and the resolution of practical dilemma's related to the idea are tackled. On the one hand, the relative vagueness, when it comes to the practicalities of the African alternatives, leaves ample space for the political elite to bend the interpretation of what is African to their own needs, as the introduction of the single party system in the 1960s has shown. On the other hand, the experiences of several countries that tried to act upon the African alternatives, such as Tanzania and Zambia, prove that good intentions and attractive ideas can easily result in far from attractive, even vicious, practice on the ground. The record of Afrocentric politics is so disappointing that there is quite a burden of proof on the shoulders of those who want to revive such politics today.

Conclusion: Beyond Culturalism

Key debates within African intellectual history can alert us to the classical pitfalls of discourses on African culture. However, this history also provides very inspiring examples. One can think here of empirically well-grounded studies, from John Mensah Sarbah's studies in the 1890s and J.B. Danquah's in the 1920s in African legal and constitutional traditions, to serious contemporary studies in Anthropology and Philosophy.[16] A special and interesting case is also the Guinean revolutionary leader Amilcar Cabral. His famous lectures "National Liberation and Culture"(1970) and "The weapon of Theory" (1966) belong to the most thoughtful and impressive twentieth century texts in African thought.[17] The issue of culture is raised here not for its own sake, but as a force in the liberation struggle. Culture is then the basic force from which the liberation struggle evolves, at the same time, however, the struggle is a cultural project itself, the struggle involves a cultural revolution. In Cabral's view the national framework was central here, thus he perceived the cultural revolution to be the transformation of various cultural resources into a national culture. The aim of the liberation struggle, summarised in his seminal phrase of "mastering our own historicity", is a self-reliant development, not only in the economic and political spheres but also in culture.

Returning to African Renaissance and Ubuntu, the lessons from African intellectual history that this essay suggests are on the one hand political in nature and on the other hand intellectual. Politically, the pitfalls are those of identity politics. Expositions of culture can be strong instrument of national politics and of self-assertion of (minority) communities. The crucial question here is how open and democratic this national or community politics is. Do the statements of culture and identity derive from a self-appointed political spokesman, or do they derive from a lively, open and pluralistic cultural process? Intellectually, the pitfalls are those of culturalism. The culturalist mode of discussing cultural issues has been identified above from an analysis of Blyden's ideas. Culturalism, in this view, involves the combination of an essentialist idea of cultures (culture conceived of as a kind of 'body' or 'entity' held together by a strong internal coherence of even a core or essence) and the view that persons always 'belong' to a culture, that a person should be anchored in a culture, that the cultural framework is a condition for being authentic. The classical pitfalls that emerged in historical debates in Africa and that were discussed in the previous section all relate to this culturalist model of thought. It can be noted that Cabral's view of culture involves neither of the two assumptions of culturalism. Cabral can here, as in other matters, be the best guide for the activists of African Renaissance and Ubuntu philosophy.

Notes:

[1] Quotes, respectively from Blyden, "Africa and the Africans", quoted from G.A. Mosley, ed., *African Philosophy: Selected readings* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1995), p.24; the speech "Race and Study" held in Sierra Leone in 1895, printed in Lynch, *Edward Wilmot Blyden*, chapter 4; the opening speech of the Liberia College in 1881 "The Aims and Methods of Liberal Education for Africans", printed in Blyden, *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, pp.71-93.

[2] J.E. Casely Hayford, *Ethiopia Unbound. Studies in Race Emancipation* (1911; reprint, London: Frank Cass, 1969), p. 160.

[3] K.C. Anyanwu, "African Political Doctrine", in O.E.A. Ruch & K.C. Anyanwu, *African Philosophy* (Rome: Catholic Book Agency, 1984), p. 374

[4] S. Biko, *I write what I like*. A selection of writings edited by Aelred Stubbs, C.R (1978; reprint London: Heinemann, 1979), p. 92

[5] M.W. Makgoba, T. Shope, T. Mazwai, "Introduction", in M.W. Makgoba, *African Renaissance* (Sandton: Mafube; Cape Town: Tafelberg; 1999), p. iv

[6] The full argument to show that one can speak in African intellectual history of the last one and a half centuries of a family of discourses that are concerned with African identity is contained in my book *Political Discourses in African Thought: 1860 to the Present* (Westport: Praeger/Greenwood, 1999).

[7] See his *From West Africa to Palestine*. Freetown, Manchester, London, 1873.

[8] "The so-called Christian public are not yet prepared for such a catastrophe to their enterprise, which nevertheless, so far as Africa is concerned is hopeless". Blyden, *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 120.

[9] Lynch, *Black Spokesman*, 207. From a letter to Booker T. Washington, of November 18, 1894.

[10] See e.g. Lynch, *Edward Wilmot Blyden*, chapter 4 and p. 200-210, and Blyden's letters published in Lynch, *Selected Letters of Edward Wilmot Blyden*, as well as my discussion pp. 49-53 in P. Boele van Hensbroek, *Political Discourses in African Thought*.

[11] For an elaborate version of this analysis of culturalism, see my *Political Discourses in African Thought*, pp. 149-153.

[12] Kwame Gyekye states, though rather vague and not very convincingly, that there are "sufficient commonalities in many areas of the cultures of the African people to make interminable disputes over the use of the term "African" unnecessary and unrewarding'. In Kwame Gyekye: *African Cultural Values. An Introduction*. (Philadelphia, Pa/Accra: Sankofa Publishing Company, 1996. p. xiii-xiv).

[13] G. Kitching, *Development and Underdevelopment in Historical Perspective: Populism, Nationalism and Industrialisation* (London: Oxford University Press, 1982). On Slavophile thought, see for instance Andrej Walicki, *The Slavophile controversy: history of a conservative Utopia in nineteenth-century Russian Thought*.(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.)

[14] See for instance K.C. Menkiti, "Person and Community in African Traditional Thought", in R.A. Wright, *African Philosophy. An Introduction* (Lanham, New York, London: University of America Press). In the same collection there is an article of Kwame Gyekye on personhood that is much more concerned with empirical substantiation.

[15] English version in *The Wretched of the Earth* (Harmondworth: Penguin, 1967).

[16] J. Mensay Sarbah, *Fanti Customary Law* (London: Frank Cass, 1968; reprinted from 1897);

J.B. Danquah, *Gold Coast: Akan Laws and Customs and the Akim Abuakwa Constitution* (London: Routledge, 1928).

[17] "National Liberation and Culture" is the Mondlane Memorial Lecture, held at Syracuse University in 1970; "The weapon of Theory. Presuppositions and objectives of national liberation in relation to social structure" was held at the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Havana in 1966. Both are reprinted in A. Cabral, *Unity and Struggle. Speeches and Writings* (London, Heinemann, 1980).