Haiti, Morocco and the AU: A Case Study on Black Pan-Africanism vs. anti-Black continentalism

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Résumé:
En 2016, Haïti, mentionné lors de la Conférence panafricaine de 1900, a demandé à rejoindre l'Union africaine, mais en vain. La même année, le Maroc, où environ 219 700 personnes sont actuellement détenues comme « Abeed » (signifiant à la fois esclave et personne), a présenté une demande d'adhésion et a été accepté. En utilisant une variété de sources, nous allons examiner ces deux faits comme la manifestation de la lutte entre le Panafricanisme noir d'origine et la version contrefaite également connue comme le continentalisme, qui nie l'esclavagisme des arabes blancs. Le détournement du terme «panafricanisme» a eu des répercussions durables pour les Africains Noirs. En conclusion, nous proposerons des solutions et une voie possible pour les Africains Noirs qui ont été privés de leurs droits en faveur des envahisseurs arabes et des colons dans le nord de l'Afrika, où, à ce jour, ils sont encore considérés comme 'Abeed'.

Abstract:
 In 2016 Haiti, mentioned at the 1900 Pan-African Conference (at which the term pan-Africanism was coined), applied to join the African Union but was denied. In that same year, Morocco, in which an estimated 219,700 people are currently held as 'Abeed' (a word meaning both slave and Black), was accepted as a full member. Using a variety of sources, we will examine the Haiti vs. Morocco treatment at the hands of the AU as a manifestation of the ongoing struggle between the original Black Pan-Afrikanism and the modern-day counterfeit version also known colloquially as Continentalism, which disenfranchises Afrikan=Black people in favor of their white arab enslavers. The hijacking of the term "Pan-Africanism" has had lasting repercussions for Afrikan=Black people, some of which are only being felt today. In conclusion, we will offer solutions and a possible way forward for Afrikan=Black people who have been disenfranchised in favor of arab invaders and colonists in North Afrika, where, to date, they are still regarded as 'Abeed'.

Keywords: Black Pan-Afrikanism; African Union; continentalism; anti-Black

In looking for the roots of modern Pan-Afrikanism, some look to Paul Cuffee's attempts at repatriation to Afrika and economic empowerment in the early 1800s as one of the earliest manifestations of Pan-Afrikanism. [1]For others, Martin Delany's coinage and popularization of the motto "Africa for the Africans" in the 1850s tends to be a common point of departure for the inception of modern Pan-Afrikanism.[2] In other views, Edward Wilmot Blyden's influential writings and speeches of the late 1800s are thought to constitute one of, if not the veryearliest, manifestations of Pan-Afrikanism.[3] Henry Sylvester-Williams, who organized the first "Pan-African Conference" of 1900 is also seen as acentral figure in the inception of modern Pan-Afrikanism as the coiner of

the term itself.[4] Others argue that WEB Du Bois, through his indefatigable efforts and role inorganizingthe subsequent landmark Pan-African Congresses rightly deserves the moniker of the Father of modern Pan-Afrikanism.[5] Yet others view this designation as rightfully belonging to Marcus Garvey by virtue of his unparalleled organizational abilities which yielded the Universal Negro Improvement Association, the Black Star Line and other endeavors, which subsequent leaders of modern Pan-Afrikanist movements have cited as a source of inspiration, including Kwame Nkrumah.[6]

However, rather than seeking out a progenitor of modern Pan-Afrikanism, it is imperative for us to look at the meaning of the term "Pan-Africanism" as coined by Henry Sylvester Williams in the run-up to the Pan-Afrikan Conference of 1900. Chinweizu outlines the aims of this conference in the following excerpt, giving us a view of what the framer(s) and creator(s) of the concept had in mind:

> When we combine the stated aims of the Pan-African Association, the stated objectives of its 1900 Conference, and the items in its communique, the agenda set for the Pan-Afrikanism Movement by its founders contains the following projects:
>
> (1) To promote unity feeling and friendly intercourse among the peoples of the Negro/African race;
>
> (2) To achieve self-rule with civil rights and responsible black governments for colonized Negro countries;
>
> (3) To achieve voting rights, physical security, prosperity, progress and justice for Africans abroad (Negroes in the countries of the white race);
>
> (4) To promote the business interests of Africans abroad (African people living in the countries of the whites);
>
> (5) To create "a great central Negro State in Africa" for the black race;
>
> (6) To secure integrity and independence for self-governing Negro countries (Ethiopia, Haiti, Liberia and any others that emerge); and
>
> (7) To earn for the Negro race equality with, and the respect of, the other races of humanity."[7]

It is instructive to notice, here, that the objectives all related to Black people, regardless of location, rather than being related to anyone who happens to live on the Afrikan continent regardless of whether or not they are indigenous Afrikan=Black people. This distinction is the major difference between authentic ancient and modern Pan-Afrikanism vs. modern-day fraud counterfeit bait-and-switch continentalism that tries to hijack the term "Pan-Africanism" while advocating for continued white (arab) imperialism and the usurping of lands of Black people in the eurasian-occupied territory of North Afrika. This hijacking is concomitant with replacement of the enticing term Pan-Afrikanism with All-Africanism a.k.a continentalism, which is fundamentally anti-Black in its orientation. Notably, this anti-Black pro-arab continentalism led to the African Union rejecting Haiti's 2016 bid to join the African Union while accepting Morocco's bid of the same year affecting the lives of millions due to a misunderstanding and/or intentional appropriation of "Pan-Africanism".[8] If we look at (1) in the above objectives of the 1900 Pan-African

Conference, we can think of Pan-Afrikanism at its core as the unification of Afrikan=Black people (and the land of Afrikan=Black People) under one umbrella across various dimensions. As such, it is both inclusive of Afrikans=Blacks and exclusive of non-Afrikans/non-Blacks by its very nature. Implicit in Pan-Afrikanism is the notion of allegiance which is based on perceived commonality ultimately rooted in shared ancestry (genotype) and observable in concomitant similarity with regard to physical appearance (phenotype) for the ultimate purpose of ensuring the genetic survival of Afrikan=Black progeny in ways articulated through objectives (2-7).

In this paper, we will address topic of Haiti, Morocco and the AU: A 2016 Case Study on Original Authentic Black Pan-Afrikanism vs. anti-Black pro-white-arab-on-top-Black-on-the-bottom continentalism a.k.a. "Fraudulent All-Africanism" a.k.a. "Counterfeit Pan-Africanism." The initial paper was delivered at the first of two disparate All-African People's Conferences held in 2018. The first of which was convened by the Institute of African Studies, while the second was convened by Hon. Samia Nkrumah. Before delving fully into the topic at

Figure 1: Baba Omāwālē a.k.a. Nana Malcolm X

hand, it is necessary to problematize a few issues related to the conference. The first is the name of the conference itself: the "All-African People's Conference – The Unfinished Business of Liberation and Transformation." In relation to this, we ask the question of why use the term "All-African" rather than "pan-Afrikan?" Is this a bait-and-switch whereby people are attracted to Pan-Afrikan (meaning Black people) but then are served with a steaming heap of "all-African" meaning white eurasians on top, with indigenous Black people on the bottom à la Gaddafi's "king of kings" debacle?[9]According to Thompson & Davidson (1969), this change in nomenclature and the concomitant move away from the term Pan-Afrikan marked an intentional departure from Black people regardless of location as the focus and a shift towards location regardless of whether or not the people are the Black indigenes of Afrika[10] or our very first invaders, enslavers, imperialists, and colonisers.[11] We observe that this shift has led to the disenfranchisement of the Afrikan=Black people of the Diaspora in favour of anyone who happens to be on the continent of Afrika. This disenfranchisement of the very Afrikans who invented the term Pan-Afrikanism (Pan-Africanism) by means of pro-white-Arab/anti-Black continentalism is just what we will address in this paper. The second point that we would like to problematise is the subtitle of the conference, which mentions "the unfinished business of liberation."This, similarly, begs the question of liberation *from whom*given the fact that North Afrika is still occupied by our very first enslavers, colonists and invaders: the eurasians and their descendants. In other words, Afrikan lands are still occupied by white eurasian invaders and Afrikan=Black people are still enslaved in North Afrika by those occupiers. Thus, we have to ask the question of where is our focus; population (i.e., a focus on the Afrikan=Black indigenes) or location (a focus on those who are on land stolen by their non-Black/non-Afrikan predecessors)? Phrased differently, it is a
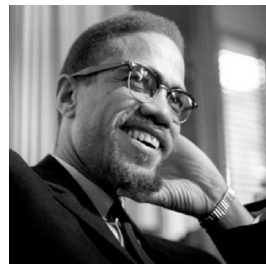
question of unification of Afrika (as a landmass, some of which is occupied by colonizers) or unification of Afrikan=Black people wherever we may be. To this point, it is useful to quote Baba Ọṃọ́ẉálé taught us that "Justbecausea cat has its kittens in an oven, you don't callthe kittens biscuits."[12] That is to say Afrikan=Black people are still Afrikan=Black people regardless of location. By the same token, eurasian invaders are still eurasian invaders regardless of location. If Afrikan=Black people of the diaspora can lay claim to still being Afrikan due to the fact that a change in location has not changed their essential nature as exemplified in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Afrikans=Black people of Australia, Me'ekamui (Bougainville), West Papua New Guinea, Jamaica, and Brazil remain Black people regardless of location

However, the pale white invaders, colonizers and enslavers are still pale white eurasians regardless of the location as we can see very clearly from the in Figure 3

Figure 3: eurasian occupiers of Northern Afrika are still pale eurasians regardless of location

Our illustrious Afrikan=Black ancestors were very clear on this point as articulated in proverbs, which state:

> *1. Lu bant yàgg-yàgg ci ndox, du tax mu soppaliku mukk jasig.*
>
> *'No matter how long a log remains in the water, it never becomes a crocodile.'*[13]
>
> *2. Dufɔkyeɛ da nsuo ase kyɛre sɛn ara a, ɛrennane ɔdɛnkyɛm.*
>
> *'Even if the rotten log lies a long time in the river, it will never turn into a crocodile.' (You cannot change the essential nature of things).*[14]

By extension, when we talk about who is an Afrikan,Nana Peter Tosh was very clear on this question when he said that "Don't care where you come from; As long as you're a black man, you're an African."[15]Dead Prez later reiterated this point saying, "Peter Tosh tried to tell us what happened. He was sayingIf you black, then you African. So they had to kill him; And make him a villain 'cause he was teaching the children; I feel him. Dun, was trying to drop us a real gem;

That's why we bucking holes in the ceiling when we hear him."[16] The link between the Blackness of the indigenes and land goes all the way back to ancient ⌂𓏤𓂋 *Kmt* 'Land of Black People,' dating back over 4,200 years ago as encapsulated in the

name that the people called themselves and their land: namely, 𓈎𓅓𓏏𓏥 *Kmt(yw)* 'Black People' and 𓈎𓅓𓏏𓊖 *Kmt* 'Land of Black People,' respectively. This is the Ancient Kmtyw origins of Pan-Afrikanism.

Similarly, from its very inception, modern Pan-Afrikanism was also linked to Blackness.According to Adi & Sherwood,

> The organised Pan-African movement can be said to have begun with the founding of the African Association in London in 1897 and the subsequent convening, in the same city, of the first Pan-African conference three years later […] After contacting Black people – apparently mainly university students – around the country, [Henry Sylvester] Williams founded the African Association, whose membership was restricted to those of African descent. Others could become associate members.[17]

This begs the question of exactly how did this situation become turned upside-down, backwards, and inside-out? This question is pertinent given that now we have the exact opposite going on where we have non-Black people, like those of Morocco, who are invited to join the African Union (AU) as full members, while Black people, like those of Haiti, are rejected by that same AU. The tragic irony is that Haiti was mentioned **by name** by the Afrikans=Black people who invented the very word "Pan-Africanism."In the "Address to The Nations of The World By The Pan-AfricanConference In London, 1900," it was stated:

> Let the nations of the World respect the integrity and independence of the first **Negro** States of Abyssinia, Liberia, **Haiti,** and the rest, and let the inhabitants of these States, the independent tribes of Africa, the Negroes of the West Indies and America, and the **black** subjects of all nations take courage, strive ceaselessly, and fight bravely, that they may prove to the world their incontestible right to be counted among the great brotherhood of mankind.[18] (bold italics added)

It is clear from this excerpt in particular, and the document as a whole that the progenitors of the term "Pan-Africanism" specifically meant Black people as the constituency to which their work was addressed both in letter and in spirit. They were not ambiguous at all, they were talking about Black people only when they were talking about Pan-Afrikanism.Another pertinent excerpt from the "Address" says: "Let the British nation […] give, as soon as practicable, the rights of responsible government to the **black** colonies of Africa and the West Indies."[19] Again, there is no mention of eurasian/arab colonies of Afrika, which, for the british at that time (1882CE-1956CE), included Egypt (formerly the land of Black people'. Further, the "Address" stated: "Let the Congo Free State become a great central Negro State of the world, and let its prosperity be counted not simply in cash and commerce, but in the happiness and true advancement of its black people."[20] Again, we are struck by the conceptual and ideological clarity maintained by the inventors of the

very word "Pan-Africanism." There was no ambiguity in that "Pan-Africanism" was conceived as being synonymous with Liberation Agenda of Black people at 1900 Pan-African Conference. Therefore, we can see clearly at its inception that Pan-Afrikanism was conceived by and for Black people regardless of location rather than for eurasian enslavers/invaders/colonizers regardless of whether or not they are indigenous Afrikan=Black people or not. This is likely the reason for the name change from the African Association to the Pan-African Association so that no one would be confused that they were talking of continental Africans – especially given the fact that the founder, Nana Henry Sylvester Williams was not a continental Afrikan, but was from Trinidad and Tobago. Certainly no one would found an association, later a movement, with the intent to disenfranchise himself and his own descendants. Yet, with the hijacking of the term "Pan-Africanism," this is exactly what has happened. This begs the question of how, then, did Haiti go from being mentioned by name in the 1900 "Address" by the inventors of modern Pan-Afrikanism to now being disenfranchisedthrough bait-and-switch all-Africanism?

While those who advocate pro-Arab/anti-Black fraudulent "Pan-Africanism" may point to the fact that arabs were also colonized by their fellow eurasians, it is worth pointing out their situation is analogous to that of confederate soldiers and enslavers of Afrikan=Black people after being defeated by the northern "yankees" in the u.s. Civil War. That is to say, the same confederate eurasians who had whipped, tortured, lynched, and mutilated Afrikan=Black people found themselves subjugated by force by other eurasians. Similarly, the fact that our first colonizers (the arabs of North Afrika) found themselves colonized does not mean that magically they are on the same side as the Afrikan=Black people who they colonized and enslaved first. To think otherwise may be an example of Stockholm Syndrome in the highest degree. Stockholm Syndrome may be defined as a condition which causes hostages to develop an unnatural psychological alliance, marked byfeelings of trust or affection, wherein a captive begins to identify closely with his or her captors, as well as with their agenda and demands.[21] For continental Afrikans=Black people to develop such an alliance with our first invaders, colonizers, enslavers, imperialists, the southwestern eurasians known as arabs, is like formerly enslaved Afrikans siding with the same confederate soldier who was just whipping his backside. It is for this reason that Du-Bois warned Nkrumah against such alliances saying:

> Ghana must on the contrary be the representative of Africa, and not only that, but of Black Africa below the Sahara desert. As such, her first duty should be to come into close acquaintanceship and cooperation with her fellow areas of British West Africa and Liberia ; with the great areas of black folk in French West and Equatorial Africa; with the Sudan, Ethiopia, and Somaliland; with Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika; with the Belgian Congo and all Portuguese Africa; with the Rhodesias and Bechuanaland; with Southwest Africa, the Union of South Africa and Madagascar; and with all other parts of Africa and with peoples who want to cooperate. All the former barriers of lan-guage, culture, religion and political control should bow before the essential

> unity of race and descent, the common suffering of slavery and the slave trade and the modern color bar.
>
> Ignoring the old sources of division and lack of knowledge of and sympathy for each other, Ghana should lead a movement of black men for Pan-Africanism, including periodic conferences and personal contacts of black men from the Sahara to the Indian Ocean.[22]

This is to say that by 1947, DuBois was very clear, but unfortunately ꓘsagyefoDr. Kwame Nkrumah did not listen to that advice. While Du Bois may have seen the writing on the wall in terms of anti-Black pro-arab continentalist direction since the time of the fifth Pan-African Congress, this trajectory towards anti-Black "Pan-Africanism" unchecked ultimately culminated in the All-African People's Conference (AAPC) of 1958. According to Agyeman, "Pan-Africanism has had its share of counterfeit adherents … for instance, it will be inferable that Nkrumah infringed on Pan-Africanism not only in his marriage to an Arab woman, but also in his insistence that the futuristic massive and powerful 'African Nation' would include the Arabs among its citizenry."[23] Thompson and Davidson note that "[Nkrumah] even dropped the term Pan-African, and replaced it with the Russian-style nomenclature, 'All-African' to indicate that he was starting a new tradition."[24] This was a tradition that would ultimately enfranchise arab invaders, while disenfranchising those of the diaspora who coined the term "Pan-Africanism" itself. While initially, Nkrumah stated that "of all the literature that I studied, the book that did more than any to fire my enthusiasm was *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*published in 1923"[25] it was clear that he had already dispensed with Black Pan-Afrikanism at least by 1957 – a year before the AAPC. Indeed, the smoking gun itself that this new anti-Black so-called "Pan-Africanism" was a different animal – a breed unto itself – could be found in Nkrumah's own autobiography, which states that "[…] Garvey's ideology was concerned with black nationalism as opposed to African nationalism. And it was this Fifth Pan-African Congress that provided the outlet for African nationalism and brought about the awakening of African political consciousness."[26] Here essentially, we have the birth of a Stockholm Syndrome "all-African" continentalist Pan-Africanism where Afrikanness is divorced from Blackness. Clearly this was not the vision of the coiners of the term "Pan-Africanism" and marks a detour in terms of trajectory that has negatively affected Afrikans=Black people of the diaspora AND the continent. As shown before, the coiners of the term clearly meant Black people regardless of location, but in Stockholm Syndrome continentalism, we have a prioritization of location regardless of whether or not such a constituency is all-Black or not. It is from this point of departure that, in the next section, we will take a critical look at the enduring consequences of this anti-Black continentalism that has affected the lives of millions.

Enduring consequences of anti-Black pro-white-arab-on-top-Black-on-the-bottom "Continentalism" a.k.a. Fraud "All-Africanism" a.k.a. Counterfeit Stockholm Syndrome "Pan-Africanism": Haiti vs. Morocco Case Studies vis-à-vis the Continentalist AU

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At this point, we will look at the enduring consequences of continentalismthat we can see expressed, most notably in the African Union. While it may be recalled that Haiti was mentioned by name by the coiners of the term "Pan-Africanism," on 18 May 2016, the AU website featured an article titled "Haiti will not be admitted as African Union Member State at next Summit in Kigali, Rwanda." According to this article:

Figure 4: States of the arab League

The African Union Commission informs the public that Haiti will not be admitted as a Member State of the African Union (AU) at its next Summit to be held in Kigali, Rwanda, as erroneously reported by several media outlets.

According to Article 29.1 of the AU's Constitutive Act, only African States can join the African Union.[27] Thus, while the AU may be seen by many as a Pan-Afrikan organization, it is clear that the understanding of what constitutes an Afrikan state is very different from that of the founders of modern Pan-Afrikanism. It will be recalled that in the "Address" of the 1900 Conference, Haiti was mentioned by name among the "first **Negro** States."However, by ambiguously relying on location rather than demography, the Constitutive Act of the AU has disenfranchised the very people who were mentioned specifically by those who invented the term "Pan-Africanism."In a news story that appeared on Face2FaceAfrica.com, the title read "'Haiti Is One of Us; It's Just Not African Enough': The African Union Denies Haiti Membership." [28] The article goes on to say:

Apparently this narrow definition relies on geography instead of ideology, physical location rather than identity, and considers an "African state" to be a mere expression of geographical boundaries, running often haphazardly across the African continent. It is self-limiting to the union and serves no immediate purpose.[29]

The article goes on to state that:

It is a no-brainer that physical proximity is often the least element necessary for fostering collaboration between countries; indeed often times it has been the reason for strife and mutual disrespect amongst neighbors. It can't be overstated that in this age of globalization, physical distance counts for next to nothing. Haiti shares too much in common with Africa for the country to be denied full AU membership status.

A shared Identity (language, culture, ideology) is everything. It is the reason why the US has closer ties with the UK than it does with neighboring Mexico and the rest of Americas; it is the reason why Cuba has a stronger relationship with Russia than it does with its neighbours; it is the reason why a Nigerian can connect with a Ghanaian faster than a Cameroonian. The Arab league, NATO, and even OPEC are examples of how powerful community of nations can be forged outside of geographical proximity.

The key point here is that eurasian invaders into Afrika maintain both their identity and allegiance as member of the arab league. Indeed, although they are no longer located in on the arabian peninsula of southwestern eurasia, their essential nature, and more pertinently their identity and allegiance have not changed as shown clearly in their membership in the arab League as shown in Figure 4. This arab identity and allegiance could also be seen notably in the United Arab States (UAS) (Egypt, Syria, and Yemen; 1958-1961), the United Arab Republic (UAR) (Egypt and Syria; 1958-1971), and the Federation of Arab Republics (Libya, Egypt, and Syria; 1972-1977). Beyond these alliances based on shared genotype, phenotype, identity, allegiance, culture, religion, etc., under Gaddafi, Libya itself always maintained "arab" in its name, going from Libyan Arab Republic (1969-1977) to Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (1977–1986) to Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (1986–2011). The only time "arab" was not in the name was before and after Gaddafi. So arab invaders to Afrika are clear on their identity and allegiance as eurasians (arabs) regardless of location. One may ask where is the Black man and woman's similar allegiance to genotype, phenotype, identity, allegiance, worldview, and culture regardless of location as envisaged by the inventors of the term "Pan-Africanism," who also set its original agenda prior to anti-Black location-based continentalist hijacking in 1945 and 1958? That vision of a Black league encompassing those indigenes of Afrika and their biogenetic relatives regardless of location was dealt a crushing blow due the rejection of Haiti as a member of the AU. Mindbogglingly, Morocco applied to join the AU in the same year, 2016, and was accepted. We will return to this point below.

The Debt Owed to Haiti: The End of the So-Called "Slave Trade" a.k.a. the anti-Black Chattelization War

Now we have to talk about the debt owed to Haiti in that prior to the Haitian revolution, Afrika was subject to enslavement raids on a massive scale externally and internally. According to Opoku-Agyeman, the vestiges of this situation persists in the material culture of Afrika. For example, there is Nzulezu, a 400-year old stilt propped water settlement built on Lake Tadane in the Western Region of Ghana, where indigenes created a water-top society to avoid enslavement raids. In Benin as well, there is the Ganvie stilt village, located in the lagoon of Lake Nokoue, and which was created for the Tofinu people to stay safe from enslaving raiders. In Northern Ghana, a defensive wall against enslavement raids was built at Naleriguin the 16th century, while Gwollu's defensive was erected in the 19th century.[30] The major factor in ending this precarious situation occurred not at the source of enslavement raids, but at their ultimate destination. According to Hochschild:

> The huge slave rebellions that shook the West Indies are another factor that helped to end British slavery, but they have received little attention in Britain until recently.

The first time the British army faced a slave revolt beyond its control was actually not on British territory. In 1793, when Britain was at war with France, it invaded the French territory of St Domingue (Haiti). The British army wanted to seize this lucrative colony for itself and to suppress a vast slave uprising taking place in St Domingue before it could spread to the nearby British colony of Jamaica.

The army failed. Five years and more than 12,000 British deaths later, the redcoats withdrew. An army of rebel enslaved Africans had defeated the army of the world's superpower, and the largest slave-trading nation.

The humiliation of this defeat sent a shock wave through the British establishment and, indirectly, strengthened the forces in parliament that voted to abolish the slave trade in 1807. [31]

If not for Haiti, continental Afrikans would have continued to be subjected to incessant raids. Indeed, one must understand so-called abolition not from the perspective of morals, ethics, or even economics, but rather from a military standpoint. The British had just gotten their butts whooped by Africans=Black people and they realized that every ship that came to the western hemisphere was another military regiment that was going to whoop them even more. That is why the british they didnot stop enslavement altogether but rather the importation of newly enslaved Afrikans.

Echoes of Haiti: the End of Formal Chattel Enslavement due to Samuel Sharpe's Rebellion

The end to chattel enslavement altogether was also due to echoes of Haiti heard in Jamaica. Again, according to Hochschild:

New uprisings shook the British Caribbean in later years. The greatest of them erupted in Jamaica at the end of 1831. More than 20,000 captives seized control of much of the northwest corner of the island, setting planters' houses on fire. Many of these were on ridges or hilltops, and as they burst into flames, they acted like beacons to spread the revolt.

It took the British army and militia a month to get the country under control. Some 200 enslaved Africans and 14 white people died in the fighting. At least 340 more slave rebels were hanged or shot afterwards.

In Britain, news of the revolt almost certainly hastened the coming of emancipation. Both private correspondence and testimony before parliament showed that colonial officials and high-ranking military men expected more revolts - and feared that the British military might not be able to contain them.

It was no coincidence that a new parliament voted to free the slaves the following year.[32]

Another source mentions that "There were **fears** of another major rebellion on Jamaica and many terrified plantation owners were now ready to accept abolition, rather than risk a widespread war. Just one week after Sharpe's death, Parliament appointed a committee to consider ways of ending slavery" (emphasis added)[33]. It should be highlighted here that the british were forced to act on abolition due to fear, not due to any moral imperatives. At this point, we will turn our attention to Morocco, which also applied to join the AU in 2016 and, unlike Haiti, was accepted despite its centuries-old racialized enslavement of indigenous Afrikan=Black people, which persists today.

Morocco's 2016 Application to Join the African Union (AU) Accepted in the Face of the enduring racialized enslavement of the Afrikan=Black People.

Being Black in Morocco is akin to being called a slave and, indeed, the words are used synonyms there with the word عبد *abeed* 'enslaved/Black person' meaning both. In 2016, the same year that Morocco applied to join the AU, it ranked 18 out of 167 in terms of its slavery prevalence index rank. Indeed, at the time, Morocco was listed as having 219,700 عبيد *eubayd* 'enslaved/Black people.'

Figure 5: Morocco's 2016 Global Slavery Index Rank

The Atlanta Black Star also lists six African countries that are hostile to Black people and Morocco is ranked number one.[34] Despite the enslavement of and hostility towards Black people, the misguided AU accepted Morocco as a full member by consensus. Indeed, not only was the enslavement and hostility not an issue, but "All the debates were focused on [the issue] that Morocco should respect the internationally recognised border of Western Sahara."[35] So divorced is the AU from the well-being of Black people, their only concern vis-à-vis arab Morocco's membership is its relationship with the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic.

It is important to note that this anti-Black enslavement is not new in Morocco. In fact, "Mawlay Isma'il commanded his officials to enslave all blacks, even those who were free, including the Haratin."[36] The this is the continued arab Moroccan anti-Black racialization of enslavement by which all Blacks . El Hamel continues saying"Complying with the sultan's order, 'Alilish succeeded in collecting all black people in the area of Marrakesh whether they were slaves, free blacks, or Haratin, married with a family or single. He gathered three thousand blacks in a single year."[37] They were Arabs and they were enslaving the indigenous black people from Africa.

> Blacks who were in someone's possession were bought at the price of ten mithqals per person, male or female, and free blacks or Haratin were collected with no payment to anybody. This process became the pattern in collecting blacks in the rest of the country."

> Among the names given to this army of black people, military and civilians, were 'Abid ad-Diwan (slaves of the royal court), Jaysh al-Wisfan or Jaysh al-'Abid (the slave army), and Wisfan or 'Abid as-Sultan (the sultan's slaves), but the most famous and the commonly used name was 'Abid al-Bukhari, especially when referring to black soldiers. The origin of this name is explained as follows:

> When the Sultan had gathered all the blacks and succeeded in his mission in achieving complete loyalty and abandoned his reliance on the tribes [. . .]. He gave them a copy of the Imam al-Bukhari's book and said you are now slaves of the Prophet; you follow what he said and avoid what he forbade. He gave each one of the leaders a copy of the book to keep. This is how they have become to be known as 'Abid al-Bukhari.[38]

Thus, there is a long and sordid history of arabs selectively enslaving indigenous Afrikan=Black people who were the indigenous people of modern-day Morocco long before the reverse migration of pale white eurasian invaders now associated with the area.[39]Indeed, all of North Afrika was once populated with indigenous Afrikan=Black people before the incursion of eurasian imperialist invaders as demonstrated by the Black mummy of the green Sahara.[40]According to Maam Seex Anta Jóob (Dr. Cheikh Anta Diop), worth quoting at length:

> We are able to say scientifically today with certainty that mankind was born in Africa on the latitude more or less of Kenya, Ethiopia, and Tanzania and going on a north-south axis all the way south to South Africa. So, it's clear that any humanity that had its birth in that region could not have survived without [Black] pigmentation. Nature doesn't do anything by chance and it is for that reason, humanity, mankind that was born in a sub-equatorial region was given melanin to protect its skin, and it is for that reason that it is clear, it is certain that the first man had to be a Black man. It is only after that race left Africa to people other parts of the world that had different climatic phenomena that that man changed and took on different aspects, had a different look.[41]

Thus, the degree to which we find non-Black people in the land of Black people is the degree to which we can clearly see that these non-Black people are

invaders, intruders, and usurpers of the land(s) of Black people, referred to as 𓂋𓏤𓆼 *Kmt* 'Land of Black People'in ancient times while called the more semantically amorphous and etymologically opaque "Africa" today. Indeed, the oldest modern human remains were found in what is now modern-day Morocco dated to 300,000 years ago when Afrika was solely inhabited by Black people long before the migrations out of Afrika and concomitant genetic mutations that led to the rise of the pale white eurasian and his progeny.[42]

Despite the fact that the land now known as Morocco is rightfully the land of Black people as well as the fact that the eurasian invaders continue to enslave the indigenous Afrikan=Black people, none of these were considerations entertained by the AU; only the relationship between the arabs there and the arabs of Western Sahara. This smacks of either wholesale ignorance or lack of goodwill towards Black people.

Beyond enslavement, the current atrocities by arabs against Afrikan=Black people there in general is appalling.

> In Morocco, and north Africa, there is a serious problem of racism towards Black people. Called "Black Africans," they are considered descendants of slaves and labeled "hartani"—literally, "second-rate free men"—or even worse, "aâzi"—which translates to "bloody Negro". Blacks in Morocco, be they students, migrants, from the South of the Sahara or others, are constant victims of discrimination...[43]

According to another news article,

> Often, when I'm just walking down the street, people will call me a "dirty black man" or call me a slave. Young Moroccans have physically assaulted me on several occasions, for no reason, and passers-by who saw this didn't lift a finger to help me. All my friends are black and they have all had similar experiences. Even the girls get insulted in the street. To avoid getting hurt, I now try to ignore the insults. But if someone starts to hit me, what can I do? I have to defend myself... [44]

Figure 6: Migrant from Chad whose leg was broken by Moroccan Security Forces

The dead body of Cedrick Bete, a sixteen-year-old Cameroonian who came to Morocco with the goal of reaching Europe. During a 2013 raid on his home in Tangier, Moroccan military police allegedly threw him out of a window. Photo by Helena Maleno, Caminando Fronteras, via **El Diario**

Figure 7: Dead body of Cameroonian
Cedrick Bete

Periodical Maroc Hebdo ran a cover on *Le Peril Noir*'The Black Danger' fear-mongering that the Black indigenes of Afrika are a threat to Morocco.[45] In Figure 6, we see the image of a migrant from Chad whose leg was broken by Moroccan Security Forces. In Figure 7 we see the image of the dead body of Cedrick Bete, a Cameroonian who was thrown out of a window by the police. On August 12, 2013, Senegalese Ismaila Faye was stabbed to death in broad daylight by a Moroccan man over seating.[46] All of this is to say that the arab invaders are not only clear who they align with – the arab league – they are also clear on who they are against – the Black indigenes of Afrika. They have maintained this level of clarity for centuries. Apparently, it is only the anti-Black misleaders of the AU who are confused in that, apparently, not a voice was raised about any of these longstanding issues dating back to the 17th century all the way up to today. The debate about Morocco's entry into the AU was around respecting borders of their arab neighbours. While there are numerous reports on the enslavement of Afrikan=Black indigenes of Afrika as well as racism, we must note here that Morocco in not alone in this regard.

Every place that a eurasian has invaded in North Afrika including Libya, Algeria, Tunisia, Mauritania and Egypt are complicit in not only anti-Black racism, but the

continued enslavement of Afrikan=Black people. In fact, while there was an uproar regarding a video of Black people being sold into enslavement in 2017, we must note that as of the 2016 Global Slavery Index statistics Libya (with an estimated 70,900 enslaved as of 2016) pales in comparison to the number of enslaved black people that are in Morocco at 219,700.[47] According to 2016 statistics, Algeria also had 248,300 enslaved as of 2016. Even tiny Tunisia had more enslaved Afrikans than Libya with 85,000. While everyone was up in arms about enslavement in Libya, those who knew about the long-standing eurasian (arab) policy of selectively enslaving Black people in Morocco and beyond were laughing. Other North Afrikan standouts include Mauritania, with 43000 ﻋ ﺑ ﻳ ﺪ *eubayd* 'enslaved/Black people,' Sudan with 454,700 ﻋ ﺑ ﻳ ﺪ eubayd 'enslaved/Black people' and what used to be called Kmt 'Land of Black People' but which is now populated by non-Black white eurasian arab invaders, enslavers and colonizers, Egypt, enjoyed over 572,900 ﻋ ﺑ ﻳ ﺪ eubayd 'enslaved/Black people'as of 2016. Thus, if we are talking about the unfinished business of liberation, we must consider the occupied territory ⌂𓈗 *Kmt* 'Land of Black People.' However, this is not a consideration of our anti-Black misleaders who have sold out Black Pan-Afrikanism. In the following section, we will consider possible reasons why.

Anti-Black misleaders who, through ignorance or malevolence, have sold out Black Pan-Afrikanism; Vectors of compromise and the Mulattofication of Black Pan-Afrikanism into anti-Black pan-"Half"-ricanism

The preceding sections beg the question of why have anti-Black misleaders sold out Black Pan-Afrikanism? Is it ignorance or malevolence? We group all of these potential factors under the rubric of "vectors of compromise" by which the interests of Afrikan=Black people are sold out for the ultimate benefit of non-Black eurasians, in no particular order. It should be noted that this non-exhaustive list of various Vectors of Compromise are not mutually exclusive but, rather, may be multi-layered, interrelated, and interdependent:

1. Location Vector of Compromise: This is a major factor in terms of continentalism whereby the continent upon which one lives trumps genotype, phenotype, worldview, etc. This is the major vector of compromise we have addressed here. The Location Vector of Compromise may take the form of micro-nationalisms on the ethnic or neo-colonial nation-state fronts or imaginary alliances based on South-South cooperation (ironically usually between countries in the northern hemisphere).

2. Biogenetic Vector of Compromise: This is to say, it may be difficult for a person to pursue Afrikan=Black interests if they have non-Afrikan/non-Black parentage. The offspring of such unions may be confused and/or unwilling to stand for Black causes. This phenomenon is documented by Nana Chancellor Williams as a major factor in the Destruction of Black Civilization.[49] The other side of this is that of Black people who, due primarily

to eurasian-induced self-hatred, desire to create "half-caste" babies and pursue unions with non-Black eurasians to this end. It may entail refusal to procreate and/or give birth to Afrikan=Black children due to so-called individual choice to abort, gender confusion, or any other reason given to mask eurasian-induced self-hatred designed to get rid of Afrikan=Black people before they are even conceived. It may be difficult for many to pursue Afrikan=Black goals and objectives due to the difficulty of reconciling one's personal choices with those objectives that serve Afrikan=Black interests – particularly when such interests run counter to those of pale white eurasians and their progeny. As in the case(s) of other vectors of compromise, individual choice invariably trumps Afrikan=Black group survival.

3. Employment Vector of Compromise: In the case of this vector of compromise, one's career, long-term job security and very livelihood may cause one to compromise and/or betray Afrikan=Black causes and interests. This is a clear case by which one's personal interests may endanger group interests.

4. Financial Vector of Compromise: Closely related to the employment vector of compromise is the financial vector of compromise. According to the oldest (surviving) book in the world, ⋆𓈖𓏏𓉻𓂋𓏥 *sbAyt nt imy-r niwt TAty ptHHtp* 'The Instructions of City Leader and Vizier Ptahhotep', 𓇋𓅱𓄔𓅓 𓈖 𓐍𓏏𓆑 𓈖𓋴𓋴𓅱 𓆙 *iw sDm n Xt.f ns-sw xfty* 'He who listens to his belly belongs to the enemy'.[50] (Žába, 1956a) As an Akan proverb states, *Wodidi fiduasa mu a, na w'ano nyɛ den* 'If you eat in many (lit. thirty) houses, you do not speak out (lit. your mouth is not hard).'[51] (Opoku, 1997, p. 21) The essence of this concept was later articulated by Nana Thomas Sankara, who stated "He who feeds you, controls you."[52] All of this is to say that selling out may, indeed, be literal in that one may be bought off in the interest of getting him/her to compromise and/or betray Afrikan=Black causes, particularly when the conflict with white interests.

5. Miseducation Vector of Compromise: According to Nana Carter G. Woodson, "If you can control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his action. When you determine what a man shall think you do not have to concern yourself about what he will do. If you make a man feel that he is inferior, you do not have to compel him to accept an inferior status, for he will seek it himself. If you make a man think that he is justly an outcast, you do not have to order him to the back door. He will go without being told; and if there is no back door, his very nature will demand one."[53] This quote expresses the essence of mis-education, dis-education, and anti-education unleashed against Afrikan=Black people for more than a century.[54] Some sell out Afrikan=Black causes due to miseducation by going to various schools (ironically, the labour of enslaved Afrikans=Black

people built Ivy League schools in the US, the Russel schools in the UK and the Group of Eight in Australia).

6. Ideology Vector of Compromise: In the same way that an owner raises an attack dog not to attack him/herself, but for self-protection, eurasians create innumerable ideologies to protect themselves as none of them instruct Afrikan=Black people on what to do about our #1 problem: them. Once imbibed, these eurasian-created ideologies, whether those of Adam Smith, Marx or Engels, cause the confused Afrikan to serve and protect his/her white ideological "mothers" and "fathers" who developed said ideologies for just that purpose.

7. Religion Vector of Compromise: Whether it is praying to an imaginary white hippy on a stick or praying to a rock in the desert five (5) times a day while decrying "idol worship," the religion vector of compromise is often the gateway drug to other vectors of compromise. This vector of compromise is powerful in that it typically teaches that one will be judged in the afterlife by a typically white eurasian "daddy" whose wishes are usually in alignment with those of his white eurasian "children" who brought the religion to Black people in the first place. Often, it causes Afrikan=Black people to align along religious lines rather than with other Afrikan=Black people in fulfilment of the Afrikan=Black survival thrust. Much like the other vectors of compromise and betrayal, the Religion Vector of Compromise entails selling out Afrikan=Black group interests and survival in exchange for individual "salvation."

8. Political Vector of Compromise: In the case of the Political Vector of Compromise, selling out may be due to being FBI, CIA, MI6, or KGB informants in extreme cases. In less extreme cases, compromise may be due to aligning politically with white/eurasian political parties, political persuasions (communist, socialist, capitalist, liberal, conservative, kwk.), nation-states, or what have you. In the end,those who may otherwise qualify as Afrikan=Black at a basic biogenetic/phenotypic level may prove to be devoid of Afrikanness=Blackness sell out Black people on all of these different bases.

9. Ignorance/Intentional Malevolence Vector of Compromise: Closely linked to the Mis-education Vector of Compromise is the Ignorance Vector of Compromise. There is the pervasive, yet incorrect notion that Black people only identify as such as a reaction to the rise of whiteness following Bacon's Rebellion and the so-called Virginia Slave Codes of 1705.[55] Unfortunately for the many blind followers of the null hypothesis, as early as 2332 – 2287 BCE during the reign of ⸮⸮⸮⸮⸮⸮⸮ nswt bity mry-ra pipi'Nswt Bity MeryRa Pepi' during the so-called Old Kingdom of ⸮⸮ *Kmt*'Land of Black People'as evinced in the following quote from the so-called Pyramid Texts:

aha.k	xnti	kmtyw	Hpw=is
stand.2M.SG	front	Black.HUM.PL	Apis=like

'You stand in front of the kmtyw (Black people) like the Apis.'

Figure 8: Photograph of how the Kmtyw 'Black People' depicted themselves, from the tomb of nswt bity Ramssw Hqa-Iwnw

Thus, calling ourselves *Kmt(yw)* 'Black People'predates the so-called Slave Codes by some 4,000 years! Beyond the ancient *Kmt(yw)* 'Black People' origins of Black Pan-Afrikanism, many more who claim to be some type of Pan-Afrikanists have never even read the "Address to The Nations of The World by The Pan-AfricanConference In London, 1900." Rootless and ignorant as they are (if you don't know where you came from, you will not know where you are going), they are completely unaware that modern Pan-Afrikanism, from its very inception, was about Black people regardless of location, just as ancient Pan-Afrikanism was. Other anti-Blacks who have read the original defining and agenda setting-document, on the other hand, have intentionally decided to dupe those who have not by arbitrarily starting the story of Pan-Afrikanism at the 1945 5th PAC. This fraudulent practice is akin to starting the life story of an centenarian at age 40! That is to say, if they are not willing to deal with Nana Henry Sylvester Williams who coined the term, they may certainly be loath to mention names of Nananom Paul Cuffee, Edward Wilmot Blyden, Martin Delany, and others who preceded him. As such, the Vector of Ignorance is also intimately intertwined with the Vector of Intentional Malevolence. For all the originators of Pan-Afrikanism, per evidence and documentation, they were concerned with Black people regardless of location. Those anti-

Blacks (both those with Black and white skin) who attempt to gloss over this fact constitute Exhibit A vis-à-vis the Vector of Intentional Malevolence.

10. Fear Vector of Compromise: The final vector of compromise is that of fear. Many Afrikans=Black people who otherwise would pursue Afrikan=Black interests may be compromised by eurasian-induced cowardice. From fear of atomic bombs, to fear of police brutality, to millions of Afrikans=Black souls languishing in watery graves at the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean, to colonial memories of millions murdered in the Congo, to extermination orders and concentration camps in Namibia, to utter and total extermination in Lutriwita (Tasmania), to lynching men, women, and children for daring to resist, to hundreds of millions assassinated during the Maafa, this fear can, indeed be paralyzing. For many other compromised would-be Afrikans, they heed the eurasian mantra that "might makes right" and decide to be on the side of the strong for their individual survival even when this runs counter to Afrikan=Black collective survival.

The key point that unites the various vectors of compromise in the above non-exhaustive list is that they tend to depend on a prioritization of individual interests and survival at the expense of the collective. In reality, pale white eurasians ensure that Afrikan=Black people are so compromised so that they will have a chance of survival. In other words, they proliferate these vectors of compromise because the have to. Otherwise, the Afrikan=Black collective would pursue our collective interests even in instances where those interests may run counter to those of eurasians. Because eurasians fear this, anything they "give" us, whether that be money, employment, relgions, kwk., their own survival thrust is at the root of any such consideration.

The Liberia Scapegoat or the Excuse for Unjust Continued Disenfranchisement of the Afrikan=Black Diaspora who coined the very term "Pan-Africanism"

When it comes to the Vector of Ignorance/Intentional Malevolence, whereby those engaged in the latter prey on those who suffer from the former, there is a widespread perception and concerted effort to drag out Liberia as an all-purpose scapegoat when it comes to issues of repatriation and reasons to disenfranchise Afrikans=Black people of the diaspora. The dominant view tends to be that "the Liberian turmoil can be traced directly to the antagonistic relationship that developed between the indigenous population and descendants of American freed enslaved people who established the colony of Liberia"[56] The problem with such a view is not that it is entirely untrue; it is rather that it ignores certain pertinent questions such as who originates/who benefits from internecine Black-on-Black violence or, as Nana Amos N. Wilson calls it, Black self-annihilation in service of white domination?[57] This question is particularly relevant in the many instances in which there was/still is Black-on-Black violence in Afrika without a single Afrikan of the diaspora in sight. Again, according

to Nana Wilson,"If you want to understand any problem […], you need to focus on who profits from that problem, not who suffers from that problem."[58] Again, according to Nana Wilson "every maladjusted characteristic in the Black personality serves an economic function. Each maladjustive characteristic is not there by accident; it's not there simply because Europeans hate us: It's there because it maintains their economic dominance."[59] This is to say, that in cases where there is Black-on-Black violence within Afrika whether or not there are any diasporan Afrikans in the vicinity, the common denominator tends to be that of resources. Cases of internecine violence include:

- 1967–1970 Nigerian Civil War
- 1987 – ongoing Lord's Resistance Army insurgency
- April 7, 1994 – July 15, 1994 Rwandan Genocide
- Eritrean–Ethiopian War (1998–2000)
- 1999–ongoing Ituri Conflict
- 2003 – ongoing War in Darfur
- 2004–ongoing Kivu Conflict
- 2009–ongoing Niger Delta conflict (2004–present)
- 2009–ongoing Boko Haram insurgency
- 2012 – ongoing Northern Mali conflict
- 2012–14 Central African Republic Civil War
- 2017 Kenyan Presidential Election, 2017

When we look at the Liberia/Sierra Leone war, we must also take into account the role of blood diamonds and the role of diamond cartels rather than simple "antagonistic relationships" between Afrikans of the continent and Afrikan returnees of the diaspora.[60] When we look at the conflict in the Congo which has claimed more than 10 million lives since the late 1990s, we must look at the role of blood coltan – especially given that there are no diasporan scapegoats to disenfranchise as a result of it.[61] We are faced with similar resource-fuelled conflicts in the Maghreb (uranium), Darfur (oil), the Niger Delta (oil), and the list goes on and on without a diasporan scapegoat to point a finger at.[62] Again, to understand Black-on-Black violence in Afrika and elsewhere, we must take into account who benefits from it. Following the money trail may ultimately lead us to who originates it in terms of arms supply, fomenting conflict, financial profit, kwk. In these and other conflicts in Afrika, there is no Afrikan diasporan "attitudes" at the root of it; as such, the very people who gave to Afrika the gift of modern pan-Afrikansim should not be disenfranchised due to lack of insightful analysis with regard to the common nature of conflict in Afrika. In conclusion, Afrikan=Black people of the continent and the diaspora will come together or end up coming apart. We end here with a quote from Malcolm X when he remarked that:

Our problem is your problem. No matter how much independence Africans get here on the mother continent, unless you wear your

national dress when you visit America, you may be mistaken for one of us and suffer the same psychological and physical suffering that is an everyday occurrence in our lives. Your problems will never be solved until and unless ours is solved. You will never be respected until and unless we are respected. You will never be recognized as free human beings until and unless we are also recognized and treated as human beings.[63]

Afrikan=Black is about one race, one aim, and one destiny. No matter which vector of compromise is responsible, anti-Afrikan so-called leaders and followers are complicit in this grave injustice of disenfranchising the coiners of the term pan-Afrikanism to accommodate arab invaders and enslavers. Will the scholars who should know better allow this anti-Black continentalist fraud to continue? Time will tell.

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