

on imperialism, neocolonialism, and africa

Shirley Graham DuBois (November 11, 1896 – March 27, 1977) was an accomplished writer, educator, and activist who dedicated her life to fighting for civil rights, gender equality, and social justice. Born in Indianapolis, Indiana, she grew up in a family of educators and activists.

In the 1950s, she became involved in the Pan-African movement and worked to promote unity and independence among African nations from imperialist and neocolonial domination. In the 1960s, Shirley Graham DuBois was an active participant in the civil rights movement and was involved in the organization of the 1963 March on Washington. She was a member of the Communist Party USA, which was considered a radical organization during the Cold War era, and openly criticized the United States government's foreign policy and its involvement in the Vietnam War.

Despite facing criticism and even harassment from government agencies for her political views, Shirley Graham DuBois remained committed to fighting for social justice and equality until the end of her life. She continued to write and advocate for social justice until her death in 1977.



TO SUPPORT THIS PROJECT OR FIND MORE
ART AND STUDY MATERIALS FOR STUDENTS AND ORGANIZERS VISIT:
COLORCOLLECTIVEPRESS.COM + ABOLITIONNOTES.ORG

**shirley
graham
dubois**

RELATED PRINTS FROM COLOR COLLECTIVE PRESS:

- *Weapon of Theory*
(Amilcar Cabral, 1966)
- *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*
(Vladimir Lenin, 1916)
- *Manifesto of Demands and Anti-Depression Platform*
(Attica Liberation Faction, 1971)
- *An End to the Neglect of the Problems of the Negro Woman*
(Claudia Jones, 1949)
- *The Principles of Communism*
(Frederich Engels, 1847)
- *Philosophical Trends in the Feminist Movement*
(Anuradha Ghandy, 2016)
- *It's A Class Struggle Goddamnit!*
(Fred Hampton, 1969)
- *Ghassan Kanafani*
(Anni Kanafani, 1973)
- *Revolutionary Intercommunalism*
(Huey P. Newton, 1970)
- *On Practice + On Contradiction*
(Mao Zedong, 1937)
- *A Black Feminist Statement*
(Combahee River Collective, 1977)
- *Message to the Grassroots*
(Malcolm X, 1963)
- *Free All Black Liberation Fighters. & Women In Prison*
(Assata Shakur, 1973)
- *Women in the Struggle*
(Third World Women's Alliance, 1971)
- *The Struggle Goes On*
(Walter Rodney, 1979)
- *Bitch On Wheels*
(Sylvia Rivera, 2001)

find these and others at colorcollectivepress.com

Speaking at UCLA on *Imperialism, Neocolonialism, and Africa*

SHIRLEY GRAHAM DUBOIS

1970

After returning from Africa, Shirley Graham DuBois gave this speech at UCLA organized by Nommo (university newspaper), the African-American Studies Center, the Black Student union at UCLA in 1970.

In addition to speaking on imperialism, black liberation, and pan-africanism, she was a strong advocate for the rights of Palestinian people and spoke out against Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories.

Despite facing criticism and even harassment from government agencies for her political views, Shirley Graham DuBois remained committed to fighting for justice and equality until the end of her life.

She continued to write and advocate for social justice until her death in 1977, leaving behind a powerful legacy as a writer, educator, and activist who dedicated her life to making the world a better place.



TO SUPPORT THIS PROJECT OR FIND MORE
ART AND STUDY MATERIALS FOR STUDENTS AND ORGANIZERS VISIT:
COLORCOLLECTIVEPRESS.COM + ABOLITIONNOTES.ORG

got past the “goddess” of liberty. He did not know so many things. About corruption. About being cheated, nowadays a ship – a person who buys a ship, this is a one of the big improvements in the United States. Really.

The ships do have to pass an inspection, but apparently at that time either they didn't have to pass any inspection or if they did, these were dishonest inspections. They were rotten ships. They wouldn't have carried anybody anyplace. He was never allowed to set foot on any African country himself because after all this time, Africa was owned completely and they kept him out as a what is it and unfavorable immigrant or something like that. I've heard that statement at least.

When he, you know, he was deported and sent back to Jamaica. He later went to London where he died. And when he died. I'm sorry I don't have with me what DuBois wrote about him in the crisis. I will repeat it as well as I can remember; he said: Marcus Garvey was a man of vision. His scheme was a bit bombastic and it was, on the whole, unrealistic. But this was a good, honest man who was able to mobilize and to bring together. People, black people in masses to give them New Hope to give them new courage to give them an understanding of themselves as nobody else had ever done, and that what he did has spread throughout all Africa and in Europe. He paid – DuBois paid beautiful tribute to Marcus Garvey.

They never fought each other as The Man would like to have a thought.

Thank you.

[end of recording]

Shirley Graham DuBois: Okay, this has to be the last, but I'm really. I'm very glad the young brother brought this up because I'm very glad to clear up some misunderstanding.

You know. One of the weapons the man uses is to divide leaders and say that the leaders are fighting among themselves, still using it. Isn't that the truth? So there was big noise about in the United States about the controversy between Booker T Washington and Dubois. Big noise about controversy between Marcus Garvey and Dubois. These controversies never existed in either case. I mentioned Booker T Washington, the boys, and Booker T Washington wrote a book together and the book is by I think Washington name comes first. Booker T Washington and WEB Dubois. It's called the Negro. I don't think you can find any place. But anyhow, it was. It was published that takes care of that.

Now, about Marcus Garvey. Marcus Garvey came to this country from Jamaica coming in 1916, and he set up his Nigro Association for improvement.. I got this in my notes someplace and I wanted to have the name right. But you know what I'm talking about. And he had a lot of very good ideas. Very good ideas which. But he did not know the conditions in the United States very well, and he came from Jamaica. He was an adult and he came after the First World War. But he was able to mobilize black people in these crowded urban centers where they had to live under terrible, terrible conditions.

He was able to give them hope for something better, and he taught them industry and to save their money. Then he wanted to take those who wanted to go back to Africa back to Africa. Now the whole movement wasn't a back to Africa movement. And this is one of the misconceptions. He bought three ships. These were rotten ships. They never would have

**“There can be
no stopping of
the struggles of people
who have been oppressed,
who have been
dispossessed.
And who have suffered
from exploitation.
They are not going
to lie down and accept
any piece of the grave.
They don't want that.”**

- Shirley Graham Dubois

Introduction

Moderator: We would like to thank the staff of Nomo, the Afro-American Studies Center, the Black Student union. AS UCLA associate Student Speakers Bureau. Student legislative council. Graduate Students Association University religious conference. For making this great event possible. Now I would like to introduce Brother Allenbrook. Chief of Nomo.

Allenbrook: I wanna first of all welcome all of my sisters and brothers to this very special occasion. I want to welcome members of the FBI. The CIA. Representatives of Martha and John Mitchell. To whom Mrs Dubois has become a tremendous pain. And I want to thank most of you. I want to thank most of all you people for coming.

I had the good fortune Sunday of last week to go to San Francisco to hear – what in my opinion was the most dynamic, the most powerful message. That I've ever been exposed to in my lifetime. That message came from Mrs Dubois. I thought upon hearing it that it was something that should be shared with the people in Southern California. Both black and white. And with that in mind I set about Putting the wheels in motion so that we could share Mrs Dubois with you. For those of you who are not aware of who she is. She is the wife of the late Doctor WEB Dubois. And in her own right. An intellectual and a scholar. It is my pleasure at this time. To bring to you Mrs Shirley Graham DuBois.

therefore was taking them out of “barbarism and Heathenism” into an enlightened Christian land.

Audience: Could you possibly address stuff with two instances that I have in mind one. If the argument so car invasion of the Indus Valley and sequence of conquering of India and caste system that was set up, which was to some extent based on color and also I have in mind Alexander's invasion of various non-white countries and it's in regard again, racism having been practiced against the darker people of the world before the new inception of the new world. And I'm trying to find two examples that seems to me to be evident...

Shirley Graham DuBois: Well, now you mention one that I know something about you and that is about Alexandria. Alexandria never came into Egypt to conquer Egypt. He came into Egypt. He was after the Persians. And he came. The Persian army was in Egypt.

Audience: I have one question. Alright we just got a minute. Now, where does this voice come? Here I am, right? Yeah. I don't see you yet. But that's alright. The lights in my. Oh yes, mercy. First of all, I'd like to say, you know, just being like an ordinary brother off the street, he's kind of interested in history. Like, I'm very thrilled to, like, see you up here because I really like a lot of things about your husband. And like I said, it's really a thrill for me. But my question concerns your husband and like I've read a lot of things about your husband's relationship with Marcus Mosiah Garvey. And like, most of these things have been negative. Like maybe the the relationship was negative in and I've maybe shouldn't even bring this up, but for like clarification and for like you know, a yearning for truth in the sense I like to, you know, like know something about it...[audience laughter]

ars, Leo the African. I don't want to say it. That word sounds like South Africa, and it certainly wasn't that. African. But I mean he's he's he's he's he's talked about in history. You know, as a great scholar.

Skipio. The African, who was a descendant of the general who defended Carthage was a great scholar and then typical in ancient times. No, it would be my opinion. That racism, as such against dark peoples, really began with African slavery.

You see, the Western people needed slaves to develop North America. They needed workers to develop North America. They tried to make the Indians work for them and they failed. The Indians could either run away. They were in their own land, they committed suicide or they just wouldn't work. That's all. Just wouldn't work for them. They were in their own land and therefore it was easier for them to get away. So they conceived the idea of seizing people in West Africa and bringing them to America.

Now this had to be justified. Even in Europe, how can you seize human beings and take them off in the slavery? Well, it was justified by saying that these were such. Subnormal savages. That one was doing them a favor to take them into Christian lands and giving them Christianity. And that they were bringing enlightenment to them. Now, really, this was said. This was written. And they had to justify the treating of these human beings in this way by saying they were inferior, that they were hardly human beings. And it is my opinion that racism as we know it today began with the African slave trade.

The white man felt that he had to some how or another justify the seizing of these people and carrying them off. And he

Shirley Graham DuBois: Brother Chairman. Let me say – Madam Chairman, goodness, I must not overlook the ladies! I want to say that I'm very happy to be here. I had the pleasure of driving yesterday. From San Francisco to Palo Alto, where I spoke at Stanford University, then I took a plane down to Santa Barbara. Well, I've met with a beautiful audience in Santa Barbara. And then this morning I have driven from Santa Barbara up here to Los Angeles. You have such a beautiful country. I couldn't help as we drove along through these marvelous valleys and hills to think about the song America the Beautiful. It is a beautiful land. It is a wonderful land with lots of good, generous hearted, earnest people in it.

Now we're going to address ourselves this morning to leave my mission in coming to you from Africa, from the Middle East and from other places where I've been – is to talk about peace with justice. Peace with justice because there can be no peace, really either in this land or in other lands, until there is justice. There can be no stopping of the struggles of people who have been oppressed, who have been dispossessed. And who have suffered from exploitation. They are not going to lie down and accept any piece of the grave. They don't want that.

We are living in an era of liberation. And this is true in every continent and every land in this world, whether it is South America or North America, whether it is Africa, whether it is Asia, the Middle East, wherever it is – the people say "we're going to be free". We are not going to be exploited. We are not going to live under imperialist colonialism any longer.

My father was a Methodist preacher. And there were several texts which were his favorites, which have remained my favorites, too. And one of them was "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free. You shall know the truth,

and the truth shall make you free.' Do you realize that one of the great aims of all those who would enslave, or who are enslaving, is to keep the truth away from them?

This is a tactic, a well known tactic. Keep the truth out. Don't let the people know you are here in a great institution – a very great institution of learning. And you can learn so much in this institution of learning, and I rejoice to see these students to meet with you and to know that you are taking advantage of the facilities of this great university to know that these facilities are open to you – and I particularly congratulate the black students and their groups who have seen to it that they have a department of black studies here in this university. There were no departments of Black Studies in universities when I went to school in the United States, and I was supposed to get a very good education – but I didn't know, for instance, that Egypt was part of Africa. Nobody ever told me that. Where was Egypt? Well, I really don't know – if you're really going to pin me down. I didn't know. Just where we thought Egypt was, but it was some vague place vaguely connected with Europe, vaguely connected with the civilizations of Europe.

You see, since the Western civilization arose in the valley of the Nile, which is Egypt. And since the valley of the Nile is in Africa. And since the first Pharaohs were what it would be known in this world today as blacks or negroes. It just did not behoove Western education to talk about Egypt being Africa. But I have a – I've got a kind of thing about that point that Egypt is Africa. I lived there and I see these evidences all around me everyday.

I have been away for almost 10 years. But as I come back, it's almost as if I never left home. Both in all sorts of ways.

Audience: Mrs DuBois, I'd like to ask you two questions. One, have you seen Stokely Carmichael? And what is he doing? And how do you feel about his new ideology? Pan Africanism, and what his implications are for...

Shirley Graham DuBois: Now, I haven't seen Stokely Carmichael for a couple of years and I don't know what his new ideology is, and therefore it's utterly impossible for me to talk about it. I have heard this and that and the other maybe the same kind of things that you've heard, but I really don't know. I just don't know. I'm sorry. Alright.

Audience: As you know, most of these modern historians hypothesize that White racism began with the inception of the New World. And there appears to be a great deal of historical events that indicate racially before this, and I would like you to comment on whether or not you believe racism, white racism towards third world people existed before the inception of the new world.

Shirley Graham DuBois: In antiquity, among the ancients. You have so many records in Greek. And even in Roman times. Of the high regard which were held black, certain black scholars, that many, many references, and therefore I would say that racism as such hardly did exist in ancient countries. And it just didn't exist, and slavery certainly was not confined to Africans.

And then there was another thing. That African slaves among the Romans were considered very valuable. They were bought to be teachers of their children. They were bought, you know, was a slave. The man who was given to the world Aesop Fables. He was a black slave. And he was a teacher in Athens. But he was a slave, and there are other scholars, African schol-

Ethiopia that has not been settled.

Now Nigeria was a very large area and this was one of the areas that the British had hogged up and had some long, big lines around by the whole lot of people. The people were very dissimilar, very different culturally. Uh, religious differences and all kinds of different, traditionally different. I could never see what was so terribly wrong if some of the people inside Nigeria got to the point that they wanted their own independent country.

This was particularly true because the present government in Nigeria was never voted in. It came to power by a series of pretty, pretty bloody coups. The Prime Minister was assassinated. The next man, those people who took over the government then they handed that was assassinated and I think the next one was assassinated. So now we have Mr. Guan. At the head of the government, so I didn't feel that he was a sacred figure either.

So why shouldn't these people in the part of Nigeria which they called Biafra and who had suffered terribly during the course of these various coups, many, many hundreds, probably running into thousands, had been murdered and so forth. Why shouldn't they have their own country? That's the story.

But all of these great powers rushed in and they sent in arms here and there and other. And people have died, slaughtered, starved to death. The country is now just almost laid in waste. And this one – you know, these people have oil concessions and the other people have oil concessions and so forth. I don't know what the future of Nigeria will be.

However, there are some new things here, and one of them is this growing consciousness of black people, the growing consciousness and belief in themselves, the growing consciousness in their own dignity. And in their own traditions and in their own background, you see, years ago, when my husband, almost 70 years ago, began to write the Souls of Black Folk. Gifts of Black Folk, Black Folk Now and then. Black Reconstruction. These use of this constant word black. He was considered a little eccentric. Little off. Why is he always pushing black?

You see, it's taken 50 years where you'd catch up with the fact. That black was employed. As I say, returning after nearly ten years, it is as if I never left home. And one reason is that I have been living for these ten years in Ghana. In the People's Republic of China. In Egypt. And from Bagana as a base in Africa, I have had occasion to travel very widely in Africa or most places in Africa, of course, excluding South Africa. They wouldn't let me in there either. From China, I have been in Pakistan and Cambodia. From Egypt, I have traveled to other countries, Islamic countries in Africa, the Sudan and the other countries of the Middle East. And it is remarkable that in none of these countries did I feel like a stranger or a foreigner. Why?

Because all of these people had suffered and worse, suffering the same kinds of discrimination they knew the hand of the exploiter. In all of these places they were part of the people who had been exploited through the ages. And I could – instantly they accepted me. Coming from a people in this continent who had been exploited, who had been enslaved, they accepted me as a sister in all of these various places, and I have felt at home among these people, reminding me very vividly of Langston Hughes' very beautiful poem, which is dedicated

to my husband many years ago:

“I’ve known rivers. I’ve known Rivers Ancient as the world and older than the flow of human blood in human veins. My soul has grown deep like the rivers I bathed in the Euphrates. When dawns were young, I built my Hut. Near the Congo and it load me to sleep. I looked upon the Nile and raised pyramids above it, and I heard the singing of the Mississippi. When Abe Lincoln went down to New Orleans and seen its muddy bosom turn all golden in the sunset. I’ve known rivers, ancient dusky rivers. My soul has grown deep like the rivers.”

We are united in this world by these mighty rivers that flow through these many, many great lands upon which, where we have been – sometimes in history, and where our ancestors came from. We are united with all of them.

The Enemies of Africa

Now, ten years ago, darker peoples everywhere and their friends was rejoicing because of the liberation of Africa, the United Nations declared 1960 the Year of Africa, because so many independent African states join that body that year, and joyous independence celebrations were held throughout Africa. Then in May 1963 at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia came the first great African Summit conference. I was there. It was a magnificent pageantry of color and eloquence and passionate speeches. We hailed the organization of the of the African Unity, the Charter of African Unity was signed there and we wrote about it, how wonderful it was. I was one of the many people who wrote about how wonderful this was. I know now that much that happened at that some summit conference was really very foolish and very naive.

not been sent there thousands of people could not have been slaughtered and died. The war could not have gone on as it did this fratricide war. They would have had to sit down and settle it.

All the countries who send arms to Nigeria, I am convinced, had ulterior motives. There’s oil in Nigeria, lots of it. You see, if you look at the map of Africa, you will see a strange thing which differs from the map of Europe. Or the map of Asia. You will see these straight lines, these square cuts. Now the reason for that is that in 1884 in Berlin the “enlightened” countries of the world, enlightened in quotes. Divided up Africa among themselves. By dividing it so “alright, this is you. It belongs to Great Britain. This belongs to Germany. This belongs to Portugal. This belongs to Spain. This belongs to Italy”, and so forth. They divided it up just exactly like that.

They consulted nobody in Africa about a single boundary line. They broke up. They divided tribes. They divided clans. They divided families and they put together tribes who were most dissimilar and really shouldn’t have been massed together. But they didn’t care. They divided it up for their own “good” reasons apportioning this section in that section. Therefore I have never – I don’t regard any boundary line in Africa as being sacred. The people of Africa had nothing to do with it.

Now, in the last ten years there’ve been endless border disputes between countries and most of them have now been settled by agreement, by coming together and by agreeing to, you know, chop off maybe a little bit here, maybe to run the boundary a little bit different and so forth. Most of them have been settled. The last one was the troubled boundary line between Morocco and Mauritania, which was settled on it last year. There is still a good deal of dispute between Somalia and

a black nation. Which would be free economically. Which would walk in beauty and dignity, and which could say to all the children of Africa, wherever they were, that if you want to come home, you will be welcome. This was the kind of garner he was trying to build, and this kind of Ghana. Was the greatest threat to the neo-colonialists in this world. They got rid of him because he was the most dangerous man in the world for them. Thank you.

Audience: Speak a little bit about the influence of Patrice Lumumba and like the assassination?

Shirley Graham DuBois: Well, I don't think I need to speak about that. I think you know. I mean.. to try to go into details. Patrice Lumumba was a martyr for what he was trying to do. What else is there to say? His blood is on the heads of the imperialists. And he must be... all we can do is to say, as we would say about Malcolm X is to carry on. That's all we have to carry on.

Audience: Can you speak about Kenya?

Shirley Graham DuBois: Oh, I can't speak glibly about Kenya. I think he's still in jail. I think that this man had also wanted to see an independent and free Kenya. And I think the result is that he's in jail. I think that's all I can say.

Audience: Can you speak on the Biafran efforts for independence?

Shirley Graham DuBois: One can't speak about Biafra without, you know, the whole of Nigeria and all right, this is a good question. I condemn, without any reservation, every nation or big power that sent arms into Nigeria. Had these arms

Why do I say that? For how sensible was it to stand up and proclaim our intentions to the world of imperialist, colonialists Neo-colonialists, plunderers and thieves. When we did not have the power to rebuild Africa in our modern world. We boasted at that conference of an independent united Africa, a strong, bountiful Africa, we told the marvelous resources of this continent of how we were going to take them and use them for the development of our own people, how we were going to. Be able to invite the children of Africa wherever they were to come back and share in the riches of this very, very rich continent, beautiful continent. We got up there and told all of our plans and before the ink on that charter was dry.

The enemies of Africa had united to bring us down and in a short time wave after wave of coup d'états swept across the continent and country after country fail under the man's hammer. Imperialists, Neo-colonialists call them what you will, whether they come from West or east or north or South. They are the same greedy exploiters. Had my generation learned so much that we thought we would liberate Africa by cooperating with the age old exploiters of that continent, they who had grown fat and sleek and prosperous. Had none, never will, and have not now any intention of retreating into their predominantly cold grave fastness of their northwestern zones.

They love our African sunshine, our beautiful broad rivers are bright gold. Our sparkling diamonds, our copper, magnesium, bauxite and oil. They do not love Africans or the children of Africa, wherever they are. Among the various decisions of the Western world which have affected the lives and destinies of Afro-Asians, the nonwhites, the peoples of the so-called Third World, none have revealed more clearly the very essence of

Western racism. Nor demonstrated more conclusively the capacity of the Western world to transform, translate and legitimize its basic power thrust under the cloak of international law and morality. Nothing demonstrates it more clearly than two decisions which were reached in London, one in 1909, the other in 1917, the first, known as the South African Act of Union, and the second the Belfour Declaration.

South Africa and Palestine land some 3500 miles apart, but each the concern of the same imperialist interests – each sacrificed in the name of western peoples and British Empire building. And the details of the sacrifice arranged by the same statesman. In both cases, it perceived injustice committed by Western powers against the Jew on one hand, and the Afrikaner on the other, was to be atoned for at the expense of those judged too uncivilized, too primitive, too backward. To establish an equal moral claim. In both cases, the self identification of the Africana and Jew as a chosen people. The inheritors of promised land was explicitly and implicitly accepted by first Great Britain and subsequently by the bulk of the Western world as proof of its own capacity for tolerance. In each case, it was for the natives a crime to protest or to give any resistance. It was treasonable and illegal. It violated the canons of International morality.

It was in 1900, at the first racist conference meeting in London that WEB Dubois enunciated that often repeated but little heeded, warning. The problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line, the relation of the darker peoples to the lighter races of men in Asia, in Africa, in America and in the islands of the sea. It must be noted that he was speaking of the world, not simply of America. This conference met during the Anglo Boer War of 1899 to 1902 and this body urged Great Britain to seize the opportunity resulting from

Q&A Begins

Moderator: The occasion for the flowers that we just presented Mrs. DuBois with, was because of the fact that two days ago she had a birthday. This is our way of saying happy birthday.

Shirley Graham DuBois: Now you tell him.

Moderator: Because of the lateness of the hour. Uh. We want to be brief, but Mrs Dubois will entertain questions from the audience. Are there any?

Audience: Speak briefly, a little bit about Kwame Nkrumah, please.

Shirley Graham DuBois: Kwame Nkrumah is in Conakry. Where he was cordially received by the people of Guinea after the coup took over Ghana while he was out of the country, this much you know. I saw him the last time I saw him was a year ago last fall. He is writing. He is studying, he is working. He is in good health. And he is resolved to go back to Ghana. The assassination, the character assassination of Quammen Croome. Equal nothing that I've ever heard of in history. Not about Hitler, not about Mussolini. The things – the lies which were told about him and I want to tell you as one who was in Ghana, first time in 58, then, for six months and 60 and then moving there in 61 – that these were lies.

He was not a corrupt man. He was not a woman chaser. He was not a.. well, everything that they said about him and I mean they said such terrible things about him and I want to tell you. That this kind of character assassination was part of the imperialist plot not only to get rid of him, but to remove his influence. Because Kwame Nkrumah was trying to build

sion, whether it is inside. Whether you have neocolonialism inside or whether it's neocolonialism outside – aggression is aggression, and there is another thing. Bombs can be dropped on them. People can be tortured as they are being tortured in different parts of the world today. Great armies can March and planes can fly. For a little while.

But the people do not forget.

Thank you.

[Applause]

[End of speech before Q&A begins]

the eminent victory of Great Britain over the boer settlers. In South Africa, to guarantee the human and political rights of the African majority.

Chamberlain did affirm that Her Majesty's government will not overlook the interest and the welfare of the native races. Yet when the Boer forces lay prostrate and their theories of race, supremacy, slavery and chosen people, mythology appeared in disrepute. British Liberal and humanitarian sentiments saved the situation for the defeated white minority and in 1909, when the Act of Union was signed, it was hailed as a great triumph of liberal magnanimity since it conferred upon the white minority population, the capacity to rule without impediment or any necessity to respect the rights of the indigenous population who were excluded from all governmental bodies.

Throughout the entire history the Union council urged the Africans not to put forth in any extreme demands, since this would only play into the hands of the reactionaries, and that while the races had no scruples about setting forth extreme demand, compromise was always in favor of the whites – militant African organizations and leadership was rejected in favor of compromise and in the end all was lost.

At this time Lord Belford, whose name comes later, said: *“The only glimmer of hope of dealing successfully with the real race problem in South Africa is not to attempt to meddle with it ourselves. But having made this Union Parliament to trust the men of like way of thinking as ourselves, to rise to the occasion.”*

Harold Wilson some years later, refusing to use any force in Odisha on the basis that they these people, Aeon Smith's regime were Kith and Kin, and therefore Wild GB can rush

ships and parachutes across the ocean to Aguilla to Bermuda and to any other spot in the world where nonwhites lift their heads? They could do nothing at all to prevent 200,000 whites in Rhodesia from taking over, and practically in slaving the millions of blacks in that country.

The Pan African Congress of 1923 protested against what was happening in southern Africa and said what more paradoxical figure today confronts the world than the official head of that state – build trying to build peace and goodwill in Europe by standing on the necks and hearts of Millions of Africans.

In Cape Town, the legitimate capital of Fascist South Africa. The legislative capital stands a giant statue of Cecil John Rhodes with his right hand prophetically pointing northward. Rhodes was the chief architect of British colonialism in southern Africa and his dream was to colonize Africa for the British from the Cape to the Mediterranean. Fighting and wiping out everything in their path, his cohorts managed to push northward 2000 miles. They were still a long ways from the Mediterranean, but they had come into rich, fertile lands and were bogged down in the attempt to wipe out the Zimbabwean peoples when finally they managed to push them back into the jungles, they settled there and they called the Land Rhodesia after its founder. That's like, you know, Columbus discovering America [laughter and applause].

Now, this type of wide open imperialist takeover is no longer possible in the 20th century. It's on a par with that arch imperialist.. making a gift of the Suez Canal to Queen Victoria and thereby gaining unprecedented honors for himself in the court of King James. But since fighting two world wars among themselves – with our help, primarily for the possession of the vast resources of lands belonging to non white

Because there were mistakes made, Nasser was not a governmental administrator. He didn't know anything about administering a country when he had to be head of the state. That just wasn't anybody else that stepped up to do and to leave. He was just a young army officer. He didn't even want it. Well, in these 18 years, though, he grew in stature. He grew in understanding not only of his own people, but of the world outside. He grew an understanding that freedom was indivisible, that it had to be for all the people he grew in the determination to bring schools and housing and all kinds of things to his people. He grew in understanding what it meant to be an independent state economically as well as political. He understood that you can have a dozen national anthems. You can have a dozen national flags, but if your economy is controlled by outsiders your country is not free. He knew this!

Well, as I say, they said there was going to be a terrible struggle for power. I was spending that evening with Ozzie Davis and his wife, Ruby Lee. And I had gone upstairs and I heard on the radio the announcements that Sadat was going to be now had been nominated to be the President. The permanent President of Egypt. I went downstairs and I said to Ozzy, you know? Nasser was sort of lightish brown skin. His hair had a nice little crinkle in it, but put him under lights, you know, and of different kinds on television. You know, he could come out pretty, pretty light. And you didn't see the crinkle in his hair... I've been in his home, so I saw the back of his head. and it was there. [laughter]

You know, so they didn't have to talk about him being an indigenous Egyptian. Nobody did. But I've said Anwar Sadat, honey is your color. No matter of light is going to change that. The message that I'm bringing to you. Don't forget. Is that the world wants peace with justice, that aggression is aggres-

surrounding countries. Now there's so much more that I would like to say I would say just one thing. It was predicted that when Gamal Abdul Nasser died, and I'm sure. Even here you saw on television and read in your papers about this tremendous outpouring. Of grief of the common people of Egypt. This was no plan demonstration. It was the little men, the little women, the peasants, the well, they are no more real peasants. But they're farmers, agricultural workers, factory workers. Who rushed out there in the streets in their thousands and took his body away from the formal cassage and bore him to his grave on their shoulders, saying that he belongs to us.

Nasser liberated us. Nasser gave us land and the young people, shouted Nasser. You will live. We are all Nassars now. We will completely free our land. We will go forward to build a better society. We, the young men and women of Egypt have proclaimed themselves we are all Gamal Abdul Nasser – and this is the way they bore him to his grave.

The West predicted that at his death there would be a tragic struggle for power in Egypt. And they named this one and that one, and the other one, and how the whole country would be split with this tragic struggle for power. Well, they fooled him. There wasn't any tragic struggle for power. The executive committee met and they nominated the acting, the Vice President, whom, who it was Vice president under Nasser, who had been with him in all the campaigns. Who was one of the soldiers with him when they plan to seize the government from Farook, one of the soldiers who was with him around the campfires as they these young officers plan to do it, this man Sadat, had been with him through all these years, through the mistakes, through the struggles.

peoples – the whites have found themselves confronted with an increasing problem. The aftermath of these two world wars on dark peoples was unexpected. During the course of their fighting among themselves, they had spoken eloquently about freedom, about democracy, about courage and about free people. And suddenly these same words were being hurled at them from all over the world.

And after all his efforts, the man saw the riches of Africa, Asia and the Middle East slipping right out of his hands. Fast and furiously, he worked out new devices to shut off such disastrous possibilities. In Africa he granted independence here and there after insisting on helping to write the new constitutions. He attended all the independence celebrations and he made great speeches. I never will forget. Seated at the banquet table. When new Nkruma was being inaugurated President of Ghana. And the British representative of the Queen made something remark something like this: *"Now we shall March forward, shoulder to shoulder. Our brothers in this New Republic, and members of the British Commonwealth, we will go forward together to higher places of prosperity and advantage for all our peoples."*

Seated beside me was a half asleep Ghanaian minister, one of the new ministers. Now he was half asleep because they'd been working for day and night. On these celebrations. He really hadn't had much chance to sleep though for many hours. But he heard this man. And he looked up and said, "boy, well, that's the first time I heard that we was walking shoulder to shoulder." [laughter and applause]

Speaking at a gathering of African Foreign Ministers meeting in Addis Ababa last fall, Mr. Dialateli (?), Secretary General of the OAU, said that in the Arab-Israeli conflict *"Fraternity and solidarity with the united arab republic must not falter"* He warned,

“None of our African states are safe from similar aggression.” It is the duty of all African countries to condemn unreservedly the aggression of foreign troops, to call from for their unconditional withdrawal from occupied territories and the Egyptian minister, El Sayed Mohamed to told the Conference, “Your brethren in the northern part of the continent shoulder the honor and responsibility of liberating and occupied part of the territory of a sister African country from imperialist aggression, which has been condemned by the international community.”

Divide and Conquer

Until very recently, even in African countries, the struggle now being waged in this part of the continent has been shunted aside merely as a Middle East conflict removed from the liberation struggles of Africa for their own good reasons. Divide and conquer. This is the way it is always presented in the Western Press and radio, the situation became clearer and took on new meaning with a decisive revolution which took place in Libya one year ago last September.

I want to talk just for a minute about Libya. An African country, a country in the north, northern section on the shores of the Mediterranean. It had been an Italian colony. And the Italian Government had sent their overflow of people into Libya. They had taken over land there and settled their people on this land. This was some years ago.

Then it was taken over in so far as everything was concerned by Great Britain. There was a king there, but this king. Really didn't have much to say one way or the other – he couldn't because his country was an occupied country. Oil had been discovered in Libya just a few years ago. Very, very rich oil wells, so that Libya was producing great wealth and its people

We Shall Remain

Now. Today. Egypt. Libya. Sudan. These countries, these African countries are defending the continent of Africa. They are defending the continent of Africa and should these countries fail in their defense, the whole continent can be opened up to a new wave of dominance. But they will not fail. They will not fail. Cairo stands its back against the pyramids. These age-old pyramids, the Nile River, has been flowing Gamal Abdul Nasser said to a reporter not very long before his death – we asked him about the worry about Egypt and so forth, he said. We have been here for 7000 years. We shall remain. We shall remain. And this is true. This is true.

Gamal Abdul Nasser was the first indigenous Egyptian to be head of the state of Egypt in 2000 years. For these hundreds of years. Europe has managed to keep some kind of descendant from some European family. At the head of Egypt. For 2000 years since the Ptolemies came into Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser was the first real Egyptian to head this state. The West hated Gamal Abdul Nasser. He took the Suez Canal away from them. They didn't like that. They didn't like that a little bit.

He did very many great things to strengthen his people. To bring better ways of living to his people, he divided up the great lands that the feudal Lords had held in the valley of denial, and he divided it up and gave it back in small portions to those who had been little more than slaves. Before he came to the head of state, he built houses. He opened up industries. And he, with the help of the Soviet Union, built this great Aswan dam, which is already reclaiming thousands of square miles of desert land so as to feed without any difficulty.

The growing masses in Egypt, not only in Egypt but in all its

and they took this rock.

His name is Terak. And they called in Arabic, this rock, the mountain of Tarak. And it was Gabral Tarak. Which, when it's translated and changed to English, becomes Gibraltar. The Rock of Gibraltar was named after the black commander who took his forces into Spain in the year 711.

This is a fact. This is not a fancy.

What did they do? They brought into Europe a renaissance of art, of learning, of architecture. They brought new life into Spain, into southern France. They changed the music. The whole course of modern, of European music. Because before that time they had the Gregorian chants and they had the melodies weaving in and out. But these forces from North Africa brought rhythm. They had never had rhythm before. They changed the whole course. And out of these years developed what is called the Arab Golden era.

And during this time Timbuktu on the Niger River became a great center of learning and commerce during this time. The city of Cairo was founded and the Alshar University was opened. And this is the oldest continuing university in the world today. During this time, the libraries and centers of learning of Baghdad and in Spain and Alexandria became places where scholars from all over the world went to learn. This was what happened once when Arabs and Africans united. And this is what Europe has sworn would never happen again.

It might, and it ruined them. Certainly did change them. It changed the whole complexion of southern Europe. Definitely. Next time you go to Spain or France or Italy or Sicily, you'll see the effects of this invasion all around you – all around you.

remained very, very poor.

The people were not at all enjoying any of this. Well, tourists came there and to Tripoli and to the beautiful beaches of Libya and they were put up at great hotels owned and operated by Europeans and Americans. And they spent their money there with the Europeans and Americans, big business from Great Britain, big business from America had their headquarters in Libya. And the people of Libya remained very, very poor, very poor.

One day. In September last year, a year ago this September. A handful of young men. The oldest was not yet 28. Seized power in Libya. And I want to tell you that they seized power. I want to emphasize that. They had never held a mass meeting. They had never had a television or radio broadcast. They had never distributed a pamphlet. They had never made an appeal to anybody. They had never opened their mouths to anybody except to these chosen few handful of young men who, on that morning seized power.

The Western press, well in Cairo, I heard BBC say that there was a little trouble in Libya. But it would pass – the king was in Turkey. But he would hurry back. And he was there. Well, he said. Convalescing, you know, resting and enjoying his boundless wealth. Uh, but they didn't, exactly. It couldn't be very serious, you see. Great Britain had the biggest military base that it had was in Libya. The biggest American base. Was also in Libya. Well, it's so it couldn't be anything particular.

Well, then we heard that the king had changed his mind about returning to Libya. He never did return to Libya and he signed some papers of abdication. And then the next thing we heard was that the British and American bases had been told

to get off of Libyan soil.

They didn't throw him off overnight. They couldn't because my goodness, they had every kind of equipment that you ever heard of. Both of them there, they had planes and parachuters and their soldiers had miles and miles of sandy plains to practice on, and their parachuters would go out. And practice over the deserts. They had unlimited equipment – both countries. It was interesting that after they had been given a certain amount of time to leave that a black commander of a great United States military. Set up showed up in Libya. And he was made Commander a Wheeler space. The highest ranking such officer I've heard of.

I don't know. Whether or not it was thought that this black brother would be able to talk to these "little ignorant people in Libya". And show them the arrow, their ways or not. I don't know that I don't know that at all. All I know is that when he arrived, he was told how many weeks they had to get out. [Applause and laughter] And they got!

Great Britain is still looking for some place to settle down in because you do know that no country in Europe is going to let GB have any military base on their soil, not a country in Europe is going to allow that. And England, GB is too small. For any such kind of base and anyhow great Britains got so much trouble with the Irish in Ireland that they got a war on their hands right inside the British Isles, so they don't dare sit down anymore Military equipment for fear it might be captured by the Irish.

So the British are out looking for another base. Now they've decided that they're going to remain east of Suez. The last government has said that they're going to leave east of Suez now.

They moved on across the northern part of Africa, all of this part was held by the Roman legions. All of this was part of the Great Roman Empire and this army, as it moved it, gathered forces in every country along the northern part of Africa, for instance, when they came to the ruins of Carthage, the old city of Carthage in Tunis, what is now Tunis – Carthage, which had been a great commercial center at one time, and which had been destroyed by the Roman legions with orders not to leave one stone upon another, why? As revenge against Black Hannibal of Carthage, who had led his army into Italy and who had captured the whole of the Italian peninsula.

And who had held it for a long time, while 100 years after Hannibal was dead, they had to wait that long. These Roman legions, now strong, came back to Carthage, and they did destroy Carthage. They destroyed it. They didn't leave one stone upon another. They destroyed it utterly, and they burned women and children. They destroyed this city of this black Hannibal.

When this army of Mohammad reached the place where Carthage had once been, it was as if from the very rocks and crevices and ruins of Old Carthage that black men came out to join them. To drive out forever the Roman legions. And so it was as they moved across Africa, the Berbers and the Moors and all the other black peoples came in until the Arabs, will tell you, by the time they got to the Atlantic Ocean and we're getting ready to cross the streets into Spain. The complexion of that army had so changed. That it couldn't be called an Arab army any longer because the Arabs were so much in the minority. It was the peoples of North Africa who swept across that strength and before them stood a great rock. Which they had to take first, and the commander of those who swept across that straight was a very powerful black commander,

to Alexandria, which was overrun then by the Byzantines, and by all kinds of riffraff from every place. He was killed by a mob. Some centuries, three centuries later, the Roman Empire accepted Christianity and the emperors declared themselves the head of the Christian Church.

Whether it was the Emperor emperor in Rome or the emperor in Constantinople. They sent out to destroy these Apostolic churches in Asia Minor, in Macedonia, in Damascus, in Egypt, in Ethiopia, they set out to destroy these churches because these churches did not want to pay tribute to the Roman Empire, and this was part of the whole thing. This was part of the kind of binding this empire together and these early Christians were rebels against this kind of thing. They were trying to follow the simple teachings of Jesus Christ and his disciples.

Well, these people in Rome and in Constantinople sent armies into these countries to wipe out these other Christians. And this is the beginning of the kind of plundering which has been done all over the world. In the name of Christian churches. This is a terrible thing, and this is probably the beginning of it. Well, in about the same time though in the Arabian Peninsula had arisen a young man named Mohammed who said that God had revealed certain truths to him And he developed, slowly or not too slowly it following.

And these people moved into first Damascus and drove the Romans out. They moved into Jerusalem and drove the Romans out. Then they crossed over into Egypt. And when they crossed over into Egypt, they really weren't a very big band because the Arabian Peninsula is poorly, very sparsely settled. But they got into Egypt, and they were joined by Egyptians.

They have decided that they're going to have to remain east of Suez. I'll make a prophecy. They're still going to leave east of Suez.

You see. Peoples have just decided. They've got to be free!

Imperialism and White Supremacy

Now let me say a word about this Belfour declaration. Because I know I do want to tell you one thing, though, before I leave Libya. Wheeler's base has been renamed. It is now called Akbar Binafa. Tell you who Akbar Binafa was. He was a black commander of Islamic forces that swept across northern Africa. And drove the Roman legions off of African soil and went up into Spain. He was a black African commander, and Wheeler's base is now named after a black commander.

I have said before, as I'm speaking in some other places. I wanted to make it very clear. That the enemy across the Suez Canal from Egypt. Is not an enemy because it is a Jewish settlement, not at all. It is an enemy. Because it is and imperialist white supremacist base.

And I want you to understand that when you hear about the planes and you hear about the commando forces crossing the Suez Canal to know that our forces have not dropped one bomb on any Israeli soil, anything that they have dropped, any command forces that they have in crossing the Suez Canal, they're still in Africa. They're still in Egypt.

They have been fighting a defense war to drive invaders off their land. They have not been fighting an aggressive war. Up to this date they haven't. This must be understood. I have visited in Cairo, a synagogue. A synagogue which is said to have

been founded by the Prophet Aaron. You see. Well, now they said it's been rebuilt and built over and over and over, down through these hundreds of years. 1000 years, really.

You see, when Moses led the children of Israel, this is what I was told by the rabbi of this synagogue when Moses was leading the children of Israel out of Egypt. Not all of them want to go. Just like our folks. That's not bad, but you know. Oh no. All of us follow nobody. So it seems that the children didn't all want to follow Moses. They decided they wanted to stay in Egypt and Soaron. The story is set up this synagogue.

This area, which is now incorporated into Cairo – of course, Cairo wasn't there when this happened. It was a small village. Not so very far from the pyramids. When this area, which is now part of Cairo, is still a predominantly Jewish community. They have their kosher shops and all other things that you see in a predominantly Jewish community and there has never been a program in Egypt. Never. Never down to the years.

I will say something else about Egypt. Many of you may have heard the word, as I'm sure I first heard it. When I went to Sunday school. And I got my picture card. And I learned about how the Angel of the Lord appeared unto Joseph and told him to arise and take the child Jesus and his mother and flee into Egypt. Because Herod was going to kill the child if he could find him, then this is in the first chapter of Matthews. Then it is said that Joseph arose and he took the child and they traveled into Egypt. And the Angel of the Lord told him further to remain in Egypt until I shall tell you so that the prophecy might be fulfilled out of Egypt. Have I called my son.

Now you know, I think that this is one of the most cogent reasons why the white Christian world does not want to say that

don't want it around us. But think about the beginning of the whole world. The word democracy. And whether or not it really has changed, that's not what I started out to say.

I wanted to say by the beginning of the 7th century Egypt and all Asia Minor and North Africa was in the grim grasp of the Romano-Byzantine Empire. The early – oh, here's something – Egypt was the first Christian nation in the world. Why? Largely because the people, the very common ordinary people, remembered this child Jesus. They had heard the prophecies from Mary and Joseph. And while they weren't any radios and there weren't any big newspapers circulating in the area, the fishermen in the Red Sea and the camel drivers that crossed the desert brought news of how this same young man was followed by great crowds. In Palestine and in Judea. Any in Jerusalem. And they heard how he was crucified by the mobs and how the Romans turned him over to this fanatical mob.

They heard all of this because the Romans were at this time the real rulers in Jerusalem. Everybody else was subservient. The Roman Empire had stretched all along here. The people in Egypt therefore, when again referring to the Bible to Corinthian, you read about how Paul and Mark preached in the marketplace of Alexandria. And then when Paul went on to Cyprus, Mark remained and he went up into Egypt into Northern middle parts of Egypt. It is said that he was in this little village where Jesus and Mary and Joseph had stayed because they had come to this village where this synagogue was.

They had been told that there was a Jewish settlement and this is where they had made their way through for complete safety. So Mark taught and preached to the common people of this – all up and down this valley and when he later returned

of race so chivalrous as neither to offer bastardy to the weak, nor beg wedlock to the strong, knowing that men may be brothers indeed, even though they be not brothers in law."

In Africa, we do not speak of the Arab hordes who pillage, devastated and enslaved the continent. Much of Western history would have you believe that Arabs started the slave trade in Africa, that Arabs were and always will be, the enemies of Africans. Let us for a moment consider the truth about this first. Last night. In Santa Barbara. I said a few words about democracy. And I'm going to repeat them here.

Where did democracy originate? In Athens. That's the word *nimos*. Greek word in Athens and what was the democracy of Athens? It was like a pyramid. The bottom slaves, the big base slaves, not black slaves. Slaves from anyplace. Slaves from any captured people. Some black slaves, I don't doubt. But slaves, this was the great bottom base. And then the next section was workers. Workers. And at the very top of the pinnacle of this pyramid was a few people who ruled everybody else, and that was the beginning of democracy. That was the origin of the word. That was the way it was. In 300 / 400 BC. I ask if it's changed so much. Has it? I ask you, I'm not gonna say, think it over. Has it changed?

Christianity, Democracy, and Empire

I know that when people, good people, in many instances come from this country and they go into other parts of the world and they want to bring them democracy. 99 times out of 100, the people, wherever they are, they don't have to be in Africa. They can be in Europe or Asia or Asia minor or anywhere else or they say we don't want it, you keep it. We

Egypt is Africa. How could they say that their Christ had to be taken to Africa to escape death? How could they acknowledge That according to the prophets that Christ should be called from Africa to save the world, to save them? How could they acknowledge this? I think it's one of the very important reasons why Egypt was sorta hung up there someplace, dangling in midair and never talked about as being Africa. I'm quite sure it is one of the very important reasons.

I'm trying to say that Egypt is traditionally a place of refuge. Where people have come from persecution and been received generously as a matter of fact, I swear king Idris is right now. He's in Egypt. He asked for refuge in Egypt and Egypt granted him refuge. The children and the widower, Patrice Lumumba. Have lived in Egypt ever since Patrice Lumumba was killed. The children, the boys are being educated in the schools in Egypt. They have found homes and refuge in Egypt. In Egypt now that Ghana is wiped out as a real African state. The main sources, the main headquarters of the African Freedom fighters, is in Cairo and Dar Salaam.

This is why I know so many people from various parts of Africa. If I live in Egypt. There are refugees there from South Africa, from West Africa, from all of these places, from Angola, from Mozambique. They don't stay there long as a rule. Because those people get back in the front lines. They come to rest, they come to communicate. To reach other people and then they go back to the front lines. To fight for their liberation. This is what they're doing, but Egypt is giving this kind of refuge to many, many peoples. And to particularly those in Africa who are reviewed as a matter of fact – when the coup came in Ghana, not by the Ghanaian people – everybody who had been taking a really active part in the development of Ghana, under Nkruma was arrested.

I was the director of television. And I was arrested. My brother, the brother who's in this audience today. And a lawyer from New York came out there to help me. And I eventually managed to get away. But I wanted to remain in Africa. I felt that I was needed in Africa and I felt that I needed Africa. So I went to Egypt. And this has been my residence ever since. Although I've been to a great many other places, but I always come home to Cairo. And I am made welcome, completely welcome in that country.

Egypt is Africa

I want to say in closing because I do want you to have. Lots of time. For questions I have been stressing the fact that Egypt is Africa. There's a lot more that could be said. I did say a lot more – I have two articles in the Black Scholar which I recommend in the May issue and the September issue. I have articles which I said Egypt is Africa. I would recommend that you read these articles for proof. For the proof which is offered there. Read them.

But why do I stress that Egypt is Africa? What difference does it make to black or white Americans? I stress it. I stress this fact because the dominant black movements in the world today within the United States, as elsewhere, is the determination of black people to assert themselves, to be themselves, to be proud of themselves, to walk on this earth with dignity. It is the determination to create such conditions that every black child may look at himself in the mirror and say with pride I am black and beautiful.

I have a heritage, I have traditions. I have a past. I have a history. My people have not only joined and built this country

with their sweat and blood bearing the heaviest burdens in the heat of the day in the development and in the very, the very the, the falling of the forest and the digging in the mines. My people have borne this, but they have also given science.. learning that art came from the valley of the Nile and back then black men first lifted their eyes to the stars and were able to read the course of the stars in the horizon. Let the black child be able to say that to himself.

I stress this fact because over and above the crime of plundering Africa, of its wealth over and above the crime of killing and enslaving its peoples, was the white man robbing of black people of their past, of their history. Of their tradition of brainwashing their minds, of shaming them that they no longer expose their beautiful black bodies to the sun and to bathe in their beautiful broad streams. But they must cover their nakedness with these rags out of missionary barrels. These castoffs, they must wear these things in order to be decent. And they have taught black children in Africa and black children in Mississippi to sing "Wash me and I shall be whiter than snow."

These are more Monstrous crimes, even in the robbing of the material riches of this continent, the dominant driver, black movements today is not integration. It is not to be like somebody else, to imitate somebody else, but rather to be the best of himself. Nor does this mean to hate others, nor to insist on separation from others. Because we are in this world together. And we can't any of us just shoot off to the moon and be by ourselves. I haven't heard of anybody wanting to do that.

It means, in the words of WEB Dubois, "*I believe in pride of race and lineage and self. In pride of self, so deep as to scorn injustices to other selves, in pride of lineage so great as to despise no man's father, in pride*