

**“Africans after Mwalimu J. K. Nyerere’s Century 1922-2022:
Reflections on the Present and Future”**

what malimu called the second scramble
for africa
how do we resist
the continued onslaught
of imperialism
that we call neocolonialism
we deferred
we argued a lot
but on one thing you are very consistent
evil if you correct me if i'm wrong
on our anti-imperialism
now i know
words like imperialism and capitalism
have become four letter words these days
they are not uttered that simply
so
horus
and igbo horace campbell evil mandaza
belong to that generation
both of them have
taught at this university
and some of you
but young lecturers may remember them
ebo
was in exile in tanzania
because the zimbabwean struggle was over
what's going on
and when zebra because its independence
or liberated itself
hebrew went back
to zimbabwe
and i think was one of the
prime founders
of institute of development
studies
in
in zimbabwe
and since then has continued
his intellectual work by providing for
example
the surface dialogue forum

and also printing and writing in what
time he was a
publisher of a magazine called surpass
surpass
sapim shapim in which many of us wrote
it was a very interesting forum
because it was not an academy journal on
the one and not a simple magazine on the
other to something in between
and it provided us with the great forum
horus has been a prolific writer
but not prolific in the sense of writing
many things
that lots of people write many things
but what do they write
horus has been writing
things which have
opened up
our insights into many issues
i really enjoyed reading your book in
libya
you know
and
one of the few books which will tell you
the real story
of what happened in libya
horace is a very active person
intellectually
and also in terms of
liberal uh liberation of africa
i don't know if i said it but let me
repeat it if i did not say it
that we belong to that africanist
generation
i don't know whether we were the last
part of it in his generation
because this i don't care much about
part of africanism
our states and political leaders have
made sure
that upon africanism vision and agenda
has put on the backbone
and
recaster when we started this chair

one of the ideas was to revive
one african debate
one african vision
before i call upon
our presenters to present it i want to
add and acknowledge
and very happily acknowledge the
presence of
my very close friend adebayo olukoshi
we fondly call him bio
and
bio has more than one thing to his
credit
bio was the first one through cordesia
to support this chair
and the idea of this chair
without that we would have fallen
into the trap of getting funding from
funders
development partners
who always come with their agenda
but we were able to establish this chair
independently
and actually we
refused funding
from corporate bodies or from outside
and that was made possible
to a very large extent
organization
and one of the two forums in which we
have been debating
kodeshia and surface
with these few words i would like to
invite you to make your presentation who
is going fast
evil
horace has decided that you are going
first
so
by the way this is being live streamed
and in the course so maybe you may be
joined by some other
other other other people or something
evil please

let me begin by
thanking the organizers
my brother fellow
colleague in the department of politics
mukandal professor mchandle
when i received your invitation
i was telling my family that it was like
i felt like a child
going to a birthday party
that's how i took this very seriously
i am so
grateful especially
tanzania
as issa has indicated
is a second home to many of us
i'm not that old but i was married 43
years ago in kinondoni
but and i'm also pleased that
our chair is achieved
it presents
the kind of stuff that i'll be speaking
about
the anti-imperial struggle
the struggle
against the pathologies of the
postponing
the struggle for punishmentism
indeed these are the themes in my paper
today
my paper at the head of my paper
i have
three
quotations which are meant to
illustrate
and i want to congratulate
the organizers
for the title the title of my
presentation is african liberation
complete
but unfinished
i couldn't think of more amped
title
at the beginning of
the paper i cite

enchroma's
statement on the 6th of march
1957. record our independence is
meaningless
unless it is linked up with total
liberation of the african continent
that was
the dream of
both
malimu and kruma
then my second quotation is from
fenwon
on the pitfalls
the pitfalls of national consciousness
the betrayal of the struggle
by our class
and he calls us laziness lazy
crude
but the one which is most
touching is one from
joshua and como
in 1985.
the hardest lesson of my life has come
to me late
it is that a nation can
win freedom
without its people
becoming free
very profound
and to
ring to resonate with the pan-africanist
i have a
dream i have a quotation from
one of our
outstanding panasonic's readers uh youth
sajidin
abu rahim
and it's a quotation from a book
it is by
adebayo olukoshi
now quote we are both
others
abroad and still others in africa
do we not deserve a place to call ours

where we can enter or leave without
hindrance
we may never quite be nigerians south
africans or kenyans
chadians or any of the possible
colonially induced artificial creations
but at least
we can be who we are
africans
and african citizenship will restore to
all
of us what is naturally ours
the title of that postcard is for an
africa
of free
equal and dignified citizens
the first part of my paper is on african
liberation
malimu's legacy
the university of jerusalem
the heady
the rough
but air of hope
i am glad
and immensely grateful
to be associated with this auspicious
event
to mark the centenary of malay mo judas
whose genuine public office
coincided with the heady
but hopeful error of the struggle for
national independence in africa
especially
that to which
incrima refers the liberation of
southern africa
an era which also coincides with the
development
of the university of darussalam the hill
as a center and crucible of the best of
afghan scholarship
that the continent has produced so far
an institution
that grew and thrived

along the with the liberation struggles
in angola guinea bissau mozambique
zimbabwe
and south africa
so while we honor
and venerate our malimu
on an equation that marks the centenary
so too
do we salute the university of jerusalem
whose history is almost synonymous with
tanzania itself
the bastion of african liberation
the real god of the struggle itself
the home of the oau's liberation
committee and the chair of the front
united states
in this regard the last stage of
antichrist will also represent the hope
of beit africa
against the background of a deep
disenchantment with post-independence
error
that had become a nightmare for the
majority of africans
for the independence honeymoon had been
so short lived
in the sixties
in less than a decade since the historic
speech of six march 57
and kuma had been deposed in 1966
her schools and counter-course became
the north across west africa
while in the congo
paris lumumba was brutally assassinated
on 17th january 1961
within months of the country's
independence day in september 1960
and in general
even political independence
itself appeared elusive
if not farcical
for most of the sixties and well into
the seventies
a post-colonial

africa
teeter-tottering in the face of both
failure at home
and an overarching hold of
neocolonialism
in retrospect
tanzania appeared in those days an
exception
to what renee dumour
cynically described as
the false start in africa
perhaps this explains why the country
and the university of jerusalem
became the refuge for liberation
movements of southern africa
exiles from uganda and kenya
scholars and activists from across
africa in this diaspora
this says
select scholarly activist abduallah
bajilli
who also
came through this place that the
universe of jerusalem
was the genesis of
liberation scholarship
the franchise the frontline states
consistently
consisted initially of tanzania zambia
and botswana
but later
including angola mozambique and zimbabwe
reflecting
both the advance and success of the
struggle
and also penn african solidarity across
the continent
in this regard
it should not be forgotten that nigeria
was a member of the france states of
southern africa
a key member
and benefactor of both the oau and the
ribbition committee

especially
during its oil boom
in the days
in the 1970s
a significant footnote in this regard
and one which southern africans
especially south africans
should forever remember in relation to
the unfortunate incidence of afrophobia
and xenophobia in that country the fact
that nigerian citizens in 1978
contributed
a naira or one u.s dollar each
raising more than symbolically
to the armed to contribute to the armed
struggle
millions of dollars
in addition
to the enormous flow of resources
and support that nigeria contributed to
struggles in southern africa i was a
beneficiary of that
as i trekked across
from botswana into zambia
tanzania and to mozambique
therefore the struggle for the
revelation of the last portion of africa
still under white cytokinesis
was a rolling point for pan-african
solidarity across the entire continent
and in this regard i want just to read a
quotation from
uh abby sax who also taught here
with isa
and he was lamenting the extent to which
south africans have forgotten
tanzania
and
not only
was he an exemplary leader
with no ambitions to be rich and feared
not only did he offer tambo extremely
available advice at crucial moments of
our struggle

he also made his country a country with
few resources
available to the freedom fighters from
southern africa
he allowed military training to take
place there
when i taught
at dar university in 1976 i found myself
immersed
in the activities of the liveliest law
school i've ever been in
we in south africa all so much to
tanzania
yet the name of julius general is hardly
known here
it was exciting to see student leaders
quoting from fanon
sankara
but no one spoke about malimu
or
osamura michel
old augustine for the matter
what can we do to remedy this
i know i should be answering the
question not asking it
but at least posing as a start that's
from rb sucks
so the university of jason itself
symbolizes i keep emphasizing symbolize
panachianism throughout this period
with tanzania
and the university
in particular became an attraction for
regular scholars from across the globe
these scholars
and activists many of them
persons personal growth in their own
country serve variously
and
collectively as a veritable contribution
to an understanding
of the ideological and political profile
of the struggle itself
the list of such scholars

is both impressive and inexhaustible
describes the foundation of the african
academic community
around which have emerged some of the
most significant pillars
such as the african association of
political science ops
which was founded here at the university
of darussalam in 1973
but that group of pan-african scholars
are serving as lecturers and professors
in uh nathan shamira from zimbabwe
daniel abu dairy from uganda yash tandon
uganda krodake
nigeria okudibanali nigeria akisoya
ghana
sam mushi tanzania
justinian and anthony mamu tanzania
and
george
zongola intelligence drc
and as as
issa indicated even surface itself
was an outgrowth of
apps
and indeed
as suppose we regard ourselves as the
extension of both
ups and the university of jerusalem
and including the supreme magazines
southern africa politically including
monthly
to which reference has been made by
issa
so
we should also remember that university
of jerusalem
was a home to such intellectual giants
as walter
rodney and i see walter rodney here
i was joking with him yesterday
there's no doubt where the name came
from achievement
ben magobani

amud mamdani and of course our dear isa
shivji
the founding member of the bolivarius
military chair in pan-african studies
and uh
mukandala and i were the juniors
in those days as were musica baregu
as issa has just
mentioned that seventies also witnessed
the
birth of
kodeshia
and egypt
with abdullah bhujra and samir
at the center of that exercise
and tandikam kanda willa bennett fonu
cadmium atomic desi
so both apps in kodeshia
have become
the center
of the foundation of the african
scholarship
and we have the names abdullah battily
peter young young michael
adel janadu
kramen
emmanuel hansen
from egypt
zongola
mugo wamba diyawamba
and horus campbell museum
another significant development during
the dara islam of the 70s was the
occasion in the city in this city
of the sixth pan-african congress in
1975.
and of course
it marked a very important development
in that the pan-african movement had
been very quiet for many decades
and also set the foundation for the
seventh bin african congress
in kampala in 1994
a most successful

congress
for which we must thank you dean
adebayo olukoshi napoleon abduallah
yahoo graham and
of course abdul alikalimat and our own
horus campbell
therefore the the role of african
intellectuals in australia cannot be
exaggerated
they remain the conscience of a
continent in transition
punctuating the historical process with
amazing insights
not only explaining social reality
but also seeking to change it
and through them
there is this deeper understanding of
the nature
and content of the state in africa
the essence of class
and all these ramifications as we heard
yesterday
from bio
and
so
it is for sound reasons
sheer testimony and i hope i'm speaking
accurately
about universal journalism that such
works by scholars have been
not composite reading
in our investors but also indelible
footprints
in the history of scholarship for
example
lecture of the earth achimaphagia
ideology of tribalism
samia means an equal development in
eurocentrism
walter rodney is how europe
underdeveloped africa
and his colleagues in popular struggles
for democracy in africa
he's achieved his silence class struggle

then become kanda williams series which
includes zimbabwe
the political economy of transition
which are edited
mahmoud i'm done
the feasibility of democracy in africa
and okadeva knowledge introduction to
politics
i hope these books are still here and
said books
and what about their standards that
there are some debate
indeed
these
reflect
the nature of the debate
about the post-independence africa
and how to transform it but also a
demonstration of the intellectual rigour
on the part of some of these scholars
like isa shivree
without the african scholarship in
general and the universal jurassum in
particular would be difficult to account
for and as peter young responded
a few days ago
i quote
university of darassam played a very
important role
in the development of social science in
eastern southern africa
and providing an intellectual home for
progressive scholars and students
not only not only is it necessary to
recall those days
and use that experience to critique the
vague mission that has emerged in
university education in this part of the
world
particularly in the social sciences
but also to ensure
that history of our intellectual journey
is accounted for in our lifetime
and battery responds

peter i cannot agree more with you a
collective book
documenting our experience on the hill
those
heroic years would be welcomed by the
few remaining pioneers
and more importantly
for the veterans of the struggle and
younger generations of scholars
it is important
it's an important chapter of the african
liberation history
there is a challenge
for
professor kandala and his team
this is why
i'm speaking to the university students
here this is why
the subject of development studies is
still here professor
one in which every student the
university of jerusalem had to take
compulsory is so legendary
in that it sought to expose all to the
social sciences
while in being
a political consciousness so essential
to pan-africanism
and transformation
essentially i'm glad to hear that the
development study is still here
we tried it
it influenced many of us but of course
as issa mentioned ids
was unethically dumped
and closed
victim of the vagaries of
post-independence
so if the 80s were exciting times i mean
the 70s
the 80s
were not that good
and
the 80s receded into

mixture of diffidence indifference
and even despair about the african
condition
namely the reality that
not the withstanding
the formal end of colonialism
african liberation
is as complete
as it is unfinished
and
the apparent irony that it is precisely
in those countries of southern africa
especially zimbabwe namibia and south
africa
who wage an armed struggle in which
liberation is most incomplete
in the glaring disparity between on the
one hand
the ceremonial trapeze of national
independence that include a black
majority-led state
a flag and anthem
and on the other an economy
characterized by continuities
and inequalities of white circularism
include the unresolved land question
and in the case of south africa namibia
the prevalence of white racism
as much inadequate as in conduct
and in this regard even zimbabwe is not
yet out of the woods
therefore
i believe that we should not talk about
african liberation
i think it's more correct to talk about
post-independence post-colonial
both are not are no less problematic
conceptually but they assist in
highlighting the key factors
that render african liberation
incomplete so far
and there are two issues that
i want to highlight
the first is the history

of portugal in africa
and the state
which the peace projects the united
states independence
what i call that bourgeois state
without the national bourgeoisie nor the
requisite paraphernalia to get it in
terms of its european antecedent
yet it is on the base of that model that
the pro conscious colonial state has to
be assessed in the first instance
particularly the democratic deficit
the vision of a democratic
society in which the violations
and denials of the korean era would be a
thing of the past
in the new meritocracy established it's
called aki reminded us
the language of the nationalist movement
was the language of democracy
as it's clear from
i speak of freedom
without bitterness
freedom and development
african socialism
and the rest of the earth phenon
it denounced the violation of dignity of
the colonized racial discrimination
lack of equal opportunity and equal
access
and economic exploitation of the
colonized
the people were mobilized according to
these grievances
and experience of a more democratic
dispensation
which has been elusive as i said early
on
so more than half a century into post
independence
africa as a whole it has demonstrated a
glaring economic and political
incapacity
to fulfill this vision

unlike the bourgeois state after which
model it is in pursuit
the african states
the african nation state of the making
lacks the economic foundations
and the anchor
class through which
to inherit a commendable level of
national confidence project national
interests and create a national economy
hence the continued education of
parasitic and comprador classes
most of whose neighbors have grown
parapassal the postcolonial economic
pathology
and are largely depend upon the state
international capital
or an institutionalized aid regime
this is the import of the class
that fanon spoke about
a point highlighted by amica cabral
about the the petty budget class
and
what's important here
is
to uh highlight
some of the excesses of
post-independence
and i want to quote from willie mutunga
a brilliant satire of
of the post-independence era
the big man syndrome
and the commensurate subversion of
national institutions including
a captured judiciary
a lame legislature
and an account an unaccountable
executive
a quote
his face is on money
his photograph hangs in every office in
his
his ministers wear gold pens with tiny
photographs

of him on the labels of their
unpre-striped tailored suits
he named streets football stadiums
hospitals and universes after himself
he carries a silver inlaid ivory rongo
or an honestly carved walking stick
or a fly whisk
or chiefly stool
he insists on being called doctor
or the big elephant or the number one
peasant
or nice old man
or the national miracle or the most
popular leader in the world
his every pronouncement is reported in
the first page
he shuffles ministers without warning
criticizing political decisions as he
undercuts pretenders to his throne
he
escaped god's minorities to show up
popular support
he bans all particular parties except is
the one he controls he rigs elections he
emasculates the courts and he calls the
press he's typhoons academia he gives
the church
the big man's off the cut cuff remarks
of the power of the law he demands
standards applause from the legislature
when ordering
far-reaching changes in the constitution
he breaches his home region with
highways schools hospitals housing
projects irrigation schemes and a
presidential mansion
he packs a civil service
with his advertisement
his enemies are harassed by youth
wingers from the ruling party
his enemies are detained
or exiled emulated tortured
or killed end of court
and so we have seen

in my country the development of what we
call that's a critical state
which is explained in the elsewhere is
really
reflects the militarism of this the
struggle error
where
and that's of course the next the second
factor is the national question and in
this regard
i think
we
we have enough examples and tanzania is
one good example
where we heard the other day how uh
marimu
abolished shifting ship
and by contrast many of our countries
that has been sustained a colonial
institution
in the interest of the of the state
the second last part of my thing once i
conclude is the neocolonialism
and the role of the
petty and comprador bourgeoisie
and there are just two quotations
one from incruma
and the other from the area
the reality of neocolonialism quickly
becomes obvious to a new african
government which tries to act in
economic matters in the interest of
national development
and for the betterment of its own masses
for such a government immediately
discovered that it inherited the power
to make laws
direct the civil service
to treat the foreign governments and so
on
but did not inherit effective power of
economic development in its own country
indeed it often discovers that there is
no such thing as a national economy

neocolonism is real end of course
el nino speaking in the university of
zimbabwe in 1985 i was there fortunately
also explains
that neocolonism is expressed itself
through the very factors namely economic
political strategic human
and so forth
which accompanied colonial colonization
in our code
the evidence is all around us the gap
between african poverty and the wealth
of the developed nations gets larger
african nations get further into debt
and they have less and less ability
even to sustain such economic progress
as they had earlier made
then when the national disasters or
drought or flood strike
or indebtedness becomes extreme
the critical core for temporary relief
is liable to be facilities
for military or communication units of
great power
or the forced adoption of the economic
policies
and if an african nation is not
sufficiently cooperative
then the lessons of angola and of libya
are there to see
to say nothing of the more subtle and
camouflaging interventions
in our political systems which are
frequent
and the last point i want to make really
is that well in the
80s and 90s we tended to
speak of canadian colonism either from
abstract point of view
or as attributable only to the
colonialists
i think what has happened in the last 20
years is the role of
what i call the comrade of biswasi the

people who don't work the people have
waxed reach
from
from from
backhanders
and so on and so forth
you know in my country you heard about
15 billion dollars from diamonds
disappearing
and so it goes on
and therefore in conclusion
how to reform and transform the state
how to restore as issa is just indicated
that really
is
the point
and i want just end up with this
quotation
from my lecture at the steve biko
lecture in 2017.
there is the india's capable conclusion
that the african nationalist era
inclusive of the national liberation
movements
have long served their purpose
as the agency for the attainment of
political independence
and or the formal end of apartheid
and no more it's a class project it is
both historically preempt
and ideologically constrained
from taking us further than we have come
so far
more than that
it has turned out to be a naive if not
self-indulgent and downright
presumptuous
they have expected that this class
of leaders
that in the united states power could
have served us
as the anticipated vanguard
to subject for the national bourgeoisie
through which to drive the national

development agenda
and enhance the fortunes of the nation
state in the making
this is an understatement to conclude
that the post liberation phase so far
has been a resounding failure
especially on the economic front
thank you
thank you thank you very much uh ibo for
completing your lecture
although i know it remains unfinished
but we'll finish it during discussion
time
for us please
i'm jambo
good afternoon everybody
and i want to send greetings
to all those who
are joining us
from near
and far
i would like to
continue
the discussion that igbo
started
and of course
i want to thank
the
maluimu
niri cheer
kigora
my colleague my younger colleague in the
department of political science
dr mukandala
and the team
that worked so hard to bring us here
and to organize this important
festival
i want to thank you
and i want to acknowledge the presence
of so many of you especially
rocky janna
badou
badahi

i know some yesterday some of you were
sleeping and i know that you weren't
following in english but i'm going to
try to speak slowly so you can follow
so thank you for coming i also want to
acknowledge
some of my students who are taught here
there are some of them who are here they
have approached me and
i am very pleased to see
how successful
you have become
because you are from a successful
university
and a very successful place
and it is important
that we are celebrating malimu nerium my
presentation is
malimu julius
and african liberation
so i want to acknowledge
all of you who are here
and especially
our brothers and sisters in the front
row
as they say in nigeria
all protocols observed
this festival
is here to celebrate
the victories of african liberation
and we want to underline victories
but
this
festival
is also
here
to
recognize
the work of
julius nirei
so we are here
to recognize the importance
of what nirei was fighting for
how can african peoples

live
in peaceful
secular
and prosperous societies
that is a challenge for us
and one of the things we
benefit from
the tanzanian peoples and towns in this
society
is this society has been at peace
and there are many books
about
nehru
books many articles
and our brother
it's a shibji
said
athman
and our son kamata is here
they produce this wonderful volume
on the area
so this volume on the rare
has helped us
to understand
the relationship between the rari and
the tanzanian society
and in celebrating neri
we're not here to defy him
we're not here to worship him
but we're here to place him in the
context
of the tanzanian society
and when you look at this nine volume
study on african liberation
it's not only the rarer that we're
thinking of
we're thinking of all of those
peoples of tanzania
who form the foundation of tanzanian
support for liberation
we cannot talk about liberation in
tanzania without talking about
hashimbita
and the work that was done

by the oau liberation committee
saalem ahmed saalem
and the work he did on the international
stage
ahmed
abdul rahman babu
and
others
and abdallah
many would not know that when you're
speaking about
liberation movements
living
and working in communities
such as in mazimbu
in morogoro
that
the ability of the liberation movements
to be able to work and live
in security
depended on the peasants
the working peoples
and the party structures the
intelligence so the tanzanian people
supported liberation
so we're not talking about liberation
only coming from nirari
we're talking about
natin guaya
i went to nottingham 10 years ago
because it's such an important
historical place
in the history of africa
and
when you look at the infrastructure of
nationwear
the british had set up this
infrastructure for the
grown-up scheme
very good infrastructure the tanzanian
turned that
away from the british
and turned it
over to

the liberation movement
so i want to draw from
that history of the tanzanian people
and go back to nehru's views of
liberation
nibiri had four points of liberation can
you go back once
liberation for neri
you could look at all of his writings
first
freedom from colonialism
and
white minority rule
and that's what evo said
in this discussion
are we free from colonialism
it is unfinished because
we still have colonial territories in
africa so we cannot be talking about
african liberation today without saying
that we still stand in solidarity with
our brothers and sisters in western
sahara
or brothers and sisters in kauta
and i think we are not paying sufficient
attention
to the way in which my yacht
is being used as a base for counter
revolution
insurgency and destabilization and it's
right here off the coast of tanzania
so nimrev said
there are four aspects of liberation
first freedom from colonial rule
second freedom from external economic
domination
third
freedom from poverty
injustice
imposed on africans
by other africans iba talked about that
injustice imposed by africans on other
africans
and fourth

liberation involves
mental freedom
when i teach in the university i say to
the students what is the theoretical
framework that we are using
for understanding a subject
and if nehru is talking about mental
freedom
what is the basis on which we'll get
this mental freedom
and the basis on which we'll get that
mental freedom is based on emancipatory
politics
emancipate your politics
next slide please
emancipate politics is very simple and
straightforward
number one
african people think
and africans are human beings
fundamental
we cannot discuss liberation without an
emancipatory framework
that humanizes the african because since
the beginning of racial capitalism
the african has been dehumanized and
became a non-human
so our education process
the real reason for society is how to
humanize
the african and in the process you will
humanize the planet earth
so the ideas that we start from
for
emancipation
is that african people think
that the politics must be based on the
orality
orature
and popular participation in politics
collective leadership politics of
inclusion
i will not go through all the points but
the theoretical framework for

emancipatory politics
of nine
elements emancipatory politics and the
liberation of african women
defending the natural and human
resources of africa
security of the producers
and the cooperation of democratic states
and societies in africa
africa cannot be free and emancipated
as tanzania
africa will only be free and emancipated
in a unified
africa so the epistemological framework
for african liberation
is based on the thinking african
and the african knowledge system
you cannot be thinking about african
liberation and african freedom on the
basis of hobbes or lock or
plato
or a european ideas that is based on
white supremacy
domination over nature patriarchy
whiteness
and private property
it must be on the basis of a body of
ideas that came out of africa
which is fundamental to life which is
african fractals
fractal thinking
fractal thinking is about the
interconnectedness of human beings
about the relationship between humans
and nature
and between the spiritual world and the
material world
so the thinking
that informs emancipatory politics
is the thinking that will give us
freedom
so when we talk about liberation we're
talking about how do we mobilize
african knowledges

how do we mobilize african knowledges
and bring that together as a foundation
and bring the best of human knowledge
from all parts of the world but the
foundation must be the starting point of
humanity where did humanity begin
where
okay
so which knowledge we must start with
okay
so that's a starting point of liberation
how do we emancipate ourselves
and of course i come from the society
that has produced the greatest
theoretician for emancipatory politics
and some of you know him
his name is bob
emancipate yourselves from mental
slavery
none but ourselves can free our minds
right is a course on bob marley as a
philosopher because bob marley is much
more important than john locke
so the rejuvenation of africa
is what we want to stop talk about the
rejuvenation of africa and my
presentation is here to celebrate
the victory of africa
in defeating white racism and apartheid
and so my presentation is based on
celebrating kutukunovali
i'm not going to ask these questions how
many of you know about kutico novalee
how many
we have 500 persons in this room
and the biggest battle in africa
that brought about freedom for southern
africa
it is not taught in our schools
because
the idea of african liberation
is a gift
when britain granted independence to
tanzania

when britain granted independence to
kenya
so kutu konovale
which was a turning point for african
freedom and liberation
is not taught
it's not a reference point
so i want kutakonda valley to be a
reference point
so
the rejuvenation of africa at home and
abroad
number one
the military defeat of the south african
army of kutakunawali number two
the coming to power of the
liberation movements all across southern
africa
number three
truth and reconciliation as a foundation
of politics
a lot of things wrong with truth and
reconciliation but it
provides the basis for bringing new
elements in politics
number
four the world conference against racism
and centralizing reparations and
reparative justice as a foundation for
the future of politics
we cannot talk about politics in the
future without dealing with reparations
of reparation justice
then we have the birth of the african
union with all its limitations
but we must celebrate it and build it
and fertilize it
and of course the most dynamic aspect of
the revitalization of africa today
is the black lives matter movement
the black lives matter movement
internationally is the new
intergenerational multi-generational
multi-ethnic multiracial led by the

radical grassroots women in all parts of
global africa
and these are aspects of
the rejuvenation of the african
liberation process that we must
celebrate
so we're moving on now
to how do we
talk about kuta kono valley let me say
quickly
what happened in cuticle valley
1987 to 1988
was the biggest battle that took place
on african soil since the battle of
alamein in 1942 in
in
in in libya
and we diminish african liberation by
talking about the cold war
there was no cold war in southern africa
there was no cold war in the congo
it was very hot millions of people died
in this war
so talking about cold war is to reduce
the african liberation struggle as a
subsidiary struggle between what is so
called eastward struggle
next slide please
so where's kutkon valley
kutukudevale is in
angola
it's in the province of kuda kombango
south east of luanda next slide please
and the fidel castro said
the history of africa
will be that of before kutakona valley
and after kutakuna valley
because
please
the history of africa will be written
as that of
before kutukuna valley
no for most people in the liberation
movements in south africa

kotocona valley did not happen
because what happened is that
united states and cuba negotiated
freedom
and so
the active mobilization politically
economically diplomatically in all
fields to bring about the defeat of
apartheid did not take place next time
please

next one please

so

nelson mandela acknowledged
mandela acknowledged
that the idea of white supremacy
the idea of the invincibility of white
people

was defeated at kutakuna valley
militarily

next slide please

i want to read from walter rodney
i want to read from walter rodney
because

in europe

every child that goes to school
would have learned about

normandy

and why normandy was important in the
defeat of fascism

most schoolboys

would have learned

about these battles

but we don't teach about kutakuna valley
because

as adebayo said yesterday

we don't want our children to have
confidence in themselves

and have confidence in their history
and to have confidence in yourselves
means that you must know your own
history

was the end of a long line of

battles

from the battles in

zambia

many people do not know the support that
tanzania gave to zambia for
independence many do not know of the
support that tanzania gave to kenya for
independence

i want to refer you to a very small
article by walter rodney
called mao mao in tanzania
about the peasants and workers in moshi
giving assistance to the land and
freedom army in kenya

so

long before the oau liberation committee
there was a pan-african movement for
eastern and central africa that
mobilized support through the bureau of
african affairs of ghana
and then after the all african people's
conference in 1958

the then we have

pathmaker

and they supported zambia
supported mozambique
the high point of liberation in this
region

was the fall of the

portuguese fascist regime

the fascist regime in portugal did not
just fall they were defeated militarily
politically and diplomatically

and it was from these dusty streets in
darsalam in liberation camps

that the liberation movements got their
support

the liberation of angola

liberation of zimbabwe

and

the independence of namibia

now what has happened about kutakunavali
and this

support that tanzania gave

the world bank had to diminish tanzania

you listen to the statement that alba

sacks made that evo mandaza read
in south africa
international capital spent one billion
dollars to say that
you should not follow tanzania because
tanzania is a failed state
neri is a flawed leader
and so
members of the liberation movements
themselves in south africa do not teach
people in south africa about the
sacrifices of the tanzanian peoples the
tanzanian government and tanzania
society to liberation
so the intellectual leadership and
intellectual work is take over by the
boards who says yes this was done for
negotiations
chester cocker wrote a very long book of
over 500 pages to say
high noon in southern africa keeping
peace in a rough neighborhood
and that the united states was keeping
peace and was negotiating united states
was a company the world bank and the imf
supported apartheid
so
next slide please
so this billion dollars investment
went into ngos
now one thing about
writing about kutskuna valley
is that their alternative narratives
the cubans
who made the biggest sacrifice in angola
for the defeat of koto korvale
they opened up their
archives now there's a there's a very
very big book on
the valley by a
italian professor in the united states
of america
but the problem with that book
is about the victory in kutu konawali

but the book the subtitle of the book is
pretoria
moscow and havana
in other words
the peoples of africa
who did the diplomatic political
military work had nothing to do with
kotocona valley
but can you blame them if we don't teach
kutakunevale in the department of
political science at the university of
darfur
can you blame them we don't take
our own archives to do this work
next slide please
so
tanzania was the anchor of liberation
and we want to teach our young people
about this work let me move on to the
next issue
what was the anchor of liberation in
tanzania
the anchor of liberation in tanzania
was the arusha declaration and ujamaa
you cannot speak about liberation in
tanzania without speaking
was based on the strength of the village
community
the knowledge of the village community
and the promise
of all to organize a new society
based on
the
legacies of cooperation
in kiswahili it is called utu
in south africa it's called ubuntu
it is the idea
that i am a person because you're a
person and your humanity depends on my
humanity
but the ujamaa culture
ubuntu
could not develop with the ideas of
liberal capitalism which is based on

development
i want to repeat that
because this morning were talking about
teaching kiswahili
and we were talking about teaching
kiswahili in
physics
and in mathematics
but it's not enough to teach kiswahili
in mathematics and physics if we're
going to teach euclidean geometry
and teach the physics
of
isaac newton
unless we're teaching the physics of the
21st century
unless we're teaching the physics can
free our people
unless we're teaching the physics that
brings us
into the future that's what this
conference is about reflections on the
present and the future
is a black woman
who wrote this important book
that i want to bring to your attention
she's an astrophysicist
the disordered cosmos
a journey into dark matter space time
and dreams deferred
radical black women are taking all of
the ideas of patriarchy and physics
so where does this idea of dark matter
come from
and i
recommend this to you especially those
of you studying physics
i not only recommend that you study
fractals
because
what ujama
can make possible in the digital era is
a quantum leap beyond
the linearity

of liberal
capitalism or
a marxism which is based on phases of
development which is not based on the
transformation that cut the conditions
of the lives of the people
let me move on
to the next area of liberation
of nirei
let me move on
i i i
i was going to read this quotation but
you all know it
please go back to that quotation for me
narrator is quotation
we have been oppressed a great deal
we have been exploited a great deal
and we have been degraded a great deal
it is their weakness
yes
it is our weakness that has led us to
being oppressed
and disregarded
now we want a revolution
azim
niri say you cannot have a revolution
you cannot have ujamaa without a
revolution
no we want a revolution a revolution
which brings and enter a weakness
that we're never getting exploited
oppressed and humiliated
but this could not be done under the
conditions of that time
and that's why nirei understood
that the liberation of tanzania
was tied up to the liberation of africa
of the non-aligned world
and the global south
and they really went on to become the
chairperson of the south commission
i just want to i
was born in jamaica named
jamaica

lucky named sasami in tanzania
i want to make a comparison between
jamaica
and tanzania
in the non-aligned world
because michael manley attempted to
oppose
imperialism
without changes in the jamaican society
and harmonizing
the ideas of the jamaican society to
face imperialism
and jamaican society was destroyed by
the world bank and the imf
we have to bear that in mind
now let's go to the question of the
south commission
the south commission
today
we're talking about the future
library
understanding
that
liberation in africa must be linked to
the liberation of the planet earth
worked on the assault commission and the
buyer spoke about his work with nire in
the south commission i would urge you to
read the findings of that south
commission
because that's how commission brought us
to what where we are today
with the regional comprehensive economic
partnership most people do not know
about rcep
the most comprehensive
economic
relations in the world today bringing
about the largest trading bloc in the
world is the rcep
and the intellectual anchors of the rcp
are vietnam and indonesia
next slide please
so the rcep

they have cut themselves from the iron
from the world bank
they've created institutions in asia so
they do not have to go to the imf on the
world bank
the chiang mai initiative
means that they pool their resources in
asia
not to go to the world bank and the imf
and they opposed the world bank and the
imf in asia
and now
they've brought together
china
australia japan
south korea and new zealand to have the
largest trading block in the world of
course if you follow the american media
they said it's a chinese-led rcep
china is actually the weak link in the
rcep because the social science is so
underdeveloped in china itself next
slide please
let me move to the conclusion
never was a champion
of fighting
the imf and the world bank and their
ideas
when they came up with this program
highly indebted poor countries
are the debt cancellation
today we have moved beyond that
because it is now clear
that racial capitalism
was a criminal
enterprise
that carried out crimes against african
people and against the whole world and
in the question time i can go to the
genealogy of racial capitalism
but in the caribbean
the popular movement in the caribbean
has brought about the global
reparations movement for reparative

justice
the reparations is a very wide church
some people say
the british and the americans must pay
money
so the caribbean reparations plan
involved number one
full apology
that is
the british the americans the europeans
must say we committed crimes
number two
repatriation caribbean people say they
have the right to go back to africa
number three indigenous people's
development we cannot talk about
changing our lives in that part of the
world without acknowledging the genocide
against the first nation peoples
number four cultural institutions number
five public health crisis the health
crisis that we have the organization of
the health system is linked to
enslavement
number six illiteracy african knowledge
program again go back to african
knowledge
psychological rehabilitation technology
transfer and debt health cancellation
that's the reparations program
so the liberation project of the future
involves
reparations
reparative justice
lincoln the south and to our last point
the unification of the peoples of africa
niri
understood next slightly
never ever understood
and i'm going to end here
you cannot talk about the future of
tanzania
outside of the future for unified africa
it is a fiction to think that you can

have development in tanzania
doesn't mean that tanzania is going to
stand still it's a two-track
process
that the consolidation of peace and
independence in tanzania
will only be accelerated with the
unification of africa
unity will not enter weakness but until
we unite we cannot even begin to end
that weakness
so this is my plea to the new generation
of african leaders and african peoples
work for unity with a firm conviction
without unity there is no future for
africa
that is the message i want to leave with
you
ten years
ago i wrote a book called global nato
and the catastrophic failure in libya
the subtitle of the book
lessons for africa
in the forging of african unity i took
the ideas of nirari
kamen kroma
tamasankara
all of those wangara mathai
who were fighting for african
unification
to say that the nato destruction of
libya was a turning point in the world
so yes here we are now
we have reached that turning point
because the war in ukraine
is brought
fundamental changes to the world
and as african peoples
we must not only pay attention to this
war but we must understand that this war
is unleashed because of the
weaponization of everything by
united states military
let me repeat

the weaponization of trade
the weaponization of food
weaponization of energy
the weaponization of currency and in
fact the war the foundation of this war
is to save the united states dollar
so
what will africa's response be
to the food crisis
to the energy crisis
to the political crisis
the balance of payments crisis
is it to go back to the same world bank
that have the military management of the
international system to save the united
states dollar and to repeat their
shibboleth
or to move towards the unification of
the peoples of africa
so we can learn from new era
julius nireiri
was a great human being
and the struggle for african liberation
is a struggle for our humanity thank you
very much
thank you very much horace
i think
that lecture by
horace campbell
puts our struggles
in a perspective
which you do not hear
much these days
i particularly
would like to emphasize the way horace
ended
that how do you address
ukraine crisis do you go back to the
world bank
unfortunately we are going back to the
world bank
i shall say no more
just read the news which has come out of
the last two days

okay uh without
wasting much time
let us have discussion uh no
to
translate it for horus and ebo so feel
free
this is the
little liberated zone we have here
so don't feel constrained
be as free as you can
so ask your questions make comments keep
it short so that we can give
opportunities to as many people as
possible
do an example
so
let me start with you
you stretched your hand so hard they
cannot
possibly overlook you
my name is joram kumbi
i come from
professor lumumba foundation
and my question
goes to dr
a scandal
as i was listening to you
you are like a man shout in the
wilderness
calling the young people to baptism
the baptism of partner africanism and i
can see you have called many to the
altars
and behind you
i can see
mishire mugo
and samir ramir
so my question is capitalism is right
here
and people have described themselves
as marxist leninist
neoliberalist trade unionist
i'm interested to know philosophically
who are you

among the
groups that i've mentioned
and if you refuse to be describing these
lepers
again
who are you philosophically
all right
who are you
and that's great we should be asking you
all to all of us who are we
who are we
okay
next person here please
back yes
okay something
okay my name is zakiyas malcolm ahushi
university student taking bit
my question goes to the professor ibo
professor ebo you've just alluded to the
fact that the african continent was
or has been subjected to colonial
imperialism
and that some of the
fighters for freedom were subjected to
you know uh persecution
like the likes of patricia and you've
concluded by saying that we are facing
near colonialism up to date now my
question is
what's the antidote
for neocolonialism in africa thank you
okay
the
presenters are
noting down your questions
and then you've finished the questions
they'll come back to respond yes there
okay thank you my name is makala jonas
musa i'm here a student university of
the wrestling pursuing in battle of arts
in diplomatic and military history i
have a few questions first question uh
because tanzania previously has had a
huge role in diplomatic relations

especially in africa and art and uh in
the world at large what is the current
position of tanzania in diplomatic and
international political affairs in
ensuring sustainable development the
second question
what
we know that tanzania played a great
role towards the liberation uh on the
southern african countries including
mozambique which was the first country
uh in tanzania
it's scheduled to arrive in
1963 what are the roles of what are the
current role of those
southern african states towards the
development of tanzania
towards the development of tanzania in
all spheres thank you
here
comedy
is
i want to know
my country i want to know what um
did for us and yeah that's it
let me come to my right here
let's start here
right right there shouldn't they
translate that proof sorry oh you won't
translate
oh you got it
yeah yeah so much as you have presented
about all this
great contribution towards liberation
what would your advice be
in conscious in the minds of young
people
in the very spirit of pan-africanism
and being patriotic
thank you
okay thank you so much my name is gilda
gaspar
i'm real source adam because when you
are talking prof the last one who

presented
i was feeling like i don't know anything
it's just the first time i'm hearing
what you're saying
so
if you tell me like in africa youth we
are complaining about each and
everything i think it's because we don't
know anything about us
we are just lost
in the wilderness
as the uh the fellow youth said
because i remember when i was in
synchrony school
i was taking all the subjects including
history and bad luck the teacher was
teaching history didn't know whether the
history was she was teaching so i just
found myself hating history so i just
didn't understand well and i didn't like
the history so i just
started to pass the exam and i did and i
went to tech visit me
i did bachelor of science in biology and
now i think i just lost all my time
because what i got is not what i
supposed to get i was supposed to get i
supposed to know what i have as a a
tanzanian as african young person
and now you find that like we are
looking for economic liberation how can
we look for economic liberation why we
don't know even what we have in place so
i think it's maybe if it was the parent
it's now the time to write the will to
young people in africa please we are in
the wilderness we don't know anything
thank you so very much thank you very
much
the fact that you don't know anything
is not a comment on you
it's a comment on us
including vaishmiya pindaba
it's a comment on us

what are we teaching you
in schools in our universities
what are we doing

so

i think

you met

you made a very important comment

you made an extremely important

and i hope it will make us think

how was it when you complete

i hope

it will make them think

so

yuma

okay

you wake up

okay

my name is uh gibbs sylvester joseph

i'm from benjamin cup high school

i have a question to the first speaker

according to one of our quotations that

i quote from him he said that

african countries are free

but the people the natives aren't free

at all so what i just wanted to know is

that what kind of freedom that they want

them to be free from and one among the

questions that were asked according to

neo-colonialism as far as to my concern

and as far as to my knowledge

i know about culinary that the state is

free but it's still being colonized so

my question goes to the first speaker

that what are those fears that we have

been colonizing in according to

economically political and social so i

need to know the categories on where

where we're heading as the africans

thank you

i'll take two more and then we'll get

some questions from

those who are watching it

live stream okay so i'll take two more

okay

that would be the uh
yellow t-shirt please
oh great
my name is sami oscar
and my question will go to the last
speaker
uh in recent history we have seen that
colonialism has brought a number of
negative effects
in our in our continent so my question
is
why are we still celebrating
this capitalism until today
okay
let me see now
i know you have
okay let's get you here
yeah
thank you very much my name is actually
andrea mariquella
i'm a retired teacher
i'd like to express my views in swahili
for a good reason that i want to be
clear
not again
pan-africanism spear or africa to aja
to the those who
ask questions on the internet okay thank
you very much uh we only have three
questions
this one is from masato i'll read it
uh he says that what we hear is
the good history of what tanzania did
for liberation movement of african
countries majorities coming from
sub-sahara africa
questions to the presenter and audience
does tanzania still hold its respective
political position as
it used to do as it used to be
during the liberation eras
is tanzania still a good example of
democracy and freedom in the continent
if not

does this
does the presenter think this comes out
of the education that doesn't teach its
people about their good history and
instill critical thinking skills
where does the presenter see tanzania in
the coming years
then of course we have the next one from
wabil and guenia
this is directed to
horace campbell
and he says i don't hear horace talk
about chinese imperialism
are we not too obsessed with bretton
woods capture at the same time
glorifying chinese imperialism disguised
in multilateral trade agreements
that's that's to horrors thank you
you want to start horace and then you
come
i'm going to try to be brief
who am i i am the beneficiary
of the rastafari movement
the people who said in jamaica
that no
african can be free until all of africa
is free
i come from a society
where racism and capitalism
shaped us
and our understanding of the world was
enhanced by great thinkers
some of the great thinkers who i still
learn from
are people like walter rodnick who was a
great
thinker activist
was assassinated for fighting for
african freedom and third world freedom
and i want to add
to the young people here
we do not support any kind of
pan-africanism that is based on
xenophobia

and is based on anti-white or
anti-indian
isa shivji will not say this himself i'm
going to say it for him
we will not be part of any pan-african
movement that says that ishashivi cannot
be part of that movement
yesterday we had an atrocious paper
presented here
on pan-africanism
and the papers spoke about
pan-africanism for black people
in other words this pan-africanism is
going to exclude
people who are deemed non-black as the
people that name them black are whites
arabs and indians
that is antithetical to the ideas of
pan-africanism or walter rodney
which is about the unity of peoples
especially working peoples in africa
so that's the heritage i come from
and i benefit from the people who have
carried pan-africanism even further
one gary mathai
wangaramatha has taken pan-africanism to
the level of the planet earth
mishiri mugo who talks about
pan-africanism of women and youth so
those are the people who i benefit from
and of course
i am very concerned about the young
people
because
of the
technologies that are being unleashed
to hack the brains of young people
brain hacking
i think most of you know that facebook
is an instrument of white supremacy
do they know this
that facebook
is being used to reinforce ideas of
white supremacy

so the algorithms of oppression
that are being used
so that while we're speaking while ibo
and i are speaking you're there looking
at your text messages
because your brain cannot function
for one hour to follow something that's
going on for your benefits
the question about the tanzanian
educational system i still believe
that there is one benefit that tanzania
has
from its era of liberation support
and that's a relative level of social
peace
and i would ask my brothers and sisters
in tanzania
to cherish that
do not diminish this
do not poo poo
the fact that
you can drive from here
down to dara salam without going through
five roadblocks with police and soldiers
these are very important
traditions of tanzania of course
there's so many problems in tanzania
but those problems are problems of
capitalist exploitation
and they will not be resolved
by what they tell you in the world bank
good governance
the people who need good governance the
number one institution that need good
governance in the world is the imf and
the us military
and they come to talk to you about
governance human rights and democracy
of course you know that there was an
attempted coup in the united states last
year they have a hearing going on right
now with this attempted coup and that
coup has not gone away because of the
forces there i don't want to go on about

that i'll just want to answer the
question to my young sister
there was a vibrant organization in
tanzania called the history teachers
association
does this still exist
in name only
i remember
40 years ago
all the teachers who came out of the
schools the syllabus of the history
teachers association of tanzania
was to ensure that tanzanians learned
the geography of tanzania
they learned the rivers the lakes the
trees the mines
of tanzania
i want to
someone ask
do i still have confidence in tanzania
i have confidence in tanzania as i have
confidence in africa
that confidence is based on the fact
that we can have
this function here
called the molimo nire intellectual
festival the question for me are we
building on the rarest intellectual
traditions
are we building on other people's
traditions
somebody asked questions about
sub-saharan africa
i don't recognize that question
i've heard that formulation here so many
times since i've been in this conference
where is this place called sub-saharan
africa
where is it
and are you students calling about
sub-saharan africa where south ah
sub-saharan africa is a racist
formulation by the pentagon and the
united states of america to divide

africa
there's only one africa of the african
peoples
they used to call it black africa
we do not use formulations called
sub-saharan africa
the sahara is a place of unity because
the sahara is a place we have the
largest reservoir of water
under the sahara and we're going to
build a canal
from the congo to lake chad 2 400
kilometers to rejuvenate lake chad and
to create a canal system to unify africa
those who talk about sub-saharan africa
do not want us to build canals and
infrastructure for the unification of
africa
and we can do it
because tanzania and africa is not poor
tanzania does not need foreign
investment
what tanzania need is to retain the
money generated in tanzania by
tanzanians
if you retain that money africa has lost
1.3 trillion dollars the governor of the
bank of tanzania quoted that figure
on wednesday
we do not teach students
about
the stolen assets
recovery program
we we in the caribbean we have a program
called the reparations movement the
world bank and the imf opposed the
reparations movement
they've organized with the president of
rwanda
to impose a candidate for the secretary
general of the commonwealth to say the
caribbean should not be carrying forward
reparations discussions
and they do not want reparations because

reparations said simply
that when the king of belgium went to
the congo this week the king of belgium
should apologize for killing 10 million
congolese people
but they do not say they kill congolese
people belgium brought civilization to
the congo
let me stop here
central africa and north africa what
indian ocean
is to the eastern africa
that's right
great history that's what sahara was
sarah was not a dividing factor sarah
was a united factor
and one of the reasons why qaddafi was
overthrown because he wanted to mine the
aquifers
of sire region to supply water to all
that region
while the french prime president at that
time
wanted
to exploit that water
to be exported
let's read history
let's get our facts right
sub-saharan africa is very much very
much
a colonial neocolonial term which keeps
us divided
which keeps us divided
and this business of good governance
that you get from the
world bank it's a vulnerable coinage
there's one question i didn't answer
i'm sorry
i looked at my notes
someone in the audience asked about
chinese imperialism
and i want us to
answer that question
do the chinese people

who in the past 20 years
have been consolidating their
reconstruction
of their society
do they have the infrastructure for
imperialism
in other words
there are many chinese companies in
africa
were doing
very bad things
why are they doing bad things because
those chinese companies
are companies that are capitalist
organization
that exploit chinese workers in china
and if they exploit chinese workers in
china
if they come to africa they will exploit
african workers too
but does that constitute imperialism
what is imperialism
first of all imperialism does not
develop in 20 years
so the chinese may aspire to be
imperialist
but i have a message for them
capitalism on which imperialism is built
is racial capitalism
and racial capitalism will never allow
the chinese
to consolidate
the economic foundations to make them
imperialists
so when they use language of chinese
imperialist
is to cut us off
from the solidarity that we must have
with the chinese workers and peasants
i want to repeat that
the chinese workers and peasants are
exploited
by the chinese capitalists
and with these chinese capitalists come

to africa
or to
europe or any other they exploit people
but
imperialism is not an overnight
phenomena
british imperialism was not built solely
on the british east india company
british imperialism was built on the
english language and we had a long
discussion this morning about
imperialism in the english language in
tanzania
british imperialism was built on
christianity
let me repeat that
british imperialism was built on
christianity
british imperialism was built on british
culture
language culture finance military
religion
these are the constituent components of
imperialism
are you telling me
that africans fought at couturna valley
africans fought for the past 50 years to
fight against western imperialism
and because some african leaders are
corrupt and they signed bad deals with
the chinese the chinese are
automatically taking over africa
that is the lack of self-confidence that
we have in ourselves
we want africans
to have their self confidence to say
that there'll be no place in the world
as powerful as strong as africa
and the struggle in the
africa of the pan-african center is to
as we said to have a peaceful
prosperous united africa
africa has a lot to teach the chinese
the chinese do not have clean water

the chinese do not have clean air
the chinese working class do not have
the autonomy and the cultural autonomy
of the african workers
for you to limit yourself and to say the
chinese are imperialist
is meaning that you're just throwing up
your hands
and you know who's generating that
language about chinese imperialism
the white racists
okay the white races in the united
states of america
and europe
who have big enterprises in africa and
the chinese is telling us
yes the chinese is exploiting gold in
ghana the chinese exploiting cobalt in
the congo the chinese exploit yes it is
true
and we must oppose that
but we must also oppose british and
american imperialism thank you thank you
there's africom in africa
i don't heard of chinese government
africa
africom
right
okay
just two comments one is on tanzania
i think
one of the elements of this
conference
is to
relive
what we called liberation
ideology
and revision ideology was part of the
tanzanian experience
so tanzania remains a reference point
for most of us
and i think
my understanding of this conference is
precisely

to try and provoke a thinking around
that
and i think we have begun well and i'm
not surprised
by a young lady who talks about being in
the wilderness it's not to you alone
it's an african problem
and that's why i spoke at length
about the history of this university
and the importance of development
studies
and how that influenced our teaching
across
the
the region
bio professor bio and i are
visiting i'm a visiting professor and
he's a substantive professor there
the experience in south africa which
is worse than the wilderness you spoke
about
we have to try and impose the books that
i've talked about i did so deliberately
they said books
which were said books in this country
in university
and i'm pleading that really
we go back to that
we used to i was external examiner at
ids and i saw it in the 80s
kind of depletion of that
substance that i knew
and i think we need to repair that
so that as issa said this is an
entitlement on us as teachers
so
tanzania
remains especially narrator's role
a role model about which
we as africans
must sustain
and so i'm pleased to be part of this
my last comment really is on the point
raised i made reference in in hilarious

quotations
on the political economic social
cultural features
which
which characterize neocolonialism and i
was saying that they're not different
from
the neocolonial era
now
i know
horuses sought to answer this issue of
chinese imperialism but one thing
i was in a panel discussion last year
on the
on the on the on the centenary of this
chinese communist party
and they asked one question
why doesn't the chinese don't the
chinese
come with their industries
to africa
set up industries all over why are they
behaving exactly as the imperials
and i asked the question
here my quotation
what has changed
since
in terms of the position of africa as a
supply of raw materials
especially extractive industries what
has changed
from what rhodes said in 1858 and i just
want to quote as i end
rhodes said the following 1858 i was in
the east end of london
a working class quarter yesterday
and attended a meeting of the unemployed
i listened to the wild speeches
which was just a cry for bread bread
bread
on my way home i pondered over the scene
and i became more than ever convinced of
the importance of imperialism
my cherished idea is a solution of the

social problem

i.e in order to save the 40 million
inhabitants of the united kingdom
from a bloody civil war

we colonial statesmen must acquire new
lands to settle the surplus population
to provide new markets for the goods
produced in the factories and mines
the empire as i've always said
is a bread and butter question
if you want to avoid civil war
you must become empires now
there may be conceptual issues in the
definition of imperialism but certainly
the features

of

chinese activities

especially extractive industries i don't
know about here but in my country
the uh i mentioned the 15 billion
dollars

from diamonds most of that went through
the chinese companies out of the country
so

whether you call it impeach or not the
point is this we have a better rapport
as africans and chinese i think there is
need for governments

to confront

chinese to behave differently from the
imperials that's the point i would make
thank you

thank you very much we have come to the
end of this session

but not to the end of our discussions

let this be sustained

and let's continue discussing that

don't reserve your comments your

discussion just to the festival continue
them

if you're not allowed to continue them

in your class do it outside the class

that's what we did

we started our own classes

we had ideological classes
continue doing it
i thank you all
for this great opportunity i think this
was an absolutely spirited discussion
and probably one of the
best discussions in the festival i think
yes am i right
request accepts it i forced him to
accept it
this is one of the best discussions i
think and this is that this was the
original idea of the chair
it's exactly the original idea of the
chair so let's continue discussing
sana became a coffee channel
thank you professors
it was a very engaging sessions and
quite educative to all those of us who
are still growing up and learning about
these things so we are really lagging
behind time
and
i suggest we break we have 30 to 35
minutes for lunch
those with the cards the vip would exit
through this door and those with coupons
should exit through the two doors at the
back