



friends. They think that I'm some kind of a historical generator of spontaneous upheavals. Because they think that what we should be doing is agitating and telling the masses, they must fight and engage blah, blah. No, no, no, this isn't the period of propagandizing, this is the period when we conceptualize stuff, and when they erupt, that's when we should be agitating. And they say, "Spontaneity, what is that?" "That's the New Society trying to emerge?" "How come they never take over?" Because they aren't trying to take over, they just try to understand who they are, what the world can look like. And over time, it'll become clear to everybody. Let me just draw a line right here, I have drawn a line with my mentor C.L.R. James, when he venerated certain black heads of state, he says, the states are evil and we must go beyond them. But then he turns that around and venerates the guy like Lenin, a guy like Kwame Nkruma. If you're gonna be against the state, you gotta be against all of them, whoever they were, whoever they are. He's circumscribed by us all the time. He can only act in a certain way. And Bookchin, he's gonna raise the Age of Reasoning and the American Revolution. I broke with him there.

I just want you to know that I'm thankful for these guys. But we got to go further than that. If we stay where they stood... And I'm sorry that there are people who are venerating these people now without understanding what they represented in the development of certain ideas and certain political trends and stuff. You should never venerate anybody, no individual person should be... When you put out a work, or you engage in the discussion, like you and I, it's supposed to be for critical purposes. So you can understand one another better. The axe doesn't get sharp on his own must be sharpened by file. That's a metaphor.

**TFSR:** It's a good metaphor. I was talking to a friend the other day about having this conversation and she was asking, "What are you reading?" And I mentioned your book and she asked about social ecology. And she also asked "What's the definition of Pan-Africanism?" and I gave like the Wikipedia definition. I wonder if you could break down what that phrase means to you and what it means to be a neo-Pan-Africanist.

**MK:** Pan-Africanism is a concept that arose to counteract the colonization of Africans on the continent of Africa and the segregation of African people in the new world along with some other colonies in the Caribbean and Central America, which were black. The original Pan-Africanists saw that the empowerment – that's why I call them classical Pan-Africanists – that the empowerment of African people requires that they create state bonds, state formations, and unite them like the United States in North America so that they can be on the world stage as representatives of the will of the black masses, both in the United

