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Department of English Language and Literature

MASTER THESIS

The Influence of Stokely Carmichael on Black American Pan-Africanism

Submitted by:

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A dissertation submitted to the Department of English Language and Literature
as a partial fulfillment for the Master's Degree in English
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Declaration

I, Amel Chekalbi, do hereby declare that this submitted work is my original work and has not previously been submitted to any institution or university for a degree. I also declare that a list of references is provided forward indicating all the sources of the cited and quoted information. This work was certified and completed at Mohammed KHEIDER University of Biskra.

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Dedication

TO MY FAMILY

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I am grateful to Allah, the one and Alone in His Being " There is no power in me to do something except through the help of Allah. In Him do I put my trust and to Him do I always return ". Then, I would like to express my sincere thanks to my supervisor Dr. Salim Kerboua for his support, his guidance, and his beautiful patience. Also, I would like to thank my dissertation's jury Dr Mohrem Boubakeur, also Dr. Boumaraf Hanane for their comments, critics, and questions. Lastly, I am thankful to my family and friends for the support and the help.

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Abstract

During the 1880s and 1980s, the United States experienced many white racist activities

against the African American people with all the forms of segregation, such as the Jim Crow Laws that was based on violence and racism against the Blacks. African Americans in this period resisted the segregation through the association of organizations, marches, and movements in order to regain their rights. Ideologically, the Black community was divided into three main groups, each one of them follows a certain trend. Assimilationists believe that the African Americans should live among the Whites and be integrated into them without questioning their identity or roots. Pluralists believe that the Blacks should stay within the White society and fight for their rights with keeping their identity. Also, the nationalists who advocated the separation between the Blacks and the Whites, they believed that they should fight for their freedom away from the White and use violence if necessary. Pan-Africanism movement was the product of the latter ideology; it aims to unify the Blacks around the world and increase their pride. Stokely Carmichael was a great Pan-Africanist leader who played a significant role in the spread of this movement through his activism and his ideas, yet he had a great impact in the Internationalization of Pan-Africanism in the past and his legacy still exists nowadays.

Keywords: Black Power, Pan-Africanism, Stokely Carmichael,

List of Abbreviation and Acronyms

AAPC: All-African Peoples' Conference

SNCC: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

NAACP: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

UNIA: Universal Negro Improvement Association

WASP: White Anglo-Saxon Protestants

SCLC: Southern Christian Leadership Conference

KKK: Ku Klux Klan

NAG: Nonviolent Action Group

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Introduction

The idea of Pan-African was promoted, first by intellectuals and scholars aimed to end colonialism and slavery. Therefore, in 1900 they gathered in London in order to organize a meeting that was the first Pan-African conference. This latter gathered many activists and leaders to discuss different issues concerning the African people and their struggle, also they mentioned the self-determination as a major solution for Black liberation. The conference paved the way for Pan-Africanism to spread around the world as an important ideology to be led by many African leaders. During the 10th century, Pan African was the mainstream in Africa; it played a significant role in the liberation movements in the colonized countries such as Kenya, Ghana, and Algeria. Some leaders, like Guineas Sekou Touré and Kwame Nkrumah, the president of Ghana, promoted the Pan-Africanist culture and used it to regain the liberation. In the United States, Pan- Africanism was strongly adopted by the African Americans. It helped to unify the Black people in order to fight against the Whites racist activism.

Malcolm X and Marcus Garvey were famous leaders of this movement, in addition to, Stokely Carmichael who presented the “Black Power” movement. Stokely Carmichael was an influential figure in the history of the African American and Black liberation. He was involved in political activism since he was a student. His involvement in the civil rights movements introduced him to many ideologies. As a student at Howard University, Carmichael joined the SNCC in 1950 until he became a chairman in 1960. Although the movement succeeded in promoting the African American’s pride and rights, Stokely was not satisfied about the politics of the movement. Especially that the cornerstone of this movement was non-violence, but Stokely Carmichael was against the stages since it was not enough to make a change during the fight for liberation. He believed that the African Americans needed more than just grassroots movements or boycotts. They needed to have

the right to choose their destinies and to use self-defense to take their rights. This line of thought urged Stokely to establish the “Black Power” movement, it was considered as a new approach that aimed for the unity of the Black people not just in the American society but worldwide. Black power thought started to spread since Carmichael’s trip to Africa in 1967. He was present in the A-APC in Cairo, Egypt which was a great chance to introduce his ideas about the Black liberation.

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Stokely Carmichael was an influential figure in the history of the African American and Black liberation. He was involved in political activism since he was a student. His involvement in the civil rights movements introduced him to many ideologies. As a student at Howard University, Carmichael joined the SNCC in 1950 until he became a chairman in 1960. Although, the movement was succeeded in promoting the African American’s pride

and rights, Stokely was not satisfied about the politics of the movement. Especially, that the cornerstone of this movement was “non-violence,” but Stokely Carmichael was against the stages since it was not enough to make a change during the fight for liberation. He believed that the African- Americans needed more than just grassroots movements or boycotts. They needed to have the right to choose their destinies and use self-defense to take their rights. This line of thought urged Stokely to establish the “Black Power” movement, it was considered as a new approach that aimed for the unity of the Black people not just in the America society but worldwide. Black power thought started to spread, since Carmichael’s trip to Africa in 1967.

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The main strategy in the civil rights movements was non-violence, its activities were based on boycotts, sit-ins ,and marches also social media and peaceful protests. Indeed, the strategy followed by the leaders of the civil rights movement including Martin Luther king and BayardRustin made Stokely Carmichael fed-up. It led him to shift his activism into another political path, since the non-violent activism was not enough to face the segregation. So, after his involvement in the SNCC, Freedom Rides and the Lowndes County he associated a new movement “Black Power”.

Stokely Carmichael had a great impact on Pan-Africanism due to his unique thoughts and revolutionaryattitudes. The cry of black power and the desire to spread its notions globally played a key-role in the African American Pan-Africanism. Yet, it helped him to build his legacy as an iconic Pan-Africanist leader.

This thesis seeks to discuss the influence of Stokely Carmichael on the African American Pan-Africanism through monitoring his contributions to the African American community, politically and culturally. Also, the influence of his ideas on Pan-Africanism and

beyond. This research aims to answer these main questions.

- 1- What was the role of Stokely's "Black Power" in changing the African Americans identity politically and culturally?
- 2- How did the activism of Carmichael in the civil rights movement lead to the development of Pan-Africanism?
- 3- How was the relationship between Carmichael and other Pan-Africanist figures and its impact on Pan-Africanism?

To answer these questions, this study will adopt the qualitative research method, using an analysis of different sources. Besides the various articles and books, this study will rely on the autobiography of Stokely "Ready for Revolution" which he co-wrote with his fellow, Ekwueme Thelwell. Also, it will use his biography published by Peniel E. Joseph, "Stokely: A Life". Furthermore, his speeches will be used as additional sources of information.

Chapter One

The Ideological Trends in African American Activism

The focus of this chapter will be on the three main trends that appeared in African American Community as a reaction to the racial segregation by the whites. Also, it gives a brief definition of each trend with its aspects in addition to the main leaders who adopted that trend.

1- Assimilation

Assimilation in anthropology and sociology is the process whereby people of different historical-cultural and ethnic backgrounds are absorbed into the dominant culture of the host society or community. The process of assimilation involves taking on the traits of the dominant culture to such the degree that the assimilation group becomes socially indistinguishable from other members of the society (assimilation).

"Advocates of assimilation seek to integrate Black people into the American mainstream politically, socially, and culturally" (Hornsby 531) without questioning the basic norms of the dominant society. In other words, African Americans are expected to accept living under America's system, which was ruled by Whites, to guarantee their rights in the political field such as voting, socially such as education, healthcare, housing, and culturally by adapting behaviors, thoughts, and religion.

Frederick Douglass, the escaped slave, was a wholehearted advocate of black assimilation. He believed that African Americans had the right to remain in the US instead of leaving the country. Douglass opposed the creation of independent societies (Stanford ENCY 2012)

However, the philosophy of Frederick Douglass somehow goes against the desire of African Americans to establish their independent state and regain their pride. Moreover, he supported African Americans to stay and cohabit with White people. This could cause Black people to gradually lose their identity by integrating with Whites. Therefore, it is essential that the existence of Black people in the host society is balanced. This means they should

live with them and fight for their rights without giving up their identity and culture, as the main notion of the next explained trend.

2- Pluralism

Pluralism is a political philosophy that anticipates that people with different backgrounds, beliefs, and lifestyles can coexist in society and freely participate in the political process (Longley). That is to say, a minority group can peacefully exist and live in a majority society, keeping their social, political, and religious backgrounds and take a part in the legislative process, for example in voting yet, pluralism can be traced in culture, politics, and religion, the letters will be explained precisely according to the U.S. government after mentioning the main assumes and beliefs of the pluralists.

Pluralism as a political philosophy in government expects people of diverse interests, lifestyles, and worldviews to live in harmony and be able to take part in the political process. Diverse conflicting interest groups will be permitted to share power, according to pluralists. Pluralism is regarded as a fundamental component of democracy in this view. The purest kind of pluralism can be found in a pure democracy, where every citizen has the right to vote on all laws and even judicial rulings. (longely)

Pluralism makes the supposition that diversity is good for society and that different functional or cultural groups—such as religious organizations, labor unions, professional associations, and ethnic minorities—should be allowed to have their autonomy within a community. ("The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica)

In general, the term "pluralism" describes a societal framework where numerous tiny groups preserve their distinct cultural identities inside a larger culture.(Tate Pluralism)

One of the criteria required for a pluralistic society is a level of consciousness among the masses that allows for the recognition and appreciation of differences. To achieve such a degree of consciousness, huge educational programs may be required. Currently, racism, sexism, and other societal "isms"

founded on the negation of difference are alive and well in the United States of America.(Myers)

In the African American community, pluralism was one of the most dominant trends, since it guaranteed the rights of black people, yet it allowed them to be present in the political scale of the country. Du Bois and Martin Luther King are famous for their support of pluralism. Pluralists often rely on many basics and assumptions, starting from the belief that it provides the abstract value known as “The Common Good” through its process of debates and negotiation leading to compromise. Since the term was used originally by the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle, which means all the benefits are shared by all the members of a community. The common good is closely related to the idea expressed by John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau, “the social contract’ which confirms that the government should only exist to carry out the popular will (Longley 2019) whatever their origins or backgrounds.

Moreover, they believed that pluralism was the best theory to adopt to enjoy the freedom of speech through the creation of organizations and interests’ groups; for example, political parties and labor union, which offer opportunities for people to engage in society without being dependent on the government, yet they give a right for the minorities to protest or oppose (pluralism and its complications for democracy).

Pluralism is found in pure democracy, where each individual has the right to practice politics through voting, which was regained by African Americans by passing the Voting Rights Act in 1965. One of the advocates of pluralism is WEB Du Bois, an important American thinker, historian, and social critic. Du Bois balanced the idea that Black people were a separate people with a destiny different from that of White Americans and the contradictory idea of mixing Black and White to create a more diverse American nationality (Fredrickson 107). He made it clear that his goal was to win the right to be both an

American and a Negro rather than choosing to be one of them (Fredrickson 107).

Stokely Carmichael witnessed the traits of this trend when he moved to live in the USA within a diverse neighborhood. "The neighborhood was heavily Italian with a strong admixture of Irish" (Carmichael and Thelwell 60). He believed that he lived in a pluralist society but kept his identity and roots. "I was really never as completely integrated.....I was in that culture but really not of it" (Carmichael and Thelwell 67).

3- Nationalism

Nationalism is the belief that the interests and values of a particular nation are prior to, and often superior to, those of others. Etymologically, the origins of the term can be traced back to the Latin word "natio", or "something born", which was used by Romans to refer to a community of foreigners. It is commonly believed that in its modern sense of "love for a particular nation", the term was first used in 1798 (Ozkirimli). Nationalism is an ideology based on the premise that the individual's loyalty and devotion to the nation-state surpasses other individual or group interests (Kohn).

Nationalism is a modern trend that people have been attached to their native soil, to their Native parent's traditions and established territorial authorities throughout history (Kohn). In 1964, Malcolm X characterized Black Nationalism as a moral political and economic perspective. More crucially, he defined it as a self-determination philosophy in which Black people controlled every part of their community, institution, and political economy (Jeffries).

Chapter Two

Stokely Carmichael: The Evolution of a Pan-Africanist

1-Childhood and Education

Stokely Carmichael was one of the most iconic figures in the history of America. He endured a hard life and struggled to regain African Americans' pride and rights. This chapter gives a brief account of this figure and discusses his philosophy.

Stokely Standiford Churchill Carmichael was born on June 29, 1941, in Port of Spain, the capital city of Trinidad. He was the middle child among his sisters Umilta and Lynette. His father, Adolphus Carmichael, was a carpenter, and his mother, May Charles. The family was living in a house that was crowded with in-laws, and his mother May was suffering (Joseph 153).

Stokley spent his early childhood in Trinidad's big house, which was ruled by his

grandmother Cecelia, who was a strong, strict, and devout woman. She took care of little Stokely, especially when he was suffering from Asthma. Yet, she had a profound influence on his personality, as he mentioned in his autobiography, "My earliest and most enduring ethical instruction came from her... My early encounter with the ethical and moral aspects of life, I trace squarely to my paternal Grandmother" (Carmichael and Thelwell 25).

On January 16, 1952, Stokely's grandmother died. Adolphus and May returned to Trinidad to be present at the funeral of the grandmother. Stokely and his siblings were to be gathered with their parents and youngest American siblings for the first time (Barnett).

The death of his grandmother was the beginning of a new phase in Stokely's life. "By the time Adolphus departed back to America, it had been decided that his children would permanently relocate to New York to live with their parents for him. America is the best place in which they could receive a better education and have a better life away from the traditions. As long as he has already had a job and a suitable house in New York. Another reason for the relocation is his wife's desire for a united family and to be surrounded by all her children. Moving to New York was somehow a hard decision for little Stokely; he was obliged to leave his home, community, and friend. Yet, he had a great curiosity about how life would be there in New York. Stokely believed that America was their good fortune, the place that would guarantee a better life in everything: 'It had opportunities better schools; better houses... better everything'" (Carmichael and Thelwell 46). They settled on Stebbins Avenue in the South Bronx in a block that is a mix of Italian, Irish, and Jewish families to be the only African family among them.

In September 1952, Stokely began his American education experience. He joined the elementary school P.S.39 on Longwood Avenue to finish his fifth grade there. As an immigrant child, he knew that school in New York would be different from the Trinidadian one. He expected that the students would be smarter, stricter teachers, more intellectually

demanding, and hard lessons (Carmichael and Thelwell 50).

However, Stokely was well prepared for the new educational system, motivated by the target of making his parents proud. The classroom was a shock to little Carmichael; students there were "so noble, so disrespectful, so destructive" (Carmichael and Thelwell 51). So, it was hard for the teacher to control them. For Stokely, the school was stylish and ornate, reflecting America's evolution and academic progress, but what was inside it broke that perfectly perfect picture. After his association with the students there, he realized that he was much smarter than them, he was excellent in geography and mathematics along with his writing skill, while the American kids "could barely compose a sentence" (Carmichael and Thelwell 52).

Stokely was selected to take a test for Bronx High School of Science to start his classes later in the fall of 1956. His parents highly greeted his choice for the elite school, especially Adolphus, who wished for him to have a medical education. Bronx High School contains different social classes; some students were the children of wealthy Park Avenue professionals and corporate executives, yet the majority was from the middle class, such as the WASP, Jews, Irish, Italians, and African Americans (Carmichael and Thelwell 84). All of them were highly educated and smart. Since the elite school was based on competition, Stokely was ready to compete with the smartest ones (Carmichael and Thelwell 85). In other words, he believes that he has great knowledge in different fields thanks to the ample education that was given by the Trinidadian school. For instance, his classmates were already well-versed in the books of Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner, and John Steinbeck, while Carmichael was obsessed with detective mystery and Reader's Digest (Peniel 22). Also, Capital by Karl Marx had a great influence in shaping his personality and his name as a nationalist leader. As a Bronx high scholar student, Stokely had been introduced to iconic political figures who paved the path for him to practice in the political

stream. One of these figures is Eugene Dennis, who shares the same reading taste as Stokely. He is an American Communist Party leader and labor organizer. Also, the general secretary of the communist party of the United States of America (CPUSA) from 1945 to 1957, son of Eugene Dennis, SR who was at the time imprisoned for his activities as a leader of the communist Party U.S.A (Carmichael and Thelwell 73), Dennis became Stokely's best friend, they bonded as soccer teammates, and over a love of books and intellectual debates (Peniel 25). Gene Dennis introduced Stokely to New York Stokely's left-wing political subculture (Peniel 27) and he drew him deeper into its culture and politics. In essence, the friendship between the two allowed Stokely to discover more and dig into the political systems in the country. Moreover, Dennis's philosophy contributed to forming the Marxist Carmichael. Thus, meeting a white iconic activist was a turning point in Stokely's political career (Joseph 30).

2- The Non-Violent Action Group

As a student at Howard university, Carmichael's most important association was his joining the Nonviolent Action Group (NAG) in the 1960s. Composed of some fifty core members, eight white and half of women (Peniel 39).

SNCC relied on campus affiliates like NAG to develop future young organizers for the Black liberation struggle. NAG prepared students for SNCC's work in the Deep South and beyond by having talks about internationalism and moving beyond direct action. NAG was a community organization made up of students and people of the community. This organizational structure reflected SNCC's strategy to operate in the Deep South, with students and young people collaborating with locals. NAG students who will play significant leadership roles in SNCC. Michael Thelwell, Muriel Tillinghast, Ed Brown, Ruth Howard, Jean Wheeler, Courtland Cox, Charlie Cobb, Stokely Carmichael, and other Howard students began their Movement journey with NAG.(A2)

At this point in his life, Carmichael believed in the nonviolent resistance ideology advocated by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Nonviolent resistance proponents believed that, in addition to moral opposition to violence, the strategy would win public support for civil rights by drawing a stark contrast—captured on nightly television—between the peacefulness of the protestors and the brutality of the police and hecklers opposing them. However, Carmichael, like many other young activists, became dissatisfied with the slow pace of development and having to undergo repeated acts of violence and humiliation at the hands of white police officers with no redress.

Carmichael had largely lost faith in the notion of nonviolent resistance that he—and SNCC—had formerly held dear by the time he was elected national chairperson of SNCC in May 1966. As chairman, he steered the SNCC in a rather radical direction, making it plain that white members, who had previously been actively recruited, were no longer welcome. Carmichael's stint as chairman—and perhaps his life—was defined by an event that occurred only weeks after he assumed control of the organization. In June 1966, civil rights pioneer James Meredith, the first Black student at the University of Mississippi, set out on a solo "Walk Against Fear" from Memphis, Tennessee to Jackson, Mississippi. Meredith was shot and seriously injured about twenty miles into Mississippi.

Carmichael determined that SNCC volunteers should lead the march in his place, and when they arrived in Greenwood, Mississippi on June 16, an infuriated Carmichael delivered the speech for which he would be most remembered. "We've been saying 'freedom' for the past six years," he explained. "What we are going to start saying now is 'Black Power.'"

3- Freedom Rides

The Freedom Rides were created in 1947, when CORE and the Fellowship of Reconciliation arranged an interracial bus travel across state lines to test a Supreme Court

judgment that declared interstate bus segregation illegal. The ride, dubbed the Journey of Reconciliation, challenged bus segregation in the higher regions of the South while avoiding the more dangerous Deep South. The absence of confrontation, on the other hand, resulted in little media attention and failed to achieve CORE's aims for the rides. Fourteen years later, in a new national context of sit-ins, boycotts, and the emergence of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Freedom Rides were able to garner enough national attention to force federal enforcement and policy changes. (FR)

Freedom Rides are Marches, voter registration drives, and demonstrations were organized by civil rights organizations. (FR2)

groups of civil rights activists planned to defy municipal segregation regulations by traveling interstate buses in mixed racial groupings throughout the South. (fr3)

329 individuals from throughout the country, both black and white, boarded buses and travelled south during the summer of 1961. The Freedom Rides set out to put the federal legislation prohibiting segregation in bus and train stations across the South to the test. (fr4)

At 19 years old, Carmichael was the youngest person to participate in the 1961 Freedom Rides, and he served fifty-three days in Mississippi's Parchman Penitentiary. (fr5)

During the Freedom Rides, Stokely Carmichael, a 19-year-old student at Howard University and the child of West Indian immigrants in New York City joined a group of eight other riders, including Joan Trumpauer, on a train journey from New Orleans, LA to Jackson, MS on June 4, 1961. Upon arrival, the Jackson police directed the group into a waiting paddy wagon, and despite being offered bail, all the Riders refused it. Carmichael was then taken to Parchman State Prison Farm, an experience that became a significant test and transformative period for future leaders of the Movement. Other Freedom Riders who

shared time with Carmichael at Parch man remembered his sharp humor and pragmatic political approach. (F6)

4- The Lowndes County

Early in 1966, the residents of Lowndes County, Alabama, created the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO), an all-Black, autonomous political organization. The LCFO, which was organized with the help of activists from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), battled against the disenfranchisement of Black voters in the face of a real threat of white violence. The LCFO was a pivotal chapter in the early history of Black Power, providing not only the blueprint for Kwame Ture's Black Power theory, but also the black panther imagery that inspired Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale to form the Black Panther Party for Self Defense in Oakland just a few months later.

Chapter Three

The Contribution of Stokely Carmichael to Pan-Africanism

1-The Influence of Black Power

The civil rights movement had been gaining ground for more than ten years by 1966 when tens of thousands of African Americans adopted the nonviolent tactic of protesting against racial segregation and demanding equal legal protections. But for a growing number of African Americans, especially young Black men, and women, that approach fell short.

They argued that despite decades of systemic racism and discrimination, protesting segregation did not do enough to solve the poverty and the helplessness that so many Black Americans had been forced to (how the BP moved). Black Power began as revolutionary movement in the 1960s and 1970s. It emphasized racial pride, economic empowerment, and the creation of political and cultural institutions. During this era, there was a rise in the demand for Black history courses, a greater embrace of African culture, and a spread of raw artistic expression displaying the realities of African Americans(black power).

Politicians frequently use Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s famous remark that justice is at the long arc of the moral cosmos, which he said. But radicals and activists have historically tried to make the arc bend more quickly, which has hastened social justice movements. That was the case with the Black Power movement, a 1960s-era offshoot of the civil rights movement that advocated rejecting sluggish integration efforts and supporting self-determination. The movement demanded that Black Americans establish their institutions of culture, be proud of their ancestry and (teenvogue).

The definition of "Black power" is still debated. Stokely Carmichael popularized the phrase during the Meredith march in Greenwood, Mississippi, as civil rights leaders led a three-week-long rally to the Magnolia State's capitol in June 1966. Following the assassination of protester James Meredith on the second day of his one-man protest "marching against fear" (Peniel.80). Stokely believed that nonviolence as a strategy for Black liberation was proven ineffective in the face of such overwhelming violence and brutality.

The United States was founded on the extermination of Indigenous peoples and the backs of African slaves carried to the 'New World'; violence was at the heart of the state. It is the dominant logic of the settler nation of White supremacist capitalists (Ashley. Advocates of Black power and Black nationalism opposed the integrationist thoughts of the civil rights movement and created a new path for African roots and identities (Fredrickson 278). In other words, Black power does not seek to integrate Blacks into White society, yet it supports them to keep their identity and culture also show it and be proud of it. So, this movement promotes the cultural side of Pan-Africanism. The original principles of black power were self-defense against racist violence and an unwillingness to continue petitioning whites for equality .from now on Blacks would confront power with power rather than offer love in return for hate (Fredrickson 293) Indeed, the main goal of this movement was neither promoting violence nor the exclusion of whites, rather it was giving self-determination for

black people (Fredrickson 294) Black power made a great change in the attitude of black Americans , especially in racial pride and self-esteem(Fredrickson 297).Even in the cultural side , the movement has an impact in the Blacks' behaviors,music, and clothes, etc...

Stokely Carmichael's cry of Black Power has a significant impact on the cultural Pan-Africanism which glorified the African traditions (Fredrickson 279).The Black Arts Movement can be viewed as Blacks' cultural struggle for independence in America, similar to how earlier movements worked to end American segregation (Hornsby 485). The militant consciousness displayed by blacks in the late 1960s and early 1970s was a profound psychological transformation in their conduct that had never been seen in America before.The "Black Power" yell that could be heard represented this new consciousness.It was heard in James Brown's iconic song "Say It Loud, I'm Black" across the country. And I'm Proud"; and it was manifested in the raised fist, a defiant gesture.Young blacks made frequent use of it. The new consciousness was also visible in the Afro hairstyles, African dashikis, and denim attire are all fashionable. Blacks were referred to as they called each other brothers and sisters and exchanged intricate handshakes. They used derogatory terms like "honky" and "whitey" to describe white (Hornsby 518).

2- The Internationalization of Pan-Africanism

Stokely Carmichael's international travels presented the culmination of his personal desire and political need to forge relationship with global revolutionaries, his five-month world tour in 1967 helped make Black power a global export while turning him into an international icon. (Peniel,141)

a- London

At the dialectics congress, Carmichael identified American imperialism as the main threat to human rights ,social justice, and racial equality .(Peniel 143). If Cuba ,Vietnam ,and Europe offered intoxicating political adventures,Africa provided the most enduringly

profound experience, one that would lead him to embrace revolutionary Pan-Africanism. (Peniel 141)

Carmichael left the US as a radical political activist, but returned a revolutionary. (Peniel 141) For over a week, Carmichael roamed parts of North London in sunglasses and a dashiki regaling Caribbean militants with stories about black history, the power of self-determination, and the strength derived from racial consciousness, wof 1967, Stokely Carmichael, the leader of SNCC and one of the most prominent leaders in the American Black Power Movement, descended upon London as part of an international tour. A speech he made at the Dialects of Liberation Congress during his time in London is widely regarded as a pivotal moment in the birth of the British Black Power movement, however its role as a catalyst has been largely exaggerated and ignores the preceding developments in Black British history (Manchester).

The congress was composed of notable attendees such as Herbert Marcuse and R.D. Laing; however, Stokely Carmichael was by far the most controversial speaker. The conference was emblematic of the counterculture of the 1960s. Angela Davis, who attended the conference, notes in her autobiography that “the floor was covered with sawdust,” that the air “reeked heavily of marijuana”, and that there were rumors one speaker “was high on acid.” (Angela).

3- The Internationalization of Pan-Africanism

Stokely Carmichael played a key role in the internationalization of Pan-Africanism through his revolutionary ideas and activism. He traveled to many countries to spread his ideas of “black power” and to the pan Africanist notions, yet he was introduced to the pan Africanists leaders which helped in building the connections between the African people to exchange the strategies and tactics to face racism.

General Conclusion

Stokely Carmichael was a distinguished person who change the political path of the African American nation globally, he played a key role in promoting the blacks' pride and identity through his activism and thoughts. this thesis investigated the profound influence of Stokely Carmichael on African American Pan-Africanism, using a deep analysis of his life, thoughts, and activism. Carmichael played a pivotal role in shaping the ideology of Pan-Africanism within the African American community. He is known for his strong advocacy for Black power as the creator of this movement, his activism within the civil rights movement, and his commitment to values of solidarity and self-determination made him an iconic figure in the history of the African American struggle for equality and freedom.

The Cry of Black Power was one of the best Stokely contributions to African American Pan-Africanism. The movement was a response to the nonviolent strategy of the civil rights movement. It promoted Black self-determination and self-defense.

Carmichael refused the integrational ideology of the civil rights movement, he confirmed that freedom is not enough for the African, they need to express their identity and culture in their society. Yet, he called for their political power since they can establish institutions and create parties to express their political ideas and protect their cultural heritage. Furthermore, Carmichael's civil rights movement leadership, particularly as chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) helped in the spread

of the pan Africanist culture. He strengthened the connection between all the African Americans and unified them under the ideas of Pan-Africanism.

Stokely Carmichael did not just raise the awareness of the African Americans, but he discussed many other political issues that the blacks suffered from, including colonialism and imperialism.

African American Pan-Africanism became international due to the activism of Carmichael outside America and his belief that the liberation movements around the world must be connected.

Carmichael actively committed with Pan-African organizations and leaders, such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana to promote solidarity and exchange ideas.

All the speeches, protests, and journeys of Stokely Carmichael tackled the African American struggle and were a great contribution to solve the blacks' issues. Furthermore, the concept of Black power continues to resonate within movements for racial justice, both in the United States and internationally. He spread the principles of the black power movements in different countries around the world such as Britain, Cuba, and Algeria. Carmichael's calls for self-determination, community empowerment, and unity across racial and national boundaries remain relevant and inspirational in the ongoing struggle against systemic oppression.

In conclusion, we can say that Stokely Carmichael had a huge impact on African American Pan-Africanism. His ideas about Black power and his leadership in the civil rights movement were very influential. He also had a global perspective, and this shaped how African Americans fought for their rights. Even today, his ideas and actions inspire people who want to make a difference and remind them how important it is to work together across African and African American communities to fight racism and create a more just future. It is important to look at his legacy with a critical eye, recognizing both the strengths and

weaknesses of his ideas, so that we can move forward in a way that honors his vision and at the same time adapting to the changing needs of African Americans.

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