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EDITOR'S NOTE

**C.L.R. JAMES AND
HIS ROLE IN THE
HISTORY OF
AFRICAN CULTURAL
AND POLITICAL
MOVEMENTS**

**ON THE VERGE OF
HISTORY: INTERVIEW
WITH C.L.R. JAMES**

**THE IDEAS AND
POLITICAL THOUGHT
OF FRANTZ FANON**

**AUDIENCE WITH
C. L. R. JAMES**

SEPT./OCTOBER, 1988

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C.L.R. James and his Role in the History of African Cultural and Political Movements

DELE LAYIWOLA*

Introduction

The purpose of writing a monograph on C.L.R. James is to identify theoretical underpinnings and the subtle areas of theory that are often not evident in activism and praxis. Though this lies largely in the area of political philosophy, C.L.R. James has conflated political praxis with articulations from Literature and art.

C.L.R., perhaps paralleled by only W.E.B. Du Bois in a holistic study of the base and super-structure of society in this fashion, discusses in all areas of humanistic endeavour. He analyses themes from political movements through the fiction of Black women writers. At other times he analyses the Frescoes of Michelangelo, the writings of George Lamming, or the lyrics of the *Mighty Sparrow*. It is in this sense that James' consciousness shows a significant order and catenation constituting a viable oeuvre. It is also for the same reason that my discussion of his life and work presents a certain universality. He discusses with equal ease and a trans-cultural vision the plight of the Chinese yeoman or the

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condition of a black wage labourer, in spite of the cultural and geographical distance.

Even the shades of differences in the situations of the black working class which he knows most come out with striking force in James' articulation. I have therefore posited the case of minorities against the canvass of other world events both in my scenario of James' life and work, and the interview which I conducted with him. The foregoing constitute the basic methodology in the rest of this essay.

Cyril Lionel Robert James: The Epitome of an Era

Cyril Lionel Robert James was born on January the 4th, 1901 in Tunapuna, near Port of Spain, Trinidad. As is most aptly written by Margaret Busby, C.L.R. is "The author of historical studies, a novel, short stories, a play; early Pan-Africanist and a seminal figure in black politics on three continents; writer on Hegel and philosophy, Political Visionary and a major innovator in marxist theory and working-class organisation: Literary critic and commentator on art and sport; prolific correspondent, and above all a participant, teacher and activist in the events of his time".

To date, C.L.R. James remains one of the most outstanding figures on the intellectual and political terrain of this century, speaking and writing with authority over whatever topic he is privileged to lay his hand.

The son of a school master, he attended Queen's Royal College from 1910 - 18, and later taught History and English there in the 1920s. During this time, C.L.R. excelled in cricket and athletics, and he began trying his hand at fiction. Along with Alfred Mendes, Albert Gomes and Ralph de Bossire, he founded and edited in the 1930s the two pioneering West Indian literary journals, *Trinidad* and *The Beacon*. Through these magazines, James first blossomed as a short story writer, Publishing such stories as "Triumph", "Revolution", and "The Star that would not Shine".

“Triumph”, now published in his anthology, *The Future in the Present* is a depiction of “Barrack Yard” or slum life in Port of Spain. This controversial rendition of the seedy environment full of festering undercurrents of emotional life was at first charged with obscenity when it appeared in *Trinidad* during the Christmas of 1929. “Revolution” portrays tyranny and subjugation in Venezuela while “The Star that would Not Shine” exemplifies the details of a failed individual talent. Both stories appeared in *The Beacon* in the respective issues of May and June, 1931. He also made frequent contributions of book reviews to those magazines.

When James went to live in England in 1932, he was armed with his first book which articulates the case for West Indian political independence. *The Life of Captain Cipriani* was first published in England that same year. An abridged version was later published in Hogarth Press in London. It is easily implied from this pioneering work why the fight for self-government in the Colonies and the Liberation of the working classes around the world had become James’ pre-occupation for much of his active life. Whilst in England CLR James published articles on Cricket, and subsequently began to write as Cricket correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*, and later for the *Glasgow Herald*. He was very active in Trade Union as well as Societal Politics. He was the Chairman of the Finchley branch of the Independent Labour Party (ILP) where he wrote for the ILP papers *Controversy* and *New Leader*. About 1936 he and other Trotskyists have become disenchanted with the ILP and went to form the Revolutionary Socialist League. He became the editor of its news organ, *Fight*.

James’ understanding of the subtle underpinnings of colonialism, underdevelopment and historical dialectics had prompted such far sighted essays as are found in his three anthology of selected writings recently published by Allison and Busby: *The Future in the Present* (1980); *Spheres of existence* (1980) and *At the Rendezvous of Victor* (1984);

as well as in his 80th anniversary lectures he delivered at Kingsway Princeton College in 1981. The articulateness of these essays, beyond the covers of these books, have been evident from James' early divergence of political vision. He thought beyond the boundaries of Trinidad and the west Indies, and from the 1930s had seen Africa, China and the Soviet Union within the globe of his intellectual purview. His childhood friend and compatriot, George Padmore had found the International African Service Bureau, and in 1937, James became the editor of its organ, the *International African Opinion*. Also collaborating with Padmore and James on the Bureau was Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. It was under this Bureau that Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana received his first political lessons. It was this initial help which Nkrumah got from both James and Padmore that helped, in large measure, the seminal drive for self government on the continent of Africa. I beg to quote James at some length on this matter:

"I had gone to the United States in 1938, and about 1941 somebody brought to me someone who called himself Francis Nkrumah. We became very friendly. Nkrumah was always a very capable man, very sophisticated, he danced very well, he spoke easily to everybody - he was an exceptional man. But he used to talk about Marxist, Commodity production and so forth, and he used to talk a lot of nonsense. But I did not quarrel with him, because he used to talk a lot sense about Africa and imperialism. But he told me that he was going to London to study Law, and I wrote a letter which is well known. Let me quote it for you:

"Dear George, this young man is coming to you... he is not very bright, but do what you can for him because he is determined to throw the Europeans out of Africa."

Now some people think that I believed that Nkrumah was stupid. Nobody who spent half an hour in

Nkrumah's presence could think he was anything else than a highly intelligent, highly sophisticated young man, very sure of himself. But Padmore would understand what I meant. When I wrote to Padmore and said "he is not bright, but you George, do what you can for him," George would know that in the political intricacies that the modern world demanded Nkrumah was not trained. And I asked George to do it for him because George Padmore was one of the most highly educated politicians on any kind in Europe. He met Nkrumah at Waterloo station and they began that great combination of Padmore and Nkrumah which ended in the explosion in the Gold Coast and the beginning of the development of Africa with Ghana.

(Towards the seventh: Pan-African congress - past, present and future).

I have endeavoured to quote at length this passage because of the light it throws on the mere knowledge of history as against political inexperience and tyrohood. It is not only the former but also the latter that is one of the major undoing of most of Africa's political leaders during this century. Even when Nkrumah had acquired the interaction and experience that he sorely needed, he didn't quite carry through. C.L.R. gave an answer to this in the interview below. Nevertheless, Nkrumah and Ghana were of the utmost importance in Africa's history.

One point however deserves of critique in the James - Padmore vision of world politics. Both George Padmore and CLR James have, to a large extent, adopted a cosmopolitan, universal outlook in their view and conception of politics.

(Towards the seventh: Pan-African congress - past, present and future).

This was why the two men had become authoritatively involved in working class movements both around the West Indies, Europe, the United States and Africa. In spite of the differences in the details of their political inclinations, they were both "universal" in their approach to praxis. James wrote of Padmore and of Himself:

He was a Communist, a Stalinist, and I had joined the Trotskyist movement, but we never quarrelled because both of us had a political perspective, the revolutionary emancipation of the African people. (*At the Rendezvous of Victory*, p. 241).

What I intended to bring out was that both the Trotskyist movement of which James was a member and the Communist International (comintern) of which Padmore had an active, albeit shortlived membership, were both originally internationalist working class organisations. Padmore left Comintern in 1935 when he discovered that Comintern had been taken over by some interest group. They wanted him to soften propaganda on Britain, France, and the United States but to keep attacking Germany, Italy and Japan. The former they described as Democratic imperialists, the latter Fascist Imperialists. Padmore couldn't reconcile himself to the inconsistent discrimination, and so left the Comintern. But he remained active on other international platforms thereafter.

In the 1930s still, James conducted speaking tours of England, Wales and Scotland agitating for the unemployed, and British Labour Unions. He condemned the invasion of Ethiopia by Italy in 1935 and constantly wrote articles for *The Keys* and the *New Leader* criticising the League of nations sanctions against Ethiopia. Again he called on British and African workers to co-operate for the overthrow of imperialism.

In the period around 1938, James, apart from contributing to the growth of the Trotskyist movement in Europe went to live in the United States and in 1939, held dis-

cussions with Trotsky in Mexico. Trotsky had been living in exile in Coyoacan, Mexico since 1937. James went to discuss with him in the company of Charles Curtiss. Though the text of the discussion is very interesting, one wonders whether Trotsky fully understood, by experience, the dire position of black people in world politics. He certainly did not indicate that he would give greater privileges to blacks in the Trotskyist movement but James surprisingly took a rather conciliatory approach in their discussions. They obviously held each other in very high regard. While James spoke concretely on his meeting with large Negro groups, Trotsky spoke with a somewhat affective subjectivity and rather condescending distance. There was little doubt that soon after that James began to feel that oppressed minorities may have to work autonomously without the Trotskyist movement. This had become very clear when James, Trotsky and Curtiss elaborated on the Negro question. What was soon to happen to James in the Trotskyist movement was what, in greater measure though, happened to Padmore in the Communist International. (See *At the Rendezvous of Victory*, pp. 33 - 64).

This new tendency which, in the Socialist Workers's party James led along with Raya Dunayevskaya was termed the Johnson-Forest Tendency. This elaborated on a new form of independent marxism which severed its links with James' original Trotskyist background. He expanded on this in various articles and books among which are *Notes on Dialectics* (1948); *State Capitalism and World Revolution* (1950). He also helped in the first ever translation into English of Marx's *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (1947).

In the hyperactive years of the 1930s leading to the 1940s, James had combined effective international union politics with tremendous intellectual outpourings. Apart from helping to establish the Trotskyist movement in France and participating in the inaugural conference of the Fourth International in 1938, he published various books. Among

these are: his famous history of the Haitian revolution, *The Black Jacobins* (1938); *A History of Negro Revolt* (1936); *World Revolution* (1936); a novel, *Minty Alley* (1936) and in 1939 translated Boris Souvarine's *Stalin* from the French.

It is also the legacy of James' internationalism in politics that enabled him to incorporate into his notion of a black movement, the position of other social minorities, namely women and children. Some of these views are most strongly expressed in "Towards the Seventh: The Pan-African congress - past, present and future" (1976), and also to a smaller extent in his *80th Birthday Lectures* (1981).

By 1950, CLR's intellectual output has meant that his ray of light cannot be hidden even in the dark; a fire-brand and a thorny girdle in the sides of complacent regimes and government of non-working class sympathies. James, having taught in a few American Universities continued to be active in black politics in the United States up till 1953 when he was expelled, terminating his fifteen year tenure. When asked to comment on the reason for his expulsion in an interview with the writer in September, 1988, he relates that he refused to be bought over by the middle classes in America. In the years before 1958, he could only contribute to political debate in America through the Detroit - based magazine *Correspondence*.

When self government was being eventually achieved in the Colonies, CLR saw this development as one of the vindication of the efforts he had put into the independence movements. This certainly is the reason he followed up by visiting Ghana and monitoring developments there just before, and soon after, independence. When in 1966, Nkrumah's reputation plummeted, James was one of those who had told him all along that he was getting too far from the ideals of the Ghana revolution. When James broke up their relationship of twenty-five years, he still held Nkrumah's achievements in high regard. He did say afterwards he placed Nkrumah in the ranks of other great leaders like Lenin, Gandhi and Mao Tse - Tung. *Rendezvous*, p. 185).

In the same parallel pattern as James did for Ghana, he returned to Trinidad in 1958 in the run-up to the West Indian independence. A quarter of a century earlier he had made case, in the *Life of Captain Cipriani*, for West Indian independence. James had also been long convinced of the need for a West Indies Federation as a means of effective governance on such collection of little, among them non-viable, islands. He became the Secretary of the Federal Labour Party, the party of the proposed West Indies Federation. He also collaborated with Dr. Eric Williams, his one-time pupil, but then leader of the Trinidad People's National Movement (P.N.M). He edited and ran a column for the P.N.M. newspaper, *The Nation*. The optimism of this time spurred him on to write at least two books at the time: *Modern Politics and Party Politics in the West Indies*. James' collaboration with Williams however suffered a set-back because of two developments at the time. The first was the break-up of the West Indies Federation, with each island retaining a tenuous sovereignty. The second was Williams' political moderation which didn't go down well with black militants. For instance, Williams rejected non-alignment in favour of the USA; he retained America's naval base at Chaguaramas. James' book, *Modern Politics* was banned, and in 1962, just before Trinidad's independence, James returned to England, obviously disappointed. He however continued to publish articles in the Trinidadian press from England.

When in 1965, James returned to Trinidad as a cricket correspondent for the test series, the authorities promptly put him under house arrest. His influence and reputation, however, precipitated widespread discontent and outcry so that he was released. Before he had left, he founded an independent newspaper, *To the People*, and a workers' and Farmers' Party. When he was asked in the interview below how cordial his relationship with Trinidad was, he replied that he was still being consulted on issues.

During the seventies, James had taught and lectured extensively in American Universities - Howard; Harvard; North Western; Yale; Princeton and at Federal City College, Washington. He has also been honoured in several Universities including the University of West Indies, in Jamaica. CLR James' bibliography of books, pamphlets, articles and lectures number at least three hundred, not to talk of the various volumes he edited or inspired. Studies, dissertations and reviews on his works are legion.

CLR James remains at eighty - seven, a most alert and articulate mind, still giving interviews, lectures, and reading books on assorted subjects. He now lives in Brixton, London where he has helped to found the influential black journal, *Race Today*. In it he maintains a regular column on Cricket, History or Politics. When asked why he opted for a modest building with sparse furniture and myriad books, he simply replied that he feels comfortable within the community where people can find and reach him without inhibition. In the comments of E.P. Thompson, "It is not a question of whether one agrees with everything he has said or done: but everything has had the mark of originality, of his own flexible, sensitive and deeply cultured intelligence. That intelligence has always been matched by a warm and outgoing personality. He has always conveyed not a rigid doctrine but a delight and curiosity in all the manifestations of life".

C.L.R. James initiated the sixth Pan-African Congress in Dar-es-Salaam in 1974. He refused to personally attend because the Congress decided to welcome only groups sponsored by their governments. Consequently some crucial Caribbean movements which held different views from those of their governments were excluded. James concluded that he is suspicious of governments because it is only in very few instances that a government's views tally with those of the Trade Unions or the mass of their people.

On the Verge of History: Interview with C.L.R. James

Being text of discussions between C.L.R. James and Dele Layiwola on the 2nd of September, 1988.

D.L. C.L.R. you have had your eyes on the intellectual landscapes, indeed on the globe, for upwards of six decades now, what have the tides been like?

C.L.R. Well, that's a difficult question. I have been working with history. I found out what history there is, what have gone before, and I tried to work on that as a basis for the future. That for me was the fundamental principle. It is only if you are aware of history that you can carry out your day-to-day struggles in the present time in preparation for the future.

D.L. I am aware of the fact that you met Nkrumah while he was a student. You said that at the time you realised that he was quite a brilliant young man but you felt that he was not sufficiently experienced for the politics he was going to encounter in the Gold Coast, so you sent him to George Padmore to groom him.

C.L.R. Oh yes. He came to me, and you were right there, I sent him to Padmore. After that, things began to happen. Ghana became independent in 1957. I was interested in Africa's struggle for independence.

D.L. Quite right C.L.R., you and the other men of your generation - George Padmore, W.E.B. Du Bois -

C.L.R. Yes, Du Bois.

D.L. Were you connected with them? Did you work hand in hand?

C.L.R. I know them well, we corresponded.

D.L. But, may I ask you C.L.R., what was your feeling; perhaps the feeling of the other men of your generation too - about Nkrumah and Ghana when things started to go down the hill. When Nkrumah began to lose control and he started locking people up...?

C.L.R. It was quite unfortunate. This is why I often say that people must be truly informed by a sense of history. And this is very important. People could lose sight of events if they become engrossed in day-to-day activity and have no time to check on themselves to see whether they are working within the logic of the past in relation to the future. There must be some people working and putting together this aspect of a political movement... This is what those educated leaders must tell them. There must be people who work on the side, read up what there are to read, get themselves informed on what implications these have for the future, and how the movement must progress. Unless some are doing this and the man leading takes advice from them, he is bound to lose sight of the concrete realities of politics. This is what I have always tried to do. And it is very important.

I think Nkrumah became engrossed in day-to-day running of government so much that he lost sight of the logic of historical events. I knew that is bound to happen.

D.L. When this became the case, did you and others say or do something to stem the tide? Were you involved in any way?

C.L.R. We discussed it, we talked about it but you see that is just one aspect of the matter. One needed to be there, to be involved, and to organise people. You needed resources to do all of that. These we didn't do much. But we discussed it and were concerned about it.

I have said that all leads who led their countries in the struggle for independence have only gone one stage. After that they must move beyond independence. It is not wrong to acquire independence. Among some of the greatest political leaders that I know - Lenin - in the days of the Russian revolution, when everyone was saying, 'what shall we do now? what is next?', Lenin sat there in the corner quietly reading and trying to understand Marx's theories.

D.L. That in fact brings me to an important question. It would appear, and I may be wrong, that a lot of our intelligentsia in the third world who have read up political theories, particularly from Marx and Engels, have not been able to articulate it in relation to the peculiar circumstances in their own countries. When a revolution collapses, they often hide behind a barrage of slogans, cliches and other left-overs from garbled political theories of the right or of the left. Don't you suppose this to be true?

C.L.R. This is what I mean, when I say that people must learn from every situation. They cannot learn once and for all times. They must find out what the limitations have been, what the reality is like presently, and how they must apply knowledge or ideas to work on these. If they fail, they must analyse what the situation was, what went wrong, and why it went wrong. They must try to find out what they have failed to do, and how to go about it for the

future. If they just improvise for particular instances, they are bound to repeat those mistakes. This is what I mean by the knowledge of history; getting people to know what there is on the subject.

This is what I have tried to do in my own operations. I never depart from it. If I came to talk again, this is what I hope to tell them.

D.L. I quite note your concern for the articulation of a theory for circumstances, and the co-ordination of theory with praxis in particular events. But C.L.R., how would you explain the sad irony that in modern politics, the most horrendous leaders remain longer in power? Take, for instance, the case of Idi Amin. In sharp contrast to this is Amilcar Cabral. It does happen in the West too. This certainly is perplexing.

C.L.R. I think that people need to be mobilized and informed on what events have been, what the state of things are and how to set about them. I believe that other educated leaders have the responsibility of informing and mobilising people against autocracy. It is important that the so-called middle classes or the educated elite in third world countries make themselves available to effect change. They must be there in the middle of it to take some blows and to give some. They must write against those who are only interested in power or who want to control money for the sake of it...

I am quite impressed by a leader like Nyerere and I say to people: watch out. See what he is doing. That is the kind of man to follow.

D.L. You have been concerned about the West Indies a lot in the past. I remember, for instance, your short story "Triumph" which I thought represented the

INTERVIEW WITH C.L.R. JAMES

genuine, hearty and profound feeling of a man who emerged from a rigorous experience. But now that you have been settled here a long time, do you still maintain any contacts?

C.L.R. Oh yes. I am very much in contact with them. They send people to me often. They come here to ask me questions about events and things... Yes we are well in touch.

D.L. It is admirable that being a very accomplished man, and having 'made it', so to say, you still find it comfortable to live in such a humble surrounding. Because it is possible to just move uptown and disappear there.

C.L.R. True. But I feel comfortable in the community here. I used to live in town but Darcus (Howe) and the others came to me and said you must come and stay here with us. Also it is easier for all of them to reach me here.

D.L. Are you involved in the journal *Race Today*? Because I see their studio is just downstairs. Did you give them the ground floor?

C.L.R. About four years ago they came and spoke to me about *Race Today* and said you must come and stay here with us. They run the place, they just asked me to pay something, and they run the place.

D.L. Now C.L.R., to go back to your career: you know you taught in some American Universities in the past. And then later, you were banned from re-entering the country for some time. Of course all of those are over but I want you to talk to me about it.

C.L.R. When I was teaching there, the blacks used to come to ask me to give lectures and to talk. Whites too would come to listen and I get various regular invitations to talk or lecture. So some white folks kept asking their black counterparts; 'when is James talking again?', 'we want to have James give a lecture'. So those whites don't go to the blacks to ask for me, they-just invited me on their own. And I honoured those invitations. In the long run the establishment would buy up those blacks who were well known. They would give them positions and money to shut them up. They tried it with me a few times, and when it didn't work, they said we must get rid of this one...

D.L. It's quite interesting C.L.R. One realises that the scope of your intellectual contributions are enormous and quite cosmopolitan. In other words, people don't see you as belonging to any ethnic group in the West.

C.L.R. That is true, many people of various backgrounds come in here daily to discuss with me and ask me questions. They all equally belong here.

D.L. Permit me however to return to the minorities question, first in relation to Britain and the United States, and then in relation to South Africa.

C.L.R. Right.

D.L. I have noticed that though the history and the presence of Blacks in Britain and in the United States is long but it has been virtually impossible for them to get into the mainstream of economic and social life. Look Italians, Germans, Arabs who arrived in these countries long after the blacks

have been there have made it good no sooner than they had emigrated there. Even more recently, Asian immigrants in England have generally fared better in many respects. Do you, an indigene, wish to throw more light on this phenomenon?

C.L.R. You know that Asians came from an already established tradition in their own nations. There was something from which they took off and organized here. Blacks from the Caribbean hadn't this benefit.

D.L. Do you not agree with my view that many black persons in the middle classes who have made it good in those western countries aren't doing enough to help their less privileged brothers? I realise that you and Lord Pitt have been trying hard. I have heard that Bill Cosby is trying hard in the United States but we are still talking of a minute proportion of the ethnic minorities.

C.L.R. I agree with you. Yes America isn't doing enough. That's true.

D.L. Yes, in the present time, Americans have not done enough, even for their own citizens. My first time in Manhattan, New York was my first confrontation with the farthest implications of poverty. Its devastating force on the psyche, its denigration of its own denizens - white, black, yellow - which has nothing to do with race. Oh, I was sick.

C.L.R. It is true that wherever there is such a concentration of people in an urban setting, there is such a slum, and its poverty. I agree that it is devastating.

D.L. Is it not also true that if one nation in Africa, Asia or in Latin America makes an industrial break-

- through, this might enhance minority status in the first world?
- C.L.R. Yes.
- D.L. What do you consider the value of the carnival arts in West Indian culture?
- C.L.R. I don't consider such things as being of any significant value.
- D.L. Recently, the Nigerian writer, Wole Soyinka won the Nobel prize for Literature. Do you consider this of any cultural significance?
- C.L.R. I have a great admiration for the man who won the Nobel prize because of his contributions but I think the Nobel prize in itself is of no great significance. It does not change anything - nor does it contribute anything new to Literature.
- D.L. What is your perception of the present political and racial issues in South Africa?
- C.L.R. I think the imbalance will be redressed. The black South African is among the most knowledgeable on the whole continent. For this reason those who perpetrate racial imbalance are scared of their black brothers and sisters there. The political solution will emerge in time.
- D.L. C.L.R., talking to you has been like a dialogue with history itself. Thanks for discussing these points.
- C.L.R. Thank you, and keep in touch.

Post Script., 9 September, 1988.

D.L. C.L.R. what are your views on religion?

C.L.R. Well, I know that people try to give reality to the form of God, angels and order of spirits, but I don't think they are really able to. I believe that they are doing something serious but I don't know about what they are trying to achieve.

D.L. Could you expatiate on that a bit. It's quite interesting what you have said.

C.L.R. Take for instance the Pope. He is the head of the Roman Catholic church. He presides over that beautiful cathedral, St. Peters, in Rome. And that building is a wonderful architecture. The important thing for me is that unless you understand religion, you can't understand what the Pope and his mission is about. You understand what they're trying to do by understanding the way they do it. There is a lot of literature on this but are only meaningful in the context of what they do.

D.L. And the medievalist?

C.L.R. Yes, many of them are extremely knowledgeable and their writings are valuable because they contain facts and information. They are very serious but to understand what they mean, you must first understand their religious views. But I don't believe what they say about God, Angels and Spirits.

D.L. And by implication, the Rastafarian movement?

C.L.R. Many of them are dedicated to their duties and work hard on what they believe but I don't believe what they say about God. I know that to understand them, one must first of all understand their views. That's all I can say.

D.L. C.L.R., thanks once again.

C.L.R. Alright o.

Conclusion

A total sense of the highlights of James' life and work is meant to present a heuristic base underlying the works of a man who, from all indication, is one of the great theoreticians of our age. It is easy to distill in the course of the short study what the basis of Internationalism in the works of James and Padmore has done to Kwame Nkrumah's own Pan-Africanist vision. One is almost totally certain that Nkrumah's vision was much influenced by that 'Pan' event he took over from James and Padmore.

The overall implications of what this holds for the twenty-first century is yet to appear in black and white. However, the foundations of a 'Pan' concept, an international base of working class movements, quite apart from Trotsky and Pan Africanism, have already been laid.