

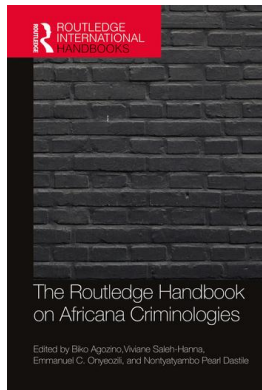
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2

“AFRICANA LIBERATION CRIMINOLOGIES”

Biko Agozino

Introduction

This chapter argues that criminologists have a lot to learn from the decolonization struggles engaged in by colonized people, including people of African descent, women, the poor, and Indigenous peoples. Following the theory of imperialism as the general character of all criminality developed elsewhere (Agozino, 2003), the chapter looks at liberation fighters as paradigmatic criminologists from whom scholars in the field could learn a thing or two. Contrary to the characterization of those liberation fighters as criminals by the colonial law-and-order regimes, the chapter reconceptualizes them as scholar-activist criminologists struggling to end one of the major types of crime that criminologists tend to shy away from studying. The chapter will offer a broad political economy of criminalization and resistance of relevance to people of African descent. The chapter concludes that the concept of liberation criminology is similar to the concept of liberation sociology and that it offers power-reflexive perspectives on societal reactions to deviance with openness to contributions by all committed scholar-activists.

From a political economy perspective, it is clear that class inequalities impact the societal reactions to deviance. No matter the racial and gender differences among people in prisons around the world, for example, more than 90 percent of them share the common experience of relative poverty. This has often been misinterpreted by anomie theorists to mean that poverty or unequal opportunity structure is a major cause of crime, but the empirical evidence does not always support the poverty hypothesis. There are many rich and powerful individuals and groups that engage in serious deviance, though they are more likely to get away with it. There is also evidence that the vast majority of the poor are overwhelmingly law abiding (Box, 1983; Agozino, 1997; Hall et al., 1978). Women tend to end up in prison at much lower rates than men across the world, but women are, on average, poorer than men (Smart, 1990; Chigwada, 2003; Agozino, 1997). Racial discrimination also

produces the overrepresentation of Indigenous peoples in punitive institutions, but this is not proof that Indigenous people are, by nature, more crime prone (McIntosh, 2017; Tauri, 2017; Webb, 2017). A focus on Africa will help criminologists better understand how masses of people contest the claims to a monopoly on the punitive uses of force by the state. This chapter contends that the struggles for the liberation of oppressed societies from ethnic-race-class-gender domination represent contributions to liberation criminology, a term that is similar to what Joe Feagin et al. (2014) identified as liberation sociology and similar to what has been called public sociology to some extent (Agozino and Ducey, 2020).

Political economists who are interested in criminology have focused their attention almost exclusively on Europe and settler-colonial locations in North America and Australia while neglecting Africa and other post-colonial locations where the discipline of criminology has not been well established (Greenberg, 1993; Agozino, 2003). When it comes to Africa, it is not only conventional criminology that is found wanting; critical criminology and feminist criminology also lag behind the relevant history of popular justice against institutionalized crimes that the people struggle against and try to end in the interest of liberation. This gap in knowledge could have been filled much earlier if criminologists who were interested in the work of Karl Marx had followed his example by underscoring the central role that Africans played in the struggle for emancipation from crimes against humanity. Du Bois, C.L.R. James, Eric Williams, Frantz Fanon, Kwame Nkrumah, Amílcar Cabral, Walter Rodney, Stuart Hall, Angela Davis, and Biko Agozino are among the scholars of African descent who took the Marxist approach to political economy in the development of sound criminological theories that continue to be neglected by mainstream criminologists at the expense of the discipline. Rare exceptions to the tendency to neglect critical Africana contributions to criminology can be found in the influential detailed reviews by Shaun Gabbidon (2007, 2010).

It is often stated that crime was not a central concern of Karl Marx, but that would be a narrow definition of crime for the critique of political economy that he produced in *Capital* is, indeed, an analysis of organized crime by the capitalist classes around the world. As Marx stated and as confirmed by many writers of African descent, the system of primitive accumulation of capital tends to be based on theft, robbery, slavery, oppression, or force. The peculiar history of Africa illustrates how the hunting of labor in Black skin, as Marx put it, resulted in 400 years of the kidnapping and enslavement of tens of millions of Africans, who were forced to produce the surpluses that were accumulated by the European bourgeoisie to establish the capitalist system of production. Contrary to the contention by political economists like Adam Smith – who speculated that what made one nation wealthy and another poor was that the wealthy nations, just like wealthy individuals, had discovered the rational system of savings and investment guided by the invisible hand of the free market – Marx emphasized that the theft of workers’ wages under capitalism paled in significance compared to the forced labor of millions of enslaved Africans for hundreds of years. Not surprisingly, it was the Africans who suffered 100 percent loss of their surplus values who led the struggle for emancipation from the organized crime called capitalism. Marx called on the workers of the world to study the struggle for

emancipation from slavery because it was the model for the struggle for emancipation from wage slavery. The centrality of Africa to the theories of Karl Marx has not always been acknowledged, but there is evidence that, in *Capital*, Marx made hundreds of references to the struggles of Africans, Negroes, slaves, Black people, emancipation, women, children, and Indigenous peoples and not just to the European working-class struggles (Agozino, 2014). Recently, Ifeanyi Ezeonu (2018) critiqued European theories of political economy to reveal that even when business is done in the usual ways, the multinational extractive companies conspire with corrupt politicians to steal the wealth of African countries. Oriola (2012) indicated that such criminal looting of the wealth gave rise to the kidnapping of oil workers by youth who styled themselves as resisting domination.

W.E.B. Du Bois (1935) agreed with Marx by stating in *Black Reconstruction in America* that the struggle against slavery could not have been won without the intervention of hundreds of thousands of enslaved Africans who went on strike from the slave plantations and joined the ranks of the Union army to crush the pro-slavery rebellion of the confederates. The result was the loss of over 600,000 lives in the American Civil War just to drum it into the heads of White supremacist imperialist patriarchs that Africans were equal human beings who did not deserve to be subjected to the criminal enterprise of industrialized plantation slavery.

Max Weber disagreed with Marx on this by suggesting that what produced capitalism was the mythology of the protestant ethic of hard work and savings, just as Adam Smith would have it. But Marx was right that the theft of Africans for hundreds of years was what built capitalism on the land stolen from Indigenous peoples who were subjected to genocide. C.L.R. James (1938) studied the only successful republican revolution by enslaved Africans in Haiti and concluded that the enslaved were more of a modern working class than the isolated workers in the factories of Europe and that they saw their revolution as a struggle against injustice and criminality. Accepting defeat by the Africans, the French revolutionaries imposed a levy on Haiti for the loss of their investments and proclaimed that Africans also deserved liberty, equality, and fraternity. At the same time, they allowed the British and then the Spanish and the U.S. to invade and try to reestablish slavery, but they were all crushed by the African revolutionaries in Haiti, despite a crippling economic blockade. Eric Williams (1945) followed Du Bois by documenting the correlations in history between capitalism and slavery and how the resistance by the enslaved helped bring about the end of industrial capitalist slavery.

Today, some ignorant apologists for slavery would counter with the erroneous view that the slave trade was legal and that Africans were to blame for selling their own people into slavery. Some in the African diaspora still confront Africans with the question “Were you not the ones who sold us?” The fact remains that there were never laws passed by Africans to make slave raids legal, and so the kidnappers were engaged in criminal enterprises for which they were armed with deadly weapons. Moreover, there were laws passed in the U.S. to restrict the slave trade from the start out of fear that Africans might soon outnumber Europeans and rise up in a bloody revolution to end slavery (Du Bois, 1905). Africans waged fierce battles to keep their loved ones from being kidnapped and continued fighting like the Amistad

Africans during the middle passage and rose up on the plantations like Nat Turner, Paul Bogle and the Maroons, Toussaint L'Ouverture, and the Haitian revolutionaries (Rodney, 1972). It was only a few feudal chiefs who collaborated with the European kidnapers as class allies in the criminal raiding of other African communities under the influence of intoxicating rum and brandy or deceptive manufactures like glass beads, red handkerchiefs, or worthless cowrie shells supplied by the Europeans as the payment for millions of human beings. That was no trade, according to Walter Rodney (1972); it was primitive accumulation or a crime against humanity organized through fraud, theft, kidnapping, and bloody massacres against which Africans resisted valiantly as best they could with less genocidal weapons. In agreement with Du Bois, James, Williams, and Rodney, the United Nations Organization has since recognized slavery as a crime against humanity, and the Caribbean countries have brought court cases against European countries that benefitted from slavery for "reparative justice," a term coined by Agozino (2002, 2004). There is no reason other than racism-sexism-imperialism for conventional criminologists to continue ignoring the huge crimes that were visited against Africans during the era of slavery or refuse to acknowledge the lessons that could be learned by liberation criminologists from the struggles of people of African descent.

Crimes of colonialism and apartheid

Criminologists may plead ignorance because the crimes of slavery against Africans and the epic struggles to end those crimes by Africans took place long before the discipline of criminology was fully institutionalized. Never mind that the same criminologists continue to make references to demonology and the classical school of philosophy, which also predated the emergence of positivistic criminology. The willful ignorance of conventional criminologists is no excuse, especially when it comes to the crimes of colonialism and apartheid against Africans or the criminological praxis of liberation fighters who relatively decolonized Africa by restoring independence. Amilcar Cabral taught us that we can deploy the theory of political economy as a weapon in the national liberation struggle. He made an original contribution to this theory by questioning the exclusive emphasis on class consciousness as the only force that drives history forward. He observed that before classes emerged, there were materialist struggles and contradiction between the means of production and forces of production that drove history forward dialectically. Therefore, he concluded that when classes have been abolished in a future communist society, it does not follow that history will come to an end. Rather, the development of scientific innovation would continue to make history by, for example, developing agronomy to serve the needs of the people rather than simply for the production of cash crops. Such a future society would make history by abolishing poverty and chronic hunger, eliminating illiteracy and diseases, and respecting the dignity of all human beings irrespective of gender and race or ethnicity, not just class consciousness.

Accordingly, it was an error for political economists to analyze imperialism simply as a system of class domination, contrary to the observation of Lenin that racism served to divide the forces of the working class in the interest of finance capital in

places like South Africa. Kwame Nkrumah (1965) followed Lenin closely by identifying neocolonialism as the last stage of imperialism that effectively kept Africans under the domination of European colonizers, even after relative decolonization. Walter Rodney also questioned the notion of the stages of economic development and concluded that it is possible for societies and cultures to leap forward and avoid following the stages one after another. Cabral, Rodney, and Fanon emphasized that colonialism and apartheid were based on racism and sexism in addition to class exploitation of workers and peasants. Stuart Hall developed this critique of political economy by challenging the idea of economic determinism to show that societies are frequently structured in race-class-gender dominance against which the society struggles through the culture and not simply through economic class struggles. The theory of articulation was developed by Marx, who insisted that in some societies, class, race, and sex can be seen as part of the articulation of materialist social relations that people struggle for or against without choosing those conditions. But most Eurocommunists forgot about the articulation and treated class struggles as an independent variable that explained everything else as dependent variables under the determinism of the economy almighty, as Stuart Hall (2016) put it, following Althusser.

According to Hall et al. (1978), any attempt to understand the repressive policing of the working class under authoritarian populism should go back to the history of slavery, during which a posse of poor White men who did not own any slaves took it upon themselves to police the plantations and keep the enslaved Africans in their place. The lesson there is that industrialized capitalist slavery also went against the interests of the poor Whites who supported it out of loyalty to the ideology of White supremacy, given that the 40-hour week was a demand that the ruling capitalist classes did not concede until slavery was abolished and given that hundreds of thousands of poor White men died in the American Civil War, fighting to keep the enslavement of Africans going just because they were paid what Du Bois (1935) called the psychological wages of Whiteness. When domestic labor was done by unpaid enslaved Africans, it did not occur to White women to demand wages for domestic labor, but they eventually came around to demanding wages for such labor after the abolition of slavery. Saleh-Hanna (2015) takes the logic of abolitionism further by following Jacques Derrida and Toni Morrison to “re-memory” the hauntological criminalization of Indigenous peoples and enslaved Africans through the “Ponzi scheme” of White supremacy. She prescribed the struggles to abolish slavery as the model for the abolition of crime and punishment as categories that continue to be used for the oppression and domination of the descendants of the survivors of slavery. The global abolitionist perspective is also advanced by the contributors to the editorial by Oparah (2005). Kitosa (2012) and Dastile and Agozino (2019) reached similar penal abolitionist conclusions with reference to Canada and South Africa, respectively. During colonialism, the European working classes were proud of their nations for having colonies from which surplus values were extracted to be invested in the metropolises to continue offering European workers better standards of living as forms of the material wages of Whiteness. Yet White women were denied the right to vote until enslaved Africans struggled and won that right in the U.S. The White women who struggled for the right to vote actually opposed giving enslaved Black men the right

first because they saw themselves as the fair sex that was supposedly better educated and enlightened than the Africans, who were presumably dehumanized by centuries of slavery and who, it was feared, would abuse their right to vote by committing outrages against White women.

The use of allegations of outrages or rape by White men as the excuse to terrorize African Americans after slavery was debunked by Ida B. Wells who called it a bare-faced lie. This is because the majority of the cases of lynching that she documented from White newspaper reports did not mention rape as a factor while many people were lynched for no reason at all. Unknown to many is the fact that one-third of the thousands of cases of people lynched that she documented involved the lynching of poor White people. “When the rain falls, it won’t fall on one man’s housetop,” sang Bob Marley and the Wailers in apparent agreement with Martin Luther King Jr. that injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. Angela Davis (1983) drove this point home by warning White feminists to avoid being recruited to support the use of rape allegations by White men as a terrorist tool against Black men and women. She cited evidence presented at the Supreme Court in the case of *Furman v. Georgia* to show that nearly 90 percent of the men executed for rape in the U.S. from 1936 to 1976 were Black men, but there was no way Black men could have committed 90 percent of the rapes in America. The majority of rapes occur within in-groups; there is evidence from Betsy Stanko that the rapist is more likely to be the one who pays the rent than a total stranger who jumps out from behind a bush to grab a woman, contrary to advice from the police for women to lock their doors or call cabs and avoid poorly lit streets.

Under apartheid, poor wages were paid to the mineworkers who dug for miles under the earth to extract precious metals and even poorer wages were offered to African women who worked as domestic servants in the homes of White South African families. This led to a debate as to whether apartheid was a system of capitalism or if it was more like feudalism or a caste system. Harold Wolpe (1972) concluded that racism and class exploitation were joined together or articulated in South Africa, and so analysts should stop trying to say that it was either one or the other. It is true that many South Africans lived under the pre-capitalist mode of production in the homelands, but that economy was not separate from the capitalist extractive industries in the urban economy of the townships because the poor wages of the mineworkers and domestic workers were shared with their families in the rural homelands while the peasant production by women and children at home also supplemented the meager incomes in the cities. The majority of White working-class South Africans supported apartheid out of racial pride, even though they, too, were exploited economically. Stuart Hall (1980) extracted this theory and applied it to the struggle against racism, sexism, and capitalist exploitation around the world to show that the authoritarian populism of Thatcherism hurt not only poor immigrants but also the poor White working class in the U.K. who unwittingly supported Thatcher at the polls. He called for the building of coalitions and alliances beyond single-identity politics as a way of offering alternatives to authoritarian populism from the right. This was the strategy of the South African Communist Party, which joined forces with the African National Congress and with pro-democracy and faith-based organizations to

pressure the apartheid regime to negotiate an end to White minority rule. The end was dramatically hastened with the intervention of Cuba in Angola against the poor Whites who were conscripted into the invading army of apartheid and were taught a bitter lesson when Cuba cut them off from their supply routes, forcing the apartheid regime to sue for peace.

Applying the theory of articulation to race-class-gender analysis of *Black Women and the Criminal Justice System*, Agozino (1997, republished 2018) discovered that the vast majority of the Black women in prison in England and Wales were there for drugs offenses while some innocent Black women were targeted for repressive policing because of their proximity to suspected Black men. This led to the conclusion that punitive power was colonizing other processes such as victimization of the innocent, and this led to the call for the decolonization struggles to be intensified by criminologists, who should contribute to the struggle for the withering away of oppressive law and for reparative justice in the interest of the victimized. South Africa under Nelson Mandela and under the influence of Desmond Tutu recovered the ancient African philosophy of nonviolence, which Gandhi claimed that he learned from the Zulus, and applied it to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in the form of Ubuntu, or the belief that we are a bundle of humanity: I am because we are (Tutu and Tutu, 2014). Chinua Achebe (2012) used the metaphor of Mbari to represent this philosophy of tolerance among the Igbo, who communally built mud huts and populated them with figurines representing people from all over the world. Martin Luther King Jr. (1968) called it the World House that we all inherited and must share with peace and love or fight and burn down in chaos. What is missing from these formulations that Rastafari might call the One Love philosophy of people of African descent is the demand for reparative justice that Africans have been shy to press, compared to people who have suffered other historic wrongs. Similarly, the Aboriginal Australians and Maori, along with their allies in criminology, are not asking for the settler colonizers to be punished but for reparative justice to be offered to the Indigenous people through the decolonization of criminal justice rather than through the criminalization of the colonizers and their punishment (Bull, 2017; Watson, 2015; Cunneen and Tauri, 2016; Tauri, 2017; Giannacopoulos, 2011; Dekart, 2017; McIntosh, 2017).

What is liberation criminology?

The Routledge Handbook of Public Criminologies invited Agozino and Ducey (2020) to make a contribution, and the result is Chapter 5 on liberation criminology as a praxis that is articulated or intersects with public sociology. Liberation criminology is a call for criminologists to explore the lessons in deviance and social control that could emerge from the history of the struggles to decolonize the world and abolish oppressive power relations. Ducey had earlier coauthored the third edition of *Liberation Sociology* with Joe Feagin and cited the work of Karl Marx, Du Bois, and Agozino multiple times as worthy examples, among many others, of liberation sociologists (Feagin et al., 2014). Public sociology was inspired by the work of Du Bois and by the struggle against apartheid, but it was not specified by Burroway or others how this could be applied to criminology, a field that is more closely tied to the apron strings of

the state than to sociology. As Stephen Pfohl (1994) demonstrated in his sociological history of deviance and social control, there are sufficient examples of the power-reflexive approaches to guide scholars and activists towards a commitment to ending racism-sexism-imperialism in a more humane society without prisons, oppression, poverty, racism, sexism, homophobia, and war as Angela Davis urged us to do.

Accordingly, liberation criminologists are those who support the demand for reparative justice by people of African descent and by Indigenous peoples worldwide who continue to resist the conquest and colonization of their land and peoples. Liberation criminologists oppose the militarization of the earth and call for nonviolent resolution of disputes internationally and nonviolent policing of communities internally. Critical criminologists support an end to the war on drugs that has targeted poor people with a disparate impact on people of African descent and Indigenous peoples. Liberation criminologists support the women’s right to choose to follow any medical procedure recommended by their doctors. Liberation criminologists call for a world without prisons to allow communities to return to a more humane existence that was the norm throughout the world before the imposition of incarceration as a modernist fetish by capitalism and imperialism. Liberation criminologists oppose the criminalization of same-sex relationships because Indigenous people did not experience homophobia before the hysterical imperialists imposed homophobic laws against the colonized, and long after the colonizers abolished such repressive laws in their own countries, post-colonial countries continue to embrace them. Liberation criminologists are opposed to the death penalty, especially because it is more likely to be used against poor and Indigenous people around the world. Liberation criminologists support the rights of sex workers to prevent the trafficking of children into the sex trade and the violent exploitation of sex workers by pimps. Liberation criminologists are opposed to White supremacist imperialist patriarchy all over the world. Liberation criminologists are against capitalist exploitation of workers and the destruction of the environment by greedy capitalists around the world. Although these are global issues, they are all very relevant to Africa, and so African liberation criminologists embrace them, along with other allied concerns, in the struggle to make the world more humane.

Eurocentric scholars fail by promising universal theories of deviance and social control but offering Eurocentric perspectives and only become Orientalist when addressing other cultures that deserve to be placed under the colonial authority of the master race. Often missing from such control-freak criminology is any consideration of crimes by the state because the Eurocentric authors see the racist-imperialist-patriarchal state as simply punishing criminality but never committing such crimes, contrary to abundant aggravating evidence. Moreover, the obsession with punishment of offenders in control-freak criminology blinds the authors to non-punitive practices for dealing with deviance: from forgiveness in ancient Egypt to what Derrida called the forgiveness of the unforgivable in post-apartheid South Africa and by descendants of enslaved Africans, the American Indian natives, the Maori, the Aboriginal Australians, the Vietnamese, the people of the Bengal and Nanking, the colonized and the exploited, the Jews, the Igbo, and the Palestinians, who survived genocide, apartheid, and colonial exploitation without seeking to exact the commodity fetishism of

calibrating punishment to fit the crimes. The omission of the crimes of the powerful from much of criminology can only be ideological selective mutism because the authors must be aware of Marxists who theorize the withering away of the law and cannot claim ignorance about voters who are withering away the punitiveness of the state regarding marijuana law, same-sex relations, gambling, sex work, abortion, and capital punishment. This chapter makes an important contribution by highlighting the history of colonialism and the counter-colonial struggles for decolonization as a societal response to the crimes of the state that Eurocentric criminologists conveniently ignore.

Criminology as a whole could be improved by taking off what Joe Feagin theorized as the White framing analysis or Eurocentrism to examine the extent to which the modern European state has been an organized crime gang against women, the poor, and the colonized, even while also claiming that it is only interested in welfarism and social order. The work of W.E.B. Du Bois and Ida B. Wells on the organized crime of lynching in America deserves serious coverage. As Ida B. Wells demonstrated and the NAACP campaigned against, a lot of the people lynched had committed no crime at all in a racist-sexist-imperialist society. The feminist literature from Mary Jo Frug, Angela Davis, Carol Smart, and Katherine Mackinnon should be brought in to emphasize that women have always been less involved in criminality and that toxic masculinity works with the racist-imperialist-patriarchal state to orchestrate violence while pretending to be the only solution.

The genocidal state and mass violence in Africa

The philosophy of nonviolence is one of the most important contributions by Africans to global culture. Martin Luther King Jr. attributed the philosophy to Gandhi, but Gandhi himself attributed it to the Africans who reeducated him during the Zulu uprising against British colonizers. Gandhi had joined the British army as a sergeant major to help to put down the uprising because he believed that colonialism was a good thing. He led a group of Indian volunteers, hoping to treat the wounds of British officers in order to convince them that Indians were more civilized and should not be classified at the same level with Africans under apartheid. Gandhi was frustrated because all the wounded were Africans, and he did not get a chance to treat the wounds of a British officer. He challenged the Zulu men and asked why they were sitting there and taking the beating instead of fighting back like men. They explained that they were fighting back nonviolently by going on strike instead of working for employers who exploited them, by boycotting shops that disrespected them, and by refusing to pay taxes to a government that did not represent them. The question is why Africans are experiencing unprecedented levels of violent crimes when we could have followed the philosophy of nonviolence to build beloved communities. The answer is that after 1,000 years of continuous mass violence against Africans, who were hunted as prey by kidnappers and trafficked first across the Sahara and then across the Atlantic, Africans can be forgiven for relatively forgetting the philosophy of nonviolence and adopting the genocidal technologies of their oppressors in search of survival and in a grab for power over one another.

Brotherphobia or sisterphobia is an ancient problem that should not be confused with xenophobia. Europeans attacked and killed fellow Europeans for centuries over who should get the lion’s share of the colonization of Africa. The Semitic people are still at each other’s throats, even though they all claim to be the children of Abraham or Ibrahim. Apart from the centuries-old slave raids orchestrated by Europeans, Nigerians have been slaughtering fellow Nigerians like rams since the genocidal war orchestrated by the British against the Igbo for no reason other than that they spear-headed the anticolonial struggle (Ekwe–Ekwe, 2019) and that they speak what South Africans would call an incomprehensible *kwerekwere* language, probably a corruption of the popular Igbo greeting “*Igbo Kwenu!*” For such excuses as “they steal our jobs and take our women” or “they sell drugs and commit crimes,” Black South Africans loot the poor shops of fellow Black Africans and lynch their fellow Africans, inciting revenge attacks against multinational South African businesses in other African states at the expense of the employees of such companies.

South Africans have been massacring one another in the struggle over crumbs from the tables of settlers and apartheid colonizers since the reign of Shaka Zulu and, more recently, during the confrontations between Inkatha Freedom Party and African National Congress supporters orchestrated by the third force of the racist-sexist-imperialist state. White farmers were reported to be fleeing in large numbers as they are targeted for violent crime by some of those from whom they stole the land. Tanzanians and Swazis were butchering each one another to make money medicine or *muti*, just as Nigerians had been doing juju to get rich quick and some try to intimidate others, especially when cattle is used as a modern “colonization” scheme, backed with state power and armed with weapons and the charms of all sorts by people who claim to worship the same Abrahamic God. Somalis and Rwandans were still at it, just like Sudanese, Egyptians, Libyans, and Algerians, as a result of the imposition of the genocidal state on neocolonial Africa by European colonizers. Africans trying to escape the quagmire are allowed to drown by the thousands in the Aegean Sea instead of operating a safe ferry service and opening up fortress Europe.

The solution is Pan Africanism and the erasure of the borders that colonialism imposed on Africans. South Africa and Nigeria could follow the lead of Ghana and Ethiopia and invite the African diaspora to return and be given dual Africana citizenship. With the coming of the African Union passport and the policy of free trade with open borders, Africans can travel where they choose and settle, marry, study, work, trade, or run for office in any part of Africa, just as the Americans do in the U.S. The African states that recalled their ambassadors from South Africa should have realized that U.S. states do not have ambassadors in other states but are all represented outside the U.S. by the Department of State. The U.S. could extend this democratic experiment to the whole of the Americas who want to join the United States instead of kidding around about buying Greenland and building fortress walls that will never completely stop stressed immigrants being pushed partly by authoritarian U.S. policies that undermine democracy in central America. Intellectuals and activists can help by thinking beyond their national consciousness as Fanon (1963) urged and realizing that the people have voted with their feet in utter disregard for the artificial lines that colonizers drew on the sand to divide and weaken Africans as Azikiwe observed in his

1962 London speech on Pan Africanism as he did consistently in leading the struggle to restore independence (Azikiwe, 1937).

The government has a role to play here by going beyond job creation towards the funding of cooperatives that would train Africans from wherever and grant them funding to start enterprises in partnership with fellow Africans at home and abroad. The Igbo have perfected this though their individual efforts in apprenticeship, but with huge grants from the governments across Africa, there would be annual entrepreneurship grants to support emerging apprentices in setting up their own shops in partnership with others to create wealth across Africa as argued in an influential paper (Agozino and Anyanike, 2007).

“The idea of a borderless world” was proposed by Mbembe (2018), but he saw it as a utopia yet to be realized. It was actually the indigenous map of the world and not a utopia. The world existed without borders when Africans discovered all other continents and populated them millions of years ago without passports and visas and with asylum for all who ask for it. One Peoples Republic of Africa or United Republic of African States for all Africans at home and abroad! While we must pressure the state to live up to its responsibility to protect the people and enable them to prosper, we must double our efforts to increase love for all in our communities by establishing institutes of love studies to counter the war colleges imposed on Africans by colonizers. Nkrumah (1982) always urged, “Forward Ever,” and Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem (1996) chanted, “Organize, Do Not Agonize!”

Conclusion

Africana liberation criminologies have room for scholar-activists who are African and those from other parts of the world to collaborate as allies and comrades in the struggles that continue to exist in every part of the world. Such communities of scholar-activists are international and not hemmed in by colonial boundaries. History shows that in all the struggles led by people of African descent against forms of injustice that impacted them primarily, there have always been allies from other racial, ethnic, and national backgrounds. This is so because the threat that faced people of African descent always had implications for the freedom of others because injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. The benefits that resulted from the victories won by people of African descent were never enjoyed by them alone in isolation from other people. Similarly, people of African descent have been active in the struggles against injustice that faces other ethnic and national categories of people because we are a bundle of humanity, according to Desmond Tutu and Mpho Tutu (2014).

It is not surprising that many criminologists of European descent have been allies of people of African descent and Indigenous people. For instance, Stephen Pfohl wrote a powerful preface to my *Counter-Colonial Criminology* and went on to recount how some privileged White students and colleagues often complain that they find the book “unnerving.” Stuart Hall et al. (1978) collaborated with scholars of European descent to author the classic *Policing the Crisis*. Chris Cunneen collaborated with Juan Tauri to author the foundational text *Indigenous Criminology* while Harry Blagg and Thalia Anthony, who are both of European descent, have been active in the struggle

to decolonize the treatment of Indigenous Australians in the criminal justice system. Africana liberation criminologists should pay particular attention to the work being done by Indigenous criminologists under settler colonialism because our shared experience of colonialism will help us learn from one another and open doors for more international collaborations. The work of critical criminologists from whatever background should be required reading for Africana liberation criminologists because of our shared opposition to oppression and exploitation. The work of Howard Zinn, Noam Chomsky, Joe Feagin, Stan Cohen, Frank Pearce, Edward Said, Maureen Cain, Carol Smart, Mary Bosworth, Joe Sim, Steve Tombs, Hal Pepinsky, Richard Quinney, David Greenberg, Colin Sumner, Stephen Pfohl, Jacques Derrida, Jean Baudrillard, Michel Foucault, and many others will need to be paid close attention even when critiquing any shortcomings from the perspective of African-centricity.

Liberation criminologists need to go beyond phrase mongering and attempt the decolonization of the theoretical, methodological, and policy implications of their work. Rather than choosing between objectivity and commitment, we should strive for "committed objectivity" in line with critical scholars from the past who have defended their commitment, though some mistakenly were pushed to reject objectivity as impossible (Agozino, 2018). Racist-imperialist-patriarchal oppression is real and should not be studied objectively without the commitment to ending it. Having such an oppositional commitment does not mean that liberation scholars are making up the evidence of the real harm done to real people by articulated systems of oppression and exploitation. What I call committed objectivity is more widely known as scholar-activism in Africana studies, but it is watered down in mainstream curricula as critical thinking, without the emphasis on activism. Let us talk the talk and walk the walk in opposition to all systems of oppression and in favor of liberation.

In our research methodology, we should follow the examples of Smith (1999) and Chilisa (2008) and attempt to clean up the dirty baggage that colonizers packaged with conventional research methods. For instance, instead of approaching our people from the privileged position of elite scholars, we should approach the community with the humility that recognizes that data are gifts given to us by willing participants. Thus, we should abandon the misleading concept of data collection and adopt the concept of data reception (Agozino, 2018). Once we recognize that we are not almighty data collectors but gift receivers who are indebted to the communities that we are committed to and study objectively, then we will no longer see policy recommendations as things that must always be directed to the neocolonial state exclusively. Policy could be reconceptualized as actions that community members themselves could also implement for their self-efficacy. The state already has mountains of recommendations from conventional researchers to implement, so liberation criminologists need to prioritize policy actions that the people could own and manage themselves, even when such actions involve holding state officials more accountable and deepening democracy as part of the decolonization struggle. One area in which we do not need the genocidal state to take the lead is in building what Rasta call One Love for all in the community, with the aim of ending violence against women and children (Kalunta-Crumpton, 2019) and the gang-related violence fueled by the war on drugs that we can end by campaigning for the withering away of the law and

the state to make sure that we take from all according to their abilities and give to all according to their needs.

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