

PAN-AFRICANISM REVISITED: NAVIGATING THE COMPLEXITIES OF MODERN WORLD POLITICS, ECONOMY, AND CULTURE

Kamara, Abubakar Aminata Coulibaly¹, Diop, Moustapha Fatoumata Sow²

African and Postcolonial Studies, Department of Anglophone Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,
Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar (Senegal)

Abstract

Over the past four centuries, Black people have endured a relentless Western narrative that has painted a distorted image of Africa and its inhabitants. This narrative, perpetuated by European and American popular literature, has given birth to a mythical and fantastical version of Africa. The colonial rule imposed by Europeans was deeply rooted in this Western myth, emphasizing Africa's alleged backwardness and subhuman nature. The literature preceding and accompanying their colonization efforts aimed to negate African civilization, culture, and humanity, fabricating false images, stereotypes, and assumptions that reinforced their hegemony and brainwashed populations into believing Africans were inferior, lacking intelligence, uncivilized, barbaric, inhuman, and living in perpetual darkness.

This historical narrative has played a pivotal role in shaping the tumultuous history of the Black race, marked by the scourges of slavery, colonization, racial oppression, and contemporary forms of neo-colonization and exploitation. Regrettably, these phenomena have proven highly profitable and advantageous to the West at the expense of Africa. This exploitation laid the foundation for the New World, the transatlantic Slave Trade that spanned Africa, Europe, and the Americas, the relentless extraction and exploitation of Africa's natural resources, and its subsequent colonization by European powers. Today, Africa remains dependent on its relationship with Europe and the United States for development, perpetuating a legacy of exploitation.

The enslaved Africans forcibly transported to the New World were dehumanized, treated as commodities devoid of dignity or respect, destined solely for servitude and obedience. Colonization in Africa and segregation against Africans in the Diaspora became the hallmarks of imperialist domination, cloaked under the guise of a so-called "civilizing mission." The invaders brought with them a new form of education, religion in the form of "colonial" Christianity, and stripped the land and natural resources from the African continent. They disrupted local ways of life, culture, traditions, identities, as well as social, political, and economic structures.

It is essential to clarify that in this context, the term "Diaspora" specifically pertains to the early experiences of Black people after slavery in Europe, the Americas, and the Caribbean, and not to all Africans living outside of Africa today.

Keywords: Africa, Western fantasy, colonialism, slavery, exploitation, racism.

Introduction

The last four hundred years of Black people's history have recorded a devastating Western fantasy about Africa and Africans. This hallucination nurtured by European and American popular writings (Hammond & Jablow, 1992: 8) has created a mythical, fabulous, and fictitious Africa. The Europeans' colonial rule was then fundamentally based on the Western myth of the continent, constructing it with

points of stress in the fable according to which it was „backward“ and „sub-human.“ Their sojourn in Africa was preceded and even later accompanied by a literature that aimed at negating and destroying any civilization, culture, and humanity belonging to Africans. Carried by Eurocentric writers, that literature constructed false images, stereotypes, and assumptions with a view to better asserting their hegemony and brainwashing the populations into believing that they were „inferior,“ they had „no modicum“ of intelligence, were „uncivilized,“ „barbarians“ „inhuman,“ „backward“ and, therefore, lived in „darkness.“ In fact, the important historical episodes of hardships that have mostly marred the history of the black race in all its complexity include slavery, colonization, racial oppression and, now, neo-colonization and neo-exploitation. Unfortunately, all these phenomena have been very profitable to and highly advantageous for the West to the detriment of Africa. This first accounts for the making of the New World, the Slave Trade in Africa, Europe, and the Americas, the extraction, exploitation and shipping of the continent’s raw materials to European countries through colonization with their booming industry, and now Africa’s dependence on/relationship with Europe and the United States of America for its development. The deported slaves, once in the New World, were treated like „animals,“ „invaluable“ human beings worthy of any respect and dignity, and whose fate was only and exclusively destined for obedience and servitude. Colonization in Africa and segregation towards Africans in the Diaspora had just marked the imperialists’ perpetual domination with their so-called „civilizing mission.“ So, they invaded the African continent along with a new form of education, school, a new religion, „colonial“ Christianity, and took away everything, especially the land, and the natural resources. They also turned upside down local ways of life, culture(s), tradition(s), identity(ies), social, political, and economic structures. Diaspora, in this context, refers clearly to Blacks’ first days after slavery in Europe, the Americas, and the Caribbean, and not about all Africans living outside of Africa today.

These gloomy periods, with the rush of the Portuguese (Thornson, 1998) into the continent, have left Africans, people of African descent, the former colonies of India and Asia in almost a total „darkness.“ However, when considering historically Africa’s participation in world’s population, civilization, and economy, one can perceptibly argue that it has always been a victim. It was within that framework that Pan-Africanism was coined as an ideological and philosophical force. How and in which contexts has it emerged and evolved? What to make of what is left of the legacies of the pioneers of the movements? What should be its challenges and targeted objectives in the twenty-first century new world order? Focusing on a historical, sociological and literary approach, embedded with an Afrocentric and postcolonial perspective, this article seeks to give account of the birth of the movement. It also aims at exploring how this revolutionary ideal has moved from an anti-slavery movement to an anti-colonialism force in Africa, as means of reconstituting the bond and installing dialogue as it further unearths the new challenges in a new world context characterized by new political, economic, and socio-cultural deals and dynamisms.

Building Dialogue and Reconstituting the Bond, the Lost and Constructed History of Black People

The South-North Black’s *migritude* context set out to be an important factor for the emergence of revolutionary leaders such as Willian Edward Burghardt Dubois, Marcus Mosiah Garvey, Booker Taliaferro Washington, Edward Wilmot Blyden, Langston Hughes, among others. The Roaring Twenties coincided with a period of sustained economic prosperity with a particular cultural edge in cities like New York, Montreal, Chicago, Detroit, Paris, Berlin, London, Los Angeles, and many other

ones in the United States of America, Europe, and Canada. The French called that period the *années folles* (Lamb, 2000: 195) – „Crazy Years,“ stressing the artistic, cultural, and social dynamism of the epoch. Black music and dances, ranging from the Negro spirituals, Blues, Jazz, shuffle along, and Charleston, were resorted to as revolutionary identity expression tools in Black American arts. The forerunners-led battle shaped what would later be known as the Harlem Renaissance movement/The New Negro, named after the 1925 anthology of Alain LeRoy Locke. It was a cultural, intellectual, artistic, and social phenomenon that was spearheaded before the 1920s until the 1930s. The Harlem Renaissance was mostly known for the literature, music, and other arts through its talented and committed performers and writers. With their artistic productions as their sole weapon, they succeeded in involving themselves, in representing and being the voice of a cultural renaissance. From then on, race, identity, culture, and self-consciousness became their major concerns. The movement bore ideologies, concepts, and reflections deeply entrenched in the literary productions of its leaders. Harlem served as meeting place for the African-American revolutionaries who drew people’s attention to their fate in their society and also the starting point to plead for the full liberation of Africa from European colonialism.

Yet, far from being a unilateralist political, artistic, social, and cultural ideology, Pan-Africanism was a multidimensional-approach movement. It was first established to fight against slavery before heading on to fight colonization abroad. Then, it went from an anti-slavery movement in the Diaspora to an anti-colonialism force in Africa. Its philosophy, which was spread across the world, recorded many changes, including in its agenda of African unity worldwide at the basis of nationalism, political, social, independence, and cultural affairs. Two main policies could be sorted out among its major approaches. On the one hand, there were some leaders such as Edward Wilmot Blyden, Marcus Mosiah Garvey and others who brandished the idea that the solution to African unity resided in the return of all people of African descent to Africa. On the other hand, others like Frederick Douglass, William E. B. Dubois, James Weldon Johnson and the New Negro movement pleaded for the well-being and freedom of the Black people as African-Americans and full citizens living in the United States of America. So, the materialization of Marcus Garvey’s idea of deporting Blacks to Africa had been first achieved by a group of British abolitionists called the Clapham Circle, who campaigned in favor of two hard core separate religious motives: one, to promote „true“ religion and save souls; the other to make life better for people and the world be a better place to live in. It comprised figures like William Wilberforce, James Stephenson, and Grandville Sharp. The group tasked Henry Smeathman with shipping some former slaves to Africa, namely in Liberia and Sierra Leone in 1787. Before World War I, Pan-Africanism was legitimately gaining its first rationale with the setting up of the African Association in London in 1897 and three years later with the organization of the first Pan-African conference in 1900 in London, two symbolical achievements marking the starting point of Blacks’ political commitment and achievement.

It was during those different conferences and congresses (1900 in London, 1919 in Paris, 1921 in London, 1923 in London, 1927 in New York, 1945 in Manchester, 1974 in Dar es Salaam and 1994 in Kampala) that the word Pan-Africanism was fully adopted. But the term itself dates back from at least the mid-nineteenth-century, particularly with Marcus Mosiah Garvey’s popularized „Africa for the Africans“ slogan. Those events addressed the issues facing Africa as a result of colonization.

In fact, the historian George Padmore, one of the most important leaders, revealed that the idea of the London conference in 1900 was inspired and molded by the West Indian lawyer Henry Sylvester

Williams with the aim of establishing their struggle so as to fight against the English abusive imperialist system. Another very important Pan-Africanist figure was lawyer, councilor, writer, and prominent Trinidadian in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Martin Robison Delany. He was mostly known for forming the African Association to challenge paternalism, racism, and imperialism. In addition to being an African-American abolitionist, journalist, physician, and writer, he was arguably the first pro-black nationalism and first three Blacks to be admitted into Harvard Medical School.

Indeed, the period between the two world wars was also very decisive for the efficiency of the ideology and philosophy as it was sustained by the tenacity of thinkers, intellectuals, and activists, and the prevailing changing ideologies worldwide. Power relationships being mainly the source of those changes, most of the Pan-Africanism based reactions were mostly adapted to Marxism and Communism, two ideologies contrasting Capitalism and Liberalism. However, it was not until the 1920s that clashes of objectives, orientations and points of views arose between W. E. B. Dubois, Marcus Mosiah Garvey and Edward W. Blyden at a time when the question relating to the movement concerned Blacks' social conditions in the United States of America and the rest of the Diaspora. Their ideological oppositions were milestone in an extent that Dubois firmly took it for granted that working for the promotion of African-American intellectuals for the fight of their civil and human rights to be accepted in America and by all Americans should be the issue at stake. Being a multidisciplinary scholar, he historically contributed to the Negro political and cultural achievements whether African-American or African. In his book, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), representing a landmark in analyzing African-Americans' life evolution, he states that:

The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife - this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in flood of white Americanism, for he knows that the Negro blood had a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being crushed and spit upon by his fellow, without having the doors of opportunities closed roughly in his face (Dubois, 1903: 3).

Contrarily to Booker Taliaferro Washington, whose policy was mainly concerned with promoting only the Black people's economic development, Dubois rejected the idea that the time had come to create opportunities for high studies. He initiated events such as the meeting of Niagara Fall in 1905, involved himself in leading many black protest organizations, namely the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909, and edited journals such as *The Moon* (1906) and *The Horizon* (1907-1910) and *Crisis*. His efforts towards fighting victimization earned him to be one of the most active and central figures of the Pan-Africanist movement, and to attend the first London-hosted Pan-African conference as the vice-president. He organized later on series of congresses all around the world, respectively in Paris in 1919, London in 1921 and 1923, and New York in 1927. In 1961, he joined the Communist Party of the United States of America to fulfill his progressist political vision. Likewise, Marcus Mosiah Garvey, as the forerunner of Garveyism, tremendously contributed to the renewal phenomenon with his policy of rehabilitation of the Negro's past. *The Black Moses*, a pen name given to him by the adepts of the Rastafarian movement who viewed him as a prophet, launched the Universal Negro Improvement Association, a weekly journal *The Negro World*, to express his obstinate advocate of the return of enslaved Black descendants to Africa.

However, the different views about the ideology brought Marcus Mosiah Garvey into direct connection with

Edward Wilmot Blyden, who was considered to be paying a sort of „messianic“ mission. For both the idea of African Unity would be possible only if the whole African Diaspora went back to Africa. The former, an afro-west-Indian, who later on took Liberian nationality, was the one who used the expression „African Personality“ for the first time on the occasion of the inauguration of an African independent protestant church in Nigeria in 1902. A Caribbean leader of the United Negro Improvement Association in 1916, he had global appeal to African-Americans to follow his separatist idea which was believed to be the ultimate and best way to reach freedom and self-blossoming, an idea according to which educational, industrial, and political successes are based upon the protection of a nation founded by themselves.

For them, the nation can be nowhere else but in Africa. Garvey's recommendations were then based on Garveyism ideology which pleaded for the return to Africa as the only solution for self-fulfillment and celebration. It was within that framework that he first molded jointly with Amy Ashwood the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League (UNIA-ACL) in Jamaica in 1914, the largest mass movement of Africans ever created. It targeted a universal confederacy or connection among Black people through racial pride, education, and economic fulfillment. That inspired him to hold the organization's first international conference in the grand Madison Square Garden in the heart of New York City which brought together thousands of delegates hailing from all over the world. The conference came up with important decisions, declarations, appointments, and elections, including identifying the African Liberation Flag with the colors: Red, Black, and Green.

The climax of the gathering was also his election as the „First Provisional President of Africa.“ Indeed, the UNIA-ACL falls with his relations to the clear vision as early as the twenties, as well as his early call for African Unity. In a move to spread an anti-colonial message against the colonialists' presence in Africa, with his Garveyism conceptualized-Pan-Africanism ideal, he implemented his famous Go-back-to-Africa theory with the shipping company „Black Star Line,“ which gained him both glory and disappointment by undergoing imprisonment in the United States of America and afterwards becoming a whole nation's and community's hero in his native land Jamaica. As a preacher, he predicted many events, among which the coming of Haile Selassie to Jamaica. These were the same contradictions as those that brought about the differences of visions between Marcus Mosiah Garvey, W. E. B. Dubois, and Frederick Douglass, whose reflection efforts about the self and Black people's situation in the world as a contribution of the intelligentsia succeeded in conveying a real discourse on the „human condition,“ (Mazrui, 1980:

597) to paraphrase Ali Mazrui.

Like their diasporic counterparts of the Black Renaissance movement, Africans also strived for cultural, social, political equality, and self-dependence. Pan-Africanist movements like Lamine Senghor and Thiermoko Garan Kouyate-headed Committee for the Defense of the Black Race also joined in the identity-recognition battle along with young West-Indians, Rene Menil, Jules Monnerot, and Etienne Leo who committed themselves while students in Paris. Their major objective was to establish a linkage with the figures of the Harlem Renaissance and push for a literary revolution, stop being „mere“ imitators of western renowned writers, and reject Western traditional values to give way to communism

and surrealism, as a literary movement seeking to release the creative potential of the unconscious mind. Still in this liberation and awareness prospect, in 1945, as the movement had become transnational, the Manchester Pan-Africanist Congress was convened as a decisive turning point in Africa's willingness to (re)gain freedom, self-government, self-rule, and independence from European colonial rule. The conference gathered African and African-American leaders like Kwame Nkrumah, W. E. B. Dubois, and Marcus Mosiah Garvey.

When the Pan-African world recorded a shift from the Diaspora to Africa, Kwame Nkrumah played a very outstanding role in putting forward his anti-colonial ideas, especially in his country Gold Coast which later became Ghana after independence in 1957. His Pan-Africanist vision was about focusing on his communist ideology since the Communist International - *Comintern* - working towards the United States of Socialist Africa, was the first to find fault with Western colonialism. He assumed it to be the most relevant way to fashion a revolutionary message and explore the authenticity of being black. Despite his country snatching self-rule from Britain, he deemed the move meaningless unless it was linked up with the total liberation of Africa. He was also among the leaders who really pushed for a United States of Africa, thus hosting to this end in 1958 the Conference of Independent African States and, the same year, the All-African Peoples Conference. He urged African countries to work towards strengthening economic cooperation and developing a common foreign policy to enable them to speak with one voice and count much in world politics. His aim was to push for political independence, assistance to national liberation movements, diplomatic unity among independent African states at the United Nations, and nonalignment with the Cold War context, which, according to him, would project in a more efficient way the African personality.

After almost all African countries became independent, Kwame Nkrumah further denounced the balkanization of the continent by the former colonial powers. In analyzing Africa's current situation, one can rightfully assume that his „balkanization concept“ still offers additional contemporary insights insofar as his observations regarding the far-reaching function of neo-colonization came in his explanation of its relationship with that process. It was then within that framework that the conceptual statements about the issue gained fuller wing and meaning once placed within the broader context of the West's desires, designs, and policies to extend its exploitation in an „independent“ Africa, stating that the greatest danger at present facing Africa is neo-colonization and its major instruments, balkanization.

The term is particularly appropriate to describe the breaking up of the continent into small, weak States, since it arose from the actions of the colonial powers when they divided up the Europe part of the Old Turkish Empire and created a number of dependent and competing States in the Balkan Peninsula (Nkrumah, 1963:173).

(Re) negotiating New Spheres of Influence amidst New World Challenges

As part of (re)negotiating new spheres of influence and implementing the challenges Pan-Africanism today, it will be important to take stock of the legacy of the pioneers and see which direction(s) to head to. This will help to (re)frame a new type of ideology and philosophy which is based on new principles and tallies with the current needs of continental Africans, people of African descent, and African Diaspora. This is expected to lead to the redefinition of priorities in education, economy, and politics, and geopolitics, social and cultural development. This ideal to be (re)crafted should take into consideration Africa's new identity formations and transformations worldwide as a result of migration,

cross-cultural influences, new world order, and globalization. Indeed, by the 1970s and 1980, many African countries had already gained their independence, but they are yet to acquire today sovereignty in all fields, which, in part, accounts for the failures of their independences. No sooner had they been liberated than they started facing the heightened influence of the Cold War context between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (URSS) and the United States of America (USA) engendered by the ideological race between Communism and Capitalism that marked the world politics of that time. They also had to struggle out of an economic crisis, combined with huge foreign debts contracted from the former colonial powers, social development decline, dictations and binding policies by international financial institutions like the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). These institutions that pretend to prop up Africa are still struggling to come up with at least a sustainable solution to Greece's current economic crisis, compelling W'Obanda to assert:

Every honest person knows and will admit that the living conditions of the people on the continent of Africa have been steadily deteriorating since virtually all African countries have been working under the influence, direction, and control of the World Bank (WB) and the IMF and the Western „experts“ (1996: 46).

Adding to that were the destructive economic policies inflicted on African countries under the pretext of helping them to develop, leading Ihonubere to argue: The African situation has not been helped with the imposition of misguided monetary policies by the IMF and the World Bank prescribing policies of de-subsidization, deregulation, privatization, commercialization, devaluation, and the like (1994).

To reverse that muddy trend, they had to push for what they termed a New International Economic Order (NIEO) which would allow them to beautifully and hopefully fashion African self-reliant, culturally relevant and stateinfluenced-based economic and development strategies. It was also in that prospect that the OAU member-states shifted in the 1980s and 1990s the Pan-African organization from its yesteryear's role of political liberation to that of economic development. Therefore, African governments set out to unveil a series of approaches which, they believed, could be relevant to their populations' needs and aspirations. Their tremendous Pan-African efforts are still visible with the setting up of sub-regional organizations like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), East African Community (EAC), to push for economic development. Despite the establishment of sub-regional organizations, shifts, reforms, and attempts to strengthen ties between Africans and people of African descent, and African Diaspora in a unity spirit and to keep the flag of Pan-Africanism up, one is yet to see the light at the end of the tunnel.

At the sixth Pan-African Congress hosted by Tanzania in 1974, some attendants had already raised an outcry about the matter, accusing the African organization of being deterred from its objectives of African unity. The major concerns of both the OAU and the AU had been to work towards the unity of all Black people worldwide. But this is yet to be achieved though there were numerous efforts and initiatives with critics arising in the early postindependence years, arguing that the organization did not do enough to protect the rights and freedoms of Africans from their newly and today's designated political (mis)leaders. That also led some to often ironically refer to it as the „Dictators“ Club.“ A new wind of change had seemed to have blown with the shift from the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU) to mark a change from a „Dictators“ Club“ to a people-based structure.

But in view of Africa's current situation, marred by conflict, political turmoil, the Aids pandemic, social inequalities, gender inequalities, poverty, economic deprivation, identity crisis, political upheavals, economic dependence, and recently the Ebola pandemic, one can but be doubtful about the AU's capacity to (re)kindle this PanAfricanist ideal's enthusiasm in Africa and the Diaspora.

This has not taken hold yet and the organization does not seem to be engaged in the road towards meeting the needs and improving the living conditions of people. Even the recently United Nations-initiated Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) program which has been positively welcomed by world leaders as a way of pursuing concrete, quantifiable improvements on poverty, hunger, health, education, and other key issues worldwide by 2015 has been a tremendous failure. In assessing the initiative, one is tempted to ask: What progress has been made in Africa so far? What is going to happen after 2015? What after the newly United Nations-backed Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)? Do African countries need to wait again for the UN to initiate developmental programs for them to concentrate their forces on how to make these program-related outcomes instead of (re)fashioning their own Pan-African economic and political development in accordance with their populations' needs, urgencies, priorities, and realities? Here is then where lies the need of Pan-Africanism to (re)update its ideological and philosophical force by being much more concerned with economic and topical human issues of the modern time. As such, it should be (re)directed towards new perspectives and orientations. Because what the concept was early meant for can no longer be the same as Africa and the Diaspora have been victorious and have managed to „snatch“ some gains, and there are new configurations lying ahead. Its yesteryear's broad intervention fields, which were mostly politics-based, having shifted, the ideology should see how to (re)negotiate new spheres of influence.

The matter is that continental Africans, people of African descent and African Diaspora should be aware of the new stakes and put in place strategies to take them up. To tally with today's world politics, economy, and culture, Pan-Africanism should cease to be a political „reactionary“ movement and head towards more concrete actions, much more constructive and all-inclusive philosophy, the major purpose of which, but not limited to that, will be to secure what Samuel Oloruntoba calls the „third liberation of Africa“ (2015: 7). Since the movement has achieved some of its old targeted objectives such as „human rights,“ „civic rights,“ „*in-dependence*,“ and „self-rule,“ time has come for it to face other new „burning“ challenges beyond its common context within the scope of new complex realities. The new type of Pan-Africanism should see how to re-envision the future so as to (re)construct the unity, strengthen the economic, social, political, civil and cultural rights as well as empower Africans, people of African descent, and African Diaspora; figure out how to renegotiate the bond between these entities, how to install the dialogue and the conversation needed as a result of African identity formations and transformations worldwide. To be a much more all-inclusive force, it should re-invent concepts, paradigms, and fighting slogans that transcend race, gender binaries while taking into account the concerns of all those claiming an African identity and roots.

However, the new emerging challenges of today's Pan-Africanism are the new human relationships shaped by the new world order, globalization, terrorism, migration, cross-cultural influences, neo-colonialism, neo-exploitation, Eurocentric foundations of knowledge and western knowledge monopoly, and most of all the implementation of „the United African States“ that will include Africa and the Caribbean. The continent's economic takeoff through education, technological and scientific inventions is also a concern to piggyback. Referring to the foundations of knowledge production and monopoly, there is the emergence in post-colonial Africa of new identities, new thinking, writing style,

and themes spearheaded by new ideologies in Europe and the United States of America. These ideologies tend to shape and (re)construct an African identity from their own based on generalizations, assumptions, and stereotypes.

They set up a Western knowledge monopoly, creating thus a situation of *otherness/othering* and a boundary through Eurocentrism. The new wave of Pan-Africanists is then exposed to this new mode of thinking and of (re)constructing Africa and Africans, and the world from only one perspective. They are to have designs on worlding, this way of (re)framing the world so as to respond to this form of interpreting people, judging, and seeing the world only from a Western lens and take out of the nest the underlying thoughts through a policy of deconstruction and reconstruction from an African perspective. To this end, Afrocentrism, as a theoretical concept and a means of (re)constructing true African identities, culture(s), tradition(s), through diversity, of promoting the universality of knowledge production, and breaking thus the western hegemonic knowledge production, is a good Pan-African analytical tool.

It seeks to get situation back to normal, teach a worldview view that highlights the contributions of African people to counter the Eurocentric worldview that the contributions made by non-Europeans or non-Westerners so as to muffle their participation in world's history, social, cultural, political, and economic development. As stated by Ama Mazama (2003) in her preface to Molefi Kete Asante's *African Pyramids of Knowledge* (2015): The Afrocentric method seeks to transform human reality by ushering in a human openness to cultural pluralism that cannot exist without the unlocking of our minds for acceptance of an expansion of consciousness (2015: vii).

In fact, the new Pan-African force should embrace this new ideological and constructive revolutionary trend so as to promote African indigenous knowledge, African knowledge production, challenge evidences that can be wrong, for some people are assuming only on the basis of what they see, what they read, what they have learned, and what they have been told, what they have been made to believe, rather than on the basis of what they know themselves or/and what they are sure of, or what the reality is. This Pan-African thought should extend a helping hand and break the deliberate attempt at explaining human existence through only certain all-inclusive paradigms. As Molefi Kete Asante reckons: Afrocentricity is a self-consciousness obliteration of the subject/object dichotomy and the enthronement of an African vision. It is necessary to advance the intellectual movement towards a meaningful concept of place. In saying this I am challenging the Afrocentrist to maintain inquiry rooted in a strict interpretation of place in order to betray all naive racial theories and establish Afrocentricity as a legitimate response to the human conditions (2005:5).

Hegemony is now everywhere, it is visible, people that have „power,“ namely Europe and the United States of America, set the world's agenda, and influence culture, thought, knowledge production – philosophy, sociology, anthropology, ethnology, gender studies, human rights, arts even literature, life in general. They also influence the functioning of the world, which accounts for the failure of Africa as a continent with a population of more than one billion people rather than as a country to politically „snatch“ a seat at the United Nations Security Council, letting other powerful countries, namely the United States, China, Russia, England, Germany and France, to speak on behalf of the rest of the world under „the international community“ umbrella, and sometimes allow themselves the right to break countries' sovereignty and people's human rights when they feel like to. Since the colonial power did not want to promote critical thinkers, scholars capable of challenging, the new Pan-Africanist intelligentsia is responsible for producing counter-hegemonic discourses and knowledge producers.

This will help halt the essentialization policy through different clear-cut paradigms that do not always fit Black people's realities.

Even though some may argue that Afrocentrism is as an „ethnocentric ideology“ that puts an emphasis on African things only and attempts at giving Africans their rightful place in world history, it will take it upon itself to transcend the binary divides of race, gender, and geography. It will shift the focus from a European-centered history to a world-centered one while promoting indigenous African achievements. This worldview should replace focus on African civilization that existed long before Greek and Roman civilizations such as Ancient Egypt, Nubia, and

Meroitic civilizations as soundly and scientifically demonstrated by Senegalese Pan-Africanist intellectual Cheikh Anta Diop. For him returning to ancient Egypt in all domains is a prerequisite if African civilization is to be reconciled with history, to construct a body of modern human sciences with the sole purpose of enabling it to renovate African culture. So, in *Civilization or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology* (1991) he has used theories that have challenged the nineteenth-century notions about ancient African culture and languages, not to suggest the overall supremacy of ancient Egypt, but only their primacy in the world's cultural history and their rightful connections to Africa's. However, in the economic and political areas, there has been a sense of history-remaking and (re)adjustment of aims with the AU's adoption of „democratic principles“ and „institutions.“ Unfortunately, these were framed in the western way and according to other people's realities. Actually, they are a copy of the European Union (EU) model to meet the neo-colonial powers' perspectives and schedule. As Chimutenwende observes: Africa is essentially losing control of its resources and institutions while external actors enjoy the fruits of its labor, resources, and markets. Consequently, the adoption of structural adjustment programs has provided convincing evidence that the neoliberal paths to development have adversely affected the continent (1997: 29). Samir Amin, for his part, distinguishes between separate but connected processes in the contemporary period, asserting that „*progressively the elements of autonomy of national systems through the reduction of barriers to trade and movements of capital shaping a global production system*“ (Amin, 1999:57). The African Peer Review Mechanism, to push for good governance, and the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), to bridge the fundamental gap between developing and developed countries through massive and heavy investments, were among the appreciable initiatives set up by African leaders.

It was under the tutelage of a new wave of self-proclaimed Pan-African leaders who came to power with „rebirth“ and „renaissance“ as slogans. To leave their marks on this century, they initiated the plan from the combination of three parallel initiatives - the South African Thabo Mbeki-led Millennium Africa Recovery Plan (MAP), together with the Nigerian former President Olusegun Obasanjo and the Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika, and the Senegalese President Abdoulaye Wade-led OMEGA Plan – whose merging became the New African Initiative that gave NEPAD in 2001 and was further adopted by the African Union as its continental strategic development plan.

The move was highly welcomed by the African member-states as their targeted objective was to increase the pace and impact of Africa's economic development and political weight. The outcomes of the initiative have not sprouted so far since Africa is still both politically and economically very weak. This is one of the reasons why it is yet to weigh in today's world politics and economy, and to have its say in global decision-making.

Furthermore, nobody can deny the sprouting of new Pan-African visions to gain Africa's economic take off and it is still struggling out of the failures of the World Bank-backed structural adjustment programs

that have resulted in falling economic growth rates and huge widening economic gaps while other Asia regions were recording high economic rise. What are visible today are continued poverty, high indebtedness, deteriorating infrastructures and, above all, absence of any tangible trajectory towards a better future. Emperor Haile Selassie's expression of the need to iron out differences and realize the urgency of the moment by setting up a „true“ African unity does not seem to be heard: This conference cannot close without adopting a single African charter, we cannot leave here without having created a single African organization [...] If we fail in this, we will have skirted our responsibility to Africa and to the peoples we lead. If we succeed, then, and only then, we will have justified our presence here (Cooper, 2002: 130).

The same types of divergences that existed in the early years of independences when Guinea's Present Sekou Toure suggested unifying Africans and not dividing them, Senegal's President Leopold Sedar Senghor pleaded for an economic committee and a gradual unification, Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah opposed the idea of gradual unification and proposed instead an All-Africa Committee towards the march to what he called the „Kingdom of African Personality,“ are still in tune with this time marked by new political, economic, and cultural deals. It is the same historical quarrels, divergences of opinions, selfishness spirit, with some brandishing their states' „sovereignty, whose self-claimed state „sovereignty“ they do not even possess because handed over to the neo-colonial powers, as a pretext to retard the implementation of a „real“ unity. Despite the huge flaws and failures, one has to reckon that a lot has been done so far by the Pan-African organization. Is there not still the urgency to head to more concrete actions such as the „United African States“ and a single currency adoption in view of the new world challenges? Only this can give Africans, people of African descent and African Diaspora a more resounding and powerful voice in today's world politics and economy, and further enable them to be viewed differently. Indeed, the tragic implication of this procrastination about adopting unity should still be the ultimate goals of any Pan-African policy and the new African intelligentsia around the world is the only one that can push for it as African (mis)leaders are still failing to agree on the approach and substance, let alone the form of unity, urging the need to recall Julius Nyerere's regretful words: For many years African politicians from all parts of the continent have called for African unity. They have presented the political and economic arguments for it, and left details alone. But this cannot continue much longer. Hard thought and detailed negotiations have now to replace slogans if the objective is to be attained (1966: 334).

It was Africa's lack of unity and failure to speak with one voice that encouraged Western powers' military coalition into Libya, whose implications are still being felt in northern Mali in particular and the Sahel region in general, with armed groups operating in the areas faced with a continent's economic and military incapacity to come up alone with a solution to these upheavals. Consequently, the creation of a Pan-African military force becomes a pressing issue to be pondered over as this will enable the continent to be military dependence-free and assure its own defense and security. This can only be done through new Pan-Africanism-based orientations and strategies that put forward the interests of African people over any other ones. This need for shift is so relevant that one easily deciphers it through a thorough analysis of present-day's world geopolitics with the subject of NATO's expansion and the EU's common currency, the Euro, as being concrete evidences to the pursuit of European unity as relevantly sustained by Bekerie Ayele despite Brexit: There is no concrete movement for Pan-Africanism to match the drive for European unity. Although Pan-Africanism is a concept with a long

history dating back to Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. Dubois, George Padmore, and Kwame Nkrumah, it has remained a mere intellectual exercise.

To guarantee Africa's security in the emerging new world order, the continent needs to transform the intellectual idea of Pan-Africanism to political, economic, and military reality. African leaders, like their counterparts in Europe, must vigorously pursue the unity of the continent in all areas, especially economic and political. The end of the Cold War and the open campaign for Pan-European Unity should find its challenge in [the] African open campaign for Pan-African Unity (1998:187).

Indeed, the integration issue is also of paramount interest and a prerequisite before any continental unity. The bottom-up integration process has been neglected so far over the from-the-top one. The strategy has proven to be a failure if one refers to the 1995 Rwanda genocide with the United Nations (UN), the United States of America (USA), the European Union (EU), the Arab League (AL), the Islamic Conference Organization (ICO), the African Union (AU), and other democratic States and organization, and the rest of the world watching that happening. What has happened recently in South Africa, the xenophobic attitudes showing Africans chasing out their African brothers, among many other breaches, constitutes an admission of failure of this integration process. The risk of failing to unite now is the subject of the „recolonization“ of Africa which is not new as this has been reckoned as a real threat for decades (Gruhn, 1983; Shore, 1974). The warning signs are nowadays often disguised behind the condescending and a historical premise that Africans cannot govern themselves (Johnson, 1993), invoking a kind of neo-Kipling justification and suggesting that Europe must again bear the „burden“ of leading Africans out of their present destitution (Pfaff, 1995). In either case, when the threatening issue is grasped from Kwame Nkrumah's perspective, these „recolonization“ rationalizations are undermined by Europe having never totally relinquished its interests in Africa.

It is for the moment realizing its interests through the manifestations of their balkanization, neo-exploitation, neo-colonization, and globalization policies. To counter this, Pan-Africanism should make Africans realize and cherish a strong belief that only in unity can strength be found to tackle other challenges of contemporary life. Indeed, development is also inextricably linked to whether or not a majority of the governed are included in decision-making by virtue of being conversant with the language of governance. This because foreign languages cannot continue to articulate African thought, concerns, and realities, and there is urgency to sort out some of the most spoken languages in Africa (Swahili, Hausa, Fulani, etc.) among the thousands other existing ones, to use them as means of communication and education tool in addition to the ones inherited from colonization (French, English, Spanish, Portuguese, etc.). This will make the interaction easier with people from other spheres and permit to build an „African global citizen.“ This linguistic agenda, as part of the twentieth century challenges of the philosophy, will contribute in building a Pan-African social unity. In was in that prospect that Julius Nyerere had made a courageous cultural choice in adopting in Tanzania an indigenous language, Swahili. The move, which can still be challenged today because of its lack of global vision, can be viewed both as a rejection of Western [linguistic] centrality and an instrument of PanAfrican-wide social and cultural integration. Symbolically, adopting some common languages can help break off the frontiers, especially the seemingly one relating to language.

Politically, we have inherited boundaries which are either unclear or such ethnologically and geographically nonsense that they are fruitful source of disagreement [...] the present boundaries must lose their significance and become merely a demarcation of administrative areas within a large unit (Nyerere, 1966: 212).

Commenting on this language policy Mazrui and Tidy (1984: 30) write that [...] the children are nationalized with a common language which is also an African language and which gives them a sense of common cultural identity. The need is to turn into opportunities what some see as obstacles, especially the multilingualism in Africa.

Today's Pan-Africanism should also interrogate any doctrine that perpetrates enslavement, (re)colonization, neo-colonization, and exploitation, and (re)contextualize itself according to the new economic, social, and political deals like „economic wars,“ and terrorism. It should also promote a Pan-Africanism-based education that meets the needs of citizens at all levels with new epistemology, episteme, concepts, paradigms, and theories. Because, education is the only means through which Africa's entire freedom and empowerment can be achieved. This ideal should not be based on theories alone; it should be peppered with realistic actions. But the advocated form should move away from any contradictions between proclaiming and chanting Pan-Africanism and spreading Western knowledge. This means that it should be too restricted; it should seek broadness by embracing other types of knowledge. Referring to the role of education, Nyerere argues:

Education must encourage the growth of the socialist value we aspire to. It must encourage the development of a proud independent and free citizenry which relies upon itself for its development (1966:74).

Therefore, it is only in this way that Pan-Africanism can contribute in building global Pan-African citizens that are first deeply rooted in their culture and opened up to the rest of the world. If the ideological and philosophical force is to „survive“ and become an off-the-beaten-track model aimed at reinforcing links between Africa and the Diaspora, it needs to (re)think, (re)invent, and re-envision a Pan-African future which will move from an afropessimistic one to an afro-optimistic one, and build a „Pan-African dream“ that targets both economic and political development.

Since (re)thinking the ideology means (re)thinking Africa together with the Diaspora being part and parcel of Africa, it is also important to analyze the social dynamics at work with its yesteryear's and today's partners, like India and China, which some accused of using „dollars diplomacy“ for „territorial expansion“ and „land grabbing.“ This will enable it to avoid history-repetition with its partnerships with its neo-colonial powers which were very much profitable to them and devastating for the continent. In so doing, it will figure out how to embark on a constructive, fruitful, and win-win partnership. Pan-Africanist scholars in Africa and the Diaspora need to embark on prospective studies and hone predictions for the future. Efforts must also be made to develop research encompassing political, economic, and social issues as a significant change has occurred in the world's understanding of Africa and its future: Africa is today regarded as a continent that is growing and able to make positive changes at all levels, thus the need to struggle and discover the right formulae for unity in diversity with the new emerging mindsets, hatching and assuming progressively that it must operate a shift or perish.

Conclusion

Pan-Africanism, as a broad movement seeking the political unification of Africa through the end of European colonial rule, has encompassed the political independence and freedom of all peoples of African descent living in the West Indies, the Americas, the Caribbean, and other areas around the world. Started first, as a spirit, during slavery time when many slaves had to oppose physically and morally by leading revolts, the ideology will later be caught on the bounce by the forerunners of the slave narratives such as Quobna Ottobah Cugoana, Olaudah Equiano, Mary Prince, Frederick Douglass, Mason Issac and Ignatius Sancho through „the Sons of Africa“ as the earliest PanAfricanist

organizations to push for an end to Britain's involvement in the Triangular Trade. Their writings were peppered with a Pan-Africanist spirit and ideal. Pan-African congresses and conferences, under the leadership of W. E.B. Du Bois, George Padmore, a West Indian intellectual, professor Booker Taliaferro Washington, Marcus Moriah

Garvey, the advocate of Garveyism and his „Back-to-Africa“ social movement along with Amy Ashwood, Edward Wilmot Blyden, William Wilberforce, James Stephenson, Grandville Sharp, James W. Jonhson, Rene Menil, Jules Monnerot, and Etienne Leo, have highly contributed in providing the forum needed for the members in Africa and the Diaspora to express their ideas and disagreements. This was how the dialogue was built up when Pan-Africanism was an anti-slavery movement before being an anti-colonial one to push for independence, self-rule, and selfgovernment in Africa.

Consequently, France's and England's political, social, economic, and ideological dominations of their colonies began to disappear in the early twentieth century, a process known as decolonization which Chi Guevara qualified as the final hour of colonialism has struck, and millions of inhabitants of Africa, Asia, India, and Latin America rose to meet a new life and demand their unrestricted right to self-determination (1964). In fact, the reconstitution of the bond through a race-based dialogue has sped up the inception of independence movements in some European colonies, particularly in Anglophone and Lusophone countries. In addition to the first generation of Diaspora Pan-Africanists, among the prominent young African-American leaders who have understood well the nexus that should exist between the African experience and the Black Diaspora, is Malcolm X who has been inspired by the Pan-African organization to set up the Organization of Afro-American Unity. So optimistic was about this should-beexisting link that he echoed in one of his speech:

When the African continent in its independence is able to create the unity that is necessary to increase its strength and its position on this earth, so that Africa too becomes respected as other huge continents are respected, then, wherever people of African origin, African heritage or African blood go, they will be respected – but only when and because they have something much larger that looks like them behind them [...] With Africa getting its independence, you and I will have more of a chance. I believe in that 100 per cent (1964).

Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, Senegal's Leopold Sedar Senghor, Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser, Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta, Guinea's Sekou Toure, Mali's Modibo Keita, Tanzania's Julius Kambarage Nyerere, Jamaica's Norman Manley, Trinidad/Tobago's Eric Williams, as early nation-states leaders after independence, were highly influenced by Pan-Africanism ideology and philosophy through the Harlem Renaissance movement. The newly independent African States set up a Pan-African organization, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) that was later on reshuffled to become the African Union (AU). Nonetheless, despite the achievements the organization has still a long way to go as there are many challenges: the continent's „third liberation.“ It is often said that each generation must out of relative obscurity discover its mission, fulfill it, or betray it. The preceding generations have both resisted the work of erosion carried by slavery and colonialism, and also helped in maturing present-day's struggle, the new generation of PanAfricanists living in the African continent and in the Diaspora are also expected to reverse the trend and take up the third stage of the national struggle which includes knowledge monopoly, neo-colonialism, neo-exploitation which seek to disarm national demand by putting forward economic doctrines that engender „economic wars.“

They are looked-for indoctrinating the new generation to value finding African solutions to African problems, a Pan-African political, economic, and cultural development model that takes into account

Africa's values of solidarity, community life, universality, and tolerance, in a new world context characterized by globalization, cross-cultural influences, (im)migration, political power-seeking, hegemony, capitalism, liberalism, new economic distribution. Through this heavy legacy, the Pan-Africanist principal exponents should convert with concrete actions the speech from Afro-pessimism to Afro-optimism in order to give Black internationalism more resonance ever and bring into closer touch with each other the people of African descent throughout the world with the establishment of the „United African States.“ Indeed, there is still some room for optimism with a continent full of untapped natural resources truly owned and controlled by its sons to benefit its people and those of the Diaspora, to prevent famine, disease, social and gender inequalities, unemployment, illegal and „selected“ migration, and promote collectivism, egalitarianism, and humanism. The future of the world, then, must be shaped as a space wherein Pan-Africanism will come up with new ideas to promote „justice,“ „universalism,“ „tolerance,“ „dialogue,“ „acceptance,“ and a message of peace that the world needs now instead of „hatred,“ „racism“ and „rejection.“ It should also head towards giving full meaning to Africans' lives in various contexts since the failure of current policies compel reconnecting with the drive towards the building of an African federation, as earlier advocated by Kwame Nkrumah and Cheikh Anta Diop. It should also push for implementing a single currency to end the long-time get-rich scheme, the economic *in-dependence*, and imperatively unlock the potential of Pan-Africans' talent worldwide so as to strengthen human capacity, further development progress and bolster the continent's competitiveness and economic growth.

In fact, there is need to figure out how to interrogate new Pan-African thoughts, concepts, the „underlying“ purposes and ideas. Only in doing so, will one be able to (re)frame the ideology and philosophy, and (re)orient its sphere of activity in order to make it a good match between present-day's priorities and challenges, and the world as it stands. For instance, Edward Wilmot Blyden designed Africa as one organic whole with values, designed as unique and that would be reduced to the future African. The future would see a united Africa, supported by its various Diasporas. Focus should, therefore, be put on a new type of citizen, on turning racial, linguistic, and ethnic differences as well as identity politics and economic gaps, which some see as obstacles to unity, into opportunities so as to make Africa's real „independence“ a reality:

Africa needs a new type of citizen: a dedicated, modest, honest, informed man and woman who submerge self in service to the nation and mankind, a man and woman who abhor greed and detest vanity, a new type of man and woman whose humility is his and her strength and whose integrity is his and her greatness (Nkrumah, 1975: 30). Pan-Africanism needs to work towards the essence of unity and solidarity, for it is that political strength which will help Africa prevent other powers from using its natural resources for their own ends, and have the economic strength to justify and support a modern economy, which is the only basis on which prosperity can come to its people, for each alone is weak in isolation. It is also important for the new ideological, political, and economic force to engage in a social learning theory and in a post-slavery, colonization, and neo-colonization trauma so as to move forward and secure the „third liberation“ of Africa.

References

Achebe, C., (1958), *Things Fall Apart*, London: Heinemann.

Amin, S., (1999), „Regionalism in Response to Polarizing Globalization“. In *Globalization and the New Regionalism*, edited by Björn Hettne, Andr  Inotai, and Osvaldo.

- Asante, M.K., (2015), *African Pyramids of Knowledge*, Universal Write Publications LLC, New York.
- Bekerie, A., (1998), "Beyond the Cold War. Pan-Europeanism and the Challenge of African Unity", in *Africa after the Cold War: the Challenging Perspectives on Security*, edited by Adebayo Oyejude and Abiodun Alao.\
- Cesaire, A. (2013), *Notebook of a Return to the Native Land*, Translated by John Berger and Anna Bostock, Brooklyn: NY, Achipelago Books.
- Chimutengwende, C., (1997), Pan-Africanism and the Second Liberation of Africa. *In Race and Class*, 38:25-33.
- Cooper, F., (2002), *Africa since 1940 The Past of the Present*, NY: Cambridge University Press. Diop, C. A. (1991), *Civilization or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology*, Lawrence Hill Books.
- Ellison, R., (1952), *Invisible Man*, New York: Vintage.
- Gruhn, I. V., (1983), "The Recolonization of Africa: International Organizations on the March". *Africa Today*, 30:3748.
- Hammond, D., Jablow, A., (1992), *The Africa the never Was*, (Prospect Heights: Waveland Press).
- Kenyatta, J., (1938), *Facing Mount Kenya*, Vintage; Vintage Books edition.
- Lamb, A., (2000), *150 Years of Popular Musical Theatre*, Yale U.P.
- Mazama, A., (2003), *The Afrocentric Paradigm*, Trenton: African World Press.
- Mazrui, A., (1980) "The African Condition: A Political Diagnosis." The Reith Lectures, Review by James Mayall, *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 2, N°.3, pp. 597-599.
- _____, and M. Tidy, (1984), *Nationalism and New States in Africa*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd.
- Nkrumah, K., (1975), *Africa Must Unite*, London. Pnaf Books.
- Nyerere, J.K., (1966), *Freedom and Unity/ Uhuru na umoja*, (a selection from writings and speeches 1952-65). Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press.
- Oloruntoba, S., (2015), *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies*, "Pan-Africanism, Knowledge Production and the Third liberation of Africa", Vol. 10, Issue 1, pp. 7-24.
- Pfaff, W., (1995), "A New Colonization? Europe Must Go Back into Africa". *Foreign Affairs*, 74: 2-6.

Sartre, J. P., (1948), *Black Orpheus*, Situation III, Paris, Gallimard.

Senghor, L. S., (1948), *Anthology of the New Black and Malagasy Poetry of the French Language*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Shore, H., (1974), "Mondlane, Machel and Mozambique: From Rebellion to Revolution". *Africa Today*, 21: 3-12.

Thiong'o, W. N., (1964), *Weep, Not Child*, London, Heinemann.

Thornson, J., (1998), *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*, (second edition), Cambridge University Press. New York.

W.E.B, D., (1903), *The Souls of Black Folk*, New York: Bantam Classic.

W'Obanda, C.,(1996), In *Pan-Africanism: Politics, Economics, and Social Changes in the Twenty-first Century*, edited by Tajudeen Abdula Raheem, New York: New York University Press.