

Re-engaging the African Diasporas

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*Pan-Africanism in the Age
of Globalization*

Edited by

Charles Quist-Adade and Wendy Royal

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This book is dedicated to the heroes and heroines, the architects and foot soldiers of the Pan-Africanist Project: Sylvester Williams, Edward Blyden, Marcus Garvey, George Padmore, WEB Du Bois, Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Julius Nyerere, Franz Fanon, Patrice Lumumba, Amilcar Cabral, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Sekou Toure, Modibo Keita, Nelson Mandela, Steve Biko, Rick Turner, Chris Hani, Robert Sobukwe, Sojourner Truth, Rosa Parks, Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X and the legions of other African sons and daughters who toiled, labored, and died in the struggle for the liberation and dignity of Africans everywhere.

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We are also grateful to Dr Diane Purvey, Dean of Arts, Dr Arthur Fallick, Leslee Birch, and Catherine Parlee, all of the Office of Research and Scholarship of KPU. Jabulile Dladla, as well as The Drum Café, enriched and enlivened the conference with their stirring South African singing, drumming and dancing. Thanks also go to our tireless videographer, Manon Boivin, African Breese Specialty Store for providing refreshments and Sodexo, for their delicious wine and cheese reception, farewell banquet and African-themed luncheon. Our sincere thanks go to the University of Cape Coast, and Lincoln University for their various contributions to the success of the KNIC.

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PREFACE

Re-engaging the African Diasporas: Pan-Africanism in the Age of Globalization is a collection of papers presented at Kwantlen Polytechnic University (KPU), Richmond, Canada, during the Third Biennial Kwame Nkrumah International Conference (KNIC) jointly organized by the Sociology Department, KPU, the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST), and Lincoln University (LU), Pennsylvania on August 20–22, 2014.

It is the second major publication to come out of the Kwame Nkrumah International Conference series. The first volume, *Africa's Many Divides and Africa's Future: Pursuing Nkrumah's Vision of Pan-Africanism in an Era of Globalization*, which was published by Cambridge Scholars Publishing, combined papers presented at the inaugural and the second Biennial Kwame Nkrumah International Conference (KNIC).

On March 6, 1957, roughly 60 years ago, the visionary Pan-Africanist, Kwame Nkrumah declared on his country's independence that, “the independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up with total liberation of Africa” (Nkrumah, 1957). Nkrumah's dialectical proclamation is true for the African Diaspora. It can be said in the same vein that the emancipation of Africa from colonialism is meaningless unless it is linked with the total liberation of the African Diaspora. The reverse is also true; the emancipation of people of African descent from slavery is meaningless unless it is organically linked with the complete liberation of the continent. Contemporaneously, it is important to see the struggles for human dignity, economic justice, and against all forms of oppression by Africans in Global Africa as dialectically and organically linked. Thus, whatever gains or losses are made or suffered in any part of Greater Africa affect all people of African descent.

Nkrumah had also observed, emphasizing the need for African unity, that: “if in the past the Sahara Desert divided us, today it must unite us” (as cited in Quist-Adade, 2015). Thus, “today if the ballast of European history, the ignominy of the slave trade and the Atlantic Ocean divided us, today these must bring us together” (Quist-Adade, 2015). In the “golden” years of the Pan-Africanist movement, Africans on the continent and their cousins in the Diaspora worked together to liberate the continent. Many of the pioneer Pan-Africanists from the Diaspora did not only work hand-in-

hand with the leaders of the independence movement from the continent while they were on sojourn in the West; many of them followed their brethren to Africa to help build their newly liberated countries (Quist-Adade, 2015).

The Trinidadian George Padmore was Ghana's Minister of African Affairs. The African-American W.E.B. Du Bois was Dr Kwame Nkrumah's adviser and was working on the *Encyclopedia Africana* project until his death in 1963. Many Africans from the Diaspora moved to Ghana to work as teachers, engineers, and civil servants, including the late poet *par excellence*, Maya Angelou. If it was possible then for Continental Africans and Africans in the Diaspora to work together it is possible today also. Nkrumah admonishes us that the close links forged between Africans and peoples of African descent for nearly a century of common struggle must inspire and strengthen us. For, he continued, although the outward forms of our struggle may change, it remains, in essence, the same, a fight to the death against oppression, racism and exploitation (Nkrumah, 1967).

Long before Nkrumah made this observation, W.E.B. Du Bois (1903) had written in his *Souls of Black Folks* that while there are differences in the specificity of the experiences of people of African descent on the two sides of the Atlantic Ocean, Continental Africans and Africans in the Diaspora "share certain aspects of history". Du Bois enumerates the shared African experience as follows: (1) their affirmation of their African heritage; (2) their participation in the Diasporic aspects of Pan-African political struggles; (3) their continuing concern with the status of Africa and their effort to improve it, and (4) their relationship to the hyphenated Africans in the Diaspora.

Two premises underpin the papers in this volume: (1) If the history of slavery and its vestiges divided and continue to divide the continent and its Diasporas, the inexorable march of globalization and modern technology should be harnessed to bridge that divide, and (2) the continent's development is a boon to the development of what the African Union has dubbed Africa's "Sixth Region". The book weaves together papers that seek to give academic and intellectual impetus to tie the continent's development to that of the African Diaspora. The goal is to end the inertia and inward-looking perspective on the part of scholars and academics in both Africa and "African International" or "Global Africa," and to re-engage one another in more productive and sustainable ways. By harnessing the enormous resources available in our Internet age and riding the cresting wave of globalization, the task of re-engagement will be vastly enhanced. The debates and discussions in this volume seek to facilitate this re-engagement.

Re-engaging the African Diasporas: Pan-Africanism in the Age of Globalization brings together papers from multiple disciplines, which are authored by both seasoned and new scholars and researchers from across the globe. Some of the papers reflect debates and controversies in and outside academia about the causes, effects, and dynamics of the brain-drain scourge that has bedeviled the African continent in the context of Pan-Africanism and globalization. The authors explore how the contemporary development trajectories in Africa and “Greater Africa” are being shaped and impacted by the seemingly inexorable process of globalization.

As a controversial phenomenon, globalization is seen as a curse by its detractors and a nirvana by its proponents. Globalization has been conceptualized by some as “global corporatization” and a vehicle for the spread of the tentacles of neoliberal capitalism to the remotest nooks and crannies of the world. In this sense, the current phase of globalization is “no more than an ideology and practice of corporate expansion across borders and a structure of cross-border facilities and economic linkages, which focus on the imperialistic ambitions of nations, corporations, organizations...and their desire to impose themselves on various geographic areas” (Ritzer, 2003, p 21). While this description may sound cynical, and points to the dangers of the phenomenon, it is imperative to extend and expand the intellectual realm of globalization on the wave crest of the ever-evolving information revolution to the benefit of peoples of African descent, communities and countries worldwide (Quist-Adade, 2012).

Turning the Brain-Drain into Brain-Gain

Nkrumah (1963) observed that the close links forged between Africans and peoples of African descent for nearly a century of common struggle must inspire and strengthen them (See Davidson, 1973, Mazrui, 2004, Quist-Adade, 2007, Biney, 2008). The conference speakers explored the factors that enabled Continental Africans and Africans in the Diaspora to work together during the heady years of independence and recommend similar strategies for the Pan-Africanist movement in the 21st century. KNIC3 provided an opportune platform to explore multiple ways of harnessing the “positives” of globalization, i.e. the virtual tools of information technology to promote better interaction in political, economic, cultural, and social integration of Continental Africa and its “*Sixth Region*”. It is pertinent to mention here that the conference demonstrated how modern technology can facilitate Pan-African

collaborative work as several of the participants from South Africa and the United States presented their papers through Skype and Bluejeans.

Some presenters demonstrated how they have collaborated with colleagues across continents using virtual media. For example, in their presentation, researchers from Kwantlen Polytechnic University in Canada and the University of Cape Coast in Ghana explained how they collaborated on their Canadian government-funded research project to study the socio-cultural causes and impact of diabetic foot, using social media, including WhatsApp, Google Hangout, Skype, and others. They pointed out that over two-thirds of their collaboration were completed using the Internet. Co-editor of this volume and collaborator in the diabetic foot project, Charles Quist-Adade highlighted how African ex-patriates in Global North could undertake collaborative projects with the peers in the Global South to stem and mitigate the impact of one of Africa's many pernicious scourges—the brain-drain. Using several collaborative projects that he and collaborators in Ghanaian institutions of higher learning have undertaken in Ghana and Canada over the past several years, including a web-conference on global social justice, which linked Canadian students and the faculty with their peers in Ghana, Quist-Adade explained the prospects, challenges, and future trajectories of how Canadian scholars of African heritage could utilize the tools of modern technology (the web, social media, etc.) to undertake far-reaching mutually beneficial projects.

In addition, KNIC3 provided a forum for scholars and researchers, as well as leaders of civic society organizations, to discuss and exchange ideas on solutions aimed at turning the brain-drain into the brain-gain for the mutual benefit of Continental Africans and people of African descent in the Diaspora. The participants exchanged ideas on how to pool resources and synergize knowledge, projects, and programs in Africa and throughout the African world community to develop the intellectual, social, economic, and cultural life opportunities of people of African heritage.

Several of the papers presented at the KNIC reflect the need for joint transatlantic action in the political, economic, academic and technological realms for the mutual benefit of continental Africans and Africans in the Diaspora. It is the intention of the editors that these papers will not only rekindle the longstanding debate about African self-help and dependency on foreign assistance, but also offer new and diverse insights against the backdrop of our post-Cold War, “post-racial” and globalizing world. Furthermore, the papers address critical issues facing the African continent, running the gamut from conflict prevention, governance,

international development, social justice, globalization and terrorism to human rights, gender equity and youth education and empowerment.

Nkrumah and Mandela

A main highlight of the conference was a special tribute to Nelson Mandela. That Mandela should be celebrated at a conference named after Nkrumah is logical. Both leaders symbolize two different, yet interconnected, phases of African liberation and independence. While Nkrumah spearheaded the African independence struggle in the sixties, Mandela inspired the anti-Apartheid movement, which led to South Africa's independence in 1994. Both were international statesmen who fought for human dignity, social justice, and equality for all, irrespective of color, ethnicity, religion, gender, or country. Both were Pan-Africanists who sought to unite the people of African descent in their struggle for political, social, economic, and cultural development and empowerment. It is, therefore, only proper and fitting that we the organizers honor and celebrate the life and achievements of Nelson Mandela at the Kwame Nkrumah International Conference.

Nelson Mandela is regarded as one of the world's most influential and inspirational leaders. His funeral in December 2013 attracted more world leaders than any other single event in history. His life as a freedom fighter, imprisoned for 27 years, and the first President of a free South Africa dominated the world media for days. His message of forgiveness and his commitment to social justice continues to reverberate and inspire the global community.

Yet, today South Africa remains one of the most unequal countries in the world, plagued by corruption, crime and xenophobia. What happened to the idealistic vision of freedom, social justice, equality and diversity embodied in Mandela's notion of a "Rainbow Nation", which has served as a beacon of hope and a symbol of reconciliation for oppressed peoples everywhere?

In these papers, South African scholars and community activists describe their personal struggles against the apartheid regime. They examine Mandela's historical role in the transition from an oppressive and racist state to a democratic nation, guided by the principles enshrined in The Freedom Charter. They critically analyze Mandela's greatness as well as the limitations and failures of some of the ANC policies; they discuss how these policies have impacted post-Apartheid South Africa and question what alternatives remain for the future.

Why is this book necessary?

This book is timely. The significance and currency of a paradigm shift and a new dynamism in the relationships between Africa and its Diasporas cannot be overemphasized (Gordon, 1998; Mbeki, 1999; AU, 2001). A confluence of events during the past decade has culminated in creating the conditions for a global push for a Pan-African and a Global African agenda to forge Africa Diaspora integration. The past four years saw the majority of African countries celebrating their Golden Jubilees, marking 50 years of independence from European colonial rule. Many of these countries saw themselves as having come of age and ready to take control of the commanding heights of their countries' economies, notwithstanding the global economic recession. In spite of the outbreak of religious, ethnic and political strife, and military takeovers, populist uprisings occurred in some countries, notable among which is the so-called Arab Spring in North Africa. Africa's economy has recorded a decent growth. Afro-pessimism is giving way to Afro-optimism (Bourenane, 1992; Ayittey, 1992; Kaplan, 1994). In fact, according to the 2012 Africa Development Report, Africa's robust economic growth, averaging five per cent a year over the last ten years, has placed the continent among the fastest-growing regions in the world. During the past decade, poverty rates on the continent have declined and the attainment of other Millennium Development Goals is within sight. Prospects for an African economic take-off are, to many African observers, in the offing. Interestingly, the same continent *The Economist* described as "The Hopeless Continent" two decades ago, is now being called "The Hopeful Continent" (*The Economist*, 2014). *Time Magazine* has done a similar reversal, with its "Africa Rising" edition. (*Time*, 2012). While this reversal must be edifying, the fact still remains that Africa is rising without lifting the majority of Africans out of poverty and the question that begs to be answered is: Africa is rising, but for whom?

Adding even greater significance and timeliness to the volume is the increasing urgency the African Union has placed on the issue of African Diaspora integration into the scheme of the continent's development. According to the African Union (AU) Diaspora Africa Forum Mission website, the issue gained traction and prominence in June 2001 when the then Organization of African Unity (OAU) convened the first ever OAU-Civil Society Conference. The framework that was generated from this conference was consequently adopted by the 74th Ordinary Session of the OAU Council of Ministers in Lusaka, Zambia in July 2001. At that meeting, it was further proposed to (OAU) member states that they

develop strategies for utilizing the scientific and technological know-how and skills of Africans in the Diaspora for the development of Africa. The same year marked the transformation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU) in Durban, South Africa in 2001. Following this “new order”, the first AU Western Hemisphere Diaspora Forum was held in Washington, D.C. USA, in December 2002, to discuss how the diaspora could establish meaningful roles to play in Africa’s new development. Its main objectives were to: (a) examine the enduring ties to Africa within the Western Hemisphere Diaspora Forum communities; (b) discuss possible capacity building projects by Diaspora Civil Society Organizations in the Western Hemisphere Diaspora; (c) devise a plan on ongoing collaboration with the African Union, including a Plan of Action and a hemisphere Steering Committee. (AU Diaspora Africa Forum Mission). The AU defines the African Diaspora as: “...peoples of African descent and heritage living outside the continent, irrespective of their citizenship, and who remain committed to contribute to the development of the continent and the building of the African Union” (AU, 2001, p.8). Geographically, this large population, variously estimated as between 150–350 million folk, is to be found in the USA, Canada, the Caribbean, Central and South America (including Brazil), and Europe, with Asian, Oceania and Asian-Pacific populations still to be determined. There is no better time for an academic and intellectual debate, analysis of, and engagement with, this theme. It is our hope that this volume will spur new and substantive discussions and sharing of praxis-oriented ways towards the Pan-Africanist project.

Africa’s dubious distinction as potentially the richest and yet the poorest continent has been the concern of all Pan-Africanist scholars and activists. All Pan-Africanist conferences since 1900 have debated and crafted resolutions, churned out tomes of literature, chronicled the genesis of this dubious dilemma and devised roadmaps and strategies all aimed at addressing this mark of shame. From 4–7th March 2015, the 8th Pan-African Congress was held in Ghana’s capital, Accra. The theme of the congress was “The Pan-African World We Want”, echoing the same theme of all previous Pan-African conferences since the first one held during **July 23–25 1900 in London, U.K.** Yet, sadly, Africa and Africans are very far from getting out of the continent’s horn of dilemma. Speaking at the All-African Students’ Conference (Peter Clark Hall, University of Guelph, Guelph, Ontario, Canada, May 27, 1994), Julius O. Ihonvbere lamented:

Not only is Africa very far from unity on any front, it is today the most marginal, the most oppressed, the most exploited, the most poverty-

stricken, the most debt-ridden, the most unstable, and the most denigrated continent in the world. Africa has more than half of the world's refugees, and it is the least industrialized of all the developing regions. Thus, we are not just disunited, we also have nothing to show for our abundant resources. Oppression, criminal human rights abuses, the lack of opportunities, discrimination on the basis of ethnic, racial, regional and religious considerations, ruthless exploitation of the already impoverished, wars, instability, corruption, maniacal leadership, illiteracy, dilapidated institutions, roads full of pot holes, hunger, disease, and disillusionment characterize the African socio-political landscape.

The picture is no better today.

From Casamance in the West to Nairobi in the East, from Cairo in the North to Cape Town in the South, in Egypt and Libya, from the Democratic Republic of Congo to the Central African Republic in the very heart of the continent, civil strife rages on, causing unspeakable pain and suffering, death and destruction. In South Sudan, the youngest nation in Africa, ethnic hatred has sparked civil war between the Lou Nuer and the Murle ethnic groups. In Egypt and Libya, the aftermath of the so-called Arab Spring, bankrolled, hailed and cheered on by the West, has left in its trail nothing but mayhem and murder, maiming and massacre. Al Shabaab is running riot in Somalia and Kenya. In Nigeria, Boko Haram is killing thousands and kidnapping women and girls with impunity. In South Africa, xenophobic attacks against fellow African nationals have left thousands killed or rendered homeless. Civil strife and lack of employment opportunities in African countries have forced thousands of Africans to take to the Mediterranean Sea to flee to Europe with many drowning in makeshift boats.

While neo-colonial policies of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, as well as the actions and inaction of some Western countries have contributed to the dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty in Africa, Africans and their leaders are culpable for the sorry state of affairs throughout the continent. In our opinion, the solution to the seemingly intractable problems facing the continent can only be solved by Africans themselves through a Pan-Africanist informed plan executed by bold and visionary leaders infused with an inward-looking but pragmatic vision. Only a Pan-Africanist plan built on Kwame Nkrumah's Pan-Africanist blueprint for an integrated, all-African continental development can salvage Africa and Africans. In other words, Africa's development lies in the hands of Africans, particularly, Africa's youth. In this, Africa's Diasporas must play a more active role. The re-engaging of Africa's Diasporas for mutual development must be much easier in our Internet

age. Had the pioneer Pan-Africanists had a quarter of the technological “bells and whistle” we have now, they would have moved mountains in their quest to liberate Africans from the shackles of colonial and racial oppression in Africa and the Diaspora. The task of mobilizing both human and financial resources in the age of the information superhighway should be much easier. With dedicated and innovative leadership, the Internet can be used to mobilize multitudes of people of African descent to raise millions of dollars through crowd-sourcing and other innovative methods to undertake projects aimed at advancing the Pan-Africanist project.

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Arrangement of the book

The book contains the Welcome Speeches at the Opening Ceremony of the Third Biennial Kwame Nkrumah International Conference (KNIC), the Keynote Address and 16 chapters, divided into two parts, with Part One dedicated to Nelson Mandela.

In his inaugural keynote speech, Jay Naidoo reflects on his experiences in the struggle against apartheid in the ‘70s and ‘80s and emphasizes the importance of building support from the grassroots. He pays homage to the greatness of Mandela, who could put aside personal bitterness and anger despite being imprisoned for 27 years, in the interests of creating a united, free and democratic South Africa for all people. Naidoo acknowledges the failures of the ANC to fully deliver on its promises to meet the needs of the people, but he remains optimistic that the future generation will continue the struggle in a post-apartheid world, aided by advanced technology and a commitment to working together across the African continent to create an “unstoppable” synergy.

Chapter One discusses non-racialism and the South African liberation struggle. In her introduction, Kogila Moodley explains that resistance movements during the apartheid era were committed to non-racialism, reflected in the fact that the number of speakers at this conference who “actively opposed apartheid, facing arrest and imprisonment, came from the ranks of the racially privileged as well as the politically excluded”. Nevertheless, the legacy of apartheid was such that patterns of inequality

remained after independence, necessitating affirmative action strategies and equity legislation for the historically disadvantaged, and thus perhaps triggering a new set of racial divisions.

Jo Beall explores how the young radical Mandela evolved into the elder statesman who united a deeply divided country on the brink of a bloody civil war under the banner of a non-racial state in which everyone was equal before the law. However, in doing so, Beall explains that Mandela was forced to make “personal and political settlements” which had far-reaching consequences. Non-racialism within such a context thus became not so much a “description of reality” but rather an “ideal of a possible future”.

Dan O’Meara explains that his greatest life lesson was to “unlearn” what it was to be “white” in order “to free oneself from the reflexes and instincts of dominance, pre-eminence, privilege and entitlement”. He argues that South Africa’s biggest challenge is to counter not only the effects of 50 years of apartheid, but also the legacy of over 300 years of colonialism and create a nation of citizens who have “a common sense of belonging”. He explains that the reason South Africa is still a long way from achieving this ideal of true non-racialism is due to the withdrawal of capital from the country after independence and the reversal of the ANC’s policy of economic emancipation for all South Africans. While emphasizing that Mandela was “the right man at the right time”, who averted a possible bloody civil war, O’Meara also discusses some of the policy errors made by Mandela and the ANC, which have contributed to the current “morass of corruption, decline and mass poverty”.

Stanford Eland Khulu provides a poignant and personal account of his growing conscientization as a young student in South Africa during the mid-70s, which resulted in his enforced exile from his “beloved Motherland”. He gives us a glimpse of the pain of being away for over 30 years from one’s family, friends and country of birth, a place which he is still “deeply in love with”. He explains that race remains a divisive issue in South Africa and asks whether it will take more time to resolve since South Africa is still a very young democracy of 20 years while countries such as the USA, with a far longer democratic history, still confront deeply-rooted racism.

In Chapter Two, Heribert Adam discusses the “moral turning points” in South Africa which have resulted in tarnishing the image of the “rainbow nation”, upheld for the past 20 years in the collective imagination of its people and promoted by the current government, which is struggling to retain a positive self-image in the face of some overwhelming failures. Adam focuses primarily on the outbreak of

xenophobia in South Africa, reflecting on its causes and the government's failure to deal with it effectively. Adam maintains that the government's lack of appropriate action to stem the tide of xenophobia, consciously or unconsciously, feeds the ethnic divisions that "simmer under the surface". He compares and contrasts xenophobia in South Africa with its counterpart in Western Europe, concluding that the hope for South Africa lies in the absence of religious differences and a historic coexistence with diversity.

In Chapter Three, Zizwe Poe discusses Nkrumah as an exemplar of Pan-African Nationalism, presents a review of Nkrumah's explanation of Liberated Zones and the Intelligentsia, updates the Nkrumahist analysis and applies it to the Pan-African Intelligentsia.

In Chapter Four, David O. Akombo, Baruti I. Katembo, and Kmt G. Shockley argue that Africa is both the human homeland and Earth's foremost resource-rich continent, yet remains the most impoverished. To redress this dilemma, the authors propose "a much-needed and provocative dialogue on optimal twenty-first-century Pan-African development". The chapter highlights the pre-21st-century definition and ideology of Pan-Africanism (Black pan-cultural appreciation and unity) and (as a recurring theme) posits the need and rationale for a 21st-century re-visioning to emphasize the pragmatism of developing strategies for Africa and its associated Diasporas (particularly the African-American component) to be reciprocal resources for each other; this two-way interface is advanced as a conduit for building empowerment leverage and multi-level advancement (socio-cultural, political and economic). In addition, selected impediments to Pan-African initiatives (e.g. "tribalism"; ideological squabbles; leadership short-sightedness) are outlined, and associated corrective tools and assets, such as transformative education, music, cultural festivals and sovereignty strategies, are proposed to foster new thinking, networking and linkages.

In Chapter Five, Charles Quist-Adade assesses the main arguments in Kwame Nkrumah's *Neo-Colonialism the Last Stage of Imperialism* within the context of neoliberal globalization, proceeding from Nkrumah's central premise that the West, responding to the success of national liberation movements, first in Asia and then in Africa, shifted its tactics from colonialism to neo-colonialism. *Neo-Colonialism, the last Stage of Imperialism* was published when Kwame Nkrumah was the President of Ghana, the first country in Sub-Saharan Africa to achieve independence from colonial rule. He had come to the sad conclusion that his country had moved from colonial state to a neo-colonial country after the euphoria and optimism of the heady years of independence, and that he and his fellow

independence leaders had become managers of a neo-colonial project in the grand neo-imperial scheme of things. Quist-Adade insists that neo-liberal globalization is a continuation of 20th-century neo-colonialism and that Nkrumah's analysis of neo-colonialism is not only relevant for understanding the dynamics and logics of Global Capitalism in our post-Cold War world, but it offers a lens and heuristic device for viewing and explicating neo-colonialism in the 21st century. Quist-Adade asserts that a new Pan-African nationalist realignment infused with a new and urgent praxis-oriented realism is needed to bring back ideological and philosophical muscle to the 21st-century Pan-Africanism. Such a new Pan-African nationalist realignment, he suggests, will provide the ontological and epistemological tool to assess and provide an antidote to post-Cold War, neo-liberal situations in Africa and its Diasporas. Quist-Adade asserts that, while most of the tenets of Africanism continue to be relevant to the contemporary neo/postcolonial, globalizing world, there are several such tenets that need to be re-evaluated, re-conceptualized or re-contextualized within the framework of current trends and changes.

In Chapter Six, Ama Biney proposes a Pan-African political economy as an alternative, indeed an antidote, to neo-liberal economics, which she characterizes as the bane of African development. After dissecting neo-liberalism and exposing the pernicious effects of neo-liberal economic programs, including the discredited Structural Adjustment Programmes and New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), Biney recommends that "...as opposed to capitalism, the Pan-Africanist socialist economy will be based on egalitarian workplaces in which workers democratically self-manage their productive activity in socially owned means of production". She is careful to distance a Pan-Africanist socialist economy from the Stalinist Soviet Union or East European type. She contends that while there is a blueprint for a political economy of Pan-Africanism, "It is ultimately for African people to devise new ways in which they control the means of production, how wealth is created and distributed in their societies in a decentralised manner rather than a state-led approach". Taking her lead from Kwame Nkrumah and Thomas Sankara, Biney posits that the economic framework in a political economy of Pan-Africanism must be based on not only humanistic principles and values but collectivism, egalitarianism and freedom.

In Chapter Seven, Auburn Ellis describes a study of three African-centred institutions in Chicago. She argues that Afri-centric curricula are essential to adequately prepare students of the African Diaspora. The goals of her research project are to describe and analyze the content of these

curricula so that they can be used as models in the traditional public school system.

In Chapter Eight, Collence Takaingenhamo Chisita and Alexander Rusero propose that, at a time when globalization has engulfed the whole world, it is imperative that African scholars revisit and reinvent the Pan-African philosophy to reposition African identities to strengthen peace and solidarity. The chapter highlights the challenges and opportunities to strengthen Pan-Africanism in line with the teachings and philosophies of the African founding forefathers, from both Africa and the Diaspora. It explores praxis-oriented strategies and solutions for the strengthening of Pan-Africanism at a global level through technological innovation. Chisita and Rusero also examine how the brain drain can be turned into a brain gain, and the digital divide into a digital dividend, for the benefit of Africa and its Diasporas.

In Chapter Nine, Silk Ugwu Ogbu analyzes the relevance of the Diaspora as a veritable tool for economic, social and political change in Nigeria. He critically examines the different ways the Diaspora can be engaged to participate more actively in the development of the country and specifically looks at how the government can encourage many who are willing, but afraid, to return. Ogbu notes that over forty million people of African descent (many of whom are highly skilled professionals) live in the Diaspora today. However, many countries in Africa have been unable to successfully connect to this resource base for the development of their homelands. Since Nigeria has the largest population of black people on earth, it is not surprising that the majority of Africans living in the Diaspora easily trace their origin to Nigeria. The significance of this relationship is perhaps most evident in the fact that, with over \$10 billion in 2012, the country has emerged as one of the five highest destinations of remittances in the world. Beyond international remittances, what is equally relevant is that over 17 million Nigerians living abroad may have the latent potential to energize and facilitate socioeconomic and political transformation at home, especially since the regime change after the general election in 2015.

In Chapter Ten, Yabome Gilpin-Jackson explores and highlights the need for scholarship, dialogue and action to facilitate what she calls “a new African Leadership”. She uses a narrative approach to reviewing the literature, “in order to uncover the existing stories of African Leadership”. Gilpin-Jackson defines leadership based on definitions of leadership in African contexts, where leaders are defined as those who selflessly serve their communities for a greater good. She asserts that leadership in Africa is a group phenomenon in which leadership and followership are

negotiated by the leader's ability to be embedded in and support followers in achieving their collective goals, thus significantly contributing to improving the life of the group, community, tribe or village. In addition, Gilpin-Jackson describes the narratives that inform the dialogue, research and praxis associated with African Leadership overall. She starts by further explaining the importance and significance of the orientations to the narrative approach for understanding African perspectives that she uses. Next, she reviews the currently dominant, as well as the possible alternative, narratives inherent in a selection of the African Leadership literature. She follows that with a proposed narrative model, which provides guidelines for thinking and acting to create the leadership needed and wanted for Africa, now and in the future.

In Chapter Eleven, John Marah suggests that African people in the global village, now more than ever, need a nation of their own; this notion has had a long history, and a number of Pan-African nationalists have struggled to realize this vision in practical Pan-Africanism. This chapter critically examines and evaluates the contributions of Toussaint L'Ouverture of Haiti, Marcus Garvey of Jamaica, and President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana in their attempts to establish a powerful and internationally respected united African nation. Marah demonstrates how the spirit of Toussaint L'Ouverture's revolution matured in Marcus Garvey and was brought to Africa by President Kwame Nkrumah. The chapter closes with the observation that Garvey and Nkrumah's concept of Pan-Africanism remains a mirage that needs to be realized by the next African generations with the establishment of Pan-African educational institutions for the total achievement of Nkrumah and Garvey's Pan-Africanism.

In Chapter Twelve, Vladimir Antwi-Danso takes a broad view of integration in Africa and follows up with an analysis of the imperatives of a globalizing world that make economic integration an inevitable but difficult path to follow in Africa. He observes that globalization is driving all nations and regions toward regionalism and regional integration. Since the demise of colonialism, voluntary political and economic regional integration have been a high priority on the African development agenda. However, this aspiration remains largely unfulfilled, as progress has never really moved beyond the level of minimalist inter-governmentalism. Regional integration of the continent is hampered by many deficiencies, particularly the lack of clear leadership and direction, weak economies, and, most importantly, bad governance and instability. The pessimistic conclusion is that the prospect of real integration in Africa remains a remote aspiration. Antwi-Danso posits that the present largely African

Union-led bureaucratically engineered top-down integration will remain an artificial exercise with little substance or longevity if not reinforced by a simultaneous interdisciplinary, bottom-up “organic” processes, involving civil society, the nation-state, the regional economic communities (RECs), micro or sub-regional formations, the market, and the African Diaspora.

In Chapter Thirteen, De-Valera Botchway proposes a return to Indigenous African Knowledge as a way to combat the neoliberal globalization project and boost African competition, development and intellectual discourse. He, however, cautions that any meaningful quest to revive African IKs should “locate spirituality” in its core. He calls for a pedagogy informed by philosophies, visions, and goals fundamentally operating within and in the five interconnected pillars of the Afrocentric idea or Afrocentricity (Asante). These characteristics are (i) the establishment of a cultural (African) location through the use of symbols, ritual, signs and motifs (to express a once shattered African identity), (ii) the commitment to finding the subject place of Africans in any social, political, economic, architectural, literary, or religious phenomenon, (iii) the defense of African cultural elements as historically valid in the context of music, education, science, and literature, and (iv) the celebration of the notion of the centeredness and the agency of Africans.

In Chapter Fourteen, Catherine Schittecatte assesses the ways in which the global context, foreign interests and related responses in Africa have changed since Kwame Nkrumah’s days in office. More specifically, the focus is on Sub-Saharan Africa, natural resource exploitation and foreign investments. The chapter begins with a brief discussion of some exogenous and endogenous factors of underdevelopment, and Nkrumah’s position relative to these. These highlights of Nkrumah’s responses and visions for the continent are then compared to the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD’s) process, objectives and aspirations in the context of potential “new partners” in African development. Schittecatte notes that Nkrumah’s foresight lay in his understanding that historical and global patterns of exploitation would not be easily broken in post-independence Africa. Given that understanding of Africa’s situation, many of his policies, from domestic development plans to Pan-Africanism, were intended to gain not only political but, most importantly, economic independence for Ghana and the continent. Since the New Partnership for Africa’s Development was launched in 2001, many have praised or criticized the extent to which this document would represent a break with the past. In response to such concerns, Schittecatte asks whether NEPAD enables Africa to address potential contemporary patterns of exploitation. She examines Nkrumah’s analysis and related policies against new global

and continental conditions which play a role in Africa's ability to address such patterns [of exploitation] in a preventative manner.

In Chapter Fifteen, Arinze Ngwube and Chuka Okoli ask how recent oil discoveries and their attendant wealth can contribute to equitable and sustained development on the African continent. This paper investigates the political impacts that oil is likely to have on Uganda and offers the hope that the successful management of its oil production could leave a profound legacy for Uganda's current leadership.

In Chapter Sixteen, Aziz Mostefaoui provides a retrospect of Pan-Africanism from its inception in the New World as a reaction to centuries of White exploitation and oppression. He points out that while the movement sought to unite Africans all over the world, it remained dominated by African-American and West Indian leaders, so focused more on the African Diaspora than on the African continent. However, the 1950s saw an emergence of young African leaders, notably Kwame Nkrumah, who brought the struggle back to continental Africa.

**WELCOME ADDRESSES AT THE OPENING
CEREMONY OF THE THIRD BIENNIAL KWAME
NKRUMAH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
(KNIC 3)**

**From Dr Arthur Fallick,
Associate Vice-President, Research, Kwantlen Polytechnic
University**

I would like to welcome you all to Kwantlen Polytechnic University on behalf of our President, Dr. Alan Davis, and our Provost, Dr. Salvador Ferreras. As Associate VP of Research, I'm honoured to have been asked by Dr. Wendy Royal and Dr. Charles Quist-Adade to provide a few remarks to open the Kwame Nkrumah International Conference.

It may be a surprise to you, but I was born in Scotland in 1955 and I can remember very vividly the names of key figures and events that were shaping the geopolitical relations between the UK and Africa, and that influenced how we in school, and through the media, were taught about Africa. From those wonderfully sonorous voices of BBC presenters, we learned names such as Nkrumah, Nkomo, Kaunda, Kenyatta, Nyerere, and Selassie. Their role was fundamental and transformative, and we had, at least, a basic knowledge of them.

I would like to share the welcome with two of my colleagues, Dr. Diane Purvey, Dean of Arts, and Dr. Patrick Donahoe, Dean of Academic & Career Advancement. They share with me our thanks to you and our sincere hope that, as hosts, we can offer you a place for creative and constructive dialogue in an environment of hope and aspiration. We wish you well in your deliberations and thank you so much for being here.