

African Intellectuals and the State of the Continent

African Intellectuals and the State of the Continent:

*Essays in Honor of
Professor Sulayman S. Nyang*

Edited by

Olayiwola Abegunrin and Sabella Abidde

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“This is my beloved and this is my friend.”
—*Song of Solomon 5:16*

This Festschrift is dedicated to
Mrs. Eucharia M. Nyang

We acknowledge your pain and grief
We acknowledge your joy and peace
We acknowledge your love and kindness
We acknowledge your patience and dedication
We acknowledge your grace and sense of empathy
We thank you. We appreciate you. We are eternally grateful

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FOREWORD

IN HONOR OF PROFESSOR SULAYMAN S. NYANG: IN SEARCH OF TRUE PAN-AFRICANISM AND UNITY

A.B. ASSENSOH, LL.M., PH.D.*

I. Preamble

It is very befitting that this festschrift is carefully planned and executed to celebrate the noble as well as cherished life and times of Howard University Professor Emeritus Sulayman S. Nyang, a very distinguished scholar, who was born and raised in the historic West African nation called The Gambia, from where Alex Haley's research and celebrated *Roots* phenomenon started. It is equally important that this festschrift volume is being ably edited by a well-known African scholar, Dr. Olayiwola Abegunrin, Professor of International Relations, African Studies and Political Economy at Howard University, and the University of Maryland, and his co-editor Dr. Sabella O. Abidde, Associate Professor of Political Science, Alabama State University.

Like many of his scholarly compatriots from Africa, who migrated in search of academic laurels and, indeed, the proverbial golden fleece in the turbulent 1960s, Professor Nyang left his beloved Africa for the United States of America rather than going to the United Kingdom, as other contemporary youngsters from the former British colonies on the continent had done many years before he was even born. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that he pursued his academic studies with vigor, and the aftermath has been that his hard work and purpose plans did, indeed, culminate in the very impressive tangible accolades that he attained, including serving in distinguished academic and diplomatic positions,

either for American educational institutions or for Gambian and several international organizations.¹

Certainly, as a result of my limitless as well as profound affection and effusive respect I have always had for the late Brown University Distinguished Professor Emeritus Chinua Achebe and the subject of this well-crafted festschrift (Professor Emeritus Sulayman S. Nyang), I have deliberately and liberally borrowed part of the title for this foreword from the famous African author's classic novel that was published by UK-based Heinemann Publishers (established in 1890), *A Man of the People* (1966)². There is no doubt that lovers of this classic publication would frown at any suggestion that our beloved Professor Nyang possesses characteristics, which are either akin or identical to those of the leading protagonist of Professor Achebe's novel, the Honorable Chief Nanga.

Without mincing words, I promptly wish to underscore the transparent fact that Professor Nyang is an embodiment of the best in intellectual precision and, also, a well committed-*cum*-seasoned scholar, whose Pan-Africanist attributes simply make him both a serious scholar and, also, a man of the people, a partial accolade that Dr. Achebe ascribed to his humorous novel's chief character (Nanga). Professor Nyang has assiduously taken the time to articulate in his writings the very history and politics of his fellow Africans, and those of other diaspora Blacks, who have traced their ancestral home to the African continent, the beleaguered historical and geographic phenomenon that sadly suffered at the hands of European slave hunters and the plunderers of its natural resources, including the massive gold deposits that gave the name Gold Coast to Ghana before her independence on March 6, 1957; diamonds; oil products; bauxite; copper; uranium and other rare minerals, some of which prompted competing Western and Eastern European interests to introduce the celebrated Cold War phenomenon that Professor Nyang regularly taught in his classroom and also debated at African Studies Associate (ASA) annual meetings and in seminars..

Dr. Nyang's sterling Pan-Africanist credentials also very often endear him to men and women, who have come to know him very well as, indeed, a true man of the people. He has lent his superb scholarly talents and multi-faceted experiences to hone the skills of upcoming and budding academics by collaborating and consulting with these young as well as old scholars from the African continent, the very territory that was unfortunately labeled satirically in an 1899 publication by Joseph Conrad as "the heart of darkness."³

My relationship with Professor Emeritus Sulayman Nyang has a deep-seated historical impetus of its own. In fact, I met his early acquaintance

from an introduction by the indomitable Kenyan-born Professor Ali A. Mazrui⁴ of blessed memory, who served meritoriously in his initial Makerere University teaching as well as administrative and, eventually, moved to attain command professional heights on campuses of a plethora of academic institutions in Europe, the Caribbean, and the United States, but finally settling at the State University of New York in Binghamton, where Dr. Mazrui held the Albert Schweitzer endowed professorship. Indeed, the occasion for my active brotherly introduction to Dr. Nyang by Mwalimu Mazrui was at the 1975 African Studies Association (ASA) annual meeting, and that was when the association was headquartered at Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia. It was also before Professor Mazrui (as our introducer) was elected the ASA's 1978-79 President.

In fact, I was happy to learn later that, during his tenure as ASA president, Professor Mazrui-- with the help of Professor Nyang, himself an active ASA member, and was member of the Board of Directors of the ASA, and a fellow staunch African Muslim -- succeeded in requesting and receiving \$50,000 from a fellow devout African Muslim in the person of the late Chief M.K.O. Abiola of Nigeria. To the credit of Professors Mazrui and Nyang, the sizeable donation from the Nigerian multi-millionaire businessman has largely been used to endow the popular annual M.K.O. Abiola Endowed Lectureship of the association, which is now headquarters at Rutgers University in New Jersey.

Although I am of the Judeo-Christian faith and that, in my youthful years, I even attempted to be trained to serve as a Catholic priest at the Dominican Novitiate/Seminary at Yaba, near Surulere, Lagos in the former Western Region of the Republic of Nigeria. I am very happy -- sometimes, even proud -- about the fact that, over the years, I became very close to Professors Mazrui and Nyang, both of whom happened to be devout African Muslims. In fact, I trusted both learned gentlemen so implicitly that the two of them often provided me with wise counsel that greatly helped with my successful professional growth; as far as Dr. Nyang was concerned, it was a give and take situation on some occasions. For example, they were also among the few fellow scholars outside of my own immediate or nuclear family that I initially consulted for their opinions when the University of Maryland at Eastern Shore (UMES) competitively selected me to serve in an endowed chair position for the 2003-2004 academic year, which eventually made me the Richard A. Bernstein Research Professor.

Upon my arrival on the UMES campus at Princess Anne, Maryland, an opportunity presented itself for an intellectual collaboration with Dr. Nyang, who was then at Howard University as an African Studies and

Political Science Professor. It involved teaming up with him and other wonderful Gambian family members in arranging a solemn program for the one-year memorial service to honor the life and times (or memory) of Dr. Lamin Mbye.⁵ This Pan-Africanist historian passed away at the time that he was serving as a full Professor of History and Social Sciences, with an emphasis on African history until July 2004 at University of Maryland Eastern Shore (UMES). After a long illness, the Gambian scholar and former diplomat – just like Professor Emeritus Nyang -- died at the Peninsula Hospital, Salisbury, Maryland on Friday, July 30, 2004, at the age of 70.

The collaboration with Professor Nyang produced a detailed biographical obituary of Dr. Mbye, which both of us co-authored with the title: “In Memoriam: The Memorial Profile of the Life and Times of Professor Lamin Mbye of UMES”. It was widely publicized, and, in fact, a copy also appeared in my “Last Word” column of *African Mirror* a weekly newspaper in Charlotte, North Carolina. Another collaborative arrangement involved three of us: Professor Nyang from Howard University; the University of Oregon Equity and Inclusion Vice-President and Political Science Professor Yvette M. Alex-Assensoh (my spouse); and myself. We were invited to serve on a very well-organized and successful panel in 2003 as part of the 70th birthday observance conference held at Cornell University in Ithaca, in honor of Professor Mazrui.

As I recall vividly about our panel with Professor Nyang, Dr. Alex-Assensoh and I co-authored a paper on the growing importance of Professor Mazrui’s philosophical thought, which is often referred to as *Mazuriana*, a dictum that is like Nkrumaism, coined to honor the historical-cum-political thought of the late Ghanaian President Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah. Our conference paper was revised to serve as an Introduction to a book with *Mazuriana* as a theme, which was published in India. Ironically, Professor Mazrui, in an essay he wrote shortly after the 1966 Ghana *coup d’etat* that deposed the country’s political leader -- who was a foremost Pan-Africanist and a fierce believer in African Unity -- had described Dr. Nkrumah as a Leninist Czar in Africa.⁶ Professor Chinua Achebe’s satirical novel, *A Man of the People* – from which I borrowed part of my title for the foreword -- was basically about a Minister (Secretary) for Culture, a former school teacher called M. A. Nanga known as a man of the people; he was known to be both cynical and charming, but also a roguish opportunist. Nanga was visited at his governmental department (ministry) by Odili, his former student now a teacher and considered an idealistic young man. During the visit, one

could see that the division between the two men was vast. Yet, in the corrupt environment, Odili's idealism soon collides with his lusts—and the two men's personal and political taunting threatens to send their country into chaos. When Odili launches a vicious campaign against his former mentor for the same seat in an election

The essay had appeared in *Transition Magazine*. Professor Nyang also discussed, in his fascinating researched paper, the many years he had come to know Mwalimu (Professor) Mazrui. At the time, both Professor Mazrui and I were hobbling around uneasily at his birthday conference because we were suffering from gout. For comic relief, Professors Mazrui and Nyang described gout as a rich person's disease, which attacked individuals, who presumably ate well. This anecdote speaks well of the humorous nature of the two Muslim compatriots- Nyang and Mazrui. One could easily surmise at the conference that both men were erudite and dynamite scholars, who have contributed immensely to Pan-African and African scholarship. As teachers (Mwalimu), they have also helped in training countless Africans in the fields of Political Science and African Studies.

II. Professor Emeritus Sulayman S. Nyang as a Scholar and a Humanist

Professor Emeritus Sulayman S. Nyang knew the task ahead of him; hence he took steps at an early age so that he would fully equip himself academically and intellectually to be able to play meaningful roles in producing younger political scientists from Africa in their classrooms. Upon his arrival in the United States of America, he, therefore, saw the need to identify with Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), which was also indicative of Dr. Nyang's sophisticated awareness. That was why he applied, and he was admitted to study at the then Hampton Institute (which has now been re-named as Hampton University in Virginia), from where the young Gambian national at the time earned his undergraduate degree in the field of Political Science in 1969. He remained in the State of Virginia by enrolling at the University of Virginia to receive the M.A. degree in Public Administration in 1971, and his Ph.D. degree in Government in 1974.⁷

After attaining the expectant academic laurels from the Virginia-based educational institutions, it became obvious that the sky was, to say the least, the eventual limit for Professor Emeritus Nyang. Although I plan to discuss some crucial activities of note, which are credited to the esteemed young African Professor, I will not rehash the various

academic and administrative roles Dr. Nyang attained to claim the honor of emeritus professor at Howard University at the time of his retirement.

On completion of his Ph.D. degree, the young Dr. Nyang, at the time, showed loyalty to his home country of Gambia, by accepting a diplomatic posting from the Government of the then President (Sir Dauda Jawara); he served in the Gambian Embassy in Saudi Arabia from 1975 to 1977 as the First Secretary and Head of Chancery. Realizing that teaching was his first love, he decided to leave the diplomatic field to assume an academic career by spending much of his time at Howard University, where he began with the rank of Associate Professor between 1978 and 1986. Apart from becoming the Chairperson of the Department of African Studies (1985-1993), Professor Nyang was promoted a full Professor at that University in 1993.⁸

In fact, Professor Mazrui, his bosom friend and fellow Muslim, jokingly told Professor Nyang and also all of us that, by becoming full professors -- for which he (Dr. Mazrui) wrote formally to endorse or support our promotion applications-- all of us had joined what the Mwalimu saw as an exclusive intellectual club.⁹ It is very reassuring to point out that Professor Abegunrin (popularly known as Layi), who is editing this befitting festschrift does not hail from the same nation in Africa as Professor Emeritus Nyang. Rather, he is originally from the oil-rich nation of Nigeria. However, just like several contributors to this volume, he is a former student of the Gambian scholar, who eventually gave up his citizenship and became a naturalized American citizen.

As a scholar, Professor Emeritus Nyang has either written singlehandedly or collaborated in not less than 30 published books and over 70 refereed articles, most of which mainly dealt with topical Islamic, African and comparative cultural issues. Knowing Dr. Nyang very well, I can add that he is at his best when he is serving as a mentor for younger African and budding scholars and students. For example, when our older son (Kwadwo Stephen Alex Assensoh) entered Howard University as a scholarship student, Professor Emeritus Nyang did not spare scolding my spouse (Dr. Alex-Assensoh) and myself for not promptly informing him of our young son's arrival on campus so that he could welcome him home to show him African hospitality. When we later did, he extended a warm African welcome to our son. Indeed, the Professor Emeritus has, as well, always kept an open door for countless African and other diaspora-based Black student and younger scholars.

III. Conclusion

For many years, Professor Nyang and several Gambian intellectuals have tried to appeal to the country's political elite to give democracy a chance. Therefore, it was to their credit that, as I was completing this foreword, The Republic of Gambia had successfully and impressively concluded its latest presidential elections on December 1, 2016, which had been won by the country's opposition party, led by Adama Barrow. The incumbent President Yahya Jammeh reportedly conceded defeat and congratulated the victorious opponent. A couple of days later, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) of The Gambia, as an impartial and a non-partisan entity, saw the need to revise the results of the election, slightly reducing the percentage of votes won by the opposition leader. The change did not essentially alter anything from the overall results of the polls. However, this became the excuse that incumbent President Jammeh – who initially came to power through a military coup d'etat -- needed to back away from his own concession announcement. In a television broadcast to his fellow Gambians, he allegedly called for a much more independent and, as he reportedly put it, God-fearing electoral commission to conduct fresh polls, a slap in the face of democratic polls that Professor Emeritus Nyang, an ardent believer in democracy and free elections, would kick against.

Meanwhile, the leaders of the neighboring country of Senegal have appealed to the United Nations Security Council to ensure that the original results of the presidential elections are respected. Although he currently has some health challenges, it has been confirmed that Professor Emeritus Nyang, who also loves peace and tranquility for his home country and her citizenry, has cautioned his country-men and women to make sure that the matter does not deteriorate into a chaotic situation. That, indeed, is the essence of the indelible and non-changing personality that one always sees of our colleague, Dr. Sulayman S. Nyang.

Irrespective of his health challenges, many scholars are, in fact, still very anxious to hear Professor Emeritus Nyang's usual excellent political analysis about current African issues, especially about Ghana's own presidential elections, which took place on December 7, 2016. The Ghanaian election was won by the opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP) political party and its national flag bearer, Nana Dankwa Akufo-Addo, a Lawyer by training and profession. When the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC) political party and its incumbent President John D. Mahama gracefully accepted defeat, as announced by Ghana's female Electoral Commissioner, who was surprisingly appointed by the sitting

Ghanaian President, it was a fresh piece of news in democratic governance in Africa. Indeed, I similarly await Professor Emeritus Nyang's usual superb political analysis of the situation that is very like the shining political example that emerged from Nigeria, when the opposition Action Peoples' Congress (APC) of Nigeria and its national leader, retired General Muhammadu Buhari, assumed presidential leadership on May 29, 2015 upon defeating the sitting President, Goodluck E. Jonathan.

Countless African and non-African scholars have, invariably, written as well as telephoned to salute Professor Emeritus Sulayman S. Nyang as a great man of the people and also as a true scholar, whose retirement from active teaching as well as day-to-day research and scholarship creates a perpetual void that has been extremely hard to fill at Howard University's African Studies Department, which owes a lot to the Gambian scholar with impeccable democratic credentials.

Notes

*A.B. Assensoh is Professor Emeritus of Indiana University and, Courtesy professor Emeritus of University of Oregon

¹ Professor Nyang is a dedicated scholar who works tirelessly for African causes, and mentors younger scholars, through intellectual collaboration, and encouragement to foster continuity in the field. His contributions to African affairs, transcends the scope of the academic world as he has served as First Secretary and Head of Chancery of the Gambian Embassy in Saudi Arabia 1975-1977, and consultant to the World Bank and United Nations agencies.

² Professor Chinua Achebe's satirical novel, *A Man of the People* – from which I borrowed part of my title

for the foreword -- was basically about a Minister (Secretary) for Culture, a former school teacher called M. A. Nanga known as a man of the people; he was known to be both cynical and charming, but also a roguish opportunist. Nanga was visited at his governmental department (ministry) by Odili, his former student now a teacher and considered an idealistic young man. During the visit, one could see that the division between the two men was vast. Yet, in the corrupt environment, Odili's idealism soon collides with his lusts—and the two men's personal and political taunting threatens to send their country into chaos. When Odili launches a vicious campaign against his former mentor for the same seat in an election

³ Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, published in 1899, was a novella by the British novelist, which was about a voyage up the Congo River into what the author saw as the Congo jungle at the time, but indeed was in the heart of the African continent; the intriguing story's narrator was Marlow.

⁴ Professor Ali A. Mazrui and Professor Emeritus Nyang happened to be devout Muslims. In fact, as a prolific author of over 30 books and tons of scholarly articles and book chapters, Professor Mazrui, who was honored in Ghana honorary Ashanti

chief with the revered *nana* title. He was also bestowed with the designation of a Public Intellectual.

⁵ Dr. Mbye was related to Professor Sulayman S. Nyang through their Gambian roots. For example, Dr. Mbye came out of two prominent Banjul families, whose roots go back to pre-colonial times in the Senegambia sub-region. As I learned from the records made available by Dr. Nyang, the late Dr. Mbye was the son of a Gambian trader and a political figure Abdou Wally Mbye and Fatou Jagne of Banjul; he also belonged to the third generation of a Wolof ethnic group, which settled in the nation's capital since the end of the Sonnike-Marabout Wars. Dr. Mbye was also linked to the Nyang clan because of the prevailing inter-locking networks of families and clans that became more and more intricate and complex over time. For example, was a grandson, on his father's side, through Awa Nyang and Sulayman Nyang, the grand patriarch of the Nyang clan in Banjul, The Gambia

⁶ *Transition Magazine*, established in 1966 by the Ugandan based late writer and Editor Noagy, is currently published at the DuBois Center of Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

⁷ It was also because of the late Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah's socialist beliefs and the fact that he won the Lenin Peace Prize from the then Soviet Union that Professor Mazrui described him as a Leninist Czar in Africa.

⁸ Although he earned all the listed degrees by dint of hard work, it is very remarkable that he never boasted with them, and that endeared professor Emeritus Nyang to fellow scholars.

⁹ The late Professor Ali A. Mazrui was one of the leading scholars, who were invited to write in support of Professor Emeritus Nyang's promotion to a full Professor, a rank that Dr. Mazrui described as being an "exclusive club"

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The editors are very grateful to the various contributors for meeting the deadline for their submissions. We thank all our friends and colleagues who have encouraged and supported us in producing this collection of essays on the *African Intellectuals and the State of the Continent: Essays in Honor of Professor Sulayman S. Nyang*. We especially thank friends, associates, and former students of Professor Nyang who have contributed to this volume.

Special thanks go to Professor Mohammed A. El-Khawas of the University of the District of Columbia, Washington, D.C., for being the first to submit his chapter, which gave us encouragement to pursue the effort to get this book published. We thank Professor A.B. Assensoh who voluntarily accepted to write the forward to this collection of essays on his friend-Professor Nyang. Special thanks to Professor Nzongola Ntalaja, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, for contributing to this book. He was a colleague of Professor Nyang in the Department of African Studies at Howard University for many years. We thank Dr. Dung for designing the map of Africa for the cover of this book.

We also would like to acknowledge the great work done by Amanda Millar, Victoria Carruthers, Helen Edwards, and Sophie Edminson. We appreciate your patience, guidance, and professionalism.

Finally, we express our gratitude to our families, especially for their moral support throughout the period we were working on this book. We are also very grateful to Mrs. Eucharia Nyang for providing us Professor Nyang's picture for use on the cover of the book. Last but not the least we thank Cambridge Scholars Publishing for their interest in this book and for bringing it to fruition.

Olayiwola Abegunrin, and Sabella Ogbobode Abidde

ABOUT THE EDITORS

Olayiwola Abegunrin is Professor of International Relations, African Studies, and Political Economy, Howard University and the University of Maryland. He was formerly Chair, Department of International Relations, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria. He is Carnegie Mellon Foundation Fellow. He is a recipient of Howard University, Distinguished Faculty Author for Scholarly work published during 1998-2000 and 2002-2003 academic year. He is a Distinguished Professor in teaching and service in African Studies. He has authored, co-authored, edited and co-edited of thirteen books, several book chapters and many articles in refereed journals. His latest book- *Nigeria, Africa, and the United States: Challenges of Governance, Development and Security*, 2016. He is a Member of Honor Society of International Scholars- Member of Academic Advisory Board for Global Studies: *AFRICA*. His areas of teaching and research are in International Relations, African Studies, Political Economy and U.S. Foreign Policy.

Sabella Ogbobode Abidde is an Associate Professor of Political Science and member of the graduate faculty at Alabama State University, Montgomery. He teaches courses in Comparative Politics, Modern African History and Politics, Politics of Developing Nations, African American Humanities, U.S Foreign Policy, International Relations, and Seminar Classes. He holds a BA in International Relations and an MSC in Educational Administration from Saint Cloud State University Minnesota; a second masters in Political Science from Minnesota State University Mankato, and a Ph.D. in African Studies -- with an interdisciplinary focus on world affairs, public policy and development studies from Howard University, Washington D.C. Dr. Abidde is the author/editor/co-editor of four recent books by Lexington Books (an imprint of Rowman and Littlefield): *Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean: The Case for Bilateral and Multilateral Cooperation* (2018); *Africans and the Exiled Life: Migration, Culture and Globalization* (2017); *Nigeria's Niger Delta: Militancy, Amnesty and the Post-Amnesty Environment* (2017); *Pan-Africanism in Modern Times: Challenges, Concerns and Constraints* (2016). From 2011 until 2014, Dr. Abidde was a weekly columnist for Nigeria's newspaper of record, *The Punch*. He is a member of several

scholarly organizations including the African Studies Association (ASA); the Association for the Study of the Middle East and Africa (ASMEA); African Studies and Research Forum (ASRF); and the Association of Global South Studies (AGSS).

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

Olayiwola Abegunrin is a Professor of International Relations, African Studies and Political Economy, University of Maryland and Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Sabella Ogbobode Abidde is an Associate Professor of African Studies, History and Political Science at Alabama State University, Montgomery, Alabama.

Victor A.O. Adetula is Professor and currently Head of Research at the Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala-Sweden, and Professor of International Relations & Development Studies at the University of Jos (Nigeria).

Philip Aka is Dean and Professor of Law at the International University of Sarajevo, a private university located in the capital city Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Adeoye Akinsanya is Professor of Political Science and former Chair at Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye; and now Professor at the Tai Solarin University of Education, Ijagun, via Ijebu-Ode and Nasarawa State University, Keffi, Nasarawa State, Nigeria.

A.B. Assensoh is Professor Emeritus of Indiana University and, Courtesy Professor Emeritus of the University of Oregon. He has authored and co-authored over 15 books and many scholarly articles, his most recently published books include *Malcolm X: A Biography* (co-authored with Yvette M. Alex-Assensoh; 2014); *Malcolm X And Africa* (co-authored with Yvette M. Alex-Assensoh, 2016); and *A Matter of Sharing: My Memoir* (2016).

Mohamed El-Khawas, Ph.D., is a Professor of Political Science at the University of the District of Columbia, Washington, D.C. He has an extensive record of research and scholarship on Africa.

Balla M. Keita is an Adjunct Professor of Political Science in the Department of Political Science, George Washington University, Washington,

D.C. His areas of teaching and research are in Comparative Politics and African Politics.

Mae C. King is Professor Emerita, Department of Political Science, Howard University, Washington, DC. She taught in the Department of Political Science, University of Benin, Nigeria, 1975 to 1989, and She is the author of *Basic Currents of Nigerian Foreign Policy*, 1996

Anne Kubai is associate professor of World Christianity and Interreligious Studies. Currently, she is a researcher in religion in peace and conflict, genocide studies, mass violence, international migration and human trafficking at the Faculty of Theology, Uppsala University, Sweden.

Benjamin A. Machar holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from Howard University, Washington, DC. He is an Adjunct Professor in the Department of Political Science, Towson State University, Baltimore, MD. His teaching and Research interests are in International Relations, Comparative Politics, African and Middle East Politics.

Magdaline Mbong Mai holds Ph.D. from the University of the Western Cape. She is Postdoctoral Research Fellow in Communication and Media Studies, University of Johannesburg, South Africa.

Charity Manyeruke is a Professor of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Zimbabwe. She is also the Dean of the Faculty of Social Studies at the same university.

Fred-Mensah is a trained teacher and an international development consultant, and Associate Professor in Department of Political Science, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja is a professor of African and Global Studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. A political scientist by training, he has spent much of his academic career in interdisciplinary studies. He was the former President of the African Studies Association of the United States

Chike Osegbue is a teacher and researcher at the Chukwu Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu University, Igbariam-Awka, Nigeria.

Peju Rosenje is Lecturer in Political Science at the Tai Solarin University of Education, Ijagun, Via Ijebu-Ode, Ogun State, Nigeria.

Dr. Bala Saho is an Assistant Professor of History at the University of Oklahoma, Norman. He received his Ph.D. in African history from Michigan State University (2012), and his MA from the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign in African Studies (2007).

ABBREVIATIONS

AAMS - Associated African and Malagasy States
AAP - African Action Plan
AAPC - All African People's Conference
AAPSO - Afro-Asian People Solidarity Organization
ACP - African Caribbean and Pacific Group
ACCORD - African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes
ACDHRS - African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies
ADB - African Development Bank
AEC - African Economic Community
AFL - Armed Forces of Liberia
AFRC - Armed Forces Ruling Council
AFRICOM - African Command Center
AG - Action Group
AGOA - African Growth and Opportunity Act
AHSG - African Head of State and Governments
AIAI - Al-Itihad Al-Islami of Somalia
AIDS - Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ALF - Africa Leadership Forum
AMISOM - African Mission for the Security of Somalia
ANC - African National Congress (of South Africa)
ANZUS - Australia, New Zealand, and United States
AOPIG - African Oil Policy Initiative Group
APC - African People's Congress
APEC - Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation
APEF - Asian Pacific Economic Forum
AQIM - Al-Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb
ASAS - Association of Southern African States
AU - African Union (formerly Organization of African Unity)
AWCPD - African Women's Committee on Peace and Development
AZAPO - Azanian People's Organization
BBC - British Broadcasting Corporation
BCEAO - Banque Centrale des Etats de l'Ouest Africaine
BCM - Black Consciousness Movement
BEECOM - Black Economic Empowerment Commission
BP - British Petroleum Company

BSA - British South African Company
CA - Cooperation on Africa
CAN - Christian Association of Nigeria
CAP - Common Agricultural Exports
CARICOM - Caribbean Economic Community
CBN - Central Bank of Nigeria
CD - Campaign for Democracy
CEAO - Communauté Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest
(Economic Community of West Africa)
CEAPL - Economic Community of the Great Lake
CENND - Conference of Ethnic Nationalities of the Niger Delta
CFA - Communauté Financière Africaine
CIA - U.S. Central Intelligence Agency
CIAS - Conference of Independent African States
CLO - Civil Liberty Organization
CMP - Concert of Medium Powers
CODESA - Convention for a Democratic South Africa
COMESA - Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CONSAS - Constellation of Southern African States
CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
COSATU - Congress of South African Trade Union
CPA - Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CPP - Convention People's Party
CSCE - Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
CSSDCA - Conference on Security, Stability, Development, and
Cooperation in Africa
DFI - Direct Foreign Investments
DMO - Debt Management Office
EAC - East Africa Community
ECA - United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
ECGD - Export Credits Guarantee Department (British)
ECOMOMOG - ECOWAS Monitoring Observer Group
ECOSOCC - Economic, Social and Cultural Council
ECOWAS - Economic Community of West African States
ECU - European Currency Unit
EDF - European Development Fund
EEC - European Economic Community
EDB - European Development Bank
EFCC - Economic Financial Crimes Commission
EMCAP - Economic Management Capacity Building Program
EPA - Economic Partnership Agreement

ESCOM - Electricity Supply Commission of South Africa
ESKOM - Electricity Supply Commission of South Africa
EU - European Union
FAS - Femmes Africa Solidarite
FAWE - Federation of African Women in Education
FBI - (U.S.) Federal Bureau of Investigation
FCD - Forum for Community Development
FDI - Foreign Direct Investment
FIFA - Federation International Football Association
FJP - Freedom Justice Party (Muslim Brotherhood's Party)
FMG - Federal Military Government
FNLA - Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola
FCS - Foreign Service Commerce
FAO - Food and Agricultural Organization
FOCAC- Forum on China Africa Cooperation
FRELIMO - Frente de Libertacao de Mozambique
GDP - Gross Domestic Product
GEAR - Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GOSS - Government of South Sudan
GNP - Gross National Product
GRAE - Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile
GSM - Global System Mobile Communication
GSP - Generalized System Preferences
GWOT - Global War on Terror
HDI - Human Development Index
HIPC - Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
HIV - Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HOA - Horn of Africa
HRVIC - Human Rights Violations Investigation Commission
IASPS - Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies
ICC - International Criminal Court
ICPC - Independence Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offense
Commission
IFI - International Finance Institutions
IFP - Inkatha Freedom Party
IGAD - Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IGO - Inter-Government Organization
ILO - International Labor Organization
IMF - International Monetary Fund
ING - Interim National Government
ISDSC - Inter-State Defense and Security Committee

IRFG - International Religious Freedom Group
JACC - Joint Agricultural Consultative Committee
JMC - Joint Monitoring Commission
LURD - Liberian United Reconciliation for Democracy
MAGHREB - Permanent Consultative Committee of the Maghreb
(North African Consultative Committee/NACC)
MAP - Millennium Action Plan
MCA - Millennium Challenge Account
MEND - Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta
MNLA - National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad
MODEL - Movement for Democracy in Liberia
MOSOP - Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People
MPLA - Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
MSF - Medecins sans Frontieres (Doctors without Borders)
MTN - Mobile Telecommunications Network
NAACP - National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples
NADECO - National Democratic Alliance
NAFTA - North American Free Trade Area
NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCNC - National Council of Nigerian Citizens
NCP/NIF - National Congress Party/National Islamic Front
NDC - National Democratic Congress
NDP - National Democratic Party
NEDB - National Economic Development Board
NEPA - National Electric Power Authority
NEPAD - New Partnership for African Development
NEPU - Northern Element Progressive Union
NFC - National Forces Coalition
NGO - Non-Governmental Organization
NIC - Newly Industrializing Countries
NIEO - New International Economic Order
NIIA - Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
NIPSS - National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies
NIS - Newly Independent States
NDPVF - Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force
NLC - Nigerian Labor Congress
NMA - Nigerian Medical Association
NNA - Nigerian National Alliance
NNDP - Nigerian National Democratic Party
NNOC - Nigerian National Oil Corporation
NNPC - Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation

NP - National Party of South Africa
NPC - Northern People's Congress
NPFL - National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NPN - National Party of Nigeria
NSF - Namibian Solidarity Fund
NTC - National Transitional Council
NTF - National Trust Fund
OAS - Organization of American States
OAU - Obafemi Awolowo University-(Ile-Ife, Nigeria)
OAU - Organization of African Unity (now African Union)
OECD - Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development
OEF - Operation Enduring Freedom for Somalia
OIC - Organization of Islamic Council
OPEC - Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OSCE - Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PAC - Pan-African Congress of South Africa
PAFMECA - Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa
PAFMECSA - Pan-African Freedom Movement of East, Central and Southern Africa
PAIGC - Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde
PCP - Popular Congress Party
PDP - People's Democratic Party
PHCN - Power Holding Company of Nigeria
PNDC - Provisional National Defense Council
PRC - Provisional Ruling Council
RDP - Reconstruction and Development Program
RENAMO - Mozambique National Resistance Movement
REPA - Regional Economic Partnership Agreement
RTZ - Rio Tinto Zinc
SACP - South African Communist Party
SACU - Southern African Custom Union
SADC - Southern African Development Community
SADCC - Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SADF - South African Defense Forces
SADR - Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic
SAFCOL - South African Forest Corporation
SAF - Sudan Armed Force
SANDF - South African National Defense Force
SAP - Structural Adjustment Programs
SARF - Southern African Relief Fund

SAYROC - South Africa Youth Revolutionary Council
SCAF - Supreme Council of the Armed Forces
SDP - Social Democratic Party
SEATO - South East Asian Treaty Organization
SFBC - Swiss Federal Banking Commission
SMC - Supreme Military Council
SANNC - South African Native National Congress (later ANC)
SPA - Strategic Partnership with Africa
SPLM/A - Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army
SPLM/A-N - Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army-North Sudan
SSF - Salam Sudan Foundation
SWAPO - South West African People's Organization
TAC - Technical Aid Corps
TEC - Transitional Executive Council
TFG - Transitional Federal Government for Somalia
UANC - United African National Council
UDEAC - Central African Customs and Economic Union (Union
Douaniere et Economique de l'Afrique Centrale)
UDF - United Democratic Front
UDI - Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UDHR - Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UIC - United Islamic Court for Somalia
UMBC - United Middle Belt Congress
UMEOA - West African Economic and Monetary Union
UNAIDS - United Nations AIDS
UNCED - United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNCTAD - United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNECOSOC - United Nations Economic and Social Council
UNECA - United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF - United Nations Children Fund
UNIDO - United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNESCO - United Nations, Educational, Scientific and Cultural
Organization
UNITA - National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UNIA - Universal Negro Improvement Association
UNO - United Nations Organization
UPA - United Party of Angola
UPGA - United Progressive Grand Alliance
UPN - Unity Party of Nigeria
USEUCOM - United States European Command