

Historical
and Contemporary
Pan-Africanism and
the Quest for African
Renaissance

Historical and Contemporary Pan-Africanism and the Quest for African Renaissance

Edited by

Njoki Wane and Francis Adyanga Akena

Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing



Historical and Contemporary Pan-Africanism and the Quest for African Renaissance

Edited by Njoki Wane and Francis Adyanga Akena

This book first published 2019

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2019 by Njoki Wane, Francis Adyanga Akena and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-5275-2147-8

ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-2147-6

This book is dedicated to all knowledge seekers with the thirst to understand and contribute to the amelioration of challenges of the African continent in the 21st century.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	ix
Foreword	x
<i>Norma R. A. Romm</i>	
Introduction	1
<i>Njoki Nathani Wane</i>	
Chapter One.....	17
Decolonizing and Collapsing the Colonial Divide: An Anti-colonial Project	
<i>Njoki Nathani Wane</i>	
Chapter Two.....	29
From Black to African: Identity Shifts and Pan-African Activism in the Black Campus Movement, 1965-1972	
<i>Ibrahm H. Rogers</i>	
Chapter Three	46
Biography and Identity in <i>Be-Coming</i> a Teacher Educator: An African-Canadian Diasporic Experience	
<i>Ann E. Lopez</i>	
Chapter Four.....	60
Theoretical Analysis of Women’s Involvement in Insurgent Movements: Implications for Society’s Transformation in Africa	
<i>Francis Adyanga Akena</i>	
Chapter Five	76
Indigenous Languages and Names: Transforming Thoughts, Actions and Character through African Ways of Knowing	
<i>Vera Ogiorumua</i>	
Chapter Six.....	88
Towards A Pan-African Vision: A Somalia Case Study	
<i>Ahmed Ilmi</i>	

Chapter Seven.....	104
North African States as a Proxy of Europe’s Border Securitization: Tragic Ordeals of Young Refugees and Asylum Seekers from the Continent as the Consequence <i>Michael Onyedika Nwalutu and Felicia Ihuoma Nwalutu</i>	
Chapter Eight.....	131
A Common Valor, A Common Spirituality: African Insurrectionists at Harpers Ferry <i>Kwando M. Kinshasa</i>	
Chapter Nine.....	158
Liberation Stories: African-Kittitian Protestors Interpret Protest in the 1930s <i>Hermia Morton Anthony</i>	
Chapter Ten	172
Evolving Radical Thought: Politics and Culture and Black National Space in the 20 th Century <i>David Irwin</i>	
Chapter Eleven	187
Pan-Africanism and the Crisis of Political Governance in Saharan Africa: A Reconstructive Approach to African Unity <i>Munya Kabba</i>	
Chapter Twelve	210
Pan-Africanism, Diaspora Identity and 21 st Century African Liberation <i>Ajamu Nangwaya and Adwoa N. Onura</i>	
Chapter Thirteen.....	228
Financial Literacy, Indigeneity and Black Youth <i>Sein Kipusi</i>	
Chapter Fourteen	256
Conclusion <i>Francis Adyanga Akena</i>	

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

With the utmost sincerity, we acknowledge all the chapter contributors in this collection whose tireless efforts and diligence made the output possible. It is our hope that the scholarly, professional and activist voices articulated herein will contribute greatly to achieving the grander vision of African unity, stability and prosperity. We would like to acknowledge the numerous people who assisted in editing this work.

FOREWORD

NORMA R. A. ROMM

The collection of chapters in this volume, “Historical and Contemporary Pan-Africanism and the Quest for African Renaissance”, is adeptly chosen to stimulate readers to consider the meaning of being an African, in a political context in which Africans are called upon to re-assert the value of identifying as African in order to counter the effects of neo-colonialism. As Wane and Akena indicate in their editorial introduction to this volume, the statement made by the erstwhile President of South Africa Thabo Mbeki that “I am an African”, when he provided his vision of an African renaissance, refers not only to people’s individual self-identification but to an indication of the forward-looking potential for people to “proudly affirm Africa’s self-determination”. This includes affirming (new) visions of what Africanness can offer in terms of people’s being-in-the-world. While Mbeki challenges outside perceptions of Africa that, as Wane and Akena note, see it as “nothing more than a strife-torn continent”, he also offers a plea to *vitalize the potential for people to assert their connectedness with one another as Africans* (and indeed to assert a more general vision of human connectedness as contained in the meaning of *Ubuntu*, where people recognize their essential relatedness with others as a value to be sought and practiced).

The chapters in this book in various ways point to the reconstructive potential of positing an African unity as a political goal in order to counter colonial shadows that continue to linger. Taken as a whole the book offers insights into the complexity around this political project, indicating why political unity need not be premised on a cultural oneness, but can accommodate a diversity of definitions of the meaning of being African. What is important (as pointed out by some of the authors: see, for example, Chapter 10) is the *strategic identity* associated with identifying as African, where Africanness is not essentialized (as if there is one definition of how people can identify with being African) but people recognize that for strategic reasons it is important to posit unity. This is in order to resist the neo-colonial legacies towards offering a vision (and practice) of the economic, political and social wellbeing of all African people both on the

continent and in the diaspora. The positing of an African identity is thus a political project that offers a counterpoint to what Rabaka (2009), as cited by Akena in his conclusion to this volume, calls the menace of global exploitation.

In the wake of the twenty-first-century liberal global society, the resolute response of Africanist scholars to debunk the colonial bequest and its continued legacy still remains to be seen. How is it that many Africans still see Europe and America as offering a better quality of life? What can be done to debunk the mindset that prompts many African youths and adults to risk it all for an apparently better life on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean? These and other concerns that continue to engulf African society are some of the contentious issues critically engaged in this collection of essays (see, for instance, Chapter 7).

The notion of citizenship and African identity (as detailed in chapter 12) is argued with a sociological theoretical lens in this collection. Contested as it is, the history of Pan-Africanism is critically revealed and its linkage to African identity espoused. The argument in foregrounding this aspect of Pan-Africanism and African identity travels a contested and yet interesting terrain especially in espousing who truly is, or is not, an African. This contentious piece not only challenges readers to arrive at their own conclusion of identity but also to revisit the whole notion of “African identity, European identity” and so forth. Is there such a thing as an African or European identity? If so, where is the place of “race” (racial classification, a social construction) in this argument and how does it help, or not, to tag people based on assumed “racial” characteristics? This can be counterpoised against the idea (as expressed in Romm, 2010) that, instead of essentializing “race” as if it exists as some “thing”, it is preferable to recognize the *strategic value* of positing an African identity, so that people identifying as such can keep in consciousness the purpose of the identification.

Taking a feminist-oriented departure point as a line of argument to enrich the views in this book is the critical investigative comparative analysis in Chapter 4 aimed at understanding the complex role that women play in resisting an oppressive status quo in society. Relying on literature reviews combined with auto-ethnographic reflective scrutiny to understand the push and pull factors for women’s participation in the violent revolutionaries’ movement in South America and Africa, the essay challenges the persistent myth that societal transformation can only be effectively shaped by men in societies where men hold the power and dominance, and women become passive bystanders. For meaningful societal transformation to be brought to bear as the author argues, women’s

voices and experiences cannot be negated in the backseat, for they are the backbone of the economy in many developing societies such as in Africa and South America.

Meanwhile, to lend substance to dreams to resist all forms of exploitation and discrimination and at the same time offer new visions of how people can potentially connect in a spirit of caring for one another (as in the *Ubuntu* principle), nationalist conceptions have to give way to a sense of connectivity across borders. What then can we make of certain xenophobic attacks on “foreigners” (as in the South African context) and on the mistrust of “foreigners” who are seen as unwelcome within nationalist discourses? Perhaps the purpose of positing an African renaissance and the possibility of Pan-Africanism are precisely to plead for a different way of being and being-in-relation, where people recognize their essential interdependence and the value that is to be gained (in economic and spiritual wellbeing terms) from resuscitating the spirit of community and cooperation, including robust political discussions around how best to serve a “common good”.

Within the climate of nationalism in which we appear to be living (globally and in Africa), the collection of these essays asserting the importance of thinking and acting beyond borders, is a welcome addition to stimulate our understanding of the meaning of “I am an African” as a fresh way of people orienting themselves politically. In this regard, the aim of this collection is not only to consider the meaning of “I am an African” but to contribute to the on-going struggle to revitalize the discussion around how new forms of Africanness may indeed emerge as people find ways to cooperate despite current (national/continental) divides. It is by seriously engaging in questions around the meaning of “I am an African” without denying the complexity of this political project that this book offers its contribution.

Finally, the production of this book clearly comes at an opportune time when the continent of Africa is arguably marred by a disunity greater than ever experienced before. The collection of essays focusing on the possibility of revisiting the urge for African rebirth and the idea of Pan-Africanism (as a goal that emerged prior to and after the acquisition of political independence by African countries in the 1950s and 1960s) helps to keep alive this possibility. The significance of the book is manifest in its engagement with the ideas that build on the Pan-African philosophy for grounding African cultural and political rebirth.

References

- Rabaka, R. 2009. *Du Bois's dialectics: Black radical politics and the reconstruction of critical social theory*. Lexington Books.
- Romm, N. R. A. 2010. *New racism: Revisiting researcher accountabilities*. Springer Science & Business Media.

INTRODUCTION

NJOKI NATHANI WANE

In his 1996 speech, “I am an African,” South Africa’s Deputy President, Thabo Mbeki, laid claim to the greatness of Africa—its complexities, its pain, its marvels. With insight, erudition, honesty, and love, Mbeki laid claim to his heritage and affirmed the “fundamental truth that I am born of a people who are heroes and heroines”—proudly affirming Africa’s self-determination and self-definition, affirming with vast confidence Africa’s prosperity and Renaissance simply: “I am an African.”¹

Analyzing Mbeki’s vision for an African Renaissance, Elias K. Bongmba (2004) explains, “Mbeki challenged outside perceptions of Africa that see it as nothing more than a strife-torn continent” and asserted that “Africans were now establishing genuine and stable democracies because the one-party regime worked poorly” and pointed out the desire of Africans to “govern as part of an African tradition” (p. 292). Bongmba adds that Mbeki’s vision of an African Renaissance “signals a new day in Africa by calling for a renewal of the identity of Africans” (p. 295). Bongmba states that

Mbeki’s current call for Renaissance continues in the tradition that rejects the myth that Africa has no civilization. Such a denial must be constructed in light of what African intellectuals have tried to do throughout their history to reclaim African identity whether in the Pan-Africanist Movement, the Garvey Movement, the Negritude Movement, Black Power, or the Civil Rights Movement. (p. 296)

In the last 80 years, there have been waves of debates surrounding the reclamation of the African identity, the Pan-African Idea, and the method of fulfilling an African Renaissance. W. E. B. Du Bois indicated that the Pan-African movement was aimed at an “intellectual understanding and cooperation among all groups” of people of African ancestry for the purpose of bringing about their industrial and spiritual emancipation. Luminaries of Africa-centered scholarship and liberation such as Cheikh

¹ Delivered to the Constitutional Assembly of South Africa, May 8, 1996.

Anta Diop, Maulana Karenga, Molefi Asante, Ama Mazama, and C. Tsehloane Keto, Marcus Garvey, Kwame Nkrumah, and Malcolm X have articulated additional explanations and visions of Pan-Africanism and the reclamation of the African identity. These theorists and practitioners have pointed out that the key to our emancipation is located in our connectivity and our ability to unlock the collective memory of the past and present. Reflecting on the larger discourse, much of the debate, however, often revolves around the same issues, such as the need for African Unity; the unification of, and the definition of what constitutes, African States; and the roles of Africans in the Diaspora. There have also been responses by various authors (Molefi Asante, Maulana Karenga, George Dei, 2002, and Cheikh Anta Diop) to colonial regimes and current crises within the continent, such as war, famine, disease, flood, corruption, political unrest, and poverty.

The post-war period witnessed what scholar John Henrik Clarke (1991) identified as an African world revolution that challenged colonialism and white hegemony throughout the world. While the enduring success of these revolutions remains unsettled even more than a decade into the twenty-first century, it is clear that emancipation did not translate into mental and cultural freedom. As Molefi Asante (2007) points out,

Africa has suffered greatly in the past half of a millennium. There has been, as a result, a loss of traditions, values, direction, and mission. But one cannot go on talking about loss as if there is never an opportunity to move forward. The past is important but it cannot be the sum total of our discourse. How do we regain a sense of place, a location of centeredness given the condition of our existence? (p. 68)

This important question has been at the heart of the quest for an African Renaissance. Asante avers that

Africans must pursue in the most determined manner the practice of renaissance, that is, rebirth of the culture, philosophy, traditions, and values of the continent, not in some antiquated form but in the spirit of creative responses to the contemporary times. (p. 68)

In part, this collection aims to contribute directly to this endeavor.

The 21st century holds new promise and opportunities to face different forms of challenges such as re-colonization, miseducation, and neoliberalism, just to name a few. The chapters offered in this collection sit astride the past and present, offering a timely reflection and a critical examination of the theory and practice of the Pan-African Idea and its relevance to an African Renaissance. The aim of this volume is to

critically analyze the historical and contemporary debates on Pan-Africanism and provide a critical point of departure for highlighting challenges and transformations within the larger field of study. This collection presents a range of theoretical and empirical accounts of the dilemmas and challenges facing Africans within the Continent and in the Diaspora as they struggle with the idea of a United Africa.

In exploring these dynamics, this work contributes to our understanding of the evolutions of, and tensions in, the ideas and practices that inform the Pan-African Idea. Through a critical interrogation of the dominant discursive regimes of contemporary Pan-Africanism, the volume will explore the advancement of research, theory and practice in relation to Pan-African debates. Through case studies and personal reflections, this collection offers significant examples of grounding Pan-Africanism and an African Renaissance in practice.

The vision of this work is best echoed by Amy Jacques Garvey (1968) in the preface to her edited collection, *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*:

It is my sincere hope and desire that this small volume will help to disseminate among the members of my race everywhere the true knowledge of their past history, the struggles and strivings of the present leadership, and the glorious future of national independence in a free and redeemed Africa, achieved through organized purpose and organized action. (p. viii)

The chapters in this volume explore the definition and practice of Pan-Africanism operating in the opening decade of the 21st century for the purpose of an African Renaissance—the “rebirth of the culture, philosophy, traditions, and values of the continent... in the spirit of creative responses to the contemporary times” (Asante, 2007, 68)

The quest for African wholeness is the central inquiry for Kenyan scholar Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o. In his important book, *Something Torn and New: An African Renaissance* (2009), Ngũgĩ argues that reclaiming African languages is the critical mechanism for the achievement of African wholeness and Renaissance. Ngũgĩ points to the significance of naming in subjugation and liberation, for example, and explains that

In his attempt to remake the land and its peoples in his image, the conqueror acquires and asserts the right to name the land and its subjects, demanding that the subjugated accept the names and culture of the conqueror. (wa Thiong’o, 2009, 9)

In her essay, “We are Rooted and should not be Moved: Decolonizing the Self as a step to achieving Pan-Africanism: Transforming thoughts, actions and character through Indigenous languages, names, and skin colour,” Vera Ogorumua explains how Africans perpetuate the “legacy of colonization” culturally, particularly as evidenced in standards of physical beauty, language, and naming. Ogorumua suggests that, “In the spirit of Pan-Africanism, we need to decolonize ourselves by thinking, acting, and allowing the Africanness in us to permeate our behaviour on a daily basis.”

Elaborating on the insidious role of “dismemberment” in colonization, wa Thiong’o points to the “systematic program” of memory elimination to produce and induce a state of “amnesia” which includes, but is not limited to, the destruction of African names and naming systems, language and religion. Explaining this pernicious process, wa Thiong’o states:

So, break up their names. Give them the names of the owners of the plantations to signify their being the property of Brown or Smith or Williams... The result was that everyone in the African Diaspora, from the tiniest Caribbean and Pacific islands to the American mainland, lost their names: Their bodies became branded with a European memory. (p. 14)

According to wa Thiong’o, central to the “deconstruction of a sovereign African and his reconstruction as a colonial subject” is language (p. 16). wa Thiong’o states that it is

forbidden to use his language, and with the natural nurseries of language, family, and communities constantly broken up and relocated, the new-world African is, over time, disconnected from his linguistic base in the continent. (p. 18)

He adds:

The liquidation was clearly and consciously meant to deny slaves their languages both as a means of communication and as sites of remembrance and desire. At the same time, the linguistic connection to Europe was reinforced for the Spanish, the Dutch, the French, and the English plantation owners. (p. 18)

To elucidate the significance of language to the process of colonialism as well as liberation, wa Thiong’o explains,

to starve or kill a language is to starve and kill a people’s memory bank. It is equally true that to impose a language is to impose the weight of experience it carries and its conception of self and otherness—indeed, the weight of its memory, which includes religion and education. (p. 20)

The process of dismemberment and re-membering, memory elimination, amnesia, recovery, and reclamation as part of the African Renaissance project is similarly explored as a central concern for Carter G. Woodson, John Henrik Clarke, and Saidiya Hartman to cite a few examples, and is central to Afrocentricity and Kawaida (Asante, 2007; Karenga, 2008).

Maulana Karenga explains that Kawaida is a

communitarian African philosophy created in the context of the African American liberation struggle and developed as an ongoing synthesis of the best of African thought and practice in constant exchange with the world. (Karenga, 2008, 5)

According to Karenga,

Kawaida argues that the problem of unfreedom is first a problem of cultural hegemony by the dominant society. It rules not simply by gun and interest-protecting law, but also by an established definition of reality, which even the oppressed often accept. A key challenge is to wage a Cultural Revolution to break this hold and pose and pursue a new paradigm of society and what it means to be human and pursue human flourishing. (p. 5)

Karenga adds:

Cultural revolution or struggle is key to the preparation and process of any other revolution or struggle. Until we break the monopoly the oppressor has on our minds, liberation is not only impossible, it's unthinkable. (p. 5)

Expanding on the goals of the Cultural Revolution, Karenga believes that:

the ideological and practical struggle to rescue and reconstruct our own culture, break the cultural hegemony of the oppressor over the people, transform persons so that they become self-conscious agents of their own liberation, and aid in the preparation and support of the larger struggle for liberation and a higher level of human life. Thus, the Cultural Revolution is tied to and part of all forms of struggle for liberation. (p. 5)

To reiterate Karenga's unceasing assertion, "without a cultural revolution, there can be no real liberation of the people" (p. 5). As wa Thiong'o explains,

applying the metaphor of war to systems of domination, we see that colonialism attacks and completely distorts a people's relationship to their natural, bodily, economic, political, and cultural base. With this base destroyed, the wholeness of the African subject, the subject in active engagement with his environment, is fragmented. (p. 29)

Consequently, wa Thiong'o Ngugi contends that

it could be argued that the political and cultural struggles of Africans since the great dismemberment, wrought by European slavery and then colonialism have been driven by the vision of wholeness. (p. 29)

Wa Thiong'o further states

But African memory does not disappear quietly into that good night. It mounts resistance in both the African continent and the Diaspora. However, given the linguistic fate of African languages in the two situations, the means of African memory in the Diaspora and on the continent take different paths and, hence, face different questions. (p. 44)

Furthermore, wa Thiong'o asserts, "the quest for wholeness" has been an enduring struggle of Africans "since the Atlantic slave trade" (p. 35), and identifies Pan-Africanism and Garveyism as "the grandest secular visions for reconnecting the dismembered" (p. 35). Moving along, wa Thiong'o argues,

Garveyism and Pan-Africanism, as re-remembering visions and practices, have had as their most visible results the gains of black civil rights in America, the independence of the Caribbean territories, the independence of Africa, the rise of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and, more recently, the African Union. (p. 37)

In his article "Marcus Garvey: A Controversial Figure in the History of Pan-Africanism", published in *The Journal of Pan-African Studies*, Jeremie Kroubo Dagnini explains,

Pan-Africanism is a political doctrine, as well as a movement, which seeks to unify and uplift African nations and the African Diaspora as a universal African community. But uplifting Africa can only take place through African pride and through the preservation and promotion of African heritage. And in other words, African cultural heritage and African pride is the foundation of Pan-Africanism (2008) ... in the context of globalization, the Westernization of Africa is in progress... Consequently, in this construct of ferocious Westernization and intellectual colonization, there is an urgent need to preserve and promote African heritage—cultures, religions, traditional clothing, thought and values.

Yet this position is not necessarily a reactionary one, but rather one of strength and empowerment, one of self-definition and self-determination on Africa's terms.

wa Thiong'o emphasizes that Pan-Africanism is "an economic, political, cultural, and psychological re-membering vision" aimed to empower contemporary Africa "to negotiate on an equal basis with all other global economies." Pan-Africanism, insists Ngugi, can accomplish this goal only with the formation of a United States of Africa as "a genuine union of African peoples" (pp. 89-90). Laying out his vision, wa Thiong'o adds:

Political Pan-Africanism should make the continent a base where African peoples, meaning continentals and people of African descent, can feel truly at home—a realization of the Garveyism vision of Africa for Africans, both at home and abroad. Such an Africa would be a secure base where all peoples of African descent can feel inspired to visit, invest, and even live if they so choose. But we are still far away from this... In this sense African renaissance means, first and foremost, the economic and political recovery of the continent's power, as enshrined in the vision of Pan-Africanism. But this can be brought about effectively only through a collective self-confidence enabled by the resurrection of African memory, which in turn calls for a fundamental change in attitude towards African languages on the part of the African bourgeoisie, the African governments, and the African intellectual community. (pp. 89-90)

wa Thiong'o asserts,

Clearly, the African renaissance seems like an idea whose time has come: Witness the number of books and articles and conferences it has generated. The academic discussions have been rich in their economic, political, and even cultural explorations of meaning and implications of the idea. However, recent such discussions, as opposed to those that occurred during the times of Mqhayi and Vilakazi, have been virtually silent about the relationship between language and renaissance. Language, though often seen as a product and reflection of economic, political, and cultural order, is itself a material force of the highest order... That is why we must ask: Is an African renaissance possible when we, keepers of memory, have to work outside our own linguistic memory, within the prison house of European linguistic memory. (pp. 120-121)

On the basis of these ideas, it would be difficult to set up working systems of a unified Africa without a strong understanding of the knowledge systems of the African peoples, such as their history, languages, ethnicities or even their energy potential. Asante and Abarry (1996) note that African problems have been researched, documented, analyzed and debated upon. Their basic claim is that this time we need to lay out a clear and conceptual understanding of how to progress beyond the current discussion without losing sight of what have been some of the stalemates. How do we capitalize on the strengths of the African past that many

civilizations have been built upon? For instance, we know that the East African kingdoms prospered up to the 15th or 16th century when they fell to the Portuguese who described these kingdoms as cities that had silver staircases leading to the beds of ivory (Asante & Abarry, 1996, 5). The authors state that houses were built on stones and rose to five or six stories.

Sometimes, ignorance of our historical past affects our historical consciousness, a central building block for a unified Africa. Of course, we sometimes forget the tensions that have plagued the conversation on a unified Africa. For instance, Romero (1976) provides a great overview with respect to the possible parent(s) of Pan-Africanism. Her arguments arise from the notion that Du Bois should be credited with “the creation of an institution expressing an idea fundamental to his entire life—Pan-Africanism” (p. 321). It is worth noting that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) departed somehow from Du Bois and other Pan-Africanists’ ideas. While the fundamentals were different, the underlying theme of unity remained. The Pan-Africanists expounded on the importance of one Africa, while the OAU emphasized “the interrelationship between African nations” (Romero, 1976, 321).

The contributions in this volume explore some of these concepts and engage in a dialogue on the need to move beyond colonial boundaries. This work seeks out ways of acknowledging the differences between people of African ancestry while capitalizing on similarities to create some common grounds for meaningful conversations on the forbidden topic of a unified Africa. In addition, contributors to this collection acknowledge the complexity of the various debates, as well as the international scope of the various players in calling for a unified Africa, spanning from the Americas to Africa to Europe. That is, we cannot afford to conceal the historical roles of different activists from the inception of this debate. As we forge ahead with this debate, we reroute and return to some of the ideas, expressions, or statements of earlier Pan-Africanists such as Mwalimu Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania. In his book, “A United States of Africa” (1963) Nyerere stated:

African unity is at present merely an emotion born of a history of colonization and oppression. It has to be strengthened and expressed in economic and political forms before it can really have a positive effect on our future. The position can be compared to that of a number of brothers crossing a maelstrom on parallel and joined rope bridges, each burdened with balancing poles and weights as well as his own building equipment. A single broad structure with firm foundations would enable all to cross more easily... Indissoluble African Unity is the stone bridge which would

enable us all to walk in safety over this whirlpool of power politics, which now threaten to overwhelm us. (1963, 1)

What is Nyerere trying to convey to us? How do we cross the whirlpool in such a way that our brothers and sisters do not fall? What common structures, philosophies, ideologies, or frameworks do we need to re-evaluate? Who should be tasked with repairing them and why?

Nyerere argued that the only way African people will succeed in their endeavors is by having a United States of Africa. The question according to Nyerere is this: how can we achieve this goal as “quickly as possible?” (p. 1). He reminds the people of Africa that colonial boundaries are nonsensical, and asserts that if different nations fight to destabilize each other, they will be playing “into the hands of those” who want to see divided African people—mentally and physically. He concludes his arguments by suggesting that “African nationalism is meaningless, is anachronistic, and is dangerous, if it is not at the same time Pan-Africanism” (p. 6).

Furthermore, as Christian (2008) remarks, “The argument for a unified Africa has been made before, so why has it been so difficult to develop? Who is to blame for the continued stagnation?” (p. 1). Different hypotheses have been advanced, including the diversity of ideologies, languages, religions, political and economic structures, interference from colonial masters, and differences among continental Africans and those in the Diaspora. What we have failed to realize, however, is that historical and cultural differences among European nations did not prevent the creation of the European Union or the implementation of a common currency—the Euro. What, then, is blocking people of African ancestry from carrying a common passport? What prevents the continent from having a common currency? (Christian, 2008).

The following chapters explore the central concern of African wholeness by asking more pointed questions regarding Pan-Africanism, Self-determination, Self-definition, and an African Renaissance. The contributors are scholars at various stages of their careers, but all reflect a commitment to African-centered scholarship and praxis aimed at achieving an African Renaissance. This collection aims to contribute to this process, an endeavor of Renaissance.

Chapter Overview

In Chapter One, “Decolonizing & Collapsing the Colonial Divide: An Anti-Colonial Project,” Njoki Wane investigates very potent questions: is decolonization possible? Is it colonization that has prevented the African

peoples from coming together? Wane concedes that decolonizing oneself is a particularly difficult process. However, what is even more difficult is having a conversation on how to collapse the colonial divide between us and among people of African ancestry for the purposes of creating a Pan-African state. This difficulty is illustrated by the following statements,

To date, the colonial physical and mental divide continues to tear people of African descent apart. This chapter argues that until the colonial divide among Africans is collapsed, the material and spiritual effects of Pan-African ideology will remain a mirage.

Wane revisits the ancient wisdom of the indigenous peoples of Africa—MAAT—, to examine ways to collapse the colonial divide among people of African descent.

In Chapter Two, “The Origins of Anti-Apartheid Student Activism in the Black Campus Movement,” Ibram H. Rogers examines the Black Campus Movement which began in 1965 and ended by 1973 in the USA. Hundreds of thousands of black students, aided on some campuses by white and Latino students, requested, demanded, and protested for a relevant learning experience. At traditionally white and historically black colleges and universities, black campus activists formed the nation’s first politically and culturally progressive black student unions (BSUs) and gained control of some student government associations (SGAs). They utilized these pressure groups to advocate for a range of campus reforms, including an end to campus paternalism and racism, and the inclusion of more black students, faculty and Black Studies courses and programs. Black campus activists also launched a series of protests at prominent schools like Harvard, Princeton, and smaller institutions such as Chatham University in Pennsylvania to force their institutions not to invest in South Africa.

In Chapter Three, “Biography and Identity in Be-coming a Teacher Educator: An African-Canadian Diasporic Experience,” Ann Lopez reflects on her role as a teacher educator and school administrator in a large, diverse urban secondary school in southern Ontario. Her journey has been influenced by her experiences and identity as a Black woman from Jamaica. That journey has been a complex one, informed by intersecting identities, as well as race, class, gender, and immigrant status. Lopez argues that narrative inquiry helps us capture both the complexity and multivoicedness of our experiences, and she uses the notion of be-coming to signal that the journey toward self-discovery is always ongoing. In this multifaceted role of teacher, researcher and leader emerges a professional identity that is inextricably tied to her own biography.

In Chapter Four, “Theoretical Analysis of Women’s Involvement in Insurgent Movements: Implications for Society Transformation in Africa,” Francis Adyanga Akena examines the long history of civil war in Uganda and how it gave rise to a state in which British colonial policy allowed “puppets” to govern, pre-existing differences were manipulated to promote colonial control, a policy of “divide and rule” fractured nationalism, and an economic policy came into being that benefited the few native appointees of the colonial order. These policies impeded the emergence of a Ugandan nationalism, thereby generating ethnic, religious and regional divisions. Such policies would later contribute to instability and political violence, witnessed in the post-independence periods during the reigns of the former dictator Idi Amin [1972–79], Obote II [1982–85] and General Museveni [1986 to date]. In this chapter, Akena explores the applicability of Karen Kampwirth’s theory regarding women’s participation in rebel movements in South America to the cases of the “Holy Spirit” Movement (HSM) and its successor, the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) in Uganda and its implication for sustained social transformation in Africa.

In Chapter Five, “Indigenous Languages, Names: Transforming Thoughts, Actions and Character through African Ways of Knowing,” Vera Ogiormua observes that Africans have continued to perpetuate the legacy of colonization, through the thoughts, actions, and behaviors that they exhibit as a race. Examples include the use of names that identify Africans with other races, the lack of African Indigenous languages spoken at home, and the lack of appreciation for their African names. Ogiormua examines the value and usefulness of the unique cultural paradigms surrounding Indigenous African names and languages and their relevance in the search for African agency. In Africa, she argues, as in other parts of the world, one’s name is one’s identity. It is access to one’s culture and to oneself. Culture is broadly defined here as the totality of our social education, handed down from one generation to the next: moral values, beliefs, language, food, fashion, laws and customs, etc. This is what constitutes cultural identity, which according to Tomlinson (2003), was something people simply “had” as an undisturbed existential possession, an inheritance, a benefit of traditional long dwelling, of continuity with the past, which was also something fragile, that needed protecting and preserving, something that could be lost. Although identity is believed to be fluid, Africans have completely submerged themselves into the Euro-Canadian/Euro-American name culture, simply because of our colonial history. The emphasis of this chapter is:

to remind ourselves of our African roots and reclaim them... In the spirit of Pan-Africanism, we need to decolonize ourselves by thinking, acting, and allowing the Africanness in us to permeate our behaviour on a daily basis.

In Chapter Six, “Towards Pan-Africanism: Victory for Freedom,” Ahmed Ilmi illustrates that the Africa of today faces many extraordinary challenges, stemming from colonialism and neo-colonial relations. Ilmi argues that while the age of post-independence in Africa promised to usher in a new era of universal human rights and liberty for all, African peoples continue to live under colonial domination. This chapter calls for a Pan-African vision that is rooted in the historical struggles of the colonized, in order to think through the contemporary challenges facing the African continent. As an Indigenous, Diasporic African of Somali ancestry, Ilmi situates his discussion in the Horn of Africa and strives to make sense of the current state of affairs in Somalia through a Pan-African lens. In his inquiry, he endeavors to both historicize Somalia and draw attention to its nuances by affirming the place of the African to exercise true social, political, and economical self-determination. In his quest, he seeks to answer the following question: how does Pan-Africanism manifest itself in the daily anti-colonial struggles of the African, in particular the Somali populace? How has this theory been instrumental in organizing social movements in the past? What are the pedagogical implications in operationalizing Pan-Africanism as a theory of social change?

In Chapter Seven, “North African States as Proxy of Europe’s Border Securitization: Tragic Ordeals of Young Refugees and Asylum Seekers from the Continent as the Consequence,” Michael Onyedika Nwalutu and Felicia Ihuoma Nwalutu argue that irregular youth migrants from Africa have continued to face criminalization, restrictions, and torture in the hands of North African border agents (who are proxies of the European imagined territorial borders); many face death or deportation (see: Baxter, 2008; Toasije, 2009; Brachet, 2012) and frequently encounter severe racism and repression in the receiving societies of Europe (Wong, 2009; Pisani, 2012). Stakeholders ascribed the surge in the global mobility of individuals (Appadurai, 1996; Solimano, 2010) to border gate-keeping induced by the fear of demographic inundation (Berriane and de Hass, 2012), which compels the industrialized world to restrict their borders against “unwanted” immigrants. Nevertheless, the undaunted youth migrants from the developing world are compelled to engage in more perilous modes of movement and pliable transit routes to their destinations. This chapter uses textual analysis to advance beyond the Push and Pull discursive paradigm of transnational migration and highlight

yet the entrapment that the EU border restriction has come to represent to the struggles of African migrant youth. The chapter employs anti-racist and anti-colonial theories to challenge existing border securitization practices that continue to generate migrant youth tragedies in the passages to Europe. It observes that the unrelenting flow of irregular African youth migrants into European societies is inevitable as it is, *inter alia*, a result of displacement induced by the foreign policies of some industrialized states. The chapter suggests ways in which the governments of African states and regional non-governmental organizations could liaise to end the unfortunate deathtrap borders of Europe which have come to symbolize the helpless African youth migrants.

In Chapter Eight, “Common Valor, Common Spirit: Black Insurrectionists at Harpers Ferry,” Kwando Kinshasa examines the philosophies and actions of the men and women of African ancestry who took part in a multi-racial, anti-slavery insurrectionist force that attacked a United States arsenal and armory in 1859. Their aggressive anti-slavery philosophy proclaiming: “only through armed struggle could the issue of slavery be resolved” placed them in direct opposition to and confrontation with an array of powerful pro-slavery forces, while raising the discourse on institutionalized slavery from the throes of theoretical debate to the deadlier and decisive framework of war. In dramatic fashion, the actions and names of individuals such as Tubman, Newby, Anderson, Leary, Green, and Copeland emerge as significant historical actors at the “Ferry” from October 16th to 18th 1859. They not only portend the American Civil War eighteen months later, but through their actions make a historical impact upon the developing Pan-African philosophy of individuals such as W. E. B. Du Bois and William Monroe Trotter whose formation of the Niagara Movement was celebrated in a 1905 meeting at Harpers Ferry in honor of the insurrectionist.

Chapter Nine, “Liberation Stories, Decolonizing Narratives: African-Kittitian Women Reconstruct the Protest of 1935,” recounts the organizing strategies that female protestors engaged in during a national protest on St. Kitts. The stories, recorded in the language of resistance, assert the women as legitimate knowledge producers, whose stories disrupt the colonized versions of the events that present the protestors as colonized, racialized victims in historical discourses of protest in the Caribbean. It chronicles the story of how the women organized to challenge colonial, capitalist domination and offers a complex, unexplored praxis of a protracted struggle for liberation in the slavery after-life in the twentieth century.

In Chapter Ten, “Developing Transnationalism in the 20th Century: Afro-Cubans and African Americans,” David Irwin explores the similarities

in cultural practices between Afro-Cubans and African Americans during the twentieth century. Over this period, these two cultures have had similar experiences, both separate and shared. Afro-Cubans attended Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute. Garveyism spread to, and linked, both spaces. Afro-Cuban and African American peoples fought for equality. The synergies between these peoples reached an iconic moment in 1960 in Harlem with the meeting of Fidel Castro and Malcolm X at the Hotel Theresa. What does this meeting represent? Irwin is interested in the impact of this event on Afro-Cubans and African Americans alike, and in efforts by Afro-Cubans and African Americans to maintain their shared space despite interventions by the US government. The goal of his research project is to examine the formation of this transnational space, to understand its evolution since the Cuban Revolution, and to assess its current state. His intention is for this case study to enrich our understanding of the possibilities of the formation of transnational black spaces in the western hemisphere.

In Chapter Eleven, "Pan-Africanism and the Crisis of Political Governance in Saharan Africa: A Reconstructive Approach to African Unity," Munya Kabba traces the crisis of Africa's political governance as a deficiency in the moral-practical consciousness that the Pan-African ideology (as conceived during decolonization) could not remedy. The rational discursive requirement of modern Africa constitutes a form of solidarity that is more complex than the Pan-African concept of unity, which presupposes a cultural oneness. The chapter therefore argues that there is a need to reconstruct the Pan-African concept of solidarity to make it amenable to the constitutional democratic logic of the modern Africa.

In Chapter Twelve, "Pan-Africanism, Diaspora Identity and the 21st-Century African Liberation," Ajamu Nangwaya and Adwoa argue that Pan-Africanism has served as an ideology and practice that promotes global unity among Africans and holds the liberation of Africa as its central project. The chapter examines Pan-Africanism and the various ways this ideology has struggled to have influence over continental African affairs. It also addresses the issue of Pan-Africanism and its relevance to the identity of Africans in the Diaspora. The chapter concludes with a brief sketch of the major thrust of a 21st-century Pan-Africanism of liberation.

Chapter Thirteen, "Financial Literacy, Indigeneity and Black Youth," Sein Kipusi explores how financial literacy education curricula delivered in institutions in Canada are inherently biased against a collective and collaborative financial practice that is practically beneficial to African diasporic persons living and learning in the colonial settler society.

Training therefore provides a disjuncture in the lived experience of those who pursue collective business and economic models learned from traditional and indigenous knowledges. The author provides examples of successful models based on tenets of indigenous knowledges such as social responsibility, collectivity, cooperation and harmony that can be given equivalent attention to the capitalist model of competitiveness, individualism and optimizing profit margins. Kipusi argues that the absence of African cultural financial history and case studies in education has resulted in distorted financial literacy curricula that alienate African diasporic peoples and other groups whose lived experiences in Canada require that they apply collective, community financial strategies. He referenced the Nubian collective business model that underpinned Black Wall Street, Oklahoma, USA which was destroyed by a military attack in 1921, the Korean collectivist communal model that was practiced in continental Africa for centuries and the first coin, as a monetary unit for exchange, a financial concept that was later adopted worldwide.

Chapter Fourteen concludes with Francis Adyanga Akena's reflective optimism of the twenty-first century African renaissance that liberates continental Africa and diasporas from the distortions of colonial representations. He imagines an Africa/Pan-Africa connection that ignites non-hegemonic philosophies to undergird and reconcile politics, governance, economics and culture practiced on the continent and other colonized spaces with large populations of African identified peoples.

References

- Asante, M., & A. Abarry (eds.). 1996. *The African intellectual heritage*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Asante, M. K. 2007. *An Afrocentric manifesto: Toward an African renaissance*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bongmba, E. K. 2004. "Reflections on Thabo Mbeki's African renaissance," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30(2): 291–316.
- Clarke, J. H. 1991. *Africans at the crossroads: Notes for an African world revolution*. Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press.
- Christian, M. 2008. "Marcus Garvey and African unity: Lessons for the future from the past," *Journal of Black Studies*, 39(2): 316–33.
- Dagnini, J. K. 2008. "Marcus Garvey: A controversial figure in the history of Pan-Africanism," *Journal of Pan African Studies*, 2(3): 198–208.
- Garvey, A. J. (ed.). 1968. *Philosophy and opinions of Marcus Garvey*. New York: Arno Press.

- Karenga, M. 2008. *Kawaida and questions of life and struggle, African American, Pan-African and global issues*. Los Angeles: University of Sankore Press.
- Nyerere, J. K. 1963. "A United States of Africa," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 1: 1–6.
- Romero, P. W. 1976. "W. E. B. Du Bois, Pan-Africanists, and Africa 1963-1973," *Journal of Black Studies*, 6(4): 321–336.
- wa Thiong'o, N. 1985. *Decolonizing the mind: The politics of language in African literature*. New Hampshire: Heinemann Educational Books.
- . 2009. *Something torn and new: An African renaissance*. New York: Basic Civitas.