

**PAN-AFRICANISM AND PAN-ARABISM IN AFRICA: THE THESIS,  
THE -ANTI THESIS AND IMPERATIVE FOR SYNTHESIS**

By

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**ABSTRACT**

*Pan-Africanism has had a very profound impact on the national liberation struggle of the African people. It has helped and indeed has informed the development and articulation of a philosophy for the global engagements of the post-colonial African states. The building of transnational and transcontinental solidarity among the populace of African descent and those in the home land has been one of the most profound fallouts of Pan-Africanism. This was on great display in the liberation struggles waged against slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racist regimes in Africa and beyond. With the collapse of racist regimes in Africa, it became difficult to sustain or even successfully evoke the Pan-African idea. The paper arrives at such conclusion by positing that Pan-Africanism and Arabism are antithetical to each other. An underlying premise of this hypothesis is that Afro-Arab relations have, to date, been woefully un-balanced and that this asymmetry, as expressed especially in inter-national and inter-racial political relations, has been weighted in favor of the Arabs and woefully to the disadvantage of the Africans.*

## INTRODUCTION

Several efforts have been made to grapple with the new challenges on the African continent. Ironically, in 2000, and nearly half a century after late Kwame Nkrumah called for a Union of African States, for a continental government, the then organization of African Unity (OAU) the foremost pan-African institution and framework for African engagement with the outside world and with itself has been repackaged as the African Union (AU). At the economic and governance levels, a new initiative known as the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) was also initiated under the umbrella of the AU. African states now believe it is the right thing to do (Ali, 2005:430).

Across the Great Lakes, Mano River and the Horn of Africa Regions, relations among the African states, considering their claim to African solidarity have not been as they should. In some instances, tensions reign between and among neighbours, as the cases between Eritrea and Ethiopia, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo, Chad and Sudan among others.

On the economic front, Africa also faces great problems despite efforts to attain socio-economic progress through economic cooperation and all manner of economic integration initiatives between and among regions. In other words, African countries have never been so challenged as they are now (Mazuri, 1977; Ali, 2005; Asobie 2005 and Shivji, 2005). They have not been able to escape the ravages of the negative impacts of slave trade, colonialism and neo-colonialism, debt burden, and the scourge of HIV/AIDS and other killer diseases and most recently, the consequences of globalization. The latter has impacted on the behavior of African states, determining their domestic affairs and foreign policy, leading to a new wave of Afro-Pessimism. In the worlds of Shivji (2005) "... globalization is imperialism ... and African nationalism is an antithesis of globalization".

As a result of all these, African continent remains at the base of the global socio-economic ladder. The people of the continent, particularly the Sub-Saharan Africa, have the lowest per capita income in the world. She is the least developed with few industries, poor social and physical infrastructure. The economy is largely mono-cultural, built on export of a narrow list of primary agricultural, solid mineral and hydro-carbon products (Ali, 2005:430).

A major fallout of this state of affairs is that able bodied African youths are escaping from the crashing poverty to the continent as economic migrants or refugees in search of greener pastures in other continents at high risk, particularly Europe. Domestically, the populace is like internally displaced people occasioned by bad governance, leadership crises, abuse of civil liberties and human rights, and grand corruption. Yet the continent is considered one of the richest in the globe, possessing all manner of natural and human resources with huge potential for agricultural and solid mineral production.

Politically, despite the declared aspiration for continental unity, and solidarity, the African states are fighting to grapple with the convulsions emanating from the above phenomena identified above.

On the strength of the nature and outcome of the historical linkage between Africans and Arabs over the last thirteen centuries, this paper share Agyeman (2007) thesis that the two ideological political movements are antithetical to each other. An underlying premise of this thesis is that Afro-Arab relations have, to date been woefully unbalanced, asymmetry and has been weighted and skewed in favour of the Arabs. Moreover, the only synthesis between them which still remains an ideal is at the level of political union of liberation struggle. In view of the above, the paper is divided into four parts. The first part conceptualizes Pan-Africanism and Pan-Arabism. The second part examines the linkages between Pan-Arabism and Pan-Africanism. The next part discusses the imperative for synthesis of the two concepts. The final part concludes the paper with recommendations on how to achieve synthesis in the formation of a super state.

### **Conceptualizing Pan-Africanism and Pan-Arabism: A thematic Exposition.**

It is axiomatic to posit that despite the flood of books and articles on Pan-Africanism in recent years the study of the phenomenon is still in its infancy. Scholars and politicians tend to bury its aspirations and dynamics in minutiae of fascinating but largely irrelevant details. Not surprisingly there is still no consensus on what pan-Africanism is all about. Explanations that some African scholars and politicians give often differ from those suggested by African descendants abroad. Sometimes the

continental Africans themselves advance conflicting interpretations. In this sort of conflicting interpretation Geiss (1974) posited that pan-Africanism is an irrational concept, a matter of vague emotions. This attack appears to be borne out of the several definitions offered by scholars especially V. B. Thompson in his book: *The Evolution of Pan-Africanism* (1969). Esedebe (1984:4-5) explains the conflicting interpretation of Pan-Africanism thus:

*The present debate of the nature of Pan-Africanism stems largely from three unfortunate tendencies. There is the tendency to overplay one aspect of the phenomenon at the expense of the other. A second source of confusion is the rather heavy reliance on the records of the European colonial administration, all of which was hostile to the movement and did their utmost to suppress or even destroy it. Linked with this tendency is the practice of enumerating the publications of Pan-African leaders and organizations instead of integrating the material in the text itself ....*

Irrespective of the above pitfalls, we shall attempt to describe the concept here. Our primary purpose in this section is not to trace an exhaustive history of the origins and course of the Pan-Africanist idea but rather to determine, as far as is possible, its content, and its many facets to aid our perspective in examining how contemporary theorizing has reviewed this aspect of integration.

Specifically, Esedebe (1984:1) quoting the veteran Afro-American scholar and agitator, W.E.B. Dubois, stated that the Pan-African movement aimed at intellectual understanding and co-operation among all groups of African descent in order to bring about “the industrial and spiritual emancipation of the Negro People”. Diop (1962) felt that it was more or less synonymous with the concept of “African personality” or “Negritude”. Aliou Diop has described the idea of “African personality”, thus: the, African personality which is the basis and foundation of our humanism, aspires ... to being freed from the western grip. It requires that our people should speak through us ... Our people only means to give expression to what they alone can show forth: how they see themselves, how they identify themselves in the context of the world situation and of the great problems of mankind (Chime, 1977:133).

In the words of Legum (1962:14) Pan-Africanism “is essentially a movement of ideas and emotions; at times it achieves a synthesis; at times it remains at the level of antithesis”. King (1971) and Weisbord (1973) described pan-Africanism as a general

movement of international kingship and numerous short-lived movements with a predominant cultural element. According to the former, it is an appeal to educational institutions, philanthropists and missionaries to help address the education of the Africans and Afro-Americans imbalance in America.

Langley (1983) adds that the concept is a protest, a refusal, a demand and a utopia born of centuries of contact with Europe. Thompson (1969) perceives pan-Africanism as a struggle in which Africans and men of African blood have been engaged since their contact with modern Europe.

In view of these conflicting definitions, this paper will collapse them into three major theoretical perspectives. The first two are known while the third is emerging.

There two main theoretical foundations to the understanding of pan-Africanism. There are the idea and movement theses. According to the former, pan-Africanism grew out 19th century efforts to end slavery and slave trade. At this epoch blacks world wide were being oppressed. Slavery existed in America, South America, across the Sahara and the Caribbean. Also the colonialization of African had begun with the advent of Berlin conference of 1884 and 1885. As a result of these events blacks across the globe began to realize that it would be to their advantage to work together in an effort to solve the problems associated with slavery, colonization and racism respectively. Out of this realization, came the Pan African conferences of 1900 (London), 1919 (Paris), 1921 (London, Brussels, Paris), 1923 (London), 1927 (New York), and the last official one was in 1949. Some of the most influential blacks of the era participated in these meeting: Sylvester Williams, W.E.B. Dubois, Marcus Garvey, George Padmore, and Mohammed Ali Duse among others. The belief that people of African descent throughout the Diaspora share a common history, culture, and experience and should stick together this thesis concludes. This belief is the principle idea behind pan Africanism. This principle finds expression through history, literature, music, art, film, clothing and food respectively.

Chime (1977:121-122) adds:

*It is perhaps not surprising either, for in a century when the African stood discredited, an object of slavery and contempt, and his history underrated and ridiculed, the position of the Negro in the Western Hemisphere represented the bitterest accentuation of this state of affairs. Physically he was alienated from his homeland; socially he was a kind*

*of pariah placed on the fringe of a society which both used him and discriminated against him. Culturally he saw his background scoffed at and yet could not integrate himself into his new surroundings. He was between and betwixt. In order to appreciate the logic of Pan-Africanism, its origins in the throes of the Negro populations in America must be placed in the proper context. It is in these remote recesses of Negro history that we can already begin to find some of the aspirations and goals which later found clearer expression in the Pan-African movement. For the Negro's situation was a summary of the position of the African in the global context. The same physical, social and spiritual alienation of the Negro could also be found among the African who, side by side with these events, found himself enmeshed in the webs of a shattering colonial system. More than that, the position of the Negro dictated to a considerable extent the way in which the African was regarded in the eyes of the world. His secondary position in a sub-culture contributed in no mean way to the mass of ideology about the inferiority of the Negro which became rampant at this time. Such an unhappy and impossible situation was bound to produce a reaction.*

This reaction found expression in various ways. It was seen, for instance, in the advent of the Negro Church, religious syncretism and fraternal co-operative associations, or in the emigration movements of the early eighteenth century. All these were attempts by the Negroes to insulate themselves, or escape totally, from their alienation.

Pan-Africanism as an intergovernmental movement was launched in 1958 with the first Conference of Independent African states in Accra, Ghana. Before the Accra meeting, the 1945 Pan-African congress in Manchester marked a turning point in black internationalist activities around the Atlantic. Though ostensibly under W.E.B. DuBois guidance, its primary arrow head was socialist pan-Africanist George Padmore, the Congress was the first to include a significant number of Africans like Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah, S. L. Akintola, Wallace Johnson and Ralph Armattoe. Ghana and Liberia were the only Sub-Saharan African states represented; the remainders were Arab and Muslim. Thereafter, as independence was attained by more African states, other interpretations of pan-Africanism emerged including “the Union of African States (1960), the African States of the Casablanca Charter (1961) the Malagasy States (1962), and the African-Malagasy-Mauritius Common Organization (1964). Put differently, in the postcolonial epoch, the nature of pan-Africanism and the problems facing pan-Africanist projects changed dramatically. For the first time, pan-Africanism became a broad-based mass movement in Africa and enjoyed its greatest success as an international liberation movement.

The third thesis which is emerging from literature is the one that is eclectic. It embraces the ideas of the previous theses. The Columbia Encyclopedia (2008:1) refers to

pan-Africanism as the general term for various movements in Africa that has as their common goal the unity of Africans and the elimination of colonialism and white supremacy from the continent. However, on the scope and meaning of pan-Africanism, including such matters as leadership, political orientation, and national as opposed to regional interest, they are widely, often bitterly, divided. Skinner (1982) adds that pan-Africanism is an organized political activity which consciously and deliberately attempts to create a band of solidarity based upon community of faith imposed by Trans-Atlantic slave trade and its aftermath. Esedebe (1980:4) captures the essentials of pan-Africanism in seven major interrelated ideas.

*First, is the conception of Africa as the home of Africans and persons of African origin. Second is reflective and organic solidarity among all peoples of African descent. Third, is collective and individual pride in African culture. Fourth and associated with the pride is belief in a distinct African personality. Fifth, is rehabilitation of African's past six is the Africanization of church and state, thus preserving Africa for Africans at political and religious planes. Seven is the hope of emergence of a united and glorious federation of African states.*

Asobie (2005:444) adds: These ideas have much relevance for the foreign policy of contemporary African states. Pride in the contributions of Africans to civilization can restore collective self confidence among African leaders and strengthen them to create novel political institutions and evolve new diplomatic strategies for dealing with Africa's domestic and international problems. It will embolden them to reflect the thesis that liberal democracy constitutes the end of history. Exploring African ancient history and rehabilitating its glorious past will throw up empirical materials for innovative thing and creative social engineering. Pan-Africanism as pride in things African will provide a psychological platform for reflexively resisting the imposition of Euro-American solutions to African problems.

This was the idea behind the suggestion of Dialo Telli, to posit that Pan-Africanism was born out of "complete alienation, physical exploration and spiritual torment" (Chime, 1977:121). The implication of this is of course that the pan-African movement is charged heavily with emotion and may well find that it shows a tendency to vagueness. Still it is probably in the nature of movements to be amorphous, certainly at their inception.

Despite the above indications, Mazrui (1977:68) identified five major dimensions of pan-Africanism. These are the sub-Saharan, the West hemispheric, the Trans-Atlantic, trans-Saharan and the global. In general, the dimensions indicated have been useful in helping us to understand the various universes to which the concept has been applied. It will equally enable us to tackle other parts of this paper. Before proceeding, there is a need for us to offer a working definition that will help us to understand that various universes of pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism represents the totality of the historical, cultural, spiritual, artistic, scientific and worldviews of Africans from past times to the present, in other to preserve African civilizations and to struggle against slavery, racism, colonial and neo-colonialism.

### **Pan Arabism**

Pan-Arabism is a politico-ideological movement representing a conscious effort to create a United Arab nation. Traditionally, pan-Arabism focused on North Africa's historical links to the Arabia peninsula. Its underlying principle is that the Arab states are parts of one indivisible Arab nation. Moreover, religion (Islam) enjoys pride of place in pan-Arabism as the basis of the perceived unity of the Arab world, but loosely articulated cultural similarities and racial solidarity. Put differently its underlying principle is that the Arab states are parts of one indivisible Arab nation. Nasser articulated this principle, for example, in justification of the UAR's interference in Iraq's internal affairs:

*We are one Arab nation. Both our constitution and the Iraqi Provisional Constitution provide in their articles that we are one Arab nation. Accordingly, every Arab state has the right to defend Iraq's Arabhood and independence from Britain, the USA, the USSR, and all other countries. We are one Arab family in a boat caught in the tempest of international politics* (Beling, 1960:28)

There is no question that the concept of Arab "peoplehood" in play here is a racial one. Nasser himself affirmed this and made it clear that all other bases of identity among the Arabs — religious, geographic, etc. — are of secondary importance. Of the three circles at whose centre he envisioned Egypt to be — Arab, Islam and Africa.(Agyeman, 2007:3)

The first, the Arab circle, stood out in pre-eminence. "There can be no doubt," he stressed, "that... (it) is the most important, and the one with which we are most closely



linked." (Nasser, 1955:111). The Arabs are, of course, also very much bound together by a common religious heritage. Indeed, Islam is a core ingredient of Pan-Arabism. At the same time, being a more inclusive basis of identity, Islam embraces Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and other Islamic states which, Beling (1960:28) explains, by virtue of their non-Arabic languages, as well as their racial and other differences, are "excluded from the Pan-Arab concept."

Even so, the crucial role of Islam as an instrument of Pan-Arabism should not be missed. In this regard, it is necessary to remind ourselves that the religion of Islam arose partly in answer to the customary indictment by Jews and Christians that Arabs were "savages who did not even possess an organized church," (Time, 1979:49) and partly in response to the state of feuding separatism and decadence in which the Arabs were mired. By launching the new religion, by permeating the nature of his fellow Arabs with an autochthonous religious impulse, one whose genesis, instrumentality and language they could readily relate to, Muhammad not only went a long way toward asserting the Arabs' creative genius, but he also succeeded in transforming his fellow Arabs, replacing their jealous divisiveness with a spirit of mutual defense designed to promote common political and material interests. His success in this was indeed staggering, for almost at once Islam proved to be "the most important force" in the Arabs' political and social rejuvenation (Rodney, 1972:62-63) nor was this all. In its external ramifications, Islam soon triggered Arab empire-building as proselytizing brotherhoods "with an uncompromising aggressiveness unmatched in the history of religions" soon pierced into the heartland of Africa and beyond into Europe and Asia, (Rodney, 1972:63) The essentially imperialistic, rather than beneficent or missionary, role of Islam, is underscored by the fact, for instance, that it featured as an instrument of the Arab slave trade: the trade and the religion were "companions throughout, with the crescent following the commercial caravan" (Marzuri, 1975:725). Revealingly, following the Moroccan invasion of Songhay, the African Muslims who had built and ruled the empire were not spared destruction by the Arab Muslims (Williams, 1976:222). This is by no means an isolated case. The historical sources are replete with complaints by Black Muslim rulers about "holy wars" launched against them to take captives. The enslavement of black Muslims became very much the confirmed pattern.

As far as Arabs were concerned, therefore, the utility of Islam, from the first, was seen to lie in its potential as a weapon for indoctrination, domination and, thereby, the augmentation of Arab power around the globe. In Nasser's own words:

*When I consider the 80 million Muslims in Indonesia, and the 50 million in China, and the millions in Malaysia, Siam and Burma, and the nearly 100 million in Pakistan ... and the 40 million in the Soviet Union together with the other millions in far-flung parts of the world — when I consider these hundreds of millions united by a single creed, I emerge with a sense of the tremendous possibilities which we might realize through the co-operation of all these Muslims.* (Nasser, 1955:113)

From such a trajectory, it comes as no surprise that the remaining circle in Nasser's orbital schema, Africa, which he characterized as "the remotest depths of the jungle," featured as merely a candidate for Egypt's, "spread of enlightenment and civilization" via Islamization-Arabisation (Nasser, 1950:109-110).

In all, at the dictates of Pan-Arabism, loyalty to a particular state in the Arab world has been, in Bernard Lewis' words, "tacit (and) even surreptitious," even as Arab unity has been "the sole publicly accepted objective of statesmen and ideologues alike." (Lewis, 1964:94) Despite much recent talk, in some academic circles, of the demise of Pan-Arabism in the wake of the defection of Sadat's Egypt, the ideological current remains appreciably strong, as witness the very fact of the tremendous storm generated in the Arab world over Sadat's policy — an indication, in itself, of a fight to keep the ideology alive (Agyeman, 2007:5).

At this juncture, it is well to sum up the essence of the Pan-Arabist ideology by noting that it is founded on the Arabs' belief, "illustrated by the jihads through which, in the 7th and 8th centuries, they spread Islam" into North Africa, Iberia and South Asia, that in a rightly ordered world, dominion should belong to Muslims, and pre-eminently to the Arabs who gave Islam to the world. Since they not only lost dominion to the West but found themselves overrun by the West, they have suffered from a feeling that the universe is out of its proper order. They have therefore, as Muslim Brotherhoods demonstrate, longed for a restoration of dominion to the Faithful so the world will be set right again (Chinweizu, 1975:494).

In terms of goals, the cross-purposes of the two movements are self-evident. And this means that any "alliance" between them could only be one of convenience, limited to collaboration in the elimination of obstacles (as posed by then racist South Africa and Israel) toward the attainment of what are fundamentally opposed ends. The point cannot be overlooked, in this connection, that, outside the obligations of the "alliance", Israel, the adversary of the Arabs, was neither automatically nor necessarily the foe of the Africans; by the same token, South Africa, the enemy of the Africans, was neither necessarily nor mechanically the foe of the Arabs (Agyeman, 2007:6).

It has to be emphasized that, even within such limited perimeters, success of the "alliance" depended entirely on a mutuality of commitment to its limited tactical purposes. And yet the evidence suggests that such reciprocity was lacking from the beginning. The Africans drew upon, and were buttressed by, assumptions of Third World solidarity — "the shared experience of devastation and humiliation under the boots of an expansionist West . . ." (Chinweizu, 1975:23). In Nkrumah's words:

*The fortunes of the African Revolution ... are linked with the world-wide struggle against imperialism. It does not matter where the battle erupts, be it in Africa, Asia or Latin America, the master-mind and master-hand at work are the same. The oppressed and exploited people are striving for their freedom against exploitation and suppression. Ghana must not, Ghana cannot, be neutral in the struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor.*

For their part, the Arabs seem to have conceived of the "alliance" solely in self-interested terms; in particular, there was concern to ensure their continued access to the waters of the Nile which, to Egypt, "is a matter of life or death" in the sense that "if the water of the river were discontinued or were controlled by a hostile state or a state that could become hostile, Egypt's life is over" (Ismael, 1971:163-164).

In Nasser's words: The Nile which runs from Lake Victoria to Cairo is not merely a route crossing the ... African continent to the Mediterranean, but is the path of life in the full sense of the word and with all its dimensions (Agyeman, 2007).

This anxiety over the Nile, as old as the Arabs' incursion and occupation of Egypt from 642 A.D., was a key motivating factor in Muhammed Ali's annexation of the Sudan to the

Egyptian Empire in the 19th century, and remains as acute as ever, as in Sadat's threat of June 5, 1980 to "retaliate with force" if Ethiopia interfered with the river's flow to Egypt. This was in retort to Ethiopia's complaint to the OAU that Egypt was abusing its rights to the Nile by diverting it to irrigate stretches of Sinai Desert in a million-acre irrigation scheme launched by Sadat (New York Times, 1980: A3).

And now to sum up the essence of the matter. In the eyes of the Arab leaders, Egypt is the most important entity in the Arab nation. It therefore matters very much that Egypt's lifeline, the Nile, lies in African hands. A united and hostile Africa could strangle Egypt. Among other uses, then, an "alliance" between Africans and Arabs could be exploited to forestall such a unification of Black Africa. Organizationally, the "alliance" was born with the Conference of Independent African States (CIAS) which Nkrumah convened in Accra in March 1958, which assembled Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt, Sudan, Libya, Ethiopia, Liberia and Ghana, and to which Nkrumah declared: "If in the past the Sahara divided us, now it unites us. And an injury to one is an injury to all of us" (Marzuri,1967:62).

### **Pan-Arabism and Pan-Africanism: The Linkages**

One key element in the philosophy of Pan-Africanism is the requirement, indeed the prescription of African unity as an inevitable framework for both emancipation of the continent from colonial rule for its rapid socio-economic transformation. This found expression in Nkrumah's (1966:72) thesis that "the independence of Ghana would be meaningless if it is not lined with the total liberation of Africa. This Pan-African viewpoint of African unity was to generate, determine the pattern of transactions and relationship between African countries where they were all expected, expression of their commitment to its ideals, to among other things:

- *Be equivocally committed to African unity in its widest sense,*
- *Support both materially, morally and politically, the struggle against colonial rule, racist regimes and apartheid on the continent,*
- *Maintain special cordial relationship with each other on the platform of African solidarity, and*

- *Support economic cooperation and integration in all its ramifications with one another (Ali, 2005:432).*

Mazuri (1977:8-9) and Ali (2005:433) have distinguished five levels and phases of Pan-Africanism. These classifications will enable us to tackle the thesis, and antithesis discussions. According to the former, these are the sub-Saharan, trans-Saharan, Trans-Atlantic, West Hemisphere and global (see Mazuri, 1984:68).

*Sub-Saharan pan-Africanism limits itself to the unity of black people or black countries south of the Sahara. It could take the form of sub-regional unification, like the East African Community or the experimental Economic Community of West African States. Or it could be a commitment to limit solidarity to black African countries, excluding both the Arab states and the black people of the Americas. Trans-Saharan pan-Africanism extends solidarity to those who share the African continent across the Sahara desert – the Arabs and Berbers of the North. Trans-Saharan pan-Africanism insists on regarding the great desert as a symbolic bridge rather than a divide, a route for caravans rather than a death-trap. Trans-Atlantic pan-Africanism is the third level of solidarity, encompassing the peoples of the Black Diaspora in the Americas as well as of the African continent. One form of trans-Atlantic pan-Africanism limits itself to black people and excludes the Arabs of North Africa. Under this version Afro-Canadian, Jamaicans, black Americans, black Brazilians and others find common cause with Nigerians, Zimbabweans, Namibians and Ugandans, but find little in common with Egyptians, Libyans and Algerians. However, there is another version of trans-Atlantic pan-Africanism, under which Stokely Carmichael of the Black Diaspora was a hero in Algiers, and Colonel Gaddafi of Libya extends financial support to black Americans. West Hemispheric pan-Africanism encompasses West Indians, black Americans, black Brazilians and other black people of the Western Hemisphere. Within this version of pan-Africanism the strongest links so far have been between black Americans and English-speaking West Indians. This has included movements of population. In the first thirty years of this century alone, 300 000 people from the Caribbean moved to the USA, taking humble jobs in coastal towns and gradually becoming part of the racial mosaic of the United States. At the outside, one out of every twenty black Americans today is descended from a West Indian male who moved into the United States some time since emancipation. One important bond of West Hemispheric Pan-Africanism lies in the fact that almost all black people in the Western Hemisphere are descended from slaves. This contrasts with trans-Atlantic Pan-Africanism which includes descendants of slave dealers both north and south of the Sahara. Trans-Saharan Pan-Africanism emphasizes the quality of having been jointly colonized; West Hemispheric Pan-Africanism finds solidarity in having been jointly enslaved; while the trans-Atlantic idea encompasses the broader concepts of having been jointly exploited by the Western world.*

*As for global Pan-Africanism, this brings together all these centres of black presence in the world, and adds the new black enclaves in Britain, France and other European countries, which have come partly from the Caribbean and partly from the African continent itself. Potentially these black enclaves in Europe are the most radicalizable of them all because of a combination of their demographic smallness and economic weakness, and the fluctuations of the European economies themselves.*

According to Alli (2005:433) Pan-Africanism has passed through several phases as follows:

- *The colonial phase, from 1900 to 1957 when Ghana won her independence;*

- *The independence phase, from 1957 to 1963, when majority of African states won their independence up to the formation of the OAU;*
- *The national liberation phase, from 1963 up to the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980;*
- *The anti-Apartheid and Economic Development Phase, from 1980 when all focus of Pan-African national liberation struggles were directed at removing the apartheid regime, from the continent up to the collapse of the apartheid regime and the election of Nelson Mandela as President of the Republic of South Africa in 1994. The period also cover the period of economic-awakening and refocusing of attention on economic issues, the introduction of the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) in 1980 and the African Economic Community (AEC) in 1991; and lastly*
- *The globalization phase, from 1994 to date, including the transformation of the OAU in 2000 to the African Union (AU), the introduction of the NEPAD initiative and other efforts to overcome economic decline and achieve more rapid economic development in Africa, institutionalize more participatory and more democratic governance and resolve the remaining national questions.*

In the postcolonial era, the nature of Pan-Africanism and the problems facing Pan-Africanist projects changed dramatically. For the first time, Pan-Africanism became a broad-based mass movement in Africa and enjoyed its greatest successes as an international liberation movement in the first two decades after the war. Through his rhetoric and, most importantly, his example as president of independent Ghana, Nkrumah dominated this period in the history of Pan-Africanism. The context of the Cold War profoundly shaped the struggle for independence in Africa, as it did global politics in general, but in spite of his commitment to Marxism, Nkrumah avoided taking sides in the East-West Cold War and, instead, emphasized African unity. As some historians have noted, the All-Africa People's Conference at Accra in 1957, attended by some 250 delegates, established the basic tenets of Pan-Africanism for decades to come: the attainment of political independence, assistance to national liberation movements, diplomatic unity between independent African states at the United Nations, and nonalignment. As Nkrumah asserts in *I Speak of Freedom*, "a Union of African states will project more effectively the African personality."

In 1963, due primarily to the efforts of Nkrumah, President Sékou Touré (1922–1984) of Guinea, President Modibo Keita (1915–1977) of the Republic of Mali, and Haile Selassie, the emperor of Ethiopia, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was

founded in the midst of decolonization and the euphoria of independence in West Africa. However, economic neocolonialism and the limits of political independence quickly extinguished the optimism of the immediate postcolonial period, leading Pan-Africanist scholars like the Trinidadian historian Walter Rodney (1942–1980) to reevaluate the long-term repercussions of the Atlantic slave trade and European imperialism for Africa. The 1960s also witnessed a number of intra-African disputes between newly independent states, many of which were precipitated by border issues inherited from colonialism.

The Liberation phase started in earnest from 1963. The challenge of that period was the waging of a concerted struggle against the remaining colonial forces on the continent and particularly in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe. It also covered the campaign against racist regimes typified by the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia, the racist regime of occupied Namibia and the apartheid regime in South Africa. With the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980, that ear also almost came to an end.

Thus, from 1980, the focus of the emancipation struggle became apartheid South Africa and occupied Namibia. This period lasted till the election of Nelson Mandela as the President of the Republic of South Africa in 1994. Earlier in 1990, Namibia had won its independence. The phase also registered the growing concern of African states for economic liberation and development, which had become critical issues following the worsening of the economic condition of all non-oil producing African states after oil price crisis of 1973 and the collapse of commodity prices on which the largely mono-cultural economies of most of the African counties depended. In 1980, drawing from the philosophy of Pan-Africanism, the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) was launched as a blueprint for the future economic prospect of Africa. On June 3, 1991, the OAU signed the Charter of the African Economic Community (AEC), which was expected to lead Africa by 2025 to a monetary union and an economic community.

### **Pan Africanism and Arabism: Imperative for Synthesis**

According to Shivji (2005:10), Africa needs Pan-Africanism more than ever before. This is because the first scramble for African was of course the colonial powers carving up the continent; the first phase of the second scramble was what Nkrumah called

neo-colonialism and Nyerere defined as “Africans fighting Africans” (Nkrumah, 1967:205). The second phase of the second scramble is what we have witnessing today under the so-called globalization. The fallouts of globalization is the neo-liberal package enforced by imperialism through the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and World Trade Organization, donor agencies, and their policies and conditionality on aid, debt and trade respectively.

Shivji (2005:11-12) goes to posit that the masses, who, we once said, are the prime subject of history became the object of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). Country’s SAPs combined with PRPs became the continental New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD). Forward looking African nationalism, which traced its genesis to pan-Africanism, was displaced by African Renaissance, a spurious echo of European history. African states and leaders joined in the chorus of their own condemnation and in the condemnation of their Pan-Africanist predecessors. Peer Review Committees replaced liberation committees. African leaders queued to have tea with Group 08 at Davos instead of joining their Asian counterparts and Bandung. The Blair Commission replaced the South Commission while Bob Geldof and Bono and U2 with their guitars led the procession of begging presidents from Africa. The mantra of chant “make poverty history” is supposed to make us forget not only the history of poverty and the political economy of imperialist pillage of the continent but, and this is even more crucial, it is meant to demean our national liberation struggle.

It is worthy to be noted that pan-Africanism is the ideology of national liberation at the continental arena in the post-cold war era. Just as nationalism was the ideology of liberation in the post-cold war epoch. For pan-Arabism and Africanism to play this role well the continent needs to modify and rework them in several directions, namely: the rejection of micro-nationalism among African nations; commitment to anti-imperialist struggle or imperialism, African leaders should emphasize on the primacy of politics and people-oriented democratic development.

Specifically, pan-Africanism must be perceived as a political ideology and not as a developmentalist programme or set out a goal. Rather, it must provide a vision, inspire and mobilize the populace and leaders should have political will to actualize it internally



and not to be externally inspired that needs imperialist endorsement. In this regard, African leaders should revisit the dumped Lagos plan of Action document.

Also, pan-Africanism in its theory and world view, programme and strategy must take an anti-imperialist stand and must reflect pro-people stand. In this view, globalization and its assumed benefits should be discarded and should only embrace the opportunities it offers.

Related to the above, Pan-Africanism should encourage regional and sub-regional integrations which must reflect people's ideology of struggle and vision of total liberation as opposed to the statist Pan-Africanism of African leaders. In this view, East African Community, South Africans Development community, Economic community of West African states and African union among others should be strengthened to be able a challenge other regional political and economic blocs.

Civil society should be motivated to challenge and monitor African leaders' actions. This could be attained only if civil societies form part of the government programmes and actions. One other way of realizing this is for African states' legislatures to pass freedom of access to information Act. This Act when embraced at the continental level will reduce corruption, improved accountability and transparency.

Finally, regional hegemons such as South Africa, Nigeria, among others who invest in other African economies should be encouraged by their host states.

## **Conclusion**

Pan African has had a profound impact on the national liberation struggle of the African populace. Pan Africanism has helped in the development and articulation of a philosophy, and solidarity among people in Africa and in the Diaspora. Pan-Africanism has led to the collapse of apartheid regime in South Africa, Namibia and the total liberation of the continent from colonial rule. With the end of colonialism, it became difficult to sustain the tempo of pan-African ideology.

In addition, neo-colonial politics, dependency and the collaboration of most of the African political executives with imperialist agents and the pre-occupation of the new states with survival, failed independence promises and the growing consequences of globalization have all combined to undermine pan-Africanism and its benefits. Put

differently, even through African states desire to form super state(s); this is more driven by the functional benefits than by any deep commitment to the ideals of pan-Africanism. Pan-Arabism and African relations illustrate this. This antithesis between pan-Africanism and pan-Arabism emerges clearly in present and past interactions between the two races. Their leaders have undermined African struggles and the future relations than remains bleak.

In many African states, the citizenship and national question is yet to be resolved, and national pacification of all stands is yet to be attained. As posited earlier, many are at war with their neighbours. The dynamics of global development as expressed by globalization and its agents are creating new dangers that are undermining the earlier thesis of Pan-Africanism. In view of the above, Pan-Africanism and Pan-Arabism would be difficult to attain irrespective of their shared sentiment. That is, it is now difficult to expect the African countries to commit themselves politically and economically to the transnational racial ideology of Pan-Africanism and solidarity which the concept suggests.

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