12-1-2002

Pan-African nationalism in the Post-Cold War Era: a grassroots-based analysis of the state of Pan-Africanism

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ABSTRACT

POLITICAL SCIENCE

YOUNG, KURT B. B.A. UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA, 1991
M.A. CLARK ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, 1994

PAN-AFRICAN NATIONALISM IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA:
A GRASSROOTS-BASED ANALYSIS OF THE STATE OF PAN-AFRICANISM

Advisor: Dr. Mack H. Jones
Dissertation dated December, 2002

The last quarter of the twentieth century has revealed the steady decline in the jubilation and promise embodied by symbols of Pan-Africanism, such as the Organization of African Unity and the Pan-African Congress formations. This reality has been consistent with a popular viewpoint at the end of the Cold War that Pan Africanism was declining as a viable instrument for progress. This study details the state of Pan-Africanism in the post-Cold War era in order to understand the nature of its evolution and utility.

The research undertaken in this dissertation is based on the assumption that, rather than declining, Pan-Africanism has been readjusting to two dynamics: transformations in the international political economy and the unfolding conditions confronting African communities on the continent and in the Diaspora. The two central positions advanced in
this study were that evaluating Pan-Africanism relied on applying a consistent theoretical approach and that conclusions about Pan-Africanism's viability had to address contemporary grassroots-level perspectives on the movement.

The multiple case study approach was employed, consisting of an examination of three grassroots Pan-African organizations located in different regions of the African world. The leaders of each organization were interviewed and questionnaires were administered to the members. A comparative historical analysis of the 6th and 7th Pan-African Congresses was also conducted. The data generated revealed a significant level of Pan-African activism and commitment on the organizational and grassroots levels. Also, the contemporary elements of Pan-Africanism demonstrated by the organizations in turn contributed to the development of a theory of Pan-African Nationalism.

The conclusions reached emphasized three aspects of post-Cold War Pan-Africanism: (1) rather than declining, Pan-Africanism was in a process of transformation and within this process a number of critical issues were emerging that are being confronted at the grassroots level; (2) although the organizations supported the basic assumptions of Pan-African Nationalism, their emphasis on grassroots organizing and recognition of cultural identity had to be adjusted and sharpened to reflect contemporary realities; and (3) finally, in addition to ongoing support for the unification of African states, the promotion of linkages between the grassroots-based organizations throughout the Diaspora has emerged as a critical aspect of Pan-Africanism.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I give thanks to the creator and to those ancestors of the African Diaspora who, with unyielding dedication over the generations to the upliftment and empowerment of African people, inspired and guided this dissertation. I specifically give thanks to Owen Young, Sr., Matilda Thurton, Milicent Hoare, and the other ancestors of the Young, Hoare, Thurton and Tucker families, who continue to give me strength, purpose and focus. The subject of this study, the Pan-African movement, is only as strong as the family structures and relationships that are its foundations. As evidence, this work could not have been done without the consistent and loving support provided by my wife, partner, and dear friend, Arna, who was my balance and unending source of strength from beginning to end. Likewise, this project was only possible with the encouragement I received from my mother, Lena Young-Green, who, if there was any one person, was responsible for this dissertation. Our work must be consistent with the world that we envision for our children. In that sense, this study was ultimately my commitment to my daughters, Kia and Kepra, who are the centers of gravity in my universe. I will be forever be grateful and indebted to my chair and friend, Dr. Mack H. Jones, for his fatherly guidance and patience over the years. I owe so much to Dr. Marvin Haire and Dr. Hashim Gibrill, who was the first to challenge me to seek an understanding of the Pan-African experience and then to probe deeper into the contemporary meaning and state of the movement.

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<td>6th PAC</td>
<td>Sixth Pan-African Congress</td>
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<td>7th PAC</td>
<td>Seventh Pan-African Congress</td>
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<tr>
<td>AAPC</td>
<td>All-African Peoples Conference</td>
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<tr>
<td>AHSA</td>
<td>African Heritage Studies Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>AMSAC</td>
<td>American Society for African Culture</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASHA</td>
<td>African Heritage Studies Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>CARICOM</td>
<td>The Caribbean Community and Common Market</td>
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<td>EEC</td>
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<td>EPZ</td>
<td>Export Processing Zones</td>
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<td>ESC</td>
<td>Emancipation Support Committee</td>
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<td>IGO</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<td>MNC</td>
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<td>Neo-liberal Economic Reforms</td>
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<td>OAAU</td>
<td>Organization of Afro-American Unity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>OAU</td>
<td>Organization of African Unity</td>
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<td>PAC</td>
<td>Pan-African Congress</td>
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<td>PACM</td>
<td>Pan-African Congress Movement</td>
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<td>PAWLO</td>
<td>Pan-African Woman's Liberation Organization</td>
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<td>PLC</td>
<td>Patrice Lumumba Coalition</td>
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<td>SAC</td>
<td>Society of African Culture</td>
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<td>SAP</td>
<td>Structural Adjustment Programs</td>
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<td>SPLA</td>
<td>Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPLM</td>
<td>Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement</td>
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<td>UNIA</td>
<td>Universal Negro Improvement Association</td>
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PART I

RESEARCH METHODS AND ANALYSIS
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

I wish that those of you who could or would might have the opportunity to visit certain regions of this new Africa which are being born of themselves to international responsibilities. I wish you could visit not the cities or the capitals, but that you could go to the grass roots and see at close hand how the various sections are working in political parties and with what lucidity and seriousness political responsibility is assumed even in the smallest villages. And I would hope that in the West, in France for instance, where I lived for a long time, one might encounter the same conscience, the same seriousness of political reflection and exercise of political responsibility in the various provincial societies.

At the Third Annual Conference of the American Society of African Culture in 1960, Alioune Diop communicated to the body a reality that was, in a real sense, the essence of Pan-Africanism, but one which was being overlooked in an era of African independence and continental unity. The form of Pan-Africanism Diop was revealing, a grassroots version inclusive of the Diaspora and outside the scope of state unification, represents a historic model that perhaps has relevance in the era of post-Cold War Pan-Africanism. However, the relevance of this model has to be seen in the meaning and historic development of Pan-Africanism itself. One of the historically constant aspects of the African struggle against European cultural, political, and economic domination of the African continent and people of African descent has been Pan-Africanism. It is often generally defined as an attempt by African people on the Continent and abroad to unite

their struggles based on the reality of a common culture, history, and enemy, for the upliftment of African people and the liberation of Africa from foreign domination. More specifically, Pan-Africanism is understood here to be a cultural, political, and economic struggle that is, first of all, based on the recognition that African people on the Continent and in the Diaspora are part of a global African community. Second, it regards the regeneration of African history, cultural identity, and values as fundamental to the unification, defense, and advancement of the African world. And last, it is a collective struggle by African people on the Continent and in African communities of the Diaspora to eradicate the harmful anti-African ideas and practices that stem from the legacies of slavery and colonialism. Defined this way, Pan-Africanism is first seen, historically, as a constant social phenomenon functioning simultaneously in the various centers of the African world. Pan-Africanism, from this perspective, is seen as pragmatic and seeks to address the realities confronting African people everywhere. As such, it transcends the narrow interpretations and the limitations of African continental unification schemes.

The crucial element of this definition, however, is the refocus on the roles of worldview and collective trans-Diaspora struggles. At this point, we begin by introducing the notion of Pan-Africanism as a historical process that is constantly evolving. Particularly, the collective fight against the subjugation of Africa and her people has and continues to be a driving force behind Pan-Africanism. Historically, the growth of Pan-Africanism has been shaped, in part, by those often adverse challenges idiosyncratic to specific eras. Each new era of the Pan-African movement has also

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2 The use of the capitalized version of the term, Continent, refers to the African continent.
witnessed expressions of a re-Africanization process. This unending internal struggle by African people to recreate and resuscitate an African identity has been an equally consistent feature. In light of these trends, an attempt is made here to access the present state of the Pan-African struggle.

Research and analyses have primarily focused on the historical eras of Pan-Africanism and the overall evolution of the struggle. Studies on the early stages of Pan-Africanism focus, for example, on the initial attempts by kidnapped and enslaved Africans to collectively fight for freedom and self-determination. As Europeans captured and delivered shiploads of Africans from the Continent to the Americas and the Caribbean, Africans (from different ethnic groups, geographical locations and languages on the Continent) united to form viable, self-reliant communities throughout the region. Martin suggests that “Pan-Africanism became inevitable with the inception of the transatlantic slave trade.”3 The roots of Pan-Africanism lie in the violent dispersal of Africans throughout the Americas and Europe. In their attempts to exploit the labor of Africans via enslavement, Europeans unwittingly planted the seeds of Pan-Africanism. Martin pinpoints the role Africans in the Diaspora played in nurturing Pan-Africanism at this very early stage. More specifically, in discussing African resistance to slavery, Vincent Bakpetu Thompson observed the Pan-African nature in some of the major aspects of these Maroon Societies4 noting that,


4 The word “Maroon” comes from the Spanish word, *cimarron*, which means ‘wild and untamed.’ Although a pejorative term, it is used to define escaped, rebellious Africans and their communities throughout the Americas.
... they almost all shared in common retention of much of their cultural heritage from Africa and even the Seminoles and Black Caribes assimilated a good many African customs and values. Another feature of the communities was their cohesiveness and unity of purpose in action. They organized government either in a rudimentary way, like the Jamaican Maroons, or in a more sophisticated manner, like the Palmareños. Their spirit of independence was revealed in their flight from the plantations in the first place and later by their continued resistance to enslavement.5

This cooperative spirit of struggle, exemplified in these Maroon societies, represents the earliest stage of Pan-African expressions and organizational strategies.

Another of the early stages concerns the emigration efforts beginning in the mid-to-late 1700s and extending to the latter part of the 1800s. Pan-Africanism emerged here as former slaves and other Africans in the Americas began looking, both symbolically and politically, to the prospects of a return to Africa as an answer to the problem of racism in America. Two major trends that emerged in this period were the “Back-to-Africa” movement, and the missionary movement. Olisanwuche Esedebe points out that, “Despairing of ever attaining equal status with other racial groups, the African American began to think seriously of returning to the fatherland.”6 This urge to return to Africa reflected not only another form of identification, but was also manifested in what Tony Martin refers to as “Evangelical Pan-Africanism.”7 Here, American missionaries became increasingly active in the social, economic, and religious affairs of the homeland


7 Martin, Chapter 2.
primarily through the creation of church-based organizations. Both forms of Pan-
Africanism during this stage saw Africans abroad committing themselves physically,
financially, and spiritually to a return to their place of origin.

Subsequent levels of Pan-Africanism can be seen in work done on several
conferences and congresses that gave definition and energy to Pan-Africanism in the
early twentieth century. Landmark conferences such as the Pan-African Congress of
1919 and the Addis Ababa Conference of 1963 are examples of organizing activities that
have drawn the attention of researchers. Pan-African organizing, in this context, took a
more international focus. Although certainly not the first meeting of African people
around political issues, the Pan-African Congress of 1919, convened in large part by
W.E.B. DuBois, reflected a new direction in the movement. Scholars and other
intellectuals/activists from various parts of the African world used their voices to lobby
the League of Nations and the colonial powers for proper treatment of Africa. Fierce
concludes that the Congress of 1919 was successful, not in the revolutionary sense, but
rather by “providing a global stage for at least venting the concerns of the world’s Black
people.”

The early-to-mid 1900s saw a successive number of congresses dedicated to
collectively addressing problems confronting African people during that time. However,
the 5th Pan-African Congress of 1945 stood apart by ushering in a new phase. The

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8 Some research suggests that, although a critical effort, the Pan-African Conference of 1900 was
equally if not more significant than the Congress of 1919. See Milfred Fierce, The Pan-African Idea in the
9 Ibid., 214.
revolutionary fervor that was absent earlier now emerged as resistance to Europe's colonization of Africa gave life to the era of African independence and ideas of an African continental unification. Kwame Nkrumah, one of the pioneers during this era, summed it up best.

Pan-Africanism and African nationalism really took concrete expression when the Fifth Pan-African Congress met in Manchester in 1945. For the first time the necessity for well-organized, firmly-knit movements as a primary condition for success of the national liberation struggle in Africa was stressed.10

The international affairs of African states in the late 1950s to 1960s reflected this sentiment. Surely, the very history and nature of colonization intensified their ideas of a totally unified African continent. Paradoxically, Europe's presence in Africa prior to and during this time also gave rise to more moderate views of unification among some states. The conflicting views on the direction of post-colonial Africa culminated with the creation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. As a result, Pan-Africanists such as Walter Rodney were able to state that "it was a tribute to the momentum of Pan-Africanism that the OAU had to be formed." Yet, in the same breath, he asserts that, "the OAU does far more to frustrate than to realize the concept of African unity."11 Whatever the criticism, the OAU embodied the dominant forces and obstacles of this phase.


Two important successors of the 1960 phase of Pan-Africanism are African regionalism and revolutionary Black Nationalism. An outgrowth of the OAU was the concept of regional integration of African states based upon a number of social, economic, and geopolitical factors. Here, “moderate” Pan-Africanists embraced the idea that eventual continental unity could be achieved first on the sub-continental level. Continental organizations that saw relative success, such as the Economic Community of West African States and the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa, were constructed upon this regional orientation. The 1960s also produced within Pan-Africanism a new thrust in revolutionary Black Nationalism. Local struggles against political violence and the disenfranchisement of Africans in America and elsewhere led many to conclude that the nationalistic aspirations of Africans anywhere were linked to those of Africans everywhere.

Malcolm X’s Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) is an example. One of the organizing principles of the OAAU was the notion of a Black Nationalism tied to an African base. Thus, Malcolm argued that “it is impossible for any Black group in America to become involved in any kind of political organization that doesn’t have some roots directly connected with our roots on the African continent.” 12 In much the same way, the Pan-African Congress of Azania became a continental example of the same process.

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June of 1974 ushered in yet another stage. The Sixth Pan-African Congress (6<sup>th</sup> PAC) held in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, although criticized for its ideological confusion and unfulfilled promise of a permanent secretariat, introduced two important features. Whereas the DuBois-led congresses were dominated by intellectuals from the Diaspora, and the 5<sup>th</sup> PAC and the Addis Ababa Conference highlighted the unification of African states, the 6<sup>th</sup> PAC brought together Africans from around the world. It was this important precedent that prompted Horace Campbell to state that, “For the first time at a gathering of Africans there were progressives from Brazil, Cuba, the Pacific Islands, and from the Palestine Liberation Organization.”<sup>13</sup> However, as Campbell pointed out, the banning of delegates from the Caribbean by the participating states from the region undermined this aspect of the congress – which speaks to the ideological confusion mentioned above. In addition, the congress was successful in aggressively exposing the various elements of post-colonial European domination of Africa. Of particular significance was the exposure of “the neo-colonial puppet rulers in Africa,”<sup>14</sup> which was seldom, if at all, mentioned in the previous stages. For the most part, this criticism was couched in terms of a larger, pro-socialist tone that dominated this stage. As a result, African puppet leaders where condemned in large part as the petty bourgeois lackeys of the imperialistic capitalists forces. Nonetheless, the congress broke new ground with its expanded conceptualization of the African world and fresh emphasis on the complicity of African agents of Europe’s suppression and exploitation of the African masses.

<sup>13</sup> Campbell, <i>Pan-Africanism: The Struggle Against Imperialism and Neo-Colonialism</i>, 6.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.
Twenty years later at the Seventh Pan-African Congress (7th PAC), which was held in Kampala, Uganda in 1994, the two elements at the 6th PAC still resonated. However, it was clear that African people in general and the Congress in particular were now situated in a somewhat different global environment. The likelihood here was that Pan-Africanism was witnessing changes that were in large part mirroring evolutions in the new international order. Although new challenges in the post-Cold War period, such as development, security, and democratization, were acknowledged at the Congress, the specific impact on Pan-Africanism remains cloudy. These more recent developments raise questions as to what is the current character of Pan-Africanism. Also, they suggest a larger question: How do these modern realities fit into this Pan-African historical process?

Statement of the Problem

Developments over the last twenty-five years suggest a need for a reevaluation of Pan-Africanism, internally and externally. Internally, answers are needed to questions of (1) the role of African culture in Pan-Africanism today and (2) the participation of nongovernmental, grassroots Pan-African organizations since the mid-1970s. Externally, expansions in technology and a more sophisticated U.S.-dominated international political economy pose some new issues and questions that must be investigated. Research must be poised now to build on the early Pan-African freedom struggles (i.e., maroon societies and emigration), the twentieth-century congresses (i.e., the First Pan-African Congress of 1919 and the UNIA conventions), and the period of African and Black Nationalism (i.e., the OAU and the OAAU, respectively). Clearly, this steady maturation has provided a
valuable historical basis upon which further analysis must rest. The problems that studies have not addressed, which will be taken up here, are the following: What is the state of Pan-Africanism today, and what new approaches provide the best chance for accurately understanding Pan-Africanism?

**Research Questions**

A contribution made by this research is the notion that, contrary to the historical focus, a mass-based organization focus provides the best possible opportunity for determining the present complexion of post-Cold War Pan-Africanism. This idea, that is developed throughout the study, is present in these initial research concerns that the study addresses:

1. What was the impact of the post-Cold War era on the Pan-African Congress movement from 1974 and 1994? What are the continuities and changes identified in the conference aims, agendas, resolutions, official statements, proceedings, speeches, and reports at the congresses of 1974 and of 1994?

2. What significant changes have occurred in the focus, internal and external crises, strategies, and tactics of Pan-African organizations in the post-Cold War era? Do these changes support notions of a progressive Pan-African Nationalism?

The belief is that answers to these questions will contribute to an understanding of the nature and dynamics of the Pan-African movement at this stage.

Some key terms in the research questions should be defined at this point. The *impact* of the post-Cold War era is the influence threatening international actors, policies, relationships, and ideas since the ending of the Cold War have had on the recent direction of Pan-Africanism. It describes how world trends and conditions since the shifting of ideological and strategic tensions have triggered certain responses in the global African
community. The Pan-African Congress movement is the institutionalization of the Pan-African movement into congresses beginning with the first in 1919. The Pan-African movement, Charles Andrain wrote, “exemplifies the contemporary African search for organization and community.”¹⁵ The Pan-African Congress movement was and remains a contemporary embodiment of that effort to connect organization and community. The study specifically addressed the two congresses that met in the post-Cold War period.

**Focus** is defined as the levels and units of concentration targeted for mobilization. It is linked to the particular worldview and the ideological orientation of the participant/organizer. **Crises** are defined as those maleficient political, economic, and/or cultural barriers threatening the livelihood and undermining the self-determination of African people globally. **Strategies** are the necessary plans of action that are mandated to eradicate the existing or emerging contemporary threats. **Tactics** represent the specific methods and instruments needed to carryout the strategies. Two critical points ought to be made here. First, the crises, strategies, and tactics, generated both internally as well as imposed from external sources, are investigated. Second, the research explored what the participants saw as both local and international factors confronting them.

This study looked to **grassroots Pan-African nationalist organizations** as the basic unit of analysis. The emphasis on this particular type of Pan-African organization is dictated by the working definition and theoretical framework guiding this study. The theoretical framework provided a fuller discussion of the important concepts. For now,

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grassroots Pan-African nationalist organizations are defined as those groups who organize primarily at grassroots levels in the immediate geopolitical space they live in and are committed to the self-reliance and perpetuation of these and other local and transnational African communities. The Pan-Africanist orientation of these organizations is grounded in their commitment to and connection with other grassroots African communities, organizations, and struggles throughout the African world. Therefore, the “Pan-African” organizations targeted here are those groups in the Diaspora as well as on the Continent that focus on mobilizing members of their respective communities in ongoing struggles that can be linked to the struggle of African people on a global scale.

The research, relying on Miller, Rein, and Levitt, defines the grassroots as an organizational level where individuals residing in the same geographical community, organize into some form of collective action that addresses local issues. For them, it implies a certain degree of "closeness to ordinary people and distance from elite power groups (emphasis mine)." The grassroots concept is linked to Kwame Agyei Akoto's Nationalist Pan-Africanism (referred to here as Pan-African Nationalism) which by definition recognizes the combined values of "racial unity, national integrity, national resistance, cultural awareness, self reliance, and the ultimate triumph and vindication of

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17 Ibid. The authors offer another related model of community movements: “Organizing around identity,” that focuses on race, ethnicity and gender as its foundation. Clearly, this perspective is valuable. However, because we have previously addressed the vital role of identity and ethnicity, this model will not be discussed at this point.
Pan-African Nationalism, as a concept, is the globalization of local nationalist struggles based on a commitment to self-definition, cultural identification, racial unity, resistance, and self-determination. Pan-African Nationalism, in its theoretical form, served as the basis for the theoretical framework that shape the research questions and, by extension, the entire study. The research questions and the theory also shaped the methodology and the specific interviews and questionnaires designed to pinpoint the specific, salient crises, strategies, and tactics that confront Pan-Africanism.

**Hypothesis**

The emphasis on the end of the Cold War as a milestone is an important beginning point for discussing the hypothesis. The end of the Cold War is more of a signal of change than it is the agent of change. Some observations, such as those of Gaddis and Hoffinan, directly link the ending of the Cold War to specific changes. Both agree that East-West confrontations meant that the superpowers were to balance each other, as well as their satellites, through an established diplomacy and a mutual nuclear threat. Gaddis highlights resurgent nationalism, which appeared to be on the wane, as the major threat to what he sees as the potentially positive trends toward post-Cold War integration. As he puts it,

The very existence of two rival superpowers, which is really to say, two supranational powers, created this impression. We rarely thought

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18 Kwame Agyei Akoto, *Nationbuilding: Theory and Practice in Afrikan Centered Education* (Washington, D.C.: Pan Afrikan World Institute, 1992), 50. Akoto uses the term “Nationalist Pan-Africanist” in his discussion. For this study, the term “Pan-African Nationalism,” considered synonymous to Akoto’s, will be used in its place. The two refer to the same phenomenon and potentially differ only in one’s emphasis. The later is chosen here for clarity and to avoid assumptions that Nationalist Pan-Africanism applies only to the nationalism of African nation-states and to continental unification. “Pan-Africanism” thus defines a form of nationalism present throughout and the African world.
of the Cold War as a conflict between competing Soviet and American nationalisms [.] One could even argue that the Cold War discouraged nationalism, particularly in Western Europe and the Mediterranean, where the mutual need to contain the Soviet Union moderated old animosities like those between the French and the Germans, or the Greeks and the Turks, or the British and everybody else.¹⁹

Today, he argues, this arrangement has changed. The unification of Germany is a direct outcome. And, “Romanians and Hungarians threaten each other regularly now that the Warsaw Pact is defunct, and nationalist sentiments are manifesting themselves elsewhere in eastern and southeastern Europe, particularly in [the former] Yugoslavia.”²⁰ Hoffman identifies two sources of post-Cold War international insecurity: the expanding global economy and, again, nationalism. In the first source,

The inequality among states is, on the whole, exacerbated by the capitalist world system, and most of the poorer countries, particularly in Africa and central Asia, are getting poorer without any prospect of reversing the trend. The same can be said for ecological tragedies, such as ozone depletion, that are too slowly becoming known, the struggle for access to resources such as oil, the threat of the drug traffic, and the highly lucrative arms trade, essential for the favorable balance of payments of many states, including such advanced capitalist countries as Sweden and Switzerland.²¹

In the second case he agrees that nationalism now looms as a major threat to international security. In his view, “It owes its current success not only to the end of the cold war, but to its appeal to the basic emotions of tribal solidarity, which were often suppressed under


²⁰ Ibid., 30.

one form of imperial rule or another.\textsuperscript{22} There is obviously a rejection of the perceived threat of nationalism stated above. Moreover, this study rather views the ending of the Cold War as the major event for marking a period of transition at this point in history. To only pinpoint the Cold War would miss the fact that changes between Soviet and American relationships did not mean significant changes in power relationships between the both of them and African people. The emphasis on the post-Cold War era concerns the introduction of new threats and new manifestations of old ones.

From that backdrop, the first hypothesis here is that recent changes in the international arena generated in the post-Cold War era can be observed in formal proceedings and resolutions of contemporary Pan-African congresses. That is to say, developments since the thawing of the Cold War have resulted in significant changes in the challenges, agendas, aims, and resolutions from the 6\textsuperscript{th} Pan-African Congress of 1974 to the 7\textsuperscript{th} Pan-African Congress of 1994. The general nature of the shift appears to be a reconceptualizing of previously accepted notions of African unification caused by the new realities of globalization. Explaining this is central to this study. Therefore, an evaluation of this evolution through the analysis, for example, of speeches, proceedings, interviews, records, and other official congress documents support the proposition that change has occurred.

The research also takes the position that conditions and trends in the post-Cold War era now demand a change in direction for Pan-Africanism and its proponents. Contemporary manifestations of past problems and the introduction of new challenges

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid.
have exposed limitations in the previous approaches for advancing Pan-Africanism. The situation now exposes a necessary shift in mobilization focus. More specifically, the post-Cold War era has introduced a range of challenges and crises that have stimulated a reorientation of Pan-African organizations toward a grassroots operational strategy. While such organizations remain ideologically committed to a global Pan-African agenda, their day-to-day practice is principally oriented toward confronting local and national issues and crises. This pattern is distinctively different from previous stages where Pan-African organizations were characterized by an emphasis on repatriation, intellectual activities, and African continental unification. The combined effect of these changes, in the end, is that they indicate new developments that are supportive of Pan-African Nationalism, provide more accurate explanations of the present state of the movement, each of which offer greater promise for attaining the goals of Pan-Africanism.

**Significance of the Study**

Interests in how people organize to define, defend, and perpetuate themselves will exist as long as people struggle for those very things. Likewise, the study of Pan-Africanism remains relevant because African people around the world continue to struggle with many of the same oppressive realities. Although Thompson’s *African Diaspora*, Martin’s *Pan-African Connection*, and Nkrumah’s *Africa Must Unite*, for example, all focus on different aspects of Pan-Africanism, the string that connects them is the resilience of the global Pan-African struggle. It follows then that continual inquiries into Pan-Africanism are vital because the African world remains engaged in unique yet collective struggles.
The persistence of historical problems and the introduction of new ones raise some important questions for research. Studies on Pan-Africanism have been concerned with the historical aspects. Though the historical context is critical, a study linking Pan-Africanism to the objective and subjective realities of this period is timely. This project suggests that an understanding of contemporary Pan-Africanism can be accomplished by incorporating new units of analysis. A focus here on grassroots Pan-African organizations reflects this effort. This organizational approach may offer a new way of conceptualizing unity struggles such as Pan-Africanism. More precisely, posing questions to organizations as to the present state of Pan-Africanism presents a significant contribution to this historically resilient phenomenon.

The implications of this study and the models that it provides expand our understanding of contemporary and future Pan-Africanism. In doing so, this research adds to the further development of a theory that would explain the relationship between Pan-Africanism and the post-Cold War era. A theory describing how and why Pan-Africanism has evolved, and what are the elements of a new Pan-Africanism will both inform the research and be expanded by it.

**Delimitations and Research Plan**

An important concern of the research is that of representation. The scope of the research includes grassroots Pan-Africanist organizations operating in the North American, European, and the Caribbean regions. Although this is historically consistent with the major destinations of the forced and voluntary dispersal of African people, significant African populations on the Continent and in other parts of the Diaspora were
not included. This meant that a significant challenge to the project was drawing out perspectives about contemporary Pan-Africanism that directly addressed a range of continental issues and conditions. In other words, participants were not just to respond to questions related to their local experiences or their narrow perspectives of Pan-Africanism. In addition to those issues, organizations were asked to reflect on the continent of Africa in general and specifically to the relevance of continental issues to their work. This omission was also confronted by the issues organizations were asked to reflect on. By relying heavily on the literature, perspectives that were unique to the experiences of continental Pan-Africanists were woven into the analysis. With the combination of these two emphases, the continental perspective was, although indirectly, addressed. While time and funding did not allow it here, further research incorporating the perspectives of other African populations will be done in the future.

This analysis of the state of Pan-Africanism is tackled here in four parts. Part I introduces the research and then makes a case, in Chapter Two, for the Multiple Case Study method and its utility in determining the status of the movement. Part II establishes the study’s assumption that understanding the historical evolution of Pan-Africanism and its 21st century status requires a need to situate these trends in an accurate cultural, historical and theoretical context. First, Chapter Three develops a theoretical framework for this purpose. A basic question is raised: How is contemporary Pan-Africanism an extension of the unique historical experiences shared by African people? Pan-African Nationalism links 21st century Pan-Africanism to its origins and to the subsequent stages. Against the historical backdrop, this segment allows for an
understanding, for example, of how Pan-Africanism has evolved over the past two
decades (Chapter Seven). There is also the main effort here to, utilizing the theory,
understand the forces that have shaped Pan-Africanism in the past, and the contemporary
manifestations of those forces. The plan utilizes Pan-African Nationalism as a theory in
the study in three ways: (1) Theoretical assumptions, propositions and concepts directly
shape the major parts of the research (such as units of analysis, research questions,
hypothesis, etc.). (2) The study introduces an extension to the theory, namely
Progressive Pan-African Nationalism for the purpose of explaining contemporary Pan-
Africanism. Finally, (3) the results of the study were then used to test the propositions
developed in the theoretical framework. The theory provides the concepts that help in
specifically identify the crises and challenges that shape Pan-Africanism at this point.

Once the theoretical component is discussed and key concepts presented, the application
of the theory begins with an analysis of what actually is Pan-Africanism. Chapter Four, a
review of the literature, confronts the continuing problem of defining Pan-Africanism and
identifying its many elements. The chapter poses two critical questions for the study:
How have various definitions shaped an understanding and analysis of Pan-Africanism?
And, how do we redefine Pan-Africanism in a way that is culturally and historically
consistent? After reviewing how Pan-Africanism has been defined in literature, the first
issue was addressed by detailing the various categories employed by previous studies.
The answer to the second, relying on the theoretical framework and based on a critical
analysis of the literature, may suggest a reconceptualization of Pan-Africanism.
Specifically, the roles of consciousness, identity, culture, and actors and their relationships to the definition of Pan-Africanism are addressed.

In Part III, the emphasis in the research on the global political economy as a critical focal point is developed. There is a general belief that the ending of the Cold War coincided with, and has come to symbolize, significant global changes. However, it is not clear what the specific impact on Pan-Africanism has been. Meanwhile, there are studies suggesting a new era for Pan-Africanism in the post-Cold War world. The only problem here is that research to support these arguments has not been conducted. This section of the study, in two separate analyses, begins to fill this void by determining the present state of Pan-Africanism within the current global environment. Chapter Five outlines the basic elements and connections between Westernization and Globalization in the contemporary international setting. Then, this chapter links the role of cultural identity to the political and economic issues produced by the present global political economy by looking at the various dimensions of their impact on African people. Chapter Six introduces a range of general observations by Pan-Africanists on the range of salient issues and recent confrontations for Pan-Africanism in the post-Cold War era. The main intent here is to build support for the assumption that significant change has actually occurred in the post-Cold War era.

The most substantive part of the research is the focus in Part Four on grassroots Pan-African organizations and their contemporary agendas, strategies, and operations. In a more specific analysis, Chapter Seven further develops the foundation for change by examining the general nature of post-Cold War Pan-Africanism by emphasizing the
effects of shifting global relationships on the Pan-African Congress movement over a twenty year span (6th and 7th PACs). Finally, research on the organizations that collectively shape Pan-Africanism is not readily available. To the contrary, what exists now are major works on pioneers of Pan-Africanism like Bittle and Geis' look at Chief Sam,23 and James Hooker's research on George Padmore.24 Volumes on Marcus Garvey by authors such as Martin and Robert Hill are additional examples.25 Research such as Martin’s study of UNIA and Agbi’s analysis of the OAU,26 although vital, focuses on specific organizations and the degree to which they shape, are shaped by, or reflect some aspect of Pan-Africanism. A critical evaluation on the role of non-state actors such as mass-based Pan-African organizations needs to be researched. There is little in the way of a collective analysis of the grassroots Pan-African organizations and their outlook on contemporary Pan-Africanism. In Chapter Eight the research addresses this problem by looking to grassroots organizations involved in Pan-African struggles to understand the state of Pan-Africanism. This final part contains the most critical element of the study and specifically answers the two research questions listed in the following section.


CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

In this research, the intent is to assess the state of Pan-Africanism by constructing a participants’ view of the phenomenon and their role in it. The qualitative research method is best suited for this task. Marshall and Rossman point out that qualitative research designs assume that “it is essential in the study of people to know just how people define the situation in which they find themselves.”1 This method of research depends on the interpretations of the participants to define what they see as the realities of contemporary Pan-Africanism. It requires a study that places the researcher in the actual settings where Pan-African organizations operate. Marshall and Rossman argue that this is critical in “understanding the framework within which subjects interpret their thoughts, feelings and actions.”2 The research relies heavily on the group’s perceptions and organizing efforts to determine the state of Pan-Africanism. More than that, a study of these organizations allows for identifying and developing themes, concepts, and theories related to the subject. Qualitative research, according to Creswell, “is inductive in that the researcher builds abstractions, concepts, hypotheses, and theories


2 Ibid., 49.
from detail.”\(^3\) This process enables us to either generate new concepts and theories or determine how they add to pre-existing ones.

**Research Design**

There were three approaches to gathering the necessary information: a Historical Analysis, a Multiple Case Study, which is the dominant method, and a Case Survey supplementing the case study. Recall, the research examines two questions concerning a larger understanding of the contemporary Pan-Africanism: (1) the impact of the post-Cold War global climate on the Pan-African Congress movement, and (2) the changes in organizational focus, crises, strategies, and tactics as a result. The discussion below is organized according to the flow of the research questions. Precisely what information is needed and where that information is located is covered in the two following sections. However, operational clarity should be addressed before dealing with each question.

**Post-Cold War Impact**

In assessing the present state of Pan-Africanism in research question one, the research must begin with a means of determining the *impact* of the Cold War and the post-Cold War era. Earlier, impact was defined as the influence threatening international actors, policies, relationships, and ideas since the ending of the Cold War has had on the recent orientations of Pan-African congresses. This was operationalized by comparing the influences during the Cold War to those influences in the post-Cold War era. More specifically, the global concerns of Pan-Africanism and the internal dynamics that they

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created within the congresses in the 1970s were compared to those of the 1990s. The
significance of these dates will be discussed shortly. In sum, continuity and change are
determined by contrasting the connection between the congress movement and the global
order during the Cold War with that same connection in the post-Cold War era.

Pan-African Organizations

With the emphasis on Pan-African activists and organizations, the question of
the new foci, crises, strategies, and tactics relied on the observations, positions, and
agendas of groups around the African world. The significant changes are the aspects
these organizations identify and apply now as opposed to previous eras. This information
supplied the raw data needed. The expectation was that the historical analysis in Part II
would establish that Pan-Africanism has evolved, relative to earlier stages.

Clearly, the various types of Pan-African organizations are as numerous as the
various definitions. As Esedebe points out, this has been problematic in the study of Pan-
Africanism. Thus, the case study resolved this problem by operationalizing Pan-African
organizations using two criteria: that they be both nationalist and grassroots. The two
come from the theory of Pan-African Nationalism. This interplay between theory and the
cases is important. Johnson and Joslyn, in discussing theory and case study selection,
state that the attempt here is to test a theory by applying it to a “real-life situation” to see
if it is a valid theory. In addition, “cases are chosen for the presence or absence of factors
that a political theory has indicated to be important (emphasis mine).”

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4 Esedebe, 6.

5 Janet Buttolph Johnson and Richard A. Joslyn, Political Science Research Methods, 3d ed.
principles of Pan-African nationalism guided the selection, which, in turn, tested an extended application of that theory. The research used as its criteria only those Pan-African organizations that define themselves as nationalist and grassroots. The nationalist guideline called for a group focus that transcends state boundaries in favor of an explicit or implicit definition of nationalism along racial and cultural lines. Grassroots organizations are those based in African communities and engaged in organizing those communities around local, national, and global Pan-African issues. Some of the organizations that fell into this category include:

- The Council of Independent Black Institutions – USA;
- The Patrice Lumumba Coalition – USA;
- The Pan-African World Institute – USA;
- The Republic of New Africa – USA;
- The African Reparations Movement – London;
- Akina Mama wa Afrika – London;
- The Pan-African Congress Movement – London;
- The Sankofa Movement – USA;
- The National Black United Front – USA;
- The Pan-African Movement USA – USA;
- The Unified Black Movement – Brazil;
- The Emancipation Support Committee - Trinidad and Tobago;

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6 The study includes organizations whose membership base is predominately grassroots. However, grassroots organizations that accept membership, participation, and contributions from intellectuals, civic leaders, elected officials, and students will not be disqualified.
The Pan African Movement – Nigeria; and


More will follow on organization selection in the Data Collection section below.

6th and 7th Pan-African Congresses

Historical Analysis

In the first research question, the intent was to determine the interaction between post-Cold War global conditions and the contemporary dynamics they have generated within Pan-African congress efforts. An analysis of the congresses and their agendas from 1974 gives us a useful backdrop for measuring contemporary observations. According to Marshall and Rossman, this type of analysis provides an idea of what happened in a particular historical era. Additionally, “historical analysis is useful in qualitative studies for establishing a baseline or background prior to participant observation or interviewing.” Now, an argument made here is that a basis for “change” ought to be established in order to support the research objectives. Chapter Five sets this up by identifying the cultural, political, and economic realities of the post-Cold War era illustrated in the manifestations of two factors: (1) the effects of Westernization and (2) post-Cold War Globalization. The former tries to understand the contemporary trend of the aggressive global penetration of Western culture into African political efforts through the historical process of cultural imperialism. This was achieved in the research by outlining the critical analyses in the literature on the cultural and psychological impact of European colonization on African continental and Diasporan leadership. The latter

7 Marshall and Rossman, 95.
examined the basic globalization policies and impacts of neo-liberal economic adjustment, free trade, foreign investment, and regionalization. By exploring the role of nation states, global institutions, and corporations in perpetuating these policies, the post-Cold War dimensions of the globalization process become clearer.

From there, answering the first research question required Chapter Seven’s examination of those collective Pan-African efforts that best embody the diversity of the global African experience. Analyses of Pan-Africanists alone, such as W.E.B. DuBois and Kwame Nkurumah, would only reflect the singular views of individuals. Likewise, studying a specific organization such as the OAU conveys more about the idiosyncrasies of that group than it does about Pan-Africanism as a whole. Each makes a vital contribution. However, this study combined these various aspects so to emphasize the collective Pan-African efforts. The claim here is that the Pan-African Congress embodies the collectivity and diversity required to understand the impact of post-Cold War era on Pan-Africanism. The ending of the Cold War as a watershed became clearer after comparing the last congress of the Cold War era (1974) to the first congress of the post-Cold War period (1994). Specifically, a comparative historical analysis of the 6th PAC, held in Dar Salaam, Tanzania in 1974 and the 7th PAC, held in Kampala, Uganda, addressed the question of a change in Pan-Africanism. Generally speaking, conference aims, proceedings, debates, and resolutions contain within them the international issues, specific local struggles, competing ideological camps, organizational challenges, internal struggles, external pressures that will be compared and contrasted. A more specific outline of the approach in this section will follow.
The data from congress speeches, proceedings and resolutions showed the connection between the contemporaneous international forces and their respective congresses. The question of impact that the study is concerned with was a function of these connections. More accurately, the comparison between the two congresses and their global dynamics, in turn, illustrated the post-Cold War impact. Subsequently, the larger question then became what specific, observable relationships best reflect the correlation between the international forces and the congresses? Specifically, the aim was to understand how the global transformations confronting the 6th and the 7th Congresses were reflected in competing ideological positions and debates, particularly in regards to race, class, and culture, on the orientation of African struggles for empowerment? The purpose of this initial question was to highlight the connection between assumptions and definitions of Pan-Africanism and how they shaped the international outlook and agenda of the congresses. This provided a framework for comparing each congress’s orientation on the more focused questions below designed to paint a fuller picture of links between them and their contemporaneous global dynamics:

1. Who did the congress identify as the imperialist states, international institutions and their policies regarding Africa?

2. With what internalized manifestations of Western domination was each congress concerned?

3. How was Pan-Africanism to conduct African political struggles on the continent and in communities throughout the Diaspora?

The commonality that each of these questions shares is the linkage that they individually and collectively reflect between Pan-Africanism and the larger global situation. Questions one and two address the hostilities posed by the adversarial global actors and
institutions while the third pinpoints the internal expressions of those adversaries. These questions are important because they connect the external and internal threats that motivate collective action, which is at the heart of any consistent definition of Pan-Africanism. The last two questions also imply a recurring theme: the relationship between the congresses and the other progressive movements around the world. Together, answers to the larger question and these more narrow issues convey the link between the congresses and the unjust global ideas and conditions that they were organized to eradicate.

Data Analysis

Historical analysis, in addition to being a form of data collection, is also an analysis technique. The information that the questions above generated alone were insufficient in answering the first research question. It only paves a way for a better understanding of the international dimensions of each congress. Marshall and Rossman suggest that a major goal of historical research is to establish and explain “cause-effect relationships.” Answering the first research question required the drawing of some comparison between the separate answers to these questions from each congress. Accordingly, the research compared the cause-effect relationships between Pan-Africanism and the Cold War era with the same relationships in the post-Cold War period. The differences that existed before and after the Cold War demonstrated its impact on the recent stages of the congress movement. Radically different answers to the same questions indicated those significant changes that signaled major shifts. Finally, the
historical data from congresses were divided into primary and secondary sources. The former included items such as speeches, eyewitness accounts, and official documents. The latter consisted of sources such as articles written on the subject matter. The data to be analyzed came from published conference resolutions, official statements, reports, proceedings, speeches, and articles emerging from the historical analysis of the two conferences.

**Grassroots Pan-African Organizations**

**The Multiple Case Study**

Chapter Eight includes the most extensive segment of the study. This field-research was divided into two segments: a multiple case study (the dominant mode) and a case survey (the less-dominant mode) applied across the cases. This *dominant-less dominant design* served two functions: (1) It strengthened the verification (internal validity) of the study by using multiple data collection techniques, and (2) it complemented data produced from the interviews, thereby lessening the impact of bias. It should be stressed here that the descriptive/explanatory nature of this study supported the research design being used. Referring again to Marshall and Rossman, research that describes a phenomenon and explains the active forces shaping the phenomenon is best served by the case study approach. Robert Yin, who has written extensively on case studies, also points out its importance in, among other things, explaining "the causal links in real-life interventions that are too complex for the survey or experimental strategies,"

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9 ibid., 78.
and describing "the real-life context in which an intervention has occurred." The "intervention" here relates to the contemporary (post-Cold War) crises, strategies, and tactics and their implications for the 21st century Pan-Africanism. The case studies included three Pan-African organizations presently active in Africa, North America and Europe. The organizations include The Patrice Lumumba Coalition in Harlem, New York; The Pan-African Congress Movement in London, England; and The Emancipation Support Committee of Trinidad and Tobago.

The information to be produced from these organizations for answering the second research question was placed in four categories: Mobilization Focus; Internal and External Crises; Organizational Strategies and Tactics; and Pan-African Nationalism Concepts. There was also a set of general, guiding questions in each category. The more specific case study questions grew out of these general concerns. The answers to the case study questions provided the data to be analyzed and, therefore, the information needed to ultimately answer the research question. The guiding questions are listed below in order to show the specific kinds of information per each category the research was seeking. The preliminary categories, the guiding concerns, and the specific questions were drawn out of the major concepts in the research questions, the theoretical framework (Part II), and the contemporary literature (Part III). Thus, answers to the questions below represent the relevant body of information that the study relied upon.

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Focus of Mobilization
1. *What are the most practical units of mobilization?*
   - Do the contemporary units of mobilization differ from those in the past?
   - If so, what are the new approaches to mobilization?

2. *Is there a shift to grassroots-level organizing?*
   - How will the new focus contribute to advancing Pan-Africanism?

Internal and External Crises
1. *What is the state of the racial inclusion and exclusion issue?*
   - What are the racial groups being contested and why?
   - How is the issue being settled?

2. *Is the neglect of pre-conquest African ideas, values, and systems a major concern for Pan-Africanism?*
   - Has this neglect contributed to the problems facing African people?
   - If so, how?

3. *What are the specific threats of Westernization and globalization?*
   - What has been the specific local impact?

4. *What are the commonalities between racial violence and the responses thereof in different regions of the world?*
   - Are Africans in non-African nations facing a wave of racial violence?

5. *What are the contemporary connections between neocolonialism and African leadership?*
   - How do the West and other external interests empower African leaders?
   - What obstacles confront efforts for holding bankrupt leaders accountable?

6. *What is the role of the OAU in Africa’s underdevelopment?*
   - What are the internal contradictions of the organization?
   - In what ways is the organization manipulated externally?

7. *How does armed conflict disrupt Pan-African organizing efforts?*

8. *What has been the damage caused by Structural Adjustment Programs to African communities?*
   - Which of its policies pose the most immediate threats?

9. *How has the environment been adversely affected by internal and*
external trends?
What is it that links Pan-Africanism to the environmental degradation subject?

10. Is the West moving towards a recolonization of Africa?

Internal and External Strategies and Tactics
1. What are the possible means for addressing neocolonial leadership?
   How do these compare to approaches to neocolonial leadership in places such as Haiti, Jamaica, and Trinidad?

2. Is the OAU transformable?
   If so, what has to change for it to be a viable player in Pan-Africanism and how?

3. Are there new frontiers to be incorporated into the present Pan-African agenda?
   If so, what and where are they?
   What does an expanded geographical scope of Pan-Africanism contribute?

4. What is the contemporary nature of the women/gender issue?
   How does the discussion today differ from previous times?
   In what ways will an appreciation for the role of women contribute to the Pan-African struggle?

5. Where does continental unification rank in terms of importance in Pan-Africanism?
   What new approaches are being introduced towards this goal?

6. What new types of global Pan-African organizations and institutions are being created?
   How do they differ from other forms of Pan-African organizations presently active?
   How will/do these organizations address the conditions of Africans in the Diaspora?

7. What development alternatives to structural adjustment programs are preferred among Pan-Africanists?
   What will be the role of Pan-Africanists in implementing these alternatives?
   Are there any models available to build on?
8. Will mass-based organizations play a primary role in today's Pan-Africanism?
If so, what are the criteria for an organization to be grassroots in Africa and other parts of the Diaspora?
How will Pan-Africanism address specific problems facing particular African communities?

Theoretical Concepts
1. Did African cultural elements survive enslavement and colonialism?
If so, are those elements useful in the Pan-African struggle today?

2. Does a Pan-African consciousness still exist among African people?
If so, is that consciousness playing a role in uniting African people?

3. Was cultural imperialism a major force in the subjugation of Africa people?
If so, does cultural imperialism continue to undermine the Pan-African struggle?

The first major concern of the research was locating the level of activity where organizations are now focusing their energies. As such, it was found that determining where mobilization was taking place and the utility of the grassroots level of analysis for understanding Pan-Africanism was the best source of this information. With the second set of concerns, the internal and external challenges facing Pan-African organizations became clearer through an understanding of issues ranging from the role of culture to recolonization. Likewise, information about strategies and tactics emerged out of the attempt to understand how groups were meeting the various challenges that were identified. Last, the groups' responses to the relationship between key theoretical concepts and Pan-Africanism, along with the cumulative responses to questions regarding culture, ideology and worldview produced the data needed to test the theory. In the end, all of the information connected with these concerns collectively provided the best answers to the second research question.
Finally, the questions are arranged according to the topics generated by the theory and the recent literature. The order of the questions above is important. There is an important difference between the use of the first, italicized questions and those listed beneath them. Although they are related, the first questions per each topic are more general and the subsequent ones addressing more specific points. This corresponds with the different forms of data collection that was employed. The variations in the usage of the general (italicized) and the specific concerns above are discussed below.

**Data Collection – I**

The primary research of this project and the main data collection techniques were six open-ended, in-depth interviews. The fieldwork required air travel to the cities where group branches and members were located. Organizations were contacted by email and/or telephone to finalize travel plans and interview dates. Information from these organization interviews needed for the study included their observations on the state of Pan-Africanism in terms of the concerns listed above. It was these perspectives of the participants and their collective observations of the movement that generated the vital information. This was so based on the central point that Pan-Africanism is essentially an effort by African people to understand their reality and to organize in response to that analysis. Surely those engaged in Pan-Africanism would best answer questions as to the state of that effort.

There were two 90-minute sessions per organization, one with a member of the leadership and the second with a member of the general body. The purpose was to ensure that the responses reflect both leadership and rank-and-file perspectives on the issues.
The interviews were designed to explore the perspectives and activities of the three organizations on the topical categories and concerns listed earlier. Because of the specificity that open-ended interviews allowed, both the general and the specific concerns outlined above influenced the interview questions. The answers to these interview questions provided the most detailed information for the answering the research questions. Therefore, the participants' in-depth perspectives and observations of these categories supplied the raw information that, once it was analyzed, illustrated how Pan-Africanism has evolved. The assumption was that, in the end, this information reflects the worldviews and shapes the actions of Pan-Africanists, their organizations, and ultimately Pan-Africanism.

Two important points should be made here about generalizations drawn from the data collection and the validity therein. First of all, the case study approach does not primarily rely on generalizing from a sample to a larger universe as in quantitative research. The use of a theory to guide this process is the key. Again, three organizations (as opposed to one) were studied in order to determine the significant changes in Pan-African organizations. Yin suggests that replication in the Multiple-Case Study design rather than a Single-Case Study allows generalization from the study back to the theory. According to Yin, the theoretical framework can then become "a vehicle for generalizing to new cases." Also important, "if some of the empirical cases do not work as predicted, modifications must be made to the theory." The expectation here is to generalize from

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11 Yin, 49.
12 Ibid.
the propositions back to the theory. However, this does not deny that there are some bonus, external validity possibilities in this approach. The geographical character of the research is vital. Note that Pan-Africanism by its very definition is an international phenomenon. Thus, regarding external validity, this focus was on Pan-African organizations on three continents so that the results were, in effect, representative of the many African communities worldwide. The justification behind the selection of organizations made possible generalizations that flesh out the picture of contemporary Pan-Africanism.

Second, the research relied on these organizations to generate a description of the crises, strategies, and tactics facing Pan-Africanism. A crucial question that must be posed here is, in evaluating contemporary Pan-Africanism, just what level of organization and activity provides a scope that is most comprehensive, consistent, and accurate? This was accomplished first of all by pinpointing the level that embodies two essential elements of Pan-Africanism: a redefinition of the African identity and a commitment to the masses of African people everywhere. These two elements have been recurring themes throughout the various historical stages of the movement. For example, the initial Pan-African expression, according to Akoto, “was evidenced by the efforts of the new arrivals to maintain their sanity, and their humanity through the maintenance of the traditions of their homelands.”13 The point here is that historical connections between an African cultural identity and Pan-Africanism have always been a consistent feature. It follows then that the orientation of organizations selected for this study should also

13 Akoto, 48.
exhibit this historical and cultural consistency. It is consistent with Esedebe’s observation that, “Any adequate definition of the phenomenon must include its political and cultural aspects.”

This study is concerned with locating a level of analysis comprehensive enough to apply to the rest of the African world. It was from this level of Pan-Africanism that the participants for the case studies had to be drawn in order to ensure consistency and accuracy. Ultimately, the Pan-African nationalist organizations achieved this. The intent was not to deny the strong contributions of other types of global African organizations. Surely, groups such as the UNIA and the All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party continue of be powerful and committed players in African struggles around the world. However, their orientations on key issues such as African-centeredness and the repatriation strategy disqualified them from this selection. Other organizations, such as the OAU and TransAfrica, although active, were even less effective selections because they usually reject most, if not all, of the theory’s essential elements.

In addition to the theoretical and geographical factors, these three organizations were also selected because of the longer history of activism among the members in general and the leadership in particular. The leadership of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition has a long history of activism and organizing from its base in Harlem. Its presence in Harlem and throughout the New York metropolitan area can be traced back to the Garvey Movement. After the demise of Marcus Garvey, Garveyites branched out to create other nationalist organizations that would fill the political vacuum left behind.

\[14\] Esedebe, 5.
Carlos Cooks, as one example, left the UNIA to create the African Nationalist Pioneer Movement on June 23, 1941, which was one of the most recognized nationalist organizations up until the mid-1960s. Thus, in November of 1975, the Patrice Lumumba Coalition (PLC) was created in an effort to continue the work of Garvey and Cooks by organizing Africans on the grassroots level around critical issues that connect African communities in the Diaspora to the struggles taking place on the African continent during its post-independence era. In fact, one the founders of the PLC, who also participated in the research, was a disciple of Cooks and a central actor in the African Nationalist Pioneer Movement. It was out of this tradition that the PLC concerned itself with organizing on the grassroots level around issues related to the struggles taking place throughout the African world. A significant aspect of its work is dedicated towards raising the awareness of African communities in the New York City and surrounding neighborhoods in the New York metropolitan area around critical continental issues.

In Britain, the nationalist line, in an organizational sense, was stimulated with the holding of the 1974 6th Pan-African Congress. Although Africans in the U.K. had been involved in the Pan-African Congress Movement from the early 1900s, these Pan-Africanists were more ideologically integrationist and/or socialist. At the 6th Congress, various organizations who adopted some form of Black Nationalism came together to form what became U.K. Delegation to the Congress. Following the Congress, the Pan-African Congress Movement (PACM) was created in 1977 out of that coalition for the purpose of permeating the nationalist element that was becoming more defined within Pan-Africanism. The leadership of the organization was central in the creation and
representation of the delegation to the Sixth Congress. In the form of an umbrella organization, the various organizations that comprise the PACM concentrate on combating issues that impact African communities in locations such as London, Manchester, Birmingham, and Wolverhampton. Police brutality, poverty, public education, and mental health in the U.K.’s African communities are examples of targets of the PACM’s work. The concentration on issues such as these by the organization is largely a function of a long history of confronting immediate problems of racism and poverty by the numerical minority of Africans in the U.K. This also produces in the organization a heightened sensitivity towards issues of racism and poverty. The PACM’s structure is a reflection of this in that many of the community groups that fall under the umbrella focus on one or two of these issues, giving the PACM a wide range of activities with which it is concerned.

This type of continuity was also found in the Caribbean region, specifically with the Black Power Movement in Trinidad and Tobago. The increasingly conservative leadership of the Williams regime in Trinidad helped create a climate in the island nation that reinforced sentiments of black nationalism among the marginalized masses. It was out of this environment that the National Joint Action Committee, introducing notions of black nationalism manifested earlier in the maroon tradition, Garveyism and Rastafarianism, to younger generations, spearheaded the 1970 Black Power Movement’s demand for empowerment. Although the National Joint Action Committee survived after this era, some key members splintered off creating other organizations such as the Emancipation Support Committee (ESC). Once again, the leadership of the ESC, along
with a significant portion of the current members, were not only some of the original organizers in the Black Power Movement, but continue to perpetuate the nationalist cause in Trinidad. The ESC, organized in 1992, sees as its main focus the heightening an African consciousness at the level of the masses in Trinidad for the purpose of bringing about the empowerment of African communities. Its work is deeply rooted in the experiences of the Caribbean and, as such, seeks to connect struggles in local areas to similar struggles among African people in the region and on the continent. Thus, these organizations, in addition to subscribing to basic aspects of Pan-African Nationalism, are contemporary political expressions that are directly linked to previous eras and organizations in the nationalist line. They were the primary participants because they all arguably represent the closest theoretical and practical connections for an analysis that stresses historical and cultural continuity.

Data Collection - II

*The Case Survey.* The second technique in the dominant-less dominant method was the case survey. The role of the case survey in this study differed from traditional quantitative analyses. Using Creswell’s model, the dominant-less dominant design calls for a secondary quantitative method to compliment the dominant theoretical method.\(^{15}\) Yin argues that the case survey is particularly useful in a “cross-case analysis.” It is an ideal technique to “synthesize the existing case studies” on a topic or concept.\(^{16}\) A fixed response, self-administered questionnaire was employed across the case studies to

\(^{15}\) Creswell, 179. The author points out that the reverse is also useful.

\(^{16}\) Yin, 119.
complement the interviews. Ordinal data from Likert-style questionnaires measured positions on the major theoretical concepts and specific issues identified in observations from the literature. The questionnaire was divided into four-question scales that measure the positive and negative aspects of the major concepts and topics outlined earlier. The questionnaires used as a source the general (italicized) questions listed earlier in order to address the often limited nature of close-ended surveys. They were distributed to organization members on site and collected in a designated box.

The questions asked in open-ended interviews and on closed-ended questionnaires both were determined by major concepts in the theoretical framework and the literature review. The interview questions explored, more extensively, the topics identified in the research and presented in the outline above. The questionnaires measured organization members’ views on issues and concepts developed from both the theory and the literature. As a result, the research remained consistently bound to the theory and literature concerning the present character and dimensions of Pan-Africanism.

Data Analysis - I

Interview analysis. Again, the research relied on the theoretical propositions of the study, as well as the literature review to guide the analysis. Information taken from interviews was transcribed verbatim from audiotape. Responses from the two discussions per organization were combined to create a body of data for a particular case. Data analysis began thereafter with identifying from the transcripts specific coded categories that were taken from the issues presented in Chapter Six’s observations on the state of

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17 See sample questionnaire in Appendix B.
Pan-Africanism. This coding process is important in qualitative research. According to Miles and Huberman, the emphasis on words in the qualitative study, as opposed to mainly numbers in quantitative research, results in “fatter” data. The wordy results require a method of cataloging. As a remedy, they suggest codes in order to classify the data. They add that:

Codes are categories. They usually derive from research questions, hypotheses, key concepts, or important themes. They are retrieval and organizing devices that allow the analyst to spot quickly, pull out, then cluster all the segments relating to the particular question, hypothesis, concept, or theme (emphasis original).

The comments on the source of codes are especially important, given the fact that the codes used here came from the key concepts in the research questions and theoretical framework, along with the issues identified in the literature. For example, a category was immediately created from the emphasis on grassroots organizations. A grassroots code contains responses that relate to the grassroots concept in Pan-Africanism. From that point, the following steps were taken:

1) Pattern and observations. Related “chunks” of data were then sorted into patterns that begin to explain specific conceptual relationships or observations emerging from the interviews. The conceptual themes that emerged from these patterns provided the basis for determining the significant positions of the participants regarding the present stage of Pan-Africanism. However, as Miles and Huberman again point out, simply summarizing related patterns into catalogs is inadequate. Patterning is, more importantly,

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19 Ibid.
"a way of grouping those summaries into a smaller number of overarching themes and constructs."20 Explanatory statements/observations from the patterns were generated from each organization. Using the previous example, common responses that linked, within Pan-Africanism, the grassroots to other actors, represented a pattern out of which explanatory observations emerged. The flow from code to pattern produced the explanatory observations that ultimately answered research question two.

2) Cross-case analysis. The first step in synthesizing the separate cases was to identify the correlation between cases. Patton states that the analysis should "bring together responses from different interviews to common questions or different perspectives on central issues."21 Once these cross-case similarities and differences were established and made into additional observations, single-case idiosyncrasies were identified. The proposition and theory-building steps ensued from that point.

3) Proposition Development. Propositions were developed from the observations then combined and reduced into responses from each organization to the specific components of the research question. Both general responses (for example, those shared by all organizations on particular concepts) and specific responses (for example, those unique to one organization) were identified.

4) Theory-Testing. Finally, the Explanation-Building analysis technique was used for theory-testing to compare case study results with those predicted by the theory.

20 Ibid., 68.

This step fulfilled the second objective by applying the case-study explanations to the Pan-African Nationalism theory.

**Data Analysis - II**

*Case Survey Analysis.* Recall that the third technique, the case survey, was a secondary analysis technique used to support the dominant mode (the case study). As suggested by Yin, the data from the case surveys can be analyzed in a very similar manner to that of typical surveys. Thus, the responses to the questions were compiled to show single and combined organization results allowing for a cross-case analysis. This cross-case analysis supported the case studies in the following ways. First, the combined data laid a base for identifying similarities. These cross-case similarities were then compared to responses from the interviews to determine the interview/case survey consistency. This step in the analysis ultimately helped revise the major propositions. Second, the case survey data contributed primarily to concluding propositions related to the concepts in research question two, particularly concerning organizational focus. Since the concept of organizational focus is linked to the theoretical framework, the data also provided information that contributed to the theory-building stage in the case study analysis.

**Conclusion**

In sum, these steps, one establishing change and the other detailing the new characteristics, produced the aggregate data required to determine the next phase of the movement. In other words, the organizational views on contemporary issues held against

22 Yin, 116.
the backdrop of a change in Pan-Africanism over the past two decades informed the analysis of Pan-Africanism's status and direction. A case study protocol and interview schedule was developed prior to data collection. The protocol provided an overview of the project; present contact letters; introduce organizational information; list first-draft interview questions and questionnaires; detail pilot interview and questionnaire participants; and detail the procedures involved in the study.
PART II

RESOLVING PAN-AFRICAN THEORIES, MODELS AND DEFINITIONS
CHAPTER THREE
THEORETICAL ELEMENTS OF PAN-AFRICAN NATIONALISM

Historical and ideological complexities inherent in Pan-Africanism, as they are presented in this study, call for a very careful theoretical outlining. Recognizing this, the aim of this chapter is to comprehensively address what is argued below as a vacuum by offering a theoretical framework that can be more useful in understanding Pan-Africanism, both historically and contemporarily. Yin maintains that a major step in case study research, particularly those employing the multiple case design, is the development of a rich theory.1 Theory impacts the methodology of the research at two general points. The basic concepts in this Pan-African Nationalism theoretical framework shape the criterion for case-study selection. Also, the results and implications from the case studies then helps, in the end, to develop a model of progressive Pan-African Nationalism as the holistic and practical extension of Pan-African Nationalism.

On the theoretical level, the post-Cold War state of Pan-Africanism is addressed in three segments. The first segment begins with the assumption that Pan-African Nationalism provides an alternative conceptual foundation for redefining Pan-Africanism in a way that connects it to the unique historical experiences and cultural identity of African people, and provides a context for this redefinition. Here, the critical role of

1 Yin, 49.
cultural identity in one’s worldview and in creating an operational paradigm within which Pan-Africanism can be understood is presented. The section also introduces the key concepts that explain the evolution of those historical stages and cycles of progress (and regress) in unification efforts. These concepts and stages provide a framework for predicting the nature and dominant characteristics of post-Cold War Pan-Africanism.

The second section of the chapter applies this theory of Pan-African Nationalism to the 21st century status of the movement: referred to above as progressive Pan-African Nationalism. The purpose of this is to understand the nature of Pan-Africanism’s development under the premise that Pan-Africanism has consistently evolved from one historical stage to another. In the final section, the chapter concludes with some of the immediate implications of the theoretical framework for contemporary Pan-African research. The importance of a connection between identity and consciousness, on one hand, and practically linking Pan-African struggles on the other, is reviewed as a fundamental dynamic of contemporary Pan-Africanism.

To begin, what has been missing in much of the literature is a political theory for contemporary Pan-Africanism. This particular position borrows from a study by Errol Anthony Henderson, entitled Afrocentrism and World Politics, that addresses, among other things, what appears to be a theoretical void in the Pan-African idea and movement.2 Clearly, Pan-Africanism is the paradigm for this research on the African Diaspora. Henderson’s critique of Pan-Africanism as a paradigm is that it lacks a

theoretical component (political) that grows out of the general paradigm.\(^3\) History certainly attests to the persistent organizational efforts (at different times and on various levels) committed to the fulfillment of a Pan-African reality. However, he adds, the history is one of a “programmatic” Pan-Africanism without a sound theoretical base. An important point here, accepting Henderson’s critique, is not so much that Pan-Africanism is unworkable as a paradigm, but that a more comprehensive way of looking at continental and Diasporan Africans is required.

With this in mind, the intent here is to introduce and define Pan-African Nationalism and to develop what can be called a theory of progressive Pan-African Nationalism. First, beginning with the former, as an African revolutionary movement, Pan-African Nationalism was generally defined by Kwame Nantambu (formerly Linus Hoskins) as the struggle and resistance against “European slavery, exploitation, and hegemonistic expansion.”\(^4\) While Nantambu embraced what he called a “macro-analysis” of this effort from the general to more specific struggles, the essence of Pan-African Nationalism here lies in the linking of more local nationalistic African struggles, movements, and organizations. This basic component of Pan-African Nationalism is not new and was well expressed in this early observation by DuBois:

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\(^3\) Ibid., 2. Henderson’s criticism rests in his analysis of the relationships between worldviews, paradigms, theories, models, hypothesis, and laws. He argues that each are different levels of analysis, each being parent to the next. Therefore, the worldview (Africentricity) that has given rise to the paradigm (Pan-Africanism) has not been successful in developing a functional theory. More will be said on the role of worldview later.

To help bear the burden of Africa does not mean any lessening of effort in our own problem at home. Rather it means increased interest. For any ebullition of action and feeling that results in an amelioration of the lot of Africa tends to ameliorate the condition of colored peoples throughout the world.\(^5\)

The force of DuBois’s statement is that there is a mutual benefit in connecting struggles among oppressed African peoples on the Continent and abroad. It suggests a duality of local and international African movements. Likewise, Pan-African Nationalism as a theory accepts this duality as the basis for an operational Pan-Africanism. As the theoretical framework for this analysis, it states that the realization of an operational international Pan-Africanism is, above all else, dependent upon the globalization and synchronization of nationalist struggles in communities throughout the African world.\(^6\)

From there, progressive Pan-African Nationalism uses this theoretical foundation for explaining (1) the evolution of Pan-Africanism, and, (2) based on that evolution, the contemporary character of Pan-African nationalist efforts. Historically, Pan-Africanism has gravitated between two extremes. At one end of the spectrum was a progressive, nationalist form that embodied elements of a Pan-African consciousness and nascent Pan-African movements throughout the African world. At the other end was a limited brand of Pan-Africanism influenced and dictated by manifestations of European cultural imperialism. The contemporary shift is towards a holistic, progressive Pan-African Nationalism. In other words, in the post-Cold War era, following a decline in limited

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6 Recall that this approach initially guided the analysis by shaping the research questions, the hypothesis, and the methodology.
forms of Pan-Africanism, a holistic, progressive, nationalist Pan-Africanism that has adapted to new community and global realities will reemerge. Both of these points are discussed in detail and their links to the study clarified shortly after addressing the worldview, paradigm, and model issues.

An African-Centered Worldview and Paradigm

At this point, it is important to put the study into perspective by clearly defining the link between this theory, its paradigm, and worldview. This step is critical in clarifying that the theory and its underlying components emerge out of a particular paradigm and worldview. According to Ronald Chilcote,

A paradigm is a scientific community's perspective of the world, its set of beliefs and commitments — conceptual, theoretical, methodologic, instrumental. A paradigm guides the scientific community's selection of problems, evaluation of data, and advocacy of theory.\(^7\)

Theories grow out of, are shaped by, and reinforce some particular paradigm. Further, Errol Henderson states that, "The paradigm devolves from the worldview and is a theory-generating framework."\(^8\) In addition to that, Henderson goes on to argue that Pan-Africanism lacks, and therefore, needs a sound political theory. If his critique and Chilcote’s description apply, then it is possible, in line with the two, to state the worldview encompassing the Pan-African paradigm and its theoretical concepts. An African-centered worldview shapes the Pan-African paradigm and the Pan-African Nationalist theory.

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\(^8\) Henderson, 4.
This worldview places Africa and African cultural, spiritual, historical, social, and institutional idiosyncrasies and experiences at the heart of political, economic, and/or intellectual observation and understanding of the descendents of Africa. Jacob Carruthers, in an essay entitled “Reflections on the History of the Afrocentric Worldview,” provides a sound description of African-centeredness. Though referring to it synonymously as the “universal African worldview,” Carruthers identifies its two pillars. These two “truths” are quoted at length below:

1) There is a distinct universal African worldview. This concept is best articulated by Cheikh Anta Diop’s idea of the cultural unity of Black Africa published in Cheikh Anta Diop’s, The Cultural Unity of Black Africa which I would modify to include the idea of the cultural unity of Black African people throughout the world. 2) The second basic truth is that the African worldview, modified to account for modern conditions, is the only viable foundation for African liberation. Whenever records still exist the wisdom of the African people proclaim the necessity for the restoration of the African worldview as a necessary condition for liberation. An assessment of history demonstrates that when the principle has been followed liberation struggles have gone forward; and retrogression has taken place when the principle has been abandoned. Carruthers argued that these foundations were historically validated through, for instance, the nationalist ideas and struggles of Henry Highland Garnet and the Haitian Revolution, respectively. More recently, Sobonfu E. Some’, Armah, Kambon, Akoto and Ani have all developed “liberation” research consistent with Carruthers’ African-centered framework. Recognizing the role of the family institution and gender relationships in

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9 Jacob Carruthers, “Reflections on the History of the Afrocentric Worldview,” Black Books Bulletin 7 (1980): 4. Carruthers use of the term “Afrocentric” is not limited to the now popular Afrocentricity. Afrocentricity usually refers to African and African-American scholars who have, according to Henderson, “challenged the legitimacy of the ‘European model’ of culture, philosophy, science, organization, and discourse as both impositional to and counterproductive for the majority of the world’s people.” Used here, it is a methodology that emphasizes the central role of African people as subjects.
struggle, Some’ in The Spirit of Intimacy, discusses the oneness of the individual, the family, and the community, from an African cultural perspective.\(^{10}\) Armah’s Two Thousand Seasons provides a historical account of the Arab/Islamic and the European/Christian penetration of African, and the resistance to them, through the lens of pre-conquest African culture.\(^{11}\) In The African Personality in America, Kambon used this worldview as his framework for discussing the African’s mental disorders that resulted from the absorption of the philosophy of white supremacy.\(^{12}\) Akoto placed within this worldview his development of an African-centered educational curriculum in his book, Nationbuilding: Theory and Practice in Afrikan Centered Education.\(^{13}\) Likewise, Ani’s powerful Yurugu: An African-Centered Critique of European Cultural Thought and Behavior also utilized an African-centered perspective in explaining the evolution, components, and impact of the Eurocentric worldview.\(^{14}\)

If Carruthers’ point and concepts such as African culture and nationalism are to support the idea of a worldview that is central to understanding global African political movements, then the commonalities across the Diaspora that generate this worldview must be accounted for. Answers to the following three questions paint a picture of how a

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\(^{11}\) Ayi Kwei Armah, Two Thousand Seasons (London: Heinemann, 1979).


particular worldview and paradigm is produced among evolving African communities by the basic similarities growing out of the historical interaction between European domination and African resistance:

1. What commonalities emerged across the African world from the initial global processes that established the cultural, economic, and political domination of African people?

2. What were the elements of pre-conquest African systems that became relevant to those African communities created during enslavement and colonization?

3. How are these components (re)expressed in the form of paradigms that capture Pan-African struggles emerging across the various regions of the Diaspora?

Following this analysis, the elements of Pan-African Nationalism and the assumptions of progressive Pan-African Nationalism are presented.

**The Emergence of a Pan-African, Identity, Struggle, and Worldview**

In addition to Carruthers’ “two truths,” these studies all suggest basic pre-conquest elements of an African cultural identity that produce the worldview Carruthers expressed. Identifying these elements helps to illustrate the link between worldview, Pan-African Nationalism, and the contemporary movement. Also, for it to be practical, the notion of a Pan-African worldview has to be understood in the context of the historical forces that impacted African communities, particularly during their emergence in the Diaspora. This does not suggest that the continental dimension was insignificant. Seeds of Pan-Africanism Nationalism, as Nantambu outlines, were present in the political struggles on the African continent, particularly in those of Africans fighting to unify
Upper and Lower Kemet (Egypt) in the 1st, 11th, 18th, and 25th Dynasties. However, the forging of the Diaspora during the 16th century introduced and sharpened the peculiar international and local realities that Pan-Africanism must confront.

While early continental struggles provided a springboard, it was within the context of European expansion and African resistance in the Americas during this era that the link between worldview and Pan-Africanism must be approached. European global expansion into the Americas was a bridge to the direct imposition of European cultural values, economic interests, and political domination in all regions of the hemisphere. The genocidal elimination of indigenous populations throughout the region meant that enslaved Africans imported to ensure Europe’s enrichment would be left to provide the most significant resistance to the West’s pillage of the Americas. The colonies, states, and societies that would emerge, therefore, became the crucibles within which these conflicting forces of expansion and resistance would collide. In fact, the collision between Europe’s effort to colonize and reorganize the Americas into plantations to facilitate its domination, and the determination of Africans to resist this process using various methods, would become the defining characteristics of the societies that would emerge in and from the colonies.

15 Kwame Nantambu, “Pan-Africanism Versus Pan-African Nationalism: An Afrocentric Analysis,” Journal of Black Studies 28 (May 1998): 569. The suggestion that the roots of Pan-Africanism might be traced back to Kemetic societies makes a very powerful contribution to Pan-African Nationalism. However, more research must be done to verify it as an initial stage in the rise of Pan-Africanism. There is a need to determine the ethnic complexity of Africans who retreated to the Upper Nile Valley, created unified forces there in the form of dynasties, and returned to reconquer and unify the Lower Nile Valley. If it was found that Africans that organized politically in the form of the 1st, 18th, 25th, and perhaps the 11th dynasties were consciously transcending ethnic lines in reaction to some external threat, then this would essentially be an expression of Pan-Africanism and should be understood as a definitive initial stage in Pan-African Nationalism.
Imari Obadele’s “Macro-Level Theory of Human Organizations” is helpful in grasping these two factors that collectively transformed the Americas. Obadele found that three basic components emerge when humans begin to organize complex sets of relationships. First is the social structure, which “is defined by the shared beliefs among the dominant people about life and death, collective personality, and formal interpersonal relationships.” Second, “the social structure inherits or quickly gives birth to an economic structure (or has one forced upon it) because some humans must work in order to produce the good and services which humans generally believe they need for survival and comfort.” Third, “the state structure arises because leaders actualize a need felt by them and the majority of people to protect and maintain their social and economic structures.”

This general template could be applied to various locations where Europeans enslaved significant numbers of African people. In colonies that would mature into a United States of America, Cuba, Brazil, etc., the states that were erected became instruments of and for both European social (cultural) expression and capitalist interests. At the same time, the domination being imposed on Africans meant that the societies in general and its internal structures in particular were also shaped by the unending and multifaceted forms of African resistance to oppression. The key regarding commonalities is that the various forms of resistance among Africans would become the mold out of which “Afro-American,” “Afro-Cuban,” and “Afro-Brazilian” cultures would be nurtured within the larger American, Cuban, and Brazilian states that, again,

were instruments for Western cultural, political, and economic domination. It was the commonalities in these efforts among African people across the region that provides the foundations of a Pan-African cultural reality, worldview, and struggle.

**Universal African Themes**

In addition to the common processes and settings within which African struggled, the persistence of African cultural elements likewise produced a fundamental philosophical foundation that transcends diverse sub-cultural idiosyncrasies on the Continent and that survived in the Diaspora. First, to speak of an “African” reality is no different from the same recognition in other cultural traditions. In one example, Kwame Gyekye clarified this in his challenge to the question of whether or not an African traditional thought exists:

One answering these questions in the negative would, I suspect, prefer to talk rather of Akan, Yoruba, Kikuyu, Bantu, or Mande philosophy. But it should be noted that in addition to Western philosophy, one can speak as well of American, British, French, and German philosophy, and similarly of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Indian philosophy in addition to Oriental (or Eastern) philosophy. (There is indeed a philosophical journal with the title Philosophy East and West.) If it makes sense to talk of Western or Eastern philosophy, would it not make sense to talk of African philosophy too?  

To speak of an African cultural reality is not contradicted by observable ethnic differences. Within these differences, in fact, reside basic commonalities that run through Africa’s numerous societies. Without detailing the entire phenomenon, some of the fundamental socio-political and spiritual elements are worth mentioning.

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To begin with, Khapoya, in The African Experience, offers the concept of 
kinship among African societies, where one's line-of-descent and ancestry play critical roles in determining “such matters as inheritance, identity, the identity of a child born into a marriage (or outside marriage, for that matter), and even the location of a new home for a newly married couple.”18 The links between kinship, lineage, and the common ancestors is central and provide the basis for individual and group identity. In many societies, kinship also serves a political purpose in that ascension to power is determined by lineage. Aguibou Y. Yansane’s themes in “Universals in West Africa” add to the kinship functions the institution of the extended family:

Kinship relationships were the foundation of social organization. The extended family system is based on interdependent functions since few societies provide sufficiently for insurance, sickness, disability, care for the aged, and so on. So the family is a cohesive unit which provides against personal calamities. It is also insurance against underemployment for its members. In a society where organized care for the aged is nonexistent, children in the extended family care for the parents, thus children are like investments in the future.19

Also influenced by the extended family was the role of the elder, not only in the family, but also in the capacity of political leader where elders highly influence the politics of the collective. There is also the notion of communalism, which had a profound effect on how African societies organized economically and on the values that related to the land. In broader terms, Yansane says that land and its products were considered the property of the collective and any production surplus was directed towards the good of the family and

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village units. In fact, in most instances, according to Yansane, "Usually the family controlled those resources most vital to its livelihood, minor agricultural products and some animal resources procured from hunting."²⁰

These basic elements, however, are only meaningful if connected to the important reality of spirituality that penetrated all aspects of life. Karenga identifies these six general themes among the diverse African spiritual systems:

First, there is the belief in one Supreme God: Oludumare among the Yoruba, Nkulunkulu among the Zulu, and Amma among the Dogon. Second, in African Traditional Religion, God is both immanent and transcendent, near and far. In this framework Africans engage in daily interaction with divinities who are seen as God’s intermediaries and assistants. Third, African religions stress ancestor veneration. Fourth, African Traditional religions stress the necessary balance between one’s collective identity and responsibility as a member of society, and one’s personal identity and responsibility. Another key theme in African religions is the profound respect for nature. Because humans live in a religious universe, everything that is has religious relevance. Finally, the conception of death and immortality is an important theme in African religions. First, it is seen as another stage in human development. Death is thus not the end, but a beginning of another form of existence. Death is seen as a transition of life to personal and collective immortality.²¹

The totality of these elements reveals the cultural values that pervade throughout Africa in spite of the variations across ethnic groups and regions. This was also the case with the African cultural retentions that survived the Middle Passage and were transplanted into the Americas. Although clearly assaulted by the plantation experience, these systems placed a powerful stamp on the development and perceptions of African societies

²⁰ Ibid., 60.

in the Diaspora. An African-centered worldview thus provides a lens through which Pan-African ideas and struggles can be culturally and historically understood. Additionally, it contributes to liberation by informing the process of political, economic, and social reconstruction.

**Locating the Paradigm**

In identifying a paradigm consistent with that worldview, consider the questionable conclusions that might and have emerged when analyses of particular Pan-African struggles are not clear on the assumptions and perspectives, among other conflicting ones, taken for granted in the analysis. As mentioned above, the connection between paradigms and theories is critical in their application to the real world. This connection, as evident in the maroon discussion below, is critical for clarifying the strengths and contradictions of previous Pan-African developments. In another sense, besides personal animosities, how can the fact the DuBois’s Congresses and Garvey’s UNIA, though both were Pan-Africanists, could find no operational middle ground where they could agree be explained? The same question could be asked of the collision at the 6th PAC between nationalists such as Haki Madhubuti and socialists like Amiri Baraka. The ideological difference is important but limited in explaining the conflicts because ideologies also emerge out of and are shaped by an assumed paradigm. The more accurate explanation is that clear and consistent observations of the Pan-African phenomenon come only with recognizing the impact of paradigms on particular historic personalities/movements and on the approach of any given analysis.

The Sankofan paradigm, in which Pan-African Nationalism (and progressive
Pan-African Nationalism) rests, is a practical application of the Sankofa concept. Sankofa is a term from the Akan tradition that means “To go back and fetch it” and refers to the historical process of reAfricanization and nation-building based on a reclamation of African cultural identity as a precursor to advancement. According to Akoto, reAfricanization is the “personal and collective healing, transformation and development toward the perpetuation of African culture.”22 It is a dual process of rediscovering and reanalyzing the African identity while liberating it from the assault of white supremacy. Nationbuilding “is a process of establishing a defined, independent and ordered spiritual, physical, psychological, political, territorial and cultural reality.”23 It is the manifestation of the reAfricanization process in the form of a real political, economic, and social entity.

The term and the process were popularized in the 1993 film, Sankofa, by Haile Gerima and has now become an important concept in the African-centered community. However, the idea of reclaiming and reevaluating African culture as a weapon for advancement, as implied in DuBois’ statement, is not new. This process has been alluded to, if not demanded, earlier by other thinkers. One of the clearest and most powerful opinions was Professor Chinweizu’s in The West and the Rest of Us, published in 1975. His is an early expression of the Sankofa concept and its relevance for African empowerment. According to Chinweizu, “In any serious attempt at African renaissance it would be necessary to dig through that debris, down to the cultural bedrock of pre-European Africa, and there inspect our cultural foundations so we can reconnect with


23 Ibid., 284.
suitable strands of our cultural trajectory."\textsuperscript{24} This is a clear expression of one component of the Sankofa paradigm: reAfricanization. But, as the Sankofa concept suggests, it is only the first step that sets the stage for the second, practical component: nationbuilding.

On the utility of a reclaimed African culture to struggle, Chinweizu adds the following:

Whereas the attainments of the twentieth-century West could provide a reference point for defining some of what we have speedily to accomplish, sixteenth century Africa, that twilight era between Africa’s autonomous past and her Dark Ages of satellization of Europe, is a reference point for measuring how much cultural ground Africa lost during the ensuing centuries. It is a template against which the realities we inherited at independence could be tested for gains and distortions. Thus, whereas the twentieth century West helps to define our future goals, sixteenth century Africa helps to clarify what tasks of social repairs we should speedily undertake (emphasis mine).\textsuperscript{25}

This requirement is justified, both externally and internally, by the contradictions of Western cultural imperialism and by the ideas that manifest themselves in African struggles, respectively. In making this point, he concludes that,

We have for too long been inculcated with a mad awe of the West, an awe that disarms us into a voluntary acceptance of whatever rubbish they tell us, even in circumstances where we would normally come bristling with skepticism. That we must rapidly develop a strong Afrocentric view of the world and of ourselves should be obvious. We must approach all problems and issues from the viewpoint of our own interests; we must hold suspect what the West tells us until we verify it for ourselves. \textit{Africa First} ought to be our constant motto, not Liberation First, not Internationalism First, not Western Approval First, not Nonalignment First (emphasis original).\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{24} Chinweizu, \textit{The West and the Rest of Us} (New York: Random House, 1975), 188.

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., 496.
This is essentially the thrust of the Sankofa paradigm. It is a framework that, operating from an African-centered worldview, shapes analyses of global African people by establishing certain assumptions for observations and questions. It is an application of Chinweizu’s ideas to African communities worldwide.

Beginning with the position that black people scattered throughout the various geographical regions around the world are essentially African people, the Sankofan paradigm exposes three important implications. First, the historic dispersal of African people, either by enslavement or coerced migration, towards the creation of an African Diaspora did not destroy the African cultural identity in any particular location. Instead of losing their cultural baggage in the hulls of slave ships or during entrance into the colonial “metropole,” Africans retained aspects of their pre-conquest (European/Arab) ways-of-life in their new environments. African cultural retentions, for example, in the areas of language, spirituality, and music attest to this fact. Second, the expression of these African retentions and the practice of cultural survivals varied depending on a number of factors such as the nature of the slavery system, ratio of African-to-European populations, and the forms of cultural, political, and psychological warfare waged against Africans. A reality resulting from this creation of the African Diaspora were the unique expressions of Africanness shaped by the idiosyncratic climates in which African people found themselves. Third, this link between African Diaspora communities and pre-conquest African culture, however subtle, is what connects these communities to the African continent. It is in this vein that the relationship between Africa and Africans abroad becomes based on more than history and/or the presence of a common enemy
(both of which are vital). The historical link and the political struggles are equally supported by the recognition of cultural/national affinities. Within the paradigm, struggles for self-definition and empowerment throughout the African world begin with the development of a consciousness grounded in the survival of African culture.

An additional point resulting from the application of this paradigm is the task of reanalyzing basic terms such as culture, Pan-Africanism, and nationalism. Redefining these terms within the context of the worldview and paradigm is the first step in moving towards a pragmatic understanding of African struggles that is consistent with the history and identity of African people. Although Chapter Four is dedicated to a full analysis definition, the following examples are offered below. First, Akoto's definition of culture is an example:

Culture is that totality of values, beliefs, and actions that characterize a people. Culture consists of the behavioral patterns, symbols, institutions, and values of a society and is unique to that society. It is the spiritual, ideational, and material, composite that distinguishes one society from another.  

Esedebe's interpretation of Pan-Africanism is also consistent with the paradigm. He views it as:

... a political and cultural phenomenon that regards Africa, Africans, and African descendants abroad as a unit. It seeks to regenerate and unify Africa and promote a feeling of oneness among the people of the African world. It glorifies the African past and inculcates pride in African values. 

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27 Akoto, Nationbuilding, 13.

28 Esedebe, 5.
The definition of Pan-Africanism stated earlier embraces these assumptions. Finally, nationalism, as defined by Marimba Ani, is an "Ideological commitment to the perpetuation, advancement, and defense of a cultural, political, racial entity and way of life."\(^{29}\) Risking redundancy, it can be stated here that each definition forces more expanded conceptualizations of culture, Pan-Africanism, and nationalism. The paradigm transcends these often-limited conceptualizations: the narrower cultural expressions in the literary, visual and performing arts; the model of state-level Pan-Africanism; and rigid territorial nationalism.

Moving forward from these definitions, a discussion of how the terms all interact in a way that provides a basis for understanding global African unity is critical. The direct question is how do culture, Pan-Africanism and nationalism merge to create a foundation for understanding global African empowerment struggles? A central starting point is that the culture of a people and their political interests are linked by a unique "national consciousness" that is distinct from others. According to Ani,

> Political behavior on a national level requires the definition of the interests of the nation vis-à-vis other nations. The definition of the interest requires a national consciousness. Culture creates that consciousness through its ideological function.\(^{30}\)

The ideological component is key in this group consciousness since it is at this stage that perceptions of reality, the specific definitions of undesirable conditions, and some vision for what is to be (re)created is articulated to the extent that it moves the collective

\(^{29}\) Ani, xxvi.

\(^{30}\) Ibid., 169.
psychologically and politically. As a result, this collective national consciousness is the essence of nationalism. Because it is inseparable from a people’s general political interests and activities, collective struggles for empowerment by a people are fundamentally expressions of nationalism. Therefore, Pan-Africanism, as an initiative by African people for various levels of empowerment, is simultaneously nationalistic, but on another level. As John Henrik Clarke puts it,

There is no way to separate Pan-Africanism from nationalism. Nationalism is the catalytic agent that sets Pan-Africanism in motion; the cohesive force that drives it forward and establishes it reason to exist. Pan-Africanism is a static ideology that cannot move without the stimulation of nationalism.  

These three elements are then united in a manner consistent with the worldview. The Sankofa paradigm, placed within the African-centered worldview, assumes not only that Pan-Africanism and nationalism must be joined, but also that the union must recognize the cultural identity (and the state thereof) of African people. Pan-African Nationalism, as a theory, is consequently guided by these assumptions.


Pan-African Nationalism is based upon the observation that the achievement of an operational, practical, and international Pan-African movement primarily depends upon the extent to which specific nationalist struggles and movements in African communities throughout the world are also connected to the larger struggle for global African empowerment. It begins with the assumption that black people throughout the

world are an African people with a common origin, cultural base, and a shared racial, political, and economic oppression. As a result, the theory emphasizes cultural identity as a prerequisite for organizing to eradicate racial, political, and economic oppression. It acknowledges Harold Cruse’s warning that, “As long as the Negro’s cultural identity is in question, or open to self-doubts, then there can be no positive identification with the real demands of his political and economic existence.”

For Cruse, the major failing of African political and economic movements of nineteenth and early twentieth century was that they lacked an equivalent cultural component and were thus rendered politically and economically powerless. Therefore, any political and/or economic movement among and between African peoples must have a cultural identity foundation consistent with their historical reality. These assumptions serve as the basis for an operational, as opposed to simply symbolic, intellectual or state-level Pan-Africanism. The operational Pan-Africanism being referenced here is in line with Eusi Kwayana’s demand that:

The goals of Pan-Africanism include: finding techniques of governing that build self-reliance and community, identifying and rejecting the values of white domination and consumerism and holding that those educated in every tradition or discipline should put that education to work to serve working people.

The practicality of this process relies on the adaptation and application of only the most useful aspects of African culture to contemporary conditions, followed by the internationalization of the nationalist struggles throughout the African world. The first

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step contributes to the creation of a group consciousness relevant to the global African world through a deliberate process of reintroducing and critically analyzing those African elements that are conducive to struggle. It is recognized that the unique experiences throughout the Diaspora generate different processes. However, it is the development of this group consciousness, based on a reclaiming of one's cultural identity, that informs the concrete political, economic and social agendas, goals and accepted range of activity (reAfricanization). In historical terms, Pan-African Nationalism helps make sense of the process whereby, given the realities of enslavement and colonization, African cultural identity survive enough to make a significant contribution to early Pan-African struggles, which is now relevant to contemporary efforts.

Next, Pan-African Nationalism assumes the bridging of the various nationalist struggles around the world. It requires a duality of responsibility that DuBois suggested above and that Ronald Walters recently expands upon. In his "Pan-African Method," Walters emphasizes two points: (1) the idea that a dual commitment must exist at the heart of Pan-Africanism; and (2) Pan-Africanism must be measured by the substantive political events or movements emerging from organizing efforts.34 In other words, Pan-Africanism must reflect a "dual responsibility," (DuBois) to the struggles of African people locally as well as abroad, and this must result in the creation and politicization of concrete collective efforts and institutions. The range of activities involved in this internationalization of local, nationalistic struggles is varied. They potentially include the

sharing of first-hand experiences from previous struggles in one place that would assist ongoing struggles elsewhere; the building of institutions that would sustain African cultural, political, and economic collaborations; and the sharing of informational and financial resources. According to Walters, an example of this exchange was the impact the Black Power and Black Nationalist struggles of Diasporan African communities in America had on strategies and tactics employed by African communities in Britain in the 1970s and 1980s. The reward of this process is the empowering, defense, and perpetuation of African communities by linking them to a larger global African entity (nationbuilding). Therefore, the underlying elements of Pan-African Nationalism include a convergence of nationalist struggles primarily located at the mass-based, grassroots level that is inclusive of a reaffirmed African identity and geared towards the larger goal of global African empowerment.

Key Concepts of Pan-African Nationalism

In order to expand on Pan-African Nationalism, identifying the concepts that explain its historical progression and contemporary condition is needed. These concepts capture the various stages and influential dynamics that have historically and persistently defined the movement. By illustrating the two key points above, these concepts help to reconstruct a historical picture that could support Pan-African Nationalism’s emphasis on selecting specific units of analysis for understanding Pan-Africanism in the post-Cold War era. The selection of accurate contemporary units would benefit from locating, through these concepts, historical examples that are culturally and politically consistent.

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35 Ibid., 144.
Briefly, the search for previous instances of African unification that is connected to culture must begin with a general outline of the primary reaction among African communities to Europe's implementation of enslavement. As Chinweizu implied earlier, and a point that will be developed further in Chapter Five, European exploitation of Africa required a simultaneous cultural warfare. The implication of this was that African empowerment had to also include cultural, along with political and economic resistance. Focusing on the Americas, the related forces of European expansionism and African resistance shaped the societies that emerged in the hemisphere. As an extension of this, the African realities that emerged in the Americas became microcosms of the conflict between diametrically opposed forces. They, in fact, were embodiments of the conflict between processes of westernization (also Chapter Five) and African resistance. The discussion below outlines a process where, whether on the Continent, in North America, or the Caribbean, there was both a cultural and political resistance to European expansion and the westernization of those regions. In terms of supporting Pan-African Nationalism, and the contemporary Pan-African movement, with historical evidence of similar forms of cultural resistance, the maroonage tradition is critical. The following concepts make this point.

*Pan-African Consciousness.* The most essential bond among and between enslaved and colonized African people was their collective consciousness, which survived the physical separation and psychological damage imposed during slavery and colonialism. Bernard Makhosezwe Magubane, in *The Ties That Bind*, saw that the psychological connection and a collective consciousness between African people rests in
(1) a shared, resilient identity and (2) a common struggle - both of which are central to Pan-African Nationalism. In his study of African consciousness in the Americas, Magubane found that, in spite of the forced removal from Africa and the white supremacists' onslaught on the African identity, remembrance of Africa as a source was not destroyed.

Pan-African consciousness emerged when some black folks, because of common experiences (inherited or shared), felt and articulated the identity of their interests — as between themselves and as against other men whose interests were different from theirs. African at home and abroad were victims of the European-developed system of racism, which ruthlessly exploited them as a group (emphasis mine). Prototypical Pan-African struggles were shaped by the worldview of those Africans who sought to create new societies based on the elements of their culture that could be imported and, as such, were outgrowths of this collective Pan-African consciousness.

Interpretations of the historical evolution of this Pan-African consciousness in subsequent eras can be fleshed out by reference to the concept of an African personality. An example was Edward Wilmont Blyden's 19th century focus on the importance of an African personality. Blyden's program for the upliftment of Africa and its people was not only explained in his political strategies for empowerment, but equally in his demand that empowerment was also a function of this African personality. This, Esedebe writes, was Blyden's message in his strong criticism of those who rejected the existence of an African consciousness:


37 Ibid., 128.
‘Let us do away with the sentiment of Race. Let us do away with our African personality and be lost, if possible, in another Race.’ This is as wise or as philosophical as to say, let us do away with gravitation, with heat and cold and sunshine and rain. Of course the Race in which these persons would be absorbed is the dominant race, before which, in cringing self-surrender and ignoble self-suppression they lie in prostrate admiration.  

Blyden made these comments in 1893, which is thought to be the first time the African personality phrase was used.

From there, Pan-Africanists of various types consistently invoked the term throughout the first half of the twentieth century; again in the context of linking the idea of an African cultural reality to African liberation and empowerment. In the process, the meanings of this cultural reality, African personality, and their contribution to a collective Pan-African consciousness became clearer. According to Cheikh Anta Diop's historical analysis of Africa's cultural foundations in Civilization or Barbarism, a collective African consciousness is essentially the product of what he called the "collective personality" of a people. The components of this collective (African) personality include historical, linguistic, and psychological factors. First, the historical factor is expressed as a people’s collective historical conscience and is critical for empowerment:

The historical conscience, through the feeling of cohesion that it creates, constitutes the safest and most solid shield of cultural security for a people. This is why every people seek only to know and to live their true history well, to transmit its memory to their descendents.

38 Quoted in Esedebe, 28.


40 Ibid., 212.
Because of this, pursuing the collective cultural identity/personality is fundamental to defending against cultural aggression:

The essential thing, for people, is to rediscover the thread that connects them to their most remote ancestral past. In the face of cultural aggression of all sorts, in the face of disintegrating factors of the outside world, the most efficient cultural weapon with which a people can arm itself is the feeling of cultural continuity.41

Second, an African personality consists also of a linguistic continuity that is shared among Africans. He, like Gyekye’s comparison mentioned above, stresses the point that, in spite of different European national languages, the fact still remains “that superficial heterogeneity in Europe hides a kinship, a profound linguistic unity that becomes more and more obvious as one goes back to the Indo-European language, which is the ‘mother tongue,’ the ancestor from which all of the present and the past branches derive, following a very complex evolution.”42 Likewise, in spite of linguistic differences from the Bambara to the Wolof, there remains a linguistic personality that spans the “black Africa.” More importantly, struggles to reveal these links contribute directly to struggles for confronting cultural aggression.

Finally, the psychological factor was couched in terms of self-affirmation. Cheikh Anta Diop explained this aspect in terms of a confrontation with imperialism:

Today, with the explosion every in the world of these [western] structures inherited from the past, we are witnessing a new moral and spiritual birth among peoples: a new African moral consciousness and a new national temperament are developing before our eyes, and unless the

41 Ibid.
42 Ibid., 215.
structures resist — and how could they? — this phenomenon of spiritual transformation of the people will become greater. 43

From the “cultural unity” that Cheikh Anta Diop argued was shared by African people came a collective African personality that, in turn, produced a Pan-African consciousness that countered Western notions of African inferiority with a tradition of self-definition and affirmation.

There was not, however, a consensus on how this process unfolded. Alioune Diop believed that an African personality was produced from the convergence of the Anglophone Africans’ expression of cultural unity, Pan-Africanism, and that of Francophone Africans expressed in Negritude.44 On the other hand, Alex Quaison-Sackey, in his chapter on the African personality in Africa Unbound, limited the concept to the general “cultural expression of what is common to all peoples whose home is on the continent of Africa.”45 What they did agree on, nonetheless, was the importance of Pan-African consciousness to the practicalities of African empowerment. Nkrumah made a critical contribution to this observation at the 1958 Conference of Independent African States when he spoke of the African personality as a link between African individual/collective interests, African liberation, and international affairs.46 It was in this framework that Alioune Diop approached the practical role of an African personality:

43 Ibid., 218.

44 Alioune Diop, 339.


46 Ibid., 36. Here, Quaison-Sackey highlights Nkumah’s comments regarding the African personality at the Conference of Independent African States in 1958.
We are reaching a period in history when it would seem that, on a theoretical, plane, the problem of independence finds its solution in political independence. But we must not forget that political independence is only one step, it is only a means, and that independence will never be total until the moment when it is assured on both the economic and the cultural levels. ⁴⁷

Similarly, Quaison-Sackey suggested that African political action had to reflect an African personality so that “it projects a figure of action and thought, of unified power, which displays itself, and thereby defines itself, in action – particularly in political action. . . and it is so closely related to other political ideas such as Pan-Africanism, positive action, and nonalignment that is sometimes difficult to define from one another.” ⁴⁸ Finally, in terms of realizing Pan-Africanism in the context of external threats, Joseph Ki-Zerbo offered three segments of the process, consisting of, “first, decolonization of social values; next, self-examination leading to the suppression of certain customs and social factors in present-day African society, and on the other hand, the invention of new social forms better adapted to our situation in the twentieth century – thus arriving at the progressive formation of a new Africa, sociologically and culturally speaking.” ⁴⁹ This all points, therefore, to the practical reality that the significance of notions of African personality, Pan-African consciousness, and the Pan-African

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⁴⁷ Alioune Diop, 339.

⁴⁸ Quaison-Sackey, 37.

movement itself rests in a process where African struggles for empowerment are reinforced with attempts at resolving the cultural identity dilemma.

**Nascent Pan-Africanism.** Akoto defines this concept as, "the initial response of Afrikans to the horrors of enslavement, the middle passage and the attempted dehumanization [of African people]."\(^{50}\) Maroon societies, he argues, were the fullest manifestations of a nationalistic Pan-African consciousness and consequently represented nascent forms of Pan-Africanism. It was the collective cultural survival and spirit of resistance among kidnapped Africans, mostly from various parts of the Continent, that produced the first expressions of Pan-Africanism. Richard Price points out that "maroon societies – whether in Brazil or the United States, in Mexico or Jamaica – shared a great deal culturally and stood together as the heroic, living proof on the existence of a slave consciousness that refused to be limited by the master’s conception or manipulation of it."\(^{51}\) Cultural and political resistance were the foundations of these communities.

Maroon societies embodied both an internal and external dimensions of Pan-Africanism: (1) the attempt to create new societies based on common cultural characteristics they retained (internal), and (2) a collective struggle to emancipate themselves from European domination (external). In the first case, the societies, to different degrees, became spaces for recreating the common elements of African culture that transcended ethnic and geographic differences on the African continent (and in regions of the Americas). The frequency and intensity of these societies were functions

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\(^{50}\) Akoto, *Nationbuilding*, 47.

of the degree to which African cultural universals were able to survive, varying from African states such as the Republic of Palmares in Brazil, to encampments created by the Outlayers of North America. Price suggested a correlation between the level of African consciousness and cultural retention and the intensity of maroon activities. It is significant that "the least acculturated slaves were among those most prone to marronage, often escaping within their very first hours or days on American soil, and often doing so in groups, sometimes in a vain attempt to find their way back to Africa."52 Given this reality, the recreation of African societies, based on the cultural universals that survived the Middle Passage, was only a matter of time, space, and opportunity. However, approaching maroon societies as early embodiments of Pan-African Nationalism has to be supported by locating within them cultural modes of organization that drew from those universal themes of African culture shared by individuals from the various ethnic groups who escaped together. As a general example, the Brazilian maroon societies, referred to as Quilombo or mocambos, produced in the Republic of Palmares one of the most complex and effective political organizations in the history of the African struggle in the Americas. The high level of political development makes it an important case study for identifying the role of African cultural (and political) systems in influencing the Pan-Africanism of the maroons. Kent, in concluding, connects the political elements that made the state of Palmares the largest example of marronage to West Africa. He explained it this way:

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52 Ibid., 24.
Assuming that Loanda was the main embarkation point for Pernambucan slaves, which is confined by the linguistic evidence, the model for Palmares could have come from nowhere else but Central Africa. Can it be pinpointed? Internal attitude toward slavery, prostrations before the king, site initiations with animal blood, the placing of the casa de conselho in the 'main square,' or the use of a high rock as part of man-made fortress lead in no particular direction. The names of mocambo chiefs suggest a number of candidates. The most likely answer is that the political system did not derive from a particular Central African model, but from several.53

But the importance of Palmares cannot be measured in terms of specific links. He adds that,

Nonetheless, the most apparent significance of Palmares to African history is that an African political system could be transferred to a different continent; that it could come to govern not only individuals from a variety of ethnic groups in Africa but also those born in Brazil, pitch black or almost white, latinized or close to Amerindian roots; and that it could endure for almost a full century against two European powers, Holland and Portugal.54

The entrenched institution of slavery in North America had to contend with the same Pan-African process in Brazil and Surinam, but on a lower scale. As Tolagbe Ogunleye contends, there were similar Pan-African nationalist patterns in North America, in spite of the more direct obstacles. He argued that Africans in Florida "resurrected their African personalities and lived according to the tenets of an African-centered perspective and worldview using Pan-African social, religious, political, and military strategies to thrive and reign victoriously against their former enslaver."55 Although it is true that


54 Ibid.

maroon societies were also influenced by the realities of the West, ties to African were so resilient that it influences the basic structure that governed the communities.

One of the best cases of the specific components of nascent Pan-Africanism emerged in Surinam. Among the Bush Negroes, as Africans who created maroon communities of this region were called, the Djukas created villages that duplicated many structures that appeared in West Africa. Kobben's study the political organization of these societies not only found African elements, such as the role of the "Paramount Chief," resurfacing, but details the presence of kinship system discussed above in place: "It may be described from other points of view, but in a sense kinship is basic in that almost all relations within the village – legal, political, economic, and religious ones – are expressed in terms of kinship." At the core of the kinship organizational structure among African societies was the recognition of ancestors who bound the collective together. Among the Djukas, not only was this the case, but there was also the influence of the matrilineal system, where "The nucleus of the village is formed by the matrilineal descendants of the ancestress." Kobben also noted that, as an example of the functionality of the ancestors, "Each village has a shrine to the ancestors (faga-tiki), where libations are made on occasions of illness or misfortune, or before starting on some

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Nationalist concept specifically to the African struggle in the United States. From an African-centered perspective, he features these "self-emancipated Africans" and their attempts to establish free communities. Ogunleye's aim is to address the failure of the research to include these nascent Pan-Africanists in the existing paradigms and frameworks on the subject.


57 Ibid., 322.
important undertaking, such as leaving the village for some length of time."\textsuperscript{58} In a much more complex way, kinship systems among the Saramaka (from the same region in South America), according to Price, "were playing a major organizational role and determining to a large extent the distribution of authority; legal institutions, including councils, ordeals, and other standardized judicial mechanisms, were operating smoothly[.]."\textsuperscript{59}

In order to illustrate the second component, collective struggle, an account of the spirituality concept is important. In addition to the political systems, kinship, and matrilineal ancestry, discussions of the maroon tradition that do not address the presence of African spirituality would be seriously flawed. The presence of spiritual themes outlined above by Karenga perhaps represents the strongest example of cultural resistance among Africans in the Americas. It is also a critical factor in the political struggles Africans waged to empower themselves. Mavis Campbell, in \textit{The Maroons of Jamaica}, stressed that,

More than any other single factor, African religious beliefs gave the unifying force, the conspiratorial locus, the rallying point to mobilize, to inspire, and to design strategies; it gave the ideology, the mystique, and the pertinacious courage and leadership to Maroons societies to confront the mercantilist society with its awesome knowledge bearing on the supernatural forces. This, in their cosmology, was closely aligned not only to religion but also to military prowess, and such transcendental knowledge was to be manipulated for the benefit of the whole community.\textsuperscript{60}

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., 328.

\textsuperscript{59} Price, 21.

Campbell’s continued references to spirituality-in-struggle, particularly among the Jamaican maroons, expose the key point that in the nascent examples of Pan-Africanism, culture consciousness and identity was central to effective collective empowerment.

The Outlayer maroons of North America, along with Haitian maroons, demonstrate yet another element of Pan-Africanism Nationalism: linkages between African populations. In both cases, struggles that were unfolding in one part of the Diaspora were linked, in political terms, to those in other parts of the Americas. Vincent Harding’s metaphor of “the river of black struggle” below is helpful in understanding the ability of these initial Pan-Africanists to forge political linkages across significant spaces:

... it is possible to recognize that we are indeed the river, and at the same time that river is more than us – generations more, millions more. Through such an opening we may sense that the river of black struggle is people, but it is also the hope, the movement, the transformative power that humans create and that create them, us, and makes them, us, new persons. So we black people are the river; the river is us. The river is in us, created by us, flowing out of us, surrounding us, re-creating us and this entire nation. I refer to the American nation without hesitation, for the black river in the United States has always taken on more than blackness. The dynamics and justice of its movement have continually gathered other to itself, have persistently filled other men and women with the force of its vision, its indomitable hope. And at its best the river of our struggle has moved consistently toward the ocean of humankind’s most courageous hopes for freedom and integrity, forever seeking what black people in South Carolina said they sought in 1865: ‘the right to develop our whole being.’

In most parts of the United States, as suggested above, the maroon phenomenon was tempered by a white demographic majority. There were, however, exceptions. As Harding notes, those states where either Africans outnumbered whites, such as the

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Carolinas and Virginia, as well as the Spanish territory of Florida, the maroon tradition flourished. Armed with identity, spirituality, and weapons, these Outlayers not only escaped, but also maintain a constant threat of revolt and attack against the plantation. So that, in September of 1739, the Stono Rebellion in South Carolina (as with many others) was fulfilling a pattern (that was more articulate in Brazil and Jamaica). Stono, however, was more than a local revolt against slave masters. In fact, a well-documented feature of this rebellion was that, after believing they had succeeded, these Africans started marching south to Florida. It is not known exactly how, but the Outlayers of Florida were informing struggles in the Carolinas and elsewhere up until the Seminole Wars (1816, 1835) shut off the flow of Africans escaping into Florida from the southern states. Linkages were also being forged across colonies. Selwyn Cudjoe found that Africans across the region knew of and were influence by treaties and concessions Jamaica Maroons were able to win. A more direct link was the role the Jamaican priest/revolutionary, Boukman, played in the launching of the revolution in Haiti in 1791. It was Boukman, according to Carruthers, who organized and mobilized African leaders from various maroon groups, as well as others, throughout the island. In a wider context, Harding and Thompson discuss the impacts the Haitian Revolution would, in turn, have on societies and revolts throughout the Americas. Boukman, with his famous prayer

62 Ibid., 34.


64 See Harding, 211, and Thompson, 260.
invoking the spirit of Ogun, the Vodun deity of war, before striking in Haiti is symbolic of the (1) the role of African cultural retentions in the Diaspora and (2) collective struggles and linkages among nascent Pan-Africanists:

Good God who created the Sun which shines on us from above, who rouses the sea and makes the thunder rumble; Listen! God though hidden in a cloud watches over us. The God of the white man calls forth crime but our God will good works. Our God who is so good commands us to vengeance. He will direct our arms and help us. Throw away the likeness of the white man’s god who has so often brought us to tears and listen to liberty which speaks in all our hearts.65

Cultural Imperialism. Pan-African Nationalism, in addition to political and economic exploitation, also targets cultural imperialism. This form of imperialism is a two-dimensional phenomenon that operates simultaneously on both levels. These two related dimensions are what Magubane suggests as a twofold, “full-fledged system of control”: Deculturation and Acculturation. Deculturation is the process where “a subject people is forced to abandon its own culture and adopt new ways of thinking and behaving by being removed from its culture context through impressment, enslavement or transplantation.”66 This is complemented by acculturation, which is considered as an aggressive, one-sided process of “adaptation to Western cultural norms.”67

These attempts to eradicate the African identity, and force-feed European cultural ideas, values, and norms are prerequisite steps for setting up and perpetuating short- and long-term control. The works of Amilcar Cabral and Walter Rodney help to

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66 Magubane, 45.

67 Ibid.
show the connection. First, according to Cabral, cultural imperialism is a form of foreign
domination made necessary by the desire to establish a perpetual political and economic
control of an oppressed people in a way that cripples its capacity to resist. In the timeless
essay, “National Liberation and Culture,” Cabral warned that,

to take up arms to dominate a people is, above all, to take up arms to
destroy, or at least to neutralize and to paralyse their cultural life. For as
long as part of the people can have a cultural life, foreign domination
cannot be sure of its perpetuation. At a given moment, depending on
internal and external factors determining the evolution of the society in
question, cultural resistance (indestructible) may take on new (political,
economic and armed) forms, in order fully to contest foreign domination.

This is so since culture is “the fruit of a people’s history and a determinant of that history,
by the positive and negative influences it exerts on the evolution of relations between
man and his environment and among men or human groups with a society, as well as
between different societies.” He suggests a connection between this cultural basis of
imperialism and its ramifications for national liberation struggles. As imperialism denied
African people the right to their own historical process by arresting its political,
economic, and social development, it also denied the cultural identity of African people.
Therefore, he observed that,

Study of the history of liberation struggles shows that they have
generally been preceded by an upsurge of cultural manifestations, which
progressively harden into an attempt, successful or not, to assert the
cultural personality of the dominated people by an act of denial of the
culture of the oppressor.

69 Ibid., 141.
70 Ibid., 142.
More importantly, he adds that, "Whatever the conditions of subjection of a people to foreign domination and the influence of economic, political, and social factors in the exercise of this domination, it is generally within the cultural factor that we find the germ of challenge which leads to the structuring and development of the liberation movement." Ultimately, a struggle against imperialistic domination is first and foremost a struggle to reclaim one's "cultural identity."

Meanwhile, on the second level, Rodney argued that the successful execution of cultural imperialism depended on the ability of a foreign power to dominate another by instilling values that benefited the aggressor but demobilized the colonized. In discussing Europe's underdevelopment of Africa, Rodney argued that, historically, some Africans became "cultural agents" of European thoughts and values. It was they who helped advance the control of Africa through economic and then political means. Although his main focus was on the economic roots of Africa's underdevelopment, in Rodney's view, the colonial education extended to Africans would ultimately perpetuate Europe's domination. A distinction was, according to Rodney, between pre-colonial African forms of education and that which was to follow. In the first case, "the most crucial aspect of pre-colonial African education was its relevance to Africans," which, according to Rodney, "... matched the realities of pre-colonial African society and produced well-

71 Ibid., 143.
rounded personalities to fit the society." This is in contrast to what would take place with Europe’s increased aggression in Africa. Rodney’s stressed that,

The main purpose of the colonial school system was to train Africans to help man the local administration at the lowest ranks and to staff the private capitalist firms owned by Europeans. In effect, that meant selecting a few Africans to participate in the domination and exploitation of the continent as a whole. Thus, the educational system did not grow out of the demands of African societies or environments, “but one which sought to instill a sense of deference towards all that was European and capitalist.” European cultural imperialism is a process that not only arrested the cultural/historical development of African people (deculturation), but also perpetuated that domination through African “agents” who endorse European cultural, social, political, and economic ideas/values (acculturation). African culture became debased and delegitimized while European culture is embraced and advanced by its victims themselves.

**Contemporary Sankofan Models of Pan-Africanism**

Illustrating the continuity between the historical process outlined above and contemporary models that value cultural identity, linkages building, and a struggle against cultural imperialism round out the elements of Pan-African Nationalism. Specifically, three contemporary Pan-African models are featured, the latter two being active movements, that advance Dr. Clarke’s nationalism in contemporary global African

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73 Ibid., 239.
74 Ibid.
75 Ibid., 240.
struggles. Henderson’s Kimira paradigm and model for African unification in world politics is an example, although a more theoretical one. The term, Kimira, is derived from the Swahili term, *kimila*, which roughly translates into “culturalism” and is a paradigm offered by Henderson as an answer to his own criticism of Afrocentricity discussed earlier. His model for an operational African unity assumes that culture groups have been and continue to be the dominant units of analysis throughout world politics. A focus on these units is vital to understanding world politics, and Africa struggles therein, because culture groups are the “primary formations around which politico-economies are structured.”

Identifying contemporary Diaspora culture groups as basic units of analysis is essential since “today’s culture groups are all extensions of the original African culture group.” Although Henderson actually offers the Kimira concept in place of Pan-Africanism, the relevant point for Pan-African Nationalism is that the model is useful as it emphasizes cultural/Diasporan units of analysis. As such, African Diaspora groups, defined by their common African culture, must be at the core of any progressive Pan-Africanism that aims to unify and advance African communities.

In terms of tangible political examples, perhaps two of the most comprehensive Sankofan models that exemplify Pan-African Nationalism, are the *Quilombismo* and the *Sankofaman* models. Quilombismo is a contemporary Afro-Brazilian expression of the Quilombo societies, created by Africans in Brazil. Nascimento says that they were the

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76 Henderson, xvi.

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid., 80. Henderson adds that the intent here is not to remove the state-level analysis from world politics but rather that they should not be the “centerpiece” of analysis.
result of the "urgent necessity of black people to defend their survival and assure their very existence as human beings." Arguably, the most prolific of these Quilombos was the Republic of Palmares (1595-1695), which, under its leader, Ganga Zumbi, fought against the Portuguese and the Dutch for almost a century. In contemporary Brazil, the maroon tradition is the skeletal support for the Quilombismo. Today, a collective of Afro-Brazilian organizations contribute culturally, politically, socially, and psychologically by "performing a relevant and central role in sustaining African continuity and serving as genuine focal points of physical, as well as cultural, resistance." The Quilombist model, according to Nascimento, is a dynamic process that continuously adapts to the differences of various historical and geographical realities. But whatever the organizational expressions, the Quilombismo is fundamentally Pan-Africanist and nationalist. In addition, Nascimento stressed that, "Quilombismo, as a nationalist movement, teaches us that every people's struggle for liberation must be rooted in their own cultural identity and historical experiences." Finally, a practical example of Quilombismo in contemporary Brazil is the Unified Black Movement Against Racism and Racial Discrimination.

The Sankofaman model, institutionalized in the Ankobea Society, operating in the Washington, D.C. area, represents one of the fullest manifestations of the various

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80 Ibid., 182.

81 Ibid., 183,
aspects of the African-centered worldview and the Sankofa paradigm mentioned earlier.

As Akoto defines it,

The growing movement of traditional Afrikan cultural assertion, and the considerations of cultural, political and economic sovereignty within the community of Afrikans in America and elsewhere in the world, is an expression of an emergent consciousness and reality of an Afrikan World Community. 82

It is a contemporary expression of Pan-Africanism that recognizes the role of African culture as a foundation for unification. This reAfricanization process, consistent with Chinweizu’s position, begins with a reclamation and critical analysis of an African cultural identity (pre-European and pre-Arab conquest) and uses it to inform its Pan-African agenda. The nationbuilding aspect also recognizes this “cultural unity”:

Sankofaman is an expression of that primal expression of that primal Afrikan expansion that first populated the world, that sustained its essential Afrikan cultural, psychic, phylogenetic and cosmological qualities. This Afrikan reality of a national/regional and world community exists now in the fashion of scattered mercury droplets that are coalescing in lesser units that are themselves in the process of reconnecting with the greater whole. This proclamation of Afrikan world nationality/community at the close of the 20th century (Western Gregorian calendar) represents a continuation of the conceptions and proclamations of Garnett, Delany, Garvey Williams, and many others. 83

But the nationbuilding component of this brand of African unification is not simply an internal effort unaware of the contradictions of cultural imperialism and the various external political and economic threats. It is a model that balances the internal and external challenges. Therefore, nationbuilding, in this model, also assumes

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82 Akoto and Akoto, The Sankofa Movement, 63.

83 Ibid., 65-66.
the divestiture of values, and formations that have been designed to service alien and hostile realities. Those socio-political and economic formations that we have inherited from the non-African, whether through armed revolt, electoral politics, or at the alien’s ‘ostensible gratuity’, must be jettisoned.  

It is the pursuit of alternative “socio-political and economic formations” that counteracts the problematic Western and Asian models that has hindered Pan-Africanism in the past that reflects the practicality of reAfricanization and nationbuilding.

**Progressive Pan-African Nationalism and the State of the Movement**

Nantambu, in his conceptual development of Pan-African Nationalism, emphasized four important historical stages of its development. In his scheme,

the first period was characterized by resistance against foreign invasions and dynastic governance/nation building in the B.C. era in ancient Kemet (Egypt). The second period was characterized by the continued resistance against foreign invasions into ancient Kemet (Egypt) at the dawn of the A.D. era and beyond. . . . The third period, from the 15th to the 19th century, was a period of revolutionary Pan-African Nationalism that was characterized by physical resistance against being captured as slaves on the continent [and ] by slave revolts in the Americas. . . The fourth period was characterized by the intellectual, geopolitical, scientific, and cultural Pan-African Nationalism of the 20th century. . .

This was a sound contribution to developing a more historically accurate inclusive idea of Pan-Africanism Nationalism. However, Nantambu’s outline, at the same time, undermines the concept of Pan-African Nationalism in that it lacks an account of the role of culture in these stages of struggles while overemphasizing the economic/class forces. Nantambu’s “macro-analysis” also glosses over the role of local nationalist struggles as

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84 Ibid., 97.

integral components of the larger movement. A more useful and consistent historical analysis in support of the Pan-African Nationalism theory outlined above is Akoto’s *Comprehensive Nationalist Pan-Africanism*. Akoto also identifies four steps in the historical development of Pan-African Nationalism. First, a nascent Pan-Africanism emerged from “the initial response of Afrikans to the horrors of enslavement, the middle passage and the attempted dehumanization” at the hands of European aggressors.86 Second, newly freed Africans of the late eighteenth and the nineteenth century Diaspora forged a nascent nationalist Pan-Africanism. Here, “The currents of race consciousness, resistance and aspirations of liberty...” inspired nationalists thinkers and early Pan-Africanist movements such as David Walker and the independent church movement, respectively.87 The third level, the emergence of late nineteenth century Pan-Africanism, was characterized by reinvigorated expressions of racial price, race consciousness, and African nationalism found in Garvey’s UNIA and the 1945 Pan African Congress.88 A previously prevalent integrationist/assimilationist perspective nurtured and supported by the manifestations of European cultural, political, and economic aggression instigated this resurgence. Finally, a continued waning of the integrationist/assimilationist sentiment and the heightening of “endemic racism” at present has paralleled a comprehensive

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86 Akoto, *Nationbuilding*, 47.
87 Ibid., 51.
88 Ibid., 54.
Nationalist Pan-Africanism based on the values of racial pride and a nationalist consciousness.\(^\text{89}\)

Grounded in the worldview, paradigm, and the ideological/conceptual base outlined above, a progressive Pan-African Nationalism emerges from Pan-Africanism’s historical shift between what might be called a holistic, progressive extreme and a limited, programmic one. At the progressive end of the spectrum was the nationalist form consistent with the elements of the nascent Pan-African movements. It is holistic in the sense that it adds to the political and economic focus an account for the role of culture and identity in Pan-Africanism. At the other end, the programmic form dominated by European cultural imperialism. The holistic and limited concepts are developed in Chapter Four. The key point here is that in the most recent era, from the 1960s to 1990s, programmic models of Pan-Africanism declined as a result of contradictions in worldview and ideology. The post-Cold War era is witnessing a shift in Pan-Africanism towards the progressive end of the spectrum with adaptations to contemporary circumstances. This shift is characterized by the reemergence of a more culturally and historically consistent form of Pan-Africanism tailored to meet new political, economic, and social realities. It is to be distinguished from the more limited forms of Pan-Africanism extending up to the end of the Cold War.

**Progressive v. Programmic Pan-Africanism**

The basics of holistic, progressive, and limited, programmic Pan-Africanism concepts have been, for the most part, outlined above in Akoto’s CNP and are now

\(^{89}\) Ibid., 56.
refined: progressive Pan-Africanism reincorporates in its outlook and actions elements of a Pan-African consciousness and nascent Pan-African models. Here, as in the Pan-Africanisms of maroon societies, an emphasis is placed on a shared consciousness, rooted in the reclamation and reconstruction of the African cultural identity. From this, Pan-Africanism is progressive when global African identities and experiences form a base upon which new challenges are analyzed and confronted. It is a form of Pan-Africanism that advances towards unity and empowerment while informed by the lessons of its historical and cultural realities. Progressive Pan-Africanists operate under the assumption that Black people around the world are African people whose African identities, although damaged, survived European aggression. Also, there is the notion that Pan-African political and economical empowerment rests first on the reclaiming and rehabilitating of African identity. Progressive Pan-African organizations include those that contain two components: they are (1) nationalists and (2) have a strong grassroots emphasis. These progressive organizations are, therefore, manifestations of Pan-African Nationalism.

Programmic Pan-Africanism, on the other hand, is a limited form that neglects the importance of an African culture, worldview, and identity in its emphasis on economic and political factors. Coupled with this void is an uncritical importing of non-African worldviews, ideas, and values that undermine the ability of programmic Pan-Africanism to address the totality of forces afflicting African people. Programmic Pan-Africanism, in its marginalization of African worldview and identity, subtly and sometimes openly complicit with European (and Arab) cultural imperialism, which then
shapes subsequent analyses, policies, and agendas. At its best, potentially effective political and economic strategies and tactics fall short because of a lack of ideological clarity regarding the nature of the problems and the scope of the solutions designed to solve them. At its worse, only lip service is paid to the objective of empowering African communities while actions instead show collaboration with hostile extra-African interests.

The concepts are critical in the application of progressive Pan-African Nationalism to contemporary Pan-Africanism because they allow us the phenomenon to be understood from a historically and culturally coherent perspective. Progressive Pan-African Nationalism, as a theory explaining the present nature of Pan-Africanism, relies on a particular historical understanding that complements the contemporary assertions of the theory. Thus, this process linking the past and present, in terms of progressive Pan-African Nationalism, is presented in the following observations and supporting explanations.

Pan-African Origins

An incipient nascent Pan-Africanism emerged out of a Pan-African consciousness among people of African origin. This nascent Pan-Africanism reflected a collective cultural unity and the shared hostile realities of European enslavement. The establishment and struggles of maroon societies throughout the Diaspora, in places such as Haiti (c. 1527), Brazil (c. 1630), Suriname (c. 1650), Jamaica (c. 1655), Florida (c. 1730), and Belize (c. 1816), were the highest embodiment this initial stage of Pan-

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90 Akoto, Nationbuilding, 47.
Africanism. The kidnapping of African people by Europeans provided the spark for this early stage that Akoto calls "the Forged Unity of Pre-Existent Nationalities." This prototypical form contained within it three key elements: a consciousness of being African, the presence of an African cultural unity upon which racial and political unity was erected, and an acknowledgment of a common enemy and plight.

In order to establish their military, cultural, political, and economic domination specifically over African people, Europeans employed two strategies: one for removing the threat of rebellious Africans and another for maintaining cultural and psychological control over otherwise enslaved Africans. During the early stages of European global expansion and domination (15th-18th centuries) militaristic policies of elimination, like that waged against Palmares, exerted extreme violence, with high levels of success, to destroy the maroon enclaves of rebellious Africans. As a result, the elements of a Pan-African consciousness and the nascent Pan-Africanisms, again manifested in various maroon societies throughout the Diaspora, were suppressed. At the same time, the aggressive "control" strategy afflicting enslaved Africans sought to debase the African's identity and humanity while substituting a paternalistic, white supremacist ideology.

Consequently, two early forms of Pan-Africanism, a nascent nationalist and a reformist/integrationist type coexisted though damaged and altered by the two strategies. The Pan-African consciousness (like African culture) was never totally destroyed. To a

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91 Ibid., 49.
92 Kent, 186.
93 Akoto, Nationbuilding, 50.
lesser degree, aspects of a Pan-African consciousness continued to exist among the enslaved Africans. Where the strategy of force suppressed it, the strategy of control distorted this consciousness by superimposing European culture and worldview (cultural imperialism). Resulting from the control strategy, the innate Pan-African consciousness among enslaved African people found later expression during and after emancipation in a nonthreatening integrationist form of Pan-Africanism. During the nineteenth century, a Eurocentric worldview, through a Western-nurtured, “educated” African elite, shaped a more submissive, reformist/integrationist Pan-Africanism, locking it within the European cultural parameters. (This reflects the deculturation component of cultural imperialism discussed above.) European-supported emigration schemes and Evangelical Pan-Africanism encouraged a physical reconnection under the umbrella of Western cultural and paternal control. Martin, as an example, stressed the collaboration between Western governments and white evangelicals who sponsored African repatriation and missionary work. He observed that, “British governmental officials and missionaries were still in the initial stages of formulating educational and administrative policies for the effective rule [of African people].”

Meanwhile, the militarily suppressed nascent Pan-Africanism survived as a nationalistic form that, to varying degrees, developed a Pan-African focus. These more progressive, nationalistic Pan-African sentiments such as Boukman and Dessalines of the Haitian Revolution, David Walker, Edward W. Blyden, and Martin

Delany, as with earlier maroon struggles, alarmed Europeans and generated prolonged hostile responses.

The 1st - 5th PACs and the UNIA

These nineteenth century nationalist Pan-Africanists, spearheaded by Walker, Blyden, and Delany, gave way in the early twentieth century to the moderate reformist/integrationist extreme that featured Henry S. Williams and DuBois (at that particular point in his evolution). It was at this time in the early part of the twentieth century that the first Pan-African Conference of 1900 and the 1st Pan-African Congress (PAC) of 1919 exemplified a Westernized intellectual model of Pan-Africanism.95 Specifically, the emerging Congresses of this period protested for human and political reform for African people. Led by Diasporan-African intellectuals, the Congress movement limited its analysis within the political, economic, and social scope of a European-dominated world. For example, Magubane’s view is that, “While the Pan-African intellectuals realized the importance of an independent Africa, they were not prepared to take those measures which would have led to this logical and necessary goal, since it would have disrupted the harmonious coexistence of [Africans and Europeans].”96 Reformist/integrationist Pan-Africanism at this stage pursued an idealistic coexistence within an imperialistic international relationship. The confinement, then, of Pan-African activities and agendas within various Western paradigms made it non-threatening and acceptable to the global power brokers.

95 Magubane, 132.

96 Ibid., 133.
Reformist/integrationist Pan-Africanism of the early twentieth century, particularly the 1st through 4th PACs, because of ideological weakness and internal contradictions, became increasingly isolated and operationally powerless. It protested the uncivil and discriminatory conditions facing African people but accepted the fundamental values and power relationships that generated them. This contradiction and the inability to offer an effective program to counter these hostile issues and challenges of the period confined the Pan-African Congress movement to the intellectual elite that shaped it. Thus, as Magubane pointed out, it was this contradictory, self-appointed leadership of the Westernized African elite that “created the pathologies of the early Pan-Africanists’ attempts.” In the end, the decline of this period’s Pan-Africanism was connected to its isolation from the masses in global African communities.

Crises and decline of reformist/integrationist Pan-Africanism created vacuums filled in the early-to-mid twentieth century by the reemergent nationalist forms of Pan-Africanism. Marcus Garvey and the UNIA of the 1920s, the 5th PAC of 1945, and the All-African Peoples Conference in December of 1958 (AAPC) demonstrated this shift. Although suffering from its own shortcomings, the nationalistic alternative provided the ideological relevance and the mass-level appeal missing in the reformist/integrationist extreme. The maturing connection taking place here between nationalism and Pan-Africanism created a level of consciousness consistent with that present in nascent Pan-African forms. The early Pan-African consciousness and nascent Pan-Africanism was manifested in Garvey’s and the 5th PAC’s more mass-based approach that expanded the

97 Magubane, 132.
scope of the struggle for African empowerment beyond that of the limited forms. Martin’s account of the tensions between the Congresses and the UNIA conventions details how as the former was seeking, as DuBois put it, a “cordial cooperation” with the colonial powers, the grassroots nationalist grounding of the UNIA allowed it to surpass the Congresses in popularity and legitimacy among the masses. Martin offers DuBois’s own admission that the far-reaching influence of the Garvey Movement undermined the success of the Congresses. Of the Pan-African Federation, the umbrella organization behind the 5th PAC, W. Ofuatey-Kodjoe writes in Pan-Africanism: New Directions in Strategy, that it “signaled a shift away from the assimilationist strategy of the Congress movement toward the program of national liberation which had been advocated by the Garveyites.” Similarly, he adds that the AAPC “was the first in modern Africa to bring together freedom fighters and representatives of nationalist struggles from organizations, trade unions, and parties from all over the continent.” Thus, the resurgence of a progressive, nationalist Pan-Africanism was largely based on its ability to appeal to a Pan-African consciousness and reconstruct the link between nationalism and Pan-Africanism.

This nationalist Pan-Africanism of the twentieth century, like those of the nineteenth century, was disrupted and declined largely as a result of reactionary Western

98 Akoto, Nationbuilding. 54.

99 Martin, Race First. 290-291.


101 Ibid.
interference. What the Garvey Movement, the 5th PAC, and the AAPC signaled was a Pan-Africanism that challenged, to varying degrees, the white supremacy, colonialism and an imperialistic international political economy. Threatened by these nationalistic challenges that rejected the Western agenda, calculated steps were taken to undermine, discredit and weaken this brand of Pan-Africanism. With European cultural imperialism employed once again, the response was to counter this form of Pan-Africanism by supporting the more reformist/integrationist versions. In this vein, nationalist Pan-Africanism of this era declined not only because of coercion, but also through the collaboration of African agents of Western values, interests, and supremacy. A painful example of this was DuBois’s correspondences with the U.S. Shipping Board and the State Department centered around information alleging that Garvey’s Black Star Line was fraudulent.102 Another was the contradiction surrounding the betrayal of the vision of the AAPC by African leaders. The more progressive Pan-Africanism of the 5th PAC and the AAPC was betrayed once “... the European powers had installed neo-colonialist regimes through skillful manipulation of the decolonization process.”103 Lastly, conservative and moderate African heads-of-state capped off this shift away from nationalistic Pan-Africanism with the compromised charter of the OAU in 1963.

A shift once again towards a regressive Pan-Africanism occurred, embodying both the dominance of European worldview and values, as well as the adverse impact of pro-European agents of the earlier integrationist forms. The reassertion of European

102 Martin, Race First, 294.

103 Ofuaty-Kodjoe, 10.
values and the acceptance of Western hegemony, in several ideological forms and through African agents, successfully hijacked the Pan-African agenda. Somewhat of a recent outcome of this paradox can be seen in the leadership roles within the OAU of Western-endorsed, anti-Pan-Africanist African heads-of-state. In stressing this contradiction, Ofuatey-KodjoemadetheobservationthatthemoreprogressivePan-Africanists "failed to see that to unify with the neo-colonialist states in an organization like the OAU would not be consistent with the Pan-Africanist goal of liberating the African peoples, but that rather it would be a mechanism for protecting the existing conservative regimes, legitimizing their disunity, and isolating within them the revolutionary African peoples where they could be destroyed (emphasis mine)."\(^{104}\) The confusion and conflicts at the 1974 6th Pan-African Congress in Tanzania is yet another example. Once again, a potentially powerful effort by more progressive Pan-Africanists was diluted since "there were Ghanaian nationalists and American integrationist, Euro-Africans, Black Capitalists and Marxists-Leninists and neo-colonial compradors" also in attendance.\(^{105}\) Of all the contradictions stemming from the influence of pseudo and anti-Pan-Africanists, the biggest was the participation of neocolonial, pro-Western states from the Caribbean who refused to allow grassroots Pan-African nationalist delegates from their own countries to attend. Although both the OAU and the 6th PAC might be considered Pan-African, both were limited in their commitments to the masses of African people. Both of them, for similar and different reasons, avoided linking the modern-day

\(^{104}\) Ibid., 15.  
\(^{105}\) Ibid., 16.
empowerment of global African communities to African historical and cultural realities. As a result, the two can now be categorized as limited, programmic Pan-Africanisms.

**Late Twentieth Century Pan-Africanism**

The gradual decline of programmic Pan-Africanism in the late twentieth century, similar to their reformist/integrationist forerunners, has once again occurred. As in the early twentieth century, it was the lack of ideological clarity and the internal contradictions that were to blame. Programmic Pan-Africanisms of the late twentieth century, such as the OAU, has become increasingly powerless and discredited. In a sense, the policies and posture of the OAU during the 70s, 80s, and 90s has perpetuated the legacies of colonialism. It has been little more than a symbolic gesture to Pan-Africanism. From its inception, organizational ambivalence and the extra-continental allegiances/alliances of its members have often made the OAU at best a powerless bystander and at worse a collaborator in the ongoing, neocolonial underdevelopment of Africa. Likewise, ideological conflicts, contradictions, and confusion at the Dar es Salaam congress prohibited the emergence of any long-term Pan-African programs or institutions. Instead, the outcome was a twenty-year hiatus in the Congress movement. Largely due to this bankruptcy, however, the nationalist Pan-African perspective is now reemerging in the form of a holistic, progressive Pan-Africanism.

Pan-Africanism, seen against this history, is undergoing another transformation during this particular era. Progressive Pan-Africanism, essentially a revival of nascent

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107 Ibid., 5.
Pan-Africanism and nascent nationalist Pan-Africanism, now challenge European cultural imperialism and hegemony with its reintroduction and reassessment of culture, worldview, and their roles in Pan-African struggles. Both the nascent Pan-Africanism of the Republic of Palmares and the nascent nationalist Pan-Africanism of the David Walker engaged European domination, sometimes by inference, first on the levels of worldview and culture. Their material struggles, be they political or economic, were then informed by this. Similarly, the progressive Pan-Africanism of the Post-Cold War world has again challenged the dominance of Europe on the levels of worldview and culture as well as politically and economically. Demands are being made for reappraisals of the previously Europeanized/Westernized definitions of the African identity, Pan-Africanism, and nationalism. This is due, in part, to the resilience, in spite of European cultural imperialism, of African cultural survivals and to the ideological and practical bankruptcy of the reformist/integrationist alternatives.

Progressive Pan-Africanism now represents a shift towards a more holistic, operational Pan-Africanism. This Pan-Africanism is operational due to its approach to ideology, political power, racism, institution-building, economic development, and unity grounded in the historical and cultural realities of the African world. As such, Progressive Pan-African Nationalism identifies four features. First, it recognizes the cultural and historical perspectives of African people while struggling for unification and empowerment in the contemporary international order. Second, based on its focus on the contemporary cultural dynamics of struggle, it is more in-tune with the complexities of naked political aggression, economic marginality, and cultural imperialism. Third, being
nationalistic, it addresses the idiosyncrasies of local African communities while connecting them to the histories and recent experiences of global African communities. Finally, the establishment of nationalistic, mass-based, and grassroots organizational linkages that span the Continent and the Diaspora now provide the practical framework required to support, advance, and perpetuate an operational Pan-African unity.

There are two immediate conclusions reached here. The first is that Pan-Africanism has experienced cycles of progression and regression. Progress was achieved at times when Pan-Africanism was able to move outside the boundaries of the European culture and worldview, towards a direction in tune with the cultural and historical realities of African people. Periods of regression occurred with the injection, either directly or indirectly, of European cultural imperialism, which manifests itself in the political, economic, and social ideas, values, and policies embraced within the movement. The result, and one that progressive Pan-Africanism addresses, is a profound lack of ideological clarity. "In short," as Ofuatey-Kodjoe points out, "the movement is being strangled by ideological confusion."108 The second conclusion is that a Pan-African consciousness, on the cultural and historical level, and nationalism, both locally and internationally, are again cornerstones in Pan-Africanism. This scenario has been determined in large part by the stagnation in the late twentieth century phase of Pan-Africanism and contradictions in the contemporary global environment.

108 Ofuatey-Kodjoe, 12.
Analytical and Practical Implications

In applying the theory to the inquiry, some important nuances for Pan-African research in general, and its twenty-first century crises, strategies, and tactics in particular, immediately become obvious. There are two specific issues. The first is the implication that there is a certain range of activities that, after applying progressive Pan-African Nationalism, become more favorable than others. The second point is that an accurate analysis depends heavily on reconceptualizing the relationship between the Pan-African idea and movement. Thus, it is critical that the focus of activities for Pan-Africanism in general and the study in particular be fully addressed if its present status is to be fully mapped out.

Pan-African Ideas and Activities

One of the significant obstacles to the study and application of a viable pan-African program has been the difficult step of clarifying which actions qualify as viable. Surely, any study seeking to understand the character and, by extension, the utility of Pan-Africanism, but unwilling to clearly state what set of activities will and will not be appraised, runs the risk of faulty analyses and inconsistent, contradictory conclusions. This is an attempt to address the question of clarity and focus in Pan-African analyses, thereby avoiding methodological contradictions. Three observations, grounded in the theory, are significant. First, in terms of clarity, is the realization that not all activities displaying an interest in Africa by African people qualify as progressive Pan-Africanism. Second, the theory, in concluding that Pan-African activities would be most intense at the level of the masses, suggests a focus on continental and Diasporan grassroots
organizations. These two points must be resolved if clarity and focus is to be met in observing the state of Pan-Africanism. However, equally important is that resolving the problem of clarity and focus in Pan-African analyses depends on varying perceptions of the link between the idea and the movement. Generally speaking, for now, the idea represents the sense of oneness among African people based on commonalities in identity, conditions, and struggles. The movement is an effort to work collectively on an international basis. Historically, the tendency in much of the literature has been to separate the two, where the idea begins during enslavement and the movement in the early twentieth century. So, the third and final point is that the study in general, and this theoretical framework in particular, assume that there are problems in dividing the two. Inter-African activities (movement) that lack a consciousness (the idea) means that any program or agenda that simply mentions Africa, regardless of the intentional or unintentional contradictions, can be considered Pan-African. Thus, everything from Rev. Leon Sullivan’s African/African-American Summits to the support among some African-Americans for President Bill Clinton’s 1998 visit to Africa would be legitimate and qualify for a study like this one. The limited and narrow, state-level Pan-Africanism of the past and the vague allegiances of Western-oriented, “Pan-African” NGOs are problematic units of analysis as tools for analyzing Pan-Africanism. Even worse, those camps vaguely and/or rhetorically committed to Africa as a means by which they can pursue their narrow interests at the expense of the genuine empowerment of African people.

The approach outlined in the previous section, instead, suggests that the
interplay between the Pan-African idea and movement (explored in Chapter Four) must be defined in a way that is, like the theory, culturally and historically consistent. Rodney was suggesting this when he wrote that, "Any 'Pan' movement is an exercise in self-definition by a people, aimed at establishing a broader re-definition of themselves than that which had so far been permitted by those in power." 109 Since the prefix, \textit{pan}, is synonymous with "all," then Pan-Africanism is not only a physical expression of concern among African people but also a struggle to redefine "all" that is culturally, historically and racially African. Also, Pan-Africanism is essentially a redefinition and reaffirmation of the African identity ("self"). As John Henrik Clarke points out, this search for unity is really the search for the restoration of the "total human beingness" of African people. 110 This is the basic point of Pan-African Nationalism. That is, Pan-Africanism becomes both a continuous commitment to the redefinition and restoration of the collective African identity (idea), \textit{and} a collective confrontation of the hostile forces threatening and damaging African people (movement). Progressive Pan-Africanism embraces this connection.

So, in this critical analysis of Pan-Africanism, the unfortunate conclusion is that not all interests in Africa and African people are progressive. This is an extension of Esedebe's criteria. His position is that, "It is a mistake to suppose that every anticolonial activity is a manifestation of Pan-Africanism." He strongly asserts that "only persons committed to the ideals of Pan-Africanism and activities clearly linked with the Pan-


African movement deserve notice.” With the Pan-African Nationalist approach, these contradictions are avoided by focusing on those global African activities rooted in a consciousness that harmonizes political and economic struggle with culture and worldview. The positions above add to Esedebe’s statement a clearer, more focused cultural and historical definition of Pan-African ideas and movements. Finally, the work being done by groups such as the Unified Black Movement and the Sankofa Movement are examples that can perhaps tell the most about the state of Pan-Africanism. The activities in these groups reflect a progressive Pan-Africanism that unites African unification efforts to the idea of being African.

**Conclusion: Contextualizing Global African Politics and Economics**

Some immediate political and economic implications also emerge. That is to say, the theoretical position above demands that proposed solutions to problems throughout the African world also be consistent with the cultural and historical realities emphasized above. It demands that European concepts, definitions, and analyses disguised as universalisms not be uncritically applied to the conditions facing African people. More specifically, a hard reappraisal of foreign social ideas, values, and systems and an incorporation of applicable historic African ones are crucial. Politically, the theory requires a focus that is consistent with the dynamics of the global African world. More specifically, it calls for reconceptualized units of analysis and, therefore, levels of struggle. An expanded notion of nationalism in the study is consistent with this. Local political struggles, therefore, are not the end result but rather a part of a larger struggle.

111 Esedebe, 6.
Specific local struggles are linked to the collective empowerment of African people on a global level. One reinforces and is a reflection of the other.

Economically, definitions of development, production, and the distribution of resources must evolve within a framework that recognizes pre-conquest African systems. This begins with a redefinition of these items within the context of an African worldview. The purpose is not to blindly reproduce distant economic institutions and relationships. The issue instead regards the process of appreciating the persistence of these cultural elements, purging what is useless or harmful, and revitalizing those aspects that are conducive to culturally determined definitions. The taking of power and the eradication of poverty are both developmental processes that are unique to the culture, history, and present conditions of those engaged in struggle. But it is not a rudderless ship. It grows from a foundation that informs its developmental process. From this theoretical perspective, political, and economic empowerment must be in line with this reality.

Finally, a foundation emerges that reinforces the cultural and historical realities of African people, allowing it be used to analyze contemporary Pan-African struggles. It will serve the critical role of clarity and focus both in terms of what Pan-Africanism is and on what is emphasized in order to accurately measure it. Emanating from the African-centered worldview, the Pan-African Nationalist theory thus conceptualizes a linkage of Pan-African struggles. It explains the internal struggle for the reconstruction of the African identity, as well as the antagonistic, external struggle against forces that have and continue to besiege African people. It is a theory for understanding efforts to eradicate anti-Africanisms (political, economic, and social) on the Continent and
throughout localities of the African Diaspora. This way, the Pan-African Nationalist theory of progressive Pan-Africanism is in tune with African culture and history, as well as the present realities of the post-Cold War political economy. Furthermore, it takes for granted an existing similarity of forces and obstacles arrayed against the masses of African people, a concurring nationalist component, and the building of linkages across geopolitical lines. From this perspective the research can identify issues and concerns facing Pan-Africanism today.
CHAPTER FOUR
THE PROGRAMMIC MODEL VERSUS THE CLARKE MODEL OF PAN-AFRICANISM: A LITERATURE REVIEW

Studying the literature on the meaning and historical development of Pan-Africanism can benefit the more recent analyses on the subject. Assuming this, the purpose of this review is to identify general tendencies in the literature and to determine the implications of those different approaches to contemporary analyses of Pan-Africanism. This chapter also looks at how definitions and observations of Pan-Africanism might suggest newer approaches to understanding the subject. The major conclusions and implications regarding the present state of Pan-Africanism developed below will be influenced by the dominant approach identified in this critical analysis.

As mentioned previously, Pan-Africanism ranks as one of the earliest political expressions by African people directed against exploitation and domination, be it on the psychological or the practical level. Volumes have been written on both the mental and physical responses of African people to enslavement and colonization. However, this chapter is specifically concerned with two general approaches in the literature on the concept of Pan-Africanism and the nature of its historical growth. The literature can generally be divided into those incorporating what Henderson calls Programmic analyses, or those that conform to historian John Henrik Clarke’s model that presents a
more holistic version of Pan-Africanism. They represent general and at times conflicting orientations on the actual origins, the defining practices, and historical evolution that combine to give Pan-Africanism meaning. Avoiding the more extended topics on global African history and struggles, this section narrowly focuses on a comparison of the Programmic-type approaches and those reflecting Clarke’s Holistic model. It also presents and explains the expectation that the specific approach employed influences analyses of Pan-African. This expectation is partly based on criticisms, such as Ofuatey-Kodjoe’s, that major confusion results from the widespread problem of defining Pan-Africanism. He particularly observed that “it is precisely this confusion that has been responsible for some of the most serious setbacks of the Pan-African movement.”

Henderson and Clarke’s view on Pan-Africanism both grow out of this criticism. Pan-Africanism is considered programmic by Henderson because “it does not provide a foundation for either theoretical accumulation intellectually or intentional empowerment materially.” Clarke took it a step further arguing that the confusion in Pan-Africanism results from the absence of a “operational definition of Pan-Africanism that prevails throughout the whole of the African world.”

Since, presumably, comparing the two approaches in the literature indicates how conceptualizations directly shape the way Pan-

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2 Ibid.


Africanism is evaluated, the comparison helps to resolve this problem. Two specific aspects of both models are central: (1) the way the Pan-African concept is defined and (2) the evolving practical analyses (of political movements) that reflect the definitions. Taken for granted here is the idea that the assumptions inherent in the more effective approach will help to produce more effective conceptualizations of Pan-Africanism. In the end, this discussion might provide prescriptions for a fuller understanding of Pan-Africanism.

The programmic version, as defined by Henderson, is actually rooted in his criticism of a certain school in Pan-Africanism that shares, from his point of view, a number of commonalties. Although this is not the right opportunity to elaborate on Henderson's position on Pan-Africanism, he offers three criticisms that are important. First, these Pan-African approaches tend to rely on European concepts of race. Second, they lack the ideological capacity to effect significant transformations. "In fact, in most pan-Africanist analyses, the global system changes in accordance with realist, idealist, or

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5 These claims capture Henderson's general criticism of Pan-Africanism. The position taken here, however, is that rather than applying to all of Pan-Africanism, what Henderson is actually identifying is rather a school of thought in Pan-Africanism. Note that much of the Programmic criticisms, although accurate, emerge from Henderson's views on Mazrui's definition of Pan-Africanism. Ali Mazrui attempted to classify the Pan-African relationships that reflect the several dimensions of the African world. In Africa's International Relations, Mazrui outlined the following levels of Pan-Africanism: (1) sub-Saharan - limited to Black African nations; (2) trans-Saharan - including the Arabic states of North Africa; (3) trans-Atlantic - Black Africans in the Diaspora and the Continent only; (4) West Hemispheric - unification of Africans in the western Diaspora; and (5) Global - unifying the entire African world. Of particular importance is his last stage. It is potentially here where the variations of solidarity throughout the African world combine to form a true Pan-African reality. In the other categories, problems for Henderson rest in its reliance on faulty units of analysis (i.e., race). See Ali Mazrui, Africa's International Relations (London: Heinemann, 1977), 68-69.

6 Ibid., 120.
Marxist perspectives.” 7 The third issue is critical. According to Henderson, “Pan-Africanists also fail to account for the interrelationship between politics, economics, and culture.” 8 This culture-based criticism will be discussed at length later. For now, we can say that those definitions Henderson is referring to split Pan-Africanism into somewhat exclusive categories and usually create a stronger emphasis on one of those categories over others. This fractured approach is responsible for the characteristics mentioned above. That is, Pan-Africanism, in this context, is usually presented under the assumptions that a dichotomy exists and that one category, such as those with shared “visible” political characteristics, be highlighted above others. This is a possible cause of the limited focus on race or continental unification as the main principles of Pan-Africanism.

Thus, the Programmic approaches are those that limit the scope of Pan-Africanism by dividing it into contrasting (at times antagonistic) segments. Pan-African studies that fall into this first category share two general characteristics: (1) They adopt classifications of the congresses and those individuals/events that would lead to the congresses on one hand, and the less recognizable (usually cultural) expressions on the other. (2) These analyses then place a heavier emphasis, in terms of significance, on the various conferences and congresses since 1900 that demonstrate political programs for unification.

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7 Ibid., 121.
8 Ibid.
Interpretations that fit the Clarke model share a contrasting pattern. It is a more recent development in the literature and borrows heavily from the historical and political thoughts of John Henrik Clarke. Absorbing Clarke’s perspective that “there is now a need to look at Pan-Africanism holistically,” Clarke’s model is a more extensive version that transcends what has become the more popular programmic view of Pan-Africanism offered above. In this category there is, first and foremost, Clarke’s definition of Pan-Africanism as fundamentally being “a collective effort to preserve and reconstruct Africans’ nationhood, culture and humanity” throughout the African world. In this way, the idea of being African (nationhood, culture, and humanity) is directly connected to practical and collective struggles to reconstruct and preserve that Africanness. Given the fact that these Pan-African struggles simultaneously occur in different Diasporan regions, there are recognized idiosyncrasies relating to the various regional, historical, and political realities. It takes on different characteristics in different places and at different historical periods. After pointing out that “Pan” movements are not new to the world, Clarke wrote that,

From the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries, the Africans imported to America regarded themselves as temporary settlers destined to return eventually to Africa. Their increasing revolts against the slave system, which culminated in the eighteenth century, showed a feeling of close kinship to the motherland, and even well into the nineteenth century they called their organizations ‘African’ as witness the African Unions” of

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9 Incidentally, these types of analyses of Pan-Africanism seem to be omitted in Henderson’s general criticism of Pan-Africanism.


11 Ibid., 123.
New York and Newport and the African churches of Philadelphia and New York. In the West Indies and South America there were even closer indications of feelings of kinship with Africa and the East.\textsuperscript{12}

As a result, charting the history of Pan-Africanism requires a deeper historical analysis. Those, therefore, that adopt the Clarke model contain three dominant assumptions: (1) At the heart of Pan-Africanism is a union of a collective consciousness and organizational efforts based on that consciousness. (2) The origins of the Pan-African movement can be placed among the African struggles against enslavement particularly the Maroon societies of the Americas. (3) In turn, the recognition of those origins and their contemporary products are at the core of appreciating variations throughout the Diaspora.

**Programmic Analyses of Pan-Africanism**

While of variations in the literature exists, some general patterns for defining Pan-Africanism can be identified within the Programmic approach. On one hand are the works that generally recognize the 1900 conference and the subsequent Pan-African Congresses beginning in 1919 as the origins of Pan-Africanism. On the other hand, there are those that acknowledge the ideas of nineteenth century figures in contributing to the congress movement beginning in 1900. The ideas are recognized as a source from which the meetings beginning in 1900 sprang.

George Shepperson, in "Pan-Africanism and 'Pan-Africanism': Some Historical Notes," developed a compartmentalized definition by distinguishing between "Pan-Africanism" and "pan-Africanism." In his scheme, "Pan-Africanism with a capital letter "P" is a clearly recognizable movement: the five Pan-African Congresses (1919, Paris;

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., vii.
1921, London; 1923, London and Lisbon; 1937, New York; 1945, Manchester).”

Particular relevant was the notion that Pan-Africanism, in this case, included only those identifiable political movements from the early to mid 1900s, in all of which W.E.B. DuBois played the key role. This was to be distinguished from “pan-Africanism” with the smaller letter ‘p’ which “... is not a clearly recognizable movement, with a single nucleus such as the non-agenarian Dubois.”13 Here, only those loose movements unrelated to the conference/congress formations were included. Shepperson’s split, if not created, seems to have inspired the now popular trend in the literature that dichotomizes Pan-Africanism and elevates its institutional expressions (the congresses) above other movements.

Three points exist among Programmic analyses that might explain its popularity. First, there seems to be a progressive maturation of Pan-Africanism during the congress era. Second, a heavy concentration on the congresses displays the pragmatic importance of organization building. Third, dichotomy between pre-congress interests in Africa and the perceived 1900 (or post-1900) origins of the movement suggest an interplay between the Pan-African idea and the movement. In the first case, a valuable aspect of the programmic approach is the benefit of displaying, through the congress model, a progression in Pan-Africanism. The observation here is that the congresses appear to evolve, beginning at an early level that is critical for establishing the complex, subsequent levels – in the organizational and ideological sense. Rayford Logan’s “The

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Historical Aspects of Pan-Africanism,” as in Shepperson’s previous analysis, again places the congresses at the front of the Pan-African historical spectrum. It would be from these efforts that the advancement of Pan-Africanism would become possible. He defined it in these terms:

The history of Pan-Africanism as a movement to encourage mutual assistance and understanding among the peoples of African and of African descent goes back to the beginning of the twentieth century, but it was only after World War I — that calamitous folly of the so-called superior races — that the movement as a whole began to have the ultimate aim of some form of self-government for African peoples.14

However, the two central themes in his observation, the activities of the congresses and African nation-states, actually demonstrate internal growth. He credits the former for establishing the global framework that would eventually prompt the latter to place “self-government” at the front of the Pan-African dialogue. The suggestion is that the meetings from 1900 onwards reflect a gradual internal development of the movement.

When George Padmore proposed in the preface of his book, Pan-Africanism or Communism,15 a three-part definition, he was actually displaying the growth of the congress movement at the time of his direct involvement. Padmore, as an organizer of the pivotal Manchester Congress in 1945, engaged Pan-Africanism on the eve of one of its major transitional stages: from a movement of protest to one of African Nationalism.

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14 Rayford W. Logan, “The Historical Aspects: of Pan-Africanism: A Personal Chronicle,” African Forum v.1, n.1 (Summer, 1965), 90. Logan went further and recognized the critical international aspect of the movement towards political self-determination. Although Shepperson’s split and emphasis on the movement side was imported, this definition specifically identified the international cooperative effort directed towards eventual “self-government.”

Therefore, his understanding of Pan-Africanism began with the assumption that “Africans feel that they are quite capable of leading themselves, and of developing a philosophy and ideology suited to their own special circumstances and needs, and have come to regard the arrogance of white ‘loftiness’ in this respect as unwarranted interference and unpardonable assumption of superiority.” This stance was a leap from the earlier assumptions in the movement that stopped short of demanding a nationalistic Pan-Africanism. Padmore’s stance was that first,

Recognizing the oneness of the struggles of the Coloured World for freedom from alien domination, Pan-Africanism endorses the conception of an Asian-African front against that racial arrogance which has reached its apogee in the Herrenvolk philosophy of Apartheid. This global expression was connected to the internal component.

For politically, Pan-Africanism seeks the attainment of the government of Africans for Africans by Africans, with respect for racial and religious minorities who desire to live in Africa on a basis of equality with the black majority.

And, finally, Padmore felt that, for Pan-Africanism,

the self-determination of the dependent territories is the prerequisite to the federation of self-governing states on a regional basis, leading ultimately to the creation of a United States of Africa.

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16 Ibid., xv. After serving as a ranking official in the Communist Party in Russia during the 1940s, Padmore would play a leading role cementing the ideological shift occurring in the Pan-African movement at the time. His involvement, along with others such as Ras Makkonen, Kwame Nkrumah and W.E.B. DuBois, built on but broke with the largely intellectual, nonthreatening versions in the four previous Pan-African gatherings.

17 Ibid., xvi.

18 Ibid., xix.

19 Ibid.
Where Padmore believed that the Pan-African idea was first conceived by Henry Sylvester Williams,\textsuperscript{20} he, like most interpretations in the programic model, points to the 1900 Pan-African Conference as the origins of the movement. It was here that the Pan-African idea first began to search for an organizational base that gave it definition. However, his discussion of the resolutions at the 1\textsuperscript{st} through 4\textsuperscript{th} congresses contrasted with the aims and objectives of the 5\textsuperscript{th} PAC, which he saw as the "coming of age period of Pan-Africanism." The Manchester congress represented the highpoint of the Pan-African movement. Padmore, commenting on the significance of the congress to Pan-Africanism's ideological development, stated that, "Here at long last was a philosophy evolved by Negro thinkers which Africans and people of African descent could claim and use as their own."\textsuperscript{21} To Padmore, much of this congress's importance was based on its attempt to break away from the manipulations of non-African influences. This was the essence of the 5\textsuperscript{th} PAC. Padmore noted that, "From henceforth Africans and people of African descent would take their destiny into their own hands and march forward under their own banner of Pan-Africanism in co-operation with their own selected allies."\textsuperscript{22} Moreover, the new types of alliances that emerged were, for Padmore, a defining characteristic of Pan-Africanism at that historic stage. It was to be linked, in this new brand of Pan-Africanism, to the goals of an Africa for Africans and the unification of the continent through the instrument of "positive action." Thus, Padmore's Pan-Africanism,

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 95.

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., 130.

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid.
specifically through the 5\textsuperscript{th} PAC, ultimately materialized in the independence of the state of Ghana in 1957 and gained credibility, as many other African struggles would follow the path set by Nkrumah.

Also on the second point, Charles Andrain, who published an organizational analysis illustrating the vitality of developing a strong political apparatus, took the position that "in the most general sense, the Pan-African movement exemplifies the contemporary African search for organization and community." More specifically, "If independent African states are to achieve economic and political viability, their leaders must cooperate to form organizations strong enough to mobilize resources and to implement common goals."\(^{23}\) Writing at a time when most of the continent was struggling over the direction of post-independence African regional and international policy, Andrain recognized that, whatever the decision, Pan-Africanism and continental unification were effective only as an organizational process. This was so because the congresses from 1900-1958 displayed a gradual evolution of the organization-building process.

For Andrain, at the root of Pan-Africanism's organization-building process was the 1900 DuBois-led London conference. This represented the first of three periods of Pan-African political/organizational advancement: the eras of "political acquiescence," "nationalist agitation," and "modernization and stabilization."\(^{24}\) In the first period (1900-1945), an organizational entity evolved out of "four loosely structured congresses, a


\(^{24}\) Ibid., 15.
secretariat which functioned for only two years, and in Africa, the National Congress of British West Africa, West African Youth League, and West African Student’s Union. During the second period, the All-African People’s Conference in 1958, its steering committee, and the secretariat “made effective progress toward building a permanent organization to spearhead national independence throughout the African continent.”

Finally, in the modernization/stabilization period, Andrain highlighted the direct role of African states and leaders in organizing permanent bodies and conferences to pursue cooperative political and economic unions. Although criticisms of the neocolonial posture of some Pan-African players might apply (especially during the third period), Andrain concluded with the following observation that connected the building of a Pan-African organization to a collective sense of community:

The development of Pan-Africanism has witnessed not only a gradual change toward tighter, more permanent all-African organizations, but also a change in the idea of community... In the contemporary stage of development, Pan-African advocates search for a community feeling in their geographical contiguity, African pre-colonial cultural heritage, desire to prevent intervention by non-African powers, and common socio-economic needs.

Andrain’s programmic definition and analysis identifies the importance, not only of organization, but also of a grounded sense of community. This is the point in his conclusion that ”if more effective organization to help solve economic, political, and social problems is the primary need of developing African nations, then the lack of an extensive all-African feeling of community solidarity is the main factor hindering African

25 Ibid., 16.

26 Ibid.
capacity to form a Pan-African association.”  

Finally, in terms of addressing the idea/movement dynamic within the framework of the programmic approach, differences that exist within the programmic approach should first be acknowledged. In *Africa and Unity*, Thompson suggests that the “first phase” (1900 to 1927) was primarily a “period of ideas.” DuBois, the key actor during this period, sought to establish a “coherent philosophy” as well as a “protest” movement. For him, the Accra Conference of Independent African States in 1958 was the landmark event. Thompson identifies the years from 1946 to 1957 as a “lull period” that was to be followed by the significant contributions of Nkrumah and Ghana’s role in efforts to unify the continent of Africa.

Fierce’s *The Pan-African Idea in the United States, 1900-1919* has a different perspective on this third point. Here, Fierce accepts Shepperson’s lead but attempts to make sense of the relationship between the idea and movement. Fierce’s work becomes programmic by assuming categories that, in the end, lean more towards the later movements at the beginning of the 20th century as the highpoints of Pan-Africanism. In defining Pan-Africanism, Fierce also separates Pan-Africanism the movement from Pan-Africanism the idea. He starts from the position that,

The *movement* refers to an organized set of activities designed to relieve Black people (especially but not exclusively Africans) from various kinds

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27 Ibid., 7.
28 Ibid., 39.
29 Ibid.
of exploitation and oppression on the path to bonafide Black nationalism: social, political, and economic. The idea is the extent to which, if any, an African kinship or brotherhood consciousness exists among African-Americans, irrespective of the steps taken (emphasis original).  

Fierce, in adopting the Programmic assumptions, also emphasize the congresses as a point of origin and growth. He also observed that Pan-Africanism existed "as a view, notion or ideology that promotes the global cooperative struggle for dignity and self-reliance among Black people and the complete stripping away of colonial and neocolonial legacies." Fierce introduces here an ideological position on Pan-Africanism that recognizes a link between actions and thoughts. However, this is not actually a break from the Programmic approach. He does identify the presence of those "antecedents," such as the American Colonization Society, Paul Cuffe, and Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, that preceded the portion of the movement he highlights (1900-1919). But, he considers these antecedents as examples of African-American "interactions" and "engrossments" with Africa that took the forms of Black Nationalists, Back-to-Africa and Black Missionary Movements. On the other hand, these activities were considered minor compared to the coming of the Pan-African conferences and congresses in the early 20th century:

African-Americans' interest in Africa during the nineteenth century was selective but continuous. Africa had its champions and detractors. There were back-to-Africa zealots and stay-at-homes. When

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31 Ibid., xx.

32 Ibid., 3.
the twentieth century arrived, the degree of the African interest changed as well as the substance.33

In the example of the early twentieth century activities of the Black Church, Fierce takes the position that "during the early twentieth century the role played by Black missionaries in general and the independent Black denominations in particular was a sans pareil bulwark in the perpetuation of the Pan-African idea (emphasis original)."34 For Fierce, in contrast to Padmore’s 1945 congress and Logan’s post-WWI period, 1900-1919 represents the zenith in Pan-Africanism because of the higher numbers and levels of organized efforts. However, as with the other programmic opinions, earlier efforts were dress rehearsals to the 20th century events. This point stems from a definition of Pan-Africanism that separates out the pre-20th century movements more as manifestations of ideas rather than the full arrival of Pan-Africanism.

**Immanuel Geiss and Colin Legum: Expanded Programmic Analyses**

Immanuel Geiss and Colin Legum are examples of Programmic approaches that recognize the relationship between the congresses and the nineteenth-century precursors to the congresses. In his 1974 piece, *The Pan-African Movement: A History of Pan-Africanism in America, Europe and Africa*, Geiss provided an extensive definition of the topic. He first understood it to be "intellectual and political movements among African and African-Americans who regard or have regarded Africa and people of African

33 Ibid., 30. Fierce is of the opinion that on of the dominant characteristics of this twentieth-century Pan-Africanism was the increasing involvement of intellectuals from the Western Hemisphere. Their involvement, in his view, contributed to an elevation of the movement to unprecedented levels.

34 Ibid., 177. Of particular importance was the fact that since these types of organizations had a stronger tie among the black populations that intellectuals and emigrationists, their contribution to Pan-Africanism was greater.
descent as homogenous." According to Geiss, this sense of homogeneity creates feelings of "solidarity" and an awareness of Africa as a "homeland." In addition to this, Pan-Africanism included "All ideas which have stressed or sought the cultural unity and political independence of Africa, including the desire to modernize Africa on a basis of equality of rights." Finally, he identified those "ideas or political movements, which have advocated, or advocate, the political unity of Africa or at least close political collaboration in one form or another." 

A longer look, however, at how Geiss operationalizes this definition is helpful. Geiss identifies a number of what he calls "planes" of Pan-Africanism that represent its various and dominant dimensions. First of all, there is the expression of Pan-Africanism in terms of a movement of oppressed peoples of color. Of specific importance to Geiss is that level of Pan-Africanism embodied in the Bandung Conference in 1955 where the colonized people of Asia, Africa, and the Arab states took a unified, non-alignment posture. Second are those Pan-African notions that accept race as the primary criterion for participation. Referred to here as "Pan-Negroism," it is a level of Pan-Africanism that embraces black people while excluding Arabs primarily of North Africa. The Continental level represents his third plane, where organized struggles' primary goal was the unification of the African continent. The contributions of individuals such as Kwame

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36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.
Nkrumah and organizations like the OAU emerge as relevant examples. The fourth plane, closely related to continental unification, emphasizes the necessity of regional integration. This strategy advocates not only the creation of regional groupings of African states in the various sectors of the continent, but it considers them more moderate steps towards the eventual unification of Africa. Fifth, there is Pan-Africanism on the National plane. This highlights the mobilization and propagandization, on the state level, to establish a Pan-African base. The sixth plane includes those expressions that amount to a form of nationalism. Here, Geiss identifies the role of ethnic groups as the primary units of mobilization among Africans.38

Pan-Africanism is naturally multifaceted and defining it this way reveals the complexity of the phenomenon. Geiss’s definition, in that sense, is somewhat more extensive than other Programmic analyses. Each level mentioned above demonstrates one or more of the important aspects of the definition: a focus on political movements based on racial solidarity, an African homeland, and the upliftment of the Continent. Also, Geiss’s emphasis is not rigidly limited to the conferences and congresses. His definition of Pan-Africanism recognizes the influences previous Pan-Africanists of the nineteenth century had on the conferences. In fact, one of his criticisms of the major analyses of Pan-Africanism was that the congresses have been overrated. He attributes this more to the role and perception of DuBois than to the actual significance of the contributions from the 1900-1927 meetings.39

38 Ibid., 4-5.

39 Ibid., 232.
Once Geiss uses his template to plot the historical evolution of Pan-Africanism, the programmatic approach becomes clearer. Geiss's definition charting the various dimensions of Pan-Africanism shows the emphasis on programmatic political movements. Also, he takes for granted the assumption that political movements defined as Pan-African emerge first around 1900. As a result, his analysis of Pan-Africanism is primarily relegated to those modern intellectual and political movements that span the twentieth century.

Collin Legum’s *Pan-Africanism: A Short Political Guide* introduces Pan-Africanism as a movement around ideas of African upliftment and liberation. These ideas first manifested themselves in the Diaspora, where intellectuals from the Caribbean and North America began to set up organizational structures. He credits these organizers for creating a multifaceted movement reflecting the complexities of the African world. He found essentially eight components briefly introduced below that combined in various ways to form the basis of Pan-Africanism. The experiences of slavery and colonialism produced an “alien and exile” people who would psychologically, physically, and collectively reclaim their Africa roots. The enslavement experience also created an “ambivalence towards the West” characterized by a sense of being stuck between two unreconcilable worlds. The remnants of Africa and the brutality of the plantation system would also create various levels of “Black Solidarity,” which lie at the physical root of Pan-Africanism. The psychological brutality, however, also resulted in “Feelings of Inferiority” among African people whose physical domination was justified by the

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European mission to "civilize the savage." Interestingly, Legum also pointed out that Pan-Africanism also included a "Rejection of Inferiority" among by African people expressed in ideas of racial pride and a rehabilitation of things African. The reclaiming process, however, brought out a "Sense of a Lost Past" that was imposed upon Africans by enslavement. There was a lingering feeling that much had been forgotten and damaged.41

Perhaps two of the most critical elements in Legum's development of Pan-Africanism were the ideas of the "African Personality" mentioned earlier, and that of an "Africa for Africans" which was the mantra of the Garvey Movement. Although emphasizing the post-1900 congresses, his recognition of these components and their connection to the other elements listed above allows his analysis to include aspects usually missing in many of the programmic approaches. These two ideas are cornerstones of Pan-Africanism. The reality of an African cultural identity has been expressed, either subtly or outwardly, through what Edward W. Blyden first coined as the African personality. This African personality is the glue that unites African people across political and geographical boundaries. Legum's notion of an Africa for Africans relates to two critical aspects of Pan-Africanism, the creation of a base of power for the African world and continental unification. The former was at the center of the Pan-Africanism of Garvey and Kwame Toure42 while the latter became the centerpiece of Nkrumah and

41 Ibid., 14.

Cheikh Anta Diop’s versions.43

Legum’s research, like Geiss, is a more expanded review of Pan-Africanism than most works applying the programmic approach. It is the recognition of cultural and psychological complexities that allow him to conduct a deeper political analysis. This observation of the Casablanca/Monrovia split and the Second International Conference of African Artists and Writers display the importance of his definition of Pan-Africanism. In both cases, the potential in these two aspects of the movement was undermined by difficulties of political struggle without cultural and ideological clarity. Beneath the surface of the power struggle between those Pan-Africanists envisioning a “union” of Africans states and those wanting a looser “community” of sovereign states laid the subtle issue of identity. More specifically, Legum writes of a perception of the latter as being cultural and political “stooges” of the French.44 It would be the moderates opting for close diplomatic and economic relations with the West, along with the former’s endorsement of the former colonial boundaries that arguably undermined Pan-Africanism in the post-independence period. These crucial decisions were political choices grounded in a sense of “ambivalence towards the West.” Likewise, Legum shows how the Writers Congress and specifically its struggles over Negritude and the role of African culture exposed the degree to which Pan-Africanism’s success relies heavily on cultural clarity.


44 Ibid., 48. Legum writes that, “Before their independence, many of the leaders of the French-speaking territories had come to be looked upon by the African states in control of the Pan-African organization as ‘stooges’” of the west, particularly France. Their acceptance of European political
Commenting on the question of culture vis-à-vis Pan-Africanism, Legum observed that, “What we are up against in trying to analyze the conflict and contradiction of Negritude is its embedded ambivalence: acceptance and rejection of Western culture, as well as acceptance and rejection of African culture.” So, the expanded definitions of Pan-Africanism both Geiss and Legum employ produced more holistic ingredients in the analyses of Pan-Africanism than others of the programmic approaches.

**Clarke and Holistic Pan-Africanism**

Clarke, in *African World Revolution*, makes a case for a newer, more complete understanding of Pan-Africanism. This collection of essays bridged the past political movements of African people and the present conditions confronting African struggles. By revisiting the struggles and contributions of Pan-Africanists such as Garvey, Nkrumah, Lumumba, Malcolm X, and Tom Mboya, he emphasizes the “Uncompleted Revolutions” they each represented. For Clarke, the stories of these individuals contain important lessons. Additionally, the empowerment of African people relies on a collective, internal commitment by African people to complete these revolutions in the political and cultural sense. To do so, Clarke urges that African people need a new global “political apparatus” that addresses the historical and present realities. However, domination, with which they were trying to coexist, was linked to their acceptance of European cultural domination.


this apparatus must be historically conscious and should learn from the limitations and contradictions of past efforts. The following statement demonstrates this.

What needs to feed into Pan-Africanism is a new kind of spirituality. In total liberation, religion cannot be left out, commerce cannot be left out, culture cannot be left out. How we think, how we walk, how we act; everything we so must be part of a totality (emphasis mine).47

So his theme “Africans at the Crossroads” was symbolic of the critical internal issues that he argued had not been resolved. This exercise in self-criticism is at the center of what Clarke calls a “total revolution.” What has been missing in Pan-Africanism has been a connection between a consciousness of being African and actions taken by African people, on a collective level, to demonstrate, defend, and/or perpetuate that collective. To achieve this, analyses of Pan-Africanism must recognize the deep roots of its historical and cultural origins that predate the post-1900 meetings.

In his book, The Ideological Origins of Black Nationalism,48 Sterling Stuckey makes a contribution to reappraising the origins of Pan-Africanism. He explains a Pan-African process where the differences among African people from various geographical regions “were virtually destroyed on the anvil of American slavery.”49 Geographical realities and the forces inflicted upon African people resulting from the drive towards enslavement and domination did not prevent successful unification. This means that there existed, in spite of the different locations on the continent from which African

47 Ibid., 25.


49 Ibid., 1.
people came, a unity that was forged out of the realization of a shared struggle and out of a common sense of being African. Stuckey explains the Pan-African nature of these efforts in the following summation.

A consciousness of a shared experience of oppression at the hands of white people, an awareness and approval of the persistence of group traits and preferences in spite of a violently anti-African larger society, a recognition of bonds and obligations between Africans everywhere, an irreducible conviction that Africans in America must take responsibility for liberating themselves these were among the pivotal components of the world view of the black men who finally framed the ideology.50

Though specifically concerned with the contributions of this to the emergence of Black Nationalism, Stuckey offers an important historical framework for pinpointing the origins of Pan-Africanism. Specifically and practically speaking, Maroon societies, the earliest manifestations of Stuckey’s point are a key part of the Clarke model.

In the same way, James’ History of the Pan-African Revolt is fundamentally a reconsideration of one the African world’s most famous revolts.51 James specifically holds up Haiti as the embodiment of the Pan-African idea and movement in the Diaspora. But what specifically was it about Haiti that gave it this distinction?52 After illustrating the impact of Haiti, James’ Pan-Africanism develops within this spirit of revolt that Africans from the Americas to the Continent waged against enslavement. He argues that

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52 This is not to suggest that James advocated what might be called Holistic Pan-Africanism. As we will discuss later, James had on various occasions resisted the emphasis on African culture as an essential element of Pan-Africanism. However, his evaluation of the Haitian Revolution revealed key elements that support Holistic Pan-Africanism.
the Haitian Revolution was to have a lasting impact, for example, on Africans in America, who began to engage in stronger revolts during the twenty years following Haiti. Like the Haitian Revolution, the spirit of revolt in Nat Turner's struggle in the United States and John Chilembwe's resistance in Nyasaland were parts of a larger Pan-African struggle.

Clearly, research, and historical analyses on the Maroon tradition is not new. What is specifically important is a new appreciation for the Maroon tradition of struggles as an introduction of Pan-Africanism in the Americas. In order to establish this, the case for the initial embodiment of Pan-Africanism in Maroon societies must be supported by a connection to the continent of Africa. Put another way, the Pan-African nationalism of Maroon struggles must be understood as part of a process that was initiated and nurtured as Africans first begin to struggle against capture on the African mainland and during the middle passage. Thus, the various strategies aboard the slave ships, such as mutinies, that cut across ethnic and linguistic lines, set the stage for what was to take place once Africans arrived in the Americas. An important outcome from this connection has been that some recent definitions of Pan-Africanism have been expanded to incorporate this process.

Nascimento, in commenting on the Pan-African tradition in Latin America, adds to the Maroon/Pan-Africanism connection introduced by Stuckey and James. By building on Clarke's definition mentioned above, Nascimento stressed the importance of

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53 Ibid., 22.
recognizing the historic contributions made by African people in the South and Central America towards Pan-African world struggles. These Africans who were brought to the Spanish and Portuguese-speaking colonies in the Americas represented some of the earliest collective efforts by Africans, in spite of ethnic lines, to protect themselves while simultaneously recreating their African cultural and political identity. According to Nascimento,

The early history of anticolonial resistance shows that Africans in this region waged one of the first, most heroic, and longest lasting battles for freedom know to the African world. Brazil’s Republic of Palmares and its great leader Zumbi, defeated in 1696 after a century of anticolonial resistance, symbolize this early Pan-African history in the Americas.  

In terms of specific examples of the same process in Spanish colonies, Nascimento added, “Further witnesses are the palenques, cimarrones, and cumbes of the Spanish-speaking Caribbean and South and Central America, boasting heroes like Baoruco, Diego de Guzman, Lemba, King Bayano, and Benkos Bioho throughout the colonial period (emphasis original).” So, evidence of Pan-African roots directly linked to the Maroon tradition throughout the Americas dating back to the 16th century can be identified. It is here that exists a duality of two important components of Pan-Africanism: a realization of an African identity (or idea of being African) along with collective struggles (movements) directed towards establishing and protecting African societies. Nascimento broadens the scope so to include African anti-slavery struggles in

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55 Ibid.
Central and South American to the better-known contributions of people in the Caribbean and North America to Pan-Africanism.

Michael Williams' more recent definition incorporates the Maroon perspective. In his view, "Pan-Africanism can be understood as the movement among African people in different parts of the world to unite Africa and its people in an effort to liberate them from oppression and exploitation associated with European hegemony and the international expansionism of the capitalist system." This expanded definition, compared, for example, to that of Fierce, makes a broader study of Pan-Africanism's origins and evolution possible. Williams not only avoids the tendency of limiting Pan-Africanism to the congresses, but also clarifies its relationship to continental Africa, stating that the essence of Pan-Africanism began on African soil. He suggests rather that the struggles by African people against enslavement beginning on the African continent and persevering throughout the middle passage provided the raw materials for Pan-Africanism.

Perhaps the most balanced approach to this question [of origins], for now, is to argue that the origin of Pan-Africanism was characterized by a form of mutual duality, thus recognizing the genuine sentiments and concrete efforts of the struggle for Pan-Africanism in Africa and in the African diaspora. It can be plausibly argued that Pan-Africanism originated in the dispersion of Africans and not necessarily just among those who were dispersed.

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57 Ibid., 170.
Williams’ analysis of the highpoints of Pan-Africanism that followed rests in the context of this expanded definition. Therefore, the attempts at repatriation in North America are seen as a smaller part of a larger expression that was consistently present in the region.\(^58\)

Williams’ chapter also supports the notion within the Clarke model that Pan-Africanism will take on different characteristics in different locations throughout the African world. Challenging one of the popular (mis)interpretations of Garveyism makes this point. Williams argues that a popular misconception and simplification of Garvey’s Pan-Africanism was the tendency to narrow his ideas down to a “back-to-Africa” agenda. A more accurate analysis, in Williams’ opinion, is that Garvey’s attempt to liberate the continent of Africa was a prerequisite for liberating African people in the Diaspora. He quotes Garvey’s argument on the importance of Africa’s redemption to the larger African world.

> We are determined to solve our own problem, by redeeming our Motherland Africa from the hands of alien exploiters and found there a Government, a nation of our own, strong enough to lend protection to the members of our race scattered all over the world, and to compel the respect of the nations and races of the earth.\(^59\)

The perspective on Pan-Africanism taken for granted by Williams establishes a basis for rethinking the various historical efforts to achieve African unification and upliftment. The implication here is that a complete realization of Garvey and the UNIA’s contribution to Pan-Africanism can only be achieved by appreciating the continental and Diasporan complexities expressed in Garvey’s statement.

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\(^{58}\) Ibid.

\(^{59}\) 174.
Marsh’s *African People in the Global Village* is another multidimensional example of Clarke’s holistic Pan-Africanism. It is a more inclusive definition focusing on Pan-Africanism’s essential elements. For Marsh, deeper analyses must begin to explain the relationship between Pan-African ideas and the movement. Accordingly, “Pan-Africanism is the emotional, cultural, psychological, and ideological movement that began among the African diaspora in the Western Hemisphere, for a closer unity of purpose, so that African people could feel secure, attain political, economic as well as psychological power, vis-a-vis other races or world regions.”  

An implication here is that a part of appreciating the historical and geopolitical development of the movement includes a focus on the psychological impact domination and exploitation would have on Africans from different parts of the world. The connection between this psychological dimension and Pan-Africanism lies in the double-barreled attack on the African identity and the collective resistance to this attack. On one hand, Europeans understood the importance of convincing Africans of European cultural superiority while simultaneously equating all things African with notions of savagery, barbarity, and inferiority. In spite of this onslaught, Marsh argues that the African response was to continually reassert their identity as a foundation for resistance, psychologically, and politically. So, “Pan-Africanism then is a psychological response to powerlessness and a desire to act upon the environment in which Africans found themselves, rather than remain the ones being acted

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upon without any meaningful resistance." This psychological energy would, according to Marsh, be balanced with direct political actions. Africans would initiate a process of connecting this consciousness to movements for self-definition, self-defense, and self-perpetuation.

The tendency of the Clarke-like analyses to expand the origins of Pan-Africanism is repeated in Marsh's description and is the foundation for his analysis of the variations in the movement. The Pan-African initiatives that began in the Americas are understood as a part of a tradition of struggle among African people on the continent to establish unity in the face of anti-African forces and ideas. Marsh offers the continental struggles of Mansa Musa, Shaka, and Samori Toure as examples of the seeds that would germinate into Pan-Africanism in the Americas with the introduction of an international system of cultural, political, and economic domination against which Africans would struggle. From that point, capture in West Africa and the Middle Passage would compel Africans to minimize their regional, ethnic, and linguistic differences as a prelude to the first unified Pan-African struggles of Maroon societies. Subsequently, in terms of political struggle, Africans such as David Walker and Kwame Nkrumah made contributions to Pan-Africanism that expanded its meaning and scope. Marsh also offers David Walker (who he labels a "Pan-Negroist") as an example of the importance of

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61 Ibid., 80.

62 Ibid., 83. It should be noted that, although these are examples of attempts at African unification, it should not be uncritically argued that these are example of Pan-Africanism. At least two of the three are examples of struggles that did not place the interests of the masses of African people at the heart of the movement. Mansa Musa's reign, for example, accepted and promoted the subjugation of the non-Muslim African masses.
struggling to transform both the local and the "historic global conditions of Black people."

Although largely focusing on African-Americans, Walker was clear on the connection to and the goal of uplifting African people throughout the world. In the same way, Marsh suggests that Nkrumah (a "continental Pan-Africanist") provided a version of Pan-Africanism that connected notions of being African to the highest levels of political struggle: nationbuilding. After underscoring Nkrumah's clarity on the presence of a "oneness" (on the psychological level) among Africans global, for Marsh, the continental Pan-African agenda became a part of a global process.

Pan-Africanism in Nkrumah's hands transcended pleading to colonial masters for the better treatment of the African elites and natives to one acknowledging African people, globally, as belonging to the African nation, to mobilizing for African independence, the consolidation of that independence, the achievement of a United States of Africa for the economic, social, cultural, and the industrial transformation of the African continent, and thereby the empowerment of African people [wherever] they are.

Walker and Nkrumah's ideas both represent more holistic versions of Pan-Africanism, both in terms of their personal contributions as well as the larger meaning of their contributions. The important point in Marsh's study is that they both were committed to transforming the conditions confronting African people in their respective parts of the world while, at the same time, transcending those geographic limitations.

63 Ibid., 85.
64 Ibid., 82.
65 Ibid., 98.
Williams and Marsh help clarify the relationship between ideas of being African with political struggles to express that Africanness. They both identify an intrinsic link that surpasses the numerous eras of Pan-Africanism. However, neither of the two (as with most other Pan-African discussions) systematically explains the connection between an African consciousness and Pan-Africanism. As suggested above, the question is exactly how, given the realities of enslavement and colonization, does an African cultural identity survive to the extent that it makes any significant contribution to Pan-African struggles? Walters' analysis of late 20th century Pan-African movements give a fuller explanation of the role of a culture identity. Walters' Pan-Africanism in the African Diaspora is a deeper theoretical discussion of the transcontinental, Diasporan linkages that actually give meaning to Pan-Africanism. He develops a framework for a comparative analysis of white domination in African communities, and the "politics of Pan-Africanism" that emerges from it in different parts of the Diaspora. For Walters, the essence of Pan-Africanism lies in the cultural, political, and economic contacts and linkages established by African people in different communities throughout the African world. "Therefore," he argues, "the individual or collective relations among Africans in the Diaspora, among African-origin communities outside the African Diaspora or between them and those on the continent are important varieties of Pan-Africanism."66 Furthermore, Walters contend that Pan-Africanism and Pan-African strategies be capable of analyzing African people in their unique contexts while simultaneously constructing

linkages and collective responses to those idiosyncrasies. This is the main focus of the analysis. Walters, in emphasizing ‘linkages’ as the core element, presents a series of discussions of Pan-African connections within the Diaspora and with the Continent. For him, the level of interaction in part determines the nature of Pan-African contacts. From that point, Walters offer five potential types of Pan-African relationships:

1. unity among peoples within an African-origin community;
2. unity among African-origin people within a predominantly black, culturally heterogeneous state;
3. unity between or among African people in African-origin communities in the Diasporas;
4. unity among African peoples in African-origin states; and
5. unity between or among peoples in African-origin communities and African-origin states.67

His conclusion is that understanding contemporary Pan-Africanism begins first with recognizing the linkages among and between the various African communities throughout the African world.

The actual international entities created to institutionalize the culture/politics relationship are perhaps the best vehicle. This question of the place and strength of African culture among descendents far removed from their homeland by time a space actually transcends Pan-Africanism. Its primacy in Pan-Africanism is really a smaller part of the primacy of the question in resolving larger issues of identity and power throughout the African world. To Walter’s credit, he highlights the fact that Pan-

67 Ibid., 325.
Africanism is not immune from this dilemma and its very legitimacy rests on a careful understanding of the link between an African cultural identity and collective movements for empowerment. Walter’s contribution to the ramifications of this internal crisis begins with a generalization that first locates the actual position African culture particularly among Africans in the Diaspora. His position is that “Africa endures in Black people of the Diaspora not only in the surface physical manifestation of skin color and physiognomy and the remnants of cultural practices, but most powerfully in the imagination (emphasis original).”68 But what is the significance of “Africa’s existence in the imagination of its descendents” for Pan-African struggles? Relying on DuBois’s “Twoness” observation, Walters locates the cultural identity/Pan-Africanism relationship first in the early 1900s among the African writers in the Negritude movement.

Empirical proof of the power of the ‘African imagination’ within Black people was provided by the Negritude poets in Europe at the turn of the century who, facing the push of racism and oppression and the pull of the substance of African culture, also created an expression of the new ‘African personality’ as a way of rehabilitating and defending African culture and using it as an alternative model for their psychological liberation.69

The point is that, in spite of importing European cultural dichotomies and questionable conclusions, the Negritude writers’ contribution was in their elevation of the critical issue of revisiting and redeeming an “African personality.”

This contribution would later generate progressions among Pan-African initiatives that, among other things, (1) introduced question of culture in the political

68 Ibid., 355.

69 Ibid., 356.
liberation of the African people and (2) spawned other Pan-African conferences and organizations throughout the Diaspora. Walters offers, as examples of this struggle to grapple with the link between culture and the Pan-Africanism, the series of African writers’ conferences, cultural festivals, and Diasporan political movements. Along this line, the Conference of Negro-African Writers and Artists convened in Paris in 1956 and culminated with the creation of the Society of African Culture (SAC). Walters writes that the American delegation to the Paris meeting, in an effort to institutionalize the culture/Pan-Africanism dialogue, created AMSAC, The American Society for African Culture in 1957.70 The conference in Paris also set the stage for The Second International Conference of African Artists and Writers, held in Rome in 1959, where the Pan-African journal, Presence Africaine, was founded. The concentration of these African writers, artists, and scholars on African liberation began to ripen at an AMSAC-sponsored conference in Philadelphia in 1960, where the issue of African culture was discussed specifically in the context of the then ongoing African independence movements. The relevance of the discussion to African liberation would continue in 1969 at the First Pan-African Cultural Festival, held in Algiers, Algeria.71

Perhaps the strongest examples of these links between African culture and Pan-Africanism in Walters’ analysis were the 1972 creation of the African Heritage Studies

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70 Ibid., 361.

71 Ibid., 362. Walters suggests that, in the Philadelphia conference, a very important theme entertained at the conference was the prospects of defining what Samuel Allan "... called an 'ensemble of African values' that comprised the 'vital force' as the concrete expression of the African personality." In Algiers, the debate shifted towards the issue of culture in the context of African-Arab unity. One of the critical issues in 1969 was the question of whether or not Arabs war culturally African.
Association (ASHA) and the subsequent Black Studies Movement, and the 1977 Second World Festival of Black and African Arts and Culture held in Lagos, Nigeria. Walters’ heavy focus on the formation of ASHA was to illustrate that its break from the African Studies Association was a part of a larger process. Thus, he states, “Most important, as the political character of the Black liberation movement of the 1960s changed to become more pan-Africanist, so did the movement for Black studies.”

The Black Studies Movement could only be correctly understood in the context of its connection to Black liberation struggles in the United States, Africa, and elsewhere. ASHA’s break from ASA, as it was grounded in the black liberation movements and reflecting the African culture/Pan-Africanism connection, was centered around these following demands:

- the need to control one’s own history and culture,
- the need to participate in conferences in Africa,
- the need to reduce the distance between Africans and Afro-Americans,
- the need to contribute to the Black community,
- the need to form a liaison to other Black scholars,
- the need to collaborate with African countries and their embassies.

So then, Walters’ work, as with Legum, is a good example of the tendency in Clarke-like analyses to unite notions of an African cultural identity with collective movements for African empowerment. In general terms, Walters locates this link in the larger issue of understanding political struggles among any ethno-cultural group. He explains that “politics emerges not as a unique product of social life apart from culture, but as part of the challenge of everyday living,” and that “it is the organized way in which people

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72 Ibid., 355.

73 Ibid., 366.
respond to their environment by seeking to protect and advance their overall cultural interests." Walters ends the analysis applying the role of culture to African political movements throughout the Diaspora. This is important in that it captures the second aspect in the Clarke model: the recognition of unique continental and Diasporan dimensions of this connection. Specifically in the case of Pan-Africanism,

A unique form of politics is related to Pan Africanism where the activity is directed toward protecting and advancing the cultural heritage of African-origin peoples, where they are engaged in protecting and advancing the interests of African continental peoples, and where the activity is based on protecting and advancing the linkages of kinship among African-origin peoples in the Diaspora.

**Conclusion: Reconceptualizing Pan-Africanism**

This comparison of the literature’s treatment of the programmic approach and Clarke model of Pan-Africanism makes possible some general observations. Those analyses labeled as programmic make a strong contribution. Most of the works fitting this approach, in placing the origins of Pan-Africanism in the 1900 conference or beginning with those 19th century activities that set stage for 1900 Pan-Africanism, offer a systematic study of Pan-Africanism in two ways. First, classifying the history of Pan-Africanism into either the earlier pre-congress “ideas” or the subsequent post-1900 “movements” produces some very important insights into the evolution Pan-Africanism. In spite of disagreements and difficulties in approaching Pan-Africanism in this way, the reality is that the history of Pan-Africanism is a history of evolutions from one plateau to

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74 Ibid., 383.

75 Ibid.
another. Understanding distinct aspects of each stage and analyzing the dynamics present in the transition from stage to stage help us to better understand the present status of the Pan-African phenomenon. For example, a contemporary analysis of Pan-Africanism benefits both from historical descriptions of the 5th PAC and from accounts of how the activities at Manchester transformed Pan-Africanism. Second, in emphasizing the 1900 Pan-African Conference, these analyses reveal the importance of organizational structure in Pan-Africanism. It was the attempts by Diaspora Africans to create international entities for expressing their interests concerning Africans abroad that has laid the groundwork for the kinds of global institutions that are presently in demand. It is in this context that the magnitude of Marcus Garvey and the UNIA's success among the masses of African people everywhere are fully realized. Studies within the Clarke model likewise make a number of important contributions to evaluations of Pan-Africanism. Two generalizations exist in those analyses that are consistent with this approach: (1) There has been a deep tradition of Pan-African struggles that embodied a balance between a consciousness of being African and organized movements that are expressions of this consciousness. (2) Based on that reality, the historical analysis of Pan-Africanism must be consistent with those early activities that represent a duality between idea and movement.

Once the positive aspects of each approach have been identified, what remains is an evaluation of which approach in the literature is most useful for understanding Pan-Africanism at this point in its historical development. Out of this comparison, a number of topics emerge that might be incorporated into analyses of the present state of Pan-
Africanism. From this study of the literature, we conclude that the Clarke model perhaps provides the best framework for explaining contemporary Pan-Africanism. A reoccurring assumption in the programmic approach has been that of implicitly or explicitly defining Pan-Africanism in terms of a separate “idea” and “movement.” One can understand how the complexities of Pan-Africanism would pull observers in this direction. However, these approaches are guilty of assuming that programs-of-action that seek to unite Africans (on different levels at different times) occur separate from a notion or consciousness of being African. The problem is that the idea or sentiment and the actual Pan-African activities are intrinsically and historically linked. In fact, most collective pursuits of interests among African people for the empowerment of African people extend from some consciousness of being African. The movements emerge as the ideas of Africa and being African emerge. This is Marsh’s point in revealing the Pan-Africanism of inter-ethnic collaboration and unification among escaped Africans arriving in the Americas.

This historical understanding significantly shapes and clarifies the contemporary knowledge and perceptions of Pan-Africanism. Instead of the limitations of continental unification or the OAU, the definition of Pan-Africanism, as Kwesi Kwaaf Prah demands in *Beyond the Color Line*, is two-fold:

Pan-Africanism in our times should be largely practice. Practice which rationally engages reality with an object of changing the real world. Pan-Africanism, if it is to successfully confront the challenges of tomorrow should not acquiesce in the rhetorical fantasies of a pseudo-church; a community of ‘believers’ who meet every so many years, to affirm their faith and venerate their ancestry and its iconography. The challenge is to
organize democratic institutions for the emancipation and development of
mass society.\textsuperscript{76}

But in addition to this, Prah adds that:

Pan-Africanism is \emph{at the same time an affirmation and assertion of African humanity}, a spirit of indomitability, an attestation of the right and willingness of Africans to unite and seize their equality amongst humankind. It is not dogma cast in stone by a political pedigree, and which requires doctrinal fidelity every time it is called into analytical or practical service. It is a dynamic frame of reference which responds to changes in focus and relevance according to changing historical realities (emphasis mine).\textsuperscript{77}

To conclude, the critical point is that a reconceptualization of Pan-Africanism is required to determine its contemporary status. The comparisons of the programmic approach and Clarke model reveal specifically four concluding generalities that might assist in a reconceptualization of Pan-Africanism: (1) Basic understandings of the relationship between a Pan-African consciousness and Pan-African movements directly shape subsequent examinations of the nature, evolution, and status of Pan-Africanism. (2) There is a weakness in those definitions that limit Pan-Africanism to either an idea or a movement without grasping the duality of the two. Limited definitions create limited conclusion. Therefore, (3) Pan-Africanism should be defined in terms of a harmony between the idea of being African and the movement for empowerment. The review demonstrates that limited analyses of the Pan-African idea and movement often result in incomplete and inconsistent definitions of Pan-Africanism. A broader understanding of contemporary Pan-Africanism must not only identify the singular manifestations of Pan-


\textsuperscript{77} Ibid.
African consciousness or organized movements, but must also account for the historical interplay between the two. (4) Studies should expand the origins of Pan-Africanism to include and appreciate earlier models, such as the Maroon society phenomenon.
PART III

PAN-AFRICANISM AND THE GLOBAL POLITICAL ECONOMY
CHAPTER FIVE

WESTERNIZATION, GLOBALIZATION, AND (DIS)EMPOWERMENT IN THE AFRICAN WORLD

In spite of unique historical and political realities, the different communities throughout the African Diaspora share common conditions at the onset of the 21st century that have and continue to threaten material as well as psychological damage. Persistent problems of political powerlessness and economic underdevelopment can be traced to Africa’s historical relationship with the West (and Arabs) and, at the same time, its place in the structure of the post-Cold War political economy. This chapter gives a brief historical and ideological context for understanding westernization, its impact on African people, and the meaning for contemporary Pan-Africanism. An examination is made of the role westernization has played in forging persistent relationships between African people and the West and the contribution this has made to the former’s vulnerability in the global political economy. Afterwards, the more recognizable globalization trends in the contemporary global economy that instruments and policies of westernization will be highlighted. The final component considers the implications of the negative impacts of westernization and globalization for Africa and the African Diaspora.

Westernization is a cultural as well as a political/economic process and it assumes that the impact of the contemporary international order on African people is not explained simply in terms of superpowers policies, corporate control, and Cold War
alignments. Westernization is understood as a systematic process of imposing Western European ideas, values, institutions, and relationships upon vulnerable societies in such a way that the recipient culture is weakened. It is a social, political, and economic process whereby European culture is considered superior and, thus, more desirable than the cultures of people of color, resulting in a rejection of empowerment alternatives that are not a part of Europe's "marketplace of ideas." Given all of this, a key emphasis is placed here on the ongoing global spread of Western culture as a factor in the continued exploitation and underdevelopment of African communities. According to this approach, educational institutions, media conglomerates, and communications technology, based in or controlled by the West, transmit "legitimate" ideas and images across the planet thus undermining the legitimacy of local cultures.

**Ideological Roots of Western "Progress"**

With westernization and its contribution to the globalization process, the interplay between culturally manufactured worldviews on one hand and international developmental policies that affect African communities on the other comes into focus. Of particular interest for us is the spread of European culture via what appears to be an almost wholesale acceptance of Western ideological assumptions by Africans as the only basis for progress and empowerment. In the current trend, significant numbers of leaders and policy makers charged with the responsibility of moving Africa and its people away from a position of weakness in the global arena have concluded that only those ideas, values, and models exported from the West are legitimate. Meanwhile, there exists in the analyses and policies of the powerbrokers a rejection of alternatives that stem from the
cultural realities and idiosyncrasies shared by African people. The result is a perpetual condition where the adoption of these Western assumptions by African people (as well as other people of color) as a formula for their empowerment actually fuels the internationalization of Western culture, consequently enhancing the empowerment of European people.

**Classical Liberalism**

In order to appreciate this process, westernization must be seen from two important starting points: (1) its European ideological origins, and (2) an evolving historical relationship between the West and Africans. Westernization cannot be understood outside of the context of the central Western ideological expression of *classical liberalism* and *neo-liberalism* and the narrow cultural and historical world it reflected. Liberalism represents both an ideology and a set of policies. The state policies that follow the ideology will be highlighted in a following chapter. In its more recent ideological expression, however, neo-liberalism is the contemporary political and economic reincarnations of classical liberalism. This school of thought primarily owes its philosophical origin to European thinkers Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), John Locke (1632-1704), and Adam Smith (1723-1790) and their attempts to explain the basic structures and values of their society, as they perceived it.¹ There is absolutely no doubt that there are a number of Western thinkers, such as Ricardo, Hume, and Kant, who have made significant contributions to the development of Western civilization. But the

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¹ See, Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1651); John Locke's *Second Treatise on Government* (1689); and Adam Smith’s *The Wealth of Nations* (1776).
former group of thinkers was more essential to the evolution of a pan-Western set of ideas and values that form a social, political, and economic foundation for a variety of Western ideological orientations. Greenberg, in his attempt to ground American liberalism in historical context, for example, attributes classical liberalism to a number of fundamental assumptions regarding the nature of human interaction: competitive individualism; the pursuit of private property; limited government; and the free market.\(^2\) At the heart of these assumptions is an explanation of the inherent nature of man. Greenberg describes Hobbes' view of the world as one where "man is an aggressive, competitive, ever-striving being, moved by the compulsion to fill his unlimited appetite, engaged in an ongoing 'war of all against all.'"\(^3\) The value placed on individualism in the liberal tradition is grounded in an acceptance of Hobbes' general assumption that humans are innately individualistic and, as a result, naturally engage in perpetual competition with others and the environment.

According to Green, Locke, picking up where Hobbs ended, proposed the notion that humans are foremost driven by the pursuit of narrow interests guaranteed to them by "natural law." For Locke, the most central of these is the right to private property. This right, in turn, provides the basis for all other rights. As Greenberg explains, "Being sacred and natural, property rights become fundamental to all other rights, or, more accurately, they come before other rights."\(^4\) Liberalism imports this reasoning as the


\(^3\) Ibid., 43.

\(^4\) Ibid., 44.
individual and the ownership of private property is held sacred over the collective. But there is and always have been potential for social volatility under the conditions favorable to the liberal perspective (of which Karl Marx's socio-economic criticisms would be a profound contribution to Western thought). Classical liberalism resolves conflict (in theory) by the embracing the idea of government by consent. Hobbs and Locke's notions of "the social contract" and "popular consent" encouraged the collective creation of government primarily for the preservation of private property. The primacy of individualism would remain sacred, although, to avoid instability, concessions would be made by the individual to ensure the protection of rights. The two helped to clarify, in the political sense, the extent to which government was to operate (or not operate) in the lives of the masses.

In economic terms, liberal assumption of limited government would become canonized with Smith's *laissez-faire*, "invisible hand" and free market concepts. More specifically, uninhibited by government and allowed to function along its natural course, the free market forces would become the guiding instrument of social, economic, and political organization and development. Smith believed that the invisible hand of the market would provide for the common good, thus making high governmental involvement undesirable. The neo-liberal perspective duplicates the role reserved for government and the assumptions of multi-beneficial market forces.

**Neo-liberalism**

The ideas of these Western thinkers lay the foundation for classical liberal thought, which, in turn, is the historical, cultural, and ideological cradle of neo-liberalism.
In the present neo-liberal approach are the same basic values and assumptions of individualism, primacy of private property, limited government, and the free market. Accounting for modern times and an expanded international scope, neo-liberalism generally consists of the five following components:

1. A de-emphasis of the concept of the "public good" in favor of the responsibility of the individual;

2. Privatization of state-owned enterprises, goods and services such as banks, key industries, railroads, highways, electricity, drinking water, schools, and hospitals;

3. Deregulation and reduction government oversight of industry and private sector;

4. Reducing or removing public expenditures for social services like education and health care; and

5. A devotion for the rule of the market for liberating private enterprise from governmental influence.

For the most part, the westernization process assumes the global legitimization and spread of Western influence through and for the expansion of these values, ideas, as well as the policies that extend from them. Because the matrix of classical liberalism and neoliberalsim is essentially European, a case can be made that the implosion of communism and the thawing of the Cold War opened the door to this process. The key issue is to question the impact of this process on the African world. The following discussion initiates this by approaching the westernization process from the perspective of the early stages of Africa's historical relationship with the West: slavery and colonization.
The relationship between forces of the global political economy and global African communities are complex and arguably too vague and indirect to measure the latter’s impact on Pan-Africanism. In one argument, issues facing continental Africa are too unique to be compared to those facing the rest of the African world. This rejected based partly on Nascimento’s position that “most Africans living outside of Africa are the products of the same historical events with variations depending on their respective slave masters, or colonizers.”

Global complexities should not and do not negate similarities that transcend the specifics of vast places and cases in the African world such as Kenya and Haiti. In fact, an investigation into the ideological and structural dynamics spanning the African world reveals these generalizations and commonalties. The correlation between westernization, globalization, and Pan-Africanism is primarily a function of the common historical relationships between the West and the African world.

Again, westernization, as far as African people are concerned, is not new and has played a critical part of the historical connection between the West and Africans since Alexander of Macedonia solidified Greece’s conquest of Africa in 332 BCE. This has also direct bearings on Pan-Africanism. The link between the international order at any given time and Pan-Africanism has and continues to be critical. It has already been submitted that Pan-Africanism is now faced with a new situation resulting from some significant adjustments in the Post-Cold War global order. This assumption alone is

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largely based on the historical connection between the immediate international conditions confronting African people at specific historical stages on the one hand, and Pan-Africanism on the other. Locksley Edmondson, in an essay entitled “Pan-Africanism and the International System,” assumes this connection on the basis that Pan-Africanism by definition is essentially an “international relations phenomenon.” This appears, for example, in the linkages between the Pan-African Conferences and Congresses from 1900 to 1945 and the various international crises and trends of those periods. Edmondson says that the emergence of Pan-Africanism in 1900 was a function of an international condition characterized by “the colonization of Africa” and with “white racism firmly entrenched in the international political culture.” It was “World War I and the conditions prevailing in its aftermath” that fueled the resurrection of Pan-Africanism in 1919. Likewise, “The changing international circumstances in the aftermath of the Second World War largely explain the movement’s significantly more militant programmatic thrust and heightened anti-colonial ideological coherence which were manifested at the 1945 Manchester Congress.” Pan-Africanism has always been in tune with evolving global dynamics during any given era. Consequently, today as in the past,

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7 Ibid., 297.

8 Ibid., 298.

9 Ibid., 299. Edmondson also links the Second, Third, and Fourth Pan-African Congress, as well as the emergence of Garvey’s UNIA to the dominant global trends of their respective eras. See page 298.
westernization, as a feature of the global landscape, is a part of the global dynamic that, as the vignettes below show, has seriously undermined Pan-Africanism.

The Continental Relationship

Recent trends reflecting Western global political and economic domination are simultaneously legitimizing and perpetuating the spread of Western culture. Likewise, the global spread of Western cultural assumptions complements Western domination of African people. This can be explained by briefly outlining the general experiences of Africans on the continent and the Americas resulting from enslavement and European global expansion.\footnote{10} Enslavement set the foundation for the relationship. Africa and African’s initial involvement and position in the global arena through enslavement has always been on the terms of those who have historically assumed the role of exploiter and plunderer of the continent’s resources and people. The kidnapping and transportation of untold millions of African people for free labor in Arabia and in the West and the period of uneven trade during European mercantilism established the transcontinental relationships shaped by assumptions of white supremacy.

The abolition of enslavement and the erosion of the mercantile system in favor of more desirable relationships vis-a-vis Africa was the impetus for European imperial penetration into the hinterland and the ultimate colonization of the entire continent. The goal: force Africa into a position where she would provide Europe with the labor and

\footnote{10} Although the main focus of this westernization discussion is on its general definition and specific application to the African world, there are many other regions and people of color whose struggles in the contemporary political economy can equally be linked to a historical connection with the West. One can list clear parallels between the African situation and that of the Indian Subcontinent and South and Central America for example. In addition, the similarities between the experiences in Africa and those in the Americas allow for a fuller outline of the former.
resources needed to meet the production and profit demands in and of the rapidly growing European industries. But, once again, at the base of these political/economic relationships was the belief that it was Europe's rightful duty to show Africans how to properly utilize their natural and human resources and to bring "civilization" to the African. Chinweizu makes the connection.

To buttress and crown their creation, the founders of the colonial order embarked on a cultural reorganization of Africa. If the African auxiliaries of empire were to be docile and loyal servants, their allegiance to African had to be undermined. Total admiration for Europe had to be instilled into them.  

The psychological aspects of this relationship required the same type of institutional entrenchment needed to facilitate the monopolization of African labor and resources. Thus, "agents" were required for the continuation of the colonial system and the perpetuation of this global relationship. Chinweizu adds the following:

The retooling of their minds and values was entrusted to the schools. Whether run by missionaries hunting for black converts for their white heavens, or run by colonial bureaucrats, these imperialist schools not only taught reading, writing and arithmetics to their inmates, they also stuffed the heads of their victims with church devotional hymns, filled their psyche with submissive Christian attitudes, and undermined their attachment to the culture of their ancestors. These schools inculcated in their wards a Christian theology and cosmology, and a western individualist ethos that weakened their African identity, destroyed their commitment to an African communalism ethos, and erased their sense of patriotic responsibility to Africa.  

Decolonization did little to change this and as Africans struggled to politically liberate themselves from colonial domination it would remain tightly linked, culturally and

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11 Chinweizu, 76.

12 Ibid.
economically, to the West. The fact was that the eradication of direct European control
did not mean the eradication of the assumptions that buttressed slavery, imperialism, or
colonialism. Instead, the introduction of a neocolonial relationship in the post-
independence era not only assured that Europe would perpetuate their domination of
African resources and labor, but also demanded that the assumptions of white supremacy
remain intact. Africa’s protracted cultural and economic captivity was to be rooted once
again in a one-sided colonial relationship that favored the West. “And what,” asks
Chinweizu, “are the tendons, visible and invisible, which bind the appendage society to
Europe?”

In the economic sphere they are the roads and railways connecting the
farms, mines and markets to the ships in the ports; the banks, the mining
and trading companies bound by legal and financial threads to their parent
organizations in Europe; the currencies pegged the franc or the pound; and
last but far from least the commodity prices set in London, Paris and
Brussels that determine prices in Africa... In the cultural sphere the links
are the colonial schools and the religious and secular organizations which
operate as field agencies for nurturing Euro-Africans, such was the
structure of the colonial order.

In spite of colonialism’s denial of African access to culture and self-identity, Chinweizu
adds, “With the transfer of the levers of internal government to African politicians and
administrators, it became possible for these men, if they so desired, to use political power
to foster integrative development.” This integrative development would have involved
a level of creativity and ingenuity based on the need to graft Africa’s positive cultural,

13 Ibid., 78.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid., 247.
political, and economic elements into the conditions that remained after the negativity and impurities of colonization were eradicated. But this did not happen. Instead, “From Britain, from France, from Germany and from the United States our leaders imported experts to tell them how best to free African economies from the grip of Britain, France, Germany and the United States.”\textsuperscript{16} Thus, to the detriment of Africa, the leadership did not attempt “to take pains to see that the development recipes these experts sold to them would not protect the interests of the countries of the experts at our expense.”\textsuperscript{17} Rather than confront the work of redevelopment, the leadership helped to ensure underdevelopment by prolonging the exploitative relationship.\textsuperscript{18}

**Westernization and Africans in the Americas**

African people in the Americas suffered the same general situation vis-à-vis westernization and the international order. In this case, however, the nature of the plantation economy and the region’s position the global political economy produced some differences. The relationship needed to facilitate the capture of Africans to be traded abroad differed from that necessary to maintain the plantation system once Africans arrived in the Americas. And, while colonial authorities in both Africa and the Americas sought out ways to exploit the African, the spirit of resistance in the Americas posed a different set of challenges – and thus relationships with some Africans – than

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 248.

\textsuperscript{18} Two examples mentioned in previous chapters stand out. The compromises at the creation of the OAU, and the reactionary positions of the participating states at the 6\textsuperscript{th} PAC illustrate the types of relationships envisioned and defended by many leaders.
liberation struggles in Africa. However, as with the relationships between Europeans and Africa, Europeans, and Africans in the Americas revealed the presence of the same underlying assumptions of European superiority, especially as it relates to perpetuating European domination.

After emancipation in the Americas, it was evident that the process of negotiating political control in the Americas imported the same ideas of white supremacy that accompanied the independence of African states. The main difference was that, in the Americas, unlike most of black Africa, power was checked by Europe with their manipulation of minority whites, mulatto castes, and black cultural agents. Even in resistance to European domination, all three proved loyal to Europe and European cultural supremacy to the detriment of the masses of Africans and other oppressed people of color in their colonies. In cases where African people attained power in the Americas, the constant has been the reinforced domination of European culture coupled with the debasement of the African identity. Carruthers' critique of Toussaint L'Overture's leadership during the revolution in Haiti is a case in point. Here, the struggle first ignited among Maroons and enslaved Africans, whose initial revolutionary mantra of "liberty or death," was compromised by Toussaint's substitution of reform for revolution. Deeply influenced by French/European culture, Toussaint, once governor-general, implemented a two-part political structure consisting of "clever black generals and white and mulatto civil administrators." Toussaint's vision of a free Haiti excluded the

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19 Carruthers, 46-58.

20 Ibid., 47.
masses of African people as his economic reforms essentially extended their enslavement. As Carruthers further notes, “Not only were the masses of ‘ex-slaves’ under governmental control, but Toussaint also installed the white planters as proprietors of tenants to supervise the various levels of farm laborers.”

Under Toussaint, black elites, mulattos, and whites enjoyed the political and economic fruits of the revolution, while the masses remained disenfranchised. Two critical questions become evident: How should Toussaint’s (and others) leadership in cultural, philosophical, and ideological terms be understood and what ideas shaped his vision of empowerment and development? The answer is grounded in a systematic relationship with France that produced in the minds of Haiti’s leadership a particular vision of the world and of revolutionary change. Carruthers explains the relationship this way:

This philosophy was in turn a variation of the main line of European thought which had its roots in Aristotle but which had been reformulated in the post-Machiavellian period. Perhaps the best articulated statement of the philosophy had been by John Locke in his *Treatise on Government* which had first received wide circulation in France throughout the eighteenth century. The work ethic, the justification of private property and slavery, were established as a part of the modern European worldview and the French philosophers had incorporated those ideas; especially notable is Montesquieu in his *Esprit des Lois* (emphasis original).

These enlightenment ideas found their way to Haiti via France, its long-time colonizer. As a result, elitist Africans who assumed power not only incorporated and perpetuated

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21 Ibid., 49.

22 Ibid., 57.
these ideas, but also sought to maintain a relationship with whites, both in France and on the island.

The contradictions exposed in the African world’s (and the entire world’s) first successful slave revolt became a precursor as well as a blueprint for understanding relationships that would emerge between states in the region and the Western-controlled international order. Just as Chinweizu observed in the post-colonial African states, colonial elites of the Caribbean, once in power, sought out Western relationships to the detriment of the masses. This was precisely the point made by Rodney at Howard University in 1972 while commenting on what he called the “dependency ethic.” Rodney specifically saw that it was

. . . the elite in Latin America, that stratum that aids in the exploitation of the masses, has become so completely dependent upon their external masters; and dependency certainly not only in the economic sense, not only in the political sense, but in the fundamental, psychological sense which Franz Fanon gives a lot of depth to, in terms of the African middle-class or petty bourgeois class. Our society, the Caribbean society, epitomizes that dependency ethic as far as the ruling stratum, the local middle-class or overseer-class, [is concerned].

These conditions meant more than the perpetuation of European control over Africans and their resources. It was actually the extension of a long-term relationship with Africans that the latter have not been able to break. In fact, as suggested above, political and economic dependency is again accompanied by a commitment to European values and ideas. It is this psychological, philosophical, and ideological commitment that serves as a vehicle for a continued spread of Western culture, even beyond the era of

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direct European global colonization. So then, the negative impacts of the ongoing process of westernization on Africa are based on the reality that it is an extension of this historically negative relationship. This reality demands that discussions of the African world’s position in the post-Cold War global political economy, if it is to be complete, be held against the backdrop of these historically exploitative contacts and relationship. In other words, can the post-Cold War world be fully appreciated without accounting for the present expansion and manifestations of European cultural and ideological supremacy? Do we, in identifying the critical features of the present global political economy in the following section, assume that political and economic factors are accompanied by cultural and racial ones as well? Given the historical relationships briefly outlined above, and the fact that evidence proving that the mechanisms of “free market forces” have eliminated the juggernaut of white supremacy is not available, the answers are respectively no and yes.

Instruments of Globalization

Globalization involves a number of interrelated processes that capture significant aspects of the international political economy in the post-Cold War period. Driven by an overwhelming adoption of neo-liberal, market-based policies by states, it is a transnational process defined by the global reorganization of production and distribution operations; the uninhibited international penetration of local industries; and the open and free access to worldwide financial markets. Globalization assumes greater access and integration across national boundaries through a number of developments that both impact and are influenced by the process. The large number of globalization
vehicles, such as the rapid spread of information made possible through technological advances, the rise of multinational corporations (MNC), and the freer movement of goods and services across territorial lines, are too deep to discuss at length here. This overview however identifies four international trends related to globalization, their links to westernization, and the serious implications for African people, communities, and nations globally. These major contemporary globalization trends include the following: (1) neo-liberal economic reforms, (2) global free trade, (3) foreign direct investments (FDI), and (4) regionalization. The discussion below reflects on the basic competing arguments surrounding these trends, the ways in which they are manifestations of Western thought, and a general focus on the general challenges they trigger throughout the African world.

Neo-liberal Economic Reforms (NER)

The domestic and foreign economic policies of nation-states in a given international community (i.e., the UN, OECD, and the G-7) are one of the most fundamental forces behind globalization and other specific aspects of the process. The decisions made by political actors at state levels provide the framework that supports and legitimizes the direction of their economies and global political economy. There are some, such as Mittelman, who point to a diminished role of the state and that, "globalization is a market-induced, not a policy-led process."24 Here, globalization is more so the result of the international market forces that influence domestic policies toward greater openness. These forces actually reshape state economic and public

policies as the speed of global market trends outpace the ability of states to maintain control of efficient and productive economies. On the other hand, others point out that this explanation is too simplistic. Rather, states play an active role in the establishment and maintenance of these global developments (market forces). Globalization trends, as well as the free market, are attached to individuals and “classes” who seek to influence global dynamics according to their narrow interests. Global capitalists, for example, do not exist outside the reality and reach of the state; they interact both with and through the state. Thus, as Panitch emphasized, “global class interpenetrations and contradictions needed to be understood in the context of specificities of the nation-state’s continuing central role in organizing, sanctioning, and legitimizing class domination within capitalism.”

In addition, it is an intrinsic relationship between often-subjective public and economic policy that allow globalization trends to materialize. Preferences for and implementation of NERs, as argued earlier, is a part of a very subjective process influenced by narrow historical, cultural, and ideological factors. By extension, the internationalization of the state is driven more by the conscious policies adopted by political players who embrace the assumptions of global capitalists regarding the proper role and behavior of the state in the local and global scheme-of-things. Note again the importance of culture, worldview, and ideology in determining international policies of states. In their attempt to duplicate the economic performances of the industrialized

nations, the underdeveloped world in general and African states in particular has imported the idea that neo-liberal policies provide the only effective path for industrialization and development. As a result, states adopt the free market model to determine economic solutions. In African states, the mainstream model assumes first that the problem of underdevelopment is the result of state/public policies that hinder the optimal performance of market forces thus undermining the full development of African economies.

The most popular policy instrument of NERs has come in the form of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) extended from Western lending institutions such as the IMF and World Bank to underdeveloped states primarily in Africa, Central, and South America, and the Caribbean. In the particular case of Africa, which has been duplicated in the other regions, newly independent states emerging in the late 1950s were confronted with entrenched economic frailties inherited from generations of colonization. In the well-documented decades of post-independence economic stagnation and financial crisis, African leaders borrowed massive loans from eager Western lending institutions. The inability to repay these loans (for some of the same reasons that prompted massive borrowing) resulted in the great debt crises of the 1970s and 1980s. It was in this vortex that the IMF and World Bank austerity strategies entered as solutions for development. As a result of the crisis, Western financial institutions generally agreed to restructure Africa's debt if the leadership committed their countries to a range of SAP "conditionalities." The assumptions were that (1) Africa's economic crisis resulted from internal inefficiencies and (2) that growth will occur if African states embrace economic
reform. Although particular programs vary, a list of the policy implementations associated with SAPs, as typically applied to African states, required of recipient nations include export-led policies for growth, import liberalization, currency devaluation, privatization of parastatals and government controlled industry; and governmental budget cuts in the public sector (education, health).  

With the West as a model, the 1980s and 1990s were thus regarded as decades of structural adjustment. By the mid-1990s, most African states accepted SAPs as the only efficient path for achieving post-WWII Western-like industrialization and financial performances. Coupled with this was the ability of Western financiers to convince Africa’s leadership that the crux of Africa’s economic woes were flawed internal economic policies. A contradiction emerged where as SAPs have become entrenched on the continent and in the Diaspora, promises of efficient economic growth and development has not been realized. In the meantime, as w’Obanda explains, the living conditions of African people have worsened since independence as a result of SAPs. “It is also true,” he states, “that since independence virtually all African countries have been working under the influence, direction and control of the World Bank, the IMF and Western ‘experts.’”  Similarly, Julius Ihonvbere, in a 1994 speech, made this observation:

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These policies which neglect the region's historical experiences; the character of state and class; existing coalitions; contradictions and conflicts; the ability of non-bourgeois forces to resist; the degree of state delegitimization; the credibility of the government/ruling classes; the room for maneuver in the global system; the resource and other material and structural differences among African states and so on, have created more problems for Africa in the last decade or so.28

The charge is that SAPs force open underdeveloped economies, weaken local institutions leaves them fragile, vulnerable, and dependent on the West for their livelihood. But beyond that, SAPs, reflecting the line of thought in the neo-liberal scheme, are actually prime examples of the connection between political and economic policies and their cultural sources. As Freshman commented, SAPs are more than a set of policy recommendation but rather "a conscious strategy of social transformation at two levels: global and domestic."29 Consequently, among the negative impacts of SAPs, as Somerville found in Senegal, are the cultural, in addition to the quantitative, damages. In her study of the impact of the SAP-induced crisis in Dakar during the 1980s, 28 percent of the Senegalese respondents she surveyed felt that the traditional/social ties were breaking, while 17 percent saw the cultural changes as a problem. In terms of values, 35 percent identified individualism and materialism as major consequences of the crisis.30

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Aggravating the problem is the tendency for NEP and SAPs to be implemented with the exclusion of African masses from the decision-making process. As a result, “these anti-people policies,” according to w’Obanda, “are responsible for the social turbulence that has dominated Africa since independence, as the popular masses have lost confidence in the governments run by the black bourgeoisie which have proved incapable of serving the needs of the people.”

Collateral damages such as civil war in Africa, environmental damage, crime, famine, and adverse impacts on women have also emerged, commanding greater attention throughout the African Diaspora.

Global Free Trade

Freshman predicted that, “if the 1980s were the decade of the debt crisis and structural adjustment, the 1990s promise to be the decade of free trade.” More specifically, “The current rush toward free trade follows on the heels of ten years of structural adjustment, a logical ‘next step’ in the overhaul of the global economy.”

Free trade (also termed trade liberalization) is the establishment of the free flow of goods, capital, and services across international boundaries with little or no state-imposed restrictions such as tariffs and other protective trade barriers. It is one of the key components of SAPs and, likewise, is a product of Western global expansion, culturally, politically, and economically. Free trade in the contemporary sense rests on the theory of

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31 w’Obanda. 52. For a more complete discussion on the tendency of SAPs to trigger political instability, see John W. Harbeson, “Africa In World Politics: Amid Renewal, Deepening Crisis,” in Africa In World Politics: Post-Cold War Challenges, ed. John W. Harbeson and Donald Rothchild (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995).

32 Ibid.
comparative advantage, developed by the 19th century English economist, David Ricardo in his Principles of Political Economy. Building on the works of Adam Smith and Thomas Malthus, Ricardo suggested that where a nation can produce two or more commodities with one more efficiently than the other, the energy and capital of that nation should focus on producing and exporting the item it can most efficiently. If there is a bilateral trade relationship with another state, that country should do the same. Theoretically, the two will equally benefit from the commodities produced and traded. This shapes contemporary theories regarding the most efficient trade policies for African states. Comparative advantage provides an explanation for the success experienced by European states, whose trade policies are now the models for African countries. It materializes in policies requiring Africa to implement export-led growth strategies and import liberalization as the best way to generate earnings and acquire the goods and services on the international market necessary for development.

Criticisms of the comparative advantage position, however, reveal that Europe’s advances have come more from historical systems of uneven trade than from the application of these theoretical assumptions. According to Rosh and Gonick,

While advocates of comparative advantage presumed reciprocal benefit for those engaged in trade, critics saw Third World producer economies growing dependent on and subordinate to the more advanced capitalist

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34 The popular case scenario that has become the canon for Ricardo’s theory concerns the case of 18th century England and Portugal. Britain produces both cloth and wine but is more efficient at the production of cloth. Portugal also has the capability to produce both items but, conversely, produces wine much more efficiently. The comparative advantage theory posits that England should focus on the production and trade of cloth and Portugal on that of wine. The two will be at an advantage in the end, based on the efficiency of the production and on the cost of labor required.
According to the critics of the free trade doctrine, there was an inappropriate emphasis on the efficiency of resource allocation instead of an appreciation of the potential negative impact of grave trade imbalances that follow from unrestricted trade.  

This trade imbalance is and has been a fundamental aspect of Africa's trade with the West. Moreover, Africa's present subordinate and dependent place in the system of trade has its roots in the early development of the advanced capitalists economies, which relied heavily on the exploitation of Africa's people, land, and resources. World trade, as Rodney argued, emerged as an instrument in the West's exploitation of Africa, and the contemporary systems of trade imbalances can be seen as a continuation of the process. Thus, he states, "To discuss trade between Africans and Europeans in the four centuries before colonial rule is virtually to discuss slave trade."  

Samir Amin approached African trade with the West from four key historical periods. First was the pre-mercantilist (to 1600) period, where, "relations were forged between Black Africa and the rest of the Old World, particularly from both sides of the Sahara, between the Savanna countries (From Dakar to the Red Sea) and the Mediterranean." Second came the mercantilist period (1600 to 1800), which "was characterized by the slave trade [and] a decline in productive forces throughout the continent." The third period was Atlantic mercantilism (1800 to 1890), "characterized by attempts... to establish a new form of dependence with that part of the world where capitalism was firmly entrenched by industrialization." Fourth was the period of

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36 Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, 95.
complete colonialism (1890 to 1960), where "the completed forms of dependence—which only appeared when African was actually made the periphery of the world capitalist system in its imperialist stage, and was developed as such [...]"\(^\text{37}\) To both, Africa first experiences systematic trade with Europe during the mercantilist period in the form of slave labor. At the end of slavery, subsequent periods (colonialism and neocolonialism) only saw Africa become drawn deeper into a dependent relationship with the West. Contemporary problems associated with the nature of Africa's trade with the West in general and trade imbalances in particular imports and build upon the uneven trade conditions that were product of this history of exploitation.

It is in this historical context that recent issues such as monocultural production and export, declining prices for primary commodities and worsening terms-of-trade are understood in Pan-Africanist circles. Africa's main purpose for Europe during the stage of imperialism was to provide natural resources for processing in the capitalist centers in the West. According to Brown and Tiffin, "African territories have been developed for the sake of exploiting a few resources in each, often only one or two mining or agricultural products."\(^\text{38}\) As a result, African states today, while being pressed to export its major agricultural and mineral resources, can only rely on a few commodities that dominate the export market. To compound the problem, African nations are at the mercy of the price declines that are controlled by Western financial institutions and


corporations. The consequences are then drastic declines in the desperately needed earnings that are generated in an export-led economy. At the same time, a declining terms-of-trade emerges as prices for Africa’s exported primary goods drop while prices of imported Western manufactured goods continually escalate.\textsuperscript{39}

\textbf{Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)}

The increasing flow of capital across national lines, usually in the form of foreign direct investment (FDI), is another important pillar of globalization. These flows mostly include financial investments, originating from a foreign location, into the local economy or industry of another country. With multinational corporations (MNC) and banking institutions acting as the main engines of the process, FDI creates financial operations on levels of economic activity that transcend states and local jurisdictions. In fact, along with the capacity to distribute information across the globe via rapid technological growth, FDI represents one of the clearest indicators of the globalization discussion. Among its more immediate effects is a gradual internationalization of production and distribution that, in turn, encourages a de-emphasis of national boundaries as a key factor in international finance. As a result, it has been at the center of the globalization debate particularly because of disagreements around the impact increased penetration of investment has on economies in general and, for this analysis, on African states and communities.

Support for FDI is based on the assumption that underdeveloped countries lacking capital and financial resources to invest in their indigenous industries must attract

\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., 28-32.
investments from abroad to directly and indirectly stimulate lagging economies. Key to this line of thought is the argument that the attraction of multinational financial and corporate entities will trigger the positive development of industries and local economies receiving investment. Gupta points out that, “Many view FDI as an important financial resource to supplement domestic savings, firm-specific foreign technology, superior managerial skills, and access to worldwide distribution networks.” Moreover, beginning with the neo-liberal assumption that part of the underdevelopment equation is the inefficiency of state-level control of the national economies, FDI advocates build on higher private sector productivity (privatization). Increased FDI would provide more of the critical financial, technological, and managerial capital in heavy demand in the underdeveloped world because the infrastructure internal to MNCs and banking firms provide a sound model and support for international financial activities. Equally important, Gupta adds, is the rationale that, “By organizing and integrating production within a corporate system, [MNCs] take advantage of intra-firm and international divisions of labor, and smooth trade flows along the lines of comparative and competitive advantage, thus providing better opportunities for dynamic change and economic growth.” Specifically, Crotty, Epstein, and Kelly noted a number of theoretical examples. In the “climb to the top” theory, the competition for investors attracted to opportunities providing access to highly skilled workers and stable infrastructures,


41 Ibid.
actually encourage countries to develop their human capital and infrastructure.\textsuperscript{42} In another scenario, the "neo-liberal convergence," increasing the international investment mobility of MNCs would create higher standards of living in both the developed and underdeveloped world. According to the theory, "This process will, moreover, transfer capital and technology abroad, thereby raising the standards of living of those in the poorer countries at a faster rate than those in the wealthier ones, eventually generating a worldwide convergence in living standards."\textsuperscript{43}

On the other hand, there are crippling economic and social conditions associated with policies encouraging FDI. The problem begins with the growing levels of competition emerging among nation-states (and between units within states) attempting to attract investment from corporations and other entities. Instead of positive impacts on the effected population, what emerges from this competition is the so-called "race to the bottom," the notion that "capital will increasingly be able to play workers, communities, and nations off against one another as they demand tax, regulation, and wage concessions while threatening to move."\textsuperscript{44} Rather than a cooperative and mutual benefit, the profit interests of MNCs compel them to seek out relationships with states and municipalities that ensures the highest profits. Understanding the transition from "cooperative" to "competitive" and/or "coercive" relationships between nation-states and MNCs is helpful


\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{43} Ibid.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{44} Ibid.}
in gauging the masses-level impact of FDI. The previous state/corporation relationship regime in existence from the late 1930s to late 1980s sought to establish active state involvement and influence in industry and labor. The post-depression New Deal era and the post-war Bretton Woods system/institutions, in the American and international spheres, respectively, both assumed aggressive state policies where governments regulated the structure of the political economy. The cooperative relationship between states and corporations forged during this period saw states actively restricted foreign imports and investment into local markets (primarily in the Western countries) while requiring local corporations to adopt labor-friendly social contracts. Corporations, in turn, were able to reap high profits largely because local markets were protected from foreign competition.45

But in the post-1980 regime, shifting international production capabilities coexisting with high levels of state regulation and taxation prompted corporations to forfeit their commitment to social contracts for a what Crotty et.al call a system of “coercive competition” between firms and governments. MNCs were able to increase their influence over increasingly vulnerable local political units who found themselves held hostage to the needs - however perceived - for corporate operations to stimulate their economies. Held against the backdrop of this neo-liberal transition, direct impacts on working masses included “war on unions, political support for stripping workers of their

45 Ibid., 129.
legal rights, the widespread use of replacement workers during strikes for the first time in the post-World War II era, and FDI.46

This situation, however, transcends the local situations in any particular state since at the heart of this transition was the globalization of Western ideological perspectives and systems of production (with the U.S. as the model). Unregulated flows of capital investment across national boundaries became one of the dominant components of both the new regime and the political, social, and economic impacts. FDI, and particularly the activities of MNCs, now gained leverage against countries unsuccessful in their ability to tax and regulate them. Internationally, corporations could, under the new regime, play countries offering lower labor restrictions, taxation, and regulation against those unwilling to offer incentives for relocations and investments.47 The end result is the growing mobility of corporations and FDI while nation-states are left to deal with the political and social ramifications of laxed labor laws, weaker unions, unregulated markets, and the lost potential revenue resulting from corporate tax havens and holidays. Meanwhile, African states adopting these foreign investment policies gradually eliminate the same laws and regulations implemented to curb the negative impact of foreign investment. This is also critical for African communities given the "uneven development" that favors the already developed regions above those poorer regions and localities.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid., 131.
Regionalization

African states are now facing the combined strength of the more powerful global actors who are collectively pursuing their common goals with a new intensity. In the current situation, nation-states have added to their worship of realism a newer, more aggressive push for regional alliances. This aspect of contemporary globalization involves regional political and economic collaborations either among the superpowers or between regional powers and other states in their sphere. In almost all cases, these regional unions demand that members relinquish some aspect of state power to the collective. The trend, however, transcends voluntary negotiations of sovereignty between and by the more powerful nation-states. As Fatemi explains, the strategy behind these collaborations, especially in terms of trade, involve finding optimal levels of international economic performance. Accordingly,

Those who favor a regional approach to trade liberalization, argue with some justification, that regional trading blocs create specialization and thus greater productivity. They further argue that the increase in income resulting from improved productivity will generate greater demand for all products, including imports. Thus, the conclusion is that regional trading blocs create more international trade.48

In the West, blocs such as NAFTA and the European Union are leading the way towards closer ties between regional superpowers such as the United States, Britain, Germany, and France and a range of weaker neighboring states hoping to reap benefits from the linkages.

But trends toward regionalization are not limited to this definition and there is no consensus on the overall benefits of the linkages. Amin makes a distinction between two separate but connected processes. In the contemporary period, on one hand, "Progressively the elements of autonomy of national economies are fading to the benefit of a transgression of national production systems through the reduction of barriers to trade and movements of capital, shaping a global production system." In this case, the trend is towards a unification of nation-states guided by assumptions of minimized state control in favor of more profitable transnational policies. The result has been, according to Amin, the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few global actors, nation-states and regions particularly through the acquisition of five global “monopolies.” He identifies them as (1) technology, (2) control of worldwide financial markets and institutions, (3) access to the planet’s resources, (4) media and communications, and (5) weapons of mass destruction. The product of this type of regional alliance is that Western states and intergovernmental organizations (IGO) dominate each monopoly. These conditions have triggered, on the other hand, a response where regional alliances such as ASEAN, the Arab League, and Caribbean Community provide a counterstrategy to the monopolies of the first trend. Rather than a path to strengthen already industrialized nations, regionalization in this case provides among weaker states a

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50 Ibid., 64.
defense mechanism designed to create alternatives for development and empowerment.

In Amin's view,

It is now more than obvious that combating those five monopolies is impossible as long as the nation-state is considered the only basis for that struggle. Regionalization is the only alternative, not only for efficient autonomous efforts in the various fields of economic development, but no less in the domains of communications and security. In contrast to the dominant ideological discourse, I therefore maintain that 'globalization via the market' is a reactionary Utopia. We must counter it by developing an alternative project of globalization consistent with a humanistic perspective.  

This interdependent alliance is largely a form of collective defense among usually weaker states that find their interests threatened by the "neo-imperialist" version of regionalization.

The West has made serious strides to unity since the WWII, specifically with the evolution of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1958 to the European Community and now the European Union (EU), which might have serious implications for Pan-Africanism. The transformation of traditional definitions of the Western nation-state and state sovereignty via the new global realities appear particularly threatening to African states and pseudo-alliances such as the OAU. Bekerie views this pan-Europeanism from the perspective of post-Cold War threats to Africa by stressing that, "While Europeans are fervently struggling to resolve their ideological difference and are campaigning for a United Europe, Africans are confronted with contradictions from within and from without that seem to grow deeper and deeper making their resolution  

51 Ibid., 66.
more complex and more difficult.” Among the contradictions produced from this neoliber
al advice discussed earlier, is African states’ rejection of calls for the construction of
serious, post-Cold War policies for African unification. At the same time, the subject of
NATO expansion and the EU’s recent introduction of a common European currency are
testaments to the pursuit of a pan-Europeanism that arguably undermines the very
development being offered to African leaders. Yet among African leaders, as Beyerie
summarizes this contradiction/threat,

there is no concrete movement for pan-Africanism to match the drive for
European unity. Although pan-Africanism is a concept with a long history
dating back to Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. DuBois, George Padmore, and
Kwame Nkrumah, it has remained a mere intellectual exercise. To
guarantee Africa’s security in the emerging new world order, the continent
needs to transform the intellectual idea of pan-Africanism to political,
economic and military reality. African leaders, like their counterparts in
Europe, must vigorously pursue the unity of the continent in all areas,
especially economic and political. The end of the Cold War and the open
campaign for Pan-European Unity should find its challenge in African
open campaign for Pan-African Unity.

The absence of a concrete Pan-African agenda amplifies the negative impact of
regionalism within the global political economy and particularly pan-Europeanism.
Already weak competition for single European states, African states stand no chance
against international Western blocs with their unified economies and militaries. At each
turn, lines can be drawn from globalization’s contemporary ills to the need, in light of
this reality, to construct some meaningful Pan-African alternative. Contradictions such

52 Ayele Bekerie, “Beyond the Cold War: Pan-Europeanism and the Challenge of African
Unity,” in Africa After the Cold War: The Changing Perspectives on Security, ed. Adetayo Oyebade and

53 Ibid., 187.
as this, along with the crises due to the other trends, forces, at the very least, an examination of the assumptions taken for granted about westernization, globalization, and the means of empowering the African world.

The African State

African states (continental and diasporic) and the elites that govern them are perhaps the best models of the convergence of the processes of westernization and globalization within a political entity. In practical terms, African states represent the instruments used by the West for implementing their values and policies among African people. The role of the state in the perpetuation of this reality is central and must be understood from the perspective of colonialism and neocolonialism. The fact that independence of African and Caribbean states did little if any to reverse Western goals of exploiting the labor, resources and markets of colonized people has been demonstrated. The works of Walter Rodney has demonstrated this, along with the methods by which the West is able to continue their pursuits into the post-Cold War era. Rodney and others, such as Andre Gunder Frank and Amin, have detailed largely through the Dependency school the mechanisms of the global political economy that serve specifically this purpose. In an effort to illustrate this process, Rodney, as in the focus on Caribbean leadership in the article quoted above, honed in directly on the participation of the state and the African elites in the perpetual exploitation of African people in an address

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delivered in 1974 for the Institute of the Black World.\textsuperscript{55} The critique starts from the position that the “African ruling class” must be understood as an extension and a functional instrument of the same Western-controlled international political economy that produced colonialism. As a result, their actions during and after decolonization to ensure only limited “constitutional independence” while postponing if not outright undermining Africa’s economic independence and self-sufficiency were an outgrowth of the colonial power structure that preceded them. In his lecture, Rodney provided one of the clearest analyses of the complicity of Africa’s ruling elite in perpetuating the continent’s powerlessness and economic vulnerability. The criticisms ranged from casting African leadership as an extension of colonialism to their undermining of national liberation movements in those territories that, during the time of his lecture, were still fighting European colonization. However, three points that reveal how, in the context of the international political economy, roles, and policies of African heads-of-state and “petty bourgeois” elites perpetuate the West’s post-colonial interests and Africa’s powerlessness might be highlighted: the consolidation of the state apparatus; limited nationalist posture; and the suppression of internal democratic forces.

Each of Rodney’s points link the behavior of this group to, on one hand, the historical processes of westernization and colonization, and, on the other hand, to the contemporary instruments of globalization of the post-Cold War era mentioned above. The aim of consolidating state power was a product of fact that, “as a ruling class they

\textsuperscript{55} Walter Rodney, “Politics of the African Ruling Class,” keynote address delivered at the Institute of the Black World, Atlanta, Georgia, 1974.
have inherited a certain state institution, or rather a set of institutions which comprise the state. Rodney saw that, with the weakness of the state apparatus at independence, the African governing class moved to solidifying their limited, fractured power by monopolizing the state and its institutions. This coincides with their seizure of the state’s economic resources where, “for instance, through state power this class can acquire land and real estate and transport equipment; they can get preferential treatment with respect to tenures and contracts; and they can use their power to move into the lower echelons of the capitalist economies (emphasis original).” Therefore, a situation emerges where, instead of relieving the suffering of the masses, the acquisition and strengthening of state power expands instead the power of the elite within the confines of the Western-dominated political economy. The ruling elite is then comfortable with facilitating globalization policies supported by the West that ensure the most minimal contributions to their narrow power.

The role and policies of this group, however, must be understood from the perspective of the ways in which they were able to gain power without pursuing nationalist agendas during decolonization that were designed to transform all of Africa’s resources into the hands of African people. As Rodney puts it, total delinking from the West was never their goal:

The African ruling class today is the leaders of the nationalist movement of the fifties and the early sixties. But for them nationalism was achieved when they got constitutional independence. But, in reality, there are many fundamental tasks of nationalism which remain unfulfilled. And, as long

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56 Ibid.
57 Ibid.
as the ruling class is in power, they will remain unfulfilled because it is in the nature of the African petit bourgeoisie to frustrate the further fulfillment of any nationalist goals (emphasis original).  

The state policies they adopt are consistent with this. In economic terms, there was no intention among Africa’s elite to struggle for African control of Africa’s vast resources. Nationalism, for them, was realized with their acquisition of power, which, given their affinity for Western notions of wealth and privilege and their relationship to the capitalist economies, could never be transferred into the economic empowerment of the masses.

At the same time, the heightened suffering of the masses that is, at least, connected to these policies, continues to legitimize the agendas of the progressive forces. The consolidation of state power, therefore, must also include undemocratic policies that suppress the progressive voices and movements seeking to eradicate the exploitative conditions. Rodney adds,

All over Africa, we have seen them resort to oppression, to wiping out the left, where the left exists, and to wiping out a large number of people not necessarily because of any ideological difference. They have proved incapable (with a few exceptions) of establishing any functioning democratic system of one sort or another.

The undemocratic policies of the ruling elite, in the end, become necessary if they are to maintain power and the masses are to remain powerless. These contradictions exemplify two processes that are important to the research. As Chinweizu and Carruthers explained above, the political decisions of African leaders, and other members of the elite, that are harmful to the masses of African people cannot be separated from the value systems and

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.
worldview they have come to take for granted as a result of westernization. Second, in
the context of the African state, as Rodney demonstrates, those assumptions manifest
themselves in the ruling elite’s perception of the role of the state, their political vision,
and the policies they embrace to realize them both. By extension, these contradictions
are also pervasive on the Pan-African levels that transcend the state, especially given the
leadership role African heads-of-state assume within the movement in the post-
independence era.

**Conclusion: Westernization, Globalization, and The Pan-African Paradigm**

The historical and political role of culture in Pan-Africanism has become an important
subject. Cheikh Anta Diop, in *Black Africa*, has gone further declaring culture to be an
integral part of a successful Pan-African struggle. Diop, in laying out his schema for a
federated African state, identified the neglect of culture as a vital problem in earlier
unification efforts. He warned, “Historical circumstances now demand of our generation
that it solve in a felicitous manner the vital problems that face Africa, most especially the
cultural problem.”

Although Diop’s focus herein did not necessarily include the
Diaspora, his treatment of the vitality of culture has implications for contemporary Pan-
Africanism. He warned that if the challenge of culture was not met,

we will appear in the history of the development of our people as the
watershed generation that was unable to insure the unified cultural
survival of the African continent; the generation which, out of political
and intellectual blindness, committed the error fatal to our national future.
We will have been the unworthy generation *par excellence* (emphasis
original).61

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60 Cheikh Anta Diop, *Black Africa: The Economic and Cultural Basis for a Federated State*

61 Ibid.
Recent dialogue on Pan-Africanism has taken heed to Diop’s warning. For example, one of the central positions in Henderson’s criticisms of Pan-Africanism is that it has failed to recognize African culture and culture groups as the fundamental units of analysis. As a result, the utility of Pan-Africanism as a political theory has been undermined because African culture groups located throughout the Diaspora, argues Henderson, have been overlooked. Henderson’s critique and challenge is that Pan-Africanism, if it is to be a useful paradigm, must overcome this basic limitation. The range and depth of the African world’s problems as it relates to westernization validate other criticisms, such as Henderson’s, that Pan-Africanism needs to re-examine the issues of cultural identity, history, and location. Chango Machyo w’Obanda sums up the problem as a loss sense of cultural direction among African people. He states, “The African, due to colonial and neocolonial mentality, has lost the core of moral, ethical and aesthetic values that could serve as his or her lodestar to life.” In his view, much of the crisis confronting African people and Pan-Africanism concerns the rejection of African values and the imitation of Western ideas. Interestingly, there is a correlation between aspects of Western thought and Western political and economic empowerment.

The issue of culture reveals two important aspects: the threat of external values and a reexamination of the role of African cultural systems and values. Horace Campbell hits both items. He suggests that Pan-Africanism must recognize that there are

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62 Henderson, 119.

63 w’Obanda, 53.
“fundamentally undemocratic” realities grounded in Western ideas. The importation of Western knowledge at the expense of those African feeds the cultural crisis. Given this reality, “Pan-Africanism must develop a new pedagogy, in essence, a new way for the reproduction, transference and use of knowledge.”64 In the case of cultural reassessment and revitalization, Campbell, a longtime pillar in the Pan-African struggle, suggests that, “the reconstruction of cultural values will be one of the ways in which African people will make a statement in the world of the 21st century.”65

Just what the dimensions of these new/different issues are will be determined later. It does seem clear, however, that new issues and problems have emerged and have had far-reaching effects throughout the world. If these global and local changes have occurred – however on different planes – as it seems, then Pan-Africanism, which seeks to understand and articulate the impacts of such systems, likewise is open to new or at least different kinds of obstacles. If that is the case, then the issues and problems facing Pan-African organizations have evolved over the last quarter of the century, thereby requiring new questions, assessments, and strategies. Linking westernization and globalization allows us to appreciate the balance between the predominance of Western ideas, values, and systems and the immediate material impacts of recent (and historic) trends in the contemporary political economy. Additionally, the historical and contemporary deformities caused by westernization and globalization reveals the necessary conclusion for the movement that a Pan-African paradigm must be developed

65 Ibid.
in order to achieve African global empowerment. The basic elements of this paradigm, to which this project will likely contribute, must include at least three factors: (1) a reevaluation and reintroduction of African indigenous political elements into the Continent’s contemporary communities, (2) a merging of political and economic empowerment in the Diaspora with a critical focus on the historical and cultural identity of African people in a given region, and (3) an institutionalization of linkages between African communities in the Diaspora and on the Continent. This paradigm, after benefiting from the major finding and theoretical implications from the study, is detailed later in the concluding chapter of the research.
CHAPTER SIX

PAN-AFRICANISM AND CONFRONTATIONS IN THE GLOBAL POLITICAL ECONOMY: CONTEMPORARY OBSERVATIONS

The thawing of the Cold War and the passing of the 1900s provided a historical opportunity for those concerned with the Pan-Africanism to offer reflections on its present state-of-being. The radical global transformations occurring at the end of the 20th century provide a timely opportunity for activists, scholars, political leaders, and others concerned with Pan-Africanism to reflect on its status and direction. As early as the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s, serious attempts have been made to reflect on the status and future of Pan-Africanism in a rapidly changing world. Many of these analyses on 21st century Pan-Africanism have been inspired by the foresight of DuBois’ observation and address “To the Nations of the World” at the 1900 Pan-African Conference that the problem of the 20th century was “the problem of the colour line.” Questions have been raised not only in political and economic terms but also on the cultural and ideological levels. Some analyses choose to carry out this evaluation by looking at the status of the congresses, while others focus primarily on African leaders. Whatever the specific focus, the collective outcome has been a body of research, observations, and perspectives on the prevailing contemporary issues confronting Pan-Africanism. The goal of this chapter is

to provide a general outline of those issues present in the recent literature that indicate areas of urgency for post-Cold War Pan-Africanism.

Contemporary issues are defined as the maleficent cultural, political, and economic threats that continue to or are poised to damage significant masses of African people, and the necessary strategies that are mandated to eradicate the existing or emerging contemporary issues. In reviewing these positions on the Continental and Diasporan challenges, there is an acknowledgment that differences exists and are mainly functions of variations in geography and relationships between Africans communities and the European slave master or colonizer. The intention here is not to develop a list of items that are all exclusive of each other. Overlapping issues are possible and to be expected in many cases. The overview begins by highlighting the general issue of global change and its relevance to the global dimensions of Pan-Africanism. For purposes of clarity, the items are discussed as distinct categories, internal and external crises, with a brief section highlighting those that seemingly bridge both categories.

**Post-Cold War Global Transitions**

Esedebe exposes some of the externalities threatening Pan-Africanism. He too goes to great lengths to establish a useful historical analysis of Pan-Africanism that is consistent with the history and culture of African people. He points out that Pan-Africanism had its beginnings among Africans in the Americas and later “found expressions in the independent church movement in the New World and Africa as well as in resistance to European colonial ambitions in Africa.”

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2 Esedebe, 8.
significance of the Pan-African conferences and congresses, as well as the substantive and symbolic contributions of the Garvey movement and Ethiopia. What is most critical, though, was his suggestion that contemporarily Africa is confronted by the global changes taking place as a result of the thawing of the Cold War. He pointed out that to African leaders,

five factors were particularly significant in the present conditions of the world: the socioeconomic and political revolutions in Eastern Europe; the movement from confrontation to cooperation in East-West relations; Western Europe's steady progress toward regional integration; the establishment of trading blocs; and advances in science and technology.\(^3\)

All of these posed the threat of, among other things, a gradual marginalization of the African continent in the post-Cold War era. The threat is quite similar in other parts of the Diaspora experiencing the same forces of globalization and co-optation. In *Globalization and Survival in the Black Diaspora*, Charles Green specifically looks at case studies spanning the African world, including Africa, North America, Latin America, Europe, and the Caribbean and the impact of globalization therein.\(^4\) Using case studies documenting urban conditions facing Africans in Brazil, Britain, Canada, Trinidad, Puerto Rico, Tanzania, and St Vincent, and other locations, Green provides a snapshot of the multidimensional impact of post-Cold War world. In Green's view, "It is important to keep in mind that the contemporary Black urban plight is a historical reality that is linked to their history of racial subjugation and exploitation throughout the world."

\(^3\) Ibid., 235.

which has been exacerbated by the present global economic transformation." Presently, a situation exists where African communities throughout the world appear to suffer through the same realities generated by the pressures of the world political economy. In this sense, Green and others provide a basis for the assumption that there are new global challenges for Pan-Africanism. But what are some of the particulars? What does the literature suggest as other specific items of concern? This will be taken up next.

**Issues and Observations**

**Internal Challenges**

*African Culture.* Understood as the totality of a collective people's worldview, values, norms, institutions, and artistic expressions, the historical and political role of culture in the Pan-African movement has been an important subject in the literature. Works such as Cheikh Anta Diop's *Black Africa* have gone further declaring culture to be an integral part of a successful Pan-African struggle. Diop, in laying out his schema for a federated African state, identified the underestimation of culture as a vital problem. He warned that, "Historical circumstances now demand of our generation that it solve in a felicitous manner the vital problems that face Africa, most especially the cultural problem." Although Diop's focus herein did not necessarily include the Diaspora, his treatment of the culture concept has implications for contemporary Pan-Africanism. He continues to warn that if the challenge of culture was not met,

we will appear in the history of the development of our people as the watershed generation that was unable to insure the unified cultural

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5 Ibid., 6.

survival of the African continent; the generation which, out of political and intellectual blindness, committed the error fatal to our national future. We will have been the unworthy generation \textit{par excellence}.\footnote{Ibid.}

Recent discussions on twenty-first century Pan-Africanism appear to have taken Diop’s warning seriously. For example, one of the central positions in Henderson’s criticisms of Pan-Africanism is that thus far Pan-Africanism has failed to recognize African culture and culture groups as the fundamental units of analysis.\footnote{Henderson, 119.} As a result, the utility of Pan-Africanism as a political theory has been undermined because African culture groups located throughout the Diaspora, argues Henderson, are the basis of the African world and, therefore, Pan-Africanism. Henderson’s critique and challenge is that Pan-Africanism, if it is to be a useful paradigm, must overcome this basic limitation.

The range and depth of the African world’s problems seem to validate criticisms, such as Henderson’s, that Pan-Africanism needs to re-examine the issue of culture. Chango Machyo w’Obanda, in his introduction to Abdul-Raheem’s \textit{Pan-Africanism}, for example, sums up the problem as a loss sense of cultural direction among African people. He states that, “The African, due to colonial and neocolonial mentality, has lost the core of moral, ethical and aesthetic values that could serve as his or her lodestar to life.”\footnote{In his view, much of the crisis confronting African people and therefore Pan-Africanism concerns the rejection of African social, political, and spiritual values and the imitation of Western ideas. So, the issue of culture introduces two important}
aspects: the threat of external values and a reanalysis of the role of African cultural systems and values. Horace Campbell hits both items. He suggests that Pan-Africanism must recognize that there are "fundamentally undemocratic aspects of Western ideas. The importation of Western knowledge at the expense of those African feeds the cultural crisis. Given this reality, "Pan-Africanism must develop a new pedagogy, in essence, a new way for the reproduction, transference and use of knowledge."10 In the case of cultural reassessment and revitalization, Campbell, a longtime pillar in the Pan-African struggle, suggests that, "The reconstruction of cultural values will be one of the ways in which African people will make a statement in the world of the 21st century."11

Women and Gender. Recently, Manning Marable offered his view on the ingredients of what he calls the "new Pan-Africanism."12 He placed significant emphasis on one particular issue: the participation of women in contemporary Pan-Africanism. This new Pan-Africanism, he argues, "must first challenge the structures of patriarchy within black communities and organizations, creating a more egalitarian relationship between black women and men." He also warns that, "So long as we tolerate the oppression of our sisters, our liberation moment [sic] as a people will never succeed."13

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11. Ibid.


13. Ibid.
A number of additional works echo Marable’s sentiment and warning. Additionally, the importance and complexity of women in contemporary Pan-Africanism is reflected in the multiple levels of the discussion. First, as Marable suggests, there is the problem of inclusion. Zaline Roy Campbell’s piece on the formation and agenda of the Pan-African Woman’s Liberation Organization (PAWLO) is noteworthy in its treatment of male domination in the Pan-African movement. As she states in her introduction, “The male voice and perspective have dominated the interpretations of the past, focusing on the deeds of ‘great men’ and a few outstanding women.”

This has been especially problematic for Pan-Africanism in that this male-centered approach seriously minimizes the contributions of women where it has not omitted it. Specifically, Roy Campbell contends that women have always been agents in the forging of Pan-Africanism by virtue of daily, women-dominated activities such as trading. However,

Because historical accounts of the Pan African movement have tended to focus on formal meetings, this history falls within the male-centered framework. Women, with the exception of Adelaide Casely-Hayford, Shirley Graham Dubois, Amy Ashwood Garvey and Amy Jaques Garvey, were virtually invisible in this history, particularly for the first five Congresses.

The resolution of this internal contradiction was a motivation for the creation of PAWLO in Kampala, Uganda, 1994, which was to provide an institutional approach to the inclusion of the perspectives, contribution, and energy of African women in the contemporary Pan-African movement.

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15 Ibid., 46.
The second level of the discussion concerns the interplay between gender roles/relations and culture. More specifically, the challenge to Pan-Africanism goes beyond ensuring significant participation for women or being sensitive for the perspectives of African women. The point being, fundamental questions must be asked in regards to the cultural values and assumptions upon which social interactions such as gender relations rest. As Campbell puts it, although Pan-Africanism must now "celebrate" the contributions of women, "this celebration is not enough to bring to the fore the issues of the reconstruction of the African society away from the capitalist values of individualism, patriarchy and private ownership."\(^\text{16}\) So then, the challenge is not only towards male domination (patriarchy) but goes to the very root of the influential role of culture. The quote below by Campbell sums up the dilemma.

The reconstruction of gender relations is tied to the search for spiritual renewal and in the transformation of cultural values. The emancipation of the continent and of all peoples require the fundamental restructuring of gender relations in the society. This is glaring in those societies where fundamentalism is the cover for theocratic doctrines which support discrimination against women.\(^\text{17}\)

The third level of the gender discussion analyzes the unique political and economic experiences presently confronting women throughout the African world. Joyce Toney, in her study of women in St. Vincent, found that, in the wake of economic crises, women suffered most as a result of the economic adjustment policies of the IMF and


\(^{17}\) Ibid.
other donor institutions. Specifically, according to Toney, "At least two of the criteria for structural adjustment, cuts in social services and the removal of price controls and subsidies, had direct impacts on women's role and status." Toney argues that cuts in social services were extremely harsh on children and the elderly, who were usually in the care of women. Of those employed in St. Vincent's light industry, she blames decisions by the government to shut down agricultural and garment factories during the 1980s for dramatic increases in unemployment among women shortly thereafter. Because women in other parts of the Diaspora and on the Continent share these and other situations, the issue occupies, rightly so, a prominent place in 21st century Pan-Africanism.

A related item that further demonstrates the unique struggles of African women is the Western-backed economic policies within the New International Division of Labor (NIDL), the reorganization by MNCs towards global production around the 1970s for the purpose of significantly lower costs, that disproportionately create tremendous problems for women. One of the immediate products and key instruments of the NIDL has been the free trade zones (FTZ), or export processing zones (EPZ), tracts of land primarily located in the Caribbean, Central, and South America, and Asia, that are contracted to corporations for the purpose of restructuring of labor and production. As Goldsmith explains, fragile but desperate economies in search of foreign capital assist corporations and FTZs in the relocation of low-skilled labor by offering these basic incentives:


19 Ibid.
lax social, environmental, and employment regulations; a ready source of cheap labor; and fiscal and financial incentives that can take a huge variety of forms, although they generally consist of the lifting of customs duties, the removal of foreign exchange controls, tax holidays, and free land or reduced rents.\textsuperscript{21}

Although there are regional variations, the local impact, Connelly suggests, of today’s globalization upon African women worldwide are similar.\textsuperscript{22} These low-skilled, low paying jobs are mainly preserved for women between the ages of 18-25, based on perceptions that this demographic is less likely to unionize, more passive, while more adept and the repetitive-type of labor employed in the FTZ.\textsuperscript{23} The impacts, according to Connelly, are personally and socially harmful to these women.

Conditions of work in these zones are harsh and include an excessive work pace, long hours, and low pay relative to productivity. Health and safety standards vary among EPZs but many are very low. There are fewer chances for advancement and little long-term job security.\textsuperscript{24}

FTZs have become an important policy in globalization with specific implications for African women. Given the fact that women of African descent represent a significant number of those employed in FTZs, the issue takes on new significance to the Pan-

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 231.


\textsuperscript{23} Connelly, 16.

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid.
African movement, primarily because of the movement’s concern with the global political economy and the exploitation of women.

*New Frontiers.* One of the challenges for Pan-Africanism that Mazrui (and Walters) identified earlier concerns the inclusion of “new Black enclaves” throughout the Diaspora and their implications for significant progress in the movement. Although he was referring specifically to those African communities in Europe, his fundamental point was that the future success of Pan-Africanism relied heavily on the ability to add to its scope those struggles of African people who were historically underrepresented in Pan-Africanism of the past. Add to this Nascimento’s position that, “One of the most outstanding issues at this point in African history is the reemergence of peoples of African descent in Spanish and Portuguese-speaking South and Central America as actors on the stage of Pan-African world affairs.”25 Nascimento presents Brazil’s seventeenth century Republic of Palmares as one of the first examples of African unification and resistance struggles in the history of Pan-Africanism. In spite of these significant historical contributions, the role of Africans from this region in twentieth century Pan-Africanism has been neglected.26 Thus, whether one’s focus is on the inclusion of African struggles in Europe or the Americas, an important aspect of contemporary Pan-Africanism is the reconceptualization of what constitutes the African world. Pan-Africanism is faced with the extension of the movement to those underrepresented African communities.

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25 Nascimento, 84.

26 Ibid.
Racial Inclusion and Exclusion. Abdul-Raheem’s discussions on some of the divisive issues at the 7th PAC exposed an ongoing issue in Pan-African organizing. In his conversations on a dispute over the participation of Arab states that almost split the conference, Abdul-Raheem takes the position that it was the desire of the organizers to invite all Africans to the table. In arguing against limitations on participation, he writes, “If the ANC sent Joe Slovo to the Congress it would have been proper.”27 He adds that, “If he could he could represent the country and even head the Umkonto we Sizwe what other proof of Africaness was needed.”28 This ‘free-for-all’ policy in Pan-Africanism was the one of the very same issues that undermined the previous congress in Tanzania. At the 6th PAC, the issue was much larger than the Arab question. So impactful was the unresolved problem of participation that, as Ofuately-Kodjo suggests, the conference lost its focus and, therefore, its effectiveness. Ofuately-Kodjo revealed the following:

Advertised as a Congress of Pan-Africanists, it would have been logical to hope that it would be a meeting for Pan-Africanists to discuss the ideology of Pan-Africanism and the implications it has for political strategy in the context of our present historical and social condition. To be sure, there were a few Pan-Africanists at the Congress. But there were also all kinds of other people. There were Ghanaian nationalists and American integrationists, Euro-Africans, Black Capitalists and Marxist-Leninists and neo-colonial compradors.29

The resilience of this problem results from the failure to define in clear terms, not only what Pan-Africanism is, but also what it is not. The observation here suggests that an

27 Abdul-Raheem, 11.

28 Ibid. This position disguises the internal contradictions produced by the policies of the ANC on this subject. For a critique on these policies as well as the activities of Joe Slovo, see James Small’s videotape lecture entitled African Liberation Without an African Ideology, 1994.
issue of major contention surrounds the topic of African identity: Who is considered
African? Do Africans and non-Africans share common interests? Are non-Africans to
be excluded from participation? Can non-Africans contribute to the goals and objectives
of Pan-Africanism? If so, how?

*International Pan-African Organizations and Institutions.* This project’s focus
on groups as the primary units of analysis is consistent with a history of Pan-African
organizations and their prominent roles at different stages and in different forms. Robert
Chrisman and Nathan Hare’s *Pan-Africanism*, a collection of articles, essays and
speeches on the practicalities of Pan-Africanism published in 1974, revealed the
organizational focus in the previous era. Of particular importance were the discussions
and observations regarding the strategic necessity of a Pan-African organization. Amiri
Baraka’s contribution is a case in point. Baraka looked at the “Pan-African Party” and its
practical functions for the political empowerment of African people in America. In this
essay, he outlined the characteristics and prerequisites for a political party that both
speaks to the local realities of black people in the Diaspora, and provides an organic
linkage with the rest of the African world. For him, “It is the organized community that
is our only chance for self defense or self determination.” The organization then must
focus on local organizing, which grounds it in the realities of the masses. At the same

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29 W. Ofuatey-Kodjoe, “Pan-Africanism In Crisis: The Need For A Redefinition,” in *Pan-
Africanism: New Directions in Strategy*, Ofuatey-Kodjoe, ed. (New York: University Press of America,
1986), 15.

30 Robert Chrisman and Nathan Hare, eds., *Pan-Africanism* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1974).


time, it "must move to have self-determination, self sufficiency, self respect, and self defense wherever we exist in large numbers – whether it is Chicago or Johannesburg." Pan-Africanism thus addresses both the African world and the local struggle confronting African people.

Abdul-Raheem, in his edited volume, *Pan-Africanism*, expands on the 7th PAC and the pressing organizational issues that emerged there. According to Abdul-Raheem, who participated in the organizing of the conference, lessons from the 6th PAC were seriously addressed at Kampala such as the former's failure to develop an organizational apparatus. Thus, he points out that the creation of the Permanent Secretariat was aimed at filling this institutional void. Campbell, a participant in both the 6th and 7th PACs, also emphasized the demand for a permanent institution that would transcend specific congresses. Of the creation of the Permanent Secretariat at the Kampala Congress, Campbell states the following:

The creation of the Pan African Movement was consistent with the efforts of those present to break the individualism of the movement where the ideas of great persons would be celebrated as that of the movement. This thrust to move beyond periodic congresses to create a movement permeated the congress.

According to Campbell, the issue of the permanent secretariat proved to be one of the major accomplishments of the congress.

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33 Ibid., 26.

34 This assumption is central to the research and will be developed in more detail in the analysis of the Pan-African organizations in Chapter Eight of the study.

35 Abdul-Raheem, 8.

In line with that, there is also the sentiment that institution-building for the purpose of perpetuating Pan-Africanism carries with it implications for Pan-Africanist scholars. As opposed to being limited and isolated by the intellectual restrictions of the academy and interests they embody, there is a call now for Pan-Africanist scholars to coordinate their energies in institutional forms. Thus, as recently outlined by the All-African People’s Revolutionary Party, a Pan-African cadre that is “informed of global developments as they affect Africa and her scattered and suffering people” and grounded in “traditional African values, especially Maat,” must actively and collectively work towards a united African world. The end product is the construction of “Independent institutes of Pan-African research” committed to the realization and perpetuation of Pan-Africanism.

Pan-Africanism at the Grassroots. Equally important to the establishment of the Pan-African Congress Movement and the permanent secretariat is the focus on grassroots participation. Pan-Africanism of today seems wary of the old emphases on the participation of intellectuals, leaders, and the narrow focus on the unification of continental African nation-states. For example, the ability of reactionary states at the 6th PAC to prevent the participation of their progressive grassroots organizations was a contradiction the secretariat sought to avoid at the 7th PAC. More critical now seems to

37 “A Pan-African Centered Perspective for Revolutionary Scholars,” Era of Masses 1 (February 1997): 2. The concept of Maat mentioned in the text was practiced among the ancient Egyptians and is recognized as one of Africa’s oldest cultural systems.

38 See Campbell, Pan-Africanism, 179 for Campbell’s assessment of the 6th PAC and his discussion on the barring of progressive grassroots participants by Caribbean heads-of-state.
be a renewed emphasis on Pan-Africanism from “below.” Campbell recently clarified this argument in the following statement.

From the period of slavery there has been field slaves and house slaves, those who want to overturn the oppression of Africans and those who want to find ways to live with that oppression. This division of Pan Africanism from above and below is now manifest in the distinctions between the African leaders (at home and abroad) and the broad masses of sufferers. As such, it is now impossible for Pan Africanism to have the same nationalist appeal embracing all classes and strata as did the appeals made in the period of constitutional decolonization and armed struggle.\footnote{Campbell, “Pan African Renewal in the 21st Century,” 85.}

Implied here is the idea that neglecting grassroots participation is linked to the predominance of elite perspectives, interests, and influence. The banning of the Trinidad delegation to the 6th PAC and the pseudo-Pan-Africanism of many contemporary African heads-of-state are examples of Campbell’s point. So, where intellectuals and political leaders dominated the most recent era, contemporary Pan-Africanism, by focusing on grassroots participation, redirects the emphasis on the inclusion and perspectives of the masses.

**Dual-Impact Challenges**

*The Organization of African Unity.* The arguments advanced by Nkrumah in *Africa Must Unite* made a significant contribution to African political unification. By this time, Pan-Africanism was occupied with the dangers of neocolonialism that threatened the newly independent nations. Accordingly, Nkrumah made the case against the “balkanization” of Africa, which opened the door for continued domination by European powers.\footnote{Nkrumah, 173.} Nkrumah’s prophetic observations in hindsight did not win the day...
among his fellow leaders. The formation of the OAU in 1963 became a symbol of Africa’s failure to heed Nkrumah’s warnings. The OAU was seen by many to be a pragmatic vehicle for African unification and upliftment. The organization and the high expectations were, in the eyes of many, compromised in its initial formation. Campbell and M’buyinga’s critiques stand as two of the sharpest. A compilation of documents and speeches on the 6th PAC entitled Pan-Africanism: The Struggle Against Imperialism and Neo-Colonialism, edited by Campbell, contained aggressive positions against the organization. Campbell categorizes the OAU as “one of the principle enemies of the toiling masses of African people.”41 At its inception, in his view, the compromises at the Addis Ababa Conference in 1963 between the two competing groups were to have dire consequences for Pan-Africanism. The “progressive” leaders (of the Casablanca Group) aligned themselves with the “reactionaries” (of the Monrovia Group) to the dismay of a functional, substantive Pan-Africanism. In Pan-Africanism or Neo-colonialism?, M’buyinga argues adamantly that the “bankruptcy” of the OAU is a result of the pro-European posture of its leadership.42 From this perspective, compromises on the questions of gradual economic integration, the maintenance of ties with former colonial powers, and abstinence from the internal affairs of member states all contributed to its weakness. In fact, “from the very start,” the OAU, he argues, “was nothing more than the

41 Campbell, Pan-Africanism, 45.

practical expression of the desires of neo-colonialist imperialism and the African bourgeoisie."43

Today, the problems of the OAU and the internal contradictions that created them have not disappeared. More recent criticisms of the organization such as that of Wamba dia Wamba has emerged. Wamba dia Wamba’s primary concern is that programs and agendas that do not take into account the legacy of the colonial experience will be faulty. The OAU, for him, is a prime example of this crucial requirement. He first points out that a staple of the colonial domination of Africa was the transformation of indigenous African institutions, usually by force, for the benefit of European interests.44 European notions of African inferiority provided the justification for the debasement of African institutions. Thus, the OAU’s failure to address this reality at its inception contributed to one glaring contradiction:

The colonial partition of Africa blocked the process of Africanisation (various people increasingly coming into contact and relating to themselves) of Africa [sic] peoples which was developing. In this regard, by reproducing, with minor changes, the colonial partition of Africa, the OAU is a continuation of the Berlin Conference (emphasis mine).45

Transforming the OAU continues to be a critical topic in the contemporary Pan-African discourse.

43 Ibid., 55.
45 Ibid.
Continental Unification. Criticisms have also coincided with the revitalized issue of African continental unification, another issue compromised at the formation of the OAU. An important article by Arthur Gakwandi suggests that the future of Pan-Africanism must include a new map of African states. He proposes that, based on the fact that the present boundaries were taken from the colonial era, Africa should adopt new boundaries that would create only six states enveloping the major regions of the continent. Kasongo takes this argument a step further. He, in The Political Remapping of Africa, looks at the weakness of the contemporary African state not only as a colonial legacy, but also as a contributor to Africa’s unequal and contradictory development in the global capitalist economy. In his view, African states and rhetorical regional economic integration efforts will only prolong Africa’s problems. Instead, “Africans must look inward for articulation of policies and programs that can lead to social transformation.”

The vehicle for this is a Pan-Africanism capable of transforming the state into new political structures based on the mobilization of the masses around a common cultural foundation. He proposes a “Realist Pan-Africanism” that must include

- a strong sense of self-determination and of belonging to a larger political and cultural unit, knowledge of one’s self-objective conditions and constraints, possession of a progressive agenda, a permanently critical assessment of one’s role in the international political economy and the division of labor, and a strong cultural bases.

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48 Ibid., 98.

49 Ibid., 106.
Here, Kasongo introduces two important components to the political re-mapping concept that is central to this contemporary aspect of the movement: African culture and the contemporary global political economy.

External Challenges

Armed Conflict. Additionally, the OAU’s doctrine of noninterference has been tied to a number of immediate contemporary concerns. Among the most critical is that of armed conflict and civil war in already fragile African countries. The PanAfrican News Agency quoted United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan’s observation that “14 of the continent’s 53 countries were afflicted by armed conflict in 1996 alone, and over 30 civil wars have occurred since 1970.”50 One question for Pan-Africanists is what was and is to be the role of the OAU in this crisis? As implied above, the OAU will become a viable player in Africa’s turn-around only following a hard look at the internal contradictions between the basic tenants of Pan-Africanism and its policy. According to Rodney, “One of the cardinal principles of Pan-Africanism is that the people of one part of Africa are responsible for the freedom of their brothers in other parts of Africa; and, indeed, black people everywhere.”51 The OAU, in his view, reject this basic principle when it prefers to uphold its nonintervention doctrine “even when the most elementary civil and human rights are trample upon.”52 Therefore, from a Pan-Africanist


51 Rodney, “Towards the Sixth Pan-African Congress,” in Campbell, Pan-Africanism, 27.

52 Ibid.
perspective, the OAU is both a contributor to the problem of armed conflict and practically powerless as a part of the solution. In the meantime, armed conflicts continue to escalate, bringing with them the adverse conditions of refugee migration, displaced persons and famine with each posing challenges to contemporary Pan-Africanism.

Some indications suggest, however, that the principle of a unified, continental approach to the warfare issue is germinating. In fact, recent actions by the OAU, for example, seem to suggest a gradual movement towards a more aggressive international policy among African states. As Esedebe points out,

A perennial problem to which the OAU appears to have found a solution at last is the reconciliation of the principle of respect for fundamental human rights with that of noninterference in the domestic issues of constituent states. The tendency to subordinate the former to the latter had hitherto led the organization to ignore the persistent denial of civil liberties to millions of Africans outside white-dominated regimes.53

He suggests that proof of a “new approach” to Pan-Africanism by the OAU and others is evident in the 1991 Kampala Forum, jointly sponsored by the OAU, the Economic Commission for African, and the African Leadership Forum. The aim of the conference held in Uganda was to recommend a process that would tie issues of security and democracy to those of stability and development. The fundamental thrust of the resulting treatise, The Kampala Document, was the emphasis on a unified approach to the intertwined issues of peace, security, and development. The Pan-Africanist language present in The Kampala Document regarding armed conflict in Africa is strong enough to list in full here three items from the document’s General Principles:

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53 Esedebe, 234.
The security, stability and development of every African country is inseparably linked with those of other African countries. Consequently, instability in one African country reduces the stability of all other African countries.

The erosion of security and stability in Africa is one of the major causes of its continuing crises and one of the principal impediments to the creation of a sound economy and effective intra- and inter-African cooperation.

The interdependence of African states and the link between their security, stability and development demand a common African agenda. Africa cannot make any significant progress on any other front without creating collectively a lasting solution to its problems of security and stability. 54

The African continent, for various reasons, has not witnessed the materialization and practical implementation of these principles. However, the fact that discussions and recommendations regarding warfare in Africa have re-introduced the Pan-Africanist approach is significant. Contemporary Pan-Africanism has not only recognized the issue of armed conflict, but also appears to be placing the approach to warfare within a renewed context of a politically united Africa.

**Neocolonial Leadership.** Neocolonialism, particularly regarding the threat of a re-colonized Africa, remains an important issue. Before dealing with leadership, the extent of the neocolonial relationship should be confronted. w’Obama discusses, at length, Africa’s “sham independence” and its implications for a real, substantive cultural, political, economic and social development. Specifically, Africa’s present neocolonial relationship with Western nations has undermined her development while moving Africa

closer to being re-colonized by the foreign powers. Based on the inevitability of African political independence, the colonial powers moved to give up direct political control but retained indirect control and its exploitative economic relationship. “Thus, since economic independence was not achieved, political independence became meaningless.” 55 This history, and the role of Africa’s leadership therein, has resulted in a crisis in development. According to w’Obanda,

To the African post-colonial leader, development was conceived as modernization and this was seen as being synonymous with Europeanization or Americanization. The aim of development was therefore to ‘catch-up’ with the advanced industrial capitalist countries of Europe. 56

So then, almost any discussion on the present state of the African continent will include some language regarding the complicit role of African leaders. As with the OAU, criticisms often indict African leadership as being either ineptly shortsighted; power-hungry “kleptocrats”; agents pursuing the agendas of foreign interests; or some combination of them all. At any rate, there is a consensus that much of Africa’s problems are directly tied to its leadership’s role in perpetuating the values and conditions created during the colonial era that undermined the continent’s development. Ihonvbere suggests that leadership has forfeited the progress of the African state in their pursuit of the crumbs from the tables of Western power brokers. He goes as far as to say that,

The problem in Africa is precisely that there is no state to speak of. What exists are ramshackle gangs, presided over by political thugs and military adventurists, generals who have never been to war, and rickety old men who lack vision, who simply pretend to be governing, talk less of ruling a

55 w’Obanda, 34.
56 Ibid., 40.
society. In no African social formation has this body, by whatever name it
goes, been able to operate as a state.\textsuperscript{57}

In terms of their relationship with foreign interests, Ihonvbere is equally critical. He
contends that “African leaders and their economies remain cheap and easy pawns in the
hands of transnational corporations and Western nations with only a passing interest in
the future of the region.”\textsuperscript{58} He sums up the situation by accusing Africa’s leadership of
doing very little to build strong states with viable economies. Instead, they have
maintained the colonial and neocolonial relationships that continue to exploit Africa’s
labor, resources, and potential.

\textit{Military Rule}. Additionally, the role of the military is also a critical component
in Africa’s leadership crisis. It, according to Ihonvbere, stands as a direct barrier to
continental unity and progress. He cites Nigeria and the former Zaire as cases-in-point.
In both cases, the military, through coups and corruption, has stunted the growth of these
countries.\textsuperscript{59} If continental unification remains a goal, Pan-Africanism must contend with
the problems of leadership and the military since they both introduce immediate barriers
to Africa’s development.

\textit{Democratization}. Another issue linked to leadership but deserving separate
space is democratization. Surely, the concept of democracy means different things to
different people. The fact that military dictators and tyrannical leaders freely flaunt
words around like “free elections,” “democratic transition,” and “constitutional

\textsuperscript{57} Ihonvbere, Keynote Address.

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{59} Ibid.
government” while abusing their people and their power attests to this. Some suggest that Pan-Africanists are now concerned with implementing a form of democracy that comes from the masses and is in-tuned with the African reality. As Wamba dia Wamba emphasized, “Social movements (old and new), including democracy movements around the world, are demanding consistent democracy-from-below.”\textsuperscript{60} He continues on to say that, “As the rule of the people by the people for the people, historical experiences of democracy have been often based on a concept of people which excluded some other people.”\textsuperscript{61} The problem of democracy in Africa is a function of the inconsistent applications of the concept especially to the masses. He argues that one can observe this contradiction worldwide wherever there is the hue and cry of democratic reform, in the midst of a proclaimed presence of a democratic system. This contradiction has many manifestations in Africa and must be highlighted if true democratic systems are to be the reality. Partly responsible for this is the tendency to superimpose on the African situation foreign notions and assumptions about what democracy is and should be. For Wamba dia Wamba, democratization is a creative process that must be shaped by the realities of the people to which it is being applied. This is especially the case given the history of domination through ideas:

The imperialism of dominant paradigms, concerning democracy as well as development, must be challenged. Western democracies (imperial democracies) should not be allowed to have a monopoly on democracy. The entire range of historical experiences of peoples, movements, and groups who have fought for democracy and peace must be taken into

\textsuperscript{60} Wamba dia Wamba, 13.

\textsuperscript{61} Ibid.
account. Imperial powers are now portraying themselves as the guardians of world peace and democracy, as the best promoters and defenders of democracy and human rights.62

A problem for Africa, then, arises without a critical analysis of contradiction both in the definition and the proponents of democracy. The challenge now, according to Ihonvbere, is to craft democratization “within the context of a revitalized Pan-African ideology aimed at concretely establishing a Union Government of Africa.”63

Racial Violence. The race issue is not only an internal one. Problems of racial violence and injustice practiced against people of African origin have been a consistent aspect of African freedom struggles. It is not new. However, African people in general, and Pan-Africanism in particular, now seem to be confronted by new developments in this historic problem. Versions of the old practices of racial violence against African people still exist, with variations only in the degrees of racial violence and the forms of racism. For example, there are reports that African political refugees and asylum seekers experienced high occurrences of racial violence in European countries.64 These reports are supported, for example, by the official protest from Nigeria because twenty-three Nigerians were killed while seeking asylum in Germany.65 Accounts of racial injustice and violence in Canada conclude that Afro-Canadians are often victimized by that...

62 Ibid., 14.

63 Ibid.


country’s criminal justice system. In other cases, however, racial violence has taken on new dimensions. Vania Penha-Lopes, in discussing the increasing murders of Brazilian street children, illustrates their correlation to race and racism. She finds that the killings of homeless children has “become commonplace in large Brazilian cities,” and are primarily children of African descent. She states that, while they are the overwhelming majority of the killings, blacks and mulattos make up only forty-four percent of the total Brazilian population. Thus, to varying degrees, many parts of the African world still face high incidences of racial violence.

Regarding threats of different forms of racism, the issue of institutional racism has presented new challenges. Stephen Small points to “the changing nature of ‘racisms’ and racialized hostility” as one of the recent racial developments of 1990s Britain. He explains this threat of institutionalized racism.

This means overall a continued move from direct, overt, and conspicuous racial discrimination, in which it was easy to identify motives predicated on racial beliefs (for example, immigration legislation), to indirect, covert, and inconspicuous racial discrimination in which motives and intentions are less obvious. Existence of both forms of racism, though, presents a more tenuous predicament for African people. For Small, the two coexist to create a situation where “Racialized

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discrimination in employment and education persists, as does racialized intimidation by the police.\textsuperscript{69} In sum, although the issue of racism may not be new, what has emerged as a challenge to the African Diaspora is higher levels of racial violence, compounded with the presence of institutional forms.

\textit{Structural Adjustment Programs.} Perhaps one of the issues attracting much attention is that of development and the subtopics associated with it. Moreover, the apparent link between development and the emerging global political economy has amplified this issue. The implementation of Structural Adjustment Programs and the various problems that spin-off from them is of specific concern here. Earlier, w’Obanda’s attempt to connect the post-colonial path of development chosen by many African states to the models introduced from outside was discussed. The Post-Cold War era seems to provide convincing evidence that those paths of development have adversely impacted the continent. As w’Obanda puts it,

\begin{quote}
Every honest person knows and will admit that the living conditions of the people on the continent of African have been steadily deteriorating since independence. It is also true that since independence virtually all African countries have been working under the influence, direction and control of the World Bank (WB), the IMF and Western ‘experts.’\textsuperscript{70}
\end{quote}

The critique is that the austerity measures in SAPs, demanded by Western institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, have contributed to the very problems that undermine the development. According to Ihonvbere, “The African situation has not been helped with the imposition of misguided monetarist

\textsuperscript{69} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{70} w’Obanda, 46.
policies by the IMF and the World Bank prescribing policies of desubsidization, deregulation, privatization, commercialization, devaluation and the like." The argument here is that these policies do more harm than good because they disregard some of the basic realities particular to Africa. Ihonvbere makes the point that,

These policies which neglect the region’s historical experiences; the character of state and class; existing coalitions; contradictions and conflicts; the ability of non-bourgeois forces to resist; the degree of state delegitimization; the credibility of the government/ruling classes; the room for maneuver in the global system; the resource and other material and structural differences among African states and so on, have created more problems for Africa in the last decade or so.

So, on one hand, Pan-Africanism is now challenged with countering these developmental policies that reflect Africa’s tenuous position in the present global political economy. Just as important, there is the demand to eradicate the specific problems radiating from SAPs that have taken on a life of their own. Issues such as civil war in Africa, environmental problems, crime, famine, and unequal adverse impacts on women are a few that have grown out of these policies and now command great amounts of energy to confront. These observations submit that SAPs have generated a number of very difficult situations for the masses of African people who are usually left out of the decision-making process regarding development. What’s more, “these anti-people policies,” according to w’Obanda, “are responsible for the social turbulence that has dominated Africa since independence, as the popular masses have lost confidence in the governments run by the black bourgeoisie which have proved incapable of serving the

71 Ihonvbere, keynote address.

72 Ibid.
He offers the case of agricultural underdevelopment in the rural areas as structural adjustment policies continue to stress increased production for export. This underdevelopment breeds impoverishment in the countryside, for example, and therefore is directly connected to the proliferation of hunger and famine throughout the continent and the Diaspora.

Urbanization and Drugs. Clearly, the drug problem does not evolve in a vacuum and has broader consequences such as the increase migration from rural areas to urban centers. "[O]vercrowding and slum-development" set in and dominate the political, economic, and social conditions in Africa's major cities. Additionally, collateral damages such as high rates of crime have been associated with conditions created by SAPs. The increasing overcrowding, poverty, and alienation associated with these adverse effects have given rise to, among other things, "lawlessness, robberies, thuggery, [and] prostitution." One of the most damaging vices, however, that has emerged is the selling and use of drugs in Africa. The Panafrican News Agency reported that the cultivation, processing, trafficking, and abuse of illegal drugs are on the rise in Africa. It goes on to quote "Africa Recovery," a United Nations publication, stating that "A consequence of stepped-up drug activity has been a rise in violent crimes, corruption, bank fraud and social decay." The connection between problems such as the

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73 w'Obanda, 52.
74 Ibid.
75 Ibid.
international drug trade and SAPs lie in the creation of conditions that are fertile for the proliferation of socially destructive activities. The Panafrican News Agency also cited a report by the United Nations Drug Control Programme emphasizing that, in order to effectively confront the drug problem, “it be recognized as being underpinned by economic, social, and political problems.” Further, “this understanding would lead to the development of new models of dealing with the problem.”\textsuperscript{77} For Pan-Africanism, not taking this into consideration will undermine models for dealing with the drug problem.

The drug problem is certainly not limited to the African continent. Countries throughout the Americas have fought long battles with the drug trade. However, as Green suggests, the worsening urban crisis, in places like Trinidad and Tobago, has escalated drugs and drug-related crimes to one of the most crucial problems facing urban communities.\textsuperscript{78} As in the case of Africa, these types of crimes eat away at the very fabric of communities already left vulnerable by the political and economic situations linked to the global political economy. Indications suggest that conditions are not improving but appear to be spreading throughout the region. According to Green,

\begin{quote}
Drug transshipment, money laundering, and production are widespread in the urban centers of the Caribbean. No longer is the drug problem perceived as a monopoly of Jamaica, the Bahamas, or Belize. Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago, not known for major drug operations a decade ago, are now producers and transshippers of drugs, with a daunting user population.\textsuperscript{79}
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{79} Ibid.
The most immediate by-product of this drug problem is its connection, either direct or subtle, to the rise of other crimes. In the end, frustrations in the region's urban centers, coupled with the realities of drugs and crime, is as critical for Pan-African movements in the Caribbean and the Americas as it is for Africa.

*Environmental Degradation.* The negative impact of neocolonialism and development is not limited to urban areas. There is an equal amount of attention given to environmental problems usually, but not exclusively, associated with rural areas of the African world. The environmental question is a complex one that touches on all areas of life. It is closely linked to the population issue, poverty, consumption, land husbandry, export production, and property rights. It has emerged as one of the issues, much like that of urbanization, that is directly tied to externally influenced development. It also appears to be a continent-wide phenomenon, thus explaining its seriousness as a challenge confronting Pan-Africanism. Daley, in fact, places the environmental issue high on the Pan-African agenda. For her, much of the blame for environmental degradation lies with the imposition of foreign models of production that have proven harmful. She describes the problems as follows:

Through the years, development has meant land alienation, forced displacement and the creation of reserves; the sedentarisation of pastoral communities; the introduction and continued promotion of crops directed at an increasingly unreliable export market; commercial lumbering; promotion of ecologically unsuitable agricultural techniques such as monoculture and mechanisation.80

There is not only the pressure placed on the environment itself, but also the fact that misplaced policies regarding relationships with the environment have caused additional stresses on the masses. In Daley’s view, cultural values that determine interactions with the environment is a large part of the problem. Western notions of “commoditisation of the environment” and “the drive towards individual property rights” have clashed with the indigenous communal land systems. This is part of a larger assumption in Western models that regard indigenous systems, values, and knowledge as being barriers to development. Thus, the removal of these ideas have coincided with new problems such as genetically engineered crops; the privatization and commodification of traditional medicine; the influx of foreign chemicals and industrial waste. Daley sums it up as a case where the current economic and environmental policies of foreign institutions that disregard African ideas and systems have posed significant dangers to African people. The challenge to Pan-Africanist, in her view, is to seek out strategies within the parameters of that African reality.

**Conclusion: Recolonization and the Pan-African Challenge**

Perhaps most alarming is the conclusion that Africans, based on the source and impacts of the issues presented above, are threatened by programs and policies that aim to effectively re-colonize the continent. Foreign support for undemocratic and bankrupt African leaders reflect a mutual relationship where the latter receives wealth and benefits

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81 Ibid., 61.
82 Ibid., 66.
83 Ibid., 70.
for allowing outside political, economic, and financial interests access to Africa’s labor, resources, and internal affairs. Additionally, developmental policies adopted by the ruling authorities have created desperate situations that again invite foreign interference and control. But the situation transcends these neocolonial economic components with support for policy-initiatives advocating the political regoverning of African affairs by the West. According to Chimutengwende, it all amounts to Africa’s gradual move from neocolonialism to re-colonization. Africa is essentially losing control of its resources and institutions while Europeans and other outside interests increasingly gather more influence and control.\footnote{Chimutengwende, 29.} Chimutengwende’s thesis, arguments connecting the impacts of these interests, policies, and trends just mentioned is supported by the overt calls for Europe’s re-taking of Africa. Recent statements by Western scholars openly advocate a return of colonialism. They are disguised behind either the patriarchal, ahistorical conclusions that Africans cannot govern themselves,\footnote{Paul Johnson, “Colonialism’s Back – and Not a Moment Too Soon,” \textit{New York Times Sunday Magazine} (April 18, 1993): 22.} or the “feel-good” rhetoric that Europe now has this responsibility to help Africans find a way out of its present destitution.\footnote{William Pfaff, “A New Colonialism? Europe Must Go Back Into Africa,” \textit{Foreign Affairs} 74 (January/February 1995): 2.} In both instances, the case for a re-colonization of Africa is undermined by the fact that Europe never left. Arguably, its hold on the continent has been perpetuated through previously mention mechanisms of political and economic influence. Thus, Pan-Africanists such as Chimutengwende point to the convergence of these policies, their
impacts, and the call for the re-colonization of Africa as proof that a second liberation is at hand.\footnote{ibid., 30.}

The items identified above are not an exclusive list. Surely there are other crises, strategies, and tactics to be considered. Rather, what the overview displays was that Pan-Africanism is now confronted with a number of emerging and evolving problems. The critical question is how are they to be approached and resolved. At this point, there appears to be support, as a remedy, for a shift towards a nationalistic focus within the Pan-African movement. Expanded conceptions of Pan-Africanism and nationalism are consistent with the global dimensions of African people. The items identified above are not an exclusive list. Surely there are other crises, strategies, and tactics to be considered. Rather, what this overview displays is that Pan-Africanism is now witnessing a range of emerging and evolving concerns. The critical question is how are they to be approached and resolved.
PART IV

PAN-AFRICANISM IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA
CHAPTER SEVEN

A COMPARISON OF RACE, CLASS AND CULTURAL IDENTITY AT THE 6TH AND 7TH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES

The interplay between international and internal dimensions of the African struggle has always been a constant in Pan-Africanism. Historically, Pan-Africanists have always battled new, evolving, and often hostile global threats, while simultaneously engaging internal domestic issues especially around race, class, and identity. This discussion examines this duality in Pan-Africanism over the last two congresses, the 6th Pan-African Congress (6th PAC) held in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania in 1974, and the 7th Pan-African Congress (7th PAC) in Kampala, Uganda in 1994. These congresses have been targets of criticism because of their inability to duplicate the success and significance of the 1945 5th Pan-African Congress in Manchester, England where the congress contributed directly to African independence and the formation of the OAU. However, the 6th PAC and 7th PAC, arguably because of new ideological dynamics, are models for understanding Pan-Africanism's international and internal complexion, and lessons for its future relevance. This focus on the congresses is not to regard them as the sole embodiment of Pan-Africanism. To do so repeats contradictions that have undermined previous studies that elevate the congresses as the definitions of Pan-Africanism. Instead, this analysis approaches the congresses as rather one of the 20th century expressions of African continental and Diasporan interactions and not a separate
dimension of Pan-Africanism. However, the evolution of the congresses will be used as a model that can be expanded upon to a larger context.

The objective below is to understand how global transformations confronting the 6th and the 7th Congresses were reflected in the competing ideological debates and orientation within Pan-Africanism, particularly regarding race, class, and cultural identity.¹ These congresses share an important point: the housing of an ideological debate unprecedented in Pan-Africanism’s earlier congresses.

**The Integrationist Surge**

Pan-Africanism under the Diaspora-led congress movement from 1900 to 1928 and the newly independent African (and Caribbean) heads-of-state from 1963 to 1974 was dominated by an era of integrationism. Integrationist leaders established within Pan-Africanism an assumption of African upliftment within an existing global cultural, political and economic order. These Diasporan and continental spokespersons for the race envisioned the empowerment of Africa and its people based upon accessing some level of political space and resources for some form of self-government. The ideal was that adequate political and economic autonomy would become a vehicle for empowering African people. But there was a three-part understanding of power and political space that distinguished this integrationism from other Pan-African approach. First, integrationism of the early 1900s took for granted the universality and/or triumph of Western European cultural, political, and economic systems. Western philosophical

¹ The British strategy of extending missionary education to the children of co-opted African leaders and the French Assimilation policy of creating “African Frenchmen” both created a buffer group that was pro-Western in their ideological orientation.
foundations accepted, either completely or in part, the primacy of the nation-state as the central political actor and free-market capitalism. As a result, integrationism offered no radical alternative to these systems. This is the second point. In the presence of oppression or disenfranchisement, integrationism concentrated on reforming these systems rather than challenging their legitimacy. Movements against oppression amounted to short-term protest agendas where racist/colonial regimes' denial of self-government and capitalist states' economic exploitation, were system-abuses that could be reversed with educational achievement, agitation, and political space. Finally, this limited agenda conflicted with those African movements whose vision of Pan-Africanism assumed, in addition to their abuses, a radical condemnation of the very same Western systems (liberalism, imperialism, capitalism). The legitimacy of integrationist leadership, largely because of its various levels of allegiance to Western realities, was being questioned at a crucial period were the integrationist agenda seemed to be producing rewards in the form of entrance into mainstream enclaves of power. Therefore, a key component of integrationism became the assumed necessity of confronting and confining the growth of the radical challenges that were primed to upset these newly acquired advances (space and resources).

As this era of Pan Africanism unfolded throughout the African world, these assumptions were internationalized. The Pan-African Congress movement in the early 1900s, for example, adopted the posture of its integrationist leaders. However, its manifestation in the Congress movement was very different from the earlier Pan-Africanism of Maroon societies that were largely structured on preserving African
identities. Likewise, these assumptions about Pan-Africanism that were grounded later in post-independent African states, sought a form of Pan-Africanism that rejected total separation and self-reliance demanded earlier by the likes of Martin Delany. Internationalized integrationist Pan-Africanism in the Diaspora and on the Continent was a form of African unity that assumed a link to and relationship with the West. In the U.S., the integrationist tradition of leadership nurtured under Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington was now expressed on an international level. Key among them were Africans from the Americas such as Henry Sylvester Williams (Trinidad), Benito Sylvain (Haiti), and W.E.B. DuBois (U.S.); racemen who expanded the Negro question to a global level. Agitation for the empowerment of African people, within the integrationist worldview, never demanded the total removal of Western systems. Specifically, the 1st through the 4th PACs, led by protest/reformist integrationists, limited themselves to pushing the colonial powers for better treatment of the African continent. Therefore, their international agenda, particularly in staging Pan-African conferences and congresses, did not directly threaten the Western powers and their colonial interests in Africa and of African people. The non-confrontational nature of the Pan-African congresses during this period enjoyed favorable global conditions where the global powers, such as the French, actually provided support and allowed space to organize without having to confront the repression that challenged Garvey. The integrationist worldview came to be regarded by many as Pan-Africanism’s standard personality. The integrationist perspective was assumed to be the ideological norm in Pan-Africanism.
The case was similar in Africa from 1945-1963, where a liberal wing of African leaders increasingly dictated continental Pan-Africanism. Benefiting from their pro-Western training, worldview, and relationships (culturally, politically, and economically) with Europeans, this group gradually came to occupy key positions in the colonial civil structure. Ascending to the leadership of many of Africa’s independence movements, this class of leaders, such as Felix Houphouet Boigny (Cote d’Ivoire) and Nnamdi Azikiwe (Nigeria), assumed the presidency of the newly independent African states in the 1950s and 1960s. After the 5th PAC, African states were the engines of Pan-Africanism, with heads-of-state free to chart the course of continental Pan-Africanism. Their highest political feat was assuming control of the movement towards continental unification at the 1963 creation of the OAU, which reflected the liberal, reformist, and conservative nature of this group. This explains how Pan-Africanism under the OAU maintained direct links with former colonizers, enshrined the colonial boundaries created at the Berlin Conference, but compromised economic self-reliance and political unification. Additionally, acquiring governmental control and protecting space as provided for under the compromised Charter of the OAU contributed to an expanding set of interests (in Pan-Africanism) based upon the sanctity of the state. The involvement of divergent forms of Pan-Africanism, which is more fully discussed below, helped to expose these newer state-level interests. It was a path of Pan-Africanism that was mandated by the integrationist assumptions mentioned above now implemented on an international level.

The integrationist congresses from 1900-1928 and the pro-Western OAU came to be regarded by many as the standard. They together represent to many adopting this
limited form the practical and ideological model by which Pan-Africanism should be measured. However, this dominance, as the following segment establishes, was questioned at the 6th and the 7th PACs as ideological challenges forced changes in the orientation of the movement.

The Socialist Challenge

In addition to the integrationist trend, the 1920s also produced a socialist Pan-African counterpart that intensely critiqued both global capitalism and the international duplicity of the liberal, integrationist leaders. Prior to the Russian Revolution in 1917, according to George Padmore, V.I. Lenin concluded that since globalized monopoly capitalism had triggered imperialism and colonialism, the victory of the international socialist movement hinged on its ability to ally with oppressed people of color who were the victims of Western imperialism. In their drive to build on the momentum of the Revolution, both socialist and communist parties began to aggressively recruit black leaders to spearhead this campaign. Meanwhile, by the 1920s, scholars and activists throughout the African world, noticing the intensification of their political and economic oppression after WWI began to pursue alternative solutions outside the Western ideological spectrum. Diasporan organizations in the 1920s and 1930s such as the African Blood Brotherhood, the Council on African Affairs, and the National Negro Congress in the mid-1930s, attempted to re-cast the oppression of African people in terms of international capitalism's exploitation of working peoples of the world. The segment

of the African Diasporan community that gravitated to socialism during this era was somewhat small and by the 1940s and 1950s, the momentum seemed to decline. The globalization of African struggles throughout the Diaspora sparked in the 1960s the emergence of more radical organizations that would fill this vacuum. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Black Panther Party were key in internationalizing the Civil Rights and the Black Power movements, respectively, towards Pan-Africanism (in a socialist context) by articulating a united front between the African-American struggle, African independence movements, and that of other oppressed peoples. By the early 1970s, in groupings such as the Congress on African Peoples and the African Liberation Support Committee emerged leaders like Pan-Africanists Kwame Ture, Owusu Sadaukai, and Amiri Baraka who pushed a Marxist-Leninists line as the proper extension of the black struggle.

The socialist connection in Africa mirrored its efforts in America. The socialist and communist parties throughout Europe witnessed firsthand the West’s heavy dependence on African colonies. In the early 1920s, these parties implemented aggressive policies designed to create socialist outposts in Africa under the assumption that successful colonial revolutions would ensure the downfall of global capitalist governments. As in the Americas, energies were directed towards creating or guiding anticolonialist organizations towards the overthrow of Western domination. This strategy relied on organizations such as the League Against Imperialism (1927) and the World Federation of Trade Unions (1949) as vehicles for bringing Africa into the international
socialist camp. The strategy would change by the 1950s as African nationalist movements and parties on the ground replaced European-led organizations as the most viable instruments for defeating imperialism. A significant number of these movements and parties were being led by Africans such as Amilcar Cabral, Julius Nyerere and Kwame Nkrumah who, while living in the West, were to various degrees influenced by socialist doctrines. After gaining political independence throughout much of Africa in the 1960s, leaders such as Nkrumah and Ahmed Sekou Toure, who were enjoying strong ideological and material support from the Soviet Union, began to inject into Pan-Africanism the ideology of African Socialism. This development on the Continent dovetailed with vocal Marxist-Leninist groups in the Americas so that, by the 1970s, the Pan-African Congress movement would have to recognize.

**The Globalization of Black Nationalism**

From its inception, elements of Black Nationalism, defined as an ideological commitment to the perpetuation, advancement defense of people and communities of African descent everywhere they are located throughout the world, were present as African people engaged in collective struggles to fend off and protect themselves from the start of enslavement and foreign domination. Maroon traditions from the Palmares of Brazil to the Outlayers of Florida represent the maturation of Black Nationalism in the Americas as these societies took up arms and waged unending campaigns against their

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3 Ibid., 303-306, 316.
exploiters. Interestingly, the coming of emancipation of slavery throughout the region did not mean the end of this form of nationalism. In fact, the Black Nationalism that sprung from the maroon struggle perpetuated itself by adapting to the realities of oppression in the post-enslavement era. It became more sophisticated as a tool for the re-empowerment and rehabilitation of African people everywhere. The best case this was Marcus Garvey, where Black Nationalism was reintroduced as the source of the Universal Negro Improvement Association's (UNIA) global appeal to the oppressed masses of African people. WWI provided a global context while continuing post-migration racial oppression in the U.S. produced the immediate conditions that allowed Garvey's calls of "Up Ye Mighty Race" and "Africa for the Africans, at home and abroad" to resonate among rank-and-file Africans. Garvey's appeal to the identity and unification of African people would reach global proportions that the African world had not seen before and has not seen since.

The repressive tactics that culminated in the imprisonment and deportation of Garvey, and the UNIA's subsequent decline, temporarily created a vacuum that would be filled by a number of Black Nationalist organizations. Thus, the post-Garvey era produced the emergence of nationalist movements such as the United African Nationalist Movement, the Universal African Nationalist Movement, the Cultural Association for Women of African Heritage, the African Nationalist Pioneer Movement, and the New Alajo Political Party.4 These nationalist organizations along with leaders such as Carlos

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4 For a full discussion of these organizations and their role in perpetuating the nationalist fervor generated by the UNIA, see John Henrik Clarke, "The New Afro-American Nationalism," Freedomways 1 (Fall 1961): 285.
Cooks continued Garvey’s effort to build a global African movement upon the reaffirmation of an African identity. They provided a blueprint that African-American intellectuals and grassroots organizations would use to reshape Black Nationalism in the 1950s and 1960s. The fundamental vision for each of these organizations was their emphasis on an African identity and programs for the empowerment and self-sufficiency of African communities. This was the fundamental aim of the black intellectuals who, after attending the Conference of Negro-African Writers and Artists in Paris in 1956, returned home to form the American Society for African Culture (AMSAC). From an intellectual approach, they extended the Garvey formula for Pan-Africanism by emphasizing a link between the upliftment of global African communities and African identity. This process evolved to assume a mass-based character as the intellectual energy of AMSAC in the 1950s gave way to more grassroots organizations in the late 1960s and early 1970s such as the African Heritage Studies Association (AHSA), the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, The National Black United Front, and the Institute of Positive Thought. These Pan-Africanist organizations saw the need to link, as Garvey did, the educational, political, and economic confrontations of the time with an internal struggle for African self-definition specifically among the masses.

The case was the same in the Caribbean where the Rastafari Movement in the 1930s carried on Garvey’s legacy.5 Inspired by Garvey’s celebration of Africa and the rise (and fall) of Haile Selassie, they would almost single-handedly perpetuate the

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politicization of African consciousness in the region. The Rastafari impact in Jamaica and the other Caribbean islands were duplicated in other parts of the Americas such as Brazil, where the Quilombismo tradition produced the same link between consciousness and struggle on the local and international level. Growing out of the maroon tradition in Brazil, Quilombismo served as the basis for Pan-Africanist outlook of Brazilian organizations such as the Unified Black Movement Against Racism and Racial Discrimination.

This quick sketch shows that with the rise of these Marxist-Leninist and Black Nationalist organizations in the 1960s and 1970s, the ideological hegemony enjoyed by integrationist Pan-Africanists was under attack. This, however, did not mean that one ideological position would replace the previous one as the norm in Pan-Africanism. Instead, it meant that the congress movement was headed for an unfamiliar internal struggle centered on a new co-existence of competing ideologies. The congresses in 1974 and 1994 provided the space. What is important now is an explanation of how the ideological confrontations at these congresses unfolded along the lines of race, class, and cultural identity, followed by a detail discussion of how the congresses were impacted by these ideological debates.

**Early 20th Century Ideological Cross-Currents**

Integrationist guidance remained unchallenged until 1945 where the pivotal 5th PAC in Manchester, England signaled the arrival of an ideological shift as the movement, for the first time, embraced the concept of African (state-level) nationalism. A common thread within the previous four congresses and the 5th PAC were practical representations
of Pan-Africanism's confrontation with global forces and internal ideological currents specific to each era. Pan-Africanism of the 6th and 7th congresses, however, was different. Both were challenged with the unfamiliar task of housing a number of intensely conflicting ideological currents. The convergence of these currents reflected trends in the global political economy and influenced the ultimate orientations of Pan-Africanism at those congresses. The post-colonial era provided an opportunity for Pan-Africanists with socialist and nationalist positions to compete for the direction of the congresses which, up until then, embraced the pro-Western, integrationist perspective. This meant that Pan-Africanists at both the 6th and the 7th PACs, for the first time in the movement, were forced to collectively tackle Pan-Africanism's divergent ideological questions in the same space. In the end, these internal ideological struggles would generate different orientations in and of Pan-Africanism, which indicate the nature of its evolution in the post-Cold War era.

The international political economy during colonization was characterized by the dominance of Western Europe and America. Two international wars successfully halted Germany, Italy, and Japan from joining the imperialist club that was now dominated by the British and the French. On the other side of the Atlantic, the United States' role in both wars gradually lifted it to superpower status. Socio-political divisions within and warfare between these Western powers, and their ripple effect on the global political economy, helped produce a socialist and a Black Nationalist critique within the international Pan-African community. The first segment of this discussion is a brief overview explaining the ideological competition that took place with the surge of
socialism and nationalism. The second segment explains how this convergence/competition at the 6th and 7th PACs manifested itself in a dialogue on race, class and culture at each congress. The third section is a comprehensive discussion of how the ideological debates and dominant positions shaped the orientation of Pan-Africanism at the two congresses. Finally, a comparison of the shifts from the 6th PAC to the 7th PAC demonstrates the movement’s development.

**Race, Class, and Cultural Identity in the Post-Independence Era**

The ideological debates that dominated the 6th PAC grew out of disputes over the definition and direction of Pan-Africanism. On the global level, the congress was taking place in different times. Post-colonialism and the presence of independent African states introduced into the Pan-African formula integrationistic state-level interests that was an extension of its liberal leadership. These interests included, among other things, an acceptance of the state as the primary political unit in international affairs and, by extension, Pan-Africanism; the maintenance of its territorial integrity; and the preserving of relationships with the West necessary for continued development. By the time of the 6th PAC, these consolidating interests were becoming clearer against the presence of divergent Pan-African perspectives. The congress also emerged in the midst of the Cold War. The emergence of the Soviet alternative provided a significant challenge to the Western superpowers amplifying the idea that socialism offered an effective and practical counter-movement against the West, particularly regarding continued Western interference in Africa. In the middle of all of this was the resurgence of the Black Nationalist fervor that peaked during the Garvey Movement. This time, the Black Power
Movement sparked a new type of Pan-African nationalism that began to elevate local struggles to the international level.

Race, Class and Identity at the 6th Pan-African Congress

As James Garrett outlined in a comprehensive analysis on the planning of the congress, there were strong ideological currents emerging soon after the 1969 International Black Power Conference in Bermuda that produced the Call for the 6th PAC. It became clear to the organizers that the congress was taking place in an era that presented a much more complex set of questions and challenges than in previous periods. As discussed later, the hostile backlash by the Caribbean governments demonstrated the fact that the organizing base had to be expanded to include other members of the Diaspora. As a result, the second international conference where the preparation for the 6th PAC was to begin sought out the participation of North American activists who were split along ideological lines. On one hand, as the Marxist-Leninist line gained influence among black activists such as Baraka and Sadaukai, civil rights and black power disciples were bending towards a radical socialist critique of imperialism.

An early sign of the emerging ideological conflict was the emerging struggle over the question of race. This issue, both externally and internally, was played out along ideological lines. The basic point of contention was whether or not race would be central to unity. The earlier tendency of minimizing the racial focus gave way to the class analysis within an international anti-imperialist movement. This became a key doctrine

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of the black struggle by the late 1960s. On the other hand, organizers of the congress realized that central to the internationalization of black power movements was a clearer, global consciousness of being African and tried to account for it in the planning. Garrett points out that the organizers of the second international conference carefully observed that "We are an African people,' and 'Pan-Africanism' were rapidly replacing 'Black Power' in student and movement circles in the U.S., so the title of the conference was changed to the Congress of African Peoples and the meeting place to Atlanta, Georgia (emphasis mine)."

This emphasis on African identity was ideologically incompatible with the socialist doctrines that became more powerful during the planning phase of the 6th PAC. Elders who participated in the powerful 5th PAC naturally lent both organizational and ideological leadership to the planning of the congress. Kwame Nkrumah, in a letter to the organizers, expressed his happiness that the effort was underway. But perhaps most influential of these addressed in the organizing of the congress was the involvement of the socialist/Pan-Africanist, C.L.R. James. Because of his long commitment to the Pan-African cause and his participation in the Manchester congress, James commanded a high level of respect among the organizers. One reflection of this was his influence on the ideological assumptions of race. Garrett recalled that James "stressed that he was opposed to 'The proposition that we are an African People,' because such a racial context was too limiting." His rejection of race not only demonstrated the socialist analysis of

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7 Garrett, 8.
racism, but also legitimized the desire by many that the congress elevate the class question over that of race.

At the convening of the 6th PAC, the tone set by James was reiterated early in the opening speech by Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere. He approached the issue of class versus race by highlighting the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and emphasizing in the process his contention that “the O.A.U. is not a black men’s organization; it is an organization including men of all color.”8 This statement went beyond the truism that the African continent is home to Europeans and Arabs as well as indigenous Africans. It represented an ideological position that Pan-Africanism in general and the OAU in particular could no longer be centered on race. He did acknowledge that proclaiming the dignity of the race was necessary during the historical development of Pan-Africanism. In addition, he explained that

[Africans] all had to fight against policies and attitudes which made blackness or African ancestry into a social, economic, and political disadvantage everywhere in the world. They all had to fight for the freedom of nations inhabited by African people. Thus colour became a uniting factor among peoples otherwise divided by nationality, political creed, religion, and culture.9

This was only one dimension of Pan-Africanism and did not capture the larger context within which the movement had to be understood. Nyerere was making a case for moving Pan-Africanism beyond Africanness since “our struggle for dignity has always

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9 Ibid., 64.
been one aspect of the world wide struggle for human liberation" – the same line that was inspired by Lenin fifty years earlier. From this, President Nyerere, along with a significant number of socialist delegates, concluded that instead of race, the key focus was a class-based struggle against a system of international capitalism. He justified it this way:

Yet in economic matters the real problem is not colour. Both within nations, and between nations, the problem is basically that of oppression arising from an exploitative system. We are neither poor, nor are we kept poor, because we are black. We remain poor because of the world trading and monetary systems – and these, whatever their other disadvantages, are colour blind.11

A by-product of these ideological assumptions was the debate at the congress over the origins and role of race. This became a heated issue at the congress partly because clarity on the origins of race was so fundamental to the socialist and the nationalist camps. Those of the socialist perspective hammered away at the argument that it was international capitalism and imperialism that created race/racism and perpetuated it as a method of divide and conquer. Perhaps the strongest voices on this point were that of Sadaukai and Baraka. Sadaukai argued that “racism had its origin in capitalist development but it became more than just an idea as its existence as a superstructural phenomena justified racist practices that benefited the base even as this obviously dialectically reinforced its own existence.”12 This, however, only explained the source of

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10 Ibid., 65.
11 Ibid., 67.
racism and its role in the capitalists system. What was needed was clarity on its meaning for class-based struggle that Pan-Africanism was supposed to be gravitating towards. In other words, what did this historical analysis mean in the practical reality of African-European unity? Did it mean that the European proletariat would follow the same doctrine? It was here that Baraka, seemingly in an effort to preempt this issue, addressed the practical challenges of the socialist position race.

What was important, for even the progressives to realize, however, was that we not get swept up into a 'soviet position' that dismissed all reference to National Liberation struggle, or sought to dismiss entirely the fact that the EuroAmerican white working class has been bribed by imperialism... we should take an aggressive position towards these whites and demand that they take revolutionary positions, and never cease to point out that they are also being exploited by capitalism, and being made fools of by their addiction to racism.13

One key dynamic of the 6th PAC was the socialists’ position - again ideologically driven - that the nationalists, particularly those members of the North American delegation, were not real Pan-Africanists. Because of their preoccupation with Africanness, they were stooges of Western imperialism. Baraka’s position was that, “Basically it is the struggle between reactionary Nationalism, which pulls finally for Black Skin privilege as opposed to White and objectively seeks to cover the oppression of the Black NeoColonialists under the banner of Race, and supports capitalism and imperialism by dividing the anti-imperialist thrust of revolutionary socialism, which seeks to unite all who can be united in the ultimate struggle against imperialism and its by

products, one of which is racism!"\textsuperscript{14} These criticisms reflected earlier socialist charges that nationalists such as Garvey were reactionary. Baraka was now employing the same ideological template to describe the ideas and actions of black nationalists in attendance at the congress such as Haki Madhubuti and Oba T’Shaka.

Horace Campbell extended this criticism to its logical conclusion by drawing a direct line between the North American nationalists and imperialism. The relative success of struggles against Western powers by socialistic movements in places like Cuba and Southeast Asia reinforced the belief that socialism was the only “progressive” alternative to imperialism. Nationalists, however, questioned this conclusion and emphasizing instead explanations combining struggles against capitalist imperialism with struggles for self-definition and African unity. Also, since the nationalists’ agenda did not fully lead to a socialist conclusion, their interests could only be chauvinistic to many at the congress. As a result, Campbell and others took a hard line and attempted to discredit the nationalists by casting them as neocolonial co-conspirators. Therefore, to Campbell, nationalists were actually part of the “right wing” who “used their fabricated ideas of racism to support gross and bizarre exploitation and underdevelopment under the hands of neocolonial puppets who, although their skin colour is black, were schooled in ideas of Euro-American capitalism, underdevelopment and greed.”\textsuperscript{15} The charge of imperialist duplicity was an important feature in the ideological conflict at the 6\textsuperscript{th} PAC and demonstrated the reality that, at the congress, there was little tolerance for the radical

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 45.

\textsuperscript{15} Campbell, \textit{Pan-Africanism: The Struggle Against Imperialism and Neo-Colonialism}, 187.
ideological differences in African unity. Consequently, the possibility of overlap between socialists and nationalists was negated with this type of hard-line rhetoric. This was especially vital since, as we will discuss in more detail, there were actually present at the congress a significant number of participants who represented the interests of the Western states. This reinforced the perception that nationalism was simply a form of reactionary liberalism, an instrument of imperialism. As a result, from the socialists' perspective, the line between nationalist and pro-Western liberals was blurred.

The race versus class issue was debated further in the clashing perspectives on what was culture and its role in the Pan-African struggle. Among the socialists, President Ahmed Sekou Toure’s address to congress was clear on the need for a cultural basis of unity. Toure stressed that culture was fundamental to Pan-Africanism because, “based on a community of historical facts, on a common cultural heritage and on an identical fate in the face of international capitalism, imperialism, and colonialism, the unity of the African world has never vanished, indeed it cannot vanish, for it is a material force, a moral force and a spiritual force.”

Toure's observation was significant in that, although his conclusions were directed towards capitalism, he acknowledged the centrality of African culture to Africans abroad and to unity. This point, however, was not the consensus among socialists, in regards to neither cultural unity nor its basis for Pan-Africanism. Most of the other 6th PAC observations on African culture took a slightly different orientation. Baraka, for example, couched the culture concept in the context of economic

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16 President Ahmed Sekou Toure Address To The 6th Pan-African Congress, in Ibid., 77.
determinism. In other words, culture was a product of the modes of production. Subsequently,

The modes of production and the level of productive forces, establishes the form a culture will take on regardless of nation and race, though nation and race are reflected directly in the total cultural existence of a society. In the total existence of culture, Feudalism breeds and develops one kind of culture, Capitalism another. [Culture] is both a material physiological, economic and political reality as well as the ideas, attitudes, and world view given off by that material reality.17

Once this culture materialized, Baraka argued that an “authentic” cultural revolution would only take place with transforming that culture. African culture then was understood as an outgrowth of the society’s productive forces. Most importantly, the culture was meaningful to revolution only to the extent that a cultural consciousness could “transform the material base” of the society. This final point is important for two reasons. First is the assumption that human culture (Marx’s superstructure) in general and African culture by deduction is secondary to economics and class since it is a product of production (the superstructure). Second, cultural aspects that do not speak to production equate to mysticism, metaphysics, and racism.

We must finish once and for all with all obscurantist metaphysics. A movement which claims to be revolutionary cannot adopt the enemy’s methods without in the long run serving that same enemy. Pan-Africanism was born as a movement of profound rebellion of people opposed to the forces of exploitation, oppression and alienation. And because the exploiting and alienating forces incorporated in their ideology of dominating the myth of racial superiority, from the very outset Pan-

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Africanism ran the risk of falling into a racism which was intended to be anti-racist.\(^\text{18}\)

In the end, these interpretations of race, racism and culture were ultimately cast in economic terms where class analysis was anchored in the congress resolution. Statement number one, therefore, quickly resolved “that inequality, exploitation, oppression and human injustice and indignity are the products of colonialism, capitalism, imperialism, neo-colonialism and zionism.”\(^\text{19}\)

Meanwhile, the 1960s’ Black Nationalism that was staking its claim to Pan-Africanism was doing so under the fundamental belief that black people struggling for self-determination in the Diaspora were members of the global African family. They justified their claim to Pan-Africanism on the grounds that they never stopped being African but their powerlessness was a by-product of westernization. Their struggle was one of rescuing their humanity from Western and Arab domination beginning first with redefining their African identity, values, and political/economic interests. This was clearly running up against the socialist perspective on the primacy of class and, more importantly, their doctrine that a race focus was reactionary. For nationalists such as Ronald Walters, who with Madhubuti published in Black Scholar, a debate with Baraka and other socialist on the 6\(^{th}\) PAC, values, as they reflected racio-cultural idiosyncrasies, were central. As Walters explained,

Our trouble has always been with behavior of peoples and groups within the black community, not with any arbitrary defined category of

\(^{18}\) “General Declaration of the Sixth Pan-African Congress: Resolution Number 4,” in Ibid., 134. Referred to from this point as 6\(^{th}\) PAC Declaration.

\(^{19}\) 6\(^{th}\) PAC Declaration, Economic Resolution Number 1, 139.
individuals. And the key to these problems has been the values which they have adopted, not the income or job, or ideology which they may espouse. Values have no universal, one-dimensional causation in their development.\(^{20}\)

Values become one of the key pillars of the black struggle in that they were critical in providing the foundations for the Western capitalist system and as well as a Pan-Africanist identity. Because of this, Walters concluded that

our analysis must clearly keep before us the centrality of the degradation of African peoples all over the world, not by ‘systems’ but by peoples of different civilizations than ours. Race has been, and is now, and will continue to be dominant over class for the foreseeable future as the key to the determination of oppressive behavior exercised by whites, especially in places like the United States, where blacks are an identifiable, powerless, minority of the entire population.\(^{21}\)

This position supported two key points that added to the debate: the primacy of Africa to the black Diasporan identity and the practical point that socialism would not resolve racial and cultural aggression.

Thus, as Ladun Anise recalled, the “purist” dogmatism of the Marxist-Leninists at the 6\(^{th}\) PAC and their denial of African identity produced the split.\(^{22}\) The fact that key heads of state such as Nyerere and Sekou Toure, and organizers such as Baraka took this line, the socialist dictated the congress. This compelled Anise’s criticism that,

What was accomplished by this ‘Coup d’ Ideologie’ was the presentation of Black alternatives in struggle and liberation in their extremist purity: Negritude versus colorblindness; color versus capitalism, imperialism and


\(^{21}\) Ibid., 48.

colonialism; Black collective Parochial Identity versus universal Brotherhood of All Poor and Oppressed Peoples (emphasis original).²³

Anise argued that perhaps the most disappointing loss at the 6th PAC was the lost opportunity to develop a Pan-Africanist agenda that combined the issues of race and class. He added that,

The fundamental analytic task before Black analysts and theoreticians of the struggle is to determine which form of oppression is better understood and challenged by focusing more attention on racism, and which could be more effectively liquidated by focusing on classisms or the operations of capitalist machines... Regardless of Black ideological purity - any dogmatic assertions or escape from pigmentational identity - Blacks remain Black as a people. This remains the most basic of all Black-defining characteristic... We as Blacks seem to be the only group waiting and insisting on a united world brotherhood of the oppressed before we take our destinies into our own hands. Socialists will help us when it suits their national and international interests; even the capitalist and "classists" will do the same.²⁴

7th PAC Ideological Shift

The fundamental ideological assumptions of the race/class debate that took shape at the 6th PAC was in tact in the 7th PAC. The congresses, however, took place in a different international environment. This meant that the debates between the ideological camps were based on some of the same interpretations but played out differently as a result of shifting global conditions. What changed was the context and the level of intensity. Where the 6th PAC absorbed the pressures of the post-independence era, the meeting in Kampala took place in the framework of the post-Cold War transformations. East-West confrontations gave way to the emergence of the United States’ survival as the

²³ Ibid., 23.

world military, economic, and political superpower. Equally important was that the decline of the Soviet Bloc, and the rapid rise in neo-liberal market reforms — taking place among many former Warsaw Pact states, was interpreted as the bankruptcy of socialism and the triumph of neo-liberalism. At the same time, the euphoria of Black Power and African Liberation lost its mass appeal, revealing the realities of failed leadership, struggling economies and depressed communities of African people. As a result, persisting ideological debates had to adapt to evolving global trends centered on the exportation of Western political values, such as individualism, private over collective property, and limited government, and an increasingly integrated global economy led by regional bodies, multinational corporations and shifting patterns of production.

The question of defining an African, present throughout the 6th PAC, resurfaced in summer 1994 prior to the convening of the Congress. The issue emerged when the Nigerian-based Pan-African Movement, whose call for a 7th PAC in Lagos preceded the Kampala initiative, sought to limit the definition by excluding Arabs and whites. The organizers in Kampala rejected this, taking instead a position similar to the socialists at the 6th PAC. The Lagos Pan-African Movement failed to materialize, leaving the Kampala planning committee alone not only to convene the congress, but also to structure the Congress’s dominant assumptions on race, class analysis and African identity. And, just as in the 6th Congress, the nationalist camp in attendance at the 7th PAC challenged these assumptions. The issue surfaced very early when Uganda’s President Museveni, in an opening address, confronted the issue head-on. He emphasized the “African” issue this way:
There has been some controversy as to who is an African and thus qualifies to be addressed in the Pan African Movement. There are those who think that to be African is to be black; while there are those who think that any inhabitant of the African continent, be they black, yellow or green as well as people of African descent of the Diaspora, are African. These differences of perception have meant that there exist within the Pan African Movement a number of contending tendencies; these tendencies have always been evident in the Pan African Movement; and there has always been the fear that they would one day lead to the movement's disintegration. This is not an idle fear, and this congress should take time to address it.  

The speech accepted some of the socialist elements present at the previous congress. Museveni, like Nyerere and Baraka, took the position that the question had to be approached from a historical perspective. The historical context said that Pan-Africanism grew out of the Western exploitation of African peoples and their land and, as the system of exploitation evolved, it also had to evolve. He suggested a more inclusive position.

Pan Africanism emerged as a reaction to situations and conditions themselves a consequence of the people of the African continent becoming entangled in a parasitic relationship with European peoples; first through the Atlantic slave trade and later colonialism. The slave trade, which is what created the African diaspora, was almost exclusively suffered by black Africans. Colonialism, on the other hand, was suffered by all peoples of the African Continent, black and non-black alike.

He went on to offer a definition of African that included five components: Africans south of the Sahara; North Africans; The Diaspora in America, Asia, Europe, and the pacific; white settlers in Africa; and those ideologically aligned with struggle of African people.

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26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
However, under his definition, descendents in the Diaspora were African, a fundamental assumption of the nationalists. This however did not negate a strong critique of extra-African Pan-Africanism that Walters and Anise expressed at the previous congress. The nationalist position was seeking much more groundedness of Pan-Africanism in its African foundation. Now, a stronger definition of Pan-Africanism was offered that, while accepting Museveni's inclusion of the Diaspora, pushed for clarity on identity. In a letter discussing the problems of definition at the 7th PAC, Prah wrote the following:

All African people are identifiable, directly or indirectly, to the present continent and in the diaspora, but not all African people are black. Not all Black people are African. There are Blacks who are Jews and others who are Arabs. Chinese are not Arabs, nor are Europeans, Indians. When we say African people, to my simple mind, we are referring to those whose historical and/or cultural origins are African, from the African continent, and whose sense of identity as understood and recognized by themselves is rooted in Africa. Thus the diaspora is African whilst the Arab people on the north of the continent are not.28

Prah introduced into the discussion an element for defining Pan-Africanism that was missing in Dar es Salaam. He draws a distinction between blackness and African historical/cultural identity, suggesting that the former breeds confusion about who is African, while the latter provides the basis for a global African unity. He also adds to the equation the notion that cultural allegiance should figure into who Pan-Africanism seeks to include in its definition. Prah adds that,

There are people whose origins are rooted in Africa, who till today, do not accept their primary identification with Africa and who prefer other historical characterizations, although they are citizens of African

28 Ibid.
countries. They may in due course come to see themselves as part of us. They are, and should always be, treated in citizenship rights as African citizens, but should not be forced or imposed upon to identify as historically and culturally African.²⁹

The question of historical and cultural self-definition of “African” and allegiance proved to be a critical issue at the congress and was exposed around Arabs and Africa. It was a replay of the question of race and inclusion at the 6th PAC, but was different in Kampala because it was linked to the volatile topic of modern-day slavery. This will be explored again shortly.

At the 7th PAC, the connection between African culture and Pan-Africanism was debated differently than at the 6th PAC. Building on Rodney’s emphasis on Pan-Africanism as an exercise in self-definition, Campbell introduced a newer understanding of African culture and Pan-Africanism:

Pan-Africanism is at once an exercise in consciousness and resistance. It is an assertion of the self-expression and self-organization of African people’s and an expression of resistance to capitalist domination... An exercise in self-definition the effort has been sharpened by Eurocentrism: the individual, the market, private enterprise and imperial domination. Such self-definition has been manifest in many forms but it has been most clearly articulated in the conception of liberation of the continent of African and dignity and self-respect and liberation.³⁰

This, at the very least, signaled a different line on the role of European culture in dominating Africans. It also showed, within the socialist camp, the evolving assumptions of culture and struggle. Campbell called for a “new model of politics” based on the one


above and adapted to ensure economic independence. His historical analysis of the actions of African leaders is an example:

Outstanding leaders of the Fifth Pan African Congress (in the English speaking world) and the Rassemblement Democratique Africaine (which addressed self-rule to the whole French West Africa) who had formulated militant declarations had gone home and carried with them the consumption models of the West. Independence for these leaders meant catching up with Europe and strengthening the old institutions of the colonial state, which were built for repression. Expanding the armed forces, the bureaucracy and building big projects such as airports to link themselves to the West became barometers of progress.\textsuperscript{31}

So, in addition to labeling these leaders as bourgeois agents, the congress exposed leaders’ habit of parroting European models of human progress and modernization.

The question of African culture was also brought to the forefront at the 7\textsuperscript{th} PAC by delegates, such as Sabasajja Ronald Muwenda Mutebi, the Kabaka of Buganda, who questioned the possibility of African unity and a successful challenge to Western culture without recognizing and empowering African culture. He demanded that “We must preserve the positive aspects of our culture.”\textsuperscript{32} Moreover, “Our rich cultural norms and practices must be taught in homes and schools.”\textsuperscript{33} The Kabaka also mentioned that the policy of the Ugandan government to restore the rule of traditional leaders was a progressive example of this process to the extent that a cultural institution was being reappraised by the state. The basic assumption was that cultural elements that could be useful in empowering African people needed to be refashioned to meet the demands of

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., 8.


\textsuperscript{33} Ibid.
post-Cold War realities facing Africa and its people. It was a welcomed exception to the current trend among African governments of suppressing the political role of Africa’s traditional cultural leaders.

The published proceedings of the congress highlighted other areas where questions were being raised around the fallacies of Western ideas and the importance of revisiting African cultural norms. One area was in the case women, African culture and Pan-African. Roy-Campbell used the issue of women to introduce a practical benefit from addressing African culture within the context of Pan-Africanism. In her example of the oppression of women, she identified on one hand the “necessity of tapping, from some of the custodians who are dying out, aspects of cultural values and traditional knowledge that are being lost[,]” such as reverence for the elders, while rejecting negative and oppressive aspects, such as widow inheritance, collective dowry, and genital mutilation. In a pragmatic sense, the discussion of culture not only concerned a re-Africanization process but also a practical accounting of what would be relevant and desirable to Pan-African empowerment. This was a part of a larger effort at the congress to extend space and focus to the historical and present contributions of women to the movement. The 7th PAC resolutions on the importance of African culture was in fact encouraged by the deliberations of women’s sessions and explicitly called on the congress

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To accept the women’s call for rooting the Pan-African movement in our African culture. To this end, an emblem and anthem be created which reflected and embraced this new empowered African symbol.\textsuperscript{35}

The congress’s resolution on children also proclaimed the importance of African culture in its principle of providing for children “African traditional values.”\textsuperscript{36} As in the case of the cultural basis for children, African cultural systems also informed the assumptions of the family and its relationship to Pan-Africanism. In Resolution 13, the Congress stated the following:

That a strong African family is indispensable to liberation, that liberated households are necessary for preparing land and equipping the youth to attack imperialism and that the African men must accept their share of the responsibility for nurturing and protecting the family to enable the women to advance themselves.\textsuperscript{37}

Other critical issues regarding culture included re-evaluating the necessity and practical uses of indigenous African languages in the educating of African children. It was recognized that the revisiting of African culture had to include a linguistic component. There was also the issue of confronting relationships with the environment.

What was different in the 7\textsuperscript{th} PAC’s struggle over race, class, and African culture was the fact that, where culture was previously denied or minimized, it was now recognized as both a source of exploitation and empowerment. It was now being discussed in terms that suggested it to be more than one outgrowth of production. This

\textsuperscript{35} Resolutions of The Plenary of The 7\textsuperscript{th} Pan-African Congress: Resolution No. 8, in African Journal of Political Science 1 (June 1996): 118. Referred to from this point as 7\textsuperscript{th} PAC Declaration.

\textsuperscript{36} 7\textsuperscript{th} PAC Declaration: Resolution No. 10, 119.

\textsuperscript{37} 7\textsuperscript{th} PAC Declaration: Resolution No. 13, 122.
renewed recognition of the vitality of culture was primarily expressed during workshops and in the proceedings of the congress, particularly in the resolution on women in Pan-Africanism.

The Arab Question

The dominant view at the 6th PAC was that progressive white "settlers" and Arabs were African by virtue of their residence. Again, according to the socialist line, the labor of whites Arabs was equally exploited by Western imperialist, making them a part of the Pan-Africanist effort. The nationalists challenged this based largely on what they perceived as a lack of a historical justification for the expectation, especially since there were no examples of white workers in total alliance with black people on any class level. This was especially intense in regards to Arab involvement in Pan-Africanism in general and at the congress in particularly. Socialist delegates felt strongly that the North African Arabs were clearly Africans by virtue of their continental residence. More importantly, they too were exploited by the capitalism and victimized by imperialist support for the state of Israel. This position was problematic from the nationalists' perspective. After independence, Arabs states were entering into Pan-Africanism, in a cultural and a political sense, as conscious members of the Arab world, seemingly more fundamental to them than unity with Africans. An attempt was made to point out that where Africans at the congress were minimizing their identity, Arabs were elevating their own. Walters referred to Irene Gendzier's comments on Algeria and Frantz Fanon where he quoted her observation that,

The intention of the official interpreters of Fanon's role in the Algerian Revolution is, as one official has put it bluntly, to 'de-Fanonize Algeria,
and to de-Algerianize Fanon.’ It is to underline the view that although he helped with ‘our cause,’ ‘he was not one of us.’

Arab Muslims were clear on their position that Fanon, in spite of his struggles in Algeria, was different, which seemed to contradict the doctrines of racelessness and Afro-Arab alliance. More importantly, the treatment of Fanon’s legacy, as illustrated above, becomes a function of the primacy of ensuring that symbols of Arab struggle as in Algeria embrace, first and foremost, an Arab identity. It seemed, the nationalist charged, as though Arabs were placing above Pan-Africanism their own narrow interests and celebrated African unity only when it benefited them. This was one of the congress’s contradictions that Haki Madhubuti strongly addressed in his critical essay on the socialist/Arab agenda in Tanzania. He questioned the extent of the Arab commitment to Pan-Africanism by pointing out that

In fact, Egypt challenged the right and need of a Sixth P.A.C. and suggested that all Afrika needed was the O.A.U. (Of course blacks outside of Afrika are not represented in the O.A.U.) Yet, no one raised questions about the Arab League (all white) and no one brought up the sensitive question of Arab oil, whereas the Arab nations are treating their “Afrikan Brothers” in terms of cost and supply the same way they are treating their ‘European brothers.’ This was in the air, but was not talked about openly.

According to Madhubuti, Arabs were secure in their position that the Arab League was limited to Arabs, the same way that NATO and SEATO limited their membership to Europeans and Asians, respectively. There was an obvious lack of the same clarity when

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it came down to unifying Africans. Therefore, Madhubuti and others concluded that this was a Marxist/Arab alliance at the expense of African people and Pan-Africanism.

The black race, again, finds itself being betrayed by its most visible spokesmen worldwide. "Those liberation movements which are not in the pockets of international communism are in the pockets of our rightwing enemies." In any case Black Nationalism is being attacked from all quarters and the Arab-Marxists block are about to deliver their death blow.  

As proof, they pointed to the General Resolution's reluctance to emphasize an African identity while acknowledging the Arab struggle against Zionism. Madhubuti commented that,

The General Declaration on the Sixth PAC negates and in effect apologizes for our being black. It has completely taken color out of Pan-Afrikanism and made it multi-racial. Good news for the Pan-Slovaks, Pan-Europeans, Pan-Asians, International Zionists and world wide white supremacists who have been able to infiltrate and disrupt any international black movement and make it ineffectual.  

In 1994, the Arab issue revealed the fact that there were still sharp differences around race, class, and African culture. The topic that triggered the Arab/Pan-Africanism debate was the call for reparations for damages resulting from Arab enslavement of Africans, historically and contemporarily. Its momentum as an international controversy coincided with pre-7th PAC energy to produce broad support at the congress. Western compensation for centuries of free African labor and the exploitation of Africa's land and resources was taken for granted by the delegates. The question of who was to be charged was more divisive and reintroduced tensions around the question of Arab-African unity.

40 Ibid., 51.
41 Ibid.
exposed at the 6th PAC. The nationalists at the 7th PAC confronted Arab enslavement and expansionism into Africa and called for Arab states to also pay reparations. Those who resisted based their position on its impracticality and the feeling that it would detract from serious work of the congress.

The split within the International Reparations Committee has already shown how much of a distraction the matter could be. The UK Committee, headed by Labour MP Bernie Grant, for example, succeeded in getting the Congress to extricate the Arabs from being called upon to pay reparations. This was despite the fact that the Congress was told of the dehumanizing treatment that the African populations in Mauritania and Sudan were still being subjected to by the Arab-led governments of both countries.42

Grant justified this position on the grounds that Arab nations had previously acknowledged their responsibility whereas the West did not. There were nationalist such as Professor Chinweizu of Nigeria, however, who rejected this and called for Arabs to pay reparations for their historical and contemporary enslavement and domination of Africans. In an interesting turn, Chinweizu, along with Dudley Thompson of Jamaica, were then denounced as racist and anti-Arab. The call for reparations revealed the inability of the congress, as in the 6th PAC, to resolve the contradictions involved in approaching Pan-Africanism from a geographic or class starting point versus a cultural one. As an example, symbolic demands for an apology from the West for slavery and colonialism was a major victory in legitimizing reparations while the Congress rewarded the Arab states with forgiveness and immunity from accountability after they openly acknowledged and apologized for their enslavement and subjugation of Africans.

As opposed to the 6th PAC, where there was a hard line against a racial emphasis, 7th was confronted with an increase in obvious examples of racial attacks on Africans across the class spectrum. This was reflected in the Resolutions.

The 7th Pan-African Congress noted the rise of anti-African racism and xenophobia on the individual and institutional basis in the United States, Canada, England, France, Germany, Russia, Australia and other parts of the world.43

It is also important to point out that the racial debate did not manifest itself only in terms of socialism versus nationalism. The issue also reflected the powerful pro-Western influence, particularly among states. The polemics of the socialist/nationalist debate, including their unified condemnation of neocolonialism, exposed the state interests as integrationist but in the context of the debate. This confused the fact that integrationism was still present and its entrance in the debate blurred the distinction between it and the other two camps. Therefore, Tanzania’s reluctance to embrace the North American nationalists, interpreted by many as a clash between the latter and Nyerere’s socialism, was also motivated by the Tanzania’s state interests. Garrett recalled the organizers’ realization that states at the congress were pursuing their own agenda, which fueled the debate.

Most of us were wary of Richard Hatcher and Charles Diggs Jr. as elected politicians dedicated to maintaining themselves. And we were wary of Baraka for associating with them. What we did not understand was that Tanzania did want to deal with the Hathcers, Digges, and the Barakas. We wanted people who had engaged in institutional development, i.e., community schools, and who had constituencies within the nationalists/progressive community. Tanzania wanted Blacks who had

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43 7th PAC Declaration: Resolution No. 6, 117.
This inclusive position assumed by the states proved incompatible with some basic expectations at the congress, both socialist and nationalist. Tanzania saw the congress partly as an instrument to legitimize itself among integrationists and within the integrationist community. As detailed below, the shunning of the North American delegation and the banning of the Caribbean delegation can therefore be explained as motivations of state-level integrationism.

**Comparing Congress Orientations**

Changes in the substance and tone at the 6th and 7th PACs must be understood in the context of how Africans primarily from socialist and nationalist camps sought to transform Pan-Africanism according to their ideological assumptions. The PACs' ideological debates had a direct bearing on how each congress identified and responded to vital international and internal challenges from the 1970s to the 1990s. While these two congresses shared much in common, their contrasts were functions of how the shifting world order combined with unique African realities to produce different interpretations of Pan-Africanism. The evolving nature of the global environment and the internal struggles that it mirrored can be explained by reflecting on how the congresses engaged and sought to resolve the following questions:

What commonalities emerged across the African world from the initial global processes that established the cultural, economic, and political domination of African people?

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44 Garrett, 15.
What were the elements of pre-conquest African systems that became relevant to those African communities created during enslavement and colonization?

How are these components (re)expressed in the form of paradigms that reflect Pan-African struggle emerging across the various regions of the Diaspora?

Comparing the answers to these questions reveal the impact of ideological consistencies and shifts occurring in the Pan-African congress movement from the post-independence era to the post-Cold War era.

**Imperialistic States, Institutions, and Policies**

By 1974, the United States had already established itself as the hegemon replacing the Western European powers that were too damaged by the Axis war machine. This transition to superpower status also meant that the United States also replaced the British and French as the custodians of Western domination. This global position was not new to the United States. Its entrance into imperialism had been secured with the Spanish-American War and its domestic history of enslavement, Jim Crow, and racial violence throughout the first half of the 20th century prepared it for leading Western imperialism. Therefore, when the 6th PAC met, Africans, well aware of this history, were particularly intense in their condemnation of U.S. policy in African affairs, Cuba – with its large black population, and Vietnam. Baraka specifically pointed to the American attempts to highjack the congress by disrupting and discrediting the North American delegation's involvement. He particularly exposed the fact that

U.S. Imperialism, apparently in integral collaboration with its black leaders in the Caribbean, encouraged by the neo-colonialists success in excluding the West Indian progressives then made a move to squash the other potential trouble-making delegation, i.e. the U.S. delegation, by
moving directly on the travel agent and airline through the f.b.i., and demanding the charter to be dropped because the f.b.i. had to “investigate several persons.” This a few days before the flight was scheduled to go.45

More serious efforts to discredit the delegation occurred when the Tanzanian government suspiciously received information from the U.S. government that a group of African-Americans were smuggling guns into the country. Baraka recalled that, although the congress continued, “This plan ‘worked’ since it created some tensions and antagonism between the AfroAmerican community in Tanzania and the Tanzanian security and the antiAfroAmericanism of some of the Tanzanian petit bourgeois bureaucrats who are also the enemies of socialism and Mwalimu Nyerere.”46 It also provided cover for the state-level interests seeking to insulate themselves from the criticism of delegates who were not representing governments.

America’s betrayal of Cuba following the Spanish-American War and its covert tactics against Castro were issues that resonated within the Pan-African family. Also, the Cuban Revolution was seen as a powerful example of resistance against Western domination. Its delegation was well-received with its report that,

The Yankee intervention of 1898 with the so-called Spanish-American war inaugurated a new stage in the life of Cuba and of the whole continent of Our American: the United States began annexing to its neocolonial system of domination the weak republics that escaped Spain’s feudal mercantilism. A rival of British capitalism, but in favourable conditions, the United States interfered in the path of our true independence.47


46 Ibid.

The success of Cuba’s socialist revolution made it an inspiration to other anti-imperialist African struggles guided by the Marxist-Leninist program. Examples of this were the African liberation movements in Guinea Bissau and Mozambique against the Portuguese. Where the British and French, with the exception of their settler colonies, opted to transfer power without intense fighting, the Portuguese response was to cling to its colonies, resulting in protracted armed struggles in those areas. So, by 1974, states like Portugal and its preference of warfare over transferring power also received special attention at the 6th PAC.

The passing of the Cold War opened up a new set of challenges to the African world. At the time of the 7th PAC, confrontations with colonizers for independence had given way to neocolonialism where, among other things, harmful Western trading policies for gaining unrestricted access to Africa’s wealth were developed. Trade in illegal diamonds and the sale of arms, for example, profit from and perpetuated civil wars and repression in Africa. This trend was attacked by the 7th PAC Chairman Colonel Kahinda Otafire, who condemned the international community’s complicity in Africa’s internal political instability.

This Congress is meeting when there are clear emergencies in Angola, Liberia, the Sudan, Somalia and Haiti which demand immediate attention. In the particular case of Angola, we have noticed the duplicitous instances of negotiations. This Congress calls on the international community to support the democratic wishes of the Angolan peoples by cutting off military, financial, diplomatic and political support for those who want to destabilize Angola.

The old colonial forces also want to bully African peoples. In this regard we find the blockade against the peoples of Cuba, and Libya repugnant. This is old style colonial bullying. It is worth noting that as
we meet there are still colonies in the Caribbean and we call on the outstanding colonial powers to end this outmoded practices of colonial domination in Puerto Rico, Martinique, Cayenne, Guadeloupe, Aruba and a score of others.  

He pushed the Congress to expose and deal more sternly with the continuing imperialist exploitation of Angola.

Otafire’s comment brought home the realization that imperialism had transformed itself and now relied on new, direct, and indirect policies for maintaining their influence over Africa and other people of color. As in the 6th PAC, the U.S. was central in this critique. The arrival of the U.S. as the lone superpower at the time of the 7th PAC meant that it and its foreign policy in the underdeveloped world made it the most immediate imperialist threat. Perhaps the clearest of its imperialistic actions in African was the Libyan situation. Resolution Number 20 stated that,

Whereas Libya has not attacked nor declared war against the largest war machine in the history of mankind, the United States of America; And whereas the USA has railroaded the members of the Security Council on the United Nations with bribes and threats to apply illegal sanctions against Libya and the Libyan people; thereby causing tremendous suffering of the Libyan people, including innocent women and children, who have been denied medical treatment because of the unavailability of air travel out of Libya; The 7th Pan-African Congress resolves: To strongly support the resolution of the June 1993 OAU Council of Ministers Meeting in Cairo and the various resolutions of the Arab League in support of the Socialist People’s Libyan Jamahiriya in their just struggles against the imposition of unjust sanctions by the USA, Britain and France.  

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49 7th PAC Declaration: Resolution No. 20, 127.
Imperialist interests were not confined to the Western states. The civil war in the Sudan implicated Iran, Iraq, and China. Delegates from the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA) and the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement (SPLM) accused Iran and Iraq of fanning the Sudanese conflict, while China was accused of providing the arms used by government troops against the south. Southern Sudanese leadership, including John Garang (SPLA) and Riak Machar (SPLM), and delegates denounced Arabs states’ support for the Khartoum government’s attempt to Arabize and Islamicize southern indigenous ethnic groups such as the Dinka, the Nuba, the Nuer, and the Shilluk. The feeling was that Iran and Iraq encouraged these policies. This not only threatened African unity but also the 7th PAC itself as the congress was disrupted when Khartoum’s large delegation challenged the positions of the liberation movements in the South.50

The contradictions in the Sudanese issue were duplicated in the congress’s resolutions that linked internal conflicts in Angola and Somalia to Western imperialism while being vague on the policies of Arabs states. For example, the congress recognized in the resolution on Somalia that “the Somali people inherited from Italian colonialism a highly inefficient and corrupt model of government” such that “the fragmentation of Somalia, the availability of large quantities of weapons, the assassination of the second President caused by neo-colonialist corruption and the subsequent military dictatorship of Said Barre” were all present examples of external violations of the Somali people.51 But,

51 7th PAC Declaration: Resolution No. 18, 126.
on the other hand, there was a lack of clarity and/or principled consistency on the Sudanese conflict. The unambiguous language regarding Western interference in the strife in Angola and Somalia was missing in the resolution on the Sudan calling on all the parties to the conflict to demonstrate maximum commitment to comprehensive and lasting peace in Sudan so as to ensure an effective cease-fire and a peaceful lasting negotiated settlement that would enhance the harmony, justice and dignity of all the Sudanese people.\textsuperscript{52}

Another important aspect of the post-WWII era was the increased reliance on new global institutions to produce, manage, and defend the new international order as envisioned by the West. Primary among these were the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions, whose political and economic policies were shaped by the West, usually to the disadvantage of Africa and Africans. The weak position of most African states left them unable to produce strong alternatives to these institutions, leaving Africans with little choice but to appeal to the global bodies for fairer treatment of Africa. The 6\textsuperscript{th} PAC’s general focus was on participation in and the democratization of these organizations as a means of leveraging the influence of the Western powers. Thus, the Economic Committee resolved that,

\begin{itemize}
    \item The Charter of the UN Organization be re-examined and in particular the membership of the Security Council and the right of veto reserved for the permanent members be removed in order to fairly represent the countries of the Third World.
    \item A study be made of the structures of the International economic, financial and monetary institutions in particular the IMF and the World Bank with a view to democratizing them.
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{52} 7\textsuperscript{th} PAC Declaration: Resolution No. 19, 127.
Appeal to the Organization of African Unity experts and the group of 77 to submit to the next assembly of the UNO technical survey on the democratization of the aforesaid agencies.53

Delegates at the congress were especially concerned with the growing influence of multinational corporations (MNC), who were major benefactors in the post-WWII political economy. International economic policies, particularly those governed by the IMF and the World Bank, created a climate that better enabled MNCs to exploit the markets, labor, and resources of weaker states with minimum resistance. The underlying assumption in the congress’s confrontation with these global actors was that African struggles against their harmful policies had to be linked to the struggles of other victims of this international system. Therefore, the common thread in the positions of the congress was the call for a unified struggle of all oppressed people against foreign capitalist exploitation. The congress, along this line, declared that it

Affirms the solidarity of the Pan-African World with the struggles of the Arab World against the oil monopolies and international imperialism.

Denounces the architects of the current international division of labour which maintains the system of unequal exchange and exploitation.

Calls for an end to foreign investment in the colonial racist regimes of Southern Africa and calls on all African, Caribbean, Arab and other friendly states to impose a total embargo against the fascist regimes of South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia, as well as selective boycotts of certain multi-national corporations and their respective products.

53 6th PAC Declaration: Economic Committee Resolution No. 2, 140.
Affirms the inalienable right of African and Caribbean states to control the use and disposition of their territorial natural resources including the territorial waters and the air above them. 

The 1990 decline of the socialist challenge to the West signaled that global capitalist actors and policies were now free to shape the rest of the world according to the Western model. Institutions such as the IMF and MNCs, even more aggressive in their pursuit of economic interests, were increasingly linked to the underdevelopment of Africa and its people. Neo-liberal policies such as SAPs were blamed for the suffering of the African masses. Therefore, it was to be expected that the 7th PAC would continue the focus on these institutions. The congress was particularly concerned with the increasing reach of other international organizations such as the WTO, NAFTA, and the EU, in addition to the UN, the IMF, the World Bank, and MNCs. Tied to this was the rejection of the international policies creating an international division of labor that relegated Africa and other underdeveloped economies to the “periphery” as providers of low-skilled labor forces to compliment the export of raw commodities. But the difference, as discussed in the segment on ideological shifts in Kampala and expanded on below, was that now emphasis was also being placed on the cultural dimensions of these institutions and policies.

**Internal Manifestations of Western Imperialism**

C.L.R. James, Nyerere and Baraka attempted to draw a distinction between the 5th PAC, which was characterized by its fight against colonialism, and the 6th PAC. Baraka stated strongly that colonialism was no longer at the root of Africa’s struggle,

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54 6th PAC Declaration: Economic Committee Resolution No. 3, 142.
regardless of the continued presence the Portuguese and minority white regimes. He argued that the principle target of the 6th PAC was neocolonialism. Once again, the dominant ideological line at the 6th PAC shaped the congress’s approach to this issue. Delegates adopting a hard Marxist line approached neocolonialism primarily through its main agents on the African continent: Africa’s elite. They were the ones who, after inheriting the state, used their links with the West as a means of enriching themselves. In his speech at the congress, Baraka added that they also assisted imperialism in the underdevelopment of the Africa and African communities. He argued that, “The repression and destruction of our productive forces by imperialism (in the era of neocolonialism) is only made possible through the collaboration of native agents.”

Casting these agents of neocolonialism as collaborators in the destruction of Africa’s “productive forces” reflected the socialist interpretation of the neocolonialism. However, socialist Pan-Africanist Walter Rodney – displaying his depth – introduced a critique of neocolonialism that included a cultural analysis that embraced assumptions of the nationalist delegates. He wrote in an essay for the congress that in post-independence Africa,

following in the wake of the great pageant of the regaining of political independence, there has come the recognition on the part of many that the struggle of the African people has intensified rather than abated, and that it is being expressed not merely as a contradiction between African producers and European capitalists but also as a conflict between the

55 Baraka, “Revolutionary Culture and Future of Pan-African Culture,” 123.

56 Ibid., 119.
majority of the black working masses and a small African possessing class.\textsuperscript{57}

Benefiting from the revolutionary movements, this class inherited the leadership of African states but was not revolutionary or Pan-Africanists.\textsuperscript{58} For Rodney, African leaders and states had become instruments of the West in that they consolidated their “territorial frontiers [by] preserving the social relations prevailing inside these frontiers. \textsuperscript{59}

This required African leaders to adopt and defend Western ideas and models. Rodney observed that the congress was taking place at time when the dominant mode of thinking in Africa and the Caribbean was imported from the colonial masters. These agents of European thought used their control of “the state apparatus” to legitimize their pro-Western agendas.\textsuperscript{60} In sum, the neocolonial agent (disguised as state leader) was not just a function of capitalism but also of Western culture. The Pan-Africanist Congress went further and presented its example of neocolonial leadership:

In response to what is regarded as a situation in ‘flux’ the U.S. government announced a campaign of contact with black satellites of the system with the emphasis on exchange programmes for them in the USA. It is in this category that the tribal chiefs and others who operate the machinery of apartheid fit well. Out of them will come Sygman Rhee and Ngo Dinh Diems of Africa. One such person has already clearly emerged, Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu, who is greatly favoured by white liberals at home and abroad. Buthelezi spent two weeks in the USA last year as guest of the government, attending the 21\textsuperscript{st} Congressional Prayer

\textsuperscript{57} Walter Rodney, “Toward the Sixth Pan-African Congress: Aspects of the International Class Struggle in Africa, the Caribbean and America,” in Campbell, Pan-Africanism: The Struggle Against Imperialism and Neo-Colonialism, 18.

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., 23.

\textsuperscript{59} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{60} Ibid.
Breakfast, in his own words, 'as a churchman and political leader of my people'. He met what he calls 'the top brass' in the USA and addressed the select ruling class organization, the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) as the climax of his visit. What is the price of such sponsorship?61

Two other important items emerge as examples of internalized neocolonialism: liberation movements and the participation of the Diaspora. As explained in the following section, the 6th PAC was accused of legitimizing the neocolonial system that Baraka and Rodney highlighted. There was a strong sense among leaders of ongoing liberation movements that the congress was complicit in the betrayal of these movements. In an open statement to the congress, delegates representing the liberation movements, such as FRELIMO, the ANC/PAC, and the Eritrean Liberation Front, charged that

In some parts of the continent the level of struggle has reached the point of armed confrontation against black lackeys. Meanwhile the so called leaders sit at the OAU in shameless concert with known murderers... The Congress stands accused of unprincipled silence on the question of oppression by black leaders refusing to denounce the African stooges of imperialism, the delegates of this Congress have shown that this is another O.A.U. where inhuman compromises are made in the name of African Unity.62

At issue was that, in spite of rhetoric against neocolonialism, the 6th PAC was silent on the state-sponsored violence against African people in Burundi, Uganda, and the Central African Republic. This made it not much different from the OAU, which was considered by many, of course with the exception of the member states, to be the antithesis of Pan-Africanism. However, the best example of this contradiction was the success by


Caribbean heads-of-state in banning the region's progressive groups from attending the congress. By the 1960s, the conservative behavior of the Caribbean states made them targets of progressive elements in the region. So when a Caribbean regional conference was held in December of 1973 in Guyana, clashes between state leaders and progressives revealed dynamics at the congress that were already in motion. Garret recounted the events during the planning stage that exposed the colliding interests.

After three days the Conference ended with the delegates taking hard lines on neocolonialist states, including the host country (Guyana). They demanded separate delegations to the Congress - one from States, the other representing revolutionaries opposed to those states. Forbes Burnham, hearing of this, wrote to Nyerere, stating that his government had allowed such a meeting to take place as a favor to Tanzania. He said that, in the name of the SIX-PAC, a group of extremists had insulted his government... Tanzania found itself having to "apologize" for insults made by those in attendance at a meeting which it had in effect co-sponsored.  

Burnham responded with a press release stating that only government appointed delegations would be allowed to represent Guyana at the congress. This set the tone for other states in the region who followed suit immediately thereafter. When the congress began, activists such as Trevor Monroe (Jamaica), Eusi Kwayana (Guyana), Geddes Granger (Trinidad), Tim Hector (Antigua), and Maurice Bishop (Granada) were not in attendance.

The Caribbean states reinforced the fact that neocolonialism was also rooted throughout Africa and the Diaspora. Final proof of contempt for Pan-Africanism at the 6th PAC came when the leadership declined to make its contribution to perpetuating the

63 Garrett, 15.
movement. According to Alma Robinson, the heads-of-state not only restricted the 6th PAC’s agenda, they went a step further and undermined plans for the next congress.

It was the conservative governments who voted against setting a date for a seventh Pan-African Congress and who vetoed the idea of establishing pan-African health organizations and scientific institutes. These government representatives also shelved any proposal that would have required a commitment towards a pan-African future, until they could return home to consult. No use duplicating the OAU, it was argued.  

7th PAC, recognizing that little had changed in the relationships between African leaders, the West, and the masses of African people, kept the focus on African states. Col. Otafire’s address continued to expose the counterproductive role of African leaders and their perpetuation of the dire conditions on the continent. But beyond a lack of intervention into Africa’s political instability, Otafire denounced the policies of African leaders that contributed directly to internal conflict.

A lot of people have been displaced by the numerous unjust wars waged on the continent. Many of our people affected by these wars have endured untold suffering and loss of human dignity. In the last 40 or so years of our independence, a number of African governments have been and continue to be insensitive to the suffering of their peoples. It is shameful that to date vestiges of that abomination of human relationship, slavery, still exists in certain African countries. The governments in charge of those countries are aware yet indifferent.

This was a sharper criticism of the role of African states in fostering the political instability of the continent. In the previous congress, strongest criticism of the leadership came from delegates representing liberation movements, the North American delegation,


65 Otafire, 10.
and the Caribbean. This time, it was coming from the state officials. Criticism was not limited to the conspiracy of silence among Africa’s leaders. Delegates at the 7th PAC were equally critical of the surrendering of Africa’s internal economic and financial matters to the former colonizers. In the published proceedings of the congress, w’Obanda re-introduced the language of the 6th PAC on neocolonial leaders. He observed that, "The national bourgeois governing class, having turned its back on the interior, on the people, and on the real facts of its under-developed country, now has to look to the former colonial power, foreign capitalists and donor agencies, as the source of the survival of its regime."  

w’Obanda interprets this as an abandonment of the masses by their own leaders. In terms of neocolonialism, w’Obanda argued that Africa’s leaders were victims of a cultural distortion where

Africans have lost confidence in themselves and their people. The African bureaucratic bourgeoisie is therefore incapable of thinking and taking an independent decision. Bureaucrats see their role as that of carrying out instructions from the ‘experts and consultants appointed for them by the World Bank, by the IMF, by the ‘donor community’.  

Again, the behavior of pro-Western leaders was as much a result of their affinity for Western cultural values, ideals, and models.

However, the most blatant manifestation was African leaders’ participation in the recolonizing of the African continent. Just as transformations in the global order changed the focus in the 5th and 6th PACs from colonization to neocolonialism,

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67 Ibid., 53.
respectively, the 7th PAC, according to Otafire, had to contend with trends toward recolonization.

Many of the African governments have made tragic circus of the democratisation process and constantly give credibility to the fashionable belief that we are inherently incapable of governing ourselves. . . We have become more vulnerable to recolonisation by our erstwhile colonial masters whom we are even afraid in official and non official vocabulary to call by their true names: imperialists, oppressors, racists and exploiters. . . Whereas formerly the colonialists took charge with some responsibility, right now, they take more from our people under African stewards. The responsibility for this sad state of affairs have to be put at the doorstep of our leaders and their supportive middle classes of bureaucrats, politicians, professions and their neo-colonial anti people armies (emphasis mine).\textsuperscript{68}

This issue was a direct threat to any form of Pan-Africanism. Delegates, such as the 7th PAC Youth Movement, addressed the contradiction of leaders claiming Pan-Africanism while undermining it by not taking strong positions against internal conflicts.\textsuperscript{69} The congress was also critical of the Caribbean states' satisfaction in maintaining the colonial status within the spheres of European states.\textsuperscript{70}

Continental and Diaspora African Political Struggles

6th PAC Information Officer Geri Stark, responding to a question regarding the criteria used by the congress for recognizing competing liberation movements, stated that,

At present, our method for determining which movements to invite is to ask OAU-recognized movements. Steering Committee members from North America and interested parties in some African countries have strongly urged the reconsideration of this method of selection, primarily

\textsuperscript{68} Otafire, 10.

\textsuperscript{69} Francis Mutazindwa, "Youth Call for United Nations of Africa," \textit{The New Vision}, Friday April 8, 1994, 8.

\textsuperscript{70} 7th PAC Declaration: Resolution No. 13, 122.
Stark’s reply reflected the serious challenge that faced the congress around the recognition of liberation movements. For some of the reasons mentioned earlier, there was a significant rift between delegates from both socialist and nationalist camps, on one hand, and the heads-of-states and the OAU on the other, regarding Pan-Africanism’s commitment to liberation struggles. By not resolving this issue, the congress ran the risk of being discredited by the lack of a principled position on various struggles.

There were expectations among some delegates that the congress had to be multidimensional. The Somali Delegation demanded, “As the objectives of the previous Pan-African Congresses were in line with the existing realities at the time, so the same criterion will have to apply to this Sixth Pan-African Congress.” What this meant in practical terms was that, according to the delegates, the congress now had to expand its agenda to focus on the immediate threats to African states while dedicating itself to the political struggles of Africans. Of this duality, the delegates submitted that,

If the tasks of the previous Congresses of the Pan African Movement have been confined to the fight for self-determination and the solidarity of black peoples against oppression, we have before us at present, in addition to the previous fundamental tasks, others which have objectively created by new conditions and a new set of priorities that have come to the forefront... We seek as in the past to express our militant

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72 “Pan-Africanism Should Fight Imperialism and Racism: The Delegation of Somalia,” in Resolutions and Selected Speeches from the Sixth Pan-African Congress. 41.
solidarity with the oppressed black peoples, particularly our brothers and sisters from the North American continent.73

There was not, however, a consensus on this issue. The states seemed to embrace a different set of assumptions regarding their relationships with both the liberation movements and the Diaspora. Thus, a debate quickly surfaced when Mozambique's liberation movement, Frelimo, issued this challenge: "The Pan-African movement is called upon to transform itself into a force for mobilizing support for the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and classes, and liberation necessarily means eradicating the causes of systems of exploitation and building societies based on the power of the exploited working masses."74 There was clear support for this from both nationalist and socialists in spite of their differences on the definition of struggle. However, the conservative African states' institutionalized noninterference in the OAU foreshadowed their resistance to act on behalf of the liberation movements, some of which were actually being waged within member states. Instead, The OAU, as well as the Caribbean states, were subverting the interests of their progressive political parties and activists at home and abroad. Baraka made this comment regarding the OAU and the Diaspora:

The O.A.U. was conceived in 1963 as a Pan-Africanist institution, but in a decade the contradiction of nation-statism has often transformed this continent wide African body into a protector of the national hegemony of

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73 Ibid. The delegation pointed to five important priorities including, "1) The incomplete revolution led by national liberation movements in the independent states; 2) The continued colonization of some parts of the African continent; 3) The militant struggle of the masses of African descent; 4) The imperialist design to perpetuate through new and complex methods their domination; 5) The contradiction between the capitalist and socialist systems in this epoch."

74 "Address by the Frelimo Delegation to the 6th Pan-African Congress," in Ibid., 93.
a developing African petty-bourgeoisie. Also, to be truly Pan-African, Africans in the diaspora, the population of North America, the West Indies, South and Central America, and the Pacific Islands must be considered as needed members of that body.75

To those particularly from the North American delegation, this was a necessary foundation of Pan-Africanism since they represented, for the most part, no state power or interests. This was Sadaukai’s principle point when he challenged the congress to recognize and support Diasporan movements since the struggles in these black communities, like those on the continent, were aimed at the twin evils of imperialism and racism, which was the source of their Pan-Africanism.76 To this, the Frelimo delegation added that,

In this struggle the African peoples and their descendants living on the other continents, especially in the Americas and Caribbean are jointed together in brotherhood with the other peoples of the Third World, as well as with the other two great component parts of the world revolutionary fronts: the democratic forces in the capitalist countries, and especially the working masses of these countries; and the world socialist camp.77

Baraka and the Frelimo delegation represented the majority at the congress. But the state perspective on noninterference in these struggles quietly dominated the congress. As a result, the congress issued a weak recognition of the progressive struggles in places like Angola, no recognition of the North American struggle, and no recognition of the Caribbean delegation at all. In this way, the interests of the states regarding liberation

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75 Baraka, in Ibid., 126.

76 Sadaukai, 107.

77 “Address by the Frelimo Delegation,” 93.
and political struggles were inconsistent with Pan-Africanism and its commitment to the struggles of Africans everywhere. Rodney summed it up this way:

One of the cardinal principles of Pan-Africanism is that the people of one part of Africa are responsible for the freedom of their brothers in other parts of Africa; and, indeed, black people everywhere were to accept the same responsibility. The OAU denies this, apart from areas still under colonial rule.78

Further proving Rodney right, the congress did show support for the liberation struggles in its strong condemnation of the Portuguese. Resolution 5 stated that,

Our fighting solidarity is most needed at this time of the great acceleration of the history of the African continent engaged in the liberation struggle, and from a vantage point from which we can see the effects of the most recent blows that the African peoples fighting against Portuguese colonialism have dealt against imperialism. It is evident that the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe, are imposing their independence on the Portuguese colonialists by the force of arms.79

The resolution illustrated the congress’s task of harmonizing the interests of the states with that of the progressive delegates.

The organizers of the 7th PAC, also conscious of this contradiction at the 6th PAC, planned from the beginning to limit the power, representation, and influence of the states at the Kampala congress. An example here was the major shift away from the overwhelming continental focus by the states in Tanzania in 1974. Instead, Campbell reported, there was an aggressive attempt to include the delegations and perspectives

78 Rodney, 27.
79 6th PAC Declaration: Resolution No. 5, 135.
from North America, the U.K. and the Caribbean, each of which was marginalized at the previous congress.

The exposure of different sections of the Pan African world to issues and questions of different regions was one of the high points of the meeting. One whole day had been dedicated to sub regional networking with reports in a plenary from different regions. One of the most important aspects of the conference was the country reports. These reports directly addressed the first objective of the conference, that is, to locate the concrete condition and ongoing struggles of African peoples continentally and in the diaspora. 80

This was an expanding understanding of Pan-Africanism that was in harmony with the struggles of African people everywhere. In fact, the most coherent presentation this time came from the Caribbean delegation, who came out front in calling for the unification of the Kampala and the Nigeria PAC agendas. They reinforced the value of extra-continental Pan-Africanism by providing valuable insight into the grassroots work taking place on the ground throughout the region, particularly Haiti and Cuba.

The congress also came to embrace the notion that the idiosyncrasies of the Diaspora produced specific differences in the complexion of their political struggles and the issues that were significant to their Pan-Africanism. With the overlap between state leaders and socialists (Nyerere, Toure) at the 6th PAC, when support did appear, it was usually articulated in terms of class analysis (Baraka, Sadaukai, Rodney). But since the 7th PAC was now adjusting its commitment to the Diaspora, it had to also adjust to the role of race in the worldview and ideology of various delegations from the Diaspora. The shift was reflected in the congress’s resolution dealing with African struggles against

racism where “the 7th Pan-African Congress noted the rise of anti-African racism and xenophobia on an individual and institutional basis in the United States, Canada, England, France, Germany, Russia, Australia and other parts of the world.”81 This was a major about-face, since the issue of race was scorned in 1974. The reality of race both in the Diaspora and on the continent was now taking front stage as discussions and resolutions started to expand the issue beyond the economic context that dominated the 6th PAC. For example, the resolution on the Caribbean shows not only a focus on struggles in the Caribbean, but a deeper reevaluation of the nature of those struggles: the grassroots. Thus, Resolution 13, speaking specifically to the region, stated that,

regional Pan-African Movements be activated which will consist of national grassroots bodies and that the regional secretariats will coordinate with the Permanent Secretariat. [And,] in forging and providing direction to the international movements against racism, consciousness, and culture, concrete areas of activity, practice and cooperation related to the trade, transportation and communication be geared toward self-reliance, an integrated market and the development of African power and identity (emphasis mine).82

The congress saw this as a foundation for the development of a Pan-African regional entity similar to The Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM) and the OAU.

A more important sign of a shifting outlook, however, was the broader understanding of culture and its practicality in Pan-Africanism. In a general sense, the congress began to address the basic cultural institutions, such as the previous focus on the

81 7th PAC Declaration: Resolution No. 6, 117.
82 7th PAC Declaration: Resolution No. 13, 122.
African family, that are relevant to political empowerment. But this was only one dimension of the new focus on culture. The congress went further in addressing cultural identity as a foundation for political struggle. Where previously only one delegate, Abdios do Nascimento, had the opportunity to address the 6th PAC on the situation of the Afro-Brazilian people, congress spent time discussing the unique Afro-Brazilians struggle around cultural identity. The delegates confronted contemporary political issues. However, the congress also spoke to the fact that African people in Brazil had long "...struggled and continued to struggle against tremendous odds to maintain their African identity, culture and human dignity."83 Regarding African culture and the Brazilian struggle, the congress resolved,

To call upon all people, organizations and governments to acknowledge and celebrate with their African-Brazilian brothers and sisters, the International Day of African Conscience every 20th November in memory of the reign of the famous African-Brazilian Zumbi monarch who ruled the first independent African Republic on the American continent in the 17th century;

To recognized the various syncretic African religious of the Diaspora such as Santeria, Vodun and Candombie, the so-called Ketu Phenomenon, as valuable and authentic African belief systems (emphasis mine).84

In the context of the Brazilian struggle, culture was the basis of political oppression and, Afro-Brazilian political empowerment. The delegates, couching racial oppression in within a cultural framework, committed,

To urge all African people, organizations and governments to denounce the racist policies of cultural genocide presently being perpetrated against

83 7th PAC Declaration: Resolution No. 13, Ibid.

84 7th PAC Declaration: Resolution No. 25, 130.
the African-Brazilian population by the white social and political elite of Brazil;

To condemn the murder and apparent systematic killing of African-Brazilian street children and poor people;

To condemn the gross human rights abuses against African-Brazilians as demonstrated by the killings of prisoners, and the labeling of political activism as crime.\(^{85}\)

This was another major shift. White Brazilian rulers’ targeting of culture in its political attack against African-Brazilians reinforced the centrality of African culture in the Brazilian Pan-African movement.

The marginalization of the North American delegation in 1974 was also redressed in 1994 with a focus on an issue that has been at the forefront of nationalist struggles in America: political prisoners. The 7th PAC evolved in its acceptance of nationalist assumptions, especially regarding the development of practical positions in line with the idiosyncrasies of Diasporan political struggles. Noting the United States’ claim that it held no political prisoners, the congress resolved to “...contact the UN Commission on Human Rights, and request that they investigate the existence of African-American political prisoners and report findings to the Secretariat.”\(^{86}\) Resolution 15 declared that,

We also resolve that we must defend the Pan-African movement from political repression by former colonial powers including the United States. Therefore, because the existence of African-American political prisoners clearly illustrates that those who struggle for the liberation of African people will face the unbridled repression of the United States Government

\(^{85}\) 7th PAC Declaration: Resolution No. 25., Ibid.

\(^{86}\) 7th PAC Declaration: Resolution No. 15, 123.
and its allies, we believe it is necessary for the survival of a viable Pan-African Movement to create legal and political mechanisms to enable framed African political prisoners to be welcomed to Africa for rehabilitation. We therefore, call upon all progressive African nations to pass legislation granting Africans in the diaspora the right of return and citizenship.87

The Congress also acknowledged the struggles of the African people in the U.K. This region of the Diaspora, like North America and Brazil, was also marginalized at the 6th PAC. Along with the common forms of racism inflicted on African people in the Diaspora such as police abuse, the U.K. delegation introduced a newer issue that had specific relevance to their condition: racist treatment against African asylum seekers.

No more human rights violations against asylum seekers in the United Kingdom;

The immediate release of all detainees held under immigration and asylum legislation in prisons and in detention centres;

A public inquiry be held into the current and previous abuse of human rights of detainees and deportees, including the conditions under which they are detained in prisons and in detention centres;

An end to police harassment and surveillance of black, migrant and refugee communities under the pretext of ‘immigrant control’.88

Finally, the 7th PAC coincided with the unraveling of Haiti’s democratically elected leadership. Placing Haiti in a Pan-African context, the congress began by recognizing its “tremendous and historic struggle for the advancement and emancipation of African peoples from colonial domination on the continent and in the Diaspora.”

87 7th PAC Declaration: Resolution No. 15, Ibid.

88 7th PAC Declaration: Resolution No. 16, 124.
From that perspective, the congress specifically addressed the overthrow of President Aristide, resolving “To urge African Governments, the OAU, CARICOM, ECOWAS, the United Nations and other relevant African and international institutions to support the struggle of the Haitian people for justice and the re-establishment of democratic rule; to support President [Jean Bertrand] Aristide and assist Haitian refugees; and to demand that Western powers cease any kind of support for the military regime of Raoul Cedras.”

**Conclusion: A New Congress Movement?**

The debates, assumptions, conclusions and positions of the Pan-African Congress movement since the 1960s echoed the dynamics of both an evolving global political economy and a three-sided ideological confrontation over the direction of Pan-Africanism. Integrationist and state-oriented perspectives that emerged during the colonial domination of Africa and African people dominated the pre-1945 congresses. When the congress movement became after 1945 a target and an instrument for Africans adopting the socialist agenda and those seeking its connection to Black Nationalism, the integrationist tradition came to be challenged by the newer voices in the movement. This guaranteed that the congresses, from that point would have the unprecedented challenge of resolving the existence of three competing and conflicting ideological orientations. As a result, the 6th and the 7th PACs became microcosms of the larger debates between these positions, which directly impacted the orientations of the congress. On one hand, socialists and nationalists found the previous integrationist domination an easy target for their anti-exploitation rhetoric. The socialist delegates were able find adequate examples

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89 Resolution #21, 130.
of African bourgeois puppets prepared to sacrifice Pan-Africanism. The nationalists, meanwhile, were able to point to pro-Western behavior of African leaders as proof that their emphasis on identity was critical for political and economic empowerment. On the other hand, the congresses was also forced to accommodate the disagreements between all three. For the first time in the brief history of the Pan-African Congress movement, the meetings were as much about what should Pan-Africanism look like as it was about trying to unify black people. There were also key differences between the 6th and 7th PACs, particularly between socialist and nationalist interpretations. Although they both encountered new issues, what set them apart was the degree to which those internal debates reflected different global realities and challenges for African people.

At the 6th PAC, the socialist/nationalist debate expressed itself in terms of the primacy of the class analysis versus an emphasis on African identity in Pan-Africanism. The congress's majority leaned toward the Marxist-Leninist position and adopted a vision of Pan-Africanism that was linked to a larger, global socialist movement among oppressed and colonized people of the world. As a result, questions around race and identity were approached from the class-analysis position. There was an intense effort to avoid any reference to race based on the belief by many that it was a product of imperialism and would lead to internalized racism within the Pan-African movement. As a result, representatives of the global African family exposed to high doses of racism found it difficult to create a space at the congress to address its impact. Likewise, reluctance around race meant that African cultural identity was also questioned on the grounds that it would produce mysticism at best and chauvinism at worse. Again, this
prevented the congress from fully embracing struggles in the Diaspora that were Pan-Africanist, but grounded in the primacy of African cultural identity. Therefore, strong criticisms of the Garvey-like nationalists were amplified at the 6th PAC because the congress provided space for a direct confrontation with the nationalists. To go a step further, the fact that the Black Nationalist perspective was primarily based in the North American delegation revealed a third component of the debate: the outcome of challenges to the integrationist hegemony. Manifested in the form of state interests, liberal African leaders on the continent and in the Diaspora took actions, often to the detriment of Pan-Africanism to pursue their narrow interests as a group and as nation-states. Confronted with strong ideological opposition to its pro-Western position, they were forced to resort to low-intensity moves to protect themselves. This influenced the congress’s hollow support of liberation movements on the continent and its rejection of the delegates from the Diaspora who adopted one form of nationalist or another and who also did not represent states.

Where the Cold War and the reality of neocolonialism shaped the 6th PAC, the 7th PAC confronted newer threats of recolonization in the post-Cold War era. East-West ideological balance had given way to unchecked neo-liberal policies. The 7th PAC repositioned itself to confront these newer issues and, in the process, adapted earlier ideological assumptions particularly around the issue of African culture and the Diaspora. As a result, the 6th PAC’s strong embrace of the socialist Diasporan movements such as in Cuba, was now expanded with the congress’s deeper commitment to struggles in Brazil, North America and Europe that were highly sensitive to culture and identity.
Delegates at the congress now explained racism and economic exploitation not only in terms of class conflict, but also increasingly in terms of culture, identity, and worldview. Global institutions were attacked for their cultural assumptions as well as the impacts of their policies. What remained constant however, was the confusion around racial inclusion and exclusion, particularly regarding Arabs and European residents of the Continent. As in the previous congress, the argument that Arabs were to be held accountable for damages to Africa was resisted. This meant that conflicts such as the Sudanese issue became not only an issue of states versus liberation movements, but also a question of African-Arab confrontation.

In spite of the different ideological interpretations and the inability to resolve internal contradictions around states and the interests of the masses, the two congresses forced a realization of the importance of ideological clarity in Pan-Africanism. Progress towards a functional Pan-Africanism was connected to expanded, multilateral understandings of race, class, and identity.
THE STATE OF THE MOVEMENT: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND PROPOSITIONS

The centerpieces of this study of Pan-Africanism in the post-Cold War era are the organizations and members who have been consistently active in the Pan-African movement. The research focused on Pan-African organizations, particularly at the grassroots level, in three regions of the African world in order to pull from them the spectrum of critical developments confronting Pan-Africanism. The anticipated benefit is that a more precise understanding and evaluation of Pan-Africanism could come from the organizations’ emphases on mobilization, the crises and threats they confront, and the strategies/tactics they are presently employing. Two guiding assumptions of this study were that determining the contemporary status of Pan-Africanism rested on (1) an accurate historical and cultural context, and (2) the practical significance of proper units of analysis. In other words, what one thinks about Pan-Africanism depends upon the methods used in analyzing it.

The literature suggests, as presented in Chapter Four, differing and at times competing accounts of the historical and cultural origins of Pan-Africanism. In that discussion, programmatic analyses of the origins of Pan-Africanism in the congress movement circa 1900 have encouraged a tendency to measure contemporary Pan-Africanism in terms of two main manifestations: the congresses themselves and the
African states. Partly as a result of historical and global forces, such as colonialism and independence, there has been a narrow and limited emphasis on congresses and states but a void in addressing the roles of organizations operating at the grassroots level. Therefore, the grassroots segment of Pan-Africanism has been underestimated. The research assumed that this approach is problematic since it neglected the activities of organizations, particularly grassroots and nationalist, who have historically and consistently made meaningful and significant contributions to the struggles for African unity. In these findings, observations of the contemporary manifestations of grassroots participation in Pan-Africanism are outlined.

This chapter, however, identifies more than the presence of grassroots nationalist organizations in Pan-Africanism. The objective was also to construct from these organizations an explanation of contemporary Pan-Africanism. There were three general characteristics shared by these organizations that formed a criteria for the study. First, only those activists who collectively engage Pan-Africanism on the level of the masses, rather than a primary focus on congresses and states, were consulted. Instead of the more popular intergovernmental organizations such as the OAU and CARICOM, and lobby groups such as TransAfrica and the Constituency for Africa, the respondents in this study organize primarily among African masses in local areas. Second, their outlook is global in that they see the empowerment of their local African communities as a part of the empowerment of the entire African world and simultaneously work in that direction. As a result, they are dualistic, focusing locally while linking internationally. Third, these organizations embrace a vision of Pan-Africanism that places identity consciousness at
the center of their political and economic agendas. For them, organizing around the principle that African empowerment is inseparable from a recognition and incorporation of some collective African identity shaped by the global and local realities. Finally, it was also assumed that organizations that had an established history of involvement in the movement, rather than more recent groups, provided a perspective that would add weight to the study. Therefore, the three that were chosen all were created during or were formed, either directly or through its leadership, out of an earlier period of Pan-Africanism.

The Patrice Lumumba Coalition, with its base in Harlem, New York, represented the North American region. The group was created in 1975 by Garveyites in Harlem who had continued the platform of the UNIA in the form of the African Nationalist Pioneer Movement after the decline of the Garvey Movement. The PLC was created by members of the ANPM after its decline. Its mission was to continue Garvey’s teachings of community empowerment and the upliftment of Africa by establishing a presence in local African-American communities. The organization is noted for sponsoring community teach-ins, lectures, and information sessions designed specifically to raise the communities’ awareness of conditions and events impacting the African continent and Diaspora. In the tradition of Garveyism, an important emphasis of the organization is to specifically provide Black communities in the New York City area with information about the activities of African states as they relate to Pan-Africanism.

Pan-African Congress Movement in the U.K. was created in 1977 from among the U.K. delegates to the 6th PAC held three years earlier. The organization was
conceived as an instrument for coordinating a number of smaller organizations located throughout the U.K. in cities such as London, Manchester, Birmingham, and Wolverhampton. Members and chapters are located in Europe as well as the Caribbean and Central America. Its organizational base came mainly from among Africans residing in the former British colonial possessions in the Caribbean and Africa who migrated to the U.K. in the early to mid-1900s. The organization was created on two key pillars: reaffirmation of African identity in the context of a racist society and an attempt to address economic and social ills at the community level that emerged from generations of racial discrimination. As a result, the organization is comprised of smaller community-based groups that stress issues such as youth mental health, police brutality, and community self-help.

The third group, the Emancipation Support Committee of Trinidad and Tobago, also emerged out of an earlier nationalist movement referred to as the Black Power Movement in Trinidad during the 1970s. The creators of the ESC were previously organizers of the National Joint Action Committee, the key progressive group in that movement, who broke off to create a more African-centered organization. The ESC uses as its central themes the empowerment of Africans in Trinidad and the development of an African consciousness through activities such as organizing African youth programs, community education seminars and the annual Emancipation Day celebration. From that base, it attempts to introduce Africans in Trinidad to the struggles of Africans abroad
partly by sponsoring visits by Diaspora speakers to address key cultural, political, and economic issues.¹

The study relied on the organizations to test the hypothesis that the international dynamics that have emerged in the post-Cold War era has produced significant changes in the challenges confronting Pan-Africanism. Moreover, the nature of these changes now requires a re-orientation in Pan-Africanism towards a grassroots focus in addition to the international scope of the movement. In order to test this hypothesis, the study gathered information from the literature on contemporary Pan-Africanism, documents associated with the 6th and the 7th PACs, interviews of the organizations' leadership and questionnaires distributed to the members at large. The data analysis began with developing an account of themes explaining changes in Pan-Africanism in terms of organizations' perceptions and agendas on a range of issues presented in Chapter Six that the recent literature suggested as critical. From that point, the first research question addressed the evolution in Pan-Africanism using the last congress to be held during the Cold War era and the first one in the post-Cold War period. Chapter Seven's corresponding analysis of the 6th PAC (1974) and 7th PAC (1994) provided a picture of the general adjustments and evolutions against which the organizations' responses on the specific types and degrees of change in the post-Cold War era were held. In answering the second research question, the study specifically explains the actual significant changes occurring in contemporary Pan-African organizations' focus of mobilization, crises, strategies and tactics in the post-Cold War era. Given the heavy theoretical

¹ See Appendix D for additional official organizational documents and information.
emphasis of the study, the results of the analysis provide information of the usefulness of Pan-African Nationalism and progressive Pan-African Nationalism as an explanation of the present direction of Pan-Africanism.

Accordingly, between the leadership of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, the Pan-African Congress Movement, and the Emancipation Support Committee a total of six interviews (two per each organization) were conducted, transcribed, and analyzed producing the following observations regarding a list of issues generated from the theoretical framework and the literature. The responses to the questionnaires that were distributed to the membership of the three organizations provided a larger organizational perspective to accompany the interviews. These contemporary observations reflecting organizations’ perceptions, principles, and agendas provided the information needed to, once compared to the general nature of the movement in previous eras (see Chapter Seven), determine the state of Pan-Africanism.

**Observations on the State of Pan-Africanism**

The observations below, categorized based on organizational focus, crises, and strategies/tactics, were developed from the results of the interviews and the questionnaires and are the first step in an explanation of post-Cold War Pan-Africanism. Each of the observations was generated from the issues (from Chapter Six) upon which participants reflected in the interviews. Observations taken from interviewee responses were comparatively analyzed with the responses from the questionnaires and incorporate both individual interviewee perspectives as well as the organizations’ collective positions taken from the questionnaires. Along these lines, quotes that state key organizational
positions, individually and collectively, were provided, along with questionnaire results.  

Focus

One of the anticipated transformations in Pan-Africanism was in the practical units of mobilization. Specifically, the research set out to determine what were the contemporary units of mobilization and how they differed from those in the past. According to all of the interviewees, each organization grounded their mobilization efforts at the local level among African people and black neighborhoods at the grassroots in the various cities in which the organizations operated. Instead of simply introducing the people to, or instructing them on the concept of Pan-Africanism, the overwhelming emphasis was on the immediate, practical threats that confronted those African communities. These forces included not only issues of political repression, but also those issues essential to daily survival and the general health of African people in those communities. It was along these lines that PACM Participant One emphasized the following point:

So our focus is to organize around issues in the community because at the end of the day, for Pan-Africanism to be meaningful to African people, it has to be about how it impact upon our daily lives. . . We can talk in abstract and it sounds good. But at the end of the day when African people in this community are having to deal with the struggles of food, shelter, housing, police brutality and all those kinds of things, our organizations have to be about how we can meaningfully and practically address those issues.  

2 The complete responses to the questionnaires are listed in Appendix C.

The Pan-African dimension of the organizations was rooted in their local realities, which were distinguished from historical foci of African states and the intellectuals who have at times neglected mass-based involvement in their Pan-African programs. Here, Pan-Africanism was expressed in the attempt by the groups to address basic issues of their community while developing a consciousness of African history, culture, and conditions facing the continent and the rest of the Diaspora. The preoccupation with raising an African consciousness within the community, as the ESC stressed, was fundamental.

We are trying to raise the African consciousness. That is our focus. And we are trying to raise it not just in an abstract manner. We're trying to raise the consciousness and direct it into the way we function collectively to confront the things critical in our everyday lives.4

Particularly important here was the emphasis on the reality that problems, conditions and struggles that were being waged in the local communities were present, with variations, throughout the African world. As PLC Participant One commented,

We have people who are now overwhelmed by the proliferation of problems that are very similar on a micro scale to what is going on in Africa but they are led to believe that there should be a dichotomy between domestic and international. We say differently that there is no problem that confronts black people here and that it does not have an international character since the beginning of slavery which is an international phenomenon of what is going on in Africa. Our problem has always been connected to Africans throughout the world.5

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4 Participant One of the Emancipation Support Committee, interview by author, Tape recording, Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, 10 June 2001.

5 Participant One of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, interview by author, Tape recording, New York, NY, 22 July 2000.
Additionally, PACM Participant Two, in emphasizing the group’s grassroots focus, added the following criticism of the leadership and their representations of Pan-Africanism:

It's been a mess! Because when you look the situation in the Caribbean and in Africa, even in this country the so-called intellectuals, politicians and academics, I really don't understand their reality. Because it's really about a lack of compassion for our people. And I do not understand how you can have African people in these positions and they're so totally, totally oblivious as to what's happened to the people and get caught up in this materialism. So they're totally out of touch with the realities of the masses of our people.6

However, the organizations seemed to separate the misbehavior of the leadership from the important role of the state. The questionnaires given to the members suggested that they acknowledged a role to be played by the state, while strongly supporting the interviewees' grassroots perspective. According to Table 1, 54 percent of all respondents agreed with the idea that African states were effective units of mobilization. At the same time, 86 percent of all respondents in Table 2 thought that the grassroots level was the most effective.

The emphasis on the grassroots did not mean that the state was not rejected as its antithesis. A more accurate explanation might be that the organizations actually regarded both as critical actors in Pan-Africanism and that an organic relationship should exist between the two. In the interviews, the sense was that, while the movements were grassroots-based, they were prepared to incorporate other segments of the Pan-African world. This observation applies to the respondents' similar position on the role of

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TABLE 1
AFRICAN STATES AS UNITS OF MOBILIZATION
"The most effective units of mobilization in Pan-Africanism are African states"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response Scale</th>
<th>PLC</th>
<th>ESC</th>
<th>PACM</th>
<th>ALL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22.50%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50.00%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>28.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15.00%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.00%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>34.38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.50%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 2
GRASSROOTS AS LEVEL OF MOBILIZATION
"The most effective units of mobilization in Pan-Africanism are at the grassroots"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response Scale</th>
<th>PLC</th>
<th>ESC</th>
<th>PACM</th>
<th>ALL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>72.50%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>34.38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.50%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>59.38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.00%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15.00%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

academics, with almost 36 percent agreeing and 23 percent strongly agreeing that Pan-Africanism required the mobilization of intellectuals.

This is not to conclude that there was an overwhelming consensus among all organizations. In fact, organizations often split on central questions. In this case, as Table 1 also demonstrates, the views of the PLC stood out. The ESC and the PACM, with 56 and 41 percent of the respondents, respectively, tended to disagree with the effectiveness of African states in Pan-Africanism. The PLC, on the other hand, had 72.5 percent of its members surveyed indicate that they agreed with the notion that states can
be effective. As an example of the organizations' grassroots emphasis coinciding with acknowledgement of the roles of states and scholars, although the PLC had the largest support for the recognizing the role of states, it also had the strongest support for mobilization at the grassroots level.

Within the context of community organizing, critical attention was given to the grassroots as an organizational basis for Pan-Africanism. This was important since a major question for the study was whether or not there was a shift to grassroots-level organizing. The groups all operated from the strong belief that there was a practical void between the Pan-Africanism of the heads-of-state and intellectual formations on one hand and the masses of African people on the other. According to PLC Participant Two, organizing at the grassroots level was the most practical based partly on the following dilemma:

Whereas, some people, mainly intellectuals, because they are under a paycheck from the institutions to which they feel they have certain obligations. Whereas, heads-of-state, they have to play along to get along with the powers that be. But the people, not because they have to, it's because they want to and they have a general interest in seeing that our people are liberated. So it really comes from the heart. They are more sincere. And that just depends on the degree of their knowledge of history and what has happened. But, generally speaking they are the ones that are true to the cause because they are doing it, not for any profit, but to liberate people.7

The distinction between the motivations of others such as state leaders and that of grassroots organizations highlighted participants' perception of the grassroots. A vital criterion was, as ESC Participant One said, a commitment to empowering the masses:

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7 Participant Two of the Emancipation Support Committee, interview by author, Tape recording, Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, 11 June 2001.
I think you have to see the grassroots in terms of an organization geared towards mobilizing masses of people and inculcating that consciousness or developing that consciousness in them as opposed to the people who come out of university environments or organizations. It's whether or not the group does mobilization and consciousness on a mass-level that distinguishes.8

Participant One of the PLC added the following mass-level understanding of the grassroots while detailing some of the important aspects:

They are basically organizations that come out of people who are activists around particular issues. Sometimes the issue can be just dealing with the environment. Sometimes it can be dealing with police brutality. Sometimes it's the issues that deal with grassroots politics and alerting people to some of the contradictions between the Democrats and Republicans and so forth, third parties. But sometimes they are human rights aims of activists too.9

The organizations' strong commitment to the grassroots level was also reflected among the members in Figure 1 where almost 80 percent agreed with the notion that a practical Pan-Africanism could only be developed among the masses. Moreover, when specifically asked to rate the prominence of grassroots organizations in Pan-Africanism, the responses were even stronger. As Figure 2 shows, 90 percent of all respondents affirmed the central role of grassroots organizations. This, along with the inclusion of other institutions in Pan-Africanism, hints that a focus on the grassroots in the contemporary Pan-African movement may transcend traditional perceptions of grassroots work that omits other levels.

8 Participant One of the Emancipation Support Committee.

9 Participant One of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition.
Internal and External Crises

One of the important research foci dealt with the struggle to resolve the crisis of racial inclusion/exclusion in Pan-Africanism. The general emphasis was on the organizations’ perceptions on the state of the racial inclusion and exclusion debate that was detailed in Chapter Seven and how the debate was impacting the movement at this point. In illustrating this issue, the interviewees were asked to give their perceptions particularly on Arab participation in Pan-Africanism. Some of the interviewees were prepared to accept, to varying degrees, Arab participation. On the other hand, there was hostility from others, specifically the PACM, towards the inclusion of Arabs based on (1) the history of Arab expansion and the enslavement of Africans and (2) the more contemporary Arab-related conflicts such as the Sudanese civil war. According to ESC Participant One, as long as Arabs were residents on the Continent and continental unification was an immediate goal, they had to be accepted:

We're very concerned about how the black skinned African is treated in countries that are Arab-dominated. And to me, the Pan-African movement has to express its determination to deal with the problems of Africans and Arabs in our countries. For Arabs to be excluded, I don't think it can happen. You have millions and millions of Arabs on African continent and they are not going anywhere, and there aren't going to be any movements of genocide to get them out.\(^\text{10}\)

This position was accompanied with the prerequisite that Africans focus on internal unity prior to partnerships with Arabs in Pan-Africanism. At the other end were those who were prepared to embrace Arabs based on a proven commitment to Pan-Africanism among some Arab leaders. The PLC pointed to the support given to Pan-Africanism in

\(^\text{10}\) Participant One of the Emancipation Support Committee.
FIGURE 1. THE CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENT OF PAN-AFRICANISM
“A practical Pan-Africanism can only be developed from among the masses of Africans”

FIGURE 2. THE ROLE OF GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATIONS
“Grassroots organizations will play a prominent role in contemporary Pan-Africanism”
general and revolutionary movements in particular as a justification for not only their participation, but also for Libya to host the 8th PAC in Tripoli. The PACM, on the other hand, fully rejected Khadafi’s call to host the congress as Arab expansionism. Participant Two stated:

I don't want Khadafi setting an agenda for African people. That is quite insulting. . . If they have an 8th PAC in Libya, I won't be coming because he ought to stay out of African affairs. He is an invader and I don't care what no African leader says about his contributions to Africa.  

The responses from the members were consistent with this. It is first important to mention that two-thirds the members from all groups (see Figure 3) felt that race was the primary factor in determining who participated in contemporary Pan-Africanism. However in Figure 4, the members support the sentiments of the ESC that focusing on Africans first should be followed then by accepting the participation of other oppressed people. This was the case in Figure 5, where 86 percent of all respondents agreed with the notion that, although open to others, Pan-Africanism was primarily for people of African ancestry. Once again, however, 69 percent of the respondents rejected the notion that a racial focus hinders the advancement of the movement (see Figure 6).

In line with the differences among the interviewees discussed above, the highest response, as seen in its responses in Figure 7 on the primacy of in determining participation, came from the PACM where 3 quarters of the members agreed with the idea. In terms of going beyond race and including all oppressed people, the PACM also had the highest number of members rejecting the position with 69 percent disagreeing.

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11 Participant Two of the Pan-African Congress Movement.
ALL RESPONDENTS

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

FIGURE 3. THE PRIMACY OF RACE IN PAN-AFRICANISM
“Race is the primary factor in determining who participates in contemporary Pan-Africanism”

ALL RESPONDENTS

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

FIGURE 4. RACIAL INCLUSION
“Pan-Africanism must go beyond race and include all oppressed people”
FIGURE 5.  COEXISTENCE OF AFRICAN EMPHASIS AND RACIAL INCLUSION

"Although open to others, Pan-Africanism is primarily for people of African ancestry"

FIGURE 6.  RACE AND THE ADVANCEMENT OF PAN-AFRICANISM

"The focus on race will hinder the advancement of Pan-Africanism"
FIGURE 7. PAN-AFRICANISM, RACIAL INCLUSION AND THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS MOVEMENT

An important point was exposed around this issue. The different perceptions surrounding the race issue reflect the regional idiosyncrasies that the movement is comprised of. For example, the PACM’s responses regarding race and Arabs were functions of the clear and present confrontation with overt racial discrimination Africans in the U.K. have and continue to experience. Participant One of the PACM - as well as Participant Two of the ESC suggested that confronting racism in the majority white societies for generations had influenced their perceptions of racial participation among in Pan-Africanism.

As seen in Chapter Three, the study sought to address the relevance of traditional African culture and whether or not the neglect of pre-conquest African ideas, values, and systems was a major concern for Pan-Africanism. The organizations fully supported the importance of African culture as a critical component in the political
struggles throughout the African world. Of particular importance was the idea that knowledge of African cultural systems had to play a major role. Specifically, the participants echoed one another’s program for utilizing culture in Pan-Africanism. According to Participant One, the PLC’s position was that in order to reconstruct a viable cultural base for struggle, “We have to always go back to our roots and culture.”

This was clearly supported in Figure 8 by the organizations with all members participating in the study agreeing that African cultural elements can provide foundations for unity throughout the Diaspora. That there was no disagreement among the respondents, or the interview participants, on this question was very significant given the theoretical assumptions of the study. In the same sense, Figure 9 shows 84 percent of the respondents rejecting the argument that African cultural systems were too outdated to be useful. The issue also resonated, in a very practical sense, around the supposition that neglecting to account for cultural elements contributes to the problems facing African people. When asked to respond to the argument that Pan-Africanism could be effective without the reintroduction of indigenous African systems, 62.5 percent of the respondents strongly disagreed with an additional 14 percent agreeing (see Figure 10).

However, each group emphasized and warned that Pan-Africanists today could not be naïve and uncritical in harnessing certain elements of African culture. The approaches adopted by the organizations involve first a process of thoroughly studying Africa’s historical development. The position was that one could not make a judgment of

12 Participant One of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition.
FIGURE 8. THE PRACTICALITY OF AFRICAN CULTURE
"African cultural elements can provide a foundation for unity throughout the African world"

FIGURE 9. AFRICAN CULTURE AND THE GLOBAL ECONOMY
"African cultural systems are too outdated to be useful in the present global economy"
the utility of African culture without a sound historical analysis of that culture, its strengths, and weaknesses. Participant One added the following:

But, then again, there are lot of things we must discard from the past that come out of rituals and things that are not correct. We have to take the good and work with that and what's not in our best interest we have to discard.  

The challenge then was to provide a foundation for applying that culture, in practical terms, to contemporary realities by revisiting those positive aspects of Africa’s cultural base while critiquing and negating those that were obsolete or impractical. Participant One of the PACM approached the issue this way:

We have to be realistic... We can’t talk about going back in this century and taking all that was there lock, the stock and barrel. Things have changed. People's perceptions have changed and people's relationships have changed. The world has moved on. But there are aspects we need to have as a foundation and then rebuild. We have to modify! Practices

13 Ibid.
which happened in Africa at that time and at that place were right and seemed right. It is not up to us to say that it was wrong. It was within that time frame and for those people and therefore it was right. But I think for us in the 21st century, we will need to understand that that isn't necessarily appropriate.14

Determining criticism of cultural elements and values in Pan-Africanism, however, was not limited to internal issues such as the role of African systems but also included thoughts on the specific external cultural threats in the post-Cold War era. The reevaluation of African cultural systems coexisted with a unanimous criticism of Western culture and *westernization*. When asked to identify harmful aspects of Western culture, all interview participants identified as undesirable, Western individualism and consumerism. Moreover, criticisms of Western culture as it relates to Pan-Africanism became clearer in the context of the organization's views on *globalization*. Given the general problems outlined in Chapter Five, organizations were now asked to reflect on some of the specific local impacts. Two factors were identified as the basic threats of globalization. First, respondents repeatedly identified the role of powerful international institutions such as the World Bank, the IMF and multinational corporations as the source of the negative policies in an integrated global economy that have been harmful to African people everywhere. Second, African people were also confronted in this recent era of globalization with the erosion of value systems as a result of the global expansion of Western culture. PLC Participant Two made the following observation that highlighted the role of institutions:

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14 Participant One of the Pan-African Congress Movement.
Globalization calls for people who are beholdling to the multinationals or the high-profile, upper-scale big businesses [to believe] that it's alright for you to accept the role of not being in control of your own space and at the same time be satisfied with letting them just give you a couple of jobs. That is something that cannot be tolerated. ... [W]hen you start thinking about globalization, you really can't accept it in Africa because if you don't have Africa, you don't control anything.15

ESC Participant One, however, added that these harmful impacts of globalization and westernization have produced some positive effects:

I think globalization has advantages and disadvantages. The disadvantage is that the power that Westerners have to project their culture is really overwhelming. Globalization is this sort of swallowing up taking place and this ability of the West to spread its culture. But there are two things that can be advantageous. One is that as the Western culture becomes more overwhelming, we find that there is a reaction against it and that's one of the factors. Globalization is making people feel so moralless. It is causing a rise of ethnic identity.16

The view was that the frustrations associated with globalization were producing alliances between exploited and marginalized people collectively addressing very similar problems.

In terms of the impact on Pan-Africanism, the PACM again stood out. While the percentages in Figure 11 illustrate that the organizations were equally represented among the more than two-thirds of the respondents who agreed that Western ideas threatened Pan-Africanism, in Figure 12, the PACM responded in higher numbers with 87 percent agreeing that Western global domination relied upon the spread of Western culture. This cynicism in the interviews and questionnaire responses towards Western

15 Participant One of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition.

16 Participant One of the Emancipation Support Committee.
FIGURE 11. CULTURE AND WESTERN GLOBAL DOMINATION
“The global domination of the West relies upon the spread of Western culture”

FIGURE 12. WESTERN IDEAS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAN-AFRICANISM
“The adoption of Western ideas is a threat to the development of Pan-Africanism”
ideas is again consistent with the heightened sensitivity towards racial tension among Africans in the U.K.

A significant aspect of the study was to find out if racism and racial violence was considered to be one of the external threats. More accurately, the key question was if Africans, especially in non-African nations, have to contend with racial violence and what are the commonalities between racial violence and the responses to it in different regions of the world? Each of the interviewees felt that racism and racial violence was a major issue. Likewise, over 90 percent of the total members expressed their belief that racial violence was on the increase. An important point, however, was that the participants also recognized that different perceptions among African people regarding the continued pressures of racism/racial violence had to be recognized. For example, these extensive comments by Participant One of the PACM targeted the internal dimensions of the external racial threats:

[O]ur people have gotten caught up in this thing where the average person would say that he is dealing with money. 'I'm not dealing with no race and with no black and white.' And, ‘the money has no color.’ The reality is that that's not the case because, however economically viable African people are, in terms of the respect and acknowledgement, we're never going to integrate into this country. You have black celebrities doing well economically. . . . Because it was simply a case of economics, they drive the same car as white people; live in the same houses as white people; they dress like them; they send their children to the same schools. Economically, they are on par. In terms of the respect for them as individuals, as an African, it's not there. So, I don't see that if economically you have the money to buy the niceties in life, but in terms of the raw racism that's out there. It's not going to go away. And until African people learn to respect themselves, they would never get respect and is no reason why we should. Because if we keep walking around like
this, as if we have something to be ashamed about rather than something to celebrate, then why should other people accept us?\textsuperscript{17}

At the same time, the diverging experiences and confrontations with visible white racism contributed to different responses to the issue in different regions. For example, while 83 percent of the PLC and 85 percent of the PACM respondents in Table 3 agreed that racial violence was increasing, only 47 percent among the ESC agreed. In fact, the largest number of ESC members were neutral on this question, suggesting that the issues, although important, did not resonate as strongly as in the case of Africans who represented smaller percentages of the total population in Western countries. The dynamics of a white minority in that local community perhaps contributed to this.

An interesting paradox seemed to emerge at first glance when the members were asked if racial violence was secondary to the threat of poverty towards African people. Contrary to the strong emphasis on racism among the PACM seen earlier, 40 percent of its members in Figure 13 strongly agreed. With the significant number remaining neutral rather than choosing to disagree with the statement, the more likely connotation was that, while the PACM emphasized the real threat of racism in their locality, they saw it as less of an immediate crisis than the daily struggles surrounding poverty. In fact, this acknowledgement of race and racism was not, as the ESC Participant One argued, at the expense of an appreciation of economic factors.

You see, there is really no way of separation. The economics of the modern world was organized in a context of domination that was expressly racist. It was not accidental. I don't see how you can separate it because when human beings act, who have motivations that are what you

\textsuperscript{17} Participant One of the Pan-African Congress Movement.
can call a very material, concrete... I think racism is a very, very critical factor in the modern world. 18

As a significant indicator of the approaches these organizations employ in confronting racial violence, over 90 percent of the members thought that racial violence could best be countered through an international collective effort among African people. In the discussion on an international Pan-African organization below, the leadership of the organizations offered a scenario that could support this.

FIGURE 13. RACIAL VIOLENCE VERSUS POVERTY
"The threat of racial violence is secondary to poverty facing the African world"

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18 Participant One of the Emancipation Support Committee.
TABLE 3

THE GLOBAL THREAT OF RACIAL VIOLENCE

"In recent times, racial violence against African people worldwide has been increasing"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response Scale</th>
<th>PLC</th>
<th>ESC</th>
<th>PACM</th>
<th>ALL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 4

AFRICAN LEADERSHIP AND CONTINENTAL UNIFICATION

"External support of African leaders exists as a barrier to continental unification"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response Scale</th>
<th>PLC</th>
<th>ESC</th>
<th>PACM</th>
<th>ALL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Equally important as the external threat of racism to Pan-Africanism was the internal damage being caused by neocolonial African leaders who, as far as the majority of the members were concerned, were not fully powerless against hostile foreign interests. The implication was that the roles and policies employed by African leadership were largely self-imposed. But beyond simply identifying Africa’s leadership as a major problem, the ESC, and the PLC to some extent, approached the problem from a more historical perspective. ESC Participant One explained that the
leadership itself has developed a barbaric culture. On top of the barbarism, you have those groups that were guilty as collaborators in the slave trade, and they are the ones whose children are going to the Western universities. So you get a deeper level of Westernization and the counterpart of which is the alienation from the people that they have to rule and contempt. So there is no question that African leadership has become part of the problem.19

African leadership was interpreted as extensions of the tradition of collaboration between white slavers and African middlemen. This relationship was, according to the participant, nurtured to become the African elite’s collaboration with Western interests who remain committed to the exploitation of Africa and its people. All respondents in Table 4 recognized contemporary leadership and their links with the West as a hindrance to unification. Of their policies and allegiances with the West, PACM Participant Two insisted that “the leadership in Africa today is not Pan-Africanist,” and that the grassroots role was that much more important.20 Collectively, 75 percent of the respondents felt that the relationships between the leadership and Western interests were also harmful to Africa’s economic development.

On the other hand, the ESC was a bit more optimistic in its belief that this brand of leadership was not a permanent barrier to broad Pan-African goals. When asked if the contemporary leadership would continue to be a hurdle, Participant One responded this way:

No, because they are beginning to change. The last Pan-African Conference which was held in Kampala, Museveni was extremely open. In fact, he gave an absolute guarantee, which would have been unthinkable a few years before, that anybody could come even Ugandans

19 Ibid.

20 Participant Two of the Pan-African Congress Movement.
who were opposed to the Ugandan government. International developments can in fact help to bring about certain kinds of changes in these societies.  

Likewise, according to the PLC, recent calls for an African union at the 2000 meeting of the OAU and the emergence of more progressive, Pan-Africanist heads-of-state like Uganda’s Museveni, who hosted the 7th PAC in 1994, were signals of a new brand of leaders adopting various aspects of the Pan-African agenda.

As an extension of the neocolonial leaders, all the interview participants considered the Organization of African Unity a significant problem. The study was specifically concerned with understanding the contemporary role of the OAU in Africa’s underdevelopment and how the internal contradictions of the organization were perceived by the organizations. And like the contemporary leaders, the OAU was, to them, a function of its compromising and accommodating origin. The participants were especially critical, in the presence of ongoing repression by African states upon their populations, of the OAU’s pro-Western economic policies and the maintenance of the policy of noninterference in internal affairs of members. The participants saw that this rendered the OAU a collaborator in the suffering of the masses of African people and, therefore, as the PACM concluded of the leadership, an anti-Pan-African entity. This, however, did not mean a rejection of the fundamental concept. To the contrary, each participant recognized the necessity of a body of African states spearheading a united African continent. What was rejected was the involvement of the present leadership in

\[\text{Ibid.,}\]
any process of *transforming the OAU* into a viable instrument of Pan-Africanism. PLC Participant One stressed this point:

the basic idea of the OAU is a Pan-African idea. And if correctly organized, if the proper people were in place in those various countries, because the representatives are the heads of state of those African countries. Pan-Africanism was the basis of the people's wants and desires. If in each of those countries the leadership was Pan-African, the OAU could be this strong powerful force and be the basis for uniting all Africa.\(^{22}\)

PACM Participant One emphasized a similar position:

You see, the concept of the OAU I totally subscribe to. What I have a problem with is the whole organizational process that's there now. The philosophy of corruption, the collusion with nastiness. But I don't have a problem with the concept of an OAU because we have to be our brother's keeper.\(^ {23}\)

They would have to be removed from power before the organization could serve in a positive capacity for Pan-Africanism.

The study, however, did not demonstrate that the rank-and-file shared the strong criticism of the OAU by the interviewees. Members were asked to address four key factors: (1) the noninterference policy; (2) the OAU as an exploiter of African people; (3) historical importance of the group; and (4) its contributions to realizing Pan-Africanism. Although the respondents agreed that that noninterference was a contradiction, that the OAU did exploit the masses, and that its formation was a positive contribution, there were high numbers of neutral responses. For example, in Figure 14, 49 percent of the respondents were neutral on the OAU's doctrine of noninterference while 59 percent

\(^{22}\) Participant One of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition.

\(^{23}\) Participant One of the Pan-African Congress Movement.
responded the same to whether or not it has made a significant contribution to Pan-
Africanism.

![Bar Chart: Doctrine of non-interference vs Contribution to Pan-Africanism]

FIGURE 14. THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AND CONTEMPORARY PAN-AFRICANISM

The pattern was similar in the question on transforming the OAU (see Figure 15). The exception was the almost 45 percent who felt that empowering the OAU would produce conditions favorable to Pan-Africanism. PACM Participant One provides some insight on this, commenting that such

... an organization had to have leaders who are credible... because what we've got to remember is that the same people who constitute the OAU have no credibility any way as individuals and as leaders. So, now, just because they come together, that credibility just isn't there.\(^{24}\)

\(^{24}\) Participant One of the Pan-African Congress Movement.
It is a strong possibility that its years of alienation from the people, as the literature suggests, has resulted in a lack of serious focus by Pan-African organizations, particularly at the grassroots, on the importance of the OAU to the extent that there is a growing sense of ambivalence towards it among the masses of Africans.

The study also suggested that the issue of armed conflict on the Continent was vital. Of particular concern was how did conflict disrupt Pan-African organizing efforts? The general position was that conflict was a barrier to Pan-Africanism, which was reflected in the 88 percent of all respondents in Figure 16 who acknowledged that Pan-Africanism could not flourish as long as civil strife continued.
ALL RESPONDENTS

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Strongly Agree} \quad \text{Agree} \quad \text{Neutral} \quad \text{Disagree} \quad \text{Strongly Disagree}
\end{array}
\]

FIGURE 16. ARMED CONFLICT IN AFRICA

"Pan-Africanism cannot flourish without resolving armed conflicts in contemporary Africa"

In a firm statement, however, the interview participants specifically rejected the point that the presence of conflict was proof of the failure or impracticality of Pan-Africanism. Nor did they accept the strife as a natural phenomenon. When asked if civil strife in Africa was proof of unworkable Pan-Africanism, PLC Participant Two noted the following:

I will say that the fact that there is armed conflict shows you that what is needed is Pan-Africanism. That's not a question that Pan-African doesn't work. It's actually a reflection of Pan-Africanism not being applied properly. If you have Pan-Africanism you wouldn't have all of these people having armed conflicts. So I think the argument is a bogus argument. But at the same time I think that the problem is something that we have to deal with. We have to deal with internecine warfare. We have to deal with the fact that fratricide is destroying our people.\textsuperscript{25}

They instead interpreted the proliferation of armed strife in African as a result of the absence of a Pan-African reality, particularly in the context of what has proven to be, in

\textsuperscript{25} Participant Two of the Emancipation Support Committee.
most cases, the failure of the state apparatus in meeting even the most basic needs of the people. However, the fact that the overwhelming victims of these conflicts were the people, Pan-Africanism’s currency among the masses was linked to its ability to address concrete realities, such as the social fallout from warfare.

There was some disagreement, as seen in Table 5, on the extent to which Pan-Africanists were expected to resolve the problem of armed conflict. The PACM tended to agree with the expectation with about 41 percent agreeing. Meanwhile, more than 50 percent of both PLC and ESC members disagreed. Rather than perceiving this to be a lack of concern on behalf of the latter, a more accurate explanation lies in the historical development of the African communities in the different regions of the Diaspora. An important question here is to what degree will Pan-African organizations from the more recently-created regions of the African world (the U.K.), in addressing local and international forces, place a higher emphasis on one or the other than those from older parts of the Diaspora (i.e., North America and Trinidad)? The conflicting perceptions on the responsibility of Pan-Africanism to resolve conflict suggests that newer communities, especially where continental Africans are significantly represented in the immigrant population, there will be a higher focus on African crises.

An issue that resonated in both discussions and questionnaires was the external threat of the recolonization of the African continent. Each of the participants commented that their organization recognized and attempted to address Africa’s gradual recolonization. The PACM held the assumption that efforts to colonize Africa in actuality never ended and that what was taking place was an extension of the
neocolonialism that followed colonization. ESC Participant One, meanwhile, placed specific focus was on globalization and the powerful international lending institutions:

Well if you look at the processes that are collectively referred to as globalization, they are already colonizing processes. They are very colonizing processes and Africa is probably the most vulnerable continent in the world because it is so undeveloped. . . Whether we call it recolonization or not, we are facing a critical situation which can lead to increasing dependence. Corporations are waiting to swallow you up. . . You have a World Trade Organization which is laying down rules for business, for government that is making it more and more difficult to protect anything.26

The interviews revealed that these grassroots organizations were attuned to the intricate instruments of globalization and recolonization policies, already underway in Africa, that were producing powerlessness and deepening dependencies on the West. This was also the case with the members where, according to Figures 17 and 18, over 93 percent of all respondents agreed that recolonization by foreign interests was a threat and that Pan-African agendas in the 21st century had to confront this process.

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26 Participant One of the Emancipation Support Committee.
FIGURE 17. THE RECOLONIZATION OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT
"Africa now faces the danger of being recolonized by foreign interests"

FIGURE 18. ORGANIZATIONAL FOCUS ON RECOLONIZATION
"All practical agendas for 21st Century Pan-Africanism must confront this recolonization"
While the organizations in general were focusing on recolonization, the ESC and the PACM suggested that there was not a clear agenda in place for dealing with the threat largely because most Africans on the continent and throughout the Diaspora were too overwhelmed by day-to-day problems. Instead, as implied above, the people were more prone to respond to specific by-products of recolonization, such as the impacts of globalization policies that could be easily identified.

**Internal and External Strategies and Tactics**

In terms of strategic challenges for the continued evolution of Pan-Africanism, the organizations were asked to address *new frontiers* to be incorporated into the present Pan-African agenda. The collective view on expanding the scope of Pan-Africanism was that new strategies had to be adopted to reach the full potential and effectiveness of the movement. A recurring point was that by increasing, within the Pan-African movement, the number of African people throughout the world, Africans could use their unified strength as leverage to demand improvements and concessions from malicious states and institutions on behalf of other Africans. The members of the organizations were supportive of all of the regions referenced in the research. The inclusion/participation of Africans in South America received the most favorable responses with 87 percent followed by black communities in India and Australia with 82 percent each. An area identified by PSC Participants One as key to the spread of Pan-Africanism was the Pacific islands:

But the fact is that I believe that those people in the Pacific obviously are African people, I don't care what the anthropologists say. You look at them and they are just like people in the Caribbean and anywhere else; but
they are in the Pacific. People in Fiji, Papua New Guinea, all of these people we see as part of our people.\textsuperscript{27}

Participant One of the ESC focused on those often excluded locations throughout Central America as a critical region.

The research did not suggest that there was an overwhelming preference for limiting the primary focus, as the case in the recent past, to the African continent. When asked if the African continent should be the main focus, the majority of the respondents (53 percent) in Figure 19 disagreed. This is important given the theoretical assumptions of the study. The observation that Pan-Africanism was now moving towards a grassroots focus was strengthened by findings that there was an evolution away from the dogmatism of continental unification at the expense of Pan-Africanism in the Diaspora.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure19.png}
\caption{THE PRIMACY OF CONTINENTAL UNIFICATION \newline "Pan-Africanism's primary focus should be the continent of Africa"}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{27} Participant One of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition.
An issue that produced strong responses was that of gender equality and the participation of women. The main question was what is the contemporary nature of the women/gender issue and in what ways will an appreciation for the role of women contribute to the Pan-African struggle? It was considered by ESC Participant Two as “an absolute necessity” to Pan-Africanism and its future. The gender issue, as PACM Participant Two explained, was critical because the decline of the movement among the masses in previous generations was the result of declines in the participation of women:

[I]t's harder to recruit sisters in the movement than anybody... So we see that women in our struggle for Pan-Africanism is vital. The decline of the movement is because the women are not active. But I know that, and we know as a people that, as a Pan-African movement, without our women, we ain't gonna go far. We're gonna keep on stumbling over obstacles because our women are not coming as fast. And, I'm not saying there aren't any Pan-African women. We have Pan-African women in the movement and they are strong sisters in our movement.

Each of the other participants emphasized the centrality of issues surrounding the inclusion of women to the internal crisis of Pan-Africanism and its ability to confront external threats. PLC Participant One added that the exclusion of women was inconsistent with their contributions:

We need sisters. Women can think as good or better than some men, most men, or many men. They might say all men. So the fact is that to deny them their role in leadership... they should be able to lead.

PACM Participant One stressed that the goal should not be seen as a feminist-type anti-male confrontation but instead for balance in leadership:

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28 Participant Two of the Emancipation Support Committee.

29 Participant Two of the Pan-African Congress Movement.

30 Participant One of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition.
And I'm not saying that women have to be in front and I'm not saying that women have to be behind, we have got to be beside. We manifest in different things. If being beside the brother we decide that in this relationship we have specific roles because I'm better to do A and your better to do B, and complement's each other, that's what we need to be focusing on instead of competition. We need cooperation and far more complementing. How do we complement each other? And by doing that, we are kind of taking the Pan-African struggle forward.31

ESC Participant Two connected the issue of women to that of culture:

Well, what is Pan-Africanism or anything else, we cannot be successful without the complete involvement of our women. We exist because of our women and most brothers exist for our women. Although some cultures are driven by the domination of women, exploiting them to various degrees, that has to stop. I have never heard too many African leaders talk about the equality of women, or the role of women in revolution.32

Without this emphasis, the groups stressed, Pan-Africanism would very likely fail to produce changes at the level of the masses.

Full participation of women was not just in terms of organizational participation, but in the leadership as equals as well. The responses in Figure 20 indicate that 83 percent agreed that the movement would be ineffective without gender balance in the leadership. However, there was some inconsistency among the organizations on the extent to which Pan-Africanism had and was now confronting the gender dilemma (see Figure 21). Interestingly, 65 percent of the ESC respondents and 60 percent of the PLC accepted the position that the movement had not addressed the unique struggles of women; compared to 19 percent of those in the PACM. Although the research, as

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31 Participant One of the Pan-African Congress Movement.

32 Participant Two of the Emancipation Support Committee.
implied above, did not directly address the causes of divergent perceptions and activities, the results here suggests some relative success within the PACM on the issue.

**FIGURE 20. GENDER EQUALITY AND LEADERSHIP IN PAN-AFRICANISM**

"Pan-Africanism cannot be effective without gender equity in its leadership"

**FIGURE 21. AFRICAN WOMEN AND PAN-AFRICAN ORGANIZATIONS**

"Pan-African organizations have not addressed the unique struggles of African women"
As issues such as mobilizing at the state level and transforming the OAU suggested, an emphasis on grassroots Pan-Africanism, rather than denying other aspects, actually meant a dual focus on local and international sectors of Pan-Africanism. Thus, in addition to determining the level of grassroots focus among the organizations, the question addressed the relationship with the African continent and where continental unification ranked in terms of importance? Along with the participants’ organizational focus in their own localities, they all reasserted the continued importance of the unification of the African continent as key to Pan-Africanism and their local struggles. Referring to Figure 22, almost 80 percent of the participants still saw continental unification as an urgent task. In addition to continental unification, 68 percent of the respondents identified the presence and removal of colonial borders as critical concerns. And within the context of unification, 60 percent supported the format of a federated African continent as a practical means of achieving unification.

ALL RESPONDENTS

![Pie chart showing responses to the question about the importance of continental unification.]

FIGURE 22. RANKING CONTINENTAL UNIFICATION
"The unification of the African continent is Pan-Africanism’s most urgent task"
Linked to the common theme of border removal for unification was the argument offered by ESC Participant One that continental unification served a positive psychological role that could counter the damaging imagery of an African continent in disarray:

We have a lot more potential power than we are able to utilize because of the way we see ourselves. A big part of how we see our selves has to do with the continent of Africa. That is what causes us to run. It is the image of Africa puts us in flight against our identity or at least encourages us to continue that flight from our African identity. Once African moves in a way that begins to develop a positive image, to me that is the most critical thing... Beyond that, it is a question of economic potential. If Africa supports those critical resources it can force the United States to treat African Americans better.33

Other participants concurred with the final point above in that, it practical terms, they viewed unification as not only vital to a strong continent and a positive image, but also strategically as a strong base for protecting Africans in the Diaspora. PLC Participant One emphasized the influence a united Africa could possibly exert on other nations on behalf of Diasporan Africans:

We want to see Africa as a bastion of the defense of African people throughout the world; as a repository of resources that can benefit all Africans whether they're in Africa or people who have actually been allowed to be taken out of Africa many, many years ago and, because of that, are now in certain cases told that you're not beneficiaries to this wealth... 34

In order to connect continental struggles with those of African communities in the Diaspora, it was important to address the question of global Pan-African

33 Participant One of the Emancipation Support Committee.

34 Participant One of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition.
organizations and institutions created to that end. The organizations recognition that even if the African continent became politically unified, it had to coexist with an international Pan-African organization that would include Diaspora organizations as well as continental ones. Support for such an entity was demonstrated in Figure 23 where 75 percent of the respondents identified an international organization as central to effectively linking Pan-African organizations.

![ALL RESPONDENTS](image-url)

**FIGURE 23. AN INTERNATIONAL PAN-AFRICAN ORGANIZATION**

Survey Question:
57. "An international center is the most important link between Pan-African organizations"
58. "Any effective Pan-African organization must be a part of a larger international body"
60. "In an international body, influence should be given to African states over organizations"
The purpose of such an organization was not to replace or subordinate local organizations. It was to be the critical link between the masses of Africans abroad and on the Continent. In general terms, its benefit rested, again according to PLC Participant One, in the prospects of such an organization helping to protect the interests of African people in specific states on the Continent and in the Diaspora:

Africa has a world African community. We have over 20 million people in the Western Hemisphere. And then you have people in the Pacific islands. We have people in Asia that have to be taken into account. We should be able to say to the governments, 'listen, we have got some of our people living with you. Now you come here and you're living in Trinidad, you're living in Guyana, you're living in Fiji. We would like for you to also take into consideration that the same way that you have been allowed to develop there as a minority, we might also take over your country and we want respect and we want you to be held responsible for their welfare.'

From the Diaspora to the Continent, an international organization of this sort could also serve, suggested PACM Participant One, as a headquarters for coordinating technology, investment, and resources for continental development:

[I]n terms of the technological advances in the world that we have the knowledge. And it's in areas like those that people from the Diaspora can contribute. It's areas like how do we invest where as there are opportunities to make economic investment in Africa and really to provide employment and opportunities for people on that level. . .

Additionally, Participant One argued that a critical resource that would be beneficial was Diasporan Africans’ experience with racism as a numerical minority in the West:

35 Ibid.

36 Participant One of the Pan-African Congress Movement.
I think some about organizational skills and certainly our experiences and knowledge of Europeans would be one of the greatest contributions we can make in terms of understanding the psyche of these people... while not being so patronizing towards Africa, we in the Diaspora have a major, major role to play in Africa because we understand Europeans far better than the Africans on the Continent.37

ESC Participant One identified three specific contemporary issues where such an organization could have an immediate impact: includes the AIDS epidemic, the reparations movement and knowledge gained from experiences from one part of the African world that would be helpful in others.

**Organizational Emphases on Pan-Africanism**

The research provides an understanding of the state of Pan-Africanism on a number of key issues considered important in the literature and from the observations of Pan-African advocates. However, this attempt to understand the status of the movement from the perspective of the organizations also produced issues that were not presented to the participants. These items are critical to understanding the status of the movement since the organizations considered them important aspects in the range of issues they confront. In terms of issues with more of a local appeal, each organization mentioned the importance of the AIDS crisis and its devastating impact on African communities on the Continent and in the Diaspora. The issue was considered to be a serious problem and was addressed in a number of ways. Participant One of the ESC used the AIDS epidemic to place the issue of racial violence inflicted upon African people in context, commenting that,

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37 Ibid.
What is violent is things like AIDS. That's where the violence is being used on us. And that is a very great violence which is a physical violence. Let's face it, two and half million Africans or so will be dying a year from AIDS in the current scenario. Think of what it takes to kill 2 million people with guns and bombs? That would be a phenomenal outcry from the world and you can do it so much easier and the damages a much greater with the way it is being done because it's really crippling economies and societies and cause a lot kinds of divisions within the society. All kinds of problems that shooting might not cause. And shooting may mobilize a way that AIDS does not. So I expect the violence to be a different kind of plot where Africans are concerned especially on the continent of Africa and other areas.38

Somewhat along the same lines but within the scope of efforts to recolonize African people and the Continent, the PLC emphasized the depopulation of the African continent in general and the AIDS in particular. By linking it to historical policies of colonization, Participant Two stated the following:

The depopulation of Africa was a plan that was put in a long time ago. The British held that to depopulate so that they could take control of Africa and the resources. . . We know that what they did with the Indian. They put polio in the blankets under the suggestion of Lord Jeffrey Amherst. We don't put anything past them.39

In a more proactive way, Participant Two of the PACM linked the AIDS issue to the crisis of values among African people. According to this line of thought, the AIDS crisis could be attacked by reconsidering the sexual values and practices that are harmful. Whatever the angle, the AIDS issue was one that reverberated throughout the research.

Along with the AIDS issue, there was also the currently popular reparations movement. For the participants, the reparations issue was discussed in terms that

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38 Participant One of the Emancipation Support Committee.

transcended demands for repairs to damages. Although this was assumed, the emphasis was placed on reparations as a direct and indirect instrument for unification in the Pan-African struggle. Participant Two of the ESC looked at the reparations issue as a reflection of the larger crisis of global African powerlessness. After assuming that it is not difficult for anyone to see the legitimacy of the call for reparations, the issue has not been taken seriously because of the political “inferiority” of African people. In addition to this was the growing significance of the reparations issue as it related to the further integration of African economies into the global political economy. Specifically, the view was that if globalization has damaged the continent of African to the degree that it appears to have, then the call for reparations becomes, as PLC Participant One suggested, of even more importance. The combination of the increasingly visible and negative impacts of globalization, and grassroots political activism as a response to them, was stimulating a rise in self-identity and political consciousness particularly among African people. It was in this perspective that the organizations each saw the reparations strategy of confronting racial and economic damage as a high priority.

**Conclusion: Revisiting Progressive Pan-African Nationalism**

Recall that progressive Pan-African Nationalism is an extension of Pan-African Nationalism, which assumes that an operational international Pan-Africanism depends upon the globalization of regional nationalistic struggles of African communities throughout the Diaspora and the Continent. Using this as a foundation, progressive Pan-
African Nationalism then explains the evolution of Pan-Africanism in the post-Cold War era as a resurgence of the nationalistic, progressive (rather than limited) forms of Pan-Africanism. Progressive Pan-Africanism emphasizes an internal reflection on African historical and cultural identity as central to the Pan-African consciousness that is at the core of the renewed movement towards unity and collective struggle. This internal dynamic coexists with an external duality where the contemporary practice of Pan-Africanism is targeting tangible community-level conditions while simultaneously confronting overarching realities of the international political economy that impact the larger African world. Therefore, in practical terms, the advancement of contemporary Pan-Africanism depends less on statist and integrationist-type leadership of past eras and instead relies largely on the mobilization of Africans at the level of political activism where Pan-African consciousness has historically stimulated the advancement of mass-based Pan-Africanism: the grassroots. While Pan-African Nationalism provided the basic framework for the study, the information generated from the organizations, in turn, provided generalizations about contemporary Pan-Africanism that test these assumptions. Findings specifically regarding these theoretical components of the study are discussed below.

**Historical/Cultural Consciousness and Identity**

As stated in the previous section, all participants and 97 percent of all respondents felt that African cultural elements could provide a foundation for unity. Also, 77 percent rejected the possibility of a successful Pan-African struggle without some re-introduction of indigenous African cultural systems into Pan-Africanism. While
the research did not suggest that the groups and participants explicitly concentrate on African culture as the main mission of the organizations, their programs overwhelmingly stressed the importance of a historical consciousness, African identity, and the relevance of these to the conditions of global African communities. In terms of confronting African identity and consciousness, there were variations. Two basic approaches emerged from the organizations for practically linking African cultural identity, consciousness, and Pan-Africanism. First, there was the prerequisite of revisiting African cultural systems in order to develop a clearer sense of self-identity for the purpose of empowerment. This was expressed in the hard position among the participants discussed above in the observations that the challenge was to confront African culture as a means of determining those aspects that could make a useful contribution to contemporary political and economic struggles among African people. On the other hand, this exercise in self-identity was to also serve as a way of distinguishing from those harmful non-African cultural imports that had to be confronted if empowerment through Pan-Africanism was to become a reality. So, those who felt that African cultural elements were useful, coupled with the 69 percent that considered Western ideas threatening, indicate that revisiting African history and culture was more of a pragmatic process than a symbolic exercise in celebrating Africa and blackness.

In the second approach, confronting African history, culture, and identity was an instrument used by the organizations for developing the political consciousness of the masses of Africa people in the communities they occupied. As groups' comments on mobilization illustrate, a primary goal of the organizations was addressing the immediate
issues in their communities. However, this effort went beyond identifying those local problems. The difference was that these organizations were confronting real issues such as police brutality, AIDS, and local politics from a perspective of self-realization. This was the point stressed most by the PACM. The ESC’s celebration of Emancipation in Trinidad was directly connected to raising the community’s consciousness on issues of education and economic development. By looking at the problems of the community as a part of a larger history of struggle by African people, the organizations were making the development of an African identity crucial to combating these problems. In addition to this, the effort among these organizations to establish links with other similar formations on the Continent and throughout the Diaspora was the essence of their Pan-Africanism. Again, the link between an African identity and consciousness was at the core of building power within and unity between communities of African people worldwide. Some key theoretical observations are now considered.

**Contemporary Grassroots and International Focus**

Progressive Pan-African Nationalism’s notion of a Pan-Africanism at the grassroots was linked to an international component in a number of ways. First, although organizations’ efforts, according to responses to questions of mobilization and the grassroots, was primarily in local communities, their views on racial violence, globalization, African leadership, the OAU, and continental unification demonstrated a simultaneous focus on global African issues. While, on one hand, 87 percent of the participants saw that the mobilization of Pan-Africanism was most effective at the grassroots level, 90 percent felt that an international collective effort among African
people was needed to address the threat of racial violence. Recall also that 75 percent of those surveyed believed that an international body was the most important link between Pan-African organizations. As such, an international focus by these organizations was expressed in their emphasis on links between organizations throughout the African world. There was also a perception of linkage based on a critical focus on methods of domination in the global political economy. Each interviewee stressed that institutions such as the IMF and issues such as globalization were real and active threats to African people. Although focusing on local issues, interviewees also emphasized, along with 94 percent of the respondents, the threat of the West’s recolonization of Africa, and 79 percent felt that unifying the African continent is an urgent task. In sum, the participants generally saw the need to raise the awareness of the conditions and, specifically, sought to become involved in political issues facing Africans abroad and on the Continent by forging linkages with similar organizations throughout the African world. While organizations were concentrating on concrete issues in their communities, they simultaneously linked the local issues to similar communities and issues in other parts of the Diaspora.

This revealed the basic nature of their Pan-Africanism, where the goals of empowering African people in one part of the world was connected through the grassroots, community-based activities of these organizations to Africans in other parts of the Diaspora. It contrasted with organizations focused on uniting African states and economies (OAU, The African Union) and the think tanks and lobbyist organizations (TransAfrica, Constituency for Africa). But this was not a uniform process. We find that
organizations from the different regions of the African world differed on key issues in Pan-Africanism such as the inclusion of Arabs (PLC), the threat of racial violence (ESC), and the unique struggles of African women. In developing progressive Pan-African Nationalism, attention will have to be given to the factors that are responsible for these differences.

Finally, a point that makes an important contribution to the development of this theory is that, contrary to earlier assumptions, the organizations did not reject the importance of the state nor a continental organization. Progressive Pan-Africanism, as expressed by the organizations, meant that in addition to their local focus, entities such as the African state, the OAU, and the process of continental unification were still critical and could not be neglected. One clear reason behind this was the consistent focus on the pressures of the global political economy on the African state. The organizations recognized as an important threat to Pan-Africanism the roles of the international entities, political and financial, that were undermining goals of unification and empowerment. Similarly, the progressive Pan-Africanism did not equate to a rejection of those who operated outside of what is commonly perceived as the grassroots. There was no strong indication among the organizations that they, again while being grassroots, were excluding or rejecting the contribution of the Pan-Africanist scholar, for example. Surprisingly, only slightly more than 50 percent rejected giving more influence to states over nongovernmental organizations in an international collective. What was clearly rejected was the complicity in the exploitation of African people by leaders and states. This meant that while the state was recognized as important and had to be transformed,
the neocolonial leadership was considered bankrupt and anti-Pan-Africanist. Although there were variations from one organization to another, the relationship between a grassroots focus and confronting the role of the state was much more complex and requires some additional focus.
CHAPTER NINE

PAN-AFRICANISM FROM THE GRASSROOTS: TOWARDS A THEORY AND PRACTICE OF PAN-AFRICAN NATIONALISM

This study of the worldview and operations of grassroots Pan-African organizations, and their responses to a range of contemporary topics introduced in Chapters Three through Six, supported the position that Pan-Africanism is in a process of flux and transition. The study set out to understand the post-Cold War state of Pan-Africanism by answering two questions: First, by comparing the 6th Pan-African Congress of 1974 and the 7th Pan-African Congress of 1994, the study questioned the impact of the ending of the Cold War and the resulting global political economy on Pan-Africanism. These two congresses were vital to understanding this impact given the fact that the 6th PAC was the last meeting held during the Cold War while the 7th PAC was the first to be called in the post-Cold War period. More importantly, by addressing this question, the study supported the idea of Pan-Africanism in transition by demonstrating the movement's connection to contemporaneous international situations and to the changes in the international political economy at a given time. Second, the most significant part of the research came from answers to the question seeking out the significant changes in focus, crises, strategies, and tactics confronting Pan-African organizations in the post-Cold War era. The research assumed that determining the status
of the movement depended on understanding how the practical work being done by grassroots organizations reflected these issues. After identifying the general characteristics of Pan-Africanism during the Cold War, the perceptions and activities of these contemporary organizations provided the body of information needed to determine nature of the movement. This chapter concludes with some observations on the implications of these questions. These observations address the two points in the hypothesis: (1) that recent shifts in the global political economy generated in the post-Cold War era have resulted in significant changes in the challenges, agendas, aims and resolutions from the 6th and 7th Pan-African Congresses; and (2) that the post-Cold War era has introduced a range of challenges and crises that demand a re-orientation of Pan-African organizations toward a grassroots focus.

**Pan-African Nationalism and Neo-Garveyism**

Chapter Three introduced the theoretical framework, Pan-African Nationalism, and its interaction with the study. Pan-African Nationalism understood here as the notion that realizing an operational international Pan-Africanism is primarily dependent upon the globalization and coordinating of nationalist struggles in communities throughout the African world. The chapter explained the necessity of first adopting an African-centered worldview and offered a paradigm and models of Pan-Africanism that emerge from that point. The research was also concerned with whether or not the findings supported the theory that a progressive Pan-African Nationalism, an extension of the former, was emerging in the post-Cold War era. Progressive Pan-African Nationalism proposed that, in the post-Cold War era, the decline in limited forms of Pan-Africanism was being
replaced by a holistic, progressive, nationalist Pan-Africanism that has adapted to contemporary community and global realities. Accordingly, the chapter offered the essence premise of progressive Pan-African Nationalism, the assumption that understanding Pan-Africanism in general and the theory in particular depended largely on the context within which they were being analyzed. In line with this, the question regarding the changes in Pan-Africanism and understanding the impact of the thawing of the Cold War on the movement depended on utilizing a framework that accounted for the historical, cultural, and geographical totality of the Pan-African experience. The same applied to question two, determining the range of issues (crises, strategies, tactics) now confronting the movement.

In utilizing this approach, the study found that the notion of progressive Pan-African Nationalism, particularly the resurgence of a holistic Pan-Africanism in the post-Cold War era, was at hand. This was corroborated by the contemporary reapplication of some of the key tenants of Garveyism among the organizations, particularly regarding the rehabilitation of African identity, unification, and empowerment as a model for their work. Throughout the study, the participants emphasized the importance of the Garvey Movement as a historical form of Pan-Africanism that informed the worldview and efforts of their respective organizations. Contemporary dynamics of Pan-Africanism, according to the study, indicate the presence of an evolving, neo-Garvey approach. Given the typical emphasis on recognizing powerful historic and political symbols usually found in mass-based organizations such as those in this study, the embrace of Marcus Garvey and the UNIA was not surprising. The organizations, however, went
beyond symbolic romanticizing of Garvey. The importance of the Garvey model of Pan-Africanism to the worldview and work of the organizations was its emphasis on a basic element of Pan-African Nationalism: raising within their communities a consciousness around African identity as a practical part of Pan-Africanism.

Charting the evolution of the congresses in Chapter Seven supported, and information from the organizations in Chapter Eight demonstrated an emphasis on connecting African consciousness and cultural identity to efforts at unity and empowerment. As suggested in the earlier theoretical discussions, Cabral’s notion of an essential link between culture, identity, and empowerment (Chapter Three) was, to varying degrees, demonstrated by the organizations in the study. Confronting identity, for example, was central to what the ESC emphasized as “raising the consciousness of African people” in the contexts of their local and international realities. Subsequently, when the organizations referred to themselves throughout the study as Pan-African, they consistently identified themselves, not simply as American, British or Trinidadians in the geographic sense, but as “Africans” residing abroad. The organizations’ concentration on the issue of race in the movement, their recognition of African cultural systems, and confrontations with elements of the westernization process imply that the focus on cultural identity is critical for Pan-Africanism. This was consistent with both Garvey and Cabral and transcended symbolic and romantic reflections on some glorious African past.

From Holistic Pan-Africanism to Progressive Pan-African Nationalism

In addition to a sound theoretical framework, determining the state of Pan-Africanism and the nature of its evolution in recent decades also depends on employing
definitions and historical orientations of Pan-Africanism that are consistent with the totality of the phenomenon. Chapter Four provided a detailed analysis of the distinction between two general models for determining the definition and historical origin of Pan-Africanism. After critiquing the programmic model as being too focused on the congresses and African states that emerged later in the Pan-African process, the chapter argued that it was Clarke’s holistic (progressive) model that allowed for definitions and historical foundations necessary for engaging in any subsequent analysis of contemporary Pan-Africanism.

It was in this regard that Chapter Four was critical in answering the research questions. The study reinforced the point that, according to the Clarke model, evaluations of collective Pan-African struggles and expectations thereof rely heavily on how it is defined and what its origins are perceived to be. The ability to accurately pinpoint the movement’s origin allowed us to account for the fundamental elements of Pan-Africanism and the degree to which they were meaningful in a contemporary context. Also, examining the continued existence of Pan-Africanism must start with some measurement of how these fundamental elements have evolved and now manifest themselves in the Pan-African movement. This was the basic assumption of the Clarke model of Pan-Africanism, which regards the movement as a collective struggle to preserve and perpetuate African “nationhood, culture and humanity.”

Questions, findings and conclusions in the study regarding the relevance of African culture, the threat of westernization, and the grassroots focus were influenced by adopting the Clarke model. More specifically, the organizations’ work on forging a
connection between identity on one hand and African unification and collective empowerment on the other are actually contemporary expressions rooted in the origins of Pan-Africanism. For the organizations in the study, the main difference was found in the forms and complexities of the relationship. This was found, for example, in the ESC’s tactic of raising African consciousness throughout Trinidadian communities and the PACM’s emphasis on an African identity as a practical instrument in confronting contemporary threats, such as neocolonial leadership. The PLC’s strong indictment of westernization as a threat to Pan-Africanism was also consistent with this process. The research supported the case for the Clarke model based on the essential components of contemporary Pan-Africanism considered by the organizations’ to be consistent with the origins of the movement.

**Post-Cold War Transformations in Pan-Africanism**

While much of the research was concerned with the state of Pan-Africanism following, and as a result of, the post-Cold War era, there was the need to give a general glimpse of some of the dynamics of the international political economy at the end of the twentieth century. The question regarding the extent of change in Pan-Africanism as evident in the 6th and 7th PACs required some understanding of the shifting global realities that both congresses were confronting. In Chapter Five, an effort was made to introduce some of the basic international trends and globalization policies that produce the realities Pan-Africanism is now confronting. After providing a brief historical analysis of the exploitative relationship between Africans and the West resulting from generations of slavery and colonialism, the chapter explained how adoption of
contemporary Western neo-liberal policies, such as SAPs, free trade and FDI by African leadership represents a continuation of a master-slave, colonizer-colonized relationship. Moreover, the chapter’s detail of the global political economy in the post-Cold War era established a context useful in determining many of the issues relevant to Pan-Africanism. As mentioned earlier, Pan-African Nationalism, as a theoretical framework, allows for testing the hypothesis that changes in the global political economy are reflected in the differences between the final two congresses of the twentieth century. The shift in the post-Cold War political economy from a strategic balance between the West and the East to one dominated by unchecked Western political and economic global influence unleashed a number of immediate crises in African communities and in the Pan-African agendas that had to address them.

An implication of this in the research, ideologically speaking, was that the newer manifestations of this contemporary cultural imperialism now had to be addressed if Pan-Africanism was to be useful. Modern westernization challenges now include the “anti-Pan-African” roles of African leaders and the impact of Western-based economic and social policies. The point here is that Pan-Africanism has evolved to the extent where it must now address the material products of this shift, especially on local levels. It is in this context that new crises and strategies are now emerging.

Equally important implications of the study, along with those regarding identity, were the tasks of gauging the application of African culture as a weapon in facing westernization. The interviewees and questionnaire respondents expressed the concern that uncritically reclaiming African culture was insufficient and perhaps
counterproductive. Consistent with the theoretical observations of Chinweizu and Pan-African Nationalism presented in Chapter Three, the organizations stressed that a deliberate method of critically analyzing African cultural systems was required in order to determine those elements that were applicable to the current situation and conducive to the goals of unification and empowerment. They saw this as an important challenge to Pan-Africanism. Connected to this was the fact that contemporary Pan-African agendas were, to varying degrees, acknowledging the threatening impacts from a new era of Western cultural aggression. In the congress movement, an increasing awareness of the complicity of Western cultural imperialism in post-Cold War crises facing Pan-Africanism was observed. The current approach to challenging westernization appears to be through indirectly confronting its tangible outputs, from the policies of the IMF and the World Bank and other global institutions to neocolonial leaders who perpetuate Western policies in African communities.

**Contemporary Issues and Tasks**

Beyond the theoretical and ideological concerns, the research had to also offer some account of the specific types of issues that might be relevant to contemporary Pan-Africanism. Chapter Six’s contribution to the central research question, the vital crises, strategies, and tactics facing the movement, was its discussion of a number of recent problems and threats identified in the literature as serious to the Pan-African movement. As the Garvey Movement of a previous era contended with a world of ascending colonial domination, and the 5th PAC navigated through the readjustments caused by war, the literature suggests that Pan-Africanism is now challenged by a number of more recent
problems associated with, among other things, the nature of the African state, the bankruptcy of leadership and the hostile impact of neocolonial policies. Early on in the chapter, space is dedicated to pointing out what various authorities on Pan-Africanism see as the significant global transformations that are and will continue to impact the movement. The outcome of this survey supported the hypothesis by providing an explanation for a relationship between current trends and a sense of urgency within circles concerned with the Pan-African cause. From that point, the critical internal and external issues were outlined. Sources of the items included leaders of Pan-Africanist organizations, works of Pan-Africanist scholars, Pan-African media publications and publications from Pan-African conferences. Questions related to these issues were then posed to the organizations in order to generate a body of information which, in turn, helped to resolve the research question. Although the specific issues discussed in Chapter Six were to be tested against the responses of the organizations, the literature did provide signals that the hypothesis suggesting the need for a reorientation in Pan-Africanism was accurate.

A central finding of Chapter Six was that it introduced a number of newer issues threatening, again both internally and externally, that the movement had not dealt with in previous eras. The consensus in the literature on these issues was that not only were they critical, but that the relevance of Pan-Africanism depended on its ability, in addition to resolving old lingering problems, to adapt itself to newer challenges associated with Western domination and the apparent triumph of post-Cold War neo-liberal policies. In the economic context, and unlike previous eras, the movement now has an eye towards
the recent conditions related to harmful results of SAPs, increasing poverty in African communities and the continued exploitation of the labor of African people. Salient political issues included, for example, what appear to be the growing trend towards racial violence against Africans throughout the world, and the recolonization of Africa. In fact, the idea that Western interests were in the process of recolonizing the African continent resonated throughout the literature. In addition to these, however, the chapter suggested that the movement finds itself tracking new forms of old issues that preceded the ending of the Cold War but took on new expressions towards the end of the twentieth century.

**Collective Consciousness, Identity and Pan-African Nationalism**

Recall that one of the major questions regarding Pan-Africanism was the impact of the post-Cold War global political economy on the movement. Once it was established in Chapters Five and Six that the global political economy was evolving and that Pan-Africanism's development relied on its response to and/or its incorporation of issues produced in the new era, gauging the status of Pan-Africanism had to depend on an account of the specific differences between the orientations of the movement at the end of the twentieth century as compared to its previous state during the Cold War. In order to create a backdrop for charting the development of the movement, Chapter Seven recaptured the basic elements of the Pan-African congress movement during the 1970s and compared them to the complexion of the congress movement in the mid-1990s. What emerged was, in addition to an analysis of the congresses during and immediately after the Cold War, a picture of the specific elements of contemporary Pan-Africanism. This was accomplished primarily through examinations of the congress proceedings,
speeches and first hand accounts of each meeting. Also, publications written by the participants in the congress were included. In the end, the study was able to identify the areas of contrast, and similarity, that informed an understanding of Pan-Africanism’s development.

A key point, however, was that the chapter went beyond a comparison of speeches, conflicts, and agendas at these meetings. A critical part of the analysis was tracing the evolution of an ideological debate at both congresses that were present in the Pan-African movement from the very early periods of the movement. This part of the analysis was also rooted in the theoretical framework in that the study was simultaneously interested in determining the degree to which elements of Pan-African nationalism, such as African identity and culture, played a significant role in the movement. This aspect of the chapter relied on a historical analysis of the relationships between the liberal, socialist, and nationalist traditions and Pan-Africanism. After pointing out the relative isolation of these three from one another in the early stages of the movement, the 6th and 7th PACs had to contend with the collapsing of all three perspectives into one space in a way that had not existed earlier. This was one of the similarities that the two gatherings shared. The key difference was the ways in which the ideological conflicts were articulated in each congress. Specifically, where the socialist critique carried weight in the 6th PAC, the 7th PAC concluded with a larger appreciation of and discussion around nationalism and questions of identity and culture.
Contemporary Political Expressions of Progressive Pan-African Nationalism

In building on the development and application of Pan-African Nationalism, the study supported the proposition that a progressive Pan-Africanism is emerging in the post-Cold War era. The expectation was that if an emphasis on an African consciousness was an important characteristic in contemporary Pan-Africanists, then this partly supported the notion that a progressive, rather than limited, Pan-Africanism was on the rise. In Chapter Eight, the contemporary emphasis on and presence of this connection in the worldviews and operations of Pan-African organizations working to empower and unite African communities did support assumptions of progressive Pan-African Nationalism. Specifically, movement away from the elements of Pan-Africanism that dominated previous eras, and towards an emphasis in the post-Cold War Pan-African movement that elevated African consciousness and cultural identity along with linkages between organizations and communities at mass-based levels were demonstrated by the organizations. This was illustrated in the overwhelming negative responses to suggestions that continental unification and the leadership of African heads-of-state were the contemporary orientations of Pan-Africanism. Instead, the organizations overwhelmingly supported the idea that Pan-Africanism had to be relevant at the level of the grassroots if it was to be meaningful and practical. However, the study also called for revisions. The refocus in contemporary Pan-Africanism was more complex than an attempt to relegate or refocus Pan-Africanism only to the grassroots. The organizations considered this critical, and went to lengths to point out that they recognized the important roles to be played by other segments of the movement, including states and
intellectuals. The study did not support the notion that they rejected these other actors. Instead, organizations accepted, in addition to the grassroots concentration, a progressive role by states and scholars. A proposition reflecting this point is the finding that an active, effective international body that could link Pan-African organizations must contribute to the transformation of African state and to a collective confrontation with other states in which African people suffer. A central role of such an organization might be to nurture, perhaps as seen in the 5th PAC, potential leaders who embrace a political and economic perspective that would allow them to graft alternative, African-centered models for political governing and economic development. Also, although organizations are emphasizing a grassroots, mass-based foundation for Pan-Africanism, a relationship with progressive elements that reside outside of the grassroots must be in place.

**Conclusion: Evidence of a Pan-African Political Culture**

The practical implication of organizational pursuit of cultural and identity along with other issues is that contemporary Pan-Africanism has within it the existence of a embryonic Pan-African political culture necessary for constructing a global movement. Hanes Walton, Jr., and Robert C. Smith made a serious contribution to the application of the political culture concept specifically to the African experience in America. By relying primarily on the perceptions and attitudes of African-American voters, the central conclusion was that there is evidence of a distinct African-American political culture.¹

While their focus narrowly focused on African people in North America, the components of a political culture can be duplicated on the Pan-African level.

Relying partly on Almond and Verba’s definition in *The Civic Culture*, Walton’s model identifies three basic components of a political culture and sets out to find these elements in African-American communities. A political culture among a people consists of cognitive, evaluative and affective components. The cognitive refers to “knowledge and beliefs about political reality,” understood in terms of racial consciousness on the community, rather than individual, level. The evaluative component addresses “commitment to political values and ideas” as they relate to group politics. The last focus is on the affective aspect, which includes those “feelings with respect to politics, political leaders, and institutions” that reflect group approval and disapproval. Walton’s conclusion is that,

We have empirical evidence for all three component parts of the political culture concept. We know that at the very least manifestations of the African American political culture tend to surface in the mass attitudes of the community. Second, we can infer from the empirical data that the African American political culture *influences and impacts* African American political behavior (emphasis mine).

His position that the presence of this political culture shapes political behavior is also posited in the theoretical assumptions detailed in Chapter Three.

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3 Walton, 44.

4 Ibid., 48.
In a practical sense, the study revealed that the components that suggest an existing political culture among African-Americans are also present on the level of a global, Pan-African reality. There are parallels between the political culture model and the positions and practices of grassroots Pan-African organizations at this point in it the evolution of the movement. For example, the “cognitive” element is demonstrated in the fact that the organizations’ political perceptions of a Pan-African struggle were first and foremost grounded in the African community. The consciousness that was being stimulated by the organizations in their local areas was not confined to the politics of those areas. The politics of the local communities served as the lens that colored perceptions regarding a larger Pan-African struggle. It was in this sense that the PACM approached the worldwide threat of racism from the viewpoint of the racist treatment Africans in the U.K. had and continue to confront. As a result, there exists an “evaluative” sentiment that was expressed from the same perspective and towards the empowerment of African communities, locally, and globally. This was perhaps one of the central aspects of the study. The commitment of the organizations was not only to their own communities, but also to other African communities, within the context of a global movement. It is in this sense that a shift away from a sole state-level commitment in Pan-Africanism towards the grassroots was identified. Likewise, there was also an “affective” component vis-à-vis “politics, political leaders, and institutions” on the local and international levels. This was one of the important contemporary features of the movement that support the idea of a Pan-African political culture. In terms of political entities critical to any movement, the organizations were seeking to mobilize and utilize a
range of political instruments towards empowerment, from leaders to international bodies such as the Secretariat created in the 7th PAC and headquartered in Kampala, Uganda.

**Recommendations for further Research**

The following recommendations are offered as a contribution to the struggle to connect the organizational elements of Pan-African Nationalism to that of a pan-African political culture for the purpose of a practical and functional international movement that is relevant to the concrete, idiosyncratic realities of African communities throughout the Diaspora. The practical recommendations, however, must be connected to a clearer understanding of the historical context out of which Pan-Africanism grows. Utilizing Pan-African Nationalism as a theoretical approach, a systematic historical analysis of the various political formations throughout the African world that fit the Clarke model of Pan-Africanism from generation to generation should be conducted. Such a study would connect the popular works on Maroon societies and the Garvey Movement to their contemporary outgrowths and connect the visible links between the origins of Pan-Africanism and the post-Cold War manifestations of the movement. From this information would emerge an understanding of the common threads that are consistent from one era and movement to the next in spite of new and/or evolving conditions. Having established that, research on Pan-Africanism must incorporate definitions and methods that are consistent with the essential elements of Pan-Africanism, displayed, for example, in the Maroon tradition, and that recognize its historical and political development from that perspective. Recall that according to the Clarke perspective, the essence of Pan-Africanism is a union of a collective consciousness and organizational
efforts based on that consciousness. Understanding Pan-Africanism's development and/or utility depends on how its contemporary manifestations are placed in the context of this historical reality.

Building on that historical foundation, a number of pragmatic, organizational steps confront the movement. First, there is the need now to determine the specific programs and processes that are being implemented by Pan-African activists and organizations in African communities throughout the world that connect consciousness and identity to unity and empowerment of African people on the local level. Additionally, it is critical to explain the similarities and differences across the Diaspora in the undesirable conditions, their historical origins and contemporary forms that Pan-African organizations are working to eradicate, and the alternative visions they are pursuing. This information, based on the specific nature of the central operations of Pan-African organizations, would detail the relationships between notions of cultural identity, organizations, communities and international Pan-African entities that seem now to be the essence of Pan-Africanism.

Second, it is important to determine the commonalities in the successful programs and processes being utilized that transcend organizations within and between regions of the Diaspora. Given the diverse cultural, political, and economic situations and pressures specific to the local communities of the Diaspora, research on this question would be vital for building a Pan-African nationalist entity that is consistent with dynamics of culture and empowerment locally and globally. Also, the global movement would benefit from common solutions and potential allies being pursued by Pan-African organizations.
throughout the Diaspora that are required to eradicate problems that confront their local communities?

Fourth, there must be an accounting of the contemporary issues and coordinated strategies being pursued by organizations at the grassroots and actors from other segments of African communities. The significance of this research rests in identifying the unifying forces behind efforts at collaboration that exist today and the degree to which they reveal new strategic patterns emerging to combat old and new global challenges.

Finally, there must be knowledge among organizations of the short and long-term political objectives being articulated by coalitions of grassroots Pan-Africanists and proponents of Pan-Africanism from other segments of African communities. The proposition that mass-based Pan-Africanism assumes relationships with other actors can be supported by locating the various objectives, either collective or narrow, that these relationships are being utilized to produce. As in the theoretical component, clarity on these practical questions is necessary for Pan-Africanism to meet the post-Cold War challenges identified in the Chapter Eight and discussed throughout the project. However, assuming that the most important end-result from Pan-Africanism is building and maintaining an international body, resolving these questions would impact most on the development of a Pan-African political culture that could help to produce this reality.
UNITS OF MOBILIZATION:
At this point, where do organizations such as your own focus its attention, in terms of organizing and mobilization?

What can Pan-Africanism, as a global movement, offer to those who feel overwhelmed by their own local social, political, and economic issues either on the Continent and the Diaspora?

THE GRASSROOTS:
Pan-Africanism, until very recently, has been dominated by two primary leadership bases: 1) that of intellectuals such as DuBois and H. Sylvester Williams and/or 2) African heads-of-state such as Nkrumah and Selassie.

Has this been a problem?

If so, can you explain how contemporary challenges to the leadership roles of these two players will be successful?

In your mind, how can an emphasis on grassroots, mass-based leadership contribute to a new type of Pan-Africanism?

What are the criteria for a group to be considered grassroots and what are some grassroots organizations that are at the forefront of the movement today?

RACIAL INCLUSION/EXCLUSION:
Have there been tensions among Pan-Africanists and Pan-African organizations regarding the inclusion and participation of Arabs and Europeans?

If so, what is your position on the participation of Arabs and Europeans?

Is a focus on race, as a criterion for participation in Pan-African organizations and collectives, reactionary?

Does Pan-Arabism and Pan-Africanism have different interests? If so, do they conflict with each other?

What is your view on Khadafi’s call for the state of Libya to host the 8th PAC?

INDIGENOUS AFRICAN CULTURAL SYSTEMS:
Must Pan-Africanists now look toward the useful aspects of African culture to advance Pan-Africanism?

What role should an awareness and revival of African culture play in Pan-Africanism?
Is the rejection of African culture by African people too deep for African culture to contribute to Pan-Africanism?

If so, what kinds of problems has this rejection created for achieving the goals of Pan-Africanism?

Are there some cultural elements borrowed or imposed from the Western and Arab societies that threaten the development and empowerment of Africa and African people?

GLOBALIZATION/WESTERNIZATION:
In the current trend toward globalization and the rapid expansion of Western culture throughout the world, how will it be possible for Pan-Africanists to mobilize African people directly affected by this?

Has the different pressures of globalization and westernization throughout the Diaspora created more unique local problems than the Pan-African approach can practically address?

Do you see European cultural imperialism as a factor in the subjugation of Africa and African people throughout the Diaspora?

RACIAL VIOLENCE:
Have other factors, such as economics, replaced racism as the more important determinants of the quality of life for African people.

What are your feelings on the idea that racism is declining and, therefore, should not be a primary target for Pan-Africanism?

How does the threat of racial violence towards African people today compare to that of the past and what new strategies, if any, are needed to deal with racism?

NEOCOLONIAL LEADERSHIP:
Are Mobutu’s reign in Zaire and the present conflict in the D.R.C. reflections of the damage leaders have caused to Africa’s development?

Do you see this type of leadership continuing to undermine the upliftment of Africa?

If so, why? And does this also mean that these leaders will likewise be a permanent barrier to Pan-Africanism?

THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU):
Regarding the OAU, is it a fair argument that the OAU exists as an impediment to Africa’s development?
If so, how has the organization contributed to the underdevelopment of Africa?

More specifically, has the OAU’s maintenance of colonial boundaries and its position on noninterference in member-states’ internal affairs contributed directly to the crisis of the state in contemporary Africa?

TRANSFORMATION OF THE OAU:
What do you see as the future of the OAU in the Pan-African movement today?

Is it, in spite of its problems, still a strong player in contemporary Africa or would you argue that it has become obsolete?

What would the organization need to do to become a viable force for Pan-Africanism?

Are there any useful alternatives to the OAU for us to build on at the time?

ARMED CONFLICT:
At the present, there are a significant number of armed conflicts and civil wars taking place in Africa.

What do you see to be the impact of these conflicts on Pan-African organizing efforts?

How do you respond to the argument that the presence of these conflicts is proof that Pan-Africanism is an impractical strategy and an unrealistic goal?

RECOLONIZATION:
Is the recolonization of the African continent by foreign interests a real threat?

If it is, what implications does it have for the timing and success of Pan-Africanism?

Is there a sense of urgency in the Pan-African community?

NEW FRONTIERS:
Traditionally, Pan-Africanism has been spearheaded by Africans on the Continent, the Caribbean, Europe, and North America.

What are some of the newer locations in the African Diaspora that we can expect to be more active in the movement?

How can an expansion to other parts of the Diaspora contribute to the betterment of the movement?

GENDER/WOMEN:
If asked to, could you quickly mention three heroes of Pan-Africanism?
Have African women always been actively involved in Pan-African struggles throughout the African world?

If so, why is it difficult to identify the contributions of women to Pan-Africanism?

Do you think that this is a problem for Pan-Africanism?

What in your mind is the relationship between the inclusion of women and the success of the Pan-Africanism in the twenty-first century?

**CONTINENTAL UNIFICATION:**
Is the issue of Continental Unification still the main goal in Pan-Africanism?

If not, where does it rank on the list of aims in Pan-Africanism today?

What benefits would a unified African continent provide for populations of African people around the world?

**INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS:**
In terms of institution building, how should today’s Pan-African organizations interacting with each other towards some common agenda?

What are the immediate issues that Pan-African organizations can identify and unify around today?

What contributions can Pan-African organizations throughout the Diaspora make to the continental organizations and visa-a-versa?

What basic things can African people in any local community do to help Africans abroad?
APPENDIX B

PAN-AFRICAN ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP QUESTIONNAIRE
Directions: After carefully reading each of the following statements, circle the answer that best describes your agreement or disagreement with that item. Please note the key below where the higher the number the stronger the agreement with the item.

KEY: 5=Strongly Agree; 4=Agree; 3=Neutral; 2=Disagree; 1=Strongly Disagree

UNITS OF MOBILIZATION:
The most effective units of mobilization in Pan-Africanism are African states.
The most effective units of mobilization in Pan-Africanism are at the grassroots level.
The success of Pan-Africanism depends on the mobilization of the African intellectual.

THE GRASSROOTS:
A practical Pan-Africanism can only be developed from among the masses of Africans.
Grassroots organizations will play a prominent role in contemporary Pan-Africanism.
Grassroots organizations are too powerless to significantly advance Pan-Africanism.
The interests among grassroots Pan-African groups are too diverse for cooperation to occur.

RACIAL INCLUSION/EXCLUSION:
Race is the primary factor in determining who participates in contemporary Pan-Africanism.
Although open to others, Pan-Africanism is primarily for people of African ancestry.
Pan-Africanism must go beyond race and include all oppressed people.
The focus on race will hinder the advancement of Pan-Africanism.

INDIGENOUS AFRICAN CULTURAL SYSTEMS:
African cultural elements can provide a foundation for unity throughout the African world.
Pan-Africanism should advocate African indigenous systems in today’s democratic process.
Pan-Africanism is effective without reintroducing indigenous African systems.
African cultural systems are too outdated to be useful in the present global economy.

WESTERNIZATION AND GLOBALIZATION:
The adoption of Western ideas is a threat to the development of Pan-Africanism.
The global domination of the West relies upon the spread of Western culture.
Most Africans identify themselves as being, culturally, more Western than African.
Pan-Africanism can successfully evolve within a Western-dominated world.
RACIAL VIOLENCE:
In recent times, racial violence against African people worldwide has been increasing. African people can best counter racial violence through an international collective effort. The threat of racial violence is secondary to poverty facing the African world. Racial violence towards African people is not a major threat.

NEOCOLONIAL LEADERSHIP:
External support of African leaders exists as a barrier to continental unification. Western support of African leaders harm Africa’s internal economic development. African leaders are powerless against external global forces. It is possible for Pan-Africanism to grow in spite of Western-supported African leaders.

THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU):
The OAU’s doctrine of ‘noninterference in state affairs’ contradicts Pan-Africanism. The OAU today is a direct contributor to the exploitation of Africa. The formation of the OAU was an important accomplishment for Pan-Africanism. The OAU has made a significant contribution to the advancement of Pan-Africanism.

TRANSFORMATION OF THE OAU:
The OAU has never been a powerful force in the struggle for Pan-Africanism. Heads-of-State in the OAU have little interest in unifying the African continent. Although problems exist, the OAU remains the most influential Pan-African organization. Empowering the OAU will likely bring about conditions favorable for Pan-Africanism.

ARMED CONFLICT:
Pan-Africanism cannot flourish without resolving armed conflicts in contemporary Africa. Armed conflict in Africa naturally results from the creation of the modern African state. Pan-Africanism cannot be expected to resolve the problem of armed conflicts in Africa. Armed conflicts in Africa are a part of the nation-building process in Africa.

RECOLONIZATION:
Africa now faces the danger of being recolonized by foreign interests. All practical agendas for 21st century Pan-Africanism must confront this recolonization. Threats of a recolonized Africa are widely overblown. Given the worsening conditions, greater external control of African states can be beneficial.

NEW FRONTIERS:
Pan-Africanism must now include African communities in South America. Pan-Africanism must now include Black communities in Australia. Pan-Africanism must now include Black communities in India. Pan-Africanism’s primary focus should be the continent of Africa.
GENDER/WOMEN:
Pan-Africanism cannot be effective without gender equity in its leadership. Pan-African organizations have not addressed the unique struggles of African women. Pan-African organizations are adequately addressing internal gender problems. There is a stronger sensitivity to women’s issues today than in past eras of Pan-Africanism.

CONTINENTAL UNIFICATION:
The unification of the African continent is Pan-Africanism’s most urgent task. Boundaries inherited after colonialism must be removed for continental unity to succeed. A federated African continent is the most practical choice for Pan-Africanism. Given the narrow state interests, continental unification is an unrealistic goal.

INTERNATIONAL PAN-AFRICAN ORGANIZATION:
An international center is the most important link between Pan-African organizations. Any effective Pan-African organization must be a part of a larger international body. It is more practical for Pan-African organizations to first organize regionally. In an international body, influence should be given to African states over organizations.
APPENDIX C

ORGANIZATIONAL AND COLLECTIVE QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS
UNITS OF MOBILIZATION:

1. The most effective units of mobilization in Pan-Africanism are African states.

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2. The most effective units of mobilization in Pan-Africanism are at the grassroots level.

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3. Pan-Africanism should mobilize around parties and candidates to participate in elections.

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4. The success of Pan-Africanism depends on the mobilization of the African intellectual.

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THE GRASSROOTS:

5. A practical Pan-Africanism can only be developed from among the masses of Africans.

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6. Grassroots organizations will play a prominent role in contemporary Pan-Africanism.

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7. Grassroots organizations are too powerless to significantly advance Pan-Africanism.

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8. The interests among grassroots Pan-African groups are too diverse for cooperation to occur.

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RACIAL INCLUSION/EXCLUSION:

9. Race is the primary factor in determining who participates in contemporary Pan-Africanism.

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10. Although open to others, Pan-Africanism is primarily for people of African ancestry.

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11. Pan-Africanism must go beyond race and include all oppressed people.

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12. The focus on race will hinder the advancement of Pan-Africanism.

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TRADITIONAL AFRICAN CULTURAL SYSTEMS:

13. African cultural elements can provide a foundation for unity throughout the African world.

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15. Pan-Africanism is effective without reintroducing indigenous African systems.

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16. African cultural systems are too outdated to be useful in the present global economy.

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WESTERNIZATION AND GLOBALIZATION:

17. The adoption of Western ideas is a threat to the development of Pan-Africanism.

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18. The global domination of the West relies upon the spread of Western culture.

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19. Most Africans identify themselves as being, culturally, more Western than African.

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20. Pan-Africanism can successfully evolve within a Western-dominated world.

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21. In recent times, racial violence against African people worldwide has been increasing.

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22. African people can best counter racial violence through an international collective effort.

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23. The threat of racial violence is secondary to poverty facing the African world.

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24. Racial violence towards African people is not a major threat.

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NEO-COLONIAL LEADERSHIP:

25. External support of African leaders exists as a barrier to continental unification.

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26. Western supported of African leaders harm Africa’s internal economic development.

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27. African leaders are powerless against external global forces.

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28. It is possible for Pan-Africanism to grow in spite of Western-supported African leaders.

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THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU):

29. The OAU’s doctrine of ‘non-interference in state affairs’ contradicts Pan-Africanism.

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30. The OAU today is a direct contributor to the exploitation of Africa.

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31. The formation of the OAU was an important accomplishment for Pan-Africanism.

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32. The OAU has made a significant contribution to the advancement of Pan-Africanism.

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TRANSFORMATION OF THE OAU:

33. The OAU has never been a powerful force in the struggle for Pan-Africanism.

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34. Heads-of-State in the OAU have little interest in unifying the African continent.

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35. Although problems exist, the OAU remains the most influential Pan-African organization.

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36. Empowering the OAU will likely bring about conditions favorable for Pan-Africanism.

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ARMED CONFLICT:

37. Pan-Africanism cannot flourish without resolving armed conflicts in contemporary Africa.

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38. Armed conflict in Africa naturally results from the creation of the modern African state.

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39. Pan-Africanism cannot be expected to resolve the problem of armed conflicts in Africa.

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40. Armed conflicts in Africa are a part of the nation-building process in Africa.

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RECOLONIZATION:

41. Africa now faces the danger of being recolonized by foreign interests.

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42. All practical agendas for 21st century Pan-Africanism must confront this recolonization.

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43. Threats of a recolonized Africa are widely overblown.

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44. Given the worsening conditions, greater external control of African states can be beneficial.

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NEW FRONTIERS:

45. Pan-Africanism must now include African communities in South America.

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46. Pan-Africanism must now include Black communities in Australia.

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47. Pan-Africanism must now include Black communities in India.

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48. Pan-Africanism’s primary focus should be the continent of Africa.

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GENDER/WOMEN:

49. Pan-Africanism cannot be effective without gender equity in its leadership.

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50. Pan-African organizations have not addressed the unique struggles of African women.

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51. Pan-African organizations are adequately addressing internal gender problems.

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52. There is a stronger sensitivity to women’s issues today than in past eras of Pan-Africanism.

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CONTINENTAL UNIFICATION:

53. The unification of the African continent is Pan-Africanism’s most urgent task.

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54. Boundaries inherited after colonialism must be removed for continental unity to succeed.

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55. A federated African continent is the most practical choice for Pan-Africanism.

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56. Given the narrow state interests, continental unification is an unrealistic goal.

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INTERNATIONAL PAN-AFRICAN ORGANIZATION:

57. An international center is the most important link between Pan-African organizations.

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58. Any effective Pan-African organization must be a part of a larger international body.

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59. It is more practical for Pan-African organizations to first organize regionally.

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60. In an international body, influence should be given to African states over organizations.

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APPENDIX D

ORGANIZATION DOCUMENTS
Patrice Lumumba Coalition

The Patrice Lumumba Coalition (PLC) is a revolutionary formation of African people that was founded in New York by Elombe Brath, the late Irving B. Davis and Rev. Muhammad Kenyatta on the 11th of November, 1975. Therefore we choose to debut on the Internet on November 11, 1999. As a commemorative to that date.

The Patrice Lumumba Coalition takes its illustrious name from that of Africa's premier martyr for the cause that we now embrace, the Honorable Patrice Lumumba, the first prime minister of the Congo. The CIA and its neocolonialist agents assassinated Lumumba on January 17th, 1961. PLC has offices in New York & Los Angeles. Elombe Brath is the Chairman. Deputy chairman is Ron Wilkins.

A little Bit of information

The PLC's ideological orientation is "African Internationalism", which is described as a radicalized Pan-Africanist world view that acknowledges that the Black Liberation struggle is global and cannot be successfully waged without the recognition and acceptance- of the factor of class struggle, both in interracial and intraracial conflicts. In this regard, the PLC's initial mandate was to counter the
mass media's insidious red-baiting campaign against the People's Republic of Angola. It has since been conceded that the coalition, almost single handedly, successfully raised the consciousness in the African community as to the real contradictions involved in the so called Angolan "civil war", helping to negate the state's propaganda efforts to build Black support for reactionary quasi-nationalist, CIA and South African surrogates under the guise of racial solidarity. The PLC also developed similar campaigns to support SWAPO in Namibia, the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe, particularly the efforts of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU); FELIMO in Mozambique, PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau; Polisario in Western Africa as well as the liberation struggles in South Africa. Along with countless progressive regimes in Africa.

What's happening in Congo Today

Elombe Brath is pictured Below interviewing, the new President of the Congo-Laurent Kabila.
The Patrice Lumumba Coalition is on the issues here at home also!

The PLC has held countless forums in Harlem to Educate the community about exactly what is happening to "Our People". The PLC has helped champion the cause of many activists and leaders across the United States through their forums. Some of the many people who have spoken at PLC forums are Dr. Tony Martin, Dr. Yosef Ben Jochanan, Dr. Leonard Jeffries, Marcus Garvey Jr, Dr. John Henrik Clarke, Rev. Lawrence Lucas, Les Payne, Amiri Baraka, Kwame Toure, Don Rojas, Dhoruba Bin Wahad, Viola Plummer, Herman Ferguson, countless politicians and numerous heads of African nations.

Elombe Brath

For the last thirty-eight years, Elombe Brath has worked as a Graphics Engineer for the American Broadcasting Company and acted as a consultant on African Affairs for "Like It Is". The award winning show hosted by Gil Noble. Nicknamed the "Human Encyclopedia" Elombe Brath is a Lecturer, Activist, Organizer, Journalist, Artist and African Internationalist. For the last 40 years, brother Elombe Brath has been an active leading force in the cause of the African Democratic Revolution for political rights, cultural integrity for African People throughout the world, as well as in total solidarity for fundamental human rights for all oppressed people struggling to be from foreign imperialist domination and feudalism. Elombe Brath is acknowledged as one of the most well informed activists in the current history of the Pan-Africanist Movement. Brother Brath was a dedicated student of the late Honorable Carlos A. Cooks and Professor Rayfus Williams. Elombe Brath was born in Brooklyn, New York, September 30, 1936. His parents had immigrated to the United States from Barbados.

Elombe has been serving us for a long time.

From the time that he attended the African Nationalist Pioneer Movement's 1959 "Convention to abrogate the term "Negro" Bro. Elombe has been one of the most committed activists in promoting the most radical currents of Garvey's philosophy and opinions embellished by the naturalist/materialistic approach of Carlos Cooks. In 1962, Elombe advanced the "Black is Beautiful" theme laid down by Garvey, initiating a natural hairstyle revolutionary movement across the country. This radical Black Consciousness Movement was spearheaded by two organizations that Elombe helped to found. AJASS (1956) along with brother Kwame Brathwaite, Bob Gumbs, Chris Acemandese Hall and others: and the internationally known Grandassa Models (1962), a group of Black models that projected the African standard of beauty. Throughout the 60's the NATURALLY shows stirred a cultural revolution in the Black communities all over the nation, paving the way for the "Black Power" movement later. Mr. Brath has also done extensive work in promoting the release of political prisoners and was a founding member of the December 12th Movement. Elombe's chronic devotion to Black
people has ranged from his "seemingly minor" paralegal assistance in cases where Black & Latino youth had been indicted although their innocence seemed fairly evident (some of the most noted cases involving Adam Abdul Hakeem formerly known as Larry Davis and the Central Park Jogger incident. To major international events such as serving as the co-chairman to the Harlem reception for the ANC- Nelson and Winnie Mandela celebration attended by over 200,000 people (June 21, 1990).
ABOUT THE
EMANCIPATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE

BRIEF PROFILE OF THE EMANCIPATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE

The Emancipation Support Committee was born out of the joint efforts of a group of African organizations in Trinidad & Tobago. It acts in its own right or as an umbrella to advance the interests of Africans nationally and internationally. The history, ethnic composition, economic, social and political realities of this Caribbean country created the impetus for ethnic organizations to emerge and play an important part in the development of the nation. The twin island state with a population of 1.2 million - made up of Africans 39.6%, Indians 40.3%, another 18% describing themselves as mixed and the rest made up of Europeans, Chinese and Syrian-Lebanese - was founded in its modern incarnation on the near elimination of the indigenous population. The centuries that followed were marked by chattel slavery and East Indian indenture ship, leaving an ever renewing residue of white racism that still influences the economic and social structure, and clouds the psyche of all groups in the society.

Such is the context in which the network, known as the Emancipation Support Committee, was formalized in 1992, largely on the initiative of the Traditional African National Association. However the roots of the current organization go much deeper since the constituent groups have been active for several years, networking had developed in practice over a long period of time, and the leadership of the ESC is well established. The chairman of the committee and a number of its other leaders are persons who have gained national prominence and respect for decades of consistent struggle, going back to the late 1960's, on broad national issues as well as involvement in programs specifically targeted to the upliftment of Africans.
Without doubt, the committee is best known for its lead role in organizing the national observance of the emancipation of Africans from chattel slavery in Trinidad and Tobago. This occurred on August 1st 1838. Annual emancipation observances, which are formally opened by the country's Prime Minister, form a major part of our program. We use the occasion to raise consciousness, build self pride, motivation and the capacity for collective action, and channel African energies into positive directions in economics, education and culture. Our focus is always on Africans globally and we seek the participation of Africans from around the world. Our prominent visitors in the past included Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, President of Ghana (in 1997) and Ms. Winnie Madikizela-Mandela (in 1998). Several scholars from the United States, Africa and other Caribbean territories have delivered guest lectures as part of our program. Though the emancipation activities absorb a great deal of the energies and resources of the Emancipation Support Committee, the group is constantly engaged in other major programs. One of its most demanding projects is called IFE, Intervention For Education, an ongoing intervention in the formal school system aimed at rescuing large sections of the youth population from falling standards in education. Other programs are aimed mainly at public education in a wide number of areas targeted especially to African development, public observances of days important to Africans, and advocacy on issues of group interest. Special efforts are made to embrace young people in the organization's programs. For further information see:

OBJECTIVES OF THE ESC

The Emancipation Support Committee aims to function as an integral part of the network of Africans in the diaspora engaged in the work of transformation and development targeted at the restoration of African selfhood, spiritual connectedness, and creative, economic and social potential. The Emancipation celebrations are considered as one of the principal vehicles through which the Committee can engage other local organizations, the people of Trinidad & Tobago and the rest of the Caribbean, other Africans in the diaspora and on the African continent in the united effort that is needed.

In furtherance of this goal, the organization seeks to pursue programmes and projects which would enable it to be a powerful moral and social force capable of influencing the direction the society takes. Among the organization's stated objects are:

• To organize the national observance of the Emancipation of Africans from chattel slavery in Trinidad and Tobago, and the
former British empire, and to fully utilize the capabilities of member organizations, other interested persons and organizations in doing so.

- To engage in joint initiatives with other countries where Emancipation Day is also celebrated, regionally and internationally, to produce the highest quality commemoration and to ensure the greatest possible recognition and appreciation of emancipation by the global community.

- To educate the population at large about the meaning of emancipation.

- To deepen networking processes among African organizations in Trinidad & Tobago

- To develop a broad range of solid regional and international relationships in the fields of culture, intellectual exchange, sharing of human resources, economics and all other areas relevant to African development.

- To ensure that Africans develop an equitable stake in the economy of Trinidad & Tobago

- To assist Africans to restore the emphasis once placed on learning and to establish activities which will continue to build Africans' self knowledge, self esteem, social awareness, and general knowledge on a global scale.

- To seek appropriate representations of Africans in the mass media and in the formal education system

- To ensure respect for African religious forms and support initiatives for the development of African spirituality

- To act as an advocate for African interests in Trinidad and Tobago and to broaden that advocacy strategically to embrace causes of, and relevant to Africans anywhere in the world.
Activities of the ESC

PUBLIC EDUCATION

- Public Lectures by local and foreign lecturers from all areas of the African world
- Radio and Television talk shows / African News programmes
- Publication of articles in the print media.
- Press Conferences
- Film shows
- Seminars
- Publication of educational literature, audio and video recordings

YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

- IFE Project - A supplementary educational programme targeted to marginalized students in urban, predominantly African communities
- Mobilisation of young people against activities inimical to African interest. e.g. the 1996 struggle against racism at night clubs and other entertainment places.
- School lectures / seminars
• Special events targeted to young people at Emancipation celebrations

• Involvement of young people in the design and preparation of the Emancipation Village, the planning and organization of emancipation events

• Youth workshops conducted by the ESC Youth Arm

CULTURE

• Staging of Cultural shows (concerts, plays, etc)

• Traditional African Weddings / Naming Day Ceremonies

• African Fashion Shows

• Hosting Afro - Pop Worldwide- a series of radio programmes featuring African music

ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL

• Organization of paid events for fund-raising

• Sale of books, pamphlets and other literature, audio and video tapes, souvenir items

• Fund raising through donations

• Encouragement of African entrepreneurship through advice, education programs, training

• Promotion of International African trade fair/market

CELEBRATIONS / OBSERVANCES

• Emancipation celebrations

• Kwanzaa celebrations

• African History Month

• African Liberation Day
• Marcus Garvey Birthday

OTHER

• Co-ordinate national activities embracing several African organizations

• Assist community organisations in terms of education, mobilisation, administration and organization structure

• Act as a watch dog organisation engaging issues which impact on the African community in particular, and the nation generally
PACM
Pan African Congress Movement

WHAT IS THE PACM

The Pan-African Congress Movement (P.A.C.M.) is a Pan-African organisation and part of the universal African determination fighting for the liberation of all African People worldwide.

Our aim is "The Total and unconditional liberation of Africa, African People and our lands world, under the government and protection of a United States of Africa."

We recognise the self-evident truth that the white world conspiracy to destabilise, discredit, rob, cheat, and eliminate our race from the face of the earth is simply because of their greed for our mineral and historical wealth. Their now innate racism is the dominant factor in their propaganda/psychological warfare for our people's mind.

We recognise this conspiracy as portrayed by the media and all forms of white institutions, especially the so-called education institutions and are ceaselessly fighting for the liberation of our minds and lands and fully support any action taken by our brothers and sisters for this certain goal.

We believe that the family is the basic unit of the race necessary for our survival and that without its continuation the race will perish. We therefore out paramount importance in encouraging the growth, development and protection of the African family and oppose all threats or practices that will endanger this. A strong unified immediate and extended family unit is needed, with each individual and each family/community making their contribution to the hard work needed to restore our race to it's rightful position of a self-determining people and custodian of humanity.

We know the future of the African Man lies with the African Woman, as the future of the African Woman lies with the African Man, together producing children who have no doubt about their purpose and no bounds to their ability to fulfill that purpose.
We believe that a high degree of spirituality and morality is essential for our overall development and seek to encourage this in line with our African Tradition.

Our philosophy is in the tradition of the Honourable Marcus Mosiah Garvey; **RACE FIRST, SELF RELIANCE, NATIONHOOD**; together with the

- **NGUZO SABA** (Seven Principles) of
  - **UMOJA** (Unity)
  - **KUJICHAGULIA** (Self determination)
  - **UJIMA** (Collective Work and Responsibility)
  - **UJAMAA** (Co-operative Economics)
  - **NIA** (Purpose)
  - **KUUMBA** (Creativity) and
  - **IMANI** (Faith)

This philosophy and these principles will guide us in achieving the highest level of development and unity essential to achieving our goals.

As Marcus Garvey said

```
CHANCE HAS NEVER YET SATISFIED THE
HOPES OF A SUFFERING PEOPLE. ACTION, SELF
RELIANCE, A VISION OF SELF AND THE FUTURE
ARE THE ONLY MEANS BY WHICH THE POOR
AND OPPRESSED HAVE SEEN AND REALISED
THE LIGHT OF THEIR OWN FREEDOM.
```

We believe in and work towards the following:

1. The total liberation and unification of Africa politically, economically, spirituality in fact culturally.
2. The organisation of our states and societies according to an African perspective derived from the historical developments, needs and desires of our people.

We are opposed to and continually fight against:

1. All forms of domination of African people whether by outsiders or by confused and treacherous Africans working on behalf of themselves or the outsiders.

2. Minority non-African invaders/settlers domination of Africans and all forms of colonialisms and neo-colonialism.

3. All forms of racial discrimination perpetrated against our people in all parts of the world.

4. All forms of imperialism and racial supremacist structures (Capitalism, Socialism, Arabism etc.).

PAN-AFRICANISM

An African centered system of thoughts, speech and action with values defined and developed by Africans which seek and promotes the unity, protection, development and world wide liberation of all African people and their land.

It is an African independently evolved system of self affirmation derived form Africans' historical world experience, resulting in a revolutionary ideology with strategies that respond to the many differing conditions facing Africans in all aspects of life throughout the world.

It is therefore a totality of theories and practices, which is expressed in part, in many ways at different in our history.

The underlining tenet of it has been Africans innate humanistic ideals of equal rights, justice, benefits and opportunities for all.

The main thrust of Pan-Africanism is best expressed in Africentricity, Black (African) Nationalism, African Communalism and African Spirituality. These all engender the pursuit of a collective consciousness among Africans with this consciousness holding Africans and Africa as paramount.
As a minimum, Pan-Africanism seeks to satisfy the basic human needs of our people i.e., food, clothing and shelter and further speaks to the intellectual, spiritual and material well being of Africa and Africans at home and abroad.

WHO IS AN AFRICAN

By Africans we mean those of us who are called by a variety of names (Negroes, Blacks, West Indians Afro-this, Afro-that, Black Americans, Black British, Bantus, Nigerians, Senegalese, Bajans, Jamaicans, etc, etc...)

There are many dimensions to an African Human Being. This brief definition is in no way complete as we cannot and do not deny individual place of birth. We totally reject the European (Caucasian) racial definition of us as Negroes (which is only a European concept/definition of race/colour used to define us).

All other distinct human groups on the earth, when defined in this questionable term of race have it done on the basis of their supposed place of origin. Caucasoid from the Caucasus mountains (commonly called whites), Mongoloids from Mongolia (commonly called Chinese).

We can do no less than define ourselves racially from our own place of origin which is Africa. So it stands to reason, people from Africa must be called Africans.

WHO IS ELIGIBLE FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Membership of the PACM is open to all Africans, regardless of nationality or geographical location. Our only criteria are that you must be committed to the total and lasting liberation of Africa and all Africans.

We believe that every African has a role to play in the fight for liberty, justice and the humanity of our people. Regardless of circumstances, we will make every effort to accommodate you once you have shown your commitment.
WHY YOU SHOULD JOIN THE P.A.C.M.

Africans in the western world find themselves in a very crucial position within the European imperialist machinery, and we must seek to use this to the best advantage to achieve our goals.

It is imperative that we fully control our economic wealth and exercise control in all areas that we occupy. This means that we must be able to cater for our material needs as much as possible without having to depend on others.

In the world today, barbarity and murder rule. Africans are constantly murdered on a world-wide scale, propagandised against, openly brutalised and stigmatised. Lies are told as truth and institutions are founded on the basis of these lies to graduate thieves and murderers for the constant exploitation and murder of Africans.

African Dependence

In this world we as a people find ourselves DEPENDENT. Begging for food, begging for medicine, begging for mis-education and therefore producing a people only fit to serve the interest of other races. We are blamed for all the ills and evils of the world including those produced to destroy us. We have not the communication technology to defend ourselves. We have a resourceful continent yet we are the poorest people.

Knowing this, can you sit down and do nothing? If you are not part of the solution, you are part of the problem. You have a duty to return to the service of your people, to the service of your race, return to your source and be yourself. Join with other Africans of like mind, of like knowledge and of like skill in the interest of African unity and development. Our task is to take the African Race out of this dependent begging bowl of inhumanity to put us again in the light of self-sufficiency and total self reliance. Join the P.A.C.M

It is necessary to join the P.A.C.M because UNITY IS STRENGTH and with your commitment the P.A.C.M presents a real possibility for achieving our goal. We believe that it is only through ORGANISATION that we can solve our problems.
We have a number of programmes throughout the year looking at our social, political, cultural, spiritual and economic state geared at unity amongst Africans, moving forward and making progress from a conscious base. They also serve as part of the P.A.C.M's community education. Our events give us an opportunity to express our rich cultural heritage such as traditional dancers, poets, drama, fashion display and music as we meet as a family to honour ourselves.

For young adults we have the P.A.C.M. YOUTH WING. For younger children we have our Saturday school, both with many different activities and programmes, providing an educational and stimulating environment for young Africans preparing for a positive future.

Our programmes and activities are sponsored totally from contributions made by members and donations from the African community. We are not funded and are therefore able to speak the truth without apology or control from any outside forces.

So whatever your skills or interest we will find a place for you to use them in a positive way.

CONTACT PACM

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