Pan-Africanism/African Nationalism

PAN-AFRICANISM
AFRICAN NATIONALISM

Strengthening the Unity of Africa and its Diaspora

Edited by
B.F. Bankie & K. Mchombu

The Red Sea Press, Inc.
Publishers & Distributors of Third World Books

P. O. Box 1892
Trenton, NJ 08607

RSP

P. O. Box 48
Asmara, ERITREA

The Red Sea Press, Inc.
Publishers & Distributors of Third World Books
P. O. Box 1892 RSP P. O. Box 48
Trenton, NJ 08607 Asmara, ERITREA

Copyright © 2008 B.F. Bankie & K. Mchombu
First Africa World Press Edition 2008

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

Book and cover design: Saverance Publishing Services
(www.saverancepublishing.com)

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

All African Students' Conference (17th : 2005 : Windhoek, Namibia)
Pan-Africanism/African nationalism : strengthening the unity of Africa and its diaspora / edited by B.F. Bankie & K. Mchombu. -- 2nd ed.
p. cm.
Rev. ed. of: Pan-Africanism. 2006.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 1-56902-297-6 (hardcover) -- ISBN 1-56902-298-4 (pbk.)
1. Pan-Africanism--Congresses. 2. African diaspora--Congresses. I. Bankie, B. F. II. Mchombu, K. J. (Kingo J.) III. All African Students' Conference (17th : 2005 : Windhoek, Namibia). Pan-Africanism. IV. Title.
DT30.5.A48 2005a
320.54096--dc22
2008022490

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION | *B. F. Bankie* ix

DEDICATION TO JOHN GARANG DE MABIOR | *Dani Wadada Nabudere* xi

FOREWORD | *Kwesi Kwaa Prah* xxix

CONFERENCE OPENING SESSION 1

- Opening Remarks | *Elaine Trepper* 3
- Welcoming Address | *Lazarus Hangula* 5
- Statement | *C. Makhetha* 7
- Opening Address | *Sam Nujoma* 8
- Closing of Opening Session | *Allan Bernard* 12

THE IMPACT OF PAN-AFRICANISM 13

- Which Way Africa: A Multifaceted/Dimensional Discourse Shaped by Paradoxes that Characterise both Africans and Africans in the Diaspora |*H. Riruako* 15
- The Challenges Faced by the Global African Diaspora | *S.J. Dima* 19
- Pan Africanism and the African Diaspora: A Weak Cooperation in the Current International Arena | *Andrew Niikando* 30
- Pan-Africanism: Strengthening the Unity of Global Africa | *James N. Karioki* 41
- Contextualising Pan-Africanism | *Mandela Kapere* 48
- Positive Action will Forge Pan-Africanism | *John Trimble* 51
- Freedom and Pan-Africanism in Namibia Revisited: An All-African People's Renaissance in the Making | *Joe Murangi* 59
- Preserving and Integrating African Indigenous Knowledge Systems into the Global Knowledge Base | *Nahas Angula* 67

IDENTITY AND SOCIETY: SOME PAN-AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES 69

Towards a New Ethos in Human Relations | *Dani Wadada Nabudere* 71

Perspectives on Afrikan Identity in the 21st Century | *Amani Olubanjo Buntu* 75

Stigma and Discrimination against HIV/AIDS Victims, other Disease Sufferers and the Less Privileged in Africa as Obstacles to African Unity | *Nwagwu Juliet Adamma* 92

HIV/AIDS and Gender in Africa: Confronting our Sexuality and Inequalities | *L. Edwards* 105

Poverty Lab: Rastafari and Cultural Studies | *Jalani A. Niaah* 121

Ethnicity and Affluence: Immigrant and Americanised Caribbean Youth | *Derrick S. Raphael* 143

The Purpose of the Khoisan Resurgence | *The Khoisan Social Political Movement* 151

PAN-AFRICANISM AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA AND ITS DIASPORA 157

Towards African Integration Through Language: A Pan-African Perspective Juxtaposed within the African Renaissance | *Becky R.K. Ndjoze-Ojo* 159

From Imhotep to the Internet: Honour their Ashes, Follow their Flames | *Manga Clem Marshal* 175

Marketing Pan-Africanism to a New Generation: A Case Study of Liberty Hall – The Legacy of Marcus Garvey, Kingston, Jamaica | *Nicosia Shakes* 194

PAN-AFRICANISM, AFRICAN NATIONALISM AND AFRO-ARAB RELATIONS: PUTTING THE AFRICAN NATION IN CONTEXT 209

Pan-Africanism and African Nationalism: Putting the African Nation in Context – The Case of the Sudan | *John Garang de Mabior* 211

Pan-Africa or African Union? | *Bankie Forster Bankie* 222

Pan-Afrikanism and Afrikan Nationalism: Putting the Afrikan Nation in Context | *Sabelo Sibanda* 237

Afro-Arab Relations: Romantic or Real? | *S.J. Dima* 250

Islamisation and Arabisation of Africans as a Means to Political Power in the Sudan: Contradictions of Discrimination based on the Blackness of Skin and Stigma of Slavery and their Contribution to the Civil Wars | *M. Jalâl Haashim* 265

Afro/Arab Relations - A Complex Socio-Political Composition | *El-Tahir Adam El-Faki* 294

PROMOTING INTER-AFRICAN TRADE, MEETING THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGES 311

Developing Africa Through Inter-African Trade and Meeting Economic Challenges | *Zelipa Mwanza, Luti Mwasetuka, Yimbilanji Sichone* 313

Promoting Inter-African Trade, Meeting the Economic Challenges | *Felix Dimbare Tughuyendere* 324

Pan-Africanism: Strengthening the Unity of Africa and its Diaspora | *Reindorf Gyamena* 333

TOWARDS THE 8TH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS: STUDENT INVOLVEMENT IN THE PAN-AFRICAN MOVEMENT 339

Towards the 8th Pan-African Congress | *Chen Chimutengwende* 341

The University, Student Activism and the Pan-African Movement | *Nadeen Spence* 350

Pan-Africanism at the Beginning of the 21st Century: A Student Movement Perspective | *Leon Burrell* 359

EARLY INFLUENCES IN THE PAN-AFRICAN MOVEMENT: REPARATIONS AND NATIONALITY RIGHTS – MEETING THE CHALLENGES OF THE DIASPORA IN THE 21ST CENTURY 367

The Marcus Garvey Movement and the Pan-African Struggle | *Ryan Williams* 369

Pan-Africanism and Nationality Rights for the Diaspora: A Contemporary Perspective | *A. Bernard* 382

STATEMENT OF THE 17TH ALL AFRICAN STUDENTS' CONFERENCE 389

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

B. F. Bankie
Juba, South Sudan
May 2008

As we move further into the twenty-first century one, if not the, major challenge facing Africans will be how to unite effectively. Pan-Africanism and it's concomitant, African Nationalism, are works in progress towards completion. The Late Dr John Garang De Mabior, to whom this book is dedicated, within months of the convening of the 17th All African Students Conference, held in Windhoek, Namibia, 28th-29th May 2005, made his transition on the 30th July 2005. In his paper presented to the Conference he stated, 'Africa must unite, not as a continent but as a Nation, and therein lies our individual and collective survival as a people'. It is this preoccupation with African nationalism, away from the present balkanization, which makes the Second Edition necessary.

The shift from Southern Africa to the Afro-Arab Borderlands, articulated in the contribution of the Late leader of the Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) is not coincidental but actual. Settler colonialism in Southern Africa received its lesson at Cuito Canavale in Angola on 22nd March 1988. Developments in South Sudan lead by the SPLM/A made it possible for the marginalized of Sudan – the Darfuri, the Nubians, the Beja and others, to see their liberation as part of a larger struggle of Africans globally for unity, be it in the context of Sudan, the Afro-Arab Borderlands, or of Africans in the Eastern Diaspora in Arabia, North Africa, the Gulf States and points eastwards, as well as in the Western Diaspora in Europe, the Americas, the Caribbean and related places.

The 'longest war' in South Sudan fought by the Anya-Nya/SPLA, halted settler penetration towards the source of the Nile. This explains the shift west and the current genocide perpetrated in Darfur against the

African ethnic groups there, as well as the emigration into the area of West African Arabised and Islamised groups such as the Touareg. It is a recognition of these realities, which necessitates fresh approaches as to how the unity movement achieves its objectives. Continentalism of the 1960s is defunct in the face of events going on in Sudan as the Second Edition goes to press. The strategic shift by Arabian interests necessitated the inclusion in this Edition of an additional contribution from Dr El-Tahir Adam El-Faki.

African Nationalism pre-supposes a rejection of outmoded ideas, a return to the African socio-cultural base, including languages, along the lines inspired by Cheikh Anta Diop. Africans are a people whose reality, over a millennium has been determined by others, by two hegemonic influences, Arab and European. Pan-Africanism had been driven by the European encounter. In the future the Arab experience will be factored in. Other people have conditioned the thinking by force, by slavery, by genocide. They still insist that they know best. Many believe they are correct. The return to the source is the logic that will determine the future.

There were powerful interests which did not want the First Edition, published in Southern Africa, to appear. It was launched by Nahas Angula, the Prime Minister, on the 23rd May 2006, at the National Library in Windhoek, Namibia to mark Africa Day. Those in attendance included Dr Becky Ndoze-Ojo, Deputy Minister of Education and Culture and Runoko Rashidi, African American. This Second Edition was made possible thanks to the practical concern of Enid Lee and Clem Marshall in North America. John Pangech, Deng Ajak and other Sudanese, facilitated its publication.

The issues raised in this publication will have to be addressed more seriously in the future, than in the past. They should cease to be the sacrificial concern of a few, and become the major preoccupation of many. Until that happens Pan-Africanism/African Nationalism will remain a marginal aspect of the lives of Africans, rather than the central focus it should be. African progress depends on this.

Dedication to John Garang de Mabior

CONFLICT AS A CATALYST FOR CHANGE: THE LEGACY OF JOHN GARANG AND THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN SUDAN

Dani Wadada Nabudere[1]

Guest Key Note Speech in honour of late H. E. Dr. John Garang De Mabior, First President of the Republic of Sudan, President of Government of Southern Sudan, on the occasion of the post-humous *Jaramogi Uhuru Award 2007* by the Jaramogi Oginga Odinga Foundation on the 15th June 2007

– Nairobi, 15th June 2007.

Introduction

I thank the Jaramogi Oginga Odinga Foundation for having invited me to deliver this Key Note Address in honour of the late John Garang Mabior, who died on 30th June 2006 in a helicopter crash while travelling from Entebbe, Uganda to the New Site in Southern Sudan. The death of John Garang was a great blow to the people of Sudan and indeed to the whole of the African continent. The recognition of John Garang's contribution to the struggle of the people of Southern Sudan by the Jaramogi Oginga Odinga Foundation is indeed proof that the liberation of the African peoples anywhere a concern of all Africans wherever they may be.

Indeed the existence of the Jaramogi Oginga Odinga Foundation is in itself recognition of the role played by Ajuma Oginga Odinga in the liberation of not only Kenya, but also of Kenya's contribution to the struggle for liberation in Sudan. Jaramogi Oginga Odinga's dedication to the liberation

of Kenya from British colonial rule is well known. Right from his student days and later as a teacher at Maseno High School, Odinga demonstrated that to be free and to fight for the African liberation, one must first liberate himself by decolonising his mind.

This is why Prof. B. A. Ogot has correctly described Oginga Odinga as having been a rebel throughout his life. His nationalist credentials were clearly demonstrated when he refused to take the offer by the then colonial governor, Sir Patrick Renison, to lead the first African government in 1960. His response was to the effect that the British government had no business deciding who African leaders should be: He pointed out to him that the people of Kenya had decided that Jomo Kenyatta would be their leader. This was indeed a blow to colonialism and to the British attempts to divide the African people of Kenya even at this early stage of Kenya's search for Uhuru.

For me personally, this invitation to participate in this important event is of a particular personal satisfaction, because this is not the first time that I have been involved with the work of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga to which he dedicated himself so heroically throughout his political life. In 1967, while working as a young advocate of the High Court in Uganda, I was invited by the late Jaramogi Odinga to come and represent two youths who had been arrested for leading a demonstration in the process of the formation of the Kenya Peoples' Union-KPU. One of these youths I was called to represent, if I remember well, was called Were and the other was called Ng'ang'a Wanguhu, who were then incarcerated at Kamiti high security prison. I came and visited them at the prison and took down their statements, a process that later led to their release. Therefore, for me this event is another proof of our joint struggles for the liberation of our people and continent and I am therefore happy to be connected with this honouring of H. E. Dr. John Garang de Mabior on this occasion.

It is perhaps befitting for me to record my sorrow and to give my condolences to the people of Kenya for the death of the late Jaramogi Oginga Odinga's close compatriot and comrade-in-arms, Ramogi Achieng Oneko, who died this week and who is being buried tomorrow. The government of Kenya should be congratulated for having recognised the role played by Ramogi Oneko as the last of the 'Kapenguria Six' by giving Oneko a state funeral. The decolonisation of Kenya owes greatly to this group of Kenyans who stood firm for the demand that the people of Kenyan should be freed to become a sovereign people. As this presentation indicates below, this struggle for a true Uhuru continues and Oneko's legacy like that of Jaramogi Odinga will only be vindicated if this objective is achieved.

Garang and the Struggle for the Liberation of Sudan

The struggle for which John Garang lost his life was a pan-African struggle, which was supported by the people of Kenya, Uganda as their immediate neighbours, but also by the rest of the African continent and the African Diaspora. Although the late Garang became the last leader of the struggle in Southern Sudan, he was a later comer because the war in that country against Arab domination had been fought right from the beginning of the British handing over political power to an Arab minority.

The Formulation of a Strategy for Armed Struggle

In his study of the root causes of Sudan's civil wars, Douglas H. Johnson has argued that the conflict between the northern and southern Sudan has usually been misunderstood, because the historical roots of the conflict have been misrepresented by two opposing view points. The first, he argues, is the view that the division between the North and the South was based on centuries-old exploitation and slave-raiding by the 'Arab' North against the 'African' South. The second viewpoint, he adds, is the view that Sudan was artificially split by imperialist meddling, "since Sudanese is Islam (and) is both 'African' and 'Arab' and that the existence of Sudan "imposed no natural or historical divisions between the two regions." However, Johnson continues to observe that despite second view point, there had 'certainly' been a process of 'Arabisation' and 'Islamisation' since the invasion of the Sudan by Arab tribes from Upper Egypt and across the Red Sea during the Middle Ages:

> The 'Arab invasion' of the Sudan has been accepted as an historical fact both by those who think that Arabisation is a natural and inevitable process- interrupted in its final stages by British intervention- and by those who see it as an external threat which should be stopped by the rallying of an indigenous African opposition. A corollary to the above is that the northern Sudan has been united by Islam, and therefore confronts the South with a political and cultural unity which the South itself lacks [Johnson, 2003: 1].

In joining the conflict as a catalyst for change in the Sudan, John Garang De Mabior and his compatriots therefore faced a complex situation in their country, which they had to resolve. Firstly, Sudan was a vast territory of some one million square miles with a population of over thirty million inhabitants, divided in some 100 districts of which half were in

the South where one-third of the population lived occupying one-third of the territory of Sudan. Secondly, Sudan was basically divided between the 'Arab' North and 'Christian and Animist' South, which in themselves were complexities for the identification of the North as 'Arab' and the South as 'African,' a division which obscured the fact that the majority populations in the North were not Arabs culturally and ethnically and that the South was also not homogeneous but was inhabited by the Dinka and the Nuer as the main ethnic groups, but with some fourteen minor linguistic groupings. These complexities were later to determine how the wars in that country would be waged and at the same time also came to form the basis for a wider unity to confront a minority regime in the North dominated by some Arab lineages, demonstrating that Arabism and Islam in the North were also not homogenous.

The contribution of John Garang to the conflict lay in the fact that while focusing on the grievances of the people of Southern Sudan, he was able to highlight the general democratic grievances of the people in the North of the country. These grievances determined the SPLM/A political and armed struggle strategies beginning with the attacks on the canal and oil installations which brought these two economic installations to a halt by 1984 with the outbreak of the second war in 1983. This strategy also determined how the Khartoum and Egyptian regime were to respond. The Egyptian attitude towards the war was determined by its own interests and her perceived need for increased water flows and its unwavering commitment to the Jonglei Canal. This also determined to her opposition to an independent, or even a politically powerful southern Sudan under the SPLM/A.

On the other hand, as far as the regime in Khartoum was concerned, their determination to secure the oil fields for northern needs, including the purchase of weapons to fight the SPLM/A, ensured its strategy in dividing the population in the South so as to alienate them from the SPLM/A. This was exemplified by the Islamist regime of Bashir and Turabi backing the Nuer factions within the SPLM/A in order to divide its ranks, which also determined its so-called "peace from within" of the 1990s.

This strategy enabled the government in Khartoum to increase its oil revenues and also to win the support of a number of countries interested in the oil exploitation such as the United States and later China and India. This also meant that in order for the SPLM/A to win the war, it had to direct its policies towards undermining this government strategy and win over the international community to its side and to do so required an approach which demonstrated its commitment to the unity of a democratic Sudan. The international community also increased its pressure on

the government in Khartoum as the European Union begun to enter the scene to insist on a settlement [Johnson, 2003: 142].

What the SPLM/A under John Garang was facing therefore, was what Johnson has called the "twentieth century dilemmas." In the first place, the earlier guerrilla struggles under Anyanya had bred a situation of factional and tribal divisions in the political objectives and strategies. On the other hand, these divisions had strengthened the Northern determination to continue its domination over the southern peoples. In response to these 'dilemmas' the SPLM/A under Garang tried to draw some useful lessons of the first guerrilla struggles and made the suppression of internal factionalism its top priority. In so doing he tried to draw experiences from the other liberation movements from other parts of Africa, especially those from southern Africa and 'Portuguese' West Africa. He also tried to link up with the political parties and trade unions in the North to try to develop a common democratic front. The unity Garang achieved explains why the SPLM/A was successful in their operations up to 1991 [Johnson, 2003: 76].

Johnson surmised that by 2003, the SPLM/A having learnt the lessons of the previous war, did not fully raise the 'learning curve' to new levels to widen the alliances. From 1992 onwards, "their learning curve flattened out" with the consequence that it took them some time for them to meet the challenges that were thrown up by their early military successes. Johnson points out that this was partly to do with the objectives of the war. This is because by the end of 1991, there had developed what he calls 'interlocking civil wars," which were now being fought at different levels. This complication arose out of the fact that the regime in Khartoum continuing to play a divisive role by factionalising and using so-called 'tribal' militias in the South to fight on its side and/or independently against the SPLM/A.

This strategy included giving support to the Uganda rebel group the Lord's Resistance Army-LRA and its Sudanese allies. These networks of internal civil wars, whether within the sub-regions or among specific communities in the South, were a long-standing dilemma for the SPLM/A. In these interlocking wars, the Khartoum government had succeeded once more to pit one southern ethnic based armies against the other, creating complications with their links to the SPLM/A.

But there was also an interesting development in this phase: fighting was no longer confined to the South. It had spread to areas originally regarded as being part of the 'Arab' North in such regions as Southern Kordofan, Blue Nile and Darfur and later Qallabat, Kassala and the Red Sea. In each region tensions had been exacerbated by the intervention of external interests. According to Johnson, the introduction of violent sectarian

politics in these regions and at the national centre had "served to fracture, perhaps irreparably, the Northern Muslim consensus" [Ibid: 127].

Furthermore, since 1991 apart from the multiplication of internal conflicts, the war had been complicated even more by Sudan's involvement in conflicts with the neighbouring countries such as Uganda and Chad either in pursuit of the of the policy of Islamic expansionism or for reasons of military expediency. The longer the war went on, the more the conflict intensified for the northern government and the more the North-South cleavage also became entrenched, with the result that the fractures within the Muslim North also proliferating with "civil war within Islam" being waged with the war against the 'non-believers" [Ibid].

Thus it was to the greatness of the SPLM/A under Garang's leadership that a strategy encompassing the entire Sudan begun to emerge, but with a cost to internal cohesion amongst southern Sudan communities. From 1991, the SPLM/A intensified its policy of recruitment into its ranks based on the mobilisation of grievances against the Islamist regimes in the Khartoum as an institution rather than as an ethnic-religious group. John Garang was at the centre of this orientation in policy. These grievances were not restricted to the South and this new policy orientation was meant to attract support beyond the geographical 'South' with the objective of creating a 'New Sudan' as a united country. Nevertheless, they did not make this policy to be at the centre of their political analysis due to the fact that some elements within the SPLM/A still believed in the idea of the right to self-determination for the South, while the Northern political parties were sceptical abut the real intentions of the leadership of the SPLM/A. This tended to create a political directionless position within the SPLM/A, which was partly overcome by the peace process.

The Search for a Policy for Peace in the 'New Sudan'

One of the most important roles that John Garang De Mabior played in the SPLM/A was to champion the issue of a peace deal with his northern opponents on the basis of building a 'New Sudan.' As we have already observed, the struggle in the Sudan led by the SPLM/A had led to a complex national crisis, which had created an intricate interlocking network of conflicts making governance in Sudan almost impossible. The response to this complexity by John Garang and his colleagues in the SPLM/A was to seek peace with the enemy they had been fighting for over twenty years and in this response the Kenya government played a significant role in hosting, encouraging and monitoring the 'Machakos' and 'Naivasha' peace talks and negotiations.

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), which was signed in January 2005, emerged from this immensely complex national crisis. It also came out of the realisation that although greatly weakened, the Khartoum government was unlikely to collapse in the short term as a result of the armed struggle. The regime in the North also realised that it had no chance of crushing the widening rebellion and win an outright military victory over them. The search for a CPA was therefore an attempt to achieve two things at the same time: to heal a deeply divided country by addressing root causes of the conflict, and also to try to resolve fundamental issues that could not be decided by military means.

The protracted negotiations led to a comprehensive agreement that addressed the issue of political and economic power, which for too long had been concentrated in the centre around Khartoum. The SPLM/A in advancing the idea of the 'New Sudan' demanded that political power and wealth sharing be shared with all peoples of Sudan. This in turn required finding ways to secure central representation of all peripheral regions and to transfer an equitable share of the national wealth from the centre to these areas. Negotiations were structured around these themes and the protocols on power sharing and wealth sharing formed the core of the CPA.

The CPA also addressed in its protocols security issues as well as the concerns of the those regions and areas that had not been represented but were engaged in the struggle against the government in Khartoum. The agreements on the 'Three Areas' (the contested areas of Abyei, the Nuba Mountains as well as the Blue Nile) enabled the SPLM/A to extend its hand of solidarity to these areas by raising their concerns. For the SPLM the security protocol, which recognised the role of the SPLM/A as "regular, professional, and non-partisan armed forces" was a recognition of its role to represent and give protection to the right to secede if the people of Southern Sudan voted in favour of secession at the end of the six-year interim period.

The protocols on the "Three Areas" were also essential because the SPLM/A had always claimed to represent the interest of these areas and failure to conclude anything less than separate agreements would have undermined the national legitimacy of the SPLM/A as a national movement. Moreover, the Nuba Mountains/Blue Nile agreement became the testing ground for what the principles of power sharing and wealth sharing would mean in Northern Sudan. Representatives from both the SPLM/A and the regime in Khartoum suggested that arrangement for the Nuba Mountains and the Blue Nile could serve as a model for other regions in the country, such as Darfur and the Eastern province.

The protocol on Abyei formed a unique part of the CPA in that it is the only body of text for which the parties did not claim authorship. There continues to be a great deal of uncertainty as to how the Abyei issue will finally be solved – whether it will join Southern Sudan (and perhaps be part of a new independent country) or remain part of Northern Sudan in case the South vote for separation. Already there are indications that leaders of some of the Arab tribes in the area – important constituencies of the ruling National Congress Party – have signalled that they do not want to become part of Southern Sudan. Similarly there are leaders from the African population of the area who insist that Abyei must be transferred back to Southern Sudan. The report of the Abyei Border Commission was meant to address some of the most controversial issues but stirred up emotions still further. The Commission recently carried out their work, but this has been rejected by the government in Khartoum. Failure to reach a comprehensive compromise that all can live with could turn Abyei into another battle ground.

The issue of political and wealth sharing was no less contentious. While the SPLM as a political movement promoted a full-scale reform of the political and economic structures of the whole of Sudan, it was well known that most leading cadres of the SPLM, as well as the vast majority of the people of Southern Sudan, preferred secession to continued unity. For this reason they felt that the primary responsibly for making unity attractive rested with the incumbent government in Khartoum and future national governments and not for the SPLM/A to go out of its way to bring it about. The regime in Khartoum had therefore to accept a system of governance that pointed in the direction of real empowerment of all regional states and regions if an agreement was to be clinched. In addition, the predominantly non-Muslim leadership of the SPLM was not prepared to live under Islamic laws so the government in Khartoum had to accept that there would only be *Sharia* law in the North.

For this reason, the regime in Khartoum and its negotiators had to make major concessions to make unity attractive to the South and therefore principles of decentralisation of power were at the heart of the agreement and this explains why the powers granted to the Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS) were extensive. The Wealth Sharing protocol gave the GoSS roughly 50% of net revenue from all oil produced in Southern Sudan, depriving the central treasury of a very large share of its potential revenue base. High oil prices to some extent mitigated the impact of this concession but it was not welcomed by the regime because of the loss of revenue. Secession of Southern Sudan, where most of the oil reserves are assumed to be located, would of course have even greater consequences for

the treasury in Khartoum and hence the prospects that the regime would do everything in its power to frustrate its full implementation.

As regards the idea of the 'New Sudan,' it was John Garang who had the conviction to advance this idea with any confidence. It was known that may commanders in the SPLM/A were not very enthusiastic about the idea of a united Sudan, as noted above. Nevertheless, these aspirations for the 'New Sudan' were reflected in the Power Sharing protocol in which it was provided that the Chairman of the SPLM/A was also to be the First Vice-President of the Sudan. In addition, it was provided that other SPLM/A officials were to be appointed to about one-third of all ministerial positions in the Government of National Unity when formed. Moreover, the composition of the national civil service was to be reformed to make it more reflective of the nation as a whole. The CPA also paved the way for the SPLM/A to establish itself as a political force to be reckoned within Northern Sudan. Until elections were after about three years, SPLM members were to hold 10% of the seats in state legislatures in the Northern states, giving the Movement a flying start in establishing itself as a national movement.

Who Was Garang?

Garang was born on June 23 1945 in a tiny Dinka village called Wagkulei, in Bor County, on the east bank of the Nile. By the age of 10, he was already orphaned but was fortunate to be assisted by a relative who sent him to school, first in nearby Wau, then across the Nile in Rumbek. In 1962, at the age of 17, Garang asked to join the Anyanya uprising in southern Sudan, but was discouraged by the commanders to continue with his secondary education in Tanzania. He did so well there that he won for himself a scholarship to go to Grinnell College, in Iowa, in the United States and, in 1969, took a B.Sc. degree in economics. Always deserving, he was offered a graduate fellowship at the University of California in Berkeley, but chose to return to Tanzania to do a research fellow at Dar es Salaam University to do in agricultural economics. There, he met a future ally the future president of Uganda, Yoweri Museveni, who became an important supporter to his armed struggle. But very soon he returned to Sudan and this time, having received his education, succeeded in joining the rebel movement Anyanya to become a fighter. When the Addis Ababa agreement of 1972 ended Sudan's first civil war, many rebels, Garang among them, were incorporated into the Sudanese armed forces. After 11 years as a career soldier in the Sudanese army, he rose from the rank of a captain to the high rank of a full colonel. He then proceeded to the US once more to complete an advanced course in military science at the US army infantry

school in Fort Benning, Georgia. There he also took a four-year break to study for a masters degree in agricultural economics and later took a PhD in economics at Iowa State University, which he got.

On returning to Sudan in 1981, he found great change in his country. President Jaafar Nimeiri, formerly close to the Communist Party of Sudan, begun to politically lean towards the Islamists, who favoured the introduction of Sharia law in the country, even in the predominantly Christian south of the country. Garang realised that the peace agreement signed in Addis Ababa was doomed, even before Nimeiri formerly abrogated it in 1983 and imposed Sharia throughout the country.

In May 1983, Garang was sent to his old command in Bor to quell a mutiny of 500 southern troops – commanded by officers absorbed from Anyanya – who were resisting orders to move to the North, ostensibly to immobilise them from any dangerous responses to the abrogation of the agreement. Garang decided to vanish into the bush only to remerge some two months later in Ethiopia, where Mengistu Haile Mariam had put him to be the head of the new Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Army (SPLM/A), with the rebellious Bor garrison as its nucleus. Early military successes were followed by lengthy stalemates and crippling splits within the SPLM/A, often along tribal lines. There are suggestions that these splits were exacerbated by the perceived arrogant, authoritarian leadership of Garang and his Bor Dinka inner circle.

Unfortunately for the SPLM/A, the Mengistu's regime collapsed in 1991, and the SPLA lost its chief financial and material backer. This was a period of the collapse of the Cold War as well and Garang ready the signs on the wall and decided to look to the West, stressing the Christian character of much of the Sudanese south and Khartoum's efforts to impose Sharia upon it. In its early years, the SPLA was, in the words of an internal critic, "a militarist instrument intolerant and averse to democratic methods and principles", hostile to politicians and intellectuals. Many southerners were killed; others were imprisoned and tortured, a fact that later became a point of reflection for the SPLM/A to emerge as uniting factor in the South later, but for the time being the period from 1991 became a divisive period in the struggle as we have already noted above.

But the SPLM/A went through these problems and begun to develop a broadly democratic programme, which addressed the concerns of the different political forces in the country from which begun to emerge elements of what Garang called the "New Sudan." According to Garang, the "New Sudan" was to be a secular, pluralist and democratic nation that would address the concerns of the southerners while not ignoring those of the. He developed a good working relationship with the NGOs with which he

later signed the "Declaration of Principles" that formed one of the building blocks towards peace negotiations.

Garang never deviated from his vision of united 'New Sudan.' He knew that most southerners, even within the SPLM/A, were opposed to the idea, but left to his own point of view, he would not have agreed to the referendum on self-determination that the peace agreement requires be held in six years' time. But because of the pressure and of the need to produce a peace agreement to which everyone agreed, he decided to accommodate the idea of a referendum on self-determination. Many people have argued that Garang's death has put the new Sudan idea in jeopardy, but the new leader of the SPLM/A has declared that he will fully implement the CPA. But Garang's death also casts a shadow over prospects for peace in Darfur. Garang enjoyed considerable influence with the largest rebel group there, the Sudan Liberation Army, and his authoritative, energetic presence in a national unity government would have been a powerful force against continued government-sponsored aggression. But the SPLM/A has emerged from his death with a renewed energy under the new leadership under Salva Kiir Mayardit.

During the funeral of John Garang, the President of Sudan, Omar Hassan as-Bashir declared: *"We are confident that the peace agreement will proceed as it was planned and drawn up and that the future of Sudan will remain a trust in our hearts and the hearts of the brothers in the [SPLM] movement."* The SPLM/A new leader, Salva Kiir Mayardit, reassured all the people of Sudan that: *"We want to assure everyone that the leadership and all cadres of the SPLM/SPLA will remain united and strive to faithfully implement the comprehensive peace agreement."*

The Jaramogi Legacy and Lessons for Sudan

The above tracement of John Garang's contribution to the struggles of the people of Southern Sudan, brings us to the issue of leadership in African decolonisation. It has emerged from the analysis above, that John Garang was a strong leader who was dedicated to the liberation of his country from a minority, non-democratic regime. Despite all the problems connected with his leadership, all agree that his dedication to a peace agreement had, by the time he died, brought the people of Sudan nearer to realising his objective of freedom from an Islamist regime in Khartoum. Under the CPA, Garang had created an autonomous government for Southern Sudan as well as creating room for the SPLM/A leadership to occupy positions in the government of the whole country.

In doing this, Garang had proved wrong those who had tried to see Sudan either as a country where 'Arabisation' was a natural and inevitable

process, which had been interrupted in its final stages by British intervention; and those who saw Arab presence as an external threat which should be stopped by the rallying of an indigenous African opposition against them. Garang had proved through the war and the peace process that Sudan was to be an independent African country run on a democratic basis and that Sudan was home to all who lived it whether they were Arabs or Africans and that the issue in the struggle was about the recognition of the right of self-determination for all the people of Sudan.

Equally in Kenya, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga along with is compatriots succeeded in proving that Kenya was not a Whiteman's country, but an African country whose people were black-Africans to be run on a democratic basis. He also disproved those African leaders who believed that they could rule the country through undemocratic by banishing the opposition and manipulating ethnic-tribalist loyalties to advance their hold on power. By 1992, Kenya had accepted the right of political parties to exist and play their role in the development of the country. Although the tendency towards the politicisation of tribal sentiments as a means of 'mobilisation' continue in the era of multiparty politics in Kenya, the point about the need to develop Kenya as an all-inclusive society to which all the people of Kenya have rights is clearly enshrined in the constitution for which Odinga and other freedom fighters fought for.

Thus the legacy of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and that of John Garang have something in common proving once more that the struggles of the people of Africa had many attributes in common from which all could benefit. Kenya played an important role in encouraging and monitoring the peace process. The CPA has opened a new chapter for Sudan, but signs have appeared in South Sudan, which indicate that some leaders are already engaged in the abuse of their powers by accumulating wealth from government contracts and by misusing the money from the oil wealth. It would be a good African practice for the leaders in South Sudan to learn from the negative experiences of some Kenyan leaders in the early period grabbing public land and amassing wealth at thee expense of the Wanainchi against which Jaramogi Odinga fought so hard until his death This development, if not properly handled, could create divisions, which could result in the fragmentation of the political leadership and in-fighting to the detriment of the Wanainchi in Sudan.

In this context it is important to reflect on the significance of the Jaramogi Oginga Odinga legacy in Kenya and Africa as a whole, in as much as it relates to this issue of leadership in the post-colonial period. There is a good amount of literature on this matter beginning with Odinga's own account of the events of this period, which made him to write his auto-

biography entitled: *Not Yet Uhuru* in 1967 [Odinga, 1967]. In this book Jaramogi Odinga told a story of the implications of neo-colonialism and what it meant for the Wanainchi, which enlightened many Africans about the fact that Uhuru was far from having been won and realised. In view of what happened in Kenya and the rest of the continent, Jaramogi Odinga's analysis became prophetic. Kwame Nkrumah had done the same when he also wrote: *Neo-colonialism: The Highest Stage of Imperialism* [Nkrumah,

Scholars such as Prof Odera Oruka who had the opportunity to interview Jaramogi found him to be a man of deep belief in whatever he advocated [Oruka, 1992], and Atieno Odhiambo has given us an account of Jaramogi Odinga's political struggles and assessed his role in the history of Kenya, which goes to show that the principles for which Odinga stood for were correct and need to be pursued if Africa is to achieve real Uhuru [Atieno Odhiambo, 1997]. Ali Mazrui in his inaugural address at the Jaramogi Odinga Foundation in 2005 argued that Odinga saw African socialism as key to the achievement of Uhuru and that until that was achieved, Uhuru would still remain *'bado kidogo'* [Mazrui, 2005].

For Odinga therefore, the struggle for African Uhuru is still "a work in progress" as Mazrui points out [Ibid: 12]. Therefore his legacy challenges us to identify those ideals that Odinga saw as vital to that 'work in progress,' which he dedicated himself to. Odinga's legacy has to be seen in his wider visions of a pan-African liberation. This is why Mzee Jomo Kenyatta sent him to attend the launching of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in May 1963, before Kenya was still a colony of the British colonisers. It is because Jaramogi Odinga among all the Kenyan politicians, apart from Mzee Kenyatta himself, was the clearest about the role of pan-Africanism for the people of Kenya and Africa as a whole. At that inaugural and historic conference, Odinga had the privilege of presenting the Joint Statement of the liberation movements in countries, which were still under colonial rule. It was out of the appeals of Joint Statement by these movements that the Liberation Committee of the OAU was formed to continue the work of decolonising the continent. As part of that mobilisation for decolonisation of the rest of the continent, Jaramogi Odinga played a leading role in the creation of the Pan-African Movement of Eastern and Central Africa-PAFMECA.

Jaramogi Odinga was not only a progressive nationalist, he was also an internationalist who believed in the principle of neutrality and non-alignment of the countries of the South that had been colonised by the European colonial powers. He visited several Asian countries as well as the Soviet Union and countries in Eastern Europe to prove the point that Kenya and Africa should avoid the continued subjugation of the western imperialist

countries, which had dominated and exploited the African countries. Out of these contacts, Jaramogi Odinga was able to raise resources for Kenya that built the Lumumba Institute for the ideological development of the young Kenyans as well as the New Nyanza Hospital in Kisumu.

These achievements showed Jaramogi Odinga to be a man of vision. But he was not just a visionary. He was an active advocate and participant in the creation of institutions and organisations that constituted what I call the "*JARAMOGI OGINGA ODINGA MODEL FOR SELF-RELIANCE AND SELF-EMPOWERMENT*". He believed that such institutions, if replicated across the whole country, could have been the basis of a self-reliant Kenya. The principles underlying this Jaramogi Odinga's model can be listed as follows:

A. The principle of *cultural identity and dignity of the African people* and their right to a free and independent nationhood;
B. The principle of *self-reliance in economic and political affairs* or what Nyerere called "African socialism" or "*Ujaaama na kujitegemea*";
C. The principle of *thriftiness and the spirit of saving/conserving resources* and the avoidance of over consumption and aid-dependence;
D. The principle of *sharing* benefits and responsibilities in the course of developing an endogenous economy;
E. The principle of *community empowerment* and *individual enterprise* as complimentary elements in developing a vibrant endogenous model of economic and political development through cooperative and individual production, trading and distribution;
F. The principle of *pan-African solidarity* based on *international solidarity* with all oppressed peoples of the world without distinction on the basis of race, religion, gender or territory.

This model and its principles were tried out in the various engagements in which Oginga Odinga was involved throughout his life. He proved his commitment to these principles by insisting on his cultural identity as the basis of his beliefs. He insisted that his children would be baptised in the names of his community and not in Judeo-European names. He also changed his name to accord with this commitment and went further to develop an African dress that he wore throughout his political carrier to manifest that identity. He set up organisations to mobilise the savings, resources and energies of the local communities, which enabled them to play a contributive political role in the decolonisation of Kenya. These organisations included: Bondo Thrift Organisation; the Luo Thrift and

Trading Corporation the Africa House, the Ramogi Press, the Luo Union and the Ofafa Memorial Hall. Later in 1983, he with other compatriots contributed shares to set up the Ramogi Development Trust (RADET), which the Kenya government refused to register and at the same time outlawed all its meetings.

These efforts and experiences could have, within the context of the Kenya political economy, become pillars in the development of an economic programme that would have charted a different path of development instead of the approach that came to be based on Sessional Paper No. 10 misnamed "African Socialism as Applied to Planning in Kenya." This capitalistic model of development resulted in a culture of grabbing of public resources and the marginalisation of the majority of Kenyans.

The Jaramogi Odinga Model can be further developed and elaborated by scholars to form a firm basis for an African self-reliant development model, which can be researched on further. *My proposal to the Jaramogi Odinga Foundation is that the Foundation should work closely with scholars and the communities towards developing this model as an alternative model of self-transformation of the African countries*. Such an approach is already supported by some mainstream economists in the New Growth theories and in the advocacy for sustainable development. Moreover outstanding scholars such as Prof Cheikh Anta Diop and Chancellor Williams, have each put forward proposals that would seem to support this model of development [Diop, Williams,]. We can build on these foundations.

Professor B. A. Ogot described Odinga as a 'rebel all his life.' This is not without truth. The fact of the matter is that Oginga Odinga never wavered in his beliefs. He persisted in the advocacy of those principles, which led him to be imprisoned and his political organisations banned because they were very appealing to the Wanainchi. It is therefore incorrect to say, as Duncan Ndegwa had done in his autobiography that Oginga Odinga's vision was "without strategy" and that it lacked "enough followers to make it national and universally acceptable" [Ndegwa, 2006: 366], when he at the same time tells us how Odinga's organisations were banned and Odinga thrown in prison. This, if anything proved that Odinga's vision was appealing to the popular masses and therefore he had to be stopped by banning his political organisations to ensure there would be no following to them.

In fact it can be demonstrated that Odinga's efforts to remove the one-party rule were a vindication of his political stand and vision. Moreover, his visions and pronouncements on the issue of land distribution have proved to be correct. When Odinga stood up and called Kenyatta to be "a land grabber," he was condemning the large-scale pillage of national resources

by officials under Kenyatta's government. Odinga on his part had rejected the purchasing of land from the settlers and its acquisition by the state to sell to the wanainchi. Odinga had advocated that land should be given freely to the freedom fighters and to the wanainchi. He was accused of advocating 'communist' ideas for Kenyan development by opportunistic Kenyan leaders.

Indeed, his views on this matter have recently been vindicated by the Ndugu Report on land in its findings. The report discovered what it called the "land grabbing phenomenon" that had engulfed Kenya. I referred to the disappearance of the public trust doctrine in the allocation of land. The Commission on page 109 found the "illegal allocation of public lands," which, according to the report, had served "as an avenue for the unjust enrichment of individuals and companies," which had made millions from public lands "without performing any public duty or paying any taxes to the exchequer" [Govt of Kenya, 2004: 109]. At page 174, the commission's report referred to the abuse of office by many government officials in the allocation of public land, accusing them of "land grabbing," which according to the report, had become "something normal for them" [p. 174]. This vindicated, if anything, Jaramogi Odinga's about land grabbing under the Kenyatta and the Moi regimes.

So what is the legacy that Jaramogi Oginga Odinga left behind for us? We are in full agreement with Professor Atieno Odhiambo';s assessment of Odinga's legacy which he arrives at after a careful analysis of his contributions:

> Here is a man who sought to make his country free. That vision guided his economic and political endeavours. In so far as Kenya is free from colonialism and is actively seeking its Second Independence, it can be safely stated that history will judge Jaramogi Oginga Odinga kindly as a man who decided early in his life's ambition, namely, the mental. Religious, economic and political freedom of his country and as a man who kept his faith in the people- the "Wanainchi wa Kawaida [Atieno Odhiambo, 1997: 33].

Atieno Odhiambo adds that Odinga's problem with the Kenyan state was over the issue of equity, about social responsibility and about social justice- "a goal he would have pursued along his compatriots" if he had been left to serve his people in government. Mazrui in his 2005 lecture to the Foundation observed that for Africa, "there is no alternative for self-reliance as a long-term struggle" and that this is the only way Africa can close the "Uhuru-Gap." Mazrui further went to observe that for Odinga,

the struggle for *real* Uhuru was not a completed business but a 'work in progress.' Therefore Odinga's message and legacy to the people of Africa can be said to: THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES UNTIL REAL UHURU IS REALISED.

IN MEMORIAM OF JOHN GARANG DE MABIOR

John Garang died on the 31st July 2005 in a Ugandan presidential Russian-made helicopter, which crashed on the Uganda-Sudan border inside Sudan. There were strong suspicions in some quarters that the crash was not an accident but a planned assassination of Garang.[2] This might have explained why his death led to serious riots in Khartoum and other Sudanese cities and villages. This proved that the legacy that Garang had left behind him had been a correct assessment of the mood of the people of Sudan as a whole. It proved also that Garang's vision of a "New Sudan" was a realistic one and that the majority of the people of Sudan were behind this vision. Garang's legacy will include this recognition and the fact that he had managed to bring the different ethnic communities in Sudan into a united front towards the achievement of a comprehensive peace process. This peace process continues to unfold to which the current SPLM/A leadership and Government of Sudan are committed. This is the basis on which we should all honour John Garang's memory and legacy for Sudan. The Award that the Jaramogi Oginga Odinga Foundation is making to him today is in fact recognition of this legacy. LONG LIVE GARANG; LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE OF SUDAN; LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF PAN-AFRICANISM; LONG LIVE AFRICA.

Notes

1. Executive Director/Principal, Marcus Garvey Pan-Afrikan Institute, Mbale, Uganda
2. At the ceremony at which the Jaramogi Odinga Foundation made this Uhuru award to the late John Garang, Mrs. Rebecca Garang, the wife of the late Garang, made a statement to the effect that although she had never made such a statement before, she was now in a position to state categorically that her husband had been assassinated and that the crash was not accidental. This is the occasion on which this speech was made.

References

Atieno Odhiambo, E. S [1997]: *Jaramogi Oginga Odinga*, Makers of Kenya's History Series, East African Educational Publishers, Nairobi, Kampala, Dar es Salaam.

Diop, C. A [1974]: *Black Africa: The Economic and Cultural Basis for a Federated State*, Lawrence Hill & Company, Westport, Connecticut and Africa World Press, Trenton, New Jersey.

Government of Kenya [2004]: *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Illegal/Irregular Allocation of Public Land*, Government Printer, Nairobi, Kenya.

Johnson, D. H [2003]: *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars*, Fountain Publishers, James Curry, and E. A. E. P, Oxford, Kampala, Nairobi and Indianapolis.

Mazrui, A [2005]: Uhuru Bado Kidogo: Africa's Condition of "Not Yet Uhuru:" Balance

Sheet, Lecture given at the invitation of the Jaramogi Oginga Odinga Foundation, Nairobi, Kenya, July 15, 2005.

Ndegwa, D [2006]: *Walking in Kenyatta Struggles: My Story,* Kenya Leadership Institute, Nairobi.

Nkrumah, K [1965]: *Neo-colonialism: The Lat Stage of Imperialism*, Panaf, London.

Oruka, Odera H [1992]: *Oginga Odinga: His Philosophy and Beliefs*, Initiatives Publishers, Nairobi, Kenya.

Williams, C [1993]: *The Re-Birth of African Civilisation*, Hampton, Virginia.

FOREWORD

Kwesi Kwaa Prah
Cape Town
October 2005

The appearance of this text bears testimony to the continued engagement of the youth in Africa and its Diaspora to issues related to the ideals of Pan-Africanism. The vitality of the ideal and its continued ability to move people of African descent in pursuit of the goals of the ideal cannot be doubted. For a hundred years, the spirit of Pan-Africanism has motivated and guided the thinking and action of a host of adherents. It has been the prime inspiration behind the movement for colonial freedom. It has seen many ups and downs and it has been often slated for perdition. However, it has been able to maintain its pulsating memory and age. In brief, the idea has been that the emancipation and development of Africans and people of African descent demands that we unite. In other words, Africans cannot make progress without unity.

Pan-Africanism has stayed the course for a hundred years, but it will have to update and renew itself. It has to evolve and meet the challenges of the present, by learning from the past. This requires a critical self-examination of the body of ideas associated with it. Without this, we cannot make the details of Pan-Africanism relevant to our times. Furthermore, this self-examination has to go with scrutiny of the tendency towards orthodoxy, treating every line and sentence of the intellectual fathers of Pan-Africanism as dogma. The challenges of a globalizing world are many and Pan-Africanism needs to address these challenges. The platforms for Pan-Africanist exchanges also need to be reconsidered. Are conferences sponsored directly or indirectly by African states the best way to proceed, in our times? A hard look at these issues is on the agenda for Pan-Africanist activities today.

A leading issue which needs attention is the relationship between Pan-Africanism and Pan-Arabism. Africans and Arabs need to define more clearly the separations, interpenetrations and intersections between these two movements. Without a solution to this there is likely in the future to be tension in the Afro-Arab borderlands, as we currently see in the Sudan and Mauritania. Some time ago, in *Beyond the Colour Line*, I made the point that we have got to be wary about what I call "continentalism". That is, the argument that Pan-Africanism means, still for us today, the unity of the African Continent in the first place, a unity of post-colonial states, and not as I would say and insist the unity of peoples, whose history and culture derive from the African Continent, and are conscious of this affinity and wish to develop these roots as a basis for the social and economic emancipation of African people. My definition fundamentally recognizes the link with the Diaspora as more important than the notion of Continental unity *per se*, which is essentially geographical. In other words, the unity of the greater part of this Continent, logically, would emerge more as a consequence than a cause. Again in other words, if people of African history and descent unite, that is if the *African Nation* unites, most of the Continent of Africa will unite.

The hosting of the 17th meeting of the All African Students' Conference attests to the resilience of the youth of African descent and the determination of these youth to pursue the objectives of the Pan-African movement. This is a welcome sight because in all societies, at all times, the youth represent what is best in us as human communities. They and their ideals are harbingers of the future. Their commitment to Pan-Africanism bodes well for the cause.

This text will be read far and wide by people who did not have the opportunity to be at the Conference. It will help to reinforce the movement of Pan-Africanism. This volume includes perceptions and understandings of a rich variety of people, including the former President of Namibia, His Excellency, Dr. Sam Nujoma.

The text is easily readable and free of any obscure references. We hope that it will contribute to the strengthening of our collective resolve to achieve the emancipation and unity of people of African descent.

CONFERENCE OPENING SESSION

OPENING REMARKS

Elaine Trepper
Deputy Mayor, City of Windhoek

I am delighted and greatly honoured by the singular privilege bestowed upon me to extend to you mayoral greetings and to warmly welcome you all to the City of Windhoek and to the University of Namibia in particular on behalf of His Worship the Mayor of the City of Windhoek, Councillor Matheus Shikongo, who could not join us today due to other pressing official commitments.

Allow me to take this opportunity on behalf of the City of Windhoek, and indeed on my own behalf as its Deputy Mayor, to express our sincere honour and gratitude to the organisers of the 17th All African Students' Conference (AASC) and its partners for having chosen Windhoek, the capital city of Namibia, to host this very important conference.

Preserving and integrating African indigenous knowledge systems into the global knowledge base, the decolonisation of Africa, meeting the economic difficulties and the unity of Africa, are indeed some of the formidable challenges we are faced with. The need to share experiences and knowledge among the Pan-African families around the world through this type of gathering cannot, therefore, be over-emphasised. In this regard, I am gratified to note that the 17th AASC Conference is taking place under the befitting theme 'Pan-Africanism – Strengthening the Unity of Africa and its Diaspora'.

The fact that the 17th AASC Conference is convened in Namibia is not by chance, since Pan-Africanism, through the presence of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) of Marcus Garvey, reached the shores of Namibia towards the end of 1921 already. The first UNIA branch in Namibia was established in Lüderitz in 1921, followed by the opening of another branch in Windhoek in 1922. As a result of the spread of Pan-Africanism at that time, the Namibian people were united in the fight against German/Afrikaner oppression. Seen against this background,

the hosting of the 17th AASC in Windhoek has indeed brought Pan-Africanism home.

However, in order to preserve Pan-Africanism and our identity and strength as Africans, we need to involve the youth and student groups in the activities aimed at promoting these values. The youth and students are not only the leaders of tomorrow, but the heirs of Africa as well. The City of Windhoek therefore appreciates efforts by organisations such as the Pan-Afrikan Centre of Namibia (PACON), Pan-African Student Society (PASS), the Namibia National Student Organisation (NANSO) and the National Youth Council (NYC) of Namibia in steering the promotion of Pan-Africanism.

It is the City of Windhoek's intention to join hands with these organisations and other partners in initiatives aimed at preserving our identity as Africans, from which the nation and future generations can take pride.

WELCOMING ADDRESS

Lazarus Hangula
Vice-Chancellor, University of Namibia, Windhoek

It is a great honour and privilege for me to welcome you to the premises of the main campus of the national university, the University of Namibia (UNAM). I wish also to thank the organisers of this very important and historic event for making UNAM the host of the 17th Pan-African Conference and thus a temporary centre of such an important and historic movement, which the All African Students' Conference really is, for these two consecutive days.

It is my hope that the organising of the Pan-African Conference here in Namibia, the last country on our continent to achieve political independence, and at a campus of one of the youngest African universities, will inspire all of us to rediscover the motives and ideals that inspired our forefathers and grandfathers to conceive, create, disseminate and fight for Pan-Africanism.

Under the banner of Pan-Africanism our forefathers, fathers and mothers such as Dubois, George Padmore, Marcus Garvey, Kwame Nkrumah, Patrice Lumumba, Julius Nyerere, Sekou Touré, Abdel Nasser, Ben Bella, Jomo Kenyatta, Haile Selassie, Hosea Kutako, Kenneth Kaunda, A. Neto, Kakurukaze Mungunda, Nelson Mandela, Sam Nujoma, Hifikepunye Pohamba and many other leaders of this great continent and the Diaspora vowed to fight for the political emancipation, freedom and independence of Africa and the people of African origin. Many sons and daughters of Africa shed their blood and sacrificed their precious lives to put an end to colonialism and ensure that we are forever free.

It is thanks to the vision, resolve, bravery and heroism of those sons and daughters of Africa that we are here today: free, interacting and discussing with one another our past and present in order to charter our future that, I think, should be brighter, more promising and better than that of the past and present African generations; a future that helps Africa to rid itself of the

scourge of ignorance, hunger and endemic diseases. In summary: a future that helps Africa to get rid of technological backwardness and socioeconomic underdevelopment.

In a few days' time I shall be visiting Ghana, the nation of the Black Star of Hope for the Black Man, to attend an Executive Board meeting of the Association of African Universities – another result of Pan-Africanism. I can assure you, dear delegates, that the Association of African Universities (AAU) is hard at work to not only integrate and harmonise higher education in Africa, but also to make it responsive and relevant to the developmental needs of our continent. For, like Namibia's Founding President, the Association of African Universities believes that Africa will never be free if its population is hungry, malnourished and underdeveloped. It will remain dependent, if not subservient. I see this Pan-African Conference of students in a free Africa as a beacon of hope and revival of the African solidarity that encouraged our people to hold high the banner of liberty till victory was achieved.

As the head of an institution of higher learning that saw the light of day only during the independence era and whose clientele is composed of young people, I would like to give you, students and young people, some food for thought as you engage yourselves in deliberating on the future of our continent through this auspicious conference:

- Now is the time for our leaders to ensure that the breeze of peace and liberty blows swiftly across all corners of our continent;
- Now is the time to open wider the African borders for people to conduct trade and have human interaction;
- Now is the time for African students and academics to engage in serious and transforming teaching and research;
- Now is the time for our knowledge to help us Africans exploit the resources of our continent for our own benefit;
- Now is the time for our strategic planners to lay out plans for our own development;
- Now is the time for our politicians to create a conducive environment for all Africans to feel at home;
- Now is the time for African institutions of higher learning to collaborate in teaching, learning and technological innovation;
- Now is the time for us Africans to combine and share our expertise and resources for the benefit of the peoples of Africa;
- Now is the time for Africa's socioeconomic development because we are forever free: free to enjoy and exercise our rights; free to take responsibilities.

STATEMENT

C. Makhetha
Office of the Dean of Students, University of the Free State
Bloemfontein, South Africa

The time is right for the AASC to take place on African soil. This Conference comes at a time when we are rethinking, redefining and repositioning ourselves as Africans.

Africa and its Diaspora face critical challenges, and these require us to put our heads together to find long-term solutions. It is also at a time when we have to nurture a culture of discourse/debate and discussion among the youth.

The time has come for us to take responsibility. We have to learn from our past, analyse the negative trends of the past, and reverse processes. This can only happen when we commit to gaining knowledge and doing the work ourselves.

We talk about being free. The question is, are we mentally free from our past?

The 18th AASC will be held in South Africa, at the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein. You will have the opportunity to be exposed to the development and transformation challenges we are talking about.

I urge all South Africans to own the 18th AASC. We need all inputs and participation for it to be a success.

See you all in South Africa, in 2006!

OPENING ADDRESS

Sam Nujoma
First President of the Republic of Namibia
President of South-West African People's Organisation (SWAPO)

I feel deeply honoured by the invitation extended to me to officially open the deliberations of the 17th All African Students' Conference here at the University of Namibia today. I also wish to take this opportunity to welcome all student delegates from the African continent and the Diaspora attending this historic conference. Please enjoy your stay in the "Land of the Brave".

Namibia feels proud to host this 17th All African Students' Conference in the sense that the previous sixteen annual All African Students' Conferences (AASC) were held in the Western Diaspora, especially at the historically Black Universities in North America and in the Caribbean. Looking back to the origin and rise of Pan-Africanism in Namibia, this 17th All African Students' Conference which convenes here in Windhoek today, occurs at a particular historical conjuncture. Therefore, allow me to briefly highlight the significance of the early presence of Pan-Africanism in Namibia.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association and the African Communities League (UNIA and ACL) of Marcus Garvey, which originated in Jamaica, were launched in our southern town of Lüderitz in 1921. Record has it that membership of the Lüderitz Branch stood at 311 by the end of 1921. By January 1922 the Windhoek Branch was established which included prominent members such as Hosea Kutako, Aaron Mungunda, Trangott Maharero, Nikanor Hoveka, Alpheus Harasemab and Franz Hoisemab.

The ideas emanating from the Universal Negro Improvement Association resulted in the political awakening of the people of the then South West Africa, to their need to unite in the face of a common intruder, the minority White South African apartheid colonialism. This unity of purpose heralded the birth of modern Namibian nationalism, leading to the formation of the Ovamboland People's Organisation and subsequently our national liberation movement,the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), on 19 April 1960.

The experience of Namibia was by no means unique in this regard. Other parts of the African continent underwent similar political transitions under the influence of Marcus Garvey. As a result, the ideas of Garvey and later Dr W.E.B. Dubois, who convened a number of Pan-African congresses uniting Africans from different parts of the world, formed the core of the philosophy which developed into what is called today Pan-Africanism.

Pan-Africanism is a people's movement, a struggle against the unjust and ruthless oppression of the African people. Such oppression is nothing new, for its origins lie in the enslavement and exploitation of the African people. From this experience of oppression and colonial subjugation emerged a new generation of African leaders, mostly educated in European educational institutions but eager to rid their countries of colonial masters. Such leaders dreamed of seeing their nations free from colonialism and restoring pride, freedom and independence to the African continent.

One of such respected revolutionary heroes of the Pan-African struggle is Dr Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana. On the eve of the formation of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa on 25 May 1963, he had this to say:

Our objective is African Union now. We must unite now or perish. I am confident that by our concerted effort and determination, we shall lay here the foundations for a continental Union of African States ...

Therefore, the formation of the African Union in Durban, South Africa, in 2002 should be seen as the realisation of the dream of Dr Kwame Nkrumah. We should now continue to strengthen and consolidate the structures of the African Union so that we can enhance the socioeconomic integration of the African continent.

It is a well-known fact that the 1960s heralded the greatest and most significant political changes in the history of Africa's liberation and attainment of political freedom. The most important historical fact worth mentioning here today is the role of the African youth in the process of the decolonisation of the continent from colonial occupation.

As you may be aware, the African youth founded the Pan-African Youth Movement in Conakry, Guinea in 1962 with the objectives to achieve real unity among the African youth, to sensitise and mobilise them for the total liberation of the continent from all forms of colonial domination and to strive for the economic and social independence of Africa. During its historic meeting in Windhoek in 2003, the Pan-African Youth Movement was transformed into the Pan-African Youth Union, modeled on our continental organisation, the African Union.

I wish to urge you as young people attending this 17th All African Students' Conference to draw lessons from your predecessors and initiate strategies which are aimed at speeding up the attainment of Africa's genuine economic independence. Similarly, I wish to urge you to formulate strategies that encourage our youth on the continent to learn about the history of the liberation struggle of the African continent.

It is a matter of concern that our youth are not as conscious of this rich historical heritage of the African people as they should be. It is generally accepted that the future is informed by the past. Therefore, it is only when we know our past that we will be able to know how to face the future with great confidence.

I, therefore, wish to propose that Pan-Africanism become a core of the history curriculum in our secondary and tertiary education so that our youth can learn about the truth of our history and our heroes and heroines who liberated the African continent from foreign domination and colonial oppression.

I am informed that the main theme of this Conference is "Pan-Africanism – Strengthening the Unity of Africa and its Diaspora". I have always spoken out on the significance of the Diaspora in the building of a stronger and united Africa. I remain convinced that the linkage of Africa with its Diaspora is the key strategic combination for African unity, and that this is the lesson handed to us by the founding fathers of the Pan-African movement, namely Marcus Garvey, Dr W.E. B. Dubois and Dr Kwame Nkrumah.

Therefore, our youth should continue to consolidate the spirit of the All African Students' Conferences (AASC) by convening in all the different parts of Africa, so that it realises a true reflection of the Pan-African constituency.

The youth have played a critical role in the liberation of the African continent. I therefore wish to encourage you to continue as catalysts of development in the second phase of the struggle, namely economic independence. For that to happen, you must arm yourselves with knowledge and skills which you should acquire through education and training.

Education and training are the determinant factors in Africa's economic transformation.

As you are aware, Africa needs a critical mass of its own scientists, medical doctors, agriculturalists, marine biologists, engineers, geologists, architects, pharmacists and veterinarians who should play a meaningful role in the modernisation and industrialisation of our economies. It is only when we harness our own technical expertise that we will be able to conduct scientific research and exploit our natural resources to benefit our people and thereby enhance the competitiveness of our economies in the international markets. By so doing, we will be able to eradicate poverty, ignorance and diseases. We should therefore not relent in our efforts to liberate Africa economically.

The African youth should also build stronger mutual partnerships with their counterparts in the Diaspora as well as exchange ideas and linkages between Europe, North America, South America, Asia and the Caribbean in order to identify problems and solutions which will enable Africa to become an effective player in international trade and sustainable development. Similarly, our youth should develop a sense of patriotism, commitment and sacrifice.

These are the prerequisites for Africa to achieve its development programmes. The youth of today have become victims of drug and alcohol abuse and other negative behaviours which destroy their lives. They have also become victims of the killer disease HIV/AIDS, which continues to claim thousands of the African youth every year. Therefore, our youth must be vigilant and protect themselves from HIV/AIDS infections and from infecting others.

In conclusion, I wish to say that my generation has led Africa to political freedom. As young people, you should now learn from the rich experiences of the heroes and heroines of the African and Caribbean revolutions. You should carry the torch of freedom, as we march towards the attainment of the total socioeconomic independence and integration of the African continent.

With these few words, it is now my distinct honour to declare the 17th All African Students' Conference officially opened. I wish you successful deliberations.

Long live the spirit of Pan-Africanism!

CLOSING OF OPENING SESSION

Allan Bernard
Convenor, 16th All Africa Students' Conference
University of the West Indies, Mona Campus, Kingston, Jamaica

I bring greetings on behalf of all the Africans in the Diaspora who could not make this journey to the Motherland to share in this occasion. I also greet you in the spirit of Pan-Africanism that has overcome numerous obstacles and has brought some of us here to share in the deliberations and to connect with our brothers and sisters on the African continent. We are extremely happy to be home.

The AASC is an annual students' conference that is held at different universities across the world. The AASC brings together students from Africa and its Diaspora, as well as individuals from organisations working in the interest of Africa and its Diaspora. The main aim is to provide students of African descent with a forum to share and exchange ideas and information, and to promote linkages between Africa and its Diaspora.

Since 2003, the Marcus Garvey Movement at the University of the West Indies, Mona Campus, has been acting as the Interim Secretariat for the AASC. At that time, the movement was given the specific mandate to get the Conference to the African continent, as the 16 previous conferences were held in the Western Diaspora, the last two of which in the Caribbean, and the others in Canada and the United States of America.

It is indeed, my brothers and sisters, a very proud moment for me to stand before you today in the African state of Namibia and say that we have realised this dream in less than two years. I would like at this time to extend my deepest appreciation to UNAM and the other members of the local organising committee for accepting the invitation to host this Conference.

I am happy to announce at this time that the 18th AASC will be hosted by the University of the Free State in South Africa.

THE IMPACT OF PAN-AFRICANISM

WHICH WAY AFRICA: A MULTIFACETED/ DIMENSIONAL DISCOURSE SHAPED BY PARADOXES THAT CHARACTERISE BOTH AFRICANS AND AFRICANS IN THE DIASPORA

H. Riruako

Allow me to talk about an issue that is both diverse and difficult. For many years the people of Africa have been subjected to cruel and unjust treatment by their former colonial masters that has left an indelible impact on their lives. To interrogate this issue I would like to tackle the problems besetting our continent as having their cause in colonialism and its legacy. I will be doing a great injustice if I do not speak about the *'Colonial Legacy'* from the outset. The infamous 'Berlin Conference,' in the interest of the colonisers, demarcated the borders of Africa. One major problem that troubled Africans and that continues to haunt Africans is the fact that these boundaries were not demarcated by Africans themselves but by the former colonial masters. In fact Africans did not have a representative at that conference. Thus, Africans did not have a say in where they wanted to reside on the Continent. As a result this artificial division of Africa became a source of conflict and will remain a source of conflict for many years to come.

The Africans were not only divided, however; the colonial masters went a step further. They inculcated their linguistics and cultural influences. As a result, even after years of political liberation, Africans still communicate in the languages of their former colonisers. In other words those that were colonised by English speaking colonial masters use English as the official language, those that were colonised by the Portuguese use Portuguese, those that were colonised by the French use French. Not only do Africans use these languages as official languages, but also they adore

them so much at the expense of their own vernaculars. In fact, the lack of proper proficiency in the language of the former colonisers is associated with backwardness.

Apart from the language issue, these borders inhibit free trade among Africans, accessibility, and place all kinds of barriers on Africans. Thus, Africans face geographical and regional divisions. While Europeans can now travel with ease between neighbouring countries, and Americans between the different American states, Africans cannot move freely between countries on the Continent. In fact, they may require visas to travel to some African countries.

While the Africans on the continent were subjected to racial Apartheid, others were sold into slavery to work on plantations and other forced labour until the abolition of slavery. One should point out that race was used to determine one's access to wealth and better treatment under the law. In fact, people of colour on the African continent and in the Diaspora were not accorded 'due process' before the law until the abolition of slavery and the emancipation proclamation in the United States of America and Europe, and until the total emancipation of the African people on the continent. Another problem is that of an ***'identity crisis'.*** While Africans would like the rest of the world to treat them or people of African descent with respect and dignity, Africans themselves discriminate against each other. Discrimination on the basis of tribe or race is rife in Africa. One could trace the root cause of this problem back to the divide and rule concept that was practised by many colonisers. We know that tribes were used against each other to perpetuate divisions among the Africans. Some problems could be construed as being inherent or of innate nature, where one tribe or ethnic group viewed itself as being better than another.

Africans under colonial governments were not encouraged to develop their own self worth. In fact, they were told for many decades that they were inferior. However, after political emancipation no effort has been exerted to decolonise the African mind. Thus, apart from this discrimination, the majority of Africans suffer from what one could refer to as the 'Colonial Mentality.' You will find that Africans will not value nor appreciate the achievements of other Africans. They more often than not praise and appreciate the contributions made by former colonial masters as opposed to their own achievements.

The stigmatising of colour becomes the end result of these colonial hangovers. In some societies the lighter the complection the better treatment such an individual was accorded. This problem is further exacerbated by the fact that African history has been distorted. Of course a distorted

history could lead to distorted realities. One could assume that those distorted realities led to distorted thinking and distorted reasoning.

In pursuit of the unity of both the Africans on the continent and the Africans in the Diaspora we should focus on those things that we as people have in common. The need to unite Africans was expressed by our founding fathers such as Kwame Nkrumah, Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. Du Bois and others. An old adage has it that 'actions speak louder than words'. The time has come for Africans to move beyond the mere rhetorical utterances that we should unite. Dr. Martin Luther King, a great African in the Diaspora once said that 'we could stand together as brothers and sisters or we could perish together as fools'.

The problems that we as Africans face are too numerous to address in just one conference. However, despite the differences that may exist among our people, I see hope for Africa if we could develop a 'culture of tolerance'. The population of Africa is heterogeneous and as I mentioned earlier, we speak different languages. The majority of African countries emerged out of a colonial history that based everything on skin pigmentation and ethnicity. The people of Africa have diverse cultures and traditions.

Africans fought countless battles against the colonial masters and against their own people. Some of these battles put brothers against brothers and sisters against sisters. Even though some deep seeded hatred and animosity may persist amongst our people, the time has come for our people to heal the wounds of the past. I know that it may sound like a daunting task to harmonise our different views, and to foster and ameliorate our differences; however, it is of paramount importance for us to strive for unity. We should design policies to meet the priority needs of our people.

We are living in an age where the majority of our African brothers and sisters are reviving the whole notion of 'African Renaissance.' This is indeed an interesting period when Africans are not only reviving the ideas of our founding fathers like Kwame Nkrumah, who called for the unity of Africa, but are indeed pulling together. It is about time that all concerned members and all peace loving people of this great Continent examined the ideals for which many of our people gave their precious lives so that we could live together in peace and harmony with each other.

I see hope for Africa if we genuinely begin to treat each other as brothers and sisters. I know which way we should go as Africans. We should make Africa a great place to live for all. We should also make our presence felt around the globe. We should strive to make great strides both at home and abroad. We should show the world that the Africa of today is the one that cannot be brushed aside, but the one that is prepared to take care of its own destiny and champion a right cause at home and abroad.

By now we should have learned that war is not the answer, it never has been, and it never will be. Our people have waged too many wars for what were deemed justified or unjustified reasons. I do not see why we should shed more blood again. In many instances the wars that were fought brought more suffering. Also, by looking at the world today, I see more suffering being brought by mankind against mankind. I see that the world is still bleeding. Maybe the last ditch of hope lies with Africa, the continent that I believe fought many wars to find peace with itself and the rest of the world.

Nowhere else in the world has there been more suffering than in Africa. Our children have seen and suffered more war than any other children in the world. It is about time that we as people started to make changes. We should start to change the way we treat each other and be more tolerant of different cultures and traditions. We should learn to respect each other for what we are, for our differences. In fact, we should emulate the words of the late Mahatma Gandhi, who said that 'we should live the change that we want to see.'

It would be a pity for Africa to lose her hard earned freedom because of greed and our egotistical practices. Under colonialism and Apartheid we lived under siege and I hate to see our people live under such conditions after independence. Dr. Martin Luther King was right when he said, 'Black tyranny is worse than White tyranny'. We as Africans should guard against that charge being laid at our door. As Africans today we are living in an opportune time to leave behind a legacy and history our children will be proud of. A history we do not have to apologise to anyone for and a history we do not have to go to war to protect.

Thus, for those of you who are gathered here, for all the Africans on the continent and those in the Diaspora, my message to you is 'the wind of change is sweeping across our Continent, so let us work together to make the ideals of a United Africa a reality.' I also want to tell you to respect and tolerate each other in schools, work places, play grounds, hospitals, churches, politically and in every aspect of life.

THE CHALLENGES FACED BY THE GLOBAL AFRICAN DIASPORA

S.J. Dima

The Eastern Diaspora

Africa is the only continent that has been subjected to the humiliating and dehumanising practice of slavery as a commercial enterprise. Right from the 7th century, the Arabs invaded Northern Africa, sweeping aside the Byzantine Empire, which ruled Northern Africa. The Arabs, having established themselves as the rulers, started the Arab slave trade, first to the Middle East but later to other parts of Asia such as India, Pakistan and Indonesia to mention but a few countries. The enslavement of young African men, women and children went on for at least 1,370 years. Even when slavery was abolished officially, it continued for much longer and today as I speak to you, slavery still persists in the Sudan and Mauritania (The Black Holocaust papers).

Besides the main old established trade routes that the Arabs used for conquering Northern Africa, new routes had to be created to boost the trade in human cargo plus gold, ivory and other valuable natural resources from the African continent.

These routes were:

- The North–South route from Northern Africa to the borderlands of the interior of West Africa,
- The East African route using the Indian ocean covering Djibouti, Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania and Mozambique, with Zanzibar as the centre for bulk slave cargo from the interior of Eastern Africa
- Other routes from Egypt southwards and across the Red Sea, from Saudi Arabia into the Sudan, Chad and the Central African Republic to the west.

The Eastern Diaspora trade was the most tragic and cruel. Most of the male slaves, including children, were castrated by removing their genitals together with the penises, rendering the victims eunuchs. Many died through bleeding, those who survived were employed as guards for the rich Arabs who bought them as slaves .The African women were used as concubines for the pleasure of the Arabs. Some bore children who became Moslems and were used in jobs like their mothers. Runoko Rashidi (1992) after extensive research on the Eastern Diaspora, which included visits to various countries in the Middle East and South East Asia, estimates that there are now about 300 million people of African descent originating from the African Slave Trade. Most of these consider themselves as Arabs or Moslems in the countries they found themselves in and have no, or very limited contacts with Africa as they have lost their African identity, languages, and culture. For example, the Sidis and Dalits of India, the Sheedis or Makrani of Pakistan. There are many other African communities in South East Asia,[1] but note that the music and dance of these communities can still be traced back to Africa.

While the Arab African slave trade was going on, the Arabs maimed and raped the African women, producing Arab Africans who, after so many generations, have become the ruling elites in northern Africa, northern Sudan and Somalia. They are also found in some parts of Eritrea and Ethiopia and Djibouti. These communities have adopted Arab culture and Arabic as their language and Islam as their religion. Along the East African coast from Lamu in Kenya to Sofala in Mozambique, including the Islands of Pemba, Zanzibar and Mafia, the Arab African communities there have similarly adopted African-Arab culture, have evolved Kiswahili (a mixture of Arabic and some African languages) as their language, and have adopted Islam as their religion. Like the northern African–Arab communities including those in northern Sudan, parts of Eritrea, Ethiopia Djibouti and the whole of Somalia, the Swahili people look more to the Middle East to their Arab ancestry than to their African ancestry. Prof. Ali Mazrui, a product of the Arab-African mix from Mombasa, Kenya, coined the term "Afrabians" for these "new" African people - meaning African Arabs (Abdalla Bujra 2002: Tripoli, Libya).

Bujra points out that:

> The colonisation of Egypt, Sudan and Uganda by the British and the subsequent linking of these colonies with the rest of East Africa through Lake Victoria - not only extended the penetration of Arab-Islamic culture beyond the Arab Sudanese communities, but has since created two major conflicts - over the use and control of the Nile river and the geographical bound-

> ary of the modern Sudanese state. British rule in the Sudan has created a serious conflict within modern Sudan between Afrabians and Africans. This conflict in particular has presented a major obstacle to Afro-Arab relations in general.

In addition the problem in Darfur is a consequence of the Islamisation of African tribes, who have been neglected over the years because of racial segregation. The emergence of the Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement and Army in the South as an African and non-religious organisation fighting for freedom, justice, equality and human rights, has awoken the rest of the marginalized Sudanese communities including those in Darfur to stand up against the Afrabians. The latter established themselves as the ruling elite in the Sudan at the expense of the indigenous peoples of the Sudan.

From northern Africa the Arabs went South for slaves and other merchandise such as gold, ivory and timber. Islamisation was one of the priorities of the Arab penetration into the interior of West Africa by the 15th and 16th century when there was a new wave of Islam that swept the empires and kingdoms of West Africa - Mali, Songhai, Kanem-Bornu, Kano and others. Despite European colonisation, Islam spread rapidly in the new Francophone and Anglophone colonies. This resulted in the tensions that exist in countries like Mauritania, Nigeria, and Cote d'Ivoire between Muslims and Islam on one hand and Christians on the other. (Abdalla Bujra,2002). Recent studies on Afro-Arab relations indicate that most Arab Governments as well as NGOs tend to channel their financial support to African countries to expand Islamisation and Arabisation programmes. Most Islamic scholars are trained in Arab countries and when they return back to Africa, they fuel misunderstanding between Muslims, Christians and pagans (JG N Yoh, 2001).

The Western Diaspora

The Portuguese and the Italians pioneered the Western Diaspora in the 1440s after the "discovery" of the new world and the Americas. The Dutch were the first to deport black slaves to America. The people were captured in Africa and transported to the Americas, the Caribbean and Europe, where they were sold as slaves to work on economic activities such as cotton plantations and mines. Towards the end of the 19th century, slavery was abolished in Europe and in the Americas. This liberated the slaves from the bondage of slavery. In the United States, the Southern States, having got used to free slave labour, rejected the repeal of the slavery law. The unionists had to fight the Southern states to submission.

The trans-Atlantic slave trade was as brutal as the Eastern Slave Trade. It destroyed people and whole cultures, which de-stabilised the African continent, changing it forever. It enriched Europe, created empires and built America (Walter Rodney,1972).

European slavers and their African allies raided the western coast of Africa with guns and cannons, setting fire to towns and villages. Women caught in the raids were abused through rape, public or private, gang or individual. This act stripped the African women of their dignity and forced African men to watch their sisters, daughters, wives, aunts, mothers and grandmothers being raped while they stood powerless!

> Children, male or female endured the worst sexual abuse, often leaving them bleeding to death or in a state of permanent shock. European diseases such as syphilis and gonorrhoea were passed on to the victims. Captured and bound with ropes, nets, wood, iron, leather or other bindings, the Africans would then set upon a torturous march to the coast where seven out of ten died along the way (Clarke, 1997).

Those who survived were packed into dungeons called baracoons, which held 30-50 captives within a cell of 10 by 15 feet covered with vomit, urine, faeces and blood. Day and night temperatures were well over 90 degrees, dehydration through diarrhoea, vomiting and sweating was a common form of death. Here the Africans were also branded with hot iron! The burns often became infected, inducing fevers or gangrene. The hapless victims were clubbed, whipped or shot to death as warning to the others to remain in good health. African women were routinely raped repeatedly, thus creating a host of unwanted pregnancies. The ground in the women's baracoons was recorded to have been littered with menstrual blood and aborted foetuses. From the dungeons to the slave ships, Africans were brought aboard the ship near if not fully naked. Every space available was utilized for holding the human cargo who remained chained to each other. As Eric Williams put it: 'each slave had less room than a man in a coffin'. The floor was filled with blood, human waste, parasites and vomit. Many Africans went insane in this seemingly never-ending nightmare. Death on the ships came through diseases and suffocation, the product of repeated rapes which women, men and boys were forced to endure; some captives were thrown over board half alive to be drowned or devoured by sharks. It is reported that one slave captain short of food had 132 Africans thrown over board because his insurance covered death by drowning but not starvation! Resistance and insurrection were daily thoughts in the captured Africans' minds. But the price of failure was harsh. For women it was

gang rape followed by flogging or being slit with knives from stomach to vagina. Men were often castrated and mutilated; in one known case, a man was made to rip out and then devour the heart, liver and other organs of other comrades. It was a practice to make the remaining Africans - men, women and children - watch those gory spectacles.

Henrik Clarke sums up the conditions as follows:

> These conditions were forced upon a people who had never done the European any harm or had ever allied themselves with the enemies of the Europeans in any way. The Europeans who forced these conditions upon the African people professed to believe in a loving God who was a respecter of kith and kin and had no geographical boundaries in the dispensing of his mercy and understanding to all human beings. In their actions towards the Africans that would last for more than three hundred years, the Europeans were saying that Africans had no soul or humanity, no culture or civilization worthy of respect and that they were outside of the grace of God.
>
> Figuratively the slave ship was a floating city of prisoners, presided over by a crew of ruffians, gathered from the human scum of Europe. The period of the European slave trade in Africa is best known because it is the best documented. However the documentation is often confusing because it was created by people who were trying to justify the slave trade. Most Europeans write with the intent to make the victims of slavery feel guilty and to vindicate the perpetrators of this inhuman trade.

The peopling of the so-called new world by African people in the Americas and the Caribbean Islands was an enterprise of monumental proportions. This act changed the status of Europe and the world forever. The Africans taken to the new world were transformed into a new kind of people, neither wholly African nor wholly American. They did not give up easily their African way of life despite the attempts to destroy and outlaw it. This was the basis of massive slave revolts throughout the Caribbean Islands, South America (especially Brazil) and more than 250 slave revolts recorded in the United States. In parts of South America and the Caribbean where the slaves outnumbered the Europeans, some Africans bypassed the auction blocks, fled into the hills and forests and never became slaves at all. They became known as Maroons or isolates .(*The Maroons* by Mavis Campbell; *Maroon Societies*, by Richard Price, and *The Haitian Maroons and Black Jacobins* by C. L. R James)

The drama of African survival in what is called the new world went beyond drama itself. In conditions that defied human imagination, for a protracted period of over 300 years, Africans, using serious techniques, pretences and acts of both submission and rebellion, went beyond survival and prevailed in order to live and still be a people in spite of massive efforts to destroy every aspect of their humanity. Part of what kept them alive away from home, is that they never gave up their African culture in spite of being consistently pressured to do so. Some went beyond schizophrenia and changed their personality to suit the prevailing situation in order to survive so that the next generation could prevail (John Henrik Clarke).

The Period after the Slave Trade

As if the sufferings under slavery were not enough, after the abolition of the slave trade in 1865 and the end of the civil war, the hopes of blacks for an era of prosperity were dashed by the rise of the white supremacists during the era of Jim Crow with its separate, but equal claims. Under the guise of the protection of white womanhood from blacks, whites used it to trample blacks in a storm of violence. This took the form of lynchings, burnings and race riots. For more than a century, angry whites in the South in particular, but also in the north, of the United States made the life of black Americans a continuous nightmare. After the Second World War, blacks began to fight for their rights through boycotts, sit-ins, protests and demonstrations. The total number of deaths during this period has been estimated in thousands. In 1885, twenty years after the slave trade was abolished, the blacks in the Americas were still being lynched, burnt and humiliated by whites who opposed the abolition of the slave trade. During the same period, the Europeans met in Berlin under Bismarck and partitioned Africa amongst themselves to increase the supply of raw materials and food to meet the needs of the industrialized nations of Europe. E.D. Morel sums up the brutality meted out to Africans during this period in his book *The Black Man's Burden*:

> Of floggings and burnings of villages, rape and mutilation, of natives being used for revolver practice and human experiments to test the efficacy of dynamite cartridges, of 'hostage-houses' in which men, women and children perished.

In the colonies, a new slavery was unfolding on the African continent in mines, and plantations. Africans were being treated worse than pet dogs. Floggings, amputations and killings of labourers was the order of the day. African women were raped at the will of the plantation owner and/or farm

owner without any protection whatsoever from the colonial administrators. The "natives" as the Africans were called were tortured, humiliated and dehumanised on their own soil in the exploitation of their natural resources for the benefit of individual Europeans and the economies of their countries. In many instances soldiers were used to run the torture schemes to awe and scare the other natives. A Belgian official recorded the following observation on the behaviour of the Belgian soldiers to the Africans in the then Belgian Congo:

> It is blood curdling to see them (soldiers) returning with the hands of the slain, and to find the hands of young children amongst the bigger ones evidencing their bravery. The rubber from this district has cost hundreds of lives and the scenes I have witnessed, while unable to help the oppressed, have been almost enough to make me wish I were dead. ... This rubber traffic is steeped in blood and if the natives were to rise and to sweep every white person on the upper Congo into eternity, there would still be left a fearful balance to their credit.

It was during this period, that is from the1930s and 40s, that the Africans in the Western Diaspora developed further the 1876 idea of Pan-Africanism as a philosophy; based on their experiences during slavery and the Civil Rights Movement to bring all the people of African descent together. People like Marcus Garvey and W E B Du Bois went further to encourage some of the freed slaves to return to Africa. The Pan- African Movement contributed immensely to the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) through the founding fathers like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Jamal Abdel Nassir of Egypt, Haile Sellasie of Ethiopia, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya ,Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Borguiba of Tunisia, Ahmed Sekou Touré of Guinea, Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria and Modibo Keita of Mali. The main objective of the OAU was to liberate the African countries that were still under colonial oppression and exploitation. The contribution of the Western Diaspora to this effort has been tremendous and the relations between the African Western Diaspora and African governments on the continent have grown steadily stronger with a number of institutions established for specific functions between the two, geared to bring all people of African identity together wherever they are. It was for these reasons that when the OAU was transformed to the African Union (AU) in 2002, the AU Heads of State gave some degree of membership to the Western Diaspora in its institutions. This move was meant to bring closer the social, cultural and economic development of the African Continent with that of the identity and welfare of Africans in

the Diaspora, where they are living to create an atmosphere of exchange and mutual cooperation between the Diaspora and the Continent. The Eastern Diaspora, as pointed out earlier in this background, has no or very limited links with the African Continent save for the links through the official contacts with the Arab League and the Non-Aligned Movement. The countries in North Africa are at the same time members of the Arab League, except Morocco, which pulled out of the OAU some years back. It would have been expected that the dual membership of the North African countries in the AU and the Arab League would have brought the relations between the two adjacent regions closer despite the role of the Arabs in the Eastern Slave Trade. Unfortunately this is not the case largely because Africans are suspicious of the true intentions of the Arabs in their Continent and the fact that the Arabs do not like to come out frankly about their role in the Arab African Slave Trade. How, then, can Africa and the Pan-African Movement establish closer contacts with the millions of peoples of African descent in the Middle East in particular, but in the South East in general, who in most cases seem to have lost their African identity, culture, languages and values? This conference will discuss the challenges faced by the Global African Diaspora, taking into consideration the experiences of the African Eastern and Western Diasporas as well as their impact on the African Continent.

Note

1. There is various research underway on the origins of African communities in South East Asia.

References

African History and the Slave Trade.
Clarke, J.H. 1997. *The Maafa , a Holocaust of Greed: The Black Holocaust Education for a New Reality in the African World*.
Curtin, P. 1969. *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*.
Davis, R. s.d. *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters*.
Inikori, J. 1982. *Forced Migration*.
Lewis, B. s.d. *Race and Slavery in the Middle East*.
Meillassoux, C. 1975. *L'Esclavage en Afrique precoloniale*.
Monde Diplomatique, 1998.
Morel, E.D. s.d. *The Black Man's Burden*.
Popovic, A. 1976. *Revolte des esclaves en Iraq au IIIe/LXe siecle*.
Rawley, J. 1981. *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*.
Rodney, W. 1972. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*.
Russel, P. 2000. *Prince Henry the Navigator*.
The Role of Islam in African Slavery.
Sheriff, A. 1988. *Slaves, Spices and Ivory*.

Summary of the Impact of the Slave Trade on the African Continent: (640 – 1910 AD)

A. Estimated total number of Africans uprooted from the African Continent by Slavery:

1.	No. of Africans deported by Arab Slave Traders to the Middle East and other parts of South East Asia (India, Pakistan, Indonesia etc – 640-1910 AD – 1370 years)	17.00 million
2.	No. estimated to have died on and after capture	17.00 million
2.	No. of Africans deported to the Americas and the Caribbean by Europeans	15.00 million
	No. estimated to have died before reaching	40.00 million
	Total no. of Africans captured, enslaved or died	**89.00 million**

B. Trans-Atlantic European Trade in African Slaves by destination: *(1500 to 1900 AD + 400 years)*

Destination	Numbers	Percentage
Brazil	4,000,000	35.4
Spanish Empire	2,500,000	22.1
British West Indies	2,000,000	17.7
French West Indies	1,600,000	14.1
British North America	500,000	4.4
Dutch West Indies	500,000	4.4
Danish West Indies	28,000	0.2
Europe	200,000	1.8
Total	**11,328,000**	**100.0**

Sources: Hugh Thomas. 1997. The Slave Trade.

C. By Century:

Century	Numbers	Percentage
1500 - 1600	328,000	2.9
1601 - 1700	1,348,000	12.0
1701 - 1800	6,090,000	54.2
1801 - 1900	3,466,000	30.9
Totals	**11,232,000**	**100.0**

Source: Paul Lovejoy. 2000. Transformations in Slavery.

D. By Slave Trading Country:

Country	Numbers	Percentage
Portugal/ Brazil	4,650,000	42.3
Spain	1,600,000	14.5
France	1,250,000	11.4
Holland	500,000	4.5
Britain	2,600,000	23.6
United States of America	300,000	2.7
Denmark	50,000	0.5
Others	50,000	0.5
Totals	**11,000,000**	**100.0**

Source: Hugh Thomas. 1997. The Slave Trade.

IMPORTANT DATES IN THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE

DATE	EVENTS
700	Zanzibar became the main Arab slave trading centre in Africa.
1325	Mansa Musa, King of Mali, went on pilgrimage to Mecca with 500 slaves and 100 camels.
1444	First sale of African slaves by Europeans in Lagos
1482	Portugal founded the first European trading post at El Mira, Gold Coast (Ghana).
1500 -1600	Portugal became a monopoly in African slaves to the Americas
1528	Spain issued contracts to companies to trade in African slaves.
1619	The Dutch started trade in African slaves to the Americas.
1637	Holland captured Portugal's main trading Post in Africa – El Mira.
1650	Holland became the dominant slave trading country.
1700	Britain became the dominant slave trading country.
1789	The English Privy Council concluded that 50% of slaves exported from Africa died before reaching the Americas.
1790	At the height of the British slave trade, vessels left England for Africa every other day.
1807	Britain outlawed slavery.
1848	France abolished slavery.
1851	The population of USA was 20,067,720 free persons and 2,077,034 slaves.
1865	The Union (USA), defeated the Confederates and slavery was abolished in the USA.

PAN AFRICANISM AND THE AFRICAN DIASPORA: A WEAK COOPERATION IN THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL ARENA

Andrew Niikando

Currently, relations between Africans in the Diaspora and Africans in the Continent are extremely polarised. Therefore, this paper investigates the strength of existing cooperation and the level of understanding of Pan-African ideology between those Africans in the Diaspora and those in Africa. It expands to investigate the purpose of Pan-Africanism in the reality of today's world. The existing assumptions imply that Pan-Africanism has recently become a "paper ideology" or an ideology of past generations with little relevance to present life. It is a fact that lack of interest towards Pan-Africanism, particularly amongst Black African youth the world over, exists. A lack of political will or, often, only superficial support for Pan-Africanism from the side of African governments also exacerbates disinterest amongst the African youth.

The consequence is that there is a high degree of apathy towards Pan-Africanism at all levels of society in Africa. Similarly, Africans in the Diaspora, particularly in developed countries, also show disinterest in Pan-Africanism. The major problem may include the exclusion of Pan-Africanism from education and academic curricula including exchange programmes for academics and students in Africa and the Diaspora. At the policy level, Pan-Africanism is a forgotten aspect in Africa. Black Africans in the Diaspora are socialised and convinced to understand the African continent as an international mockery due to factors of economic backwardness, conflict and low levels of literacy. This paper recommends a serious awareness-raising campaign for both academic and political forums. For example, through the introduction of Pan African and Political Science subjects in Primary School Curricula the African Child may be groomed in a spirit of Pan-Africanism. Exchange programmes between African

scholars in the continent and African scholars in the Diaspora should be encouraged to activate Pan-African research. And most importantly, provision should be made at the continental policy level such as NEPAD, fostering a spirit of Pan-Africanism in Africa and the Diaspora.

Introduction and Background

The gloomy days of early colonialism in Africa were linked to the forced migration and slavery which sprouted in the African Diaspora. When the native labour force began to diminish in staggering numbers in the Americas due, largely, to diseases and conflicts introduced by European colonisers, a flood of Africans flowed into the Americas. By 1540, roughly 10 000 enslaved Africans arrived in the New World each year.[1] It is also in the historical record that most of the enslaved Africans transported across the Atlantic were born in sub-Saharan West Africa between what is currently known as Senegal and Angola, along the Atlantic coast and the area several hundred miles inland.[2]

Since the late 1800s, the term 'African Diaspora' has been applied to the forced migration of millions of enslaved Africans into Europe, the Americas, and Asia that occurred between 1441 and the abolition of slavery in Brazil on 13 May 1888.[3] It is remarkable that colonialism and the shipment of slaves across the Atlantic resulted in the African Diaspora and Pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism was originally conceived in the New World, rather than in Africa itself. Reacting to the brutality of slavery in the Americas and the Caribbean, people of African origin naturally yearning for their ancestral homeland and the dignity and freedom it represented, thought of creating a forum through which they could state their grievances and pave the way for a return to Africa. For example, Prince Hall, a black cleric in Boston, campaigned, unsuccessfully, in 1787 for help from the State Assembly in returning poor blacks to Africa. Another black Bostonian, Quaker shipbuilder Paul Cuffe, took matters into his own hands in 1815 by setting sail in one of his ships with 40 other black Americans and founding a settlement in Sierra Leone, which the British had established as a refuge for freed and runaway slaves in 1787[4].

The Historical Role of Pan-Africanism and its Diaspora

As indicated above, Pan-African ideology was initiated outside of Africa. Conceptualising this, Hist (nd) indicates that members of the African Diaspora developed Pan-Africanism. As a result, Pan-Africanism did not originate in Africa and its leadership and ownership did not pass to Africans until 1945.[5] The intention behind the creation of Pan-Africanism was to return enslaved Africans home and rid the African

continent of colonialism and racism. Hence, Hist (nd) further explains, Pan-Africanism was also a reaction to the fever of racism and intolerance which gripped most of Europe and the West in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries; for black people were increasingly excluded and discriminated against in the western hemisphere and Europe, and were looked down upon and denigrated.[6] Africans in the Diaspora increased their efforts to achieve the triumph of Pan-Africanism over international forces such as colonialism, racism and apartheid. Since the First Pan-African Congress organized by a Trinidadian Lawyer, Sylvester Williams in 1900, six other Pan-African Congresses have been held. A Ghanaian conference in 1958 was significant primarily because it marked the end of Pan-Africanism as a Diaspora-led movement. Indeed Kwame Nkrumah announced that the Conference had "returned home".[7] The Seventh Congress took place in Kampala, Uganda in April 1994. Quite interestingly, the themes in all these congresses were the same: African unity, African liberation from western imperialism, African development, peace and progress. The main problem facing post-colonial Africa today is that, whilst political liberation has been achieved, full economic and social emancipation has not, so many questions are still unanswered. One of the most interesting questions facing the African quest to realise Pan-Africanism is: who are the actors on the Pan-African agenda today?[8]

The African Diaspora communities played an acknowledged role in the cause of African unity and liberation. This was clearly evident in their direct and indirect contribution and involvement in the African struggle for independence from the forces of western imperialism and apartheid, and the subsequent quest for nationhood and unity.[9] Kwame Nkrumah, as quoted by Atiba, demanded, "sons and daughters of Africa, until Africa is organized by Pan-Africanism, the masses of Africans worldwide will continue to suffer! Citizens of Africa worldwide arise!!!"[10] Kwame Nkrumah further explains that it must be understood that victory for the liberation movements in Africa, and the struggle of Blacks (Africans), whether in America or in any other part of the world, can only find consummation in the political unification of Africa, the home of the "black man" and people of African descent throughout the world.[11] On the basis of this historical analysis Pan Africanism and its Diaspora can be discussed based on the following aspects:

- Pan-Africanism and African identity
- Africans of the *"Soil"* and Africans of the *"Blood"*
- Contemporary Political Issues

The Issue of African Identity on the Continent and Diaspora

Experience of Pan-Africanism and its Diaspora reveals "identity" and "race" as phenomena of great concern. Nkrumah strongly argued that 'We Are African People Wherever We Were Born'. No matter where we were born in the world, he argues, African (black) people are historically and culturally linked. Our history, identity, and culture are rooted in the many thousands of years of development of African civilization on the African continent.[12] Chiefly, Pan-Africanism and its Diaspora embraces the objective of 'coherence' in respect of the cultural and historical ties of Black Africans in the world.

The term "black", however, portrays "race", and hence, creates misconceptions capable of manipulating the interpretation of Pan-Africanism to mean "Black Diaspora". This could be in conflict with the primary aim of Pan-Africanism being to seek a common cultural ground and affinities among Africans in and out of the continent. Therefore, after so many years, the African Diaspora and its recent igniting mechanism (*alias* Pan-Africanism) have been perceived by many as ethnic and wholly embedded in a racial ideology of internationalism. As Lumumba- Kasongo acknowledges, the foundation of this ideology has been, in most cases, defined in racial/ethnic and geopolitical terms.[13]

People's identities, i.e. colour and other physical traits may lead to ambiguity in understanding Pan-Africanism and its Diaspora. Presumably, people such as 'half-Africans', for example Afrikaners in South Africa, cannot be easily identified in the Diaspora because of their colour. Pan-Africanism and the African Diaspora have primarily been used to refer to "Black Africans", and whites, though being born in Africa could stand on the verge of disqualification as part of the African Diaspora when they leave to stay in a place out of Africa. The argument is equally true for children born between African and European or American parents. They can also justify their reason not to accept their African identity due to their different identities. In Sudan, 39% regard themselves as Arabs (rather than Africans) because they are brown, a trend that has led to the mass killings of non-Arabs in Darfur. A United Nations observer team reported that non-Arab villages were singled out while Arab villages were left untouched in Darfur. Opponents of Pan-Africanism in critiquing the credibility of the ideology may use scenarios such as this as a pretext to dismiss it as a workable concept.

Africans of the *"Soil"* and Africans of the *"Blood"*

Some literature distinguishes Africans on the basis of two identities: the African of the *soil* and the African of the *blood*. Africans of the soil

are those Africans living in the African continent whereas Africans of the blood are Black Africans in Africa or the Diaspora. For example, Boutros Boutros Ghali, the first African Secretary-General of the United Nations was an 'African of the soil' because he is an Arab rather than Sub-Saharan African. Kofi Annan the second African Secretary-General of the United Nations is an 'African of the blood'. This means that North Africans, such as Boutros Boutros Ghali, only belong to the African continent (the soil) but they do not belong to the black race (the blood).

The same applies to the Noble Peace Prize Laureates - Africans such as Anwar Sadat, F.W de Klerk, Albert Luthuli, Desmond Tutu and Nelson Mandela, to mention but a few. Sadat and de Klerk are Africans of the soil and not of the blood. De Klerk is even an African of the soil by adoption rather than from having indigenous roots in the continent. Mandela and the rest are Africans both of the soil and the blood.[14] African-Americans such as Martin Luther King Jr. and the current US Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, are African dignitaries by blood, but not by soil.

Bearing this in mind, one can develop a hypothetical proposal for extensive research on identity and cooperation among and between Africans on the Continent and the Diaspora. Notable is the fact that distinctions based on "blood" and "soil" undermine the ideological strength of Pan-Africanism. It also strains cooperation between the African Continent and the Diaspora. Therefore, the major independent variables that we need to rigorously investigate to determine the viability and sustainability of Pan-Africanism are: the way in which identities are constructed and contribute to the apathy which weakens collaboration, cooperation and understanding among and between Africans of the soil and Africans of the blood in the Diaspora.

Pan-Africanism in the Present

Africa is currently politically independent (excluding the Western Sahara), after the collapse of the Apartheid regime in South Africa. However, other important questions arise: Would this mean that the historical goal of the Pan African Movement has finally been reached? And how might early prophecies of Pan-Africanism as a form of empowerment in international fora (traced back to the end of World War II) be interpreted meaningfully in the current global and African arena? It is imperative at this juncture, to note and support Dr. Marable's[15] future vision for Pan-Africanism: "Pan-Africanism remains an essential democratic vision, to deconstruct and uproot the inequalities of racism; to challenge the unpopular capitalism; the New World Order represented by the IMF, the World Bank, … In the face of all these, Pan-Africanism remains vital as

a political framework that brings together the collective perspectives of people of African descent in our eternal struggle."[16]

Paradoxically, it is also imperative to critique the viability of these perspectives. The issue here vests in the political, ideological and economic antagonism that currently exists among and between Africans in the continent (including states) and Africans in the Diaspora. The level of seriousness in supporting Pan-African ideology for all Africans differs considerably from state to state in Africa and from individual to individual in the Diaspora. Lumumba-Kasongo[17] shares the same sentiment arguing that despite its popularity as an intellectual concept, at the policy level, Pan-Africanist advocates have not succeeded in capturing state power and translating Pan-Africanism into public policies or development projects. This recognises the fact that not all African states are interested in the advocacy of a Pan-African ideology, even though they attend Pan-African Conferences. In this regard, the underlying issues may include (unjustifiable) hatred, xenophobia and distrust between Africans sharing the same continent. This can be equated with the situation of Pan-Europeanism where the member states of the European Union are reluctant to take Turkey on board although they share the same continent.

In the light of this mutual rejection and the high levels of xenophobia in various African countries, especially those with affluent economies, one would wonder how African states can be friendly to their cousins in the Diaspora. African states fail to coexist in harmony and internal unrest (such as the persecution of minority groups) is still rife in Africa. The situation in Darfur in Sudan, conflicts in Burundi, the question of the Western Sahara and the Ugandan and Rwandan invasion in the DRC, etc. are some of the vivid examples that might be used to illustrate this fact. Owing to these, this paper intends to explore the possible answer to the question: To what extent can Pan-Africanism and its Diaspora be effective as a mobilising ideology in the face of unstable identities and the lack of cooperation among and between those Africans on the continent and those in its Diaspora?

Analysing the current standard of cooperation between Africans in the Continent and the Diaspora, a steep downward trend in terms of interest and mutual understanding is observed. The original spirit of Pan-Africanism has recently diminished, particularly amongst the youth in Africa and the Diaspora. Now that the oppression of Africans in the Diaspora has diminished and the objective of decolonisation in Africa has been achieved, a new paradigm has emerged. Pan Africanism is forgotten. This point adds to an existing dimension of the argument on Pan-Africanism and current African states.

In practice, two major categories of people supported Pan-Africanism: The African people, particularly the blacks, who actually experienced overseas slavery, and those who experienced the colonial anguish, and the hardships of the liberation struggle. Those were the people who felt the actual pinch. These attitudes, nurtured through hardship and conflict, diminished, for example, following the demise of the generations directly involved in slavery, (i.e. the actual people who were migrated by force into slavery), and the generations directly involved in the liberation struggle.

Moreover, the cooperation between Africans in the Diaspora and Africans in the Continent has been strained. It has, until recently, not been noticed that any African country has ever adopted a policy of Pan-Africanism particularly geared to encourage the return home of African brothers and sisters experiencing any kind of social hardships in the Diaspora. Instead, what exists is xenophobia. Pan-Africanism has never been introduced as a distinct subject in any African schools. This trend has led to a lack of fora and mechanisms capable of cultivating a spirit of Pan-Africanism within Africans in the Continent.

Without flattery, Namibia is the only country in Africa, (by order of the Founding President Sam Nujoma), that plays the Anthem of the African Union along with the National Anthem and flies the flag of the African Union along with the National flag every day. This is a strong indication of the weakness of Africanism among African States themselves.

Similarly, young Africans in the Diaspora also lack interest in African affairs. For example, African-Americans lack familiarity with African heroes and major events.

For instance, seldom if ever, are African heroes known to Black Americans, apart from Nelson Mandela. But many African-American heroes are also African heroes. For example, Martin Luther King Jr., the boxer Mohammed Ali, the basketball player Michael Jordan, the novelist Toni Morrisson, the international revolutionary Ernesto Che Guevara and many others receive full respect in Africa. Ironically, though, the fame of these people was high among the older generations in Africa. Presently, the young people tend to show disinterest in political affairs and focus more on entertainment and sport.

Some arguments ascribe this apathy to other variables such as the strong influence of globalisation and increasing human mobility across international borders. Globalisation, for instance, has reduced the world to the size of a single village in which modernisation and technology provide convenient interactions, consultations, communications and mutualisation among nations. Given this fact, it appears as if the continentally-bound Pan-African identity is being replaced by globalisation and the notion of

the 'world citizen'. This has also left a research gap in the current role of Pan-Africanism and its relevance under globalisation.

Contemporary Political Issues

When reviewing contemporary political issues, only a small section of Africans in the Diaspora currently promotes a Pan-African ideology. This includes, predominantly, those Africans who occupy less influential positions in Western Governments. Prominent officials of African origin occupying crucial positions in the governments of developed countries hardly ever say anything on the significance of Pan-Africanism. Instead, they launch biased criticisms against the continent and its leaders.

For example, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell, an African descendent in the American government, raised the possibility of additional U.S. pressure on Zimbabwe indicating that, "among the responses we are considering is a possible broadening of sanctions against Zimbabwe."[18] In a separate event, Powell also said that "the United States will consult closely with other governments to develop appropriate responses referring to the upcoming G8 meeting (2002) in Canada, where African nations will seek support for the continent's New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) plans that the Americans are "probably inclined to say, if you want NEPAD, you need to do something about Zimbabwe."[19] His successor, Condoleezza Rice, also of African origin, labelled Zimbabwe 'an outpost of tyranny' during her United States Senate confirmation hearing.[20] In his defence, President Mugabe hit back at Rice labelling her 'a slave to White Masters in Washington'.[21] The political clashes, such as this, erupting between Africans across the Atlantic are overt indicators of the current weaknesses of the Pan-African ideology.

Millions of African-Americans and people of African ancestry in the Diaspora and Africa had initially hailed with great enthusiasm the appointment of Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice to top offices in the most powerful nation on earth. Africans were highly pessimistic that the move would strengthen Pan-Africanism in the Diaspora and its influence at the policy level in developed countries. Powell and Rice's attitudes toward Africa are uncompromising, if, for example, compared with Harold Macmillan's statement in the South African Parliament in 1960 of "a wind of change sweeping across Africa". Macmillan acknowledged that black people in Africa were, quite rightly, claiming the right to rule themselves, and accepted that it was the responsibility of the British government to promote and encourage the creation of societies in which the rights of all individuals were upheld and protected. In light of this, a serious delicacy

and fragility in the progress of Pan-Africanism in its endeavour to amalgamate Africans in Africa and Diaspora has been discovered.

Besides the confrontation mentioned above, South Africa has set a brilliant policy precedent in line with Pan-African expectations. The South African policy of neutrality towards Zimbabwe amongst the waves of consistent criticism from African brothers and Western countries is one example. In addition, when President Aristide of Haiti, a son of the African Diaspora, was ousted with the assistance of the Americans and the French, he was welcomed in South Africa. President Mbeki welcomed him saying "welcome to the African continent and to South Africa".[22] In his turn, President Aristide said instead of Europe, we are welcome in Africa, our mother continent.[23] Some Africans joined many western diplomats in snubbing the invitation to the ceremony, which was attended by the Mozambican foreign minister on behalf of the 53 member states of the African Union.[24] This scenario also reflects another sign of weak relationships among Africans. It indicates divisions in the current understanding and support of Pan-Africanism among African leaders.

Hence, as one of its recommendations, this paper notes that the introduction of Pan-Africanism and Political Science subjects at Primary School Curricula level is essential. Understanding and cooperation among Africans, wherever they are, could be achieved through grooming the African Child in a spirit of Pan-Africanism from the early stage of socialisation. Exchange programmes between African scholars in the continent and African scholars in the Diaspora should also be encouraged to promote research in the field of Pan-Africanism. And most importantly, provision should be made at the continental policy level such as NEPAD, for fostering a spirit of Pan-Africanism in Africa and the Diaspora.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is important to note that the current level of cooperation between Africans in the continent and Africans in the Diaspora is weak. This weakens Pan-Africanism as an ideology. It does not help discussing other matters related to Pan-Africanism if the issue of cooperation between the cousins in the Diaspora and in the African continent has not been addressed. All discourses about Pan-Africanism could be fruitless if the major issues of concern are not addressed – identity, cooperation and understanding. During the eras of slavery and colonialism, the ideology of Pan-Africanism was vibrant because of the set goals of independence, freedom and African sovereignty. These objectives were eventually achieved, but other tendencies of xenophobia and conflicts between African nations

have erupted on the continent. Africans in the Diaspora have played little role towards the solution of these problems.

On the other hand, those Africans in the Diaspora are not really welcome in any country of Africa despite the major role they played in the African liberation struggle. Moreover, Black Africans in the Diaspora, especially those occupying influential positions in the governments of the developed countries, have little or no concern for the Pan-African ideology. This indicates that Pan-Africanism was better understood by past black generations both in Africa and the Diaspora because those were the people who experienced direct hardship as slaves and freedom fighters. The current generation is expressing a different language in regard to Pan-Africanism. The main question that remains subject to further investigation is: How can the original spirit of cooperation between Africans in the Diaspora and the Continent be revived?

Notes

1. Blaine Hudson. 1997. *The African Diaspora and Black Atlantic: The African American Cover Story*.
2. Blaine Hudson (1997).
3. Blaine Hudson in Negro History Bulletin Oct-Dec, 1997.
4. Ronald Walters. Professor of Afro-American Studies and Government, University of Maryland, College Park.
5. Wallance G. Mills Hist (nd) on Pan-Africanism.
6. Ibid
7. Martin Frazier: contributed in the People's Weekly World Newspaper, 05/26/05 http://www.pww.org/article/articleview/7119/1/271/. 27May 2005.
8. Bankie F. Bankie. (1995). *Pan-Africanism or Continentalism?* Cape Town: HARP Publications
9. Julius O. Ihonvbere: *Pan-Africanism: Agenda for African Unity in the 1990s.*
10. Ayize Atiba. 8 March, 1995.
11. Ibid.
12. Ayize Atiba. 8 March, 1995.
13. Professor Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo: Can a "Realist Pan-Africanism" be a relevant Instrument toward the Transformation of African and the African Diaspora Politics?
14. A. Mazrui (n.d) Pan-Africanism and the origins of globalization.
15 Dr. Manning Marable is Professor of History and Political Science, and the Founding Director of the Institute for Research in African and American Studies at Columbia University in New York City.
16. Dr. Manning Marable, "Along the Colour Line" November 1995.
17. Ibid.
18. Charles Cobb Jr. (2002).
19. Charles Cobb Jr. (2002).
20. Chippla's Weblog 2005.

21. Ibid.
22. Riry Caroll and AndreMeldrum 2004.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.

PAN-AFRICANISM: STRENGTHENING THE UNITY OF GLOBAL AFRICA

James N. Karioki

In March 2005, a Pan-African Conference of major historical symbolism was held in Jamaica. For those of us involved in the planning for the event, it was simply the Jamaica Conference. Officially, however, the event is known as the South African-African Union-Caribbean Diaspora Conference. It is an elaborate title but it does capture and reflect the inclusive nature of the get-together.

As a system of ideas, the Pan-African movement has evolved through three definable phases. And each phase is a manifestation of Black people's major struggles against their historical encounters over the years. The Jamaica Conference is an elevation of Black people's quest for self-help to yet a higher plateau.

But neat demarcation of Pan-Africanism into historical or geographic segments is not necessarily realistic. We must keep in mind that clear-cut separations are for purposes of analysis. The movement has experienced the boomerang effect: each phase of Pan-Africanism has impressed itself upon the movement as a whole at all times. To illustrate the point, consider the complex interlinks and antecedents of the best known African Pan-Africanist: Kwame Nkrumah.

During the Ashanti War of 1863 John B. Small, a company clerk in one of the West Indian regiments, arrived on the Gold Coast. Here he witnessed the beginnings of the Methodist mission, which had been active on the Cape Coast since 1835. After returning home to the West Indies, Small emigrated to the USA where he joined an Afro-American Methodist church, the 'African Methodist Episcopal Zion' (AMEZ), intending to carry out missionary work under its auspices in Africa. In 1896 he was elected

bishop in AMEZ and visited the Gold Coast, where he laid the foundation of AMEZ mission. At that time he invited two talented young Methodists to study theology in the USA at the AMEZ divinity college. One of these men was Aggrey, the leading African pedagogue during the first quarter of the twentieth century. He was later Nkrumah's teacher at Achimota College near Accra and encouraged Nkrumah to study in the USA. There Nkrumah pursued his studies at Afro-American universities (sic.) He felt himself drawn to the tradition set by his teacher Aggrey, but also came under the strong influence of Marcus Garvey who originated from Jamaica. In 1945 on his way back to Africa, he stopped in England where he was influenced by Padmore whose position within the Pan-African movement was quite unique (Geiss, 1974).

Racial Pan-Africanism

At its inception at the beginning of the 20th century, organized Pan-Africanism was by design a movement to oppose and defy racism and its consequences. In other words, it was an ideology of emancipation from white supremacy from the start.

In 1900 Henry Sylvester Williams summoned Black people living in Britain to reflect on their collective problems. As a barrister practising law in London, the Trinidadian had come to the conclusion that racism was the driving force behind the agonies that faced Black people in Britain and around the world. (For a discussion of the early phases in the rise of Pan-Africanism primarily in the New World, see Geiss, 1974:14-15).

The most prominent figure to emerge from the 1900 Congress turned out to be the African-American intellectual giant, WEB Dubois. It is true that he believed in self-government for Continental Africa but, on the whole, his dream for the African Diasporans did not include Marcus Garvey's back-to-Africa proposition. In reference to Black Americans at least, Dubois was convinced that they belonged to America; it was America that owed them equal rights, at the minimum their civil rights. Dubois' thinking was that African-American Diasporans needed to stay where they were and demand their God-given rights. In short, Dubois was more interested in liberation than Black repatriation to the ancestral Promised Land of Africa.

Yet, Dubois knew and understood racism as the major force of injustice around the world. After all, it is he who uttered in 1900 the famous and prophetic words that globally, the racial divide was destined to be humankind's prime problem of the twentieth century. Accordingly, Dubois drove Pan-Africanism for the first half a century of its existence first and foremost as an anti-racism movement at home and abroad, demanding equal rights for all.

In July 1945, the Fifth Pan-African Congress met in Manchester, England. To the 'uninitiated', the meeting was a minor event of little historical significance. Obscured as it was by the just ended World War II, it indeed passed unnoticed even by local news media. At that time no one was in a position to foresee that the unheralded gathering of less than one hundred Black delegates would in time spell doom for the mighty British Empire as a global force on which the sun never set.

For the first time in the forty-five years' history of formal Pan-Africanism, indigenous Africans were in attendance at the Manchester Congress. They included politically conscious activists and trade unionists that had trickled into Britain during World War II. Significantly, they were young, bright and full of fire; angry about foreign domination of their continent by colonialism. Clearly, the 'Big War' had had its politicizing effect. The imperative was already at work to force Pan-Africanism to go Afro-centric.

Among the angry-men-in-a-hurry were at least two future Heads of State namely, Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. Dubois was also in attendance but on this occasion only as a respected Grand Old Man whose time to occupy the limelight had expired. At Manchester, the torch was passed on to a militant younger generation of Africans whose focal perception was that colonialism was Black people's core burden. Kwame Nkrumah's slogan was already audible in the horizon: seek ye the political kingdom first and the rest shall be added unto it.

Almost overnight, the focus of Pan-Africanism shifted from anti-racism to anti-colonialism. It was merely a tilt in emphasis, but its staggering implications did not take long for all to see. A mere decade after the Manchester Congress, Nkrumah's Gold Coast was on its way to becoming Ghana at independence. Similarly, in the early 1950s, Kenyatta's Kenya was in flames, challenging the colonizing British: 'Give me liberty or give me death.' To the ultimate grief of the British Empire, the proverbial winds of change were honestly and truly under way to the four corners of the African continent (for a concise statement on the early phases of Continental Pan-Africanism, see Legum, 1962).

Expression of anti-white supremacy in the Anglophone Black World took the form of political protest. This is so because white supremacy in the British Colonial Empire had been perpetrated first and foremost in the political domain. For this and other reasons we cannot go into in this statement, political protest advanced sooner and faster in colonised Anglophone Africa and its Diaspora than elsewhere in the colonised world. However, given the politicizing effect of both World Wars, the rest of the colonized world would not remain untouched.

White racism in the Francophone Black World was expressed primarily through the cultural arrogance embodied in the French colonial policy of *assimilation*. The policy stipulated that everybody in the French Empire had a chance to become French once he acquired a certain (read French) level of cultural advancement. In practice only a handful Blacks became French which meant that the bulk of the others remained subjects of France. But the greatest theoretical flaw in the *assimilation* policy was the assumption that 'colonials' aspired to forget who they were and to become French.

As is often the case, the challenge to the policy of *assimilation* originated from those that had already qualified, those that had been assimilated and actually lived in France. And just like Pan-Africanism in Anglophone Africa, the pushers behind this opposition came from Global Africa. The best known among these were Aime Cesaire of Martinique and Leopold Senghor, the Founding Father-to-be of Senegal. Their rebellion was expressed by the concept of *negritude*.

At the core, *negritude* was a literal and cultural rebellion against the French cultural arrogance to the effect that all 'colonials' lived for the day when they would become French. From the early 1930s, Leopold Senghor and Aime Cesaire climbed the literal tower in France to proclaim a different message for all that had ears to hear: *We have never been French, we are not French and we shall never be French*. In a nutshell, that was the message of *negritude* (for an elaboration on the rise and sentiments of *negritude*, see Geiss, 1974:304-321).

It was Aime Cesaire who coined the term *negritude* but, as it turned out, Leopold Senghor was destined to echo it, give it seasoning and endow it with intellectual content and prestige. But, in the final analysis, the message was simple, that Black is beautiful. As Professor Ali Mazrui once put it, *negritude* "celebrates Africa's simplicity rather than Africa's complexity. It salutes the African cattle herder, not the African castle builder." (Mazrui, 2004).

Continental Pan-Africanism

In 1957 the Gold Coast became Ghana at independence and summarily convened two major Pan-African Conferences with the assistance of figures from the African Diaspora, particularly George Padmore of Jamaica. The April 1958 First Conference of Independent African States, a gathering of the then eight independent African states, emphasized official condemnation of colonialism and echoed approval for anti-colonial activities in all their forms.

But more significant was the All-African People's Conference of December 1958. It was distinct in that it was more diverse in its inclusion of the African people from all over the continent, including those still under colonial rule. In the strict sense of the word, therefore, the Accra Conference was indeed the first truly Pan-African assembly to be held on the African soil. It embraced both Francophone Africa and Anglophone East Africa, Arabic North Africa, and Patrice Lumumba's Belgian Congo.

Pan-Africanism was now located in Africa in the full sense of the word. African Diasporans from the West Indies and North America were invited, but only as symbolic guests. It is against this background that the 1958 Accra Conference is credited as Pan-Africanism's homecoming to the African Promised Land.

If the traditional Pan-Africanism of Anglophone Africa and Francophone Africa's *negritude* constituted two parallel tributaries of the same ideological river, in 1958 they started to converge and in May 1963 they merged into the Organization of the African Unity (OAU.)

Ironically, one of the early agonies of the OAU was to define who was an African. In a Pan-Negro sense, the old Pan-Africanism had encompassed Continental Black Africa and the Black World of the New World. It is true that ancient Egypt was blended into the old Pan-African mythology but modern Egypt was virtually excluded from what we have referred to here as Racial Pan-Africanism. A question then arose: now that Pan-Africanism had become continental, was it by definition a racial or geographic movement?

In the bid to define the African, some of the protagonists perceived of the Sahara as a divide while others saw it as a bridge. Led by Nigeria, the former group held the position that "the loyalties of the Arab North Africa are suspect, and for this reason, they needed not be included in the circle of African identity" (Bemath, 1998:23).

The contrary stand was that Africa was a single whole and "the badge of membership in the African community is given to anyone who is related to Africa and her inhabitants either by blood or by culture, and has shown definite and unqualified loyalty to the continent and its people" (Bemath, 1998:23). Kwame Nkrumah and Gamel Abdul Nassar belonged to the latter group and they prevailed. Under their stewardship Arabic North at large and modern Egypt specifically were incorporated into Pan-Africanism. In this sense, the movement went trans-Saharan, Afro-Arabic, and fully continental.

As fate would have it, the issue of defining who is an African would re-emerge in the 21st century in context of the AU. Indeed, on 11-12 April

2005, less than a month after the Jamaica Conference, the AU summoned a meeting of Experts of Member States in Addis Ababa to address precisely that issue.

This time around, the nagging question was not so much a matter of race; it was an issue of ideology. The underlying proposition can be formulated as follows: Even though the prominent Black American Condoleezza Rice is genetically a descendant of Africa, is she an acceptable member of the AU's definition of the African Diaspora if she is not sensitive and loyal to the Pan-African cause? (See AU, 2005.)

As a result of the exigencies of the times, the OAU was set up to consolidate the political kingdoms that had been achieved by anti-colonialism on the one hand, and to spearhead the anti-colonial drive through the rest of the continent, on the other. On both these counts, the organization was a resounding success. It indeed jealously guarded states' sovereignty and effectively presided over the liberation of the entire continent from colonialism.

But as more and more of Africa attained independence, the issue of colonialism receded into memory while development and protection of human rights came to the forefront. This drift is reflected in the shift of the OAU to the AU. In addition to evolving a new perception of economic re-alignment with the former colonial powers through NEPAD, the AU is now poised to challenge the sovereignty of the African states if and when it comes in conflict with the interests of people's well-being.

Global Pan-Africanism

In a sense, the OAU's ultimate success has turned out to be its kiss of death. By the early 1990s there was general consensus that the African State had fallen short as an agent of economic development and as custodian of human rights. But in spite of earning a failing grade on this and other fronts, the OAU could claim a distinction for the final removal of colonialism from Africa.

The ultimate measure of this success emerged in 1994 when South Africa became politically free; what Julius K. Nyerere, the former President of Tanzania once dubbed "the monster of unfreedom" (apartheid South Africa) was no more. As a result of OAU-coordinated efforts, apartheid's evil coalition of racism and colonialism had capitulated.

The defining difference between the African Union (AU) and the OAU is the former's emphasis on economic development and people's well-being. In practice, this new dispensation of the AU has come to mean pre-occupation with people's rather than states' rights. The pledge to make the 21st century the African century is not a clarion call to transform Africa

into a military superpower; it is a commitment to uplift the quality of life for the African people.

It is not necessary to belabor the point here but we all know that, through the efforts of President Thabo Mbeki, post-apartheid South Africa has become a key player in this new African agenda. In context of the AU, South Africa is also playing a significant role in devising mechanisms for the realization of the newly defined aspirations.

As it turns out, AU's and South Africa's conception of African 'people' includes Continental and Diasporan Africans. There are still knots to be removed, but behind it all is a fundamental conviction that Continental and Global Africans need each other in the struggle for mutual upliftment in both the political and economic spheres. Hence, AU's quest to have the African Diaspora represented as its Sixth African region. The need is made even more urgent by the realities of globalization.

It is against this background that the Jamaica Conference was summoned in March 2005. Significantly, the conference was called by Continental Africans who, for the first time ever, reached out to the African Diasporans to discuss problems common to both.

In a historical sense, Pan-Africanism has gone a whole cycle to come back where it began. It has taken an entire century to travel from the Caribbean, Britain, the United States, Africa and back to the Caribbean, but the agenda for the movement is now wholly Pan-African, Global Africa. The official Statement of the Jamaica Conference, obtainable on the website of the Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA), makes this point abundantly clear.

This then is the story of Pan-Africanism. It started global, went local in Africa and has again reemerged on global scale. And all this is in the quest to unify and strengthen global Africa.

References

AISA website. www.aisa.org.za.

AU. 2005. *Report of the Meeting of Experts from Member States on the Definition of the African Diaspora, 11-12 April 2005*.

Bemath, A.S. 1998. *The Mazruina Collection*. Johannesburg: Foundation for Global Dialogue.

Geiss, I. 1974. *The Pan-African Movement*. London: Methuen and Company.

Legum, C. 1962. *Pan-Africanism*: *A Short Political Guide*. London: Pall Mall.

Mazrui, A.A. 2004. *The Ghana-Garvey-Gamal Axis: Afro-centric Experience from the Nile to the Caribbean. Unpublished essay.*

CONTEXTUALISING PAN-AFRICANISM

Mandela Kapere

Joseph Zobels's 1955 stark portrayal of rural Martinique in *La Rue des cases-negre*, although fictional, gives an accurate account of the life and times of many blacks in Martinique. So powerful was this vivid portrayal that the book was banned for many years in mainland France. It described the absurd contrast in the lives of coloured minority *Bekes* and the impoverished existence of the majority blacks.

It is said that that even today, some 150 years after the end of slavery in Martinique, unemployment amongst blacks can reach figures of up to 60% in certain areas.

The pathetic conditions of hardship described in Zobel's classic French novel were prophetic and indicative of the conditions of many continental Africans. They also describe the conditions of Africans whether in the Motherland, Caribbean or the Americas. The novel further illustrates that regardless of colonial master, colony or time, Africans and their descendents were subject to the same conditions of exploitation and subjugation.

Consider further that even in the United States and South America HIV/AIDS, poverty and illiteracy are proportionally more present in African descendants than in any of the other ethnic formations in those parts of the world. Many of the conditions faced by those in the motherland are replicated in the Islands and the America's; certainly this should be reason for reflection! It could perhaps be argued that because of the similar conditions faced by Africans, Africans need to have a similar and united approach to eradicate and alleviate those conditions; perhaps one could go further and suggest that the cement for this Unity is Pan-Africanism.

Early pioneers of the Pan-African Movement such as W.E.B. du Bois, Marcus Garvey and Kwame Nkrumah have, since the early half of the last century, advocated and advanced the cause of African Unity. Many of the development paradigms we see today on the continent are manifestations

of Pan-Africanism. NEPAD, the African Renaissance movement, the AU and its precursor organisation the OAU, even the celebration of Africa day, all find themselves within the ambit of Pan-Africanism. It in fact stands to reason that, had it not been for the widescale African support to the cause of Namibian independence the struggle would have been longer and perhaps manifestly more bitter. In fact some of the more decisive legal blows dealt to the Occupationist regime were the result of legal instruments used by Liberia and Ethiopia. Further, our collective memory should serve us well and remind us that even though support for the struggle was largely international, those countries that carried the brunt of the racist wrath were frontline states. Despite that, they continued to train our students and host our refugees and military machinery.

The truth of the matter is that the way to the unity of the Africans is via the lessons learned through Pan-Africanism. This is why it is important to disseminate Pan-Africanism through deliberate learning, so that the youth imbibe of these ideas. It is indeed curious that there are so few Pan-Afrikan Centres in Africa. In Namibia we find the Pan-Afrikan Centre of Namibia (PACON), which has, as one of its objectives, to ensure Pan-Africanism becomes widely known in the country.

Pan-Africanism, amongst others, inspired the struggle of the South West Africa Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) for national independence. Tony Emmett in his *Popular Resistance in Namibia 1920–1925* informs us that a branch of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) opened in Luderitz in 1921. In January 1922 a branch opened in Windhoek. People such as Mungunda, Hoveka, and Hosea Kutako were connected to the Windhoek Branch. The ideas coming from the UNIA brought together the people of the area for the first time to fight German/Afrikaner colonialism. The birth of Namibian nationalism finds its roots in Garveyism.

The seeds of Pan-Africanism originated in Africa. They then crossed the Atlantic to the Caribbean and the Americas where they germinated in the experience of Africans under slavery. In the Diaspora, the experience was refined into a modern philosophical ideal, which came back to Africa by way of a set of ideas circulated at venues such as the 5th Pan-African Congress of 1945 and via the Pan-African Congress series convened by W.E.B. Du Bois. It is only fitting, therefore, that the international relations policy in practice amongst Africans has reflected a Pan-African dimension.

It has become evident in the recent past that two types of Pan-Africanism have emerged. Firstly there is the branch that addresses Pan-Africanism as the political unity of states on the Continent. This definition of course includes Arab states. The second and perhaps more fitting branch

views Pan-Africanism as the unity of black Africans in Africa and their descendants in the Diaspora. Many view this type of Pan-Africanism as the conduit through which indigenous Africans can seek to redress gross exploitation of black Africans and the continent. Many forget that the first mass capture and enslavement of Africans took place some hundreds of years ago and did not happen at the hands of European Christians but at the hands of Arab Muslims. Black Africans have to find closure to that aspect of African history before a credible political union with North Africa can be considered. Let us also not forget that the crises and chronic human rights abuses of black Africans by Arabs are the root of the conflict in the Borderlands. The war in Sudan, the conflicts in Mauritania and the hot spots in many parts of the Borderlands stem from the insistence by Arab Muslims of spreading their hegemony southwards. The existence of the Arab League and the 1989 Abuja Declaration by Muslims show a great disposition by some towards religious and ethnic unity.

Certainly if we are to address the conditions described by Zobel in *La Rue des cases-negre,* which blacks face the world over, then certainly Pan-Africanism has for our sake, to be the union of blacks and their descendants for the purpose of the prosperity and restoration of black souls and material conditions.

The argument here is, therefore, that organisations for internationalism and continentalism are good and important; however, Pan-Africanism should be our natural predisposition, because of the unique yet common history faced by black Africans and their descendants the world over.

The last few years have seen a resurgence in Pan-African dialogue and activism. Key events in that regard were the formation of the Global African Congress at the World Racism Conference, the momentum in the preparation towards the 8th Pan-African Congress in Zimbabwe, and increased dialogue at state level between Africa and the Caribbean. Areas that are going to be key for cooperation amongst these states would be trade and investment, education, culture and research and then perhaps, just as in *La Rue des cases-negre,* victims of history will triumph over their ill fated past.

POSITIVE ACTION WILL FORGE PAN-AFRICANISM

John Trimble

Positive Action is rooted in the early struggles in Ghana for independence and Nkrumah's call for Pan-Africanism. A continuation of this struggle calls for clarification on what Pan-Africanism is and the forging of a modern positive action campaign to continue this quest. Following the works of Kwame Nkrumah we concisely define Pan-Africanism as "the total liberation and unification of Africa under scientific socialism". The modern positive action campaign is initiated by addressing land reclamation, debt cancellation, reparations and continental citizenship. Recognising that 'the masses make history', the positive action campaign focuses on agitating, education and organising from the base of ordinary people. At the same time, the campaign calls for accountability of African leadership, particularly the newly created Pan-African parliament.

Background

On March 6, 1949 the era of positive action began. It was used to mobilise and organise the masses in Ghana to fight British imperialists and led to Ghana's independence in 1957. Ghana was amongst the first sub-Saharan African countries to gain independence.

Nkrumah described positive action as "the adoption of all legitimate and constitutional means by which we could attack the forces of imperialism... The weapons were legitimate political agitation, newspaper and educational campaigns and as a last resort the constitutional application of strikes, boycotts and non-cooperation" (Ghana: *Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* p.112).

What is the AAPRP

Kwame Nkrumah, first president of Ghana, called for the formation of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party in "Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare". The All-African People's Revolutionary Party (A-APRP) is a permanent, revolutionary, Pan-African political party based in Africa, the Just Homeland of African People all over the world. It is an integral part of the Pan-African and world socialist revolution. The A-APRP understands that "all people of African descent, whether they live in North or South America, the Caribbean, or in any other part of the world, are Africans and belong to the African Nation" (Kwame Nkrumah, *Class Struggle in Africa* p. 4).

The long-term objective of the A-APRP is Pan-Africanism: the total liberation and unification of Africa under scientific socialism. Total liberation implies not just an end to colonial occupation but an end to neo-colonialism, mental slavery and imperialist oppression. Political and economic unification is necessary to combat imperialist aggression and build a sound national infrastructure capable of developing the human and natural resources of Africa. Capitalism has failed the masses of the world and has brought Africans only oppression. Through the slave trade, slavery, colonialism, and neo-colonialism, through structural adjustment and privatisation schemes, Africa has seen its people and resources exploited. The only alternative is a scientific approach to the implementation of socialism - a system where the people control their human resources and the natural resources of the land. Scientific socialism requires people to contribute based on their ability and to receive based on their needs and implies that any surplus is used for the development of society, not the personal interest of a few. Scientific socialism will lead to a system where people contribute according to ability and receive according to need. This is communism.

The ideology of the A-APRP, Nkrumahism-Touréism takes its name from the consistent, revolutionary and Pan-African principles, practices and policies implemented and taught by Kwame Nkrumah and Sekou Touré. However, this ideology is based on the historical and cultural experiences of African people as a whole. Nkrumahism-Touréism is grounded in the experiences of traditional Africa before Arab and European influences, but includes the positive experiences and struggles of Africans under the influences of Islamic and Euro Christian contacts. We recognise there is positive and negative in everything and draw on the positive lessons and findings of even our harshest and most oppressive experiences.

In *Consciencism* Nkrumah noted that:

> in a colonial situation there are forces that tend to promote colonialism (Negative Actions), to promote those political ties by means of which a colonialist country binds its colonies to itself with the primary objective of furthering her economic advantages. Colonialism requires exertion, and much of that exertion is taken up by the combat of progressive (Positive) forces. Forces which seek to negate this oppressive enterprise of greedy individuals and classes by means of which an egotistical imposition of the strong is made upon the weak ... These opposing sets of forces are dynamic, in the sense that they seek and tend to establish some social condition. One may therefore refer to them by the name of action in order to make their dynamic nature explicit. In that case, one may say that in a colonial situation Positive Action and Negative Action can be discerned. Positive Action will represent the sum of those forces seeking social justice in terms of the destruction of oligarchic exploitation and oppression. Negative Action will correspondingly represent the sum of those forces tending to prolong colonial subjugation and exploitation. POSITIVE ACTION IS REVOLUTIONARY AND NEGATIVE ACTION IS REACTIONARY. It ought to be recognised at the outset that the introduced terms of Positive and Negative Action are abstractions. But the ground for them is in social reality ...

In a colonial situation, Negative Action undoubtedly outweighs Positive Action. In order that true independence should be won, it is necessary that Positive Action should come to overwhelm Negative Action. Admittedly, a semblance of true independence is possible without this specific relation. When this happens, we say that neo-colonialism has set in, for neo-colonialism is a guise adopted by Negative Action in order to give the impression that it has been overcome by Positive Action. NEO-COLONIALISM IS NEGATIVE ACTION PLAYING POSSUM.

In order to forestall this, it is necessary for Positive Action to be backed by a MASS PARTY, and qualitatively to improve this mass so that by education and by an increase in its degree of consciousness, its aptitude for Positive Action becomes heightened. We can therefore say that in a colonial [or neo-colonial] territory, Positive Action must be backed by a mass party, complete with instruments of education. Positive Action as a quantity could therefore vary with people, their degree of consciousness and mobilisation for progress. The People, however, are not mobilised apart from the consciousness and mobilisation of individuals. Positive Action may therefore be said to be the sum of the Positive Action contained in individuals associated with a mass organisation.

The All-African People's Revolutionary Party seeks, as Nkrumah envisioned, to unite the positive forces of the liberation struggles throughout the African world toward Pan-Africanism. Realising that capitalism and its outgrowth imperialism developed on the enslavement of African people and colonisation of the land and resources of Africa, Asia and the America's, the A-APRP as a revolutionary organisation is not only standing against the multi-layered aspects of exploitation (nation, class and gender), but actively and consciously working toward the construction of a new society that rejects the dehumanising profit motives of capitalism and imperialism.

The A-APRP judges positive as well as negative action within the framework of its ideology Nkrumahism-Touréism which comes from our people's history, culture and struggle. The theoretical and practical experiences of Presidents Kwame Nkrumah and Sekou Touré serve as sterling examples.

Nkrumahism-Touréism is a revolutionary, humanist theory with a mass character. It defines progress in the context of the collective development of Africa and Africans, unlike capitalist ideology with its focus on the individual. The objective of Nkrumahism-Touréism is PAN-AFRICANISM: THE TOTAL LIBERATION AND UNIFICATION OF AFRICA UNDER SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM. This global African unity aligns with the needs and interests of the oppressed masses of the world. We find our allies in the just struggles for reclamation of land and resources, in our land (Africa), Kenya, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe, and in the rest of the world, the South Sea Islands, in the Americas, Palestine and Ireland. We align ourselves with movements for reparations, redistribution and reconstitution of the current relationship of those who create the wealth from their labor, the working classes, and those who steal the fruits of that labor, the capitalist class.

Positive action is a continuum of African people's class struggle, dominated in the 50's and 60's by the struggle for national liberation against colonial regimes. Today the struggle is one against imperialism in its neo-colonial and neo-liberal forms, where local puppets put the interest of foreign powers before the people.

The objective of positive action is to forge higher and higher levels of unity. The weapons of this unity are (ideas) ideology and organisation. POSITIVE ACTION as a whole is informed action, conscious action, action led by thought. POSITIVE ACTION reaches its highest expression with the unity of thought and action.

POSITIVE ACTION is defining the movement not simply responding to it. Africa's children are at war in Haiti, in Sudan and in the Congo.

No so-called 'civil war in Africa' is separate from imperialism's need for control of resources and expansion of empire. Positive Action links the resistance to imperial aggression in Africa to the fight against US led imperial aggression in Iraq, and the threats and economic sanctions against Cuba, North Korea, Venezuela and Zimbabwe. Africa's children must refuse to collaborate. Positive Action aligns with the struggles of women throughout the continent who call for an end to militarism that literally results in their physical rape as well as the rape of Africa's resources, both human and material. These wars benefit energy and weapons producers and other multinationals based in the industrialised countries, while millions in underdeveloped countries suffer.

Our POSITIVE ACTION, our conscious, sustained organisational work is what will transform these movements into a leap forward in development. Negative action is any action that sustains neo-colonial control over African resources, land, labor or minerals and institutions through claims of debt or economic arrangements that further African dependency.

Imperialism will do everything in its power to control and derail Pan-Africanism and any unity among African peoples that does not serve its interest.

The African Union and African states will be measured in the POSITIVE ACTION CAMPAIGN in their degree of movement toward a continental union of African states that utilises the resources of African people for the development of African people.

We recognise the insidious role of the former colonial and current imperialist powers as the primary implementers and beneficiaries of the rape and pillage of Africa and African People and that they owe us much more than an apology for the damage done. We also realise we can and must control our destiny through our organised positive action as Africans. In the fight against imperialism Nkrumah serves as an inspiration. We shall take the call for POSITIVE ACTION to a global level!

One aspect of this call is the POSITIVE ACTION CAMPAIGN PETITION calling on our African leadership to:

- extend the process of land reclamation to return all lands stolen during colonisation to poor and landless Africans;
- cancel all payments claimed by the IMF, World Bank and other western financial institutions; and
- give continent-wide citizenship to all Africans and people of African descent.

We are calling on progressive and freedom loving organisations and individuals to join us as we develop our petition drive around these three goals.

Only the organised, mobilised African masses can determine Africa's future in a positive direction. By collecting millions of signatures from Africans around the world we can demonstrate to the African Union and African leadership the will of the African masses.

Africa's debt to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank must be cancelled and the IMF and World Bank dismantled. These institutions have only served to disrupt the development of Africa, playing a significant role in creating this debt. In light of the crimes committed against African people and the theft of Africa's resources, we claim the cancellation of this bogus debt as a down payment on reparations due Africa and African people.

It is not by accident that Africa and her people have been so miserably exploited. The African continent is, without doubt, the richest landmass in the world. But despite Africa's vast mineral wealth, her collective debt is over $400 billion US dollars. Africa struggles to keep up payments on this staggering debt, sacrificing over $15 billion in payments each year. Aid to Africa is less than 1/10 of its debt payment. In Africa, more money goes towards debt repayment than health care, education, food and housing combined. Most of the payment goes towards the interest on these loans, keeping Africa in a permanent state of indebtedness, and a permanent state of bondage. We must stop this nonsense!! We do not owe the imperialist countries a dime.

In Zimbabwe, the legacy of colonialism left less than five thousand white farmers owning 70% of the best arable land. Some owned as many as nine farms, and some land belonged to absentee landlords in England. While the European landholders never compensated Africans for stealing the land in the first place, they are now demanding compensation for being forced to give it back. Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe says Britain should pay because it was in charge when the problem was created.

> Zimbabwe is not for the convenience and pleasure of any country, less still of adventurous, bloodthirsty and domineering neocolonialists. Zimbabwe will never be a colony again! Never, never ever. – President Mugabe

The land reclamation process initiated in Zimbabwe must be expanded to address the return of land in all of Africa. Agricultural land reclamation will bring about the conditions where Africa can feed Africans. This

land reclamation process must be expanded to address the theft of Africa's mineral resources. The profits from the extraction of minerals from Africa must be used for Africa's development. All land (agricultural, mineral and industrial) must be returned to the rightful owners, the poor and the landless Africans.

All people of African descent wherever they live in Africa or outside of Africa must be viewed as citizens of Africa and should be allowed to live and travel anywhere in Africa.

The elimination of the boundaries established by colonialism is a prerequisite toward the building of true Pan-Africanism. Africa must reshape its global relationships with the welfare of the poor of Africa in mind. This requires building international organisational links among Africans throughout Africa and Africans outside of Africa, Africans with the foresight to organise for a future where Africa will operate under one union government to develop a society where people contribute based on their ability and receive based on their true contribution (a unified socialist Africa - Pan-Africanism).

Political Education Work-Study

This is a program of the A-APRP open to any African interested in collective education about the African revolution and organisational training to prepare one to make a contribution to the Pan-African movement. The work process involves taking what one learns in the study process and sharing it with other Africans. The A-APRP provides access to veteran organisers who provide training in a wide range of tactical and strategic work such as setting up and conducting workshops; developing educational materials; and facilitating organisation meetings. The work-study circle process is designed to: train and prepare serious, unselfish strugglers for Africa; and cultivate a strong sense of national pride in being African and a revolutionary commitment to actively support the just struggles of other oppressed and exploited peoples in the world.

To Students and Youth

As students and youth could you think or study if you were hungry? Could you participate in today's discussion about solving our peoples problems if you were preoccupied with when, where or if you will get your next meal? As students and youth you must ask the questions: If Africa is the richest continent in the world, why are African people the poorest? If Africa created civilisation and made significant contributions to the development of world religions, thus giving society moral principles, guidance and truths, why are African women still 'slaves of a slave'?

All movements are fuelled by the spontaneous and organised expression of our people's aspirations. The youth, especially students historically play a role as the spark within the movement, causing it to respond in various ways. Franz Fanon, the African revolutionary who joined the Algerian Liberation movement in 1954, said in his famous book *The Wretched of the Earth*: "Each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfil it, or betray it."

African youth and students, know your mission in our struggle.

FREEDOM AND PAN-AFRICANISM IN NAMIBIA REVISITED: AN ALL-AFRICAN PEOPLE'S RENAISSANCE IN THE MAKING

Joe Murangi

Namibia is politically free regardless of where one comes from. However, as clearly outlined in Vision 2030, the NDP's I and II (Namibia/ National Development Plan One and Two), we still have a long way to go. Development will be hardest in the economic sector, due to the historically skewed resource distribution which is a result of colonialism. The "acute" situation is also being aided by corruption by way of the perpetuation of the situation by the "self appointed" moral guardians of the masses. This would include among others some of the Intelligentsia, some top notch civil servants including international civil servants and some former civil servants, Non-Governmental Organisations and Trans-National Corporations. Hence, the huge gap between the haves and have nots.

To this effect, not so long ago, in fact in 2000/2001, the National Planning Commission's Director Saara Kuukongelwa-Amadhila, currently the Minister of Finance and her permanent secretary, Hanno Rumpf, currently Ambassador to Germany, called for a show of interest in conducting research on behalf of the National Planning Commission on the following sub themes or rather sectors: Economics, Politics, Law, etc. or even better , all the sectors that are responsible for the "smooth running" of the Government.

The Volunteers Association of Namibia applied to handle the sector that dealt with Democracy and Political stability. We specifically wanted to instil a culture of volunteerism in order to form a sense of selflessness and thus to curb corruption. We were turned down. This piece forms the basis of our plan and we hope that this will be the core of the Pan-Africanist Renaissance in Namibia.

Stokeley Carmichael and Frantz Fanon: Negritude and Black Consciousness Concepts_

Negritude and Black Consciousness are one and the same thing. Negritude is attributed to people like the late President of Senegal, Leopoldt Senghor, Aime Ceaser and Pablo Neruda, to mention but a few, who are from Francophone countries. Stokely Carmichael, Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seele, and Bobby Hutton were part of the Black Consciousness Movement. The latter three are the actual founders of the Black Panther Party or Movement, if you will, in Oakland, California. Stokely Carmichael is considered to be the first to use the slogan "Black Power" and the salute of the clenched fist. In South Africa, the "pioneer" of Black Consciousness was Stephen Bantu Biko, who died in police custody, in September 1977. He thus, in that respect, acquired martyr status. Stokely Carmichael had the following to say on the genesis of Black Power: "The struggle for 'psychological equality necessitated Black Power. The white psyche rendered all whites 'whatever their political persuasion' incapable of joining a liberation struggle in the United States." He singled out the Niagara Movement led by W.E.B. du Bois in the 20th Century as a model to follow. He subsequently adopted Pan-Africanism as a model for black people to follow for Black Liberation, while in Guinea. Strangely enough he adhered to the concept while in Africa, while the concept or the "strategy" originated from outside Africa. The "grandfather" of Pan-Africanism being Henry Sylvester Williams.

Frantz Fanon

One would like to believe that the arguments advanced by Carmichael would be very much at home with Fanon. He had the following to say on the defenders of Negritude:

> The Negro is disappearing and cultural societies are being set up by urban intellectuals to cope with the psychic trauma of discovering their complexity in dying colonialism. Each new nation must be constructed by realistic political action, not by emotional involvement in cultural rights. Nation building must be undertaken in the context of socio-genetics. Generic claims about African culture and African unity have no reality.

Even though both concepts have in mind the exertion or rather the raising of the Black Consciousness as a common denominator, Negritude is assertive in its exertion or "subtle" while Black Power is "aggressive" and can be considered as "Reverse Reactive Racism."

Pan-Africanism in Namibia

The preceding section tried to simplify Negritude and Black Consciousness as being similar but not identical. The simplest common denominator being (arguably) the rejection of being defined in negative terms (e.g. "Non Whites"), which would be tantamount to defining someone in terms of "what someone else is not." Elements found in Negritude and Black Consciousness are to be found in Pan-Africanism – to some extent. Pan-Africanism and all of the above have a common home in "Africanism."

Africa, like the concept of Pan-Africanism and its elements or ingredients, did not come from Africa, but is a name given to her by Europeans, more specifically the Romans. Some seem to suggest that the name initially meant Tunisia; others seem to suggest Algeria or Libya. Whatever the case, it referred to the most northerly tip of Africa which faces Europe. This subsequently came to refer to the whole of Africa, of which Namibia is part.

As previously indicated, whereas Pan-Africanism does not mean much to the lay person: it came to represent an exclusive domain of the "Intelligentsia" – hence elitism. How? Raymond Suttner has the following to say on the left wing in South Africa, which we could apply to the Namibian Intelligentsia: "The white former activists see their role as self appointed moral guardians who have to keep their former black comrades in check. This often takes the form of obsession with the lifestyles of their former comrades."

There are, however, three vital elements which have proved to be the lifeline of Namibia's Pan-Africanist Movement:

1. The introduction of the then Sam Nujoma by his uncle to the late Chief Hosea Katjikururume Kutako while he (the uncle, Mr. Kondombolo) was an official of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), which had branches in Windhoek, Okahandja, Usakos, Karibib, Swakopmund and Gobabis, while headquartered in Lüderitz .
2. The former Head of State and Father of the Nation and the President of the ruling party, President Sam Shafishuna Nujoma and all relevant party structures.
3. The current "consultancy service" in place within the Pan-Africanist Movement in Namibia.

Were it not for these three aspects, the Pan-Africanist Movement in Namibia would have been "history" by now.

Pioneering Pan-Africanism in Namibia

In essence, the person who played a critical pioneering role in the establishment of UNIA and the Industrial and Commercial Union (ICU) in Namibia would be Samuel Beckett Ncwana, a 29 year old Pondo, who lived in Cape Town, where he edited *The Black Man*. He was also general organiser of the ICU at the time and President of the Cape Town division of UNIA. His first visit to Lüderitz on UNIA-business occurred in June 1921, when he claimed to have founded both the ICU and UNIA in South West Africa (SWA). Regardless of his important role the movement was already underway prior to his June 1921 visit. In fact, the first meeting occurred the previous February with a petition dated April 26 in which a request was made to the town Magistrate for the inauguration of a branch of the association. His aims were also outlined there, including the names of the Executive and the 125 members. Each recruit received a "Black, Red and Green Rosette" which was worn on the lapel. Members were: American Negroes (West Indians and Liberians) as well as coloureds, Herero, Nama, Owambo and Hottentot. At another meeting German, English, Nama and "Native Tongue" were spoken, but being a Negro or black man transcended all other identities.

A Mr. Wood served as the President of ICU in Lüderitz and his 1923 successor, I. de Clue, participated actively in UNIA affairs. In the summer of 1921 a committee was formed to confront the Town Clerk on issues relating to the business life of the native location. Personally Headley, the president of the ICU in Lüderitz, placed great faith in the petition of the UNIA parent body to the League of Nations, which requested that SWA be turned over to members of the Negro Race for self governance. In November 1922 a Garvey supporter wrote from Usakos: "We have sent a delegation from the parent body in New York last month to the League of Nations now sitting in Geneva, Switzerland, to ask for the mandate of SWA to be handed over to us to form a government of our own."

A branch of the Lüderitz division was established in Windhoek in October 1921 and by December 21, 1921 it is said to have recruited 311 members, comprising of all native and coloured nationalities, both male and female. The most ardent Garveyists were described as natives from Morovia, Liberia and Togoland.

In Windhoek, it is recorded that Mrs. Jabba Leah and the local board, whose secretary was Paul D. Ayeboavi, let Mr. Headly address a meeting.

Mr. Headly, in his capacity as President, founded a branch in Swakopmund via Mr. William Abrahams. On April 14, 1922, J. D. Abrahams, a "native" from Cameroon, petitioned the Municipality for the opening of a UNIA branch. Because of this, the Magistrate advocated Abraham's

deportation. The Windhoek branch sent out emissaries, Theodore Hambue (Damara) and John Mungunda (Herero) to establish branches of the association in Usakos, Karabib and Okahandja. Five Herero joined UNIA that night. Next day, 100 mostly Herero attended the meeting. There were no recruits.

In May 1922, the Swakopmund magistrate requested information on the UNIA from the secretary of SWA. The response was: "Not considered seriously". Nonetheless, the Sunday Observance Bill was imposed in Lüderitz. Thus no meetings took place on Sundays. By November 1922 the interior began to heat up. There was friction between the Liberian and Monrovian factions and the Hereros in Windhoek. Hence, the leadership passed to the Herero Adam Mungunda, brother of the Municipality Headman, who became President. Solomon Hiskia Monguy, Chair and Clemence Kapuoo, were members of this branch.

There was support for a "great Negro Republic in Liberia." However, when Liberia publicly announced its rejection of UNIA's "proposal" in 1924, the missionaries reported that some followers of the Monrovia Movement were disillusioned and began to return to white denomination missions. Others, however, remained steadfast.

According to Mr. Becker, a missionary, in 1923 Garvey-fever was at its peak. There were slogans such as "Africa for Africans." There were rumours of "Native uprising" everywhere.

Pan-Africanism as a Concept and its Practical Momentum

Pan-Africanism in Namibia may have reached its zenith with its culmination in the foundation of the Southwest African National Union (SWANU) as a fully fledged political organisation in 1959, as opposed to being just a cultural/academic "institution." This would augur well with the aims and objectives of the then "Motherbody" the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA.) However, before SWANU two labour organisations were established, namely the Ovamboland Peoples Organisation (OPO) and the Ovamboland Peoples Congress (OPC) with the then Sam Nujoma (now President Nujoma) and the then Herman Toivo (now Honourable Andimba Ya Toivo) at the helms respectively. These would subsequently merge into the Southwest African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) with President Nujoma at the helm.[1] One would get the feeling that the formation of the political organisation signalled the death knell of cultural organisations, or the formation of better student organisations. Well, that was almost the case at least up to the early 1970's.

The Second Phase - the Namibian Student Movement

In 1973 the author was designated as the "liaison officer" between the school tasked with organising the next National Student Conference at Döbra, a Roman Catholic Mission School just outside Windhoek, the capital, and the rest of the national students via the Co-ordinator.

This was done at a National Student Conference held at the Ephesians Lutheran Church in Katatura. The National Co-ordinator was a Namibian Student who was studying in South Africa at the time and who was home due to student strikes. The author was subsequently elected President or Chair of the committee tasked with the organisation of the event, unopposed. However, he had to drop out of school a few months later, at the end of the year.

Nonetheless, the activities went ahead as scheduled and the trend was set which evolved into the current student movements with the formation of the Namibian Black Student Organisation (NABSO) at Martin Luther High School, a church run school at the Lutheran Church in the North East.

Hence, as previously indicated, the second phase of the Namibian Renaissance was launched – the first phase being the launching of the UNIA-branch in Windhoek via Lüderitz. The previously mentioned grouping culminated into other student groupings, such as the Namibian Student Organisation (NANSO), NACOS and NACEM. One would also not exclude the Christian Institution which ran evening classes through which the author, for a very brief period, tried his hand on. This was at the Holy Redeemer Roman Catholic Church in Katatura, Windhoek, the year following the "dropping out." The list could go on and on.

Having gone deeper into the narrative style than was the initial intention, one would like to comment on why certain things are the way they are. Namibia is a country consisting of an amalgamation of cultures in unity. Hence, the catchy description of "Unity in Diversity." As much as we would like to have it this way, it is at this juncture far from being that way. The reason is quite simple. Unlike in South Africa where, according to Raymond Suttner, the "whites" act as self appointed moral guardians who check on their black brothers, here in Namibia, it is a matter of the intellectuals aligning themselves with those who consider themselves as the true guardians of the Revolution by virtue of their so called monopoly. Hence, they have formed a watertight/waterproof wall between the top management (Leaders of the Revolution) and the masses. It is from here that they act as "Big Brother." This is a comfort zone that they will try at all costs never to lose – hence the escalation of corruption. In some cases it is not all via the front men who would normally be greedy people by nature. The sooner that wall can be broken, the better. The reason being,

amongst others, instead of having Vision 2030, we could make it sooner with Vision 2020. The declaration of war on corruption could not have come at a better time. The mechanisms to root out corruption were already in place, but those who were designated as the agents for change might have been agents for the status quo. In fact, they might have been the agents of *exchange*, which is a prerequisite for becoming a member of this secret "wall" of elitism.

Among these corrupt individuals are those who genuinely believe that they are the long awaited Messiahs who have been delegated by God to save his people from sin (the bondage of ignorance.) They are usually divided along tribal and racial lines. If white, that is "they and them." They are not like all the other whites. That's why they have been chosen by God to deliver His people from the yoke of Apartheid and racism. They consider themselves special because of all whites God chose them.

When it came to white and black relations, all whites usually acted in unison. Some may not have been as obvious as others, like the Afrikaners, who in most cases were extreme. Others, like the English and German were "subtle" or liberal so to speak, as were the Portuguese and the Jews. In most cases, the Jews "blended" well with the Germans, which made it difficult for the man on the street to distinguish between them. The Portuguese, even though "rough" by nature, acted in a somewhat more "assimilated" manner.

When it came to the Blacks: *Owambo's* would rather be considered as custodians of the Revolution (as Revolutionary). The phrase "Religion is the opium of the people" may have roots as opposed to the grassroots, which are overwhelmingly religious. *Herero:* looked at the Revolution in the context of the 1904 war/genocide. *Kavango:* may have acted out the Messiah syndrome, more religious, especially Catholicism. *Damara:* may have seen the "war" on two fronts, the Messiah syndrome - were looked down on by other tribes. *Nama*: Messiah syndrome – in the process of being annihilated by others, especially Baster, Damara and to some extent Coloured groups.

Conclusion

Let us all unite and toil together to give the best we have to Africa, the cradle of mankind and fount of culture. Our pride and hope at the break of dawn.

> Oh, Sons and Daughters of Africa
> Flesh of the Sun and Flesh of the Sky
> Let us make Africa the Tree of Life.

The above are the fourth verse and refrain of the OAU/AU National Anthem; a call of the people crying out loud: a people not only in search of themselves, but also glorifying their glorious past. The cradle of mankind and fount of culture. Our pride and hope at the break of dawn; a people looking forward with heads held high. Among the many who were pioneers in this quest were: Marcus Garvey and W. E. B. du Bois; Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael and of course the Pan-Africanist giants: Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore, Aime Caesar, etc, etc. There are, however, a few people and events which might have shaped their train of thought. Foremost are the following: The Roman statesman and philosopher Marcus Aurelius Cicero (106 – 43 B.C.), Hannibal, the French Revolution, The Amistad, the US Civil War, the US Constitution, the USSR Revolution, to mention but a few.

Finally, in conclusion, one would think that it is the duty of each and everyone who considers him/herself a true African or any nationality for that matter, to be reminded as to where one comes from and where one is heading. This is normally or traditionally via the national anthem. Hence:

> Namibia land of the Brave
> Freedom fight we have won,
> Glory to their bravery
> Whose blood waters our freedom.
> We give our love and loyalty
> Together in unity ...

Bibliography

1. An Unsung Heritage, Perspective on slavery, Mountain, A., David Philip Publishers, New Africa Books (Pty.) Ltd.
2. The Negro Almanac: A Reference work in African American, Compiled and Edited by Ploski, H. A. and Williams, J.
3. "What happened to the white left?," Mail and Guardian January 2005, Suttner, R.
4. News and letter, January – February 1999.
5. OAU/AU Representative to the United Nations office, H. E. Mr. Jossofou Omorogou, Ambassador to the United Nation and Mr. Dirar, who was resident in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia at the material time and H. E. Ambassador of Guyana.
6. The role of Garveyism in the making of the Southern African working classes and Namibian Nationalism, G. A. Pirio, Senior Editor, African Series, Marcus Garvey Papers, UCLA.
7. Cultural Atlas of Africa, J. Murray, Editor Phaidon Press Ltd, Oxford.

The author of the South West African People's Organisation's (SWAPO) Constitution, Emil Appolus, passed on the weekend of the All African Students' Conference. The news was broken to the author by a heartbroken niece of the deceased, who had to chair/facilitate one of the sessions. Hence, the decision to dedicate this piece to his memory. May his soul rest in peace.

PRESERVING AND INTEGRATING AFRICAN INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS INTO THE GLOBAL KNOWLEDGE BASE

Nahas Angula

The All African Students' Conference is taking place at the time when Africa is faced with a myriad challenges of poverty eradication, socio-economic development, the mitigation of the impact of HIV/AIDS and its prevention, the consolidation of the gains of independence and nationhood and the advancement of the African interests in the global village. I feel honoured to have been invited to make a contribution on the theme: "Preserving and integrating African indigenous knowledge systems into the global knowledge base". This is a serious and important theme. I regret that I shall not be in a position to thoroughly interrogate this theme due to the fact that I shall not be able to join the Conference. I have been tasked to address a rural community in the Ohangwena Region on issues of great concern to that community. Kindly bear with me.

Africa's underdevelopment can partly be attributed to the fact that current paradigms of socio-economic development have totally ignored African knowledge systems. The current approach to the African development challenge is like climbing a tree from its branches. Such an approach has no organic roots in the culture and knowledge system of the African people. The development process therefore lacks context and relevance to the African people. The people have therefore found it difficult to take ownership of this development process. As we all know development cannot come from outside. Development must come from within. Self-development is the only lasting development. Such development should start from the African knowledge systems. The challenge of African development is how to build bridges between African knowledge systems

and the Western knowledge systems. In other words, we must start the development process by recognising the importance of how our people mastered the environment in order to sustain themselves. We should then proceed with the programme of integrating our traditional knowledge systems into modern knowledge systems. This will enable our people to appreciate the strength and shortcomings of their traditional knowledge. Learning starts from what people already know to what they need to know in order to solve their problems. This is the challenge our institutions of higher learning should address. This 17th All African Students' Conference should demand that our institutions of higher learning should include components of traditional knowledge in their study programmes. This will enable students to compare and contrast traditional knowledge with modern knowledge systems with the view to integrate the two and to create a synthesis of a new knowledge system. If we can achieve this objective, the 17th All African Students' Conference will have contributed to African development.

I wish your conference every success.

IDENTITY AND SOCIETY: SOME PAN-AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES

TOWARDS A NEW ETHOS IN HUMAN RELATIONS

Dani Wadada Nabudere

The European civilisation that came into being with the European Renaissance and the Enlightenment has brought the human race into a crisis of major proportions, especially in the area of human relations. The Enlightenment that promised a new era in human relations based on reason has turned into A Hobbesian Leviathan - a monster that wishes to devour its own children. According to Cheikh Anta Diop this crisis of reason must lead to a new ethical consciousness that springs from philosophy as a practical behaviour that one has about things. Diop calls for a new ethics that largely takes into account the objective knowledge that, he believes, is in the process of being built. It is a global consciousness, which would not be difficult to achieve and internalise were it not for the intervening national interest (Diop, 1980: 375).

On closer scrutiny, however, it is clear from what Diop is saying that such an ethical consciousness already exists in the African philosophies of life. But it is in the face of new great crimes against humanity such as the genocides committed in different countries of the world that a new collective ethical consciousness is called for by Diop. It is a global "new perception of humanity without ethnic coordinates" (Diop, 1980: 376). In somewhat similar vein, Chancellor Williams called for a "New Humanity" in his appeal for a spiritual-moral basis for a new civilisation. His emphasis was on the two concepts: *spiritual* and *moral*. In his view, the spiritual is not only "an impulse towards morality." It is itself "a moral feeling, an urge and desire for that which is excellent, good and right in oneself, for all, and then for human relations" (Williams, 1961: 86).

Williams (1961: 86-7) emphasizes that the spiritual-moral force that we must seek for a new civilisation must subsume all that tends to widen the gap between man and beast, and "clearly distinguish man from beast."

It is that which makes for an ethical character. It is an argument for kindness and fellowship. It is the felt need to love and be loved for no particular reason at all, which is different from sexual love:

> It is that which progressively develops one's concern beyond self to others. It is the desire for order, for the beautiful. It is the emotional sense of a divine agency and the relationship in human affairs and the drive through the ages to identify and understand the nature of that agency in order to understand life itself and its meaning. It is the stimulus behind the uncrushable conviction that man's potential for good is just as real and as capable of development as that for aggressiveness and evil and that, accordingly, his life may be an organised system of cooperation and peace as certainly as it is now organised as a system of competition and war. It is the gravitational pull away from the mere animal existence toward something cleaner, nobler, higher, better and more excellent.

In pointing out these virtues in humanity, Williams had an eye on the need to develop an educational system at the highest level that was devoted to the science and research concerned with the progressive discovery of "*what things are of most worth*," and how to improve man himself and his attitude and relations with his fellow human beings of whatever race or religion. This drive for a humanistic education can be seen in what both Diop and Chancellor Williams were trying to call for. Diop in his own way called for research for a new philosophy that could "reconcile man with himself" and poses the question: "Could Africa, with the warmth of her social fabric, save Western man from his pessimism and individualistic solitude? He adds that an in-depth analysis would show that "the African is dominated by his social relations, because they reinforce his equilibrium, his personality, and his being" (Diop, 1981: 361-2).

These two positions of these two great African thinkers reflected their disapproval of the western approach to human relations reflected in the intolerance that was to be the distinguishing mark of racism as developed against black people the world over by western civilisation. Williams points to the "shackles" that prevent the United States as a world power from fulfilling the promise of freedom to all its peoples, especially the black population. Whatever advance is made at the national level is 'vetoed' by "American Southerners", because of their "perpetual seniority," which they have achieved through the system of "keeping the Negro" down. Predicting what could happen in the future, and what we now see in Afghanistan and Iraq, Williams warned (1961:92):

> The danger lies in the possibility that these powerful racists may precipitate something too terrible to contemplate – fratricidal war between white and coloured peoples.

Diop too in the same way referred to 1932 as the period of the emergence of the Ku Klux Klan and the phenomenon of quasi-official lynching of black people in the South of the United States and hails the action of a single young white American by the name Slain for driving his car into a meeting of the wizards of the Ku Klux Klan in disapproval of their practices as having "performed an important civilising act," which was in effect a peacemaking and non-violent act (Diop, 1981: 376). He also points to the end of the genocidal acts against the Jews as coinciding with the emergence of an international opinion that had brought about the "modification of the behaviour of the capitalist universe towards the weak." He argues that this had resulted in "a forced progress of the world's ethical conscience."

In putting forward his ideas for the need for an African philosophy through Ubuntu, Professor Mogobe B. Ramose also draws attention to the racism inherent in the writings of the leading western philosophers such as Locke, Kant, Hume and Hegel who developed a "Universal" system that discriminated between human beings by arrogating to themselves and their 'race' a superiority over and above the 'inferior races.' This philosophy already denied the possibility of Africa ever 'developing any further' and saw Europe's emerging achievements as 'the *a priori* end of history," which was "no more than a celebration of European fixed prejudices rather than an affirmation of philosophy of world history proper" (Ramose, 1999: 1-25).

Ramose therefore saw African philosophy through Ubuntu as a response to this anti-human western philosophic ideology, which was taken for a 'scientific world view.' He argued that the being of an African in the universe was "inseparably anchored upon Ubuntu." Similarly, the African tree of knowledge stemmed from Ubuntu with which it was connected indivisibly. It was a wellspring flowing with African ontology and epistemology. What identified Ubuntu from all other beings was the fact that Ubuntu was bound up with other invisible forces expressed in the presence of the dead (the ancestors) and the unborn. All the three (Ubuntu, the dead and the unborn) constituted a whole, the indivisible one-ness and wholeness of African ontology and epistemology. This is what lay behind the maxim "I exist because you exist," which had to be constructed to mean that to be a human being one had to affirm one's humanity by recognising the humanity of others and, on that basis, establish humane relations with them (Ramose, 1999: 42).

What Professor Ramose is saying here is reflected in the life philosophies of most Africans today that go back to ancient times. According to Jan

Assmann, unlike most western philosophers, the Egyptians understood time and memory to have a lot to do with the Egyptian concept of reciprocity, "of doing-something-for-one-another," as a "markedly recollective quality." All things were seen by the African-Egyptians to be interconnected. Memory was not a part of egoism or self-preservation, but altruism, where "thinking of others and the group as a whole, the community, society, humankind," was their main concern. They therefore developed the concept of *Ma'at* or *connective justice* as an essential element of humanism. In this conception, justice was regarded as linking human action to human destiny (which) wielded individuals into a community. Assmann (1966, 129-131) concludes that:

> This unrestricted positive attitude to connectivity is in accord with the concept of personhood, human and divine, that I propose to call constellational. Individuals-whether humans or gods can live in 'constellations'. ... Everyone depends on everyone else. 'The one lives when the other guides,' says an ancient Egyptian proverb. The gods and the dead need the offerings of the living, and the main reason for making offerings is their symbolic expression of this all-embracing mutual dependence.

Thus we can see that Africans do not need to go too far to 'construct a philosophy" or a 'science' to discover their deep-rooted belief in divine oneness of the human race that is devoid of racism and modern barbarism. As Professor Ramose points out, Ubuntu represents the very ontological and epistemological basis of African beingness and existence that can be demonstrated today as the work of Cheick Anta Diop has consistently pointed out. As the world moves us into unpredictable conditions of existence, Africa stands to gain if it can assert the basic philosophy of life that lies behind its belief systems as a basis for a truly humanistic universal philosophy, which recognises all human being as equal and worth preserving. A response to 'terrorism' that ignores these basic human virtues of interdependence (by facing violence with violence) can only lead to a generalised destruction in which we shall all perish. Africa must assert its identity and its philosophy of life to all who care to listen if we are to survive.

References

Assmann, J. 1996. *The Mind of Egypt*. Harvard.

Diop, C.A. 1981. *Civilization or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology*. Lawrence Hill Books.

Ramose, M.B. 1999. *African Philosophy through Ubuntu*. Harare: Mond Books.

Williams, C. 1961. *The Rebirth of African Civilization*. Chicago: Third World Press.

PERSPECTIVES ON AFRIKAN[1] IDENTITY IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Amani Olubanjo Buntu

> I move slowly in the world, accustomed to aspiring no longer to appear.
>
> – Frantz Fanon (1967)

Lately a debate over the term Afrikan has resurfaced, both on the Afrikan continent and in the Afrikan Diaspora. In the USA and the Caribbean many people of Afrikan descent have done away with the terms 'Afrikan American' and 'Afrikan Caribbean' and simply state they are Afrikans. Yet, out of ignorance and self-hate, many Diasporans also chose not to identify with Afrika at all. Continental born Afrikans moving to Western countries experience that many Diasporan Afrikans have internalised racist stereotypes about Afrika and do not want to associate themselves with them. In Azania (South Afrika) and Zimbabwe we have seen descendants of European settlers claim that they are Afrikan based on the fact that they are born in an Afrikan country. As urbanised youth around Afrikan cities are coming to terms with socio-economic changes, discussions about who is an Afrikan and what defines Afrikan-ness stirs both debate and controversy. Aspiring members of the middle class are accused of trying too hard to substitute their Afrikan identity with European antics. Young people, imitating Afrikan American entertainment idols, are complaining that their parents have not provided them with sufficient information about their Afrikan cultures. As we hear messages about the necessity of knowing Afrikan history, we also register great animosity between ethnic Afrikan nationalities and a generally underdeveloped understanding of Pan-Afrikan principles.

So, who has the right to call her or himself an Afrikan? Can the Afrikan identity be claimed by anyone who sees it fit? By which standards

can the claim be verified? What if people who would never have dreamed of identifying with Afrikans years ago, today would like to embrace an Afrikan identity? What if those who have always been seen as Afrikans do not accept this identity change? Is the change legitimate still? Or does it, simply, not need any verification because it is a personal choice? What about Black people who chose not to identify as Afrikans? What about European descendants who played an active role in supporting Afrikan emancipation – should they not be welcomed into the Afrikan family? And what about Afrikans who have betrayed their fellow Afrikans – should they not lose their Afrikan family membership? Can one chose her or his identity at all?

Common Definitions of Who is Afrikan

In the social definitions of how many people seem to define Afrikan identity, we can identify at least three major standpoints:

1. Every Black person is an Afrikan

This standpoint argues that Afrikan-ness is visible (i.e. predisposes Blackness) and that everyone who descends from the 'indigenous Afrikan' is an Afrikan. Often criticised as a one-dimensional, 'racial' definition.

2. Every person born on the Afrikan continent is Afrikan

This standpoint sees Afrikan-ness as linked to place of birth, as a right that one inherits. Criticised by many as a convenience-definition used predominantly by European descendants in Afrika to substitute guilt-complexes deriving from their ancestral linkage to exploitation and oppression.

3. Every person who wants the best for Afrika is an Afrikan

This standpoint defines Afrikan-ness as based on loyalty and good morale. This viewpoint is often posed to qualify that there is a difference between "good whites" and "bad whites", and that there are Black people who, because of their disloyalty to Afrika should be denounced as Afrikans.

What do these definitions have in common?

- That many people hold aspects of all of these three views, alternating between them according to context and situation
- That you can find all of these views expressed among people who call themselves Pan-Afrikanists

- That, a good 100 years into Pan-Afrikan discourse, defining "Afrikan" is still highly sensitive. Although often ignored, avoided or seen as not to be a "serious issue", discussions around these definitions can spark great controversy and even animosity.

This last point, that defining Afrikan is both a "non-issue" and an "issue" at the same time should be of interest within a self-reflecting Pan-Afrikan discourse. As long as we claim to uphold Pan-Afrikanist principles such as Afrikan unity and progress, we must scrutinise every obstacle that keeps us from obtaining these ideals. Could the identity question be one of the obstacles? Are we making identity too much of an issue? Or, are we still reluctant to examine it thoroughly?

Contextualising Afrikan Identity

There is normally agreement around identity-affirming statements such as "know yourself" and "be proud of who you are", but many times these affirmations are not related to their correct context. As much as everyone needs to know their people's history, the conditions for not knowing it are not equally felt by everyone.

The overwhelming experience of the Afrikan is the scourge of racism. It is the myriad of racist practices that has, by distorting Afrikan history, forged confusion around Afrikan identity and brought about a critical need to reclaim it. Charles Wm. Ephraim (2003) finds that racism is not, as often explained, a disease. It is, rather, a symptom of an underlying disease, a pathology diagnosed by Freud and Nietzsche as *ressentiment*. Ressentiment is defined as the fundamental burden of being Black in a white-dominated world. Motivated by an obsessive need for self-aggrandisement, the European effectively introduced the belief of Black inferiority. Through European domination, slavery, genocide and more refined practices, Afrikans have been deprogrammed as persons and made subjects to prolonged lack of self-knowledge.

The need to re-discover, redefine and reclaim an Afrikan identity is directly linked to political history where Blackness and Afrikan-ness have been stereotyped, degraded and made worthless. Self-hatred, low self-esteem and identity confusion on the part of the Afrikan child, woman and man, has been imposed. However, how we deal with these impositions, to a large extent, is based on choice. In our study of Afrikan identity, we shall therefore apply a strict criteria; Solutions to the Afrikan identity must give practical answers to a holistic understanding of Blackness **and** Afrikan-ness.

Blackness, Race and Racism

The belief in 'race' as a biological determinant to explain human differences, has been thoroughly denounced and proven untrue. Yet, race, as visible characteristics (skin colour, hair texture and other physical attributes), continues to inform our worldview and how we define others and ourselves. Also, elements of racist discourse and praxis can be examined on all levels of human life; the gap between rich and poor, imbalances in political power, practices of exclusion and discrimination. Black people, and people of colour, continue to be victimised by a system of white supremacy. Hence, 'black' and 'white' continue to be highly politicised terms in a racialised world.

The reality of Blackness is dictated by the reality of whiteness. Whiteness has been projected as the norm, and so, Blackness has become the abnormal. Blackness, according to Lewis R. Gordon (1997:71), transcends Afrikan-ness, because it is the identifiable phenomena in an anti-Black world. The being of a Black person revolves around a dichotomy of presence (visibility) and absence (absence of whiteness). It is also the experience of living in this anti-Black world that has guided the discourse on Afrikan-ness. The disregard for the Black person's worth through hundreds of years of enslavement and colonialism has also been the disregard for the Afrikan. Gordon (1997:75) goes on to say that Blackness is not only a symbol of crime, bestiality and primitive instincts in an anti-Black world – it **is** all these attributes in an anti-Black world.

Blackness, however, from a more neutral point of view, is "only a colour" and must be seen as a very limited, even disqualifying, description of a person, de-linking her/him, from her/his cultural lineage and geographical descent. Kwame Anthony Appiah (1992:115), a strong opponent to the term 'race', takes the debate further by rejecting the notion that people belong to one race. He believes nobody belongs to **any** race, and that race is an imposed invention. He finds it, however, important to understand how people **think** about race. Appiah's wish to make people rid themselves of racial categories and work together for democratic principles, can be written off as somewhat romantic. Yet, his point of critiquing many Afrikan intellectuals for being captivated by the Western theme of identity and difference, seeking to "fashion themselves as the (image of the) Other" (Appiah, 1992:115), should not go unnoticed. Uncritically accepting 'race' is, at the same time, to tap into a Eurocentric matrix. For the sake of this discussion, we shall see Blackness and 'race' as descriptive terms, relating to the Afrikan's experience and self perception. 'Race' might not be a truth, but it does exist throughout socio-political reality. And, although, not chosen, we need words to describe the imposed different-ness (Blackness). In the

project of reclaiming an Afrikan identity, the Afrikan carefully needs to make his Blackness relevant to the project, as it, in the words of Molefi Kete Asante (1987:125):

> is indeed more than colour; it functions as a commitment to a historical project that places the African person back on center, and, as such, it becomes an escape to sanity.

Black Consciousness, Pan-Afrikanism and Afrocentricity

Black Consciousness, in the words of Steve Biko (1987:18), is:

> the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their operation – the blackness of their skin – and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude.

It was, indeed, in opposition to perpetual servitude that many Afrikans in the late 1800's engaged in a discourse which would lead to what we today know as Pan-Afrikanism. Introduced in the 17th Century to describe Afrikan customs, the term Afrikanism has had several meanings. At times it referred to the Greek understanding of 'one Afrika – the land of the Blacks' (Davidson, 1994). Other times it categorised multidisciplinary studies of Afrika in opposition to Eurocentric studies (Brown & Crowder,1964).

The European 'Scramble for Afrika', motivated by the Berlin conference in 1884, gave birth to a mutually inspiring process between Afrikans in the Diaspora and Afrikans on the continent and resulted in several anti-colonial conferences and organisations. In 1900, Henry Sylvester Williams called the first Pan-Afrikan Conference in London. Conferences and movements spearheaded by powerful leaders such as George Padmore, Marcus Mosiah Garvey, W.E.B. DuBois, Malcolm X, Kwame Nkrumah, Thomas Sankara, Patrice Lumumba and Sekou Touré gave ground to a new wave of Afrikan liberation and self determination. In various ways, these, and other leaders, brought forth an understanding of Pan-Afrikanism as emancipation by and for Afrikan people (both on the continent and in the Diaspora).

The process of physical decolonisation also inspired a new dimension of emancipation; The decolonisation of the mind. Scholars such as Frantz Fanon, Walter Rodney, Drusilla D Houston, Cheikh Anta Diop, Theophile Obenga, Ngugi wa'Thiong'o and Chinweizu emphasised the importance

of thought, self reflection and research to uncover the truth about great Afrikan achievements throughout human history. Marcus Garvey's *Black nationalism*, Aimé Césaire's *Negritude* and Frantz Fanon's decolonisation theories catapulted anti-imperialistic thought and self-determination, expressed through the formation of such movements as Black Panthers in the USA and Black Consciousness Movement in Azania. Although vastly different in approach and content, these works returned the Afrikan to the centre of action, as an agent in her/his own liberation. The latest advancement of a Pan-Afrikan discipline is Afrocentricity (or Afrikan Centeredness) which teaches that the Afrikan person can only be truly liberated when she/he reclaims a cultural platform (centre) that affirms her/his history and being.

These works all have in common that they have dealt with Afrikanness and Blackness as integral components of co-existence. Since the liberation these authors advocated for has not yet been fully attained by Black/Afrikan people, there is little reason to believe that these authors would have separated the two today. The symbiotic relation between these two components, both for Afrikans in the Diaspora and on the Continent, is well illustrated in one of Malcolm X's speeches (1991:37):

> By [Western powers] skilfully making us hate Africa and, in turn, making us hate ourselves, hate our color and our blood, our color became a chain. ... It became a prison. It became something that was a shame, something that we felt held us back, kept us trapped.

It is this "prison" Afrocentricity, and the liberation theories it builds on, advocates the Black/Afrikan person to break free by locating her/himself in an Afrikan cultural praxis manifested on all levels of being.

Afrikan Imagery, Youth Culture and "Nigga-tivity"

Today, more than any other phenomena, a young generation of Afrikan-Americans are dominating the image of Afrikan people internationally. Through massive media campaigns Black sports stars, actors, musicians and entrepreneurs have become idols to young people, across the ethnic spectrum, all over the world. And, although many of them might not possess much political power in the traditional sense, they certainly influence the behaviour of the young generation. They have become the definition of beauty, style, language, expression and entertainment. They have become representatives of Blackness, the way other people see us and the way we see ourselves. Through an onslaught of mass media manipula-

tion, Black youth all over the world strive to look and behave like Afrikan-American models, sports personalities and entertainers, most of whom have little or no understanding of the Afrikan identity.

In fact, it can easily be stated that many of these icons, so heavily influencing young people who themselves are in search of identity, play a fundamental role in an anti-Afrikan project based on self-alienation and ignorance. Hip-Hop culture, which started out as a positive culture of self affirmation, awareness, anti-violence, anti-drugs, etc., has now become the main advocate for negative and stereotyped images and behaviour. Particularly interesting is it to see how certain behavioural traits, presented as integral expressions of Hip-Hop culture are being copied and somehow form an international language or means of communication. Sagging pants and untied sneakers derive from a prison culture, where belts and shoelaces are forbidden because inmates might use them to commit suicide. Body posturing and hand/arm movements of Hip-Hop artists have become common ways of articulation and recital. All over the Afrikan continent and its' Diaspora, young Hip-Hop groups arise, many with authentic and original approaches to the culture, but also many who, in terms of financial gains, are successful in copying the artists they see in American produced music videos. A sad manifestation of uncritical adoption of the manufactured Hip-Hop culture is seeing young Afrikan people referring to themselves – and each other – as "niggers". "Nigger", a destructive and racist term formulated by the Latin origin of European languages, meaning dark, useless, Satanic, under worldly and evil. Young Afrikans all over the world use this term, as jokes, as affirmation, as a sign of affection.

However, to many Afrikan young people, who have no experience with Jim Crow laws and being "treated as a nigger", the term becomes both controversial and familiar in that it borders on both the forbidden and the acceptable. It is a way to bypass other identities (Afrikan, Black) and punctuates political correctness. The term Afrikan, to many, presupposes a strong identification with it and the ability to 'defend' it, if challenged. You do not have to defend 'nigger', because it is somehow implicated that you are not "really a nigger" (in the racist, sub-human sense). Most youth will admit that they cannot wholeheartedly defend the use of the word, they are aware of its racist nature. Yet, it remains part of the culture of "cool" speak. Some voices claim that the use of this 'forbidden' word punctures its racist content. This is a shallow argument. A curse word so directly linked, and deriving from, a gruesome history of murder and annihilation, cannot be de-linked easily. Others would say that, after all, it is just a word. But, we should, as John Henrik Clarke (1991:407) has reminded us, be extremely careful to excuse harmful concepts as "just a word":

> There are times that when a people answer to a name that they did not choose for themselves they fall into a condition that they also did not choose. If you answer to the name "dog", in some ways you will become a dog.

Continental vs Diasporan Identities

Discussions within the African Union have employed two definitions of the Diasporan Afrikan. One includes Afrikans born on the Afrikan continent, now residing in mainly Western countries. The other speaks of descendants of Afrikans who were enslaved, or who left Afrika hundreds or thousands of years ago.

The foundation of Pan-Afrikanism was formulated by Afrikans in the Diaspora who claimed Afrika as the continent of their ancestors, and, by extension, the Afrikan continent as their home. The Back-To-Afrika movement, motivated chiefly by Marcus M. Garvey, was not just a shallow answer to a difficult question of belonging. It was an act of reconnecting physically with the Motherland, Afrika. Loyal to this line of Pan-Afrikan thought, many Afrikans have worked hard to develop practical approaches to Repatriation and Reparations. There is still a long way to fully enjoy the fruits of these processes, but the reality of Afrika as the Mother Continent of all Black people, wherever they may reside, continues to live on.

The Afrikan Diaspora and the Afrikan Continent have coexisted in a bond of inspiration and counter-inspiration. Throughout political life, academia, music, cultural expression and spiritual practices, one can examine these ties as extensions of Mother Afrika to all world corners. The relation between Diasporans and Continentals are not unproblematic. Padmore was hated by many Ghanaian elite members for the favours Nkrumah bestowed on him, an 'outsider'. Many continental Afrikans have experienced complete ridiculing among Afrikan Americans when visiting the States and have not felt any sense of Brotherhood with them. The same can also be said of Diasporan Afrikans who have experienced, when finally returning to the shores of the Afrikan continent, that many Continental Afrikans are not necessarily welcoming them as family, but purely as tourists.

It is also important to see these problems in the light of other intra-Afrikan conflicts. Hutu vs Tutsi. French speaking vs English speaking. Christian vs Muslim. One Caribbean island vs. another Caribbean island. Afrikan Americans vs. Afrikan Caribbeans. West Afrikans vs. South Afrikans. Dark skinned vs light skinned. Rural vs. urban. Modernised vs. traditional. Educated vs. analphabetic. Many of these conflicts have their origins in colonial divisional borders, drawn up at the Berlin conference in 1894, and perpetuated throughout colonial rule. Also, as Frantz Fanon

(1967) found, on a psychological level, the experience of being victimised in the anti-Black world, also leads the Black person to project her/his self-hate as hate of other Black people.

Cultural Disposition and Mixed Identities

Some would say that Afrikan, first and foremost is a cultural term. What then, if many Afrikans are more schooled and comfortable in European culture than Afrikan culture? The Europeanised Afrikan might not admit a strong allegiance to Europe, yet in language, thought, behaviour, dress code, religious beliefs and life style, European culture has been fully absorbed and internalised. As renowned philosopher Es'kia Mphahlele has noted, the colonised person has two selves; The indigenous (traditional) self and the other self, imposed by the coloniser. Many Afrikans find themselves in a battlefield between these two selves.

In a different, yet similar, way of struggling in the battlefield of selves, are people of mixed parentage or ancestry. They carry the direct descent of both oppressor and oppressed. Children of mixed descent have been named – and regarded – differently, depending on where they grew up. In North-America, the Jim Crow "one-drop" rule made sure that as long as you had only a little bit of "Black blood" in you, you would be classified as Black. Ability to claim some European descent did not necessarily offer any privileges.

In Afrika, Latin America and the Caribbean, the politics of mixed identities have been a source of deep conflict. Indoctrinated to believe they were better than dark skinned Afrikans, the lighter skinned mixed populations sought to control the darker masses and constituted an economic elite in many societies. Whereas the children of Arab slave traders and enslaved concubine Afrikan women would be called Arab, the children of mixed descent in many Afrikan regions would be called "coloured", "mulattos" or "creoles" etc. These identities are invented categories of "being-neither-this-nor-that", highly effective in making sure mixed descendants would not be able to enter the totality of white privileges and at the same time not identify with the Black masses. Always striving toward European-ness, the mixed descendant would continuously be assured; "I am not white".

And, here lies the dilemma of both the mixed descendant and the Europeanised Afrikan; The options available for choice. They can never **choose** whiteness or European-ness. Unless they can "pass for white" (physically look European) their 'membership' of white/European reality will always be limited and denied. On the other side, there is a choice of Blackness/Afrikan-ness. Yet, some chose a middle position, seeing themselves as just 'mixed' or 'citizens of the world'. As comfortably diplomatic

this might sound, the reality is that the middle position is not rooted in one cultural heritage, but two. One European, declared superior, which the person is programmed to desire, yet not accepted within. And one Afrikan, which is declared inferior and lamented with negative stigmas. The middle position choice ends up as a compromised situation of being stuck in between the two, rather than ability to manoeuvre between the two. There is, however, the possibility of chosing *location*; From which platform they want to speak – as a European or an Afrikan.

Blackness as Unwanted, Afrikan-ness as Fashion

Complexion consciousness runs through many Afrikan societies, since much emphasis has been given by occupying forces as to whether you are light and beautiful or dark and ugly. In many societies, it seems common practice to chastise someone who is dark-skinned and openly joke about how ugly it is to be of dark complexion. At the same time, Black people of light complexion, are called "white" and there are also jokes to this effect. There is a strong sensitivity of light and dark complexion throughout the Afrikan world. In Brazil there are almost 100 descriptive terms for the ranges between dark and light. The negative stigma connected with dark skin cause many Afrikan women and men to resort to skin lightening creams, with dangerous side effects.

In a diametrically different perspective to those trying to erase their Afrikan attributes, we find those who want to enhance them. Unthinkable fashion statements of only few years back, are now fully accepted and desired; Growing of afros and dreadlocks, taking pride in Afrikan physical features, wearing Afrikan garments, Afrikanising one's name and aspiring to ancient Afrikan spiritual practices. These are, of course, acts of self affirmation and strong statements in opposition to Eurocentric ideals. It is, however, important to ensure that these acts do not merely become fashion statements which will fade when new trends hit the market.

Afrikans who Betray Afrika

So what should we say about Afrikans who have betrayed their people? Afrikans who have been despised by the populace for misleading, spying on and destroying their own people? The askaris who chose to work for the white Apartheid government? And, on the other side, what about people of European descent who could have enjoyed the privileges their skin colour afforded them, but chose not to? Those who fought courageously alongside Black comrades for freedom and liberation? Are they not to be seen as Afrikan? Did they not, by contributing to the advancement of the continent, at least earn themselves a place as honorary Afrikans? The answer to this depends on what criteria we use in the definition of Afrikan.

'Afrikan' in the identity sense, is not a badge of honour. It is not a prize awarded those who have advanced the Afrikan cause, and taken away from Black people who do not support the same cause.

In relating the planning process leading up to the 7th Pan-African Congress, held in Kampala, Uganda in 1994, Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem (1996) admits that there was disagreement about the definition of who is an Afrikan. However, he explains (1996:11), the organising committee rejected the idea that only Black people are Afrikan as "reactionary blackism".

> While a majority of Africans are Negroid in origin, it is not true historically, factually or even politically that blackness is the only condition of Africanness.

To prove his point, he makes the example of how if Joe Slovo (white antiapartheid activist and co-founder of ANC's covert military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe) had attended the conference, it would have been "proper", while there are Black leaders such as Mangosutho Buthelezi, Mobutu Sese Seko and Idi Amin who, in his words "*are as black as you can get but can we truly infer any Pan-African commitment from their ignominious acts?*".

Here, Abdul-Raheem makes the mistake of not distinguishing between the definition of who is an Afrikan and who is a Pan-Afrikanist. It could be argued that, Pan-Afrikanism, as an ideology, can be shared, adopted, advanced and promoted by anyone, regardless of origin. That, however, does not necessarily make you an Afrikan. For a man to be supportive of womanism, does not make him a woman.

There is, of course, also a strong Pan-Afrikan following who insists that the Pan-Afrikan movement must be organised by and for Black people only. As Pan-Afrikanism is a struggle for freedom and self-determination, it cannot be wrong to chose the methods and principles from within. Even if that leads to some people feeling excluded. It must be understood, naturally, that ensuring Black-only-membership does not mean that every Black person – just because they are Black – will play a supportive role in the movement. It also does not exclude the possibility of chosing to work in strategic partnerships with other groups of peoples and movements within assigned areas of operation. From a Pan-Afrikan point of view, we can identify many Black people who might not be very useful to the movement. Some will even be detrimental to the progress. Mental and spiritual oppression have twisted many of our people's minds, some even, seemingly, beyond repair. As our Ancestors have left us with a culture which is founded on the extended family, it is however, our duty to embrace the community, under-

stand the multifaceted manifestations of colonialism, and work tirelessly to rehabilitate our family members.

The Relevance of Having a 'Non-exclusive' definition of Afrikan

Humanistic ideals inform us that there is only one race - the human race. Hence, there should be no need for dividing people into further race categories. The rich flora of differences in skin colour, hair textures, physical features, cultural attributes and legacies should be seen as the richness of **one** human family, shouldn't it? Additionally, since it is proven that all humankind stem from an Afrikan ancestor, shouldn't we all have the right to claim our Afrikan heritage?

We opened the discussion in this paper saying that we would apply a strict criteria to our discussion on Afrikan identity, and search for answers that apply to both Blackness and Afrikan-ness. The current tendencies of excluding Blackness from the Afrikan identity may have its origin in two concerns:

1. To assure white people that they will not be thrown out of Afrika – ideologically based in Nelson Mandela's "we need you" message to white South Afrikans
2. To oppose claims that Afrikan identity is based on race

Most Afrikans who advocate against inclusion of Blackness in the definition of Afrikan identity, would agree that racism continues to impact negatively on Black people's lives. So where does the fear of applying Blackness come from? It could be rooted in the following notions:

1. They feel that agreeing with a 'Black-focused' definition is also to agree with the Eurocentric notion of race.
2. They do not want to apply an exclusive terminology (exclusion is a bearing element in racism and it might keep progressive non-Afrikans out).

In our search for practical terms – i.e. terms that help to examine, explain and demystify – it will be difficult to separate Blackness from Afrikan-ness. Moreover, it does not seem to serve any practical purpose. The Black and Afrikan experience are part of an inseparable legacy of revolt against oppression and struggle for emancipation, a process which is still not fully completed. Challenges facing Afrikan people all over the world call for a practical approach, defined by reality as we experience it. Pleasing

white people's guilt over their ancestors' involvement in slave trade and colonialism cannot be part of this approach.

A Practical Understanding of Afrikan

In an attempt to summarise some critical points related to Afrikan identity, we can outline the following arguments:

Race is Misleading – Racialism is Real

Race, in its origin, is based on misconceptions and lies. Black, as a reference, is limited. But we cannot do away with the terms, thinking we have, at the same time, solved the realities they stem from. It is unfortunate that we live in a racialised world. The Black/Afrikan identity has been so severely subjugated to negativity and non-existence that any person of Afrikan heritage will never be a liberated person until she or he liberates her/himself from within an Afrikan identity, informed by the experience of Blackness.

Blackness and Afrikan-ness are Intertwined

Our discourse should be one that centres us both as Afrikans and Blacks. Some people might call this racial. We should call it real. The Afrikan experience is engraved in the Black experience – and vice versa.

The Afrikan Continent and the Afrikan Diaspora Coexist

The Afrikan Continent and its Diaspora should be seen as a united Afrika extended. It is inseparable, yet intra-Afrikan relations will remain challenging until we have obtained freedom and healing.

The Afrikan Experience is not Homogeneous

Being Black/Afrikan does not mean being 'pure'. This is where we should deviate from racialised dogmas. The Black/Afrikan experience is a complex journey of enslavement, colonialism, displacement, rape, cultural dislocation, mixing and psychological self-annihilation. It is also the journey of resistance, uprising and victory. This involves an Afrikan family whose members are influenced by different cultural traits, living by diverse sets of ideological, philosophical and spiritual ideas, and people of mixed descent.

The Term Afrikan is not a Token

As Afrikan people wanting freedom and self-determination, we should acknowledge everyone who advances our cause. Likewise, we should despise anyone who works against these principles. But this does not alter the question of Afrikan-ness. The European lending her/his support to the benefit of Afrikan people does not change her/his European-ness. But we might regard her/him as a useful European in the Afrikan struggle. Black trai-

tors who have betrayed the Afrikan **cause**, are still Afrikan; Afrikan traitors. Afrikan-ness can never be handed out as a token of a appreciation.

Definitions are Controlled by Eurocentric Thought

That Europeans want to own and define the term Afrikan can be seen as a continuous desire for power. Arrogantly following in the footsteps of their ancestors, they continue an attempt to own and define the realities of Afrikan peoples. A Eurocentric worldview objectifies the Afrikan person to a peripheral existence. It goes without saying that this worldview cannot liberate the Afrikan identity.

European Discomfort Manifests as Neo-colonialism

Many European descendants seem to be looking for a way to "escape" their 'race' or cultural group. Hunted and embarrassed by their ancestors' exploitation, slave trade and genocide it seems redeemable to swap identity and, by so doing, buy a ticket to a guilt free conscience. It is important to carefully examine, and understand the implications of, such an identity-swap. Just as the Afrikan can not wish away her/his Blackness, the white person cannot wish away her/his European-ness.

Reparation is a Must

The growing understanding among Afrikan peoples of the enormous depth of European exploitation can be observed in the increasing efforts to stage reparations claims. The Global Afrikan Congress (GAC) has defined reparations, including restitution, as *the process of self-repair, healing and restoring of a people injured because of their group identity, and the violation of their fundamental human rights by individuals, corporations, religious and other institutions, governments and other entities* (Daniels, 2002:44). The demands for Afrikan reparations can, and must, be put forward by Afrikan people, informed by the Black/Afrikan historical experience; *It is up to us to continue the pressure on the ground until our just and justifiable demands are met. Only by doing so will we have paid proper tribute to our Ancestors* (Wareham, 2003:235-236). An integral part of the reparations question is return of illegally occupied land, return of stolen artefacts and the right to repatriate.

Afrikan-ness is Expressed in Consciousness and Spirituality

The contemporary Afrikan personality is shaped by its' self-extension, as the Afrikan being is part of a Divine principle (Creator God) and the continued life cycle of ancestors and the yet-unborn (Azibo, 1996:51-52). This means that the Afrikan personality is rooted in both past, present and future. It is when this realisation takes form as consciousness that the Afrikan identity can enter its fullness. An Afrikan centred way of life

revolves around the Afrikan taking centre stage in her/his own liberation, confronting the problems and challenges she/he experiences and insisting on finding adequate solutions to them. It is through this sense of practical Afrikan nationalism that an ideological commitment will be demonstrated to the perpetuation, advancement, and defence of a cultural, political, racial entity, and way of life (Ani, 1994).

Easy Terms – Complex Realities

We are not trying to pretend that agreeing on a definition in itself solves the whole Afrikan problem. However we construct our definitions there will be weaknesses and shortcomings. The Afrikan experience is complex and multifaceted. Even if we say that all Black people are Afrikan, we will come across different understandings of what constitutes Blackness. Even if we agree that an Afrikan cultural identity is essential, we might not agree on what this identity looks like. So, in our attempt to find practical answers to Afrikan realities, we are not looking for comfortable terms. And certainly not for easy terms. What we are looking for are terms that make it possible for us to continue to operate within the reality we experience. Our real project is the restoration of self, community, culture and nation – all in one. And to engage in this restoration project adequately, we need identifiable terms.

If Everybody is an Afrikan …

Identity and culture are not static categories. They are shaped and transformed by evolving stages of historical events, demography and political realities. Black peoples'wish, especially in the Diaspora, to identify with Afrika has been through many stages of resentment, confusion and shallow romanticism. There is a new awakening both on the Continent and in the Diaspora to embrace a liberated Afrikan identity. In our excitement and rush to freedom, we should be careful to take the painful and necessary steps it requires to restore the Afrikan identity. And not apologise for the time and efforts we need to complete this project. If not, we might come out grossly short-changed.

In his contribution to the African Renaissance Conference hosted by South Afrika in 1998, Kwesi Kwaa Prah (1999:40), warns against a growing tendency where –

> ... being African is conceptually equated with citizenship. This is not only confusing, but can be construed as mischievous. Without pandering to any chauvinistic sentiments, my argument against this tendency is that **if everybody is African, then nobody is an African**.

Although disputed, the Afrikan identity project is, indeed, a sensitive issue. It is, for instance, often confused with the debate about who has the right to stay in an Afrikan country and mislabelled as a "counter-racist" standpoint. The time is, however, ripe for the Black woman and man to, unapologetically stand up and pronounce their Afrikan identity with pride. Doing this, as Na'im Akbar (1991) reminds us, is a declaration of war. The Eurocentric world will be upset and provoked by Afrikans cutting the strings of dependency and announcing their self-determination.

Maybe, sometime in the future, when Afrikan people have decided that the healing process is completed and new leafs can be turned over and painted with fresh colours, we might decide that it is time for all people to take on an Afrikan identity. In the meantime, Peter Tosh's lyrics "*As long as you're a Black man, you're an Afrikan*" seem as relevant today as they did when the song was released in the 1970s.

Notes

1. The word 'Afrikan' is spelt with 'k' instead of 'c'. This is a Pan-Afrikan spelling, reflecting the spelling of 'Afrika' in all Afrikan languages. It also refers to the ancient Kemetic (Egyptian) concept of 'ka', the vital energy which both sustains and creates.

References

Abdul-Raheem, T. 1996. *Reclaiming Africa for Africans: Pan-Africanism 1900-1994*. In: Abdul-Raheem, T. (ed.). 1996. *Pan-Africanism: Politics, Economy and Social Change in the Twenty-first Century*. London: Pluto Press.

Akbar, N. 1991. *Vision for Black Men*. Nashville: Winston-Werek.

Ani, M. 1994. *Yurugu: An Afrikan-Centred Critique of European Cultural Thought and Behavior*. New Jersey/Asmara: African World Press.

Appiah, K.A. 1992. *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture*. London: Methuen.

Appiah, K.A. & A. Gutmann. 1996. *Color Conscious: The Political Morality of Race*. Princeton: University Press.

Asante, M.K. 1987. *The Afrocentric Idea*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Biko, S. 1987. *No Fears Expressed*. Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishers.

Brown, L. & M. Crowder. 1964. *The Proceedings of the First International Congress of Africanists, Accra 11th-18th December 1962*. London: Longmans.

Clarke, J.H. 1991. *Notes for an African World Revolution: Africans at the Crossroads*, New Jersey: African World Press.

Daniels, A. 2002. "Reparations Working Group Report". In: Buntu, A.O. (ed.). 2002. *The Bridgetown Protocol: Official Report, Afrikans and Afrikan Descendants World Conference Against Racism, 2-6 October 2002*. Johannesburg: Global Afrikan Congress.

Davidson, B. 1994. *The Search for Africa: A History in the Making*. London: James Currey.

Ephraim, C.W. 2003. *The Pathology of Eurocentrism: The Burden and Responsibilities of Being Black*. New Jersey/Asmara: Africa World Press.

Fanon, F. 1967. *Black Skin – White Masks*, New York: Grove.

Gordon, L.R. 1997. "Existential Dynamics of Theorizing Black Invisibility". In: Gordon, L.R. (ed.). 1997. *Existence in Black: An Anthology of Black Existential Philosophy*. New York/London: Routledge.

Malcolm X. 1991. *Malcolm X Talks To Young People: Speeches in the U.S., Britain and Africa*. New York: Pathfinder.

Prah, K.K. 1999. "African Renaissance or Warlordism". In: Makgoba, M.W. (ed.). 1999. *African Renaissance: The New Struggle*. Johannesburg/Cape Town: Mafube/Tafelberg.

Wareham, R. 2003. "The Popularization of the International Demand for Reparations". In: Winbush, R.A. (ed.). 2003. *Should America Pay? Slavery and the Raging Debate on Reparations*. New York: HarperCollins.

Ya Azibo, D.A. 1996. "Mental Health Defined Africentrically". In: Ya Azibo, D.A. (ed.). 1996. *African Psychology in Historical Perspective & Related Commentary*. New Jersey/Asmara: African World Press.

STIGMA AND DISCRIMINATION AGAINST HIV/AIDS VICTIMS, OTHER DISEASE SUFFERERS AND THE LESS PRIVILEGED IN AFRICA AS OBSTACLES TO AFRICAN UNITY

Nwagwu Juliet Adamma

Introduction

Africa is the second-largest continent in the world, endowed with rich human, material and natural resources. However, her development in most aspects of life remains stunted in spite of these resources. The threat of disease, poverty and other related problems has brought about rejection, denial, stigma, discrimination and other ills – social, religious and cultural, which are threatening African unity.

In Africa today, especially at the grassroots, many diseases are ravaging societies, and others are emerging. Disability as a result of undetected diseases or diseases detected but not attended to due to poverty or alleged hereditary factors, is another problem to contend with. Hence, the physically challenged and other disease sufferers in society remain the central point of stigma and discrimination. Diseases like poliomyelitis and rubella, among other tropical diseases, are the cause of different disabilities in Africa. Many people in this category today find themselves on the streets begging, due to neglect by their families and society at large, .

The HIV/AIDS pandemic poses major challenges in African society. More than 40 million people are living with HIV/AIDS, and one-third of these are young people in the age range of 15 to 24 years. Africa is the most affected continent, and bears the bulk of the world's AIDS burden.

The stigma and discrimination against the victims of this disease pose additional problems.

Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) is an aggregate of symptoms of diseases caused by the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), which now has various nomenclatures all over the world. The virus damages the immune system of the human body, causing loss of bodily resistance, rendering it prone and vulnerable to opportunistic infections that cause AIDS. AIDS is no respecter of gender, it devours male and female, young and old, rich and poor, literate and illiterate, strong and weak, high and low, doctor and patient, banker and depositor, teacher and student without any regard for power or position (Olaleye, 2003). It is worldwide in its distribution.

Most of the cases in the world have resulted from sexual intercourse with infected persons, sharing unsterilised sharp objects like syringes, unscreened transfused blood, or from vertical infection from mother to child.

To date, no vaccine to prevent or medicines to cure this disease have been found. All that is available are the antiretrovirals (ARV), which target some of the processes such as replication/multiplication that the virus undergoes in the body, hence reducing the viral load, but which do not cure the disease. Lives have been lost; families have been destabilised and left languishing in abject poverty as a result of AIDS and its related stigma.

The stigma and discrimination suffered by HIV/AIDS victims and physically challenged persons not only inflict psychological trauma and pain on the sufferers, but also destroy social harmony. In view of this, the World Health Organisation (WHO) estimates that the figure of HIV/AIDS cases in the world will continue to increase if stigma and discrimination are not overcome. The WHO also warns that ignorance, denial, fear of and zero tolerance towards HIV/AIDS will create more room for the disease to spread. African unity is threatened by diseases which challenge fundamental social cohesion.

Health, Development and Unity in Africa

The role of health in the development process is the subject of serious debate. According to the World Health Organisation, health is the state of optimal physical, mental and social well-being of an individual or groups of individuals, not merely the absence of disease. On the other hand, disease is a deviation or interruption of the normal structure or function of any part of an organ or functional group of organs that is manifested by symptoms and signs.

The health of a society is important for the efficient functioning of people in that society. In Africa today, communities are faced with dif-

ferent trends in public health challenges and problems which include the emergence of a population with an increasingly shorter lifespan, changing patterns in the racial/ethnic composition, changes in health delivery systems, growth in health-related partnership and changing needs in the public health workforce (Brownson & Kreuter, 1997). There is uncertainty as to which priority health programmes should have in development, both because of their obvious effects on population growth and doubts about their positive contribution to economic development. Health should not be considered in isolation from other elements in the development process of a nation.

Health affects socioeconomic factors and is itself affected by socioeconomic factors, notably income, education and standard of living, particularly nutrition. Health and education are closely interdependent. For instance, a child's ability to take full advantage of the schooling provided depends on its health. Also, an adult's ability to apply the knowledge and skills acquired depends on his or her mental and physical fitness.

Standards of both health and education depend, in turn, on the whole societal milieu, especially the prevailing attitudes and institutions. These usher development into a society and strengthen the society's bond of unity, especially when the citizens are able to apply their minds to issues that concern them and are able to benefit one another based on the knowledge they have acquired. It is obvious, then, that some of the most important reforms in the fields of health and education are essential to social reforms.

African unity is meant to foster awareness, understanding and action as building blocks towards a better Africa. We need to think strategically concerning health issues. Surveillance and information systems need to evolve to include targeting and evaluating community-wide prevention programmes (Baker & Ross, 1996). Health is the key to sustained peace and prosperity, which eventually yield strengthened unity. For instance, African women must be able to deliver babies without risking death or disability, and the children need to receive proper health care during the vulnerable early years of life. Development can be helped or hindered by health, and other forces of development can add to or detract from health.

Health facilities in African societies are few, inadequate and overrun due to excessive demand. To be able to cope with the high demand and new trends in disease occurrence and distribution, adequate health facilities must be provided for. The distribution of health personnel and facilities is one indicator of how resources are used. In the African setting today, the

distribution of health resources often seems to be imbalanced, usually in favour of urban over rural areas.

It is notable in Nigeria that people come from far away and stand in long queues before they are attended to in public hospitals. Physicians and nurses are overstretched to serve vast numbers of people. This is a typical picture of what happens in other African countries. Ministry officials make decisions on human lives unguided by analytical data and administrative assistance. Does the situation where the interest of the generality of citizens of the society is not considered in health and development planning reflect unity? In Africa, diseases both endemic and pandemic should be combatted to ensure development and to meet the challenges of globalisation as in other parts of the world.

Stigma and Discrimination

Stigma leads to discrimination, which refers to any form of distinction, exclusion or restriction because of some personal characteristic. There have been numerous debates and conferences on stigma and discrimination. The International AIDS Conference in Durban, South Africa, in 2000 was themed *Break the Silence on HIV/AIDS.* Also, the 2002 Conference in Barcelona, Spain, was themed *Knowledge and Commitment for Action against AIDS*. The public health community has demonstrated increasing awareness of the role of stigma in many diseases and disorders (UNAIDS, 2002).

Discrimination is practised not only against people living with HIV/AIDS, but also against the physically challenged, the less privileged and other disease sufferers in our society. Stigma has been associated with different kinds of illnesses and conditions including tuberculosis, mental illness, epilepsy, physical anomalies, alcohol and drug abuse, physical and sexual abuse, race and gender (UNAIDS, 2002).

For fear of contracting HIV/AIDS and other deadly diseases, people discriminate against members of society who belong to this category. They tend to withdraw from them, excommunicate them and deny them privileges. Discrimination against HIV/AIDS victims and other disease sufferers is a violation of their human rights. Furthermore, stigma and discrimination against racial and ethnic minority groups increase their marginalisation, and increase their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS and other diseases.

Discrimination is known to have been perpetuated by families, communities, health workers and society at large. From interviews with people living with HIV/AIDS, their family members and the community, it was found that the level of stigma is high and acceptance of people living with HIV/AIDS is low (Alubo et al, 2002). The family is an important social unit in the development of a healthy and accountable pattern of behaviour,

which provides the first fundamental service and support for HIV/AIDS sufferers. In many cases, rejection overrules.

Discrimination is promoted by religious groups, most of whom believe the disease is the result of the victim's irresponsible lifestyle. Culturally, many communities regard HIV/AIDS as a shameful thing to them and their families in particular; hence, they disallow any dealings with the individuals in question. The following is a statement by an AIDS sufferer in Nigeria:

> I am deserted by everybody, no relation comes near me, no friend again and I am treated like a leper. The earlier this sickness kills me, the better for me ...

Many social and economic issues such as socioeconomic status, race, ethnicity and gender are sources of stigma and discrimination against HIV/AIDS victims and the less privileged in society. Societal stigma is also experienced in policies and administrative processes in the society at large. People are denied their rights and are often ignored by colleagues and friends.

Consequences of Stigma and Discrimination

Stigma and discrimination at all levels marginalise people and affect their ability to fulfill necessary culturally expected and economically productive roles in society. With regard to HIV/AIDS, it greatly magnifies the social, economic and personal consequences. So many reports have been received of people committing suicide as a result of denial, repression, stigma and discrimination.

People living with HIV/AIDS hardly utilise health services available for prevention and treatment due to the way in which society stigmatises them. Hence, they choose to live in secrecy and silence. The shame and victimisation associated with the AIDS scourge discourage people from seeking voluntary counselling, testing and treatment. The viral load (numbers of the virus) of AIDS sufferers can be reduced by the use of antiretrovirals; however, stigma and discrimination have denied many AIDS sufferers that privilege. This brings about increased pain, suffering and devastating social, psychological and economic consequences for the victims, their families and their communities.

Individuals, for fear of losing their jobs and confidentiality, coupled with associated stigma and discrimination, do not declare their HIV/AIDS status. Discrimination helps in fuelling the spread of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. This does not help society in any

way; rather, it creates more problems and brings about challenges regarding the eradication of diseases from our society. Many victims today go about spreading the disease to uninfected people, seeking revenge against society for stigmatising and discriminating against them.

Lack of care and insensitivity to disease sufferers, the disabled and the less privileged do not portray peace and the existence of unity in a society. These individuals need other people's individual and collective support to be able to carry on in life. The burden of their continued care, if not shared by society, may then fall on their respective families, many of whom have little or no resources or social and economic support.

A family in Nigeria, well known to this author, has been drawn into a long conflict since the death of their son – an important personality in their society – who died as a result of AIDS. The family members, with the exception of his wife and children, and the rest of the community discriminated against him when he was alive. As a consequence, there is no peace and no unity in this family now. This is the result of stigma and discrimination. How, then, can we change people's attitudes towards HIV/AIDS?

Denial fuels AIDS stigma by making infected individuals appear abnormal and exceptional. Stories have been told of how one Gugu Dhlamini was stoned and beaten to death by neighbours in her town near Durban, South Africa, in December 1998 after speaking out openly on World AIDS Day. This kind of treatment will surely deter people from opening up and seeking treatment when faced with HIV/AIDS and other disease problems.

Families have been abandoned by husbands and/or wives as a result of the AIDS scourge. There are many orphans in society today to whom the discrimination against their dead parents has been transferred. Nobody cares for them and they constitute a "nuisance" to society.

In a speech at the closing ceremony of the AIDS conference in Barcelona, Spain, former President Nelson Mandela of South Africa had this to say:

> Many people suffering from AIDS and not killed by the disease itself are killed by the stigma surrounding everybody who has HIV/AIDS.

Because of the treatment the physically challenged receive in society and the belief that society sees any disabled individual as a beggar, they feel rejected and uncared for. Hence, they actually resort to begging instead of being encouraged to engage in productive ventures. Many people who are physically challenged have strong mental power. Being physically chal-

lenged does not mean mental disability; it should never be a hindrance to development in one's life.

The Victim's Dimension of HIV/AIDS in Africa

For Africans worldwide, HIV/AIDS is both a health and a cultural issue. It is also a political issue linked to racism and to Africa's survival; the virus is said to have been invented in the Western world, wrongly proclaimed to have come from Africa and is devastating the continent in a number of disturbing ways.

In South Africa alone, an estimated 5,3 million people tested positive for the Human Immunodeficiency Virus that causes AIDS, also called HIV. This figure represents the largest number in a single country. But it is not only South Africa that is being weighed down by the AIDS pandemic. Other countries on the continent are facing an equally serious dilemma.

It is still regarded as a social stigma to be HIV-positive in almost all parts of Africa. The disease is infecting people of all races, colours and creeds. Ten of the eleven HIV infections that take place each minute occur in Africa. In some countries of the continent, professionals in key sectors of the economy such as education, health and other social services are dying faster than they can be replaced. Sadly too, HIV/AIDS treatment in Africa ranges from inadequate to non-existent. As a survival strategy adopted by some countries, many companies hire and train two and even three people to do the job of one person because AIDS is certain to eliminate some of them.

The political class has not helped the situation either. Throughout the African continent, only a handful of politicians such as former President Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Zambia's former President Kenneth Kaunda and South Africa's Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, have admitted losing close relatives to the virus, which infects 25 million people in sub-Saharan Africa. Having a larger number of the political class accept the reality of HIV/AIDS is expected to change the situation on the continent positively.

Increasingly sophisticated treatments have cut the AIDS death rate in industrialised countries, but in Africa the epidemic is wreaking almost uncontrollable havoc. It has been noted that part of the reason why the HIV/AIDS problem has reached this level in Africa is people's lack of understanding and the sheer fear of the deadly disease, despite its presence on the continent for the past 25 years.

According to the UNAIDS report on the global AIDS epidemic published in 2004, treatment coverage remains low in sub-Saharan Africa, where only three percent of the estimated 4,4 million in need received

antiretroviral therapy in 2003. Antiretroviral drugs are used to treat infection with HIV.

In spite of the efforts made to address the AIDS pandemic, the whole picture of the disease in Africa remains gloomy. Infection rates remain high, even after the fight of the past fifteen years or more. There are complicated reasons behind the prolonged battle. These may include the fact that some African leaders try to ignore the problem. There are complaints that the world talks about the problem of AIDS in Africa, but the money badly needed to effectively control the pandemic is not made available. Other influential factors that have contributed to the spread and high concentration of HIV cases in Africa are the lack of health care, male-female inequality and migration, among other factors.

Although seemingly significant progress has been made regarding the control of HIV/AIDS in a country like Uganda, the story is not yet fully encouraging even for the country. For the generality of the African continent, the situation is even more worrisome.

Obstacles to Unity: Nigeria as a Reference Point in the African Picture

African unity has been the theme of many Pan-African conferences. African unity has been an uphill task to accomplish, for Africans at home and in the Diaspora, due to persistent manifestations of societal ills such as corruption, repression, oppression, discrimination, intimidation, depoliticisation, nepotism, diversions, racial/ethnic crises and wars. Apart from these, diseases and their related stigma and discrimination remain the worst enemies of unity through their impact on the socioeconomic and mental well-being of the individuals concerned.

The Nigerian case is a unique picture of what is obtainable in the rest of Africa. According to Sophie Pedder (1993), "Nigerians have always believed that Nigeria is the giant of Africa". Amidst rich human and economic resources, Nigerians still ironically cry out against poverty and insecurity. Corruption has eaten deep into society. At all levels of governance, corruption remains the order of the day. Both the governing and the governed are corrupt and in all cases, corruption is shamelessly practised. Poverty is one consequence of corruption, and until such time as corruption is fought to the finish, poverty and its related problems will continue to haunt us. It has given birth to many societal problems such as fraud in financial institutions and other organisations, dishonesty, backbiting and assassinations.

Corrupt minds have their popular slogans, such as "If you can't beat them, join them". But to the responsible and transparent mind, this author would want to suggest that leaving them if you cannot beat them and trying to make a difference on your own would be a solution.

Community, ethnic and religious crises are also obstacles to unity. Such strife continues to spread from generation to generation despite religious and social interventions. One important fact is that peace and unity cannot be won by war.

Nigeria has been facing unhelpful government policies, criminal and unbridled corruption, large-scale mismanagement, waste, political opportunism and manipulation of political power by the parties involved (Ihonvubere, 1994). These will never promote unity.

The Unity of Africa and the strength it will garner from continental integration of its economic and industrial development supported by a united policy of non-alignment, could have a most powerful effect for world peace. This was the view of the late Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe .

African Union (AU) Summits: Any Impact?

The former Organisation of African Unity has become the African Union. This body is currently chaired by President Olusegun Obasanjo of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Since the African Union came into being, there have been numerous summits regarding sustainable development and unity in Africa.

The Conference of Intellectuals from Africa and the Diaspora (CIAD), held in Dakar, Senegal, from 7 to 9 October 2004, had as its general theme 'Africa in the 21st Century: Integration and Renaissance'. Some of the sub-themes of interest to the author and, perhaps, others were:

- African identity in a multi-cultural context
- The place of Africa in the world
- Pan-Africanism in the 21st century
- Strengthening African integration in the 21st century

Africans need to broaden their view on the needs and the tasks ahead in moving Africa forward in all aspects of life. This needs our collective and concerted efforts to be achieved, not that of the AU and the United Nations (UN) alone.

The African Union is making an impact, but a lot needs to be done in the area of health and related stigma and discrimination, which is at the forefront of human development. Interestingly, as recently as 25 April 2005,

leaders of African countries met to commemorate the 5th African Malaria Control Day. The theme was "Unite Against Malaria" and the slogan was "Together we can beat Malaria". The theme underscores the importance the African Union attaches to malaria control and the concerted efforts being made in this regard by all stakeholders at community, national, regional, continental and international levels (*African Union News*, 2005). Many other diseases are prevalent in Africa, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa (tropical diseases), and these are actually denying Africans development and its dividends. These diseases in effect give rise to stigma and discrimination, which are among the worst obstacles to peace and unity in any nation. A healthy population can contribute to the transformation of Africa from a crisis-ridden continent to one of lasting peace.

What Needs to be Done?

The Role of Decision-Makers (Government)

The government, at all levels, has a crucial role to play in ensuring that peace and unity reign in Africa. Each unit of action that will bring strength and unity has to start its work from the grassroots. The conferences, seminars and workshops organised on how to combat stigma and discrimination will continue until the issues that bring about stigma and discrimination are addressed properly and policies on them implemented. In view of this, the following suggestions and recommendations are made in this paper:

- Medication, delivery and treatment: Health needs should be assessed and important gaps in service delivery filled so that Africans can lead healthy lives and have the chance of sustainable livelihood. Ensuring promptness, efficiency and non-discriminatory medication, service and treatment will help tremendously.
- Increasing the number of health care facilities is good, but reducing the number of people who need health care delivery by implementing policies regarding health, such as health insurance, remains the best solution. The good health of every citizen also depends on access to potable water, sanitation and hygiene, shelter, access to essential health needs and disease control in any society.
- The physically challenged in society should be encouraged to use their mental strength and live fulfilled and productive lives by providing them with grants or loans to motivate them to start something worthwhile. They should receive special consideration in national budgets.

Running a charity for the blind, special education centres and special schools would provide relief for their families.

- Encouraging better understanding of the HI virus and its associated disease, AIDS, through education, support for people living with HIV/AIDS and promoting their contribution to policy and programmes, will give them a sense of belonging and the ability to withstand stigma and discrimination in society.
- Health workers caring for HIV/AIDS patients should be motivated by providing a supportive and less stressful environment, insurance and other motivating benefits.
- Enforcing the rights of HIV/AIDS victims through legal process will provide powerful means of fighting stigma and discrimination when faced with them.

Societal Role

Society has a major role to play in the fight against all kinds of discrimination in Africa.

- The development of a caring attitude and sensitivity towards HIV/AIDS victims is the basic need of the victims that should be addressed by society. Rendering support, no matter the measure, will go a long way to gladden the hearts of these sufferers. Many AIDS patients who are dead today actually died due to psychological trauma caused by stigma and discrimination, and not from AIDS itself.
- The well-meaning members of society can help by organising seminars and campaigns on the need to put an end to discrimination and also to sensitise all levels of government, community and health care workers to the need for addressing issues of stigma and discrimination.
- Individuals should join in the fight against denial and repression of disease sufferers and the less privileged in society. This could be achieved by calling on the international community to sponsor programmes that will benefit such categories of people and also help in eradicating life-threatening diseases such as tuberculosis, leprosy, cancer, diabetes, hepatitis and HIV/AIDS, which remain pressing problems in Africa.
- Information and knowledge transmission about HIV/AIDS delivered through videotapes, advertisements, presentations and other modes of transmission, preventive and control measures will reduce stigma and discrimination.
- Counselling also reduces stigma. Over the years, psychologists have used counselling as a therapeutic process. This enhances positive

behavioural change and the maintenance of safe behaviours, thereby reducing HIV/AIDS-related stigma.

- Religious organisations should encourage right attitudes and instill the spirit of love and kindheartedness to the less privileged and disease sufferers in the larger society.

Family Role

In most African families today, AIDS is seen as a curse. For that reason, whoever brings it into the family is seen as a cursed person, and he or she receives little or no care from the other members of the family. The family is the primary caregiver and source of moral, spiritual and emotional support for people living with HIV/AIDS, but such negative responses fuel discrimination against AIDS sufferers in the affected families. The sufferer should be able to derive hope, support and solidarity from the family, even if the community rejects him or her and regards the case as taboo.

Family members and friends have a large role in the fight against stigma. The physically challenged should be supported and encouraged to believe in themselves, have self-esteem and shun begging. The family should remain their source of inspiration to carry on. Physical disability can be overcome by dint of hard work, support from government and society and acceptance by the people. The disabled ask that society treats them normally.

Conclusion

HIV/AIDS and its related stigma are a challenge to the world in general and Africa in particular. Western Propaganda states that HIV/AIDS originated from Africa. Meanwhile there are reports that it was developed in a laboratory outside of Africa. It has targeted Africans and especially affected the global African community.

Stigma and discrimination against disease sufferers and the less privileged in society, including racial, religious and ethnic crises, will continue to pose problems to African unity if not addressed with seriousness. Interventions to address stigma will only work if effective partnerships are built between governments, health care professionals, and society, as well as the active participation of people living with HIV/AIDS and other disease sufferers. It is believed that restoring and strengthening the Pan-African spirit will help, in no small way, to develop a collective approach to the eradication of stigma, discrimination and related vices bedevelling Africans as they confront the HIV/AIDS challenge.

References

African Union News, 2005.

Alubo, O.; A. Zwandor; T. Jolayemi & E. Omudu. 2002. "Acceptance and Stigmatization of PLWA in Nigeria". In: *AIDS Care* 14(1), pp. 117-126.

Baker, E.L. & D. Ross. 1996. "Information and Surveillance Systems and Community Health: Building the Public Health Information Infrastructure". In: *Public Health Management Pract.* 2(4), pp. 58-60.

Brownson, R.C. & M.W. Kreuter. 1997. "Future Trends Affecting Public Health: Challenges and Opportunities". In: *Public Health Management Pract.* 3(2), pp. 49-60.

Carl Taylor et al. *Health Manpower Planning in Developing Nations*. Unpublished Monograph.

De Bruyn, T. 1999. *HIV/AIDS and Discrimination: Stigma and Discrimination – Definitions and Concepts*. Ottawa: Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network and the Canadian AIDS Society.

Dubois-Arber, F. & M. Haour-Knipe. 2001. "Discrimination Work Group: HIV/AIDS Institutional Discrimination in Switzerland". In: *Soc. Sci. Med.* 52(10), pp. 1525-1535.

Ihonvbere, J.O. 1994. Pan-*Africanism: Agenda for African Unity in the 1990s*.

Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) News, Nigeria, 20 February 2005 & 26 April 2005.

Olaleye, O.D. 2003. *2002/2003 Session Inaugural Lecture*. Ibadan: University of Ibadan.

Pedder, S. 1993. *The Economist*, 23 August 1993.

UNAIDS. 2001. *HIV and AIDS-related Discrimination, Stigmatisation and Denial*, p.18. Geneva: UNAIDS.

UNAIDS, India: HIV/AIDS-related stigmatization, discrimination and denial, August,

UNAIDS. 2002a. *Report on the Global HIV/AIDS Epidemic*.

UNAIDS. 2002b. *Barcelona AIDS Conference*, July 2002.

UNAIDS. 2004. *AIDS Epidemic Update*, December 2004.

Zhitao, D. 2005. *Beijing Review*, 17 February 2005, pp. 10-11.

HIV/AIDS AND GENDER IN AFRICA: CONFRONTING OUR SEXUALITY AND INEQUALITIES

L. Edwards

The recognition that HIV/AIDS is a gendered phenomenon that affects women with greater frequency and severity than men forces us to confront our own sexuality and persistent inequalities on the African continent. Women suffer a quadruple jeopardy. Firstly, women's biology makes them more vulnerable to HIV infection. Secondly, gender inequalities and women's inferior socio-economic and cultural status increase their susceptibility to HIV infection. Thirdly, women carry the burden of mitigating the impact of the epidemic by caring for the sick and those orphaned by the epidemic. Fourthly, women are less likely to gain access to HIV/AIDS treatment and with the feminisation of HIV/AIDS women are more likely to die earlier than men.

Numerous reports point to the centrality of gender inequality in the spread of HIV/AIDS. Women's empowerment should therefore be central to combating HIV/AIDS. So far we have not been able to implement the policy measures that will transform the structural basis of such qualities.

Introduction

I thank the organisers of this conference for the invitation to address this esteemed gathering. From the outset I must register my ambivalence about attempting to address the question of HIV/AIDS and gender from a Pan-African perspective because of the socio-cultural diversity on the continent. Attempts to generalise experiences may overlook geographic and cultural differences.

The evidence shows that while the spread of the epidemic is declining in East and West Africa, infection rates in some Southern African coun-

tries have stabilised, but it is still on the increase in others. This stabilization could be as a result of increased mortality rates and may therefore obscure an actual rise in infection rates.[1] In Uganda and Ethiopia prevalence rates at anti-natal clinics have declined from over 20% in the 1990's to 13% in 2002. In West Africa prevalence rates have never exceeded 5%. In the countries of the Sahel it is around 1%. Benin and Ghana have prevalence rates of between 2-4 %. North Africa has the lowest prevalence rates on the continent. Despite a lack of systematic surveillance in North Africa, prevalence rates are estimated at around 0,2% . The World Bank identified three stages of the epidemic[3]:

- *Nascent:* > 5% in all sub-populations known to be practising high-risk behaviour.
- *Concentrated*: < 5% prevalence in one or more high-risk sub populations.
- *Generalised*: The epidemic has spread beyond the initial high-risk groups to the general population and < 5% prevalence rate amongst women attending antenatal clinics.

Nascent	Concentrated	Generalised
Algeria	Angola	Botswana
Cape Verde	Arab Republic of Egypt	Burkina Faso
Comoros	Benin	Burundi
Djibouti	Cameroon	Central African
Madagascar	Chad	Republic
Mauritania	Dem. Rep. of Congo	Guinea-Bissau
Mauritius	Ethiopia	Ivory Coast
Morocco	Eritrea	Kenya
Somalia	Gabon	Lesotho
Seychelles	Gambia	Malawi
	Ghana	Mozambique
	Guinea	Namibia
	Mali	Rep. of Congo
	Niger	South Africa
	Nigeria	Swaziland
	Rep. of Congo	Tanzania
		Togo
		Uganda
		Zambia
		Zimbabwe

Fig.1: HIV Prevalence in Africa (source: Whiteside and Sunter, 2000)

Biological factors	Personal Factors	Structural Factors
• HIV/AIDS is primarily spread through heterosexual intercourse. • The second most common form of HIV/AIDS transmission is Mother-to-Child Transmission (MTCT) during childbirth. • HIV-1C spreads rapidly through heterosexual populations, causes bigger epidemics and mutates faster. • Poor nutrition increases susceptibility to infection. It also increases the viral load that increases infectiousness. • Co-infection: People who have contracted other STIs are more vulnerable to HIV infection. • Due to greater vaginal surface women have twice the possibility of HIV infection than men.	• Lack of condom use • Inconsistent condom use • Multi-partner sexual relationships • Alcohol abuse resulting in risky sexual behaviour • Individual fertility desires • Stability of sexual union • Balance of power in sexual relationships (relative autonomy) • Individual assertiveness • Negotiation skills	• Poverty increases the incidence of transactional sex and multi-partner sexual relationships as a survival strategy. • Migration/mobility increases the incidence of casual and transactional sex. It also increases the size of sexual networks. • Gender inequality places women in a vulnerable position since they are less able to negotiate safe sex. It also increases the incidence of sexual coercion and violence against women. • Cultural practices like polygamy, wife-lending and wife inheritance increase the possibility of HIV exposure.

Note:

Biological factors: Linked to the types of virus, modes of transmission, the relationship between immune system and susceptibility to infections.

Personal factors: Linked to actions individuals can take to prevent infection e.g. practise safe sex.

Structural factors: Linked to social-economic and cultural circumstances that encourage risky sexual behaviour.

Fig. 2: Factors that Contribute towards the Spread of HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa (adapted from Jackson's classification framework, 2002)

HIV/AIDS has been termed the New Black Death[2], not because it has hit our continent the hardest, but because of comparable devastation caused by the bubonic plague that enveloped Europe during the 1340s.

As Africans we take pride in the fact that Africa is the cradle of humanity. We have the oldest human population and with the greatest genetic diversity. HIV/AIDS is, however, threatening some parts of our continent with extinction. We must therefore face up to all the determinants of the epidemic if we are to rise to the challenge it has thrown at us. This means dealing with the most uncomfortable issues of our own sexuality and the gross inequalities that continue to persist in post-colonial Africa.

It is estimated that the HI virus crossed the species barrier more than 70 years ago. The question is why we have this great epidemic now (Hunter, 2003:87). Secondly, the virus exists on all continents of the world. Why, then, is it sowing so much devastation in sub-Saharan Africa? Thirdly, why are women more adversely affected by the epidemic than men?

We know that epidemics thrive under certain socio-economic conditions. The factors that contribute towards the spread of HIV/AIDS in Africa point to the interconnectedness between the bio-medical and the socio-cultural. In the past we tended to focus on the bio-medical to the neglect of the socio-cultural factors. This bias is still reflected in the fact that in most countries the fight against HIV/AIDS is directed by our Health Ministries.

The question as to why the epidemic has emerged over the last twenty years is linked to how particular political, economic and socio-cultural conditions coalesce at this particular historical juncture. Southern Africa is the epicentre of the epidemic and has, for example, experienced major social, economic, cultural and political shifts brought about by colonialism, the establishment of a capitalist mode of production and civil wars. All these contribute to social inequalities, socio-economic dislocation, displacement, migration, mass poverty and a culture of violence. Some of these features of African modernity interface with traditional patriarchal African culture and political economy. The epidemic takes its toll as elements of traditional social organisation converge with modernity. The resulting changes and continuities provide the socio-structural context for the rapid spread of the disease.

Overview of the Gender Aspects

Numerous research reports identify HIV/AIDS as a gendered phenomenon. While men primarily drive the epidemic, women suffer a quadruple jeopardy as a result of it. Firstly, women's biology makes them more vulnerable to HIV infection. Secondly, gender inequalities and women's

inferior socio-economic and cultural status increase their susceptibility to HIV infection. Thirdly, women carry the burden of mitigating the impact of the epidemic by caring for the sick and those orphaned by the epidemic. Fourthly, women are less likely to gain access to HIV/AIDS treatment and are therefore more likely to face mortality earlier than men.

We are now talking about the feminisation of HIV/AIDS because 60% of HIV positive persons in sub-Saharan Africa are female and in the 15-24 year age group females constitute 75% of those who are HIV positive (UNICEF, 2005). The ABC message of abstinence, monogamy (be faithful to one partner) and condom use, are of little relevance to those hardest hit and most vulnerable, namely single economically displaced women and married women. A SADC study revealed that HIV infection rates are six times higher amongst married women than amongst single women (Tibinyane, 2003). These statistics underscore a tragic tale of poverty and inequality that Africa must confront.

We have already stated that there are a number of factors implicated. We will now explore in greater detail how some of the bio-medial and socio-cultural factors intersect with gender in the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Biological-Medical Factors that Contribute towards HIV/AIDS

In Sub-Saharan Africa 70% of HIV transmission occurs as a result of unprotected heterosexual intercourse. The virus type most prevalent in Southern Africa, namely the HIV1 C, is also more infectious and spreads faster amongst heterosexual populations. In West Africa the HIV 2 virus is more prevalent. This virus type takes longer to cause the disease and is less easily transmitted through sexual intercourse or from mother to child.[3]

The biological reasons why women are more adversely affected than men are:

- Women have a greater vaginal surface area that increases the risk of infection.
- There is a high co-infection rate between HIV and other reproductive tract infections. Women are more prone to reproductive tract infections because of the use of unclean menstrual cloths or the insertion of agents like herbs into the vagina to increase male sexual pleasure, to prevent pregnancy or to induce abortion (Berer et al,1993).
- People with Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs) have more than a 60% chance of contracting HIV because of increased levels of genital fluids and open lesions. Often women are the ones who remain in rural

HIV Subtype	Region where Subtype is Most Common
A	Central and East Africa
B	America, Europe, Thailand and Japan (most vaccine research)
C	Southern Africa, India
D	Central, East and South Africa
E	Thailand, Japan and India
F	Romania, Brazil and D.R. Congo
G	West Africa
H	West Africa and Taiwan
I	Cyprus
J	D.R. Congo

Fig 3: Main HIV 1 Subtypes by region (source: Jackson, 2002)

areas while male sexual partners migrate to the urban centres where they can seek treatment for STIs. Rural women with Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs) often have less chance of accessing treatment for STI's and therefore run the greater risk of HIV exposure.

- Women who are HIV positive also have a greater risk of contracting certain forms of cancer like cervical cancer, which is a leading cause of death in poor countries (Berer et al,1993).
- Women's lower socio-economic status in relation to men also leads to diet deficiencies that increase their risk of infection. (In many cultures women eat last.)
- Researchers have found that circumcised men have 2-8 times more protection against the infection. The removal of the foreskin reduces vulnerability to STI's. The foreskin has a concentration of Langerhans cells, which are special immune receptors. Researchers however caution against using circumcision as a prevention measure because in many instances unsafe circumcision practices have led to mutilation, infections and death.

Socio-Cultural Context of Gender and Sexuality

We have to confront our own sexuality. Sexuality is more than just a biological or private matter of free, autonomous, rational or personal choice. It is a socio-cultural construct that is practised within unequal gender power relationships. Empirical studies confirm that our bodies mark forms of power (Saunders, 2002). Women's lack of control over sexual and reproductive decisions should compel us to confront the unequal power relationships in our society.

Besides widespread physical coercion[5] there are very insidious forms of control over women's bodies that stem from cultural practices, women's economic dependency and the patriarchal regulation of women's sexuality and fertility. Some of these forms of control are regarded as natural and immutable, particularly the ones attributed to culture and tradition. Often women on the African continent are reluctant to challenge these forms of control because they will be labelled un-African. Patriarchal constructions of African womanhood together with socio-economic exclusion present an interlocking system of oppression that restricts women's right to make sexual and reproductive choices. This oppression is often justified in the name of culture or tradition.

Abstinence

In many pre-colonial African societies pre-marital sex was unacceptable. In some cultures pregnancy before marriage was punished with women facing death by burning or banishment and men responsible for such pregnancies had to compensate the girl/woman's family with cattle. This has since changed. Marriage rates are declining. In Namibia, only 29% of the adult population are currently in formal marriages. Of these, only 19% have marriage certificates. A further 7% are in a stable consensual relationship without having gone through a legal or traditional marriage. 56% of adults have never been married (GRN, 2001).

In the past, marriage was legitimised by the payment of bride wealth. Now, the concept of marriage is often loosely applied on a continuum that ranges between formal marriage to temporary and intermittent cohabitation. We also see an increase in casual sexual relations and informal unions. If stable unions could be defined as marriage or cohabitation then the majority of sexual relationships occur outside stable unions. In our study, over 70% of those who were sexually active were not in a stable union. Sexuality is central to the construction of gender identities. Manhood is often associated with virility and sexual conquest. Men face societal and peer pressure to prove manhood by being sexually active. Our research showed that many regard abstinence as impractical, unrealistic and unnatural.

In Southern Africa women were only granted access to the means of production through marriage. With the decline in formal marriage many rural women could not gain access to the primary means of production, namely land, since land-use is mainly granted by the husband. We seem unwilling to challenge patriarchal pre-colonial land tenure patterns, which deny women independent livelihoods. Our post-colonial land reform programmes have done little to address this disfranchisement.

With the decline in marriage there is a displacement of unmarried women who are often forced to migrate to urban centres where their economic marginalization continues. Some occupy low paying jobs in the labour hierarchy but many rely on the patronage of men for survival. The latter often means entering into transactional or multi-partner sexual relations for economic survival.[6] As a result of violence against women, some cannot refuse sex to their partners even if they know that they have other partners and are aware of possible HIV exposure. Women in marital or stable unions have little chance to abstain from sex because sex is regarded as a man's right and a woman's duty.

Polygamous Sexual Cultures

The polygamous marriage was acceptable and even desirable in many traditional African cultures. The decline in formal polygamous marriage did not signal an end to polygamous sexual cultures. There is a cultural acceptance of male promiscuity and women tolerate it despite anxieties about possible HIV exposure. Women in stable unions tend to practise monogamy but often cannot enforce it on their male partners. Even economically independent women live in fear of infection because they cannot control male sexuality, enforce monogamy or negotiate condom use.

The contract and migrant labour system exacerbated the polygamous sexual culture. Male migrants often left female partners in the rural areas while they forged parallel relationships in urban centres. This trend still continues through urbanisation.[7] This increases the spread of HIV and also explains why women in stable unions are a high-risk group.

Multi-partner sexual relationships increase the rate of change in sexual partners and this fuels the spread of the epidemic if it is not accompanied by consistent condom use. To combat polygamous cultures Uganda has achieved success under the banner of "zero grazing". This only works if it applies to both partners. Our research showed that people saw being faithful as applicable to women only and not men.

Early Sexual Debut and Cross-Generational Sex

Some countries have returned to virginity testing to combat early sexual debut amongst young people.[8] However in traditional African societies young girls were thought to reach sexual maturity soon after the onset of puberty. They were then married off often to older men as secondary wives. In modern society cross-generational sex has become commodified.[9] Young women now enter into sexual relations with older men or Sugar Daddies in return for gifts and money.

The notion of a virgin cure for HIV/AIDS also contributed towards cross-generational sex. In some countries HIV positive men were advised to have sex with virgins as a cure by traditional healers. The preference for younger women is further exacerbated by the belief that younger women are less likely to be infected with HIV and therefore present less of a risk.

In sub-Saharan Africa HIV prevalence is highest amongst women in the 15-24 year old age group. Unlike on other continents where male HIV prevalence exceeds female prevalence African women are being infected earlier and figures are more pronounced in urban than in rural areas. In South Africa 20 women in this age group are infected for every ten men whereas in Kenya and Mali it is 45 women for every ten men (UNAIDS, 2004).

Wife Inheritance (Levirate) and Wife Lending [10]

In some African countries a man may inherit his departed brother or cousin's wife. The man then inherits the assets and in return cares for the widow and her children. This practice is on the decline but holds a risk if the deceased died of HIV related causes.

In some cultures it is acceptable for men to lend their wives for a sexual encounter to other men of high status or a friend. This could be done to cement male friendship or to symbolise kindness.[11]

Condom Use

Despite the widespread acceptance of condoms, condom use is still inconsistent and dependent upon male preference. Men have greater control over condom use because of the greater accessibility of male condoms. Men also have greater decision-making power over condom use. In our study men in different types of relationships consistently reported higher levels of condom use than women. The stability of the relationship also influences condom use. The more permanent the relationship, the lower the use of condoms, and conversely, the more casual the relationship, the higher the use of condoms. This places married women at risk because of the polygamous sexual cultures that still persist. The challenge lies in providing women with safe sex options they can control such as the female condom or microbicides.

Other factors that influence male condom use are men's sexual preferences, for example the notion of skin on skin, and the desire to control female fertility and female sexuality. In our study women still reported the secret use of female contraceptives in fear of male retaliation.

Culture of Fear, Silence and Violence

There is a culture of silence about sexuality. Due to unequal gender power relationships women are not able to discuss sexual matters with partners. Some fear being called prostitutes if they were to attempt such discussions. In some Namibian cultures women's expected silence is justified with the saying "Hens don't crow." In addition violence creates fear and silence. Some women fear that they will be beaten up if they attempt to negotiate safe sex or assert their sexual and reproductive choices.

Fertility

Our research findings indicate that both men and women may choose unprotected sex because of their own fertility desires. Fatherhood and motherhood are still closely linked to gender identities. Fatherhood is often considered synonymous with manhood and motherhood with womanhood. Fertility may also be used to hide possible HIV positive status. Fear of stigmatisation and abandonment will result in women falling pregnant to prove fertility and therefore good health.

War, Conflict and Sexuality

There is a strong correlation between the incidence of HIV infection and population mobility. High HIV prevalence rates are found amongst migrants, long distance truck drivers, traders and people in the armed forces. The concentration of men from the armed forces who are separated from their families increases the incidence of transactional and casual sex as reported in Sierra Leone. Civil wars and armed conflict increase the risk of sexual coercion amongst displaced women and children. Sometimes they engage in transactional sex with armed personnel like peacekeepers.

In refugee camps women wander off into woods in search of food and wood. This makes them vulnerable to sexual assault. In conflict situations rape is often used as a weapon of war. This has been the case in D R Congo, Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and more recently in western Sudan. In Rwanda 17% of women who were raped also tested positively for HIV. There are situations where the civil war creates isolation, this actually inhibits the spread of HIV as was the case in Angola.

Gender and Impact Mitigation

Care Economy

The mitigation of the HIV/AIDS epidemic at household and community level mainly rests upon the shoulders of women. In sub-Saharan Africa 90% of HIV/AIDS related care takes place at home. When men fall sick women have to take care of them. It is estimated that 45% of rural

women's time is devoted to caring for HIV infected persons. This could be a formidable challenge in rural households with no running water, sanitation and labour saving technology. When women fall sick these responsibilities are taken over by younger women (young girls are often taken out of school for this purpose) or older women like the grandmothers.

In addition to caring for the sick, women's productive labour is primarily utilised in the production of household food supply. The feminisation of HIV/AIDS will severely threaten household food security. It will also impact on children since increased adult mortality will lead to the substitution of adult labour with child labour. In addition studies have shown that maternal orphans are worse off than paternal orphans. Research in South Africa shows that maternal orphans are more likely to drop out of school because other caregivers do not put aside enough money for schooling. They are also more likely to lag behind in school because of the psychological trauma they suffer due to the loss of a mother.[12]

In addition to increased responsibilities women have in caring for HIV/AIDS infected husbands, women often suffer expropriation upon the death of their husbands when customary inheritance laws are applied. The husband's family would seize his assets and kick widows and children off the land. They would also seize all other assets like cattle, household items and insurance payouts.

Testing, Notification and Treatment

Our research revealed that women are more willing to go for voluntary testing than men. The challenge lies in increasing access to testing facilities, particularly for rural women. The question of national and partner notification has generated a lot of debate with regard to safeguarding civil liberties, especially the right to privacy and confidentiality. Partner notification would empower married women in polygamous sexual relationships to protect themselves against infection or re-infection with different virus strains. The question of partner notification is a political decision with great gender and human rights implications, for the right to confidentiality and the privacy of polygamous men has to be balanced with women's right to life.

It is argued that prolonging the life of HIV positive women is not just a humanitarian matter, but makes economic sense, given their role in the subsistence economy and in social reproduction. Prolonged life will also increase the life chances of their dependent children (Jackson, 2002). This means treatment provision that is inclusive and equitable. In most African countries the urban-rural dichotomy results in unequal access to health services. The effects of Structural Adjustment Programmes and the

introduction of user fee charges have already resulted in rural women dropping out of health service utilization (Kiwara, 2003). In addition, African countries are experiencing a brain drain of health professionals who seek greener pastures elsewhere. This will have an impact on the roll-out of anti-retroviral treatment to all who need it, particularly those in rural areas where the majority of African women reside and where health services are already strained.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The literature abounds with the gender aspects of HIV/ADS. What is most telling but perhaps not surprising is how little we do about altering the conditions that make women vulnerable and susceptible to HIV infection and how little we do to ease the impact that the epidemic is having on their lives. HIV/AIDS confronts us with those things many Africans are reluctant to talk about, namely, our sexuality and African patriarchy. To address these issues will require a critical evaluation of cultural practices and current socio-economic organisation. At the centre of it all stands women's empowerment and nothing short of redistributive and socially transformative measures will lead to such empowerment.

Sarah Longwe (2002) points out that women's empowerment is often a very misused phrase that could mean anything and everything to everybody. This suggests the need for a clearer definition of the concept. To Longwe women's empowerment is the means for overcoming the obstacles to gender equality in patriarchal societies. This means addressing the gender gap i.e. the different socio-economic status of women in relation to men. The gender gap, however, cannot be addressed effectively if we do not tackle the question of systemic gender discrimination, which is the different treatment of women in relation to men. Neither the gender gap nor gender discrimination can be addressed if we do not challenge gender oppression that arises out of patriarchal power and control within the home and in society.

How we bridge the gap between the rhetoric of women's empowerment and the actual policies and programmes that will lead to that empowerment is of course a highly contested terrain that is neither politically nor ideologically neutral. I advocate redistributive policy frameworks that can transform unequal power relationships, unequal access to resources, and unequal control over assets.

I wish to urge policy- and other decision-makers to revisit Sara Longwe's Women's Empowerment Framework for it makes a very important contribution towards policy discourse. It provides us with markers as to how far we are prepared to challenge the existing status quo. Her frame-

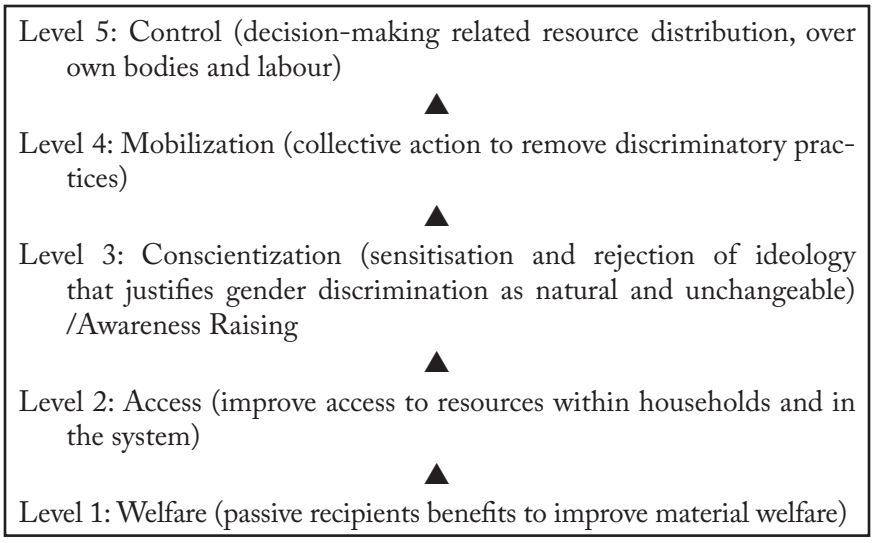


Fig.4: Longwe's Empowerment Model

work recognizes the agency of women in their own empowerment. This suggests that empowerment is something African women have to do for themselves. To me empowerment is the transformation of capitalist patriarchy. We can advance this process of transformation through advocacy, mobilization and by implementing transformative policy frameworks.

At a very practical level we can use the tools of fiscal policy for redistributive measures that increase women's autonomy in a relatively short space of time. For example, in Mexico the Oportunidades Poverty Reduction Project provides cash transfers to poor and vulnerable women with very positive outcomes for women's status and autonomy (UNICEF, 2005). Along the same lines social justice groups in Namibia have been campaigning for the introduction of the Basic Income Grant. This, together with a number other measures could help to create the space for women to assert their sexual and reproductive choices as autonomous beings.

I would like to recommend a marriage between Jackson's classification framework of the factors that contribute towards the spread of HIV/AIDS and Longwe's Empowerment Framework. This could give us a Gender Empowerment Policy Matrix to combat HIV/AIDS.

Level of Empowerment	Biological	Personal	Structural
1. Welfare	• Maternal nutrition	• Protection from violence and personal safety e.g. safe houses	• Basic Income Grant • Child support • School feeding schemes
2. Access	• Referral services • Contraceptives including male/female condoms • Microbicides • Safe mother-hood services: prenatal, obstetric and postnatal care • Treatment of complications from abortions • Drugs: PMTCT, PEP, ARV	• Information and education about sexual & reproductive rights and laws that protect such rights • Legal services to protect & enforce rights • Counselling services • Assertiveness & negotiation skills training	• Livelihoods • Land • Technology • Capital • Credit • Education • Skills Training • Jobs • Decision-making structures
3. Conscientization/ Awareness-raising	• Human sexuality • STD and HIV/AIDS prevention • Human reproduction • HIV and STD Treatment Options	• Inequalities at household level • Differential treatments of boy/girl child • Household division of labour • Resource allocations	• Social inequalities • Patriarchy • Oppression • Discrimina-tion • Violence • Sexual and reproductive rights • Policies and laws that protect rights and promote equality

Fig. 5: Gender Empowerment Policy Matrix for the combating of HIV/AIDS

Notes

1. A report on the global AIDS epidemic (UNAIDS, 2004) reveals that there are increases in infection rates in Madagascar and Swaziland.
2. S. Hunter published a book with this title (2003) and compares HIV/AIDS with the bubonic plague that hit Europe in waves between 1347-1671.
3. Jackson (2002) points out that that there are two main virus types, HIV 1 and HIV 2. HIV 1 has subtypes that are further identified by the letters A-J.
4. In parts of Southern, Central, East and West Africa men prefer dry sex, i.e. where vaginal secretions are absent or minimised because they are seen as dirty. Women consequently insert herbs, bark, powders, cotton wool, tampons, paper, antiseptics and in extreme cases battery acid to clean and dry the vagina.
5. South Africa has the highest incidence of rape in the world. Rape and other forms of gender-based violence are associated with high levels of inequality and a culture of violence brought about by a history of violent political repression and poverty.
6. In Namibia, for example, open prostitution is not the most common form of transactional sex. The most common form is boyfriend-girlfriend relationships in which sex is exchanged for food, gifts, clothes, school fees or housing.
7. Our research revealed that although there is an increase in female migration to urban centres men are still likely to migrate without female spouses. Often the females have to work in the rural subsistence economy to ensure household food supply.
8. Some virginity testing methods are rather dubious, for example testing how far the male can urinate.
9. *Efundula* is a form of collective marriage of girls who have reached puberty in Okwanyama.
10. In Ovaherero and Ovahimba cultures the term Oriwa is used for an inherited wife (Talavera, 2002).
11. This is the practice of *okujepisa* or *oupanga* used in Ovaherero and Ovahimba cultures. *Oupanga* literally means demonstrating true friendship.
12. The *Mail &Guardian* of 13 May 2005 (Vol. 20, No. 19) reports on a study carried out by the South African Labour Research Unit of the University of Cape Town.

References

Berer, M. 1993. *Women and HIV/AIDS: An International Resource Book*. Pandora Press.

Caplan, P. (ed.). 1987. *The Cultural Construction of Sexuality*. London: Routledge.

Cranny, F. et al. 2003. *Gender Studies: Terms and Debates*. New York: Palgrave.

Edwards, L. 2005. *HIV/AIDS, Patriarchy and Poverty: A Gendered Perspective*. Windhoek: !Nara Training Centre.

Epinge, S. 2003. "The Relationship Between Gender Roles and HIV Infection in Namibia". In: Otaala, B. (ed). 2003. *HIV/AIDS: Government Leaders in Namibia Responding to the HIV/AIDS Epidemic*. Windhoek: University of Namibia Press.

Gender Advocacy Programme. 2001. *Basic Income Grant: Fact Sheet*. Cape Town: Gender Advocacy Programme.

Government of the Republic of Namibia. 2003. *2001 Population and Housing Census: National Report*. Windhoek: National Planning Commission.

Harcourt, W. 2002. "Body Politics: Revisiting the Population Question". In: Saunders, K. (ed.). 2002. *Feminist Post-Development Thought: Rethinking Modernity, Post-Colonialism and Representation*. London: Zed Books.

Hunter, S. 2003. *Black Death: AIDS in Africa*. Hampshire: Palgrave.

Jackson, H. 2002. *AIDS Africa: Continent in Crisis*. Harare: SAfAIDS.

Kiwara, A.D. 2003. "Gender Implications of Structural Adjustment in Health". In: Chachage, C. & M. Mbilinyi (eds.). 2003. *Against Neoliberalism: Gender Democracy and Development*. Dar-es- Salaam: E&D Limited.

Loewenson, R. & Whiteside. 1997. *Social and Economic Issues of HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa: A Review of Current Research*. Harare: SAfAIDS.

Longwe, S. 2002. *Measuring Women's Empowerment: Towards a Conceptual Framework*. Windhoek: Conference Paper.

Mail &Guardian, Vol. 20, No. 19.

Saunders, K. (ed.). 2002. *Feminist Post-Development Thought: Rethinking Modernity, Post-Colonialism and Representation*. London: Zed Books.

Talavera, P. 2002. *Challenging the Namibian Perception of Sexuality: A Case Study of the Ovahima and Ovaherero Culturo-Sexual Models in Kunene North in the HIV/AIDS Context*. Windhoek. Gamsberg Macmillan Publishers.

Tibinyane, N. 2003. "Are Reproductive Rights Respected and Promoted in Namibia?" In: *The Namibian*, 9 December 2003.

UNICEF. 2005. *Childhood Under Threat: The State of the World's Children*. New York: UNICEF.

UNAIDS. 2004. *Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic*. Geneva: United Nations.

Whiteside, A. and C .Sunter. 2000. *AIDS: The Challenge for South Africa*. Cape Town: Human & Rousseau Tafelberg.

POVERTY LAB: RASTAFARI AND CULTURAL STUDIES

Jalani A. Niaah

Omar Davies, in a lecture on Reggae icon Peter Tosh questions why such an immeasurable wealth of talent could have sprung from Kingston's marginal or lower class community – Trench Town.[1] What Davies has not apparently cognized is that we encounter in Trench Town the parameters of a genuine 'City University', perhaps the first such Caribbean Institution. This was a cultural space informed by centuries of tradition, now concentrated in a Western Kingston Laboratory. Here many of the 'ambitious' folk gathered, often in the transition to a foreign land. Many had been forced to settle as they prepared themselves for their next move. The Urban space was much about 'movement', space becoming a scarce and expensive commodity, and it is within this system of Urbanization that the wise teachers/community leaders among the folk turned their marginalization and poverty into dollars and cents. Over four decades (1930–70), the elder cultural practitioners had refined their creation and an entire liberation approach began to take root, spreading to the world through the production of music. By the advent of 1973, Bob Marley and the Wailers were able, through partnership with an English producer, to take the message of Rastafari to the world as a totally revolutionary experience.[2]

History suggests that Rastafari developed a method to subvert the systematic oppression or the Poverty Lab which had been constructed by the colonial masters – this method was a withdrawal of active support from the official colonial system, and an embracing of the concepts of auto-sufficiency or self-reliance principles, an active interpretation of the self as connected to a long African heritage, and therefore a rejection of Eurocentric cosmologies. This paper examines the Rastafari Movement's work as that of a New African Diasporan Faculty of Interpretation.

Introduction

Trench Town Rock

One good thing about music, when it hits ya (you feel no pain);
Wo-wo-wo, I say: one good thing about music, when it hits ya (you feel no pain):
Hit me with music, yeah! Hit me with music now!
This is (Trenchtown Rock) Don't watch that!
(Trenchtown Rock) Big fish or sprat now!
(Trenchtown Rock) You reap what you sow.
(Trenchtown Rock) And only Jah-Jah know.
(Trenchtown Rock) I never turn my back.
(Trenchtown Rock) I give the slum a try.
(Trenchtown Rock) I never let the children cry,
(Trenchtown Rock) Cause you got to tell Jah-Jah why.

– Robert Nesta Marley

The 1930s development of the Rastafari Movement I argue, inter alia, is the genesis of a Caribbean cultural studies project – where for the first time in the history of the struggle, culture was being systematized to successfully negotiate, engage and critique colonial power, in a revolutionary confrontation. From this engagement emerged a faculty of thinkers/prophets/teachers/sidewalk professors who were busy interrogating the canons of the old order and bringing in a new, multi-textual message based on the lived reality of the ordinary folk of the Caribbean. This grassroots intellectual movement, or what Barry Chevannes calls a gateway folk intellectual practice, was of course seen as subversive by the colonial authorities through its challenge to the established ideas, and those members who were not jailed for treason/ sedition were sent to the asylum. However, when one analyses the content of their expressions, it is clear that most if not all of these street preachers who were preaching of Rastafari – were well informed and some examples like Hibbert, Howell and Hinds were widely read in various spiritual practices, for example Biblical, Kabalistic Coptic mystery systems and grounded in Ethiopian History. They had strong feelings of moral obligation to alert their fellow citizens to the harmfulness and down right unacceptability of the British system of governance for the Black man (Smith et al.1960). Many of them were able to use and analyse the history of colonialism to illustrate their point. Bedward for example talked of 'a white wall and a black wall' as a way of contextualizing the oppositional forces in the island, Howell on the other hand explicitly and

actively spoke of and encouraged the withdrawal of support from the white king of England because the African's rightful King had been crowned. Within 30 years of the emergence of the Rastafarian Movement, by 1960, an articulate and systematized institution had developed with its adherents numbering in the thousands around Jamaica with the movement's words migrating throughout the African Diaspora.[3] But perhaps one of the most important developments was the active teaching of these interpretations and the provision of a system of ideas or a way of life for the re-acculturation of the African being around collectivity and self sufficiency, food and 'livity' generally. In essence, the Rastafarian Movement had provided an answer or a solution to the problem of mental slavery by designing a system for mental liberation.

The Kingston (Lab) Oratory or Sidewalk University

A university is generally organised as a tertiary or third level of education, concentrated on specialisation in teaching and research through facilities which allow for the breaking of new ground for knowledge production and ultimately for this to translate to social progress. A university is therefore a cultural response to social living designed in the way it is perceived that society needs to move forward. The earliest universities were the churches and their training ground realised in the monasteries and convents. It is through these facilities of the church that the early colonial teaching and socialisation was achieved. Toward the end of slavery the notion of higher education transformed away from its strict theological grounding and transition to multiple specialisations, increasingly moving away from the church to the secular agencies, many of which were now directed by commercial thrusts developed out of Colonial and in particular West Indian economic activity. Cecil Rhodes is by far one of the most famous in this regard (in his case through engagement in Southern Africa).

Charles Darwin (1859) often considered the coming into being of a secularised version of European epistemology (through Social Darwinism), and in particular a 'pedagogical devolution'. This lent itself to popular racist interpretations applied and connected to theories of 'evolution'. This period of activity is enmeshed in the construction of European intellectual superiority in relation to the 'colonial', resulting in the construction of notions of the primitive native and the European "civilising mission"[4]. There are also those who mark Columbus' 1492 voyage as the genesis of this ethos of European 'intellectual' history[5] inscribed in the view of the world put into being by Columbus, the admiral himself. The military title is invoked by George Lamming, who tries to suggest that the intellectual pretext of

war/violence is borne out in all the subsequent philosophies. Increasingly Europe was to bequeath for itself a legacy as a foremost centre of learning. It is out of this honed legacy inscribed largely through the encounters emerging from the 'New World' and the West Indies that the official ideas as relates to training and development in the West Indies originate.

History

The conditions which obtained in the slums of Kingston in the 1930s were of national concern; so much so that central Government appointed an advisory board to make recommendation to "relieve local conditions" as early as 1935. Smith Village and its environs which included the area then known as Trench Pen, was the target of a new 'Township' development specifically aimed at clearing or improving the slum district, to address the issue of overcrowding, unsanitary conditions and high incidence of disease due to poor amenities in the area. Specifically, the proposed 'Trench Pen Township' was an area that was eventually expected to accommodate between 3000 to 5000 persons, many (approximately 1/3) of whom were being resettled from the land clearance scheme. This area was expected to comprise lots to be identified as Government Tenements. This action would constitute phase one of the overall development scheme. The idea was to develop "Trench Pen" as a Model Township by placing appropriate infrastructural standards, that is, kitchen, bath, w.c. and laundry, as well as greater legal monitoring for more effective administration. [See Memorandum Dealing with Development of Trench Pen Township & improvement of Smith Village and Surrounding Districts by the Central Housing Advisory Board. April 1936.]

By the early 1950s these efforts had been much advanced and materialized into a teeming region which one like G.E. Simpson (ISER, 1956), was able to capture for us in Social Economic Studies as a region where there was a hot bed of African culture discoursing the situation of the urban. In the West Kingston region at the time, Revivalism and Rastafari were the chief cultural forces. Trench Town - as this site now became commonly known - had developed the reputation of being a place where migrants, especially from the country (rural Jamaica), could find lodging. By 1953 Simpson accounts that there were some 1224 rooms in Trench Town in some instances housing as many persons as 3 adults and 6 children in a space 8 x 10 feet in size. [This Model community had no recreational facilities] As many as 2000 persons were awaiting housing in Trench Town and in its more remote regions there were 'tent colonies' of squatters. (See Simpson, 1956, pp322-327). In urban Jamaica many persons literally lived and survived on the city dumps competing among themselves as well as with goats and swine. Moore and Johnson (2000)

cite opium smoking Chinese; running standpipes; street urchins shifting across the urban landscape constantly with no fixed abode: continuously worsened by a steady stream of migration from rural areas to this urban centre as constant features at the turn of the twentieth century. Persons were living from hand to mouth; unemployed or having no steady income; unable to care for themselves and their children. There was the absence of a real voice of leadership for a people disenfranchised by poverty. The options they pursued included domestic work (for women), pick-pocketing, factory work, retail vending, goat herding, pig and chicken rearing, craft making and dress making. Movement, especially migraton remained one of the most attractive and constant ambitions, some might even say solutions. This was facilitated by the government after World War II.

In the midst of the squalor of Kingston, existed a vibrant tradition of street preaching, that is the capturing of the sidewalk and pavement, and its use for convening congregations who were ministered to by various emerging teacher/activists. This tradition can be likened to a 'sidewalk University' existing from the nineteenth century and seen to be responsible for the mobilization of the marginal sections of society especially in creating a critique of the colonial administration and a revival of African or African derived cultural processes. To this end two locations of key significance are; downtown Kingston – the Parade and the Market District area; and in St Andrew the adjoining communities on the banks of the Hope River from August Town to Papine. The latter exists at the foot and outer parameters of what subsequently became the University lands. These communities pioneered the reconfiguration of the poverty that the society inherited from its colonial past, street preaching being the first cry of a modernized discourse. These discourses were religio-political, resistance practised by such folk leaders as Alexander Bedward who emerged in the late nineteenth-century preaching of the Mona water, which would aid healing and assist in the mission of Redemption. Marcus Garvey and Leonard Howell, Nathaniel Hinds and others emerged in this tradition of inspired teaching/preaching in the streets. These individuals were capable of gathering huge crowds with their dramatic, animated and highly communicable messages. They preached of the issues related to the liberation of the Africans. By the end of the third decade of the twentieth century, worker discontent, emotion and excitement and genuine distress plunged the entire West Indies into a spate of riots and revolutionary unrest – unrest that begged the immediate attention of the British Colonial authorities. What erupted in the midst of the resonant street activism was a popular Pan-Africanist Movement – an articulate and studied body, even a faculty of philologists, philosophers, historians, teachers and preachers – which continued the tradition

of Revival African Zionist traditions of the previous century that had now become anchored in a new phenomenon of Modern Ethiopianism. This new phenomenon of Modern Ethiopianism was a most potent incarnation demonstrated in the quick birth of the Rastafari Movement which had anchored its moralism and nationalism behind the Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie I. The Pan-Africanism of Marcus Garvey's movement and the African Revivalism of the charismatic street preachers had now become synthesized into a politico- religious fraternity with an anchor in the Imperial Garden of the Ethiopian Emperor in Addis Abba.

Word, Sound, Power, Living Oratory: A Methodology[6]

> Let the hungry be fed, the naked be clothed, the aged be protected. ... Lord deliver us. (Rastafarian prayer)

Rastafarians have as common parlance the philosophy that word sound is power!

After the 1960s, one can identify the development of a fraternity of Rastafari faithful, taking their message into musical expression. In much the same way perhaps that the Psalms are constructed as sacred records of the 'livity' of the Old Testament patriarchs. The philosophy of the Movement moved to some extent (but not entirely) off the street corners, due partly to colonial repression and police brutality, into 'the mixing Lab-Oratory' to create music that would teach the lessons of Redemption of the African. Planno, in philosophizing to his students who would congregate in his yard in Trench town, West Kingston (including those such as Don Drummond, Bob Marley and the Wailers, Ras Michael and the Sons of Negus, Alton Ellis and Jimmy Cliff (Hutton, 2002)) taught them to 'tell out King Rasta doctrine around the whole world. ... Get your bible and read it, read it with understanding' as his basic guide and teaching on liberating the individual. He would conduct his class in the informal gatherings in his yard as together they built verses animating the experiences, ideals and aspirations of the Movement. The King James Bible consisting of its 66 books, the laws, Prophets, wisdom songs into the Revelation provided a source of reading, reasoning, analysis and interpretation. It was from this source that the knowledge of liberation was to come, in particular from the Revelations in the Bible – revealing the identity of the Ethiopian Emperor, Haile Selassie I, the Power of the Trinity as the returned Messiah.[7] Planno and a number of other brethren were to develop on the earliest teachings brought by the elders of the 1930s, a multifaceted cultural approach, and a network of over 60 bases in West Kingston and the surrounding corporate area.[8] At these bases, the hitherto wayward – brothers in particular

– became transformed; they could find hope, a receptive environment to mould and teach themselves about their identity, their history, the politics of the time, self-sufficiency and most importantly in the context of their survival how to develop a habit of industry – mostly focused on the development of self-employment ideas, and especially music that when it hit 'yu feel no pain'. Music has been the product emanating from what has been described as the business of hardship resulting out of the Poverty Laboratory.[9] These bases provided vibrant centres for debates on life, philosophy, the politics of Jamaica and the globe especially as far as it affected the people of Africa. Some centres even provided training in Amharic, the official language of Ethiopia. The community bases also provided shelter, humble though this may have been, where warm meals (often a pot of porridge or 'a sip' of soup) for all who came, books and newspapers, instruments, recording devices and of course the Wisdom Herb as sacrament to inspire the meditation and reasoning on a way forward.[10] Soon west Kingston was to develop a reputation as a Mecca for musicians and scholars from all across Jamaica and surely enough became a fascination for researchers from around the world, the attraction being the Rastafarians and secondarily their cultural panacea – the emerging institution/industry of reggae music. In 1960, on the invitation of members of the Rastafarian Movement by way of a letter requesting help in stemming the police brutality and social repression that members of the movement were undergoing, the University of the West Indies embarked on a study which was reported on and published in the Gleaner, the foremost Jamaican newspaper. This Report (ISER) has had perhaps the most lasting impact of any work the University has done subsequently, its most profound effect being that of a translation of the Movement's core ideas to a society which seemed eager to oppress the brethren because of their beliefs. The societal demand for information on the Movement was borne out by the quick sales of the booklet and its plethoric reprinting (some seven reprints), copying and referencing. It is felt by key members of the Movement involved in the research at that time that the Report gave the 12-year old University its first bit of relevance or what others might call credibility in being able to demonstrate scholarly social intervention. Admittedly there were also many in the society who believed that the University scholars had completely lost their minds in paying attention to outcasts. Planno draws attention to the fact that the Movement now became a serious anthropological fascination as an indigenous cultural development. Within the framework of the University's scholars opening up of the Movement to academic investigation the notion of 'polite violence' surfaces again – the chief desire of the Rastafarian Movement is to Return to Africa, so stated

the ISER Report of 1960. In spite of the clarity of understanding of this point very little assistance has been provided by the scholars to articulate and advance the case in this regard. The original intention of the brethren who summoned the University to come and study the Movement was to assist the brethren in overcoming persecution and legitimately organizing their claim to Africa. What the Report did in actuality was to expand the debate and fascination surrounding the Movement with little attention paid to the advancement of their intellectual claims, in particular the claim to Africa.

Anthropologist Carole Yawney, provides us with an account of the Trench Town Locus at about the turn of the 1960/70s. In particular she identifies the teaching of the Amharic Language at Planno's Yard and the energy which this resonated throughout the entire community, noting that his Ethiopian World Federation Local 37, provided a suitable hub for this activity which saw members coming from outside of West Kingston (Mountain View, August Town and rural Jamaica) to join in the activities generated outside of this Local.) She provides a geographical account of the LAN identifying the Salt Lane Temple, Jones Town Cultural Centre and Planno's 5th St. base as the widest spread for the hub of activity. Thought she admits that the Movement out of Trench Town impacted directly further afield as banners were hung and events were held in the Race Course at Heroes Circle, marketing for activities was done even as far as the University (Mona). It is clear that the LAN had international connections as this Amharic Training programme received assistance through the work of overseas assistants including an Ethiopian tutor (Ziguy) and tapes contributed by an unnamed American Professor.

Kingston City University: A New Interpretation

> Rasta mek Jamaica get more money, get more house, get more everything ...
> Trench Town responsible for ska, rock steady, reggae and dub ...
>
> – M. Planno

The Rastafari Movement in Kingston took on a distinctly different character after the locus of activity became entrenched in Trench Town. Trench Town became a spot of heightened significance in the Jamaican landscape because of its richly diverse population and its openness in general to those on their road to self discovery. What emerges out of this experience is the Cultural Capital of the island. Though named after the English Trench family[11], the name seems to have undertaken literal and symbolic meaning. The symbolic meaning of Trench Town as applicable to

Jamaica is picked up by Braithwaite whose poetry sees a necessary unwillingness to move beyond the images of "the Dungle", "Trench Town" and the Rastafarian encounter on these landscapes. This is spotlighted in 1994 in the cathartic but haunting "Trench Town Rock", playing on Marley's song of that name, where he uses this concept as a metaphor for Jamaica under terror, "shoot/in", "Kingston / in the King/doom", along with other graphic accounts of distress and disrespect[12]. Braithwaite (1994) reflects the irony of the society as Trench Town the "Cultural Capital", is asked to shoulder the tragic images of the entire 'rock', Jamaica. The desperate conditions of the 1960s which spurred the scholarly traditions which emerged, thirty years later have become more indicative of a war torn zone and society in general. The terror now emanating from this formerly creative space Trench Pen, an area literally bordered by a trench (the draining route for Northern St. Andrew), has repressed the synergy, some would argue, of this Jamaican cultural Mecca. Indeed it has not vibrated in its outstanding pedagogic way since the departure of Marley, Planno and others of the Local after the mid 1970s.

For more than twenty years prior to this however, a group of brethren emerged who effectively congealed a scholarly practice that within a few years of activity was able to undertake the gargantuan task of discoursing progress, liberation, and freedom for Africans not only here in Jamaica in general but echoing this sentiment to a world-wide African and non African population. One of the most lasting decisions which these brethren made was one of collaborating or seeking the assistance of the then University College of the West Indies for help, in translating its Rasta programme, logic and intention to Jamaican society. The Movement in this regard showed itself to be extremely advanced in its thinking and character. This thinking and character I suggest, may be objectively interpreted at the level of a 'university' by way of the operations and activities as well as the social relevance and its consequent contribution to social progress and development. Its maturity was especially underscored by its decision to convincingly solicit the University's assistance, a move which was to establish a long tradition of mutual respect by contributing to the expansion of existing epistemology, ontology and cosmology. The movement epitomizes the very ethos and intention of what a university is effectively conceived to do, which is to forge new links with the likes of the University of the West Indies (of which it was and still is highly critical), and it was able to expand its horizons and reach out to the world. Fulfilling this role and function of a 'university' was the intention of the brethren who wrote to the Principal. Planno ascribes to the University of the West Indies its salient contribution in securing the victory himself and others of the Movement

achieved in bridging that void between Jamaica and Africa. The University in taking the Movement seriously was able to facilitate the Rastafarians being brought into dialogue with the authorities, which incidentally was contrary to the order issued by Manley previously, that had interpreted the Movement as a social nuance to be reported by the 'decent' citizens to the police. Bustamante was to exacerbate this order to the maximum at the time of the Coral Gardens incident, by ordering the police to "shoot first and ask questions later". Increasingly, the successful Report on the Movement in Kingston produced by Smith et al, became a point of engagement for many who were interested in learning more about the Rastafari phenomenon, as well as establishing an early framework for understanding the core issue of the Movement, before the doctrine became more diverse and the brethren more scattered. But perhaps most importantly, the letter to the University by the brethren helped to establish an improved capacity for cooperation which saw students of the University and students of the movement engaging in reasoning and study exchanges. The agendum involved University students going to the Dungle and the Movement's members coming on campus, especially to participate in activity of the Extra-Mural department. Today the University is big on the notion of cooperative ventures between itself and institutions of higher learning, as well as research centres, governments and non-governmental bodies regionally and internationally. The University now views such cooperative ventures as essential in "fostering intellectual stimulation, increasing knowledge and promoting greater regional and international understanding"[13].

Nettleford, a part of the team designated by Principal Lewis, remarks that the persons he encountered in the Movement were bright individuals who were robbed of the opportunity for educational advancement due to poverty. It is to this issue that Rastafari's West Kingston locus responded by creating its own systems of educational advancement. That the persons who the University's researchers met were 'bright', was not in the opinion of some, enough to create for them the opportunity for advancement. This is so because the University was established as an elitist body, that is, its matriculation requirements were biased to conventional training and examinations which were England centric. If one did not appropriately succeed within these conventions, one was unlikely to be considered for entry to the 'Ivory tower' institution. In addition to the qualification schema, the University's 'distance', including its physical location (its Upper St. Andrew Address), placed it in a remoteness to the people, ordinary people, many of whom still declare a feeling of physical isolation from the university. [14].

Teacher Leader, Planno: Earth's Strangest Man

Mortimo Planno, born in Cuba in 1929, is as old as the Rastafari Movement in which he is a key teacher-leader. He is an activist who has served not only his West Kingston home-base but indeed the Jamaican and African community in general through his crucial engagement towards the development of critical thought and pertinent action in advancing the struggle of African Liberation. The 4th of five children born to May Parker and Cuban tobacconist Miguel Planno, Mortimo arrived in Jamaica as an infant in the early 1930s and enjoyed the benefit of his father's business success, which provided a basis for the family's acquisition of some five properties in Kingston and St Andrew. This was however short lived as within a few years of their arrival in Jamaica, his father returned to Cuba and his mother was to lose these properties at the hands of lawyers, plunging the household into a life of poverty and hardship.

At the time of the outbreak of the Second World War, Mortimo was scarcely ten years old but found himself needing to help to support his ailing mother and his family in general. Within these conditions he developed a strong sense of community responsibility and began to be visible among a roving band of youngsters employed throughout the city, scavenging off the spoils of the streets. Within these hardening local conditions, youth like himself had few options - the market place, the betting shops, the racetracks were among their chief haunts. These youths could be noticed in increasing numbers especially where they could hustle a meal, dive for a few coins – where they could sustain their lives and perhaps those of their families.

By 1941 the Planno family was relocated from Princess Street (a property once owned by his father) to government tenements in Trench Town. It is within this transition that Mortimo became a leading member of the Rastafari Movement based in the Dungle. Not only was Planno to contribute to the Rastafari movement's development but he was also to anchor himself into the annals of the Pan-African struggle and more generally through his outstanding ideational engagement with a society which was at a crossroads largely due to the climate of decolonization and post World War II recovery. By the time Planno had attained his 20s, he had cultivated the then unique aesthetic of the dreadlocks and was among West Kingston's most respected young leaders, though iconic of the emerging rude boy ethos. By his third decade Planno was regarded by many in his community as an elder and was consulted on all matters of extreme importance to the community.

Aside from his occupying West Kingston for over 40 years, Planno commanded the attention of successive generations of its population

during this time, in particular the youth. This he did through a variety of applied strategies of activism – the most concerted of which was his capacity to teach his neighbours what he had unearthed throughout his life's work as a thinker and researcher into the African situation, having journeyed to Africa on a Government of Jamaica Fact Finding Mission, one of his early accomplishments.

Though Mortimo Planno fits comfortably into the role of Rastafari plenipotentiary, the chief ability that one might ascribe to him is that of an outstanding community teacher. Planno's expedient and strategic engagement always translated to urgency. This is what is most compelling about Planno's work. From the simplicity of climbing into a tree to read the news or interesting issues of concern to those gathered at his yard, to the acquisition and availing of up to-date resources and equipment in his environment to develop the creativity of the urban dispossessed through writing, dramatic performances, painting, composing and music making. among other activities such as managing and training athletes and musicians; selling and trading goods; feeding and sheltering the needy, facilitating lectures, national demonstrations, discussions, and exchanges of knowledge in general. However his greatest strength seems to come by way of his great facility with psychology and the use of non-conventional treatment to treat, teach and even cure those perceived as having lost their way. His students have ranged from the lowly to the high and mighty and it is through his influence that many were inspired into vocations which produced fame for both themselves and their communities. Among those who could be considered colleagues or who through curiousity or circumstance have intersected lives with Planno are Sir Arthur Lewis, Sir Roy Augier, Prof. Nettleford, Professor Braithwaite, Prof. Peter Heyman, Walter Rodney, B.F. Bankie and many others who exchanged intellectual services with him throughout the 1960s and 1970s in particular.

Within the span of Planno's five decades of activity, there are highlights that when combined, hold such significance that they could be qualified as a "quantum leap" in the thinking of African-Jamaican folk leadership. This was demonstrated through his oratory, his opportune and capable leadership as well as his quality of thought and impeccable timing.

Bro Kumi speaks of himself generally as an unlettered dunce, without education, and an idiot. While saying all these things of himself he continues to strive to learn and master the world of thought. Planno is an avid reader whose daily practise includes the reading of both major daily newspapers as well as the evening paper. Planno attended the Central Branch Commissorium at Peters Lane and Church St. After a brief stay at that institution he moved to St Anthony's [elementary school] at Orange

St., subsequently he attended the St Aloysius Boys School at Duke St. and finally the St Annie Secondary, in Hannah Town. In addition to this formal schooling, Planno has tutored himself in writing and theorising about the African condition, Social and Political History, International Relations and the Pan- African Movement.

In effect, Planno operated a total institution in Trench Town. He facilitated the community's advancement by availing his environment for a range of cultural activities in the way that an institutional centre for cultural research and training would. This developed over a number of years and by the second half of the 1960s Planno's Yard had established a distinct reputation. He took up full residence at his mother's home after she died (mid 1950s) and improved himself through learning, experimentation, and achievment through cultural activity[15]. After returning from the 1961 Mission to Africa he had become the Rastafari plenipotentiary, and indeed this reputation was confirmed during Emperor Haile Selassie's visit in 1966. Many strategies were pursued up until 1972 to link Africa. Planno committed himself to the achievement of this at several different levels. After the 1961 Mission he knew that there was a need to prepare persons interested in repatriation, while at the same time deepening the linkages and connections with Africa by way of developing intergovernmental links as well as educating the entire population through word sound confrontation of the logic of African repatriation.

Planno had learnt from His Imperial Majesty that the brethren should prepare themselves, but he cautioned that it would not be the speedy process that some may expect and it would have to involve not only the brethren but also women and children. Shortly after returning from Africa he embarked on a three month tour of the United States, bringing word to the American African Diaspora of the Rastafarian concept and the development that this concept had produced by way of a Mission to five African countries. In 1963 a three man delegation journeyed to New York where they sought to present the Rastafari case for repatriation to the United Nations. However, the local fervour for repatriation was to reach an all time high with the visit of the Emperor in 1966. Many in the Movement's ranks believed that Haile Selassie's arrival meant that the vessels for repatriation would also come. This did not happen in the way it was envisaged.

Planno however, was keen on preparing the people through cultural instruction as well as his own independent attempt to populate the land grant in Ethiopia which started a system of planned settlement of the land through the relocation of families. A total of some 9 families were repatriated this way in the late 1960s. Such families were closely linked

to the Rastafari Movement (Local 37) base and were often given financial support from fund raising activity undertaken by Planno, to purchase farming equipment and supplies.

Perhaps one of the personal links between Africa and Planno was to come via one such project of soliciting Rasta musical culture. This saw a diplomat travelling to Jamaica in 1976 to invite Marley to participate in a cultural festival in Nigeria. Marley had by this time put Trench Town and Rastafari on the map in a way that perhaps only Motown as an industry and Harlem as a Black Cultural Mecca could rival. Though the diplomat may have been interested in the Marley that the world had come to know, he, like the Canadian Professor Carole Yawney, who too had come in search of Marley in 1971, was to discover the source from which Marley drew his Rastafarian understanding, Mortimo Planno.

So in 2003 it was stated that, "Planno was by instinct a politician, but by inclination a cultural activist. These distinct roles were subtly intertwined…". This view helps us to locate Planno within the context of the wider Pan-African struggle. The diplomat further notes of Planno (2003:1-5):

> On reflection I have met only three other persons who have similar levels of engagement with those ideals (Pan-African nationalism), who have made major demonstrable contributions to advancing them, Abdulrahman Mohammed Babu, Kwame Ture (Stokeley Carmichael) and Kwesi Prah. ... Men who dedicated their lives to the upliftment of the African people – men we call Pan-African nationalists. ... A selfless breed of persons, who were loved and respected by some, who left unquantifiable benefits to humanity, in terms of ideas and ideals. ... In a real sense Planno was a 'public property.'

On the issue of Planno's leadership it was stated:

> Another attribute of such leaders is their ability to attract fearless loyalty and great respect from youth ... this was not leadership by remote control; it was acted out as a social mixing of equals.

It was suggested that people like Robert Mugabe could perhaps also join the ranks in which Planno has been put. Planno is further identified as "one for the struggle, all for final victory". A person such as Planno is less driven by logic but by vision. It is this clear Pan-African Vision which sees Planno, not as a dreamer but an agent of African development. What

is it that Planno has sought to do as an agent of African development? The answer would be "The linkage of Africa and its Diaspora", his life's work. Here we might seek to understand how leaders such as Planno help to bring visions of Repatriation / Redemption into reality.

Yawney's (2001:134) schema of a "repatriation continuum" is a useful tool for us to view Planno's work through. As an elder teacher one could say Planno is the Repatriation continuum personified, he has been integral in fashioning the tools for developing individuals. The repatriation continuum Yawney describes as serving to "define a community of resistance using networks to strengthen African linkages between the Diaspora and the Continent". Yawney views repatriation as being intensified into the present time, given worsening conditions in the west and the intensifying debate connected to reparation. There is within her argument the assessment that there has been a tendency for debate about repatriation to intensify during periods of increased "criminalisation" or victimisation. This would stand true especially for the period between the late 1950s and the late 1970s. Various edicts and legislations have sought to restrict the liberties of the Rastafarians in most instances permitting the police to target the Movement's adherents.[16]

Rastafari emerges from a system of thinking which renders many of the brethren fugitives. Some might say twice, even thrice the experience of 'domestic violence and trauma' based on the oppressive living philosophies of society (often visited on the Movement's initiates, especially via their families). This is indeed the situation which those like the Rastafari confronted especially in the decades of Planno's most visible work. Not only did Planno seek to engage the public through street lectures and protests, letters to the press and fora at the University, Planno had become "beknowned", therefore his mere presence constituted a safe house, a place where those gathered were assured that they would be effectively defended by Planno against police brutality, arbitrary arrest or other kinds of victimisation. The Movement's leadership is therefore aware that there is a struggle to liberate Africans the world over where they are oppressed and victimised, as well as to move forward into the resettlement of Africa.

The system developed in Kingston would be equivalent to an institution of which Planno could be perceived as the principal or Vice Chancellor. His colleagues, Sam Brown, Bongo Watto, Sam Clayton, Ras Michael, Prophet Gad and others, would have constituted its Faculty; their homes, haunts and locus of operation, its edifice; and the divination of Haile Selassie, its new story – a new ability and confidence in interpreting that story in song. The chief, but not only means of engagement was by the published text, the dominant expression of which came by way of music making and

in particular, the production of records. The Faculty which emerged out of Trench Town understood very well the needs of the population and was bent on engaging the masses in ways which they could access and understand the published word - through recordings - and thus became more critical for an illiterate audience more than anything else. Within a few years the sound of Trench Town, Kingston City University became known throughout the world as iconic and a symbol of African Resistance discourse, engagement and activism. Its emergent crop of graduates who came to world scrutiny in the late 1960s and early 1970s were immediately celebrated as genius. Their brand of expression was unequivocally revolutionary and became copied and reinterpreted universally.

They were to assault the so called intelligentsia with their ability to reason and interpret for themselves. The root logic of their ideas spoke to a simple truth. The influence of the Movement grew by leaps and bounds until eventually by the early 1970s Rastafari became the symbolic and manipulated Jamaican cultural expression which the official society based its political campaign around[17]. By the mid 1970s the Rastafari was accepted as a man of peace and intellectual acuity. In the communities where members of the Movement lived, the community members assessed the presence of the Brethren as that of a Griot to be respected as opposed to the ridiculing which the brethren had to endure just one decade earlier. Elders such as Shaggy Berry testify to this through community involvement and development activity in the Rockfort / Wareika Hill terrain, then considered to be wild, violent and inaccessible by the official agencies with community developmental responsibilities. This is not to suggest that the Movement as a whole has attained this rank and status. The locus of West Kingston helped in translating the Rastafari to society and established the legitimacy of the Movement's place in society especially as a cultural contributor. This is what has influenced the growth of the Movement producing an almost routinisation of the Rastafari within Jamaican society. Whether this serves the objective of the Movement is yet another issue, as one could argue that this has adulterated the potency of the Movement and its ultimate ambition for Repatriation. Others could argue that it has carved out Africa not only in the aspiration of the population but also in our midst right here in the West. This at various levels can be seen as an important development for any project toward large scale repatriation, to this extent the Movement can be credited with developing a critical thinking towards establishing a core population of activists for the achievement of this objective. Trench Town can be said to have served as a specialist school for the liberation of the mind, a project which has yet to be 'seriously' regarded by local officials, or by academics. This was done by a few

persons operating against all the odds within society while basing their hope on a far away leader, the Ethiopian Emperor, Chancellor of their emergent Faculty.

It can be convincingly argued that predating the establishment of the University there emerged an indigenous faculty of thinkers and teacher-activists specifically geared to subverting the designs of Babylon, to ensure the advancement of the oppressed African. This body of teacher-activists provided a cosmological alternative, in other words the Movement took a different view of the world and the African's capacity to direct his own affairs in the world.[18] The Movement immediately threatened the survival of the colonial state as it existed and redesigned the ill-conceived poverty laboratories in the Caribbean. The design of poverty might be said to have been strained and put to the test, perhaps even transformed. Leonard Howell, the founding patriarch of the Rastafarian Movement pioneered a practice which saw him providing institutions in Kingston, St Thomas and St Catherine, through which his followers could gain independence from the hardships of their daily lives. Through a philosophy of empowerment for Africans and the coming into being of a doctrine of 'word sound-power' the lab, designed to keep the poor in a dependent situation, back-fired, blazing a light with yet a new culture. Verbal combat, which gave rise to an emerging system of Caribbean oratory, was the escape valve, even the source towards the Redemption of the enslaved Africans in the Caribbean. This 'oratory' emerging in the streets is being viewed as a learnt system and attitude of public engagement and discourse with mobilizing and transformative potential. The 'systemic laboratory' of poverty in many instances became fundamentally critiqued and literally converted into a 'mixing lab' of sound, music and poetry as the African spirit which had been framed within a colonial project found ways and means of reconstructing its reality – turning a situation of something ugly into something of beauty, creating songs of freedom, melodies of resistance, ultimately designs that helped to construct a vision of Redemption. Burru Drumming, Kumina, Nyabinghi chanting, reggae, dancehall, calypso, soca and dub are only some aspects of the (redemptory) designed oratory – sweet simple scholarship, music for the soul. Even misery could be put to melody. The music was a universal sound; even the tone of the poetry became a lingua franca in the articulation of political struggles of good over evil. In the words of Bob Marley, music that represented 'the power of [folk] philosophy floats through . . . light like a feather heavy as lead . . .'. Such was/is the oratory, while creating a vision for the breaking down of Babylon's walls and the 'Movement of Jah people'. [19]

The Question which arises is: What were these students engaging in Trench Town which enabled them to attempt to undertake and fulfill what those like Marley and Tosh perceived as their **obligation** to Humanity? . . . That obligation being to transform colonial societies of former slaves to genuine societies of love and justice where humanity was capable of contributing their fullest potential to their societies and the world. This is the general framework within which the idea of progress for Africans is defined.

Conclusion

The 'institutionalization' of cultural studies in Jamaica has seen a historical route which has emphasized the revival of Africa and African racial cohesion, rational thought or inner logic, oratorical leadership and centring of these ideas on the incarnation of the Christ Messiah and the establishment of God's Kingdom on earth today. Mortimo Planno, in reviewing the Movement's history and work in 1998, returned to the University after 39 years after his 'letter' to the institution recommending the establishment of 'a New Faculty of Interpretation' as a way of tackling the problems of the present thought systems provided by our folk drawing on the cultural legacies of Africa. Most importantly, Planno's cadre of teacher-activists, his Faculty so to speak, stood its ground in spite of the 'polite violence', responding culturally to the real needs of their communities, creating a locus for transforming and disseminating these solutions to the Universe-city, from its laboratory of poverty. We assess that the emergence of the Rastafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica constitutes one of 'those "quantum leaps" forward that all civilizations must make. This quantum leap when viewed through its historical legacy and its current development constitutes a complex and critical alternative cosmology that begs and demands greater recognition for its work and its continued contribution as a seminal paradigm emerging in the modern epoch among scattered Africans.

Notes

* A version of this paper was previously published in the journal Cultural Studies Vol. 17 No.6 2003

1. Davies, Omar, (2000) 'Reggae and the National Identity: the forgotten contribution of Peter Tosh', Bob Marley Lecture 3, February 2001.
2. Joseph Owens provides some of the best demographical details as to the specific location of the emergent fraternity and the kind of philosophical discourses that he shared in over 60 locations in this district in Western Kingston. See Joseph Owen,

Dread (1976), also Yawney, Carole (1979) for ethnographic details of the environment of West Kingston in the 1970s.

3. See, Simpson, Clarke and Owens.
4. See Lindsay, Louis (1981).
5. See Wynter, Sylvia (1995).
6. See Pollard, Velma, Dread Talk, for a discussion of the language creation among Rastafari.
7. See Revelations 1:14, 17–18; 2:9–10; 3:9; 5:2,5; 6:2; 17:1–5; 19; 22:4 for aspects of the doctrine of fulfilment of prophesies of Redemption.
8. This estimate is based on Joseph Owens' mapping of the centres he encountered in Kingston.
9. Pereira, Joseph, at 1st Cultural Studies Colloquium, In stitute of Caribbean Studies, Mona 1999.
10. See Yawney, C. (1978) 'Lions in Babylon: The Rastafarians of Jamaica as a Visionary Movement', PhD thesis.
11. I am thankful for information in this regard brought to my attention by David Simpson of the Institute of Jamaica.
12. See Brathwaite, Kaman (1994).
13. See Office of Academic Affairs (1992)
14. For a discussion of the notion of the University of the West Indies as an "elitist" institution see Robinson, Leslie (1991). Also see Stone, Carl, [1982/3? gleaned / estimated form bindery stamp and research text].
15. A spin-off and perhaps a more formalized expression of this would have been the "Yard Theatre", developed in August Town. See Brathwaite, E.K. (1976, p.30).
16. Similar legislation and directives were given across the Caribbean, in Dominica for example there was the famous Dread Act (see Planno's Papers Book # Seven, also Yawney 2001, p.176) as well as Richard Salter (2001). Across the region generally immigration officials are known to over scrutinize the Rastafari and have even debarred Rastafari from accessing their ports.
17. The idea of the musical road band came into being for the 1972 elections. Manley sported the Joshua character while suggesting that he had been given a mandate to lead Jamaicans through his 'rod', purported to have been given him by Emperor Haile Selassie
18. Such a sentiment contradicted the prevailing European ideology that required a 'trusteeship' (see Irvine Committee; Patrick Bryan Grace Foundation Lecture) to guide the 'illiterate African', or so it was perceived.
19. As a youth growing up in Washington Gardens I recall witnessing K. Gee, a Rasta man, priest of the Levite persuasion hammering away at the walls of a church in the community, actively confronting the congregation every Sunday at the top of his voice chiseling away at the system with his highly spirited words. He provided such an intense spectacle between the play of his message at the walls of the church and the callaloo bed that he tended that many a time he had his own congregation to whom he directly brought his message.

References

Bankie, B.F. .2003. *Mortimo 'Bro Cummie' Planno – The Pan African Nationalist I Know*. Cape Town.

Barrett, L. 1977. *The Rastafarians: The Dreadlocks of Jamaica*. Kingston: Sangster's with Heinemann Educational Books.

Beckford, G.L. 1999. *Persistent Poverty: Underdevelopment in Plantation Economies of the Third World*. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.

Brathwaite, E. 1973. *The Arrivants: A New World Trilogy*. Oxford.

Brathwaite, E.K. 1976. "The Love Axe(1): Developing a Caribbean Aesthetic, 1962-1974". In: *Reading Black: Essays in the Criticism of African, Caribbean, and Black American Literature*. Monograph Series No. 4, Cornell University, Africana Studies and Research Centre.

Brathwaite, K. 1994. *Trench Town Rock*. Providence: Lost Roads Publishers.

Bryan, P. 2000. "Inside Out & Outside In: Factors in the Creation of Contemporary Jamaica". Grace Kennedy Foundation Lecture.

Campbell, Horace (1994). Rasta and Resistance: *From Marcus Garvey to Walter Rodney*, 4th edn. New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc.

Carter, E. (1990) in Claus F. Stolberg (ed), *Jamaica 1938: the Living Conditions of the Urban and Rural Poor*, Two Social Surveys, The Social History Project.

Central Housing Advisory Board. 1936. *Memorandum Dealing with Development of Trench Pen Township & Improvement of Smith Village and Surrounding Districts*.

Chevannes, A. 1971. *Jamaican Lower Class Religion: Struggle against Oppression*. UWI: M.Sc. Thesis.

Chevannes, Barrington (1994). *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Clarke, C.G. 1975. *Kingston, Jamaica: Urban Development and Social Change, 1692-1962*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Clarke, Colin G. (1975). Kingston, *Jamaica: Urban Development and Social Change,1692–1962*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Davies, Omar (2000) 'Reggae and Our National Identity'. In *Bob Marley Lecture Series*. UWI: Reggae Studies Unit. Kingston.

Davies, Omar (2000). 'Reggae and Our National Identity'. *In Bob Marley Lecture Series*. UWI: Reggae Studies Unit. Kingston.

Edwards, W. & B. Palmer. 1998. "Bob Marley: A Bibliography". In: *Occasional Bibliography Series*, No. 3. Kingston: National Library of Jamaica.

Government of Jamaica (1961). *Report of Mission to Africa*, Printing Office.

Gray, Obika (2004). *Demeaned but Empowered*, University of the West Indies Press.

Haile Sellassie I University Office of Public Relations, (1964). *Academic Honours of His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I Emperor of Ethiopia: A Commemorative Volume 1924-1963*. Addis Ababa.

Hutton, Clinton (1992). ' "Colour for Colour; Skin for Skin": *The Ideological Foundations of Post-Slavery Society, 1838–1865, the Jamaican Case*'. UWI Thesis.

King James Authorized Version, ([1611]1987) The Bible the Bible Societies of the West Indies

Lamming, George. (2000) *Coming, Coming Home Conversations I* . St. Martin, Caribbean: House of Nemesis Publishers.

Lee, Helen (2003) The First Rast: Leonard Howell and the rise of Rastafarianism, Published by Chicargo review Press Incorporated.

Levi, Levi (1989) Michael Manley. *The making of a Leader*. Andre Deutsch Ltd.

Lewis, Rupert Charles (1998). *Walter Rodney's Intellectual and Political Thought*. Kingston: The Press, University of the West Indies.

Lindsay, Louis (1981). *The Myth of the Civilising Mission: British Colonialism and the Politics of Symbolic Manipulation*, ISER, UWI.

Lorne, M. (1995). *The Third Testament*, Haile Selassie I Speeches, Headstart Printing & Publishing and Research Association School times Publications, Kingston Jamaica.

Lorne, Miguel (1997) The Third Testament: The Illect Verses of Emperor Haile Sellassie I 1918–1967. Kingston: Headstart Printing and Publishing Company.

Lynch, William (1712). Message delivered by a white slave owner, James River.

Mack, D. 1999. *From Babylon to Rastafari: Origins and History of the Rastafari Movement*: Research Associate School Times Publishing.

Marley, Bob (1975) 'Catch a Fire'.

Marley, Bob (1980) 'Songs of Freedom'.

Mato, Daniel (2000) 'Towards a Transnational Dialogue and Context Specific Forms of Transnational Collaboration: Recent Studies on Culture and Power in Latin America and what our English Speaking Colleagues call Cultural Studies'. Plenary Presentation, 3rd International Crossroads in Cultural Studies, Birmingham, June, pp. 7–8.

Meeks, B. 1993. *Revolution as Theory in Caribbean Revolutions and Revolutionary Theory: An Assessment of Cuba, Nicaragua & Grenada*.

Meeks, B. 1995. *The Implicit Theory in Carl Stone's Practical Political Science*. CSA, Curacao.

Munroe, Trevor (1999) Renewing Democracy into the Millennium: The Jamaican Experience in Perspective. Kingston: The Press, University of the West Indies.

Murrell, N. (ed.). 1998. *Chanting Down Babylon: The Rastafari Reader*. Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers.

Nettleford, R.M. 1972. *Identity, Race and Protest in Jamaica*. New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc.

Nettleford, R.M. 1993. *Inward Stretch, Outward Reach: A Voice from the Caribbean*. London & Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd.

Nettleford, Rex (1999). [Researcher's transcription] Keynote Address, *From the Cross to the Throne: Rastafari in the New Millennium*, Conference University of the West Indies, Mona Campus, Library of Spoken Word (LSW), Radio Education Unit (REU), Mona.

Nettleford, Rex and Sherlock, Philip (1990) The University of the West Indies: A Caribbean Response to the Challenge of Change, 1st edn. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers Ltd.

Nettleford, Rex M. (1972) Identity, Race and Protest in Jamaica. New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc.

Niaah, Jalani, (2003). *Poverty (lab)Oratory: Rastafari and Cultural Studies* in Cultrual Studies, vol 17 # 6.

Owens, Joseph (1976) Dread: the Rastafarians of Jamaica. Sangster's Book store, Kingston.

Pereira, Joseph (2001). *Introducing Cultural Studies in UWI – reflections on an experience*, presented at Rethinking Caribbean Culture Conference, Bridge Town, Barbados.

Pereira, Joseph (2004). *Issues in Caribbean Cultural Studies: The Case of Jamaica*, presented at Cultural Studies Conference, UWI, St Augustine

Pereira, Joseph 'What is Cultural Studies', Research Day Exhibition featuring Cultural Studies Programme at Mona.

Philips, John (1983). *African Smoking and Pipes*, in Journal of African History, 24, pp. 303-319, Great Britain.

Phillpotts, Karl, ed. (1999). *The Testimony of His Imperial Majesty, Emperor Haile Sellassie I:* Defender of the Faith.: Zewd Publishers.

Planno Mortimo (1979). *The Truth About the Rastafari Movement as told by Brother Cummie*, [Interview by]Tam Fiofori for Spear, Nigeria

Planno, Mortimo (1996) 'The Earth's Most Strangest Man: The Rastafarian'. Comitas.

Planno, Mortimo (1998). *Polite Violence, Folk Filosofi series 1998*, LSW, UWI,

Planno, Mortimo (1999) "Earth Most Strangest Man: the Rastafarian" in *Index on Censorship 4/1999.*

Planno's Papers Book # Seven, also Yawney 2001

Pollard, Velma. (1994) *Dread Talk: The Language of Rastafari.* 1st ed. Kingston: Canoe Press - University of the West Indies.

Post, Ken. The Bible as ideology: Ethiopianism in Jamaica, 1930-38, *in African Perspectives: Papers in the history, Politics & Economy of Africans.*

Reid, Tereza (1999) Reggae, Rastafari and Popular Culture: a Bibliography, Commissioned by International Reggae Studies Unit, Institute of Caribbean Studies, Mona Campus

Rodney, Walter (1990). *The Groundings with my Brothers,* Research Associate School Times Publications, Chicago, IL

Sherlock, P. & Nettleford, R (1990) "The University of the West Indies: A Caribbean response to the challenge of change"

Silverberg, Robert. (1972) *The Realm of Prester John.* New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc.

Simpson, George E. (1956) Jamaican Revivalist Cults, Social & Economic Studies H.D. Higgins, Vol. 5, No 4, December.

Simpson, George E. (1956) Jamaican Revivalist Cults, Social & Economic Studies H.D. Higgins, Vol. 5, No 4, December 1956.

Simpson, George. (1962) "The Ras Tafari Movement in Jamaica in Its Millennial Aspect." In *Millennial Dreams in Action: Essays in Comparative Study,* edited by Sylvia Thrupp, 160-5. The Hague: Mouton.

Smith, M.G., Augier, Roy & Nettleford, Rex ([1960] 1988) *The Ras Tafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica.* Kingston, Ja.: I. S.E.R.

Stone, Carl (1992) Towards a new direction for Caribbean Political Science, presented at mandatory Graduate Seminar, Dept. Government, UWI, Mona

University of the West Indies' (1965) "Survey of Trench town & Victoria Town", WIC., UWI Main Library

Wynter, Sylvia (1995) "The Pope Must Have been Drunk the King of Castile a Madman: Culture as actuality, and the Caribbean Rethinking Modernity" in Taiana, Alvina Ruprecht & Cecilia, ed. *The Reordering of Culture: Latin America, the Caribbean and Canada in the Hood.* 1st ed. Carleton: Carleton University Press.

Yawney, C. 2001. "Exodus: Rastafari, Repatriation and the African Renaissance". In: *African Century Publications Series*, No. 4. Pretoria.

ETHNICITY AND AFFLUENCE: IMMIGRANT AND AMERICANISED CARIBBEAN YOUTH

Derrick S. Raphael

Introduction

My purpose is to investigate whether Caribbean Black youth who retain a strong Caribbean immigrant-identity will strive for more in terms of socio-economic aspirations and expectations than Caribbean Black youth with a more Americanised identity. If Caribbean black youth with strong ethnic self-definitions have higher aspirations and expectations then they may also be more successful in life. The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey (CILS) is the most comprehensive database about the life trajectories of second-generation immigrants in the United States. Led by Portes and Rumbaut (2000) the first survey took place in 1993. It encompassed 5,262 youngsters between the ages of 9 and 14 in Miami and San Diego. The same samples - excepting cases lost through attrition - were interviewed on two subsequent occasions in 1995 and 2000. In addition to those surveys, the study included several ethnographic modules intended to provide an in-depth understanding of issues behind the quantitative findings. The CILS database should be sufficient for my research because it includes data about Caribbean black immigrants from various socio-economic statuses, genders and ages. The sample is large enough for my analysis to provide a relevant answer to the question I raise concerning Caribbean black youths. Caribbean blacks who retain a more immigrant persona will have higher aspirations and expectations than if they develop a more stereotypical black American self-identification.

Overview

Past studies concerning the assimilation of European immigrants tended to focus on their linear assimilation into American society. The recent analysis of Asian, Caribbean and Latin American immigrants has provided evidence that there may be more than one mode of assimilation into American culture (Rambaut, 2000, 1). The tracking of Caribbean black youth shows how the educational attainment of immigrants can diverge in the school system and how friendship networks help reinforce characteristics of upward or downward mobility. Lower resource allocation and negative teacher reception to Caribbean blacks helps to explain why these individuals may be at a disadvantage when compared to other children.

The segmented assimilation of Caribbean blacks shows how immigrant identification can diverge into three distinct groups such as immigrant, hyphenated-American, and American. Cultural retention highlights the importance of human capital and intra-group support networks as it is maintained through the dense connections within immigrant groups. New knowledge can be added to the literature analyzing the self-identification of Caribbean blacks and its impact on their socio-economic aspirations and expectations. For if it is true that most descendants of today's immigrants will eventually assimilate into American society, it still makes a great deal of difference whether they do so by ascending into the ranks of a prosperous middle-class or join in large numbers the ranks of a racialised, permanently impoverished population at the bottom of society (2005, 6).

Positives and Negatives to Caribbean Black Integration

Alexander, Dauber and Entwisel (1996) discuss the tendency for minority students to be at the bottom of the educational hierarchy during the middle school years (1996: 292). Their data, taken from the Beginning School Study (BBS), a longitudinal study of schoolchildren in Baltimore, revealed that once middle school youth were tracked into the lower tiered classes in middle school they were unlikely to get out of these less rigorous paths. The educational track in which an immigrant youth is placed can have a profound impact on their future aspirations for upward mobility because a placement in a low level can be detrimental to future gains because of the skills these students will lack as opposed to individuals in a higher track. While white students tended to take advanced English and mathematics courses, blacks were not as likely to be in these classes. In many cases it seems that Caribbean black youth are viewed as native blacks, which causes them to face the same type of discrimination that is facing non-Caribbean blacks.

Another issue that Caribbean blacks have to deal with is that unlike past immigrants of the 1890s and 1920s who were able to integrate into the general white population due to their European background, they will be unable to attain such a smooth transition. Their success at achieving whiteness underscores, of course, that the Irish, Jews, and Italians, despite the racism that greets them, were not on the same plane as African Americans in the first place (1999, 15). In the case that Caribbean blacks are housed with native blacks, the likelihood for them to retain their ethnic difference may decrease as they could be socialised in neighborhoods with lower class blacks. The additional discrimination and marginalisation that Caribbean blacks will endure due to the pigmentation of their skin puts them at a distinct disadvantage from all new immigrants to the United States.

Crosnoe and Elder (2003) discuss how friends with academic striving are more important to blacks than whites due to black parents generally having less knowledge about the educational system than white parents. Usually white parents tend to have more comfortable interactions with school personnel than black parents. While friends with academic strivings are important to both black and white youth, white children tend to have more resources available to them such as parents with affluent friends exposing them to a broad vocabulary. White children also tend to have better cognitive skills when entering elementary school as compared to blacks and they have a greater chance to engage in culturally enhancing activities such as visits to museums.

In addition to friends with academic strivings being more important to blacks, the ability to socialise with upwardly mobile white students is of huge importance to Caribbean blacks incorporation into American society. The opportunity for Caribbean blacks to live in white neighborhoods is a huge factor, which could lead to their ability to progress to greater socio-economic heights. This residential assimilation is likely to have a particularly strong impact on the next generations, since children are more dependent on, and therefore susceptible to, the influences exerted by their local environments than are adults (1999, 16). Due to the massive discrimination toward native blacks of all socio-economic levels in terms of residential segregation, the opportunity for Caribbean blacks to integrate white neighborhoods is unlikely due to most whites assuming Caribbean blacks are native blacks on a whole.

Waters' (1994) study of West Indian youth in New York City underscores the significance of segmented assimilation for Afro-Caribbeans. A black American identity is one of the most common identities appropriated among these youths, and there is a link between identity and social-class trajectory, with a black American identity the option favored by

youths apparently heading into the lower class (1999, 18). The main way for Caribbean blacks to have the opportunity for upward mobility is to have the chance to live with upwardly mobile whites in most cases. This is not to say that there are no upwardly mobile black groups, but that the likelihood of finding an upwardly mobile group would be contained within a white neighborhood. In most cases when immigrant blacks are housed with native blacks the effects will be more pejorative than positive due to the lower socio-economic standing of most native blacks when compared to whites.

Given that white youth have a better starting point than blacks in the education system, "academic enclaves" are more beneficial to black students than to white students. *Academic enclaves* are the weak and strong ties connecting upwardly mobile students to each other. These ties reinforce their pursuit of educational goals and aspirations. Most of these enclaves are cultivated during summer enrichment programs and they function as an extended friendship network for youth. By age 24, twenty-five percent of Haitian and West Indian-origin youths were weighed down by children in addition to their severe difficulties in finding employment and achieving incomes above the poverty level (2005, 28).

In the cases where black youth may not have parents who are supporting their educational strivings the individuals in these groups may act as a substitute or help to bolster the positive reinforcement provided by parents. Future analysis of *academic enclaves* may show that individuals who have numerous relationships in these networks may be more successful than others without these connections. Young people who have attained a college degree or higher seldom do time in prison; those who dropped out or did poorly in school commonly do (2005, 35).

Children of Immigrants Data Analysis

Research Hypothesis

Caribbean Black youths that retain an ethnic identity will probably have higher socio-economic aspirations and expectations than those who self-identify as Americans or hyphenated Americans.

Conceptual Variables

I am interested in testing the relationship between a Caribbean black youth's self-identification as either immigrant or Americanised and their corresponding socio-economic expectations and aspirations. The three different independent variable classifications utilised in the data analysis section of this study for Caribbean blacks in the United States will be the

following: immigrant (ex. Jamaican), hyphenated-American (ex. Jamaican-American), and American (Black American or Black). The dependent variables will be socio-economic expectations and aspirations, which will be determined by an individual's immigrant or Americanised classification. For both the independent and dependent variables I will be examining them at the individual level. Of the various ethnic categories included in the CILS study three were included in my research, which were Haitians, Jamaicans and West Indians. These three groups represented 8.54% of the total CILS population studied.

Other researchers tended to look at broad themes within the entire Caribbean black group without looking at the variations within the different sets in this group, which is what I shall do with my examination of the data. The unit of analysis used will be individual 14-year-old students from the eighth and ninth grades studied in the first Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) study. All of the Caribbean blacks studied will be from the Miami/Ft. Lauderdale, Florida and San Diego, California areas.

Data Set and Operational Definitions of the Variables

I will be using the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), for my data set. My independent variable will be measured by the degree of a Caribbean black's Americanised or immigrant identification on how they self-identify based on question seventy-eight taken from the 1991 CILS questionnaire. I will qualify someone as Caribbean black if one of his or her parents were born in the Caribbean. Students are not coded differently if they were born in the Caribbean or if they were not for my study. I do not make any distinctions between Caribbean black youth born abroad or in the United States because I only want to find out if individuals with a Caribbean background have different socio-economic expectations and aspirations based on their self-identification.

Overall this study showed that one's self-identification had an impact on an individual's aspirations and expectations. There seemed to be a tendency for immigrant self-identifying Caribbean blacks to be shielded from some of the stigma and hardships associated with native blacks in the United States. Among interesting developments of the study was the emergence of the Caribbean-American and West Indian-American persona which seemed to allow certain Caribbean groups to find greater comfort in identifying under a more encompassing image of self. The two cases analyzed in this study showed that individuals with Caribbean/West Indian-American personas tended to do quite well when compared to other individuals in this research project. In the future a study on the aspirations and expectations of Caribbean black immigrants solely and their offspring

could be analyzed on a larger scale which could provide even more data for analysis concerning the avenues of assimilation for this relatively new group of American immigrants.

Children of Immigrants Ethnographic Research Module

Background

The ethnographic narratives to be discussed in these pages were gleaned from interviews conducted during the month of August 2002 for the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS). This in-depth interviewing research was held in Miami, Florida and 55 participants in the original study formed this sub-sample. This research utilises the interviews of 19 individuals of Caribbean, Hispanic and African-American origin.

Sample Characteristics

The majority of the accounts to be presented in this chapter have an over-representation of Jamaican and Haitian individuals due to my research being focused on the experiences of Caribbean blacks in America. The individuals included in this research reflected the qualities of the broader sample. The interviews conducted in 2002 were between one and two hours each. Fernandez-Kelly developed a coding instrument in 1995, which was used for the interviews conducted, saving both time and money. Every section in that report included an interview summary, an examination of major themes, and a comparison with other interviewees. The coding instrument was designed to enable a rapid identification of major topical strands and patterns emerging from interview comparison. This technique is in correspondence with broader expectations of qualitative research, whose main purpose is to uncover similarities and differences in the narratives articulated by informants (2002, 3-4). The real names of the participants have been replaced with fake names in the interviews presented in order to protect the subjects and some alterations have been made in order to protect their identities.

Methodological Approach

The ethnographic researchers conducting the interviews in this study utilised safeguards such as: the cross-referencing of narratives, the inclusion of main sample characteristics in the ethnographic sub-sample, and reliance on the extended case method. Ethnographic research methods were critiqued in the 1970s and 1980s only to be revived by the 1992 publication by Michael Burawoy, *Ethnography Unbound*. His work focused on researchers using in-depth interviewing and making theoretical assumptions. He also critiqued the shortcomings of quantitative research methods.

Overall this work marked a profound turning point in the respect and usage of qualitative methods in the field of sociology.

Final Thoughts: Caribbean Blacks

The lives of the individuals interviewed seemed to follow the trajectory of earlier analysis, as those with greater means or higher socio-economic status during youth tend to do better as adults. In the analysis of the segmented assimilation of the Caribbean blacks presented, their socio-economic status tended to lessen as these individuals had a more Americanised view of themselves which also tainted the way they viewed the world. While the information gleaned from these in-depth interviews is quite revealing. A much broader sample would need to be conducted in order for more conclusive results to be obtained.

Conclusion

This research based on the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study has been beneficial in a myriad of ways. It has shown that there is some importance in how an individual identifies him/herself in regard to an Americanised or more immigrant persona. Throughout the research the importance of a respondent's socio-economic standing and gender were important. Due to the majority of the individuals being female and hailing from wealthy to lower-middle class homes, it is not surprising that the aspirations and expectations were so high.

Most telling was the information to be obtained from the ethnographic research conducted by Professor Patricia Fernandez-Kelly, William Haller, Lisa Konczal, and Salih Omar Eissa during the third wave of CILS. These interviews provided an incredibly in-depth look into the lives and backgrounds of the participants in this study. It was quite noticeable that the trend of those identifying as immigrant tended to be from the solidly middle-class. And those in the hyphenated-American and black American categories had lower socio-economic standing. A hypothesis about this development is that individuals hailing from better homes had parents who had the means to instill the values they wanted for their children, while having the means to make sure they could stay within the Caribbean culture enclave. Those parents without the means to support of their children, put them more at risk to be associated with native blacks and low class co-ethnics whom they lived with.

Hopefully future research will be conducted on these voluntary black immigrants to the United States. Another study of this kind with a larger Caribbean black population will hopefully be able to generate more conclusive results than those obtained in this study. Although this study did

not produce significant differences between immigrant and more Americanised blacks, the general trends indicated that one's closer affiliation to an immigrant identity bolstered one's chances of elevated aspirations and expectations.

As long as Caribbean blacks migrate to the United States they will be lumped within the native black group residentially due to external forces such as housing segregation, discrimination, etc. It is up to these individuals to do whatever is necessary to ensure that their children remember where they came from in order to stop them from being socialised by the lower class blacks they will probably be forced to live with. Hopefully they will have the means to ensure that their children will join the ranks of the growing black middle class, which contains both immigrant and native blacks.

THE PURPOSE OF THE KHOISAN RESURGENCE

The Khoisan Social Political Movement

Introduction

In recent times a few efforts were made to bring together what was termed the First Nations of the Khoisan, namely, the Nama, the Basters, the San, the Griekwa, and the Coloureds in a political block alliance in Namibia. This move was spearheaded by the late Mr Hans Diergaardt of the Rehoboth Basters and it was intended to be a political block against political domination by a numerically strong South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO).

These efforts failed to lift off seemingly because they were made for the wrong reason and because they sought an alliance rather than a true unity.

During 2005, however, the Khoisan Social Political Movement was formed for the following historical, social and political reasons amongst others.

The Khoisan having occupied the south western part of the continent faced the brunt of the colonial onslaught of West European powers beginning as early as 500 years ago. Their armed resistance was also the most tenacious stretching over a period of 400 years.

However, the price they paid was enormous and tragic. They were eventually driven over the Orange River by settler encroachment and systematic expropriation by the colonial state; the rest of their kin found themselves in semi-bondage in South Africa; they were fragmented into Coloured, Nama, Baster, Griekwa and San; the vastly greater number were 'deculturalised' both as official policy and by a degenerate social value

system in which to be white held an absolute advantage. The original language of Nama was lost to this majority.

European imperialism relentlessly pursued them into Namibia where they made a final stand over a period of 20 years. The last tribes were disarmed during the 1920s: the Bondelswartz in the April 1922 massacre at Warmbad, and the Basters in 1925. What was left of their vast lands was reduced to a number of patches of land in which some Khoisan still owned land while the vast majority were employed in the cities and on settler farms. Some of these patches were in the Western Province, Amandelboom and Williston; Schietfontein; De Tuin; Leliefontein; Komagas; Concordia; Pella; Steinkopf; Richtersveld; Griqualand West; Phillippolis. In the Eastern Cape, Kat-River Land, and in Natal, Griqualand East.

The Khoisan suffered a number of additional insults and expropriations at the hands of western imperialism. Perhaps the crudest and greatest insult of all was when they put the preserved body of Saartjie Baardman on display in a Paris Museum. Besides the mineral rights in the land they also took to appropriating Khoisan intellectual property: rock paintings – many of great artistic value – such as the so-called White Lady of the Brandberg.

Khoisan Intellectual Property Expropriated

The rock engravings at the Brandberg, for example, draw 2000 visitors per day in the high season and at least 50 in the low season, according to surveys conducted on tourism.

A vast number of herbal remedies were also appropriated with no permission or compensation.

Visiting the so-called Bushman Art Shop in Windhoek's main thoroughfare reveals the extent to which the San had suffered under the expropriation of their intellectual property. On almost any day of the year this shop is crowded with tourists paying high prices for San artefacts and pieces of art, prints of San art on T-shirts, books, etcetera. Yet, while their intellectual property rakes in tens, if not millions of dollars for others, San communities in Southern Africa are in crises of eviction, extreme poverty and social disintegration.

The question must now be posed, what is the Khoisan and why the Khoisan? The Khoisan are all those who have a common Nama and/or San ancestry. That ancestry establishes their inalienable heritage to the struggle against their expropriation. They need their cultural identity to resurge as the mighty force that they once were and which they indeed still potentially are, this time to contribute to the true freedom of the whole

of Africa. This power is necessary to stem social degeneration and to re-establish the Khoisan as an equal people and to restore their rights.

Khoisan cultural development is said to stretch over an unbroken period of 40,000 years and the language is considered in academic circles to be one of the most complex. Its reclamation is therefore of the utmost importance for our contribution to world culture.

An example of the tragedy of the Khoisan

The irony, tragedy and full potential of the Khoisan people is reflected in extracts from a report of the Administrator of the then South West Africa to the South African Prime Minister on the Bondelzwarts Rising, 1922:

1. Before proceeding with the details of the matters connected with the recent Bondelzwarts Rising, I may be permitted to give a few particulars on the history of the tribe.
2. The Bondelzwarts are a tribe of Orlams Hottentots inhabiting the extreme southern portion of this territory, between the Karasbergen in the north, the Fish River in the east, the mountains of the Orange River in the south and the European part of the Warmbad district in the east.
3. They originally came from the Cape, and like all Orlams, are not pure Hottentot, but have an admixture of white blood in their veins. They crossed the Orange River probably about the end of the 18th century and settled in what is now the Warmbad district.
4. Since their settlement in this country they have been continually engaged in warfare, at first with other native tribes and latterly with the German Government on many occasions during the last 30 years.
5. ……
6. They are a very warlike and independent race with little respect for the European: so much so that their manner has always been described by Europeans who have come in contact with them as very insolent.
7. ……
8. At the time of the arrival of Union troops in the country this tribe was found in occupation of a reserve, the boundaries of which are shown on the accompanying map. The Reserve comprises an area of 174,504 hectares, and was reassigned to the Bondelzwarts under the terms of a Treaty concluded between themselves and the German authorities at the close of the last big rebellion in 1906.

9. This tribe has associates in the neighbouring portion of the Cape, in particular in that part of Namaqualand known as the Richtersveld, an inhospitable tract of country which has always been the refuge of fugitives from the law.
10. With the close of the Rebellion against the German Government certain leaders of the Bondelzwarts were proscribed from further residence in this Territory and betook themselves to the north-western portion of the Cape, where many of them found employment in the copper mines and amongst the farmers. Chief amongst these people were Jacobus Christian and Abraham Morris, each with a fairly large following.
11. ……

Mention must be made of the allegation about the warlike nature of the tribe. While much of the report sounds objective and true, these distortions of justifiable resistance as being warlike were clearly meant to justify the eventual massacre.

The report then goes on to explain the circumstances of the eventual return of Christian and Morris with their following to their land. They made various representations to the Union Government until eventually they were allowed back onto their land.

The South West African administration and the settlers now pursued a policy of driving the people off their land and onto the settler farms. The report continues:

> On the occasion of my visit to the South during February, 1921, I had a meeting with the leaders and the people of the tribe at Gabis Mission Station in the Reserve, where there were about 200 of them congregated. Various matters were brought to my notice by them, chiefly the alleged encroachment on the Reserve by Europeans, and the poverty of the people. I explained our laws to them, and that it was their duty to contribute to the development of the Territory by taking service flight to Namibia.

In 1998, the communities of the Richtersveld took the South African Government and a state owned diamond company, Alexkor Limited, to court for restitution of land and mineral rights. The community was dispossessed of a strip of diamondiferous land in the mid 1920s after the discovery of diamonds there.

The case was decided on 29th April, 2004, in the Land Claims Court of South Africa. Both land and mineral rights of the community were restored.

This victory, undoubtedly, together with the return of Saartjie Baardman must be regarded as the beginning of the resurgence of the Khoisan or at least as significant signs of a consequential policy to resurrect the best traditions and properties of the Khoisan.

Our slogan is, without the resurgence and the full restoration of the Khoisan, Africa cannot be free. This is not just a grandiose or melodramatic slogan, but the Khoisan have the skill, the cultural heritage and the tenacity as an indispensable part of the restoration of Africa.

The entire tragedy of Africa is embodied in the systematic erosion of the Khoisan social fabric. But, its hope lies in the grand scheme to restore the mighty Khoisan.

Prepared and written by the Khoisan Social Political Movement
P.O. BOX 20765
Windhoek
Cell: 081 242 5776

References

Namibia Scientific Society. 1997. Namibiana

Van Coller, C.A. 1922. Report of the Administrator on the Bondelzwarts Rising, 1922. Pretoria: Government Printers

PAN-AFRICANISM AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA AND ITS DIASPORA

TOWARDS AFRICAN INTEGRATION THROUGH LANGUAGE: A PAN-AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE JUXTAPOSED WITHIN THE AFRICAN RENAISSANCE

Becky R.K. Ndjoze-Ojo

Introduction

> African Integration is a state of mindsets.
> Those who advocate it,
> *Must practise it!*

This paper proceeds on the hypothesis that Language is a powerful tool that could effectively be used to revive and practicalise Pan-Africanism, enhance African Renaissance and thereby contribute to the numerous efforts aimed at achieving African Integration. The paper while recognizing tremendous strides made by politicians towards African Integration, especially at governance levels, nevertheless, posits that these efforts have not been appropriately and adequately reciprocated at academic levels.

On the premise that there is little or no academic reciprocity, particularly as far as the role of Language in African Integration is concerned, this paper seeks to adopt Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance as key concepts at achieving African Integration, provided these concepts are laced with, enhanced and strengthened by relevant linguistic research into Language as a possible powerful tool to foster unity within and beyond national boundaries, at regional and eventually at continental level.

Furthermore, it is argued that Language, in spite of its unique quality, has been relegated to the background and consequently has not been appropriately tapped to strengthen efforts aimed at achieving African

Integration. The paper urges all African Teachers of Language and Literature (ATOLL) together with the AAS and/or other student bodies to embark on relevant research into cross-border languages to determine how much integration through Language for entrepreneurial, trade and/or other purposes is currently taking place, and to suggest ways of how best these activities can be encouraged and promoted and thereby help promote African Integration. These observations could then be formalized to build bridges and cross-institutional research capacity and thereby promote academic discourse appropriate for African Integration.

From its title and as introduced, this paper is a conglomeration of complex concepts, which are often regarded as appropriately the exclusive terrain of the seasoned African politician rather than an accomplished African intellectual. It is this perception that this paper sets out to address and redress.

The content of the paper is *African Integration* through *Language* whereas its context is *Pan-Africanism* as strengthened and enhanced by *African Renaissance.* These concepts need exemplification. This paper, therefore attempts to uncover, lay bare and demystify these concepts. Such demystification, it is argued, will lead to practical application and utilization of these concepts to resolve some of the key problems facing the African continent today and beyond.

Exemplification of Concepts: What is –

Language?

Language is the subject matter of linguistics as studied by linguists.

Linguistics is defined as *the systematic and scientific study of language*. Linguistics describes language in all its aspects and on the basis of that description *formulates theories as to what language is, and how it works* (cf. Crystal 1975, Chomsky 1977, Aitchison 1978).

Language defined from a linguistics point of view is a systematic means of communication that is facilitated by an innate cognitive process, namely the Language Acquisition Device (LAD). The LAD enables native speakers of languages to produce and understand an infinite number of sentences never said and/or heard before. It is this mental faculty, capacity and cognitive power that distinguishes Homo sapiens from other animals (cf. Noam Chomsky). It is this distinguishing feature that takes language beyond its cognitive domain to become a socio-economic and politico-cultural tool that has the greatest potential to make or mar integration between and among various speech communities within or among nations. African Integration is no exception, and language is central to achieving it.

Moreover, relevant research into Language, particularly into cross border languages, has shown that there is a relationship between language and integration. It is asserted that the very features that lead to linguistic integration, peace and stability are the very features that could lead to linguistic disintegration, wars, and instability. The most important ingredient however, depends on how the sensitivities around language issues, especially at the cross borders are handled politically and intellectually. Therefore, the intellectual cannot be exempted nor exonerated from his/her responsibility in this regard.

In line with the particular focus of this paper, Language is presented as one of those tools that has been either relegated to the background and/or not appropriately researched into, to help facilitate the process of African Integration. African Integration is crucial. In fact, where there is disintegration there is conflict. African Integration is, therefore, the key to conflict resolution, to politico-cultural tensions and conflict management; and to socio-economic integration characterised by entrepreneurial activities, leading to political stability, prosperity and eventually genuine and practical African Integration.

However, with particular reference to the focus of this paper the definition of language goes beyond the "purely" linguistic perspective to accommodate the extended meaning whereby language is seen as an instrument and/or vehicle that can inherently play a pivotal role in the socio-economic and politico-cultural development of Africa. It is on the basis of this pivotal role that this paper argues for a synergy between language and each of the above-mentioned concepts. Conclusive remarks to this effect are made in its conclusion.

African Integration?

African integration presupposes disintegration. This disintegration is best perceived within the context of the Berlin Conference of 1884 when the African continent was sliced like a chocolate cake. Following the Berlin Conference of 1884 Africa was sliced into a cake with territorial boundaries abstractly determined and as a result many linguistic communities were destroyed as brothers and sisters, cousins and nieces found themselves belonging to different countries. This is a situation at the behest of the colonial masters that has led to many a conflict in Africa. The endless civil wars and cross border conflicts on the African continent have been mainly as a result of these colonial borders. Consequently, African disintegration was born as African peoples began the struggle to operationalise the theoretical colonial boundaries which have little or no respect for existing practices. The Berlin Conference as we may recall, was preceded by the slave trade – the embodiment of the plunder of African human resources

- and then concluded with colonialism – the embodiment of the plunder of African material and mineral resources. The heinous system of Apartheid aimed to victimise, brutalize and abuse African people, and became the embodiment of institutionalized racism that traveled the length and breadth of the African continent, the Diaspora, the Americas, Australia, Europe etc. and wherever else its practitioners found their way.

With particular reference to language, this created a situation as in the case of Namibia; Angola; Botswana; South Africa; Zambia; Zimbabwe; Swaziland; Lesotho etc. whereby OshiKwanyama and OtjiHerero were spoken in both Angola and Namibia; SiLozi in both Namibia and Zambia; and Setswana was spoken in both Namibia and Botswana.

This has led to Postcolonial Africa beng linguistically labelled as consisting not of Africans but of Anglophones, Francophones, Lusophones and the like. A situation that has led to further entrenchment of the already existing divisions within Africa, especially as far as communication is concerned. Often African conflicts have been either tabled in Lancaster House in England for the Anglophones; in Paris, France for the Francophones and in Lisbon for the Lusophones. Today one talks of Francophone Africa, Anglophone Africa and Lusophone Africa yet in Europe one does not find equivalences such as Nigeriaphones and Ghanaphones in England; Cameroonophones in France and Kingonophones in Lisbon respectively. Instead of searching for common regional cross border languages to do business in, we have remained complacent, and often discriminated against each other and amongst ourselves as Anglophones vs Francophones vs Lusophones on the divisions laid down by our former colonial masters who ruled the waves and are still ruling us.

We have ceased to be Africans and have become *phonic* and perhaps mere *wireless phones* through which foreign languages are transmitted, languages that are barely understood by the majority of our peoples. These languages have played the instrumental roles of keeping us in check as far as our allegiances to our former colonial masters of yesteryear are concerned. This situation needs redress.

Today in Africa sovereign states are fashioned on colonial boundaries, which according to international law must be respected. The question of sovereignty is a sensitive issue that hinders real African integration. Against this background is the question of Language, which is also a sensitive issue. It is argued in this paper, that just as colonial boarders for national sovereignty are sensitive issues so is language for national identity.

Most of the former colonial territories of Africa have adopted either English or French (or Portuguese) as their official language, having had indeed very little option because of the linguistic diversity of their ter-

ritories and the difficulty of imposing any of the many indigenous languages upon the whole of the population (Le Page 1971:17 and as cited in Ndjoze-Ojo 2000:80).

An official language instrumentally performs the official functions whereas the national language, as a band of national union performs the national function (Graddol, 1997:7).

It is, therefore, possible to argue that there is need to expand the functions of national languages (if only we had national languages – do we?), as bands of national union to becoming regional languages as bands of regional integration, and eventually as bands of African integration. However, the irony is that in most cases, African countries do not have national languages. In fact, official languages adopted at independence and as quoted above, have simultaneously assumed national language status. The time is now ripe to bring on our national agendas, the national language question to the fore, and to determine the place of indigenous languages in the development of the African continent.

As introduced, this paper proceeds on the hypothesis that Language is a powerful tool that could effectively be used to revive and practicalise Pan-Africanism, and enhance African Renaissance and thereby contribute to the numerous efforts aimed at achieving African Integration. The paper, while recognizing tremendous strides made by politicians, for instance SADC; EAC; CEMAC; ECOWAS; AU and NEPAD, as relevant institutional frameworks aimed towards African Integration, especially at governance levels, nevertheless, posits that these efforts have not been appropriately and adequately reciprocated at academic levels. There is, therefore, a need to dislodge these concepts namely African Integration, Pan Africanism, African Renaissance and all related concepts from the seemingly exclusive domain of politicians to becoming relevant topics at the grassroots and to enrich them with relevant intellectual and cultural heritage, develop and promote them as academic discourse appropriate for, and relevant to bringing about genuine African unity, prosperity, peace and stability.

Pan-Africanism?

The significance of Pan-Africanism cannot be over emphasized.

Hence, Professor Kwesi Kwaa Prah (2001:7) at the Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS), writes:

> Of all the concomitant ideas, which have gone into the creation of the intellectual origins of African emancipation and freedom over the last one hundred years, none has been of similar significance as the body of ideas, which are variously described as Pan-Africanism.

In discussing the origin of Pan-Africanism, and drawing inferences from the works of Alexander Crummell, Edward Blyden, Robert Campbell, Africanus Horton and Martin Delany which he posits were crucial in providing intellectual ballast and defining the contextual parameters for African freedom and development in their times, he goes on to write (2002:7):

> It is always worthwhile remembering that these ideas, intellectually, originated from the African diaspora, and that through their propagation and infection of the minds of Africans based on the continent they set off the movement which, between 1945 and 1955, engaged the practicalities of African politics on the ground and ensured the conceptual success of the African Independence Movement. From its early beginnings in the late 18th century as a "**Back to Africa"** movement, it first saw the return and settlement of former slaves in Sierra Leone and Liberia.

That then, we argue is a vivid example of Pan- Africanism in practice. Against this background of **Back to Africa**, we in Africa today need a change of mind set and intellectual refurbishment to propel African awakening, namely African Renaissance to bear fruit that will practicalise it, as has been done during the era of Pan Africanism.

It is only then the process of decolonising the minds of Africans would have begun in earnest. In today's Africa we need another Kwame Nkrumah to steer the mind of change this time not only through Pan-Africanism (OAU), but also in tandem with African Renaissance (AU, NEPAD, AYU etc).

African Renaissance?

According to available literature African Renaissance is a concept popularised by the current South African President Thabo Mbeki in August 1998, when he was the Deputy President of South Africa under the exemplary leadership of Nelson Mandela. It is agued in this paper, that Nelson Mandela is one of the best, if not the best statesman of international repute and stature Africa has natured, nurtured and produced. It is within such an enriching atmosphere that Thabo Mbeki was able to conceptualise African Renaissance.

According to Thabo Mbeki the African Renaissance is an attempt to end the violence, elitism, corruption and poverty that seem to plague the African continent, and replace them with a more just and equitable order. Mbeki proposes doing this by, among other things, encouraging education

and the reversal of the "brain drain" of African intellectuals. He also urges Africans (led by African intellectuals) to take pride in their heritage, and to take charge of their lives (cf Mbeki, 1998:1).

It is sometimes claimed that the African Renaissance is a form of Africanist utopianism. African Renaissance, as it were, was given a boost by South African President Thabo Mbeki in 1998. However, as argued in this paper, it is not an entirely new concept but an offshoot of, and came about as aftermath of, Pan- Africanism. In fact, as Professor Kwesi Kwaa Prah writes:

> The years of Pan-Africanism were the years of euphoria in Africa. The years in which hopes of an African awakening, a renaissance, a re-generation, a re-birth were frequently trumpeted by all and sundry. The hope was that, in as little time as possible, Africa would move forward towards greater and rapid development and emancipation of her peoples.

Nonetheless, while the hopes of political emancipation culminated in political independence, economic dependence dashed the hopes of most African states of genuine political independence. Consequently and as succinctly stated by Kwesi Prah (2001:7):

> Africa went through a period in which the openly elected governments either degenerated into corrupt and inept single party dictatorships, or were often more vicious and ruthless than the civilian regimes they overthrew. Dictatorships like Idi Amin's notorious rule, Mobutu in Zaire, Marcias Nguema in Equatorial Guinea, Bokassa's fantastical absurdities, Mengistu's horrific brutalities in Ethiopia became stock examples of the gross inhumanity of African political and military leadership. All these development militated against the expected fruits of independence. It is only within the last decade that pressures, both local and international, have ensured partial restoration of democratic practice.

Today we are sitting with Darfur in the first African country to gain political independence, namely The Sudan. What are we going to do about it? The atmosphere is conducive for change. In fact, as Harsch, E. (2002:1), observes:

> Greater African unity has long been a cherished – but elusive – goal. There is now a renewed impetus to establish closer economic and political ties among the continent's numerous

> countries, based on a heightened appreciation of the need for regional integration and a clearer understanding of the reasons for past failures.

As President Thabo Mbeki (1998:1) writes:

> The time has come where we say enough, and no more and by acting to banish the shame, remake ourselves as the midwives of the African Renaissance.

These latter positive developments led to the formation of the African Union (AU) and its appropriate institutional structures such as New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD); Pan-African Youth Union (PAYU); Southern African Development Community (SADC); SADC Parliamentary Forum, and so on. Hence, African Renaissance as propagated by Thabo Mbeki.

Conclusion

In a paper entitled "Pan-African Perspectives on Southern African Transition: What makes Perspectives on South African Transition Ten Years after Apartheid, Pan-African?", I have written extensively on Pan-Africanism. Therefore, without attempting to plagiarise it, as it were, I urge you to read that paper once it is published by the African Institute of South Africa (AISA) – the book is expected very soon. In that paper attempts were made to trace the history of Pan-Africanism from Ancient Egypt 5 000 years ago when Menes ruled Upper and Lower Egypt, to the Independence of Ghana in 1957.

Professor Kwesi Kwaa Prah's tracing of the historical development of Pan-Africanism makes reference to the Trinidadian lawyer Henry Sylvester-Williams who, in 1900 at Westminster Hall, London, created and initiated the series of related events and processes founded on African nationalism, which have come down to us as the Pan-African movement as we know it in our times. The international congress, especially the Fifth Pan-African Congress which was held in Manchester in 1945 harnessed the energies and political creativity of figures like Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Julius Nyerere, George Padmore etc. who contributed immensely to the cause of colonial freedom in their respective countries. It is further noted that within ten years of Manchester, the Sudan and then Ghana gained political independence. Moreover, **Marcus Garvey** in the 1920s made black people proud of themselves and inspired Kwame Nkrumah. In fact, **Kwame Nkrumah** states in his autobiography, that:

> ... of all the literature I studied (as a student in the USA during the 1930s) the book that did more than any other to fire my enthusiasm was the Philosophy and Opinion of Marcus Garvey.

Prah argues that if Sylvester-Williams laid the foundations for this process, it was the American **W.E.B. Du Bois** whose dogged application of mind and action sustained the development of the process for almost half a century.

George Padmore in his *Pan-Africanism or Communism* (cf. Prah, 2001:7) wrote that:

> Between 1919 and 1945, Dr. Du Bois was largely responsible for the organisation of five international congresses and for formulating their programmes and strategies along the path of non-violent Positive Action. For more than thirty years, Dr. Du Bois watched over the gradual growth of the Pan-African Congress with the loving affection of a father until such time as his child had found a home on African soil.

It is therefore true, as Prah (2001:7) writes, that Pan-Africanism has its origin in the African Diaspora. However, in that paper it is Kwame Nkrumah whom I labelled as the father of Pan-Africanism on the African continent, because it is he who stated:

> The Independence of Ghana is meaningless, unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African Continent (Midnight pronouncement of Independence at Polo Ground, Accra, 5-6 March 1957).

Ghana's independence because of Kwame Nkrumah's changed mindset further affected a process for the rapid political decolonisation of Africa. Within three years, Accra had become a meeting ground for a generation of the leadership of the African Freedom Movement. Patrice Lumumba, Tom Mboya, Frantz Fanon, Julius Nyerere, Felix Moumie, Ndabaningi Sithole, Joshua Nkomo, Milton Obote, Kenneth Kaunda, Kamuzu Banda, Sekou Touré, Modibo Keita, Holden Roberto, Robert Mugabe, and Sam Nujoma amongst many others visited what has now become Accra. It was then Accra that positioned itself as one of the most significant cities of a United States of Africa as postulated by Kwame Nkrumah. Now which direction Africa!?

Two years later, in 1959 Kwame Nkrumah writes: "Africa is marching forward to freedom and no power on earth can halt her now", and he was right. In fact, the whole of the African continent is free and has been reinforced with the South African Transition on 27 April 1994 eleven years ago.

That is what is meant by practicalised Pan-Africanism. However, Pan-Africanism had a broader philosophical agenda than was accomplished. There was an economic emancipation agenda too. In fact, as Kwame Nkrumah writes: "Wherever there is economic dependence there is no freedom" (*Axioms*, p.25 as cited from *Towards Colonial Freedom*, p.17). Therefore, under the banner of Pan-Africanism, Africa must consolidate its resources to strengthen its economic base through existing frameworks such as AU and NEPAD. Nonetheless, on the whole, in that paper I argued for Pan-Africanism as an all-embracing philosophy that has a potential to deliver the goods to ordinary Africans on the African continent, and I quote (2004:7):

> Pan-Africanism in this paper is postulated as a Philosophy that has different perspectives to it. There is for instance, a historical and philosophical perspective; a socio-economic and politico-cultural perspective; and a global pragmatic perspective. A historical and philosophical perspective is the one that traces the concept of ancient Egypt through the Diaspora to Kwame Nkrumah in Africa. This perspective provides the basic framework. The socio-economic and politico-cultural perspective is the ingredient that should be juxtaposed within that basic framework to inform new strategies toward socio-economic and politico-cultural integration of Africa. The global pragmatic perspective is the one that recognises that the world has become a village. It is therefore, possible to argue that if this proposition is true, then countries have become hamlets, and cities huts, where bonfires can be shared. Pan-Africanism so defined shall broaden our horizons and enable us as Africans, and the people of African descent in the Diaspora; in the Americas, Europe and elsewhere to subscribe to the concept of Pan-Africanism as a philosophy that has the potential to inform and strengthen a particular polity aimed at changing mindsets.

Our mindsets should be changed and be re-aligned along the winds of change that are sweeping across the African continent this time around not for political emancipation, but in addition, for economic emancipation, development, prosperity and stability of the United States of Africa. It is therefore, important to always remember that:

> Pan-Africanism is a philosophy founded on revolutionary ideas. A revolutionary ideology is not merely negative. It is not a mere conceptual refutation of a dying social order, but a positive creative theory, the guiding light of the emerging social order. (*Consciencism*, p. 34)

> Furthermore, it must be understood that liberation movements in Africa, the Diaspora, the struggles of Black Power in America or in any other part of the world, can only find consummation in the political unification of Africa, the home of the black man and people of African descent throughout the world. (*The Spectre of Black Power*, 1968:14)

It is therefore important for Africa to encourage people to become closer to each other.

Pan-Africanism was inherently nurtured to strengthen the unity of Africa and its Diaspora and was later developed to bring about unity within and has succeeded. However, today there is room for improvement, and Pan-Africanism should recreate itself as it asserts its relevance in the new social order. As argued earlier, what needs changing is not Pan-Africanism per se, but its focus so that it is relevant to the critical issues of the day. In other words, Pan-Africanism ought to be made practical and relevant to the everyday life of the African people and people of African descent everywhere else in the world. In practice, African countries which subscribe to African ideals should be prepared to become homes to those wishing them to be their homes.

> The close links forged between Africans and people of African descent over half a century of common struggle should continue to inspire and strengthen us. For although the outward forms of our struggle might have changed, it remains in essence the same, a fight to the death against oppression, racism and exploitation. (*The Spectre of Black Power*, 1968:Introduction).

Moreover, it is important to remember that these are colonial boundaries. In fact, the current immigration laws are anomalous and discourage Africans to visit each other's countries. This anomaly must be fixed if African integration is to become a reality.

The Way Forward

In conclusion, what then should be the way forward?

The Spirit of Pan-Africanism as explicated above needs revival. Moreover, the African Renaissance as described above clearly provides the framework for such a revival.

The appropriate springboard to any revival is research. The continent must carry out relevant research into Language, not as a token of identity within regional and national boundaries only, but with more emphasis placed on how Language, especially on the African continent, can be profitably used to build bridges at national, regional and continental levels.

Research in both its forms is necessary; Secondary research (i.e. Library based research from existing materials); and Primary research (i.e. generic knowledge based research from primary sources through interviews, focus group discussions and other research instruments that might help facilitate the process). This paper primarily advocates the latter type of research because there is not only need to replenish meagre secondary research on Pan-Africanism and the African Renaissance in general, but particularly to replenish this from an African perspective.

How best could the observations from primary research, and in addition to existing secondary research be formalised to build bridges and cross-institutional research capacity and thereby promote academic discourse appropriate for African integration?

A possible proposition could be a step in the right direction if ATOLL can develop proposals capable of attracting funding, especially from Governmental, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's) and Civil Society Organisations (CSO's) preferably from within Africa. Within the frame of these proposals, linguists, literary critics, teachers of language and literature and all other language specialists can form research groups within and without their institutions to tackle as specific cross border language situations. The research groups could conduct research across the width and breadth of the African continent until enough empirical data and evidence are produced to help create a comprehensive database on cross border languages, particularly from a Pan-African and African Renaissance perspective. The database can then be used to inform research in various institutions of higher learning in Africa. Furthermore, educational linkages between and among African institutions could be forged to facilitate South-South cooperation.

There is, therefore, a need to set the record straight with organic as opposed to inorganic knowledge and in so doing, to re-write African history, particularly from an African vantage point. A Pan-African vantage point must have intellectual freedom at its centre. An African university should be felt everywhere and should be compatible with service to the community: for the university is and must always remain, a living, think-

ing and serving part of the community to which it belongs (cf. Kwame Nkrumah's Axioms).

Universities in SADC need to foster South-South cooperation through linkages such as existed immediately after independence to harness their meagre resources. One such milestone was the UBLS concept whereby three countries had only one University at independence namely the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (UBLS). This is an example whereby linguistic diversity was positively tapped for academic purposes. Thus creating unity within diversity.

Ladies and gentleman maybe the time is ripe for a University of SADC and/or of ECOWAS that will offer specialisations depending on the competitive advantages of its various member countries. It is now high time for the African in search of African Integration to use linguistic diversity within and without African territorial boundaries to advocate and advance African integration. In fact, the critical question remains: *What kind of African Integration is it, if we cannot communicate in a familiar African Tongue and if we are mere Anglophones, Francophones, and Lusophones with our allegiance to our former colonial masters, languages and countries rather than to ourselves?*

Research that facilitates documentation, advocacy and application aimed at practical resolution of critical issues, not as insurmountable problems but as challenges, is indispensable. Research based outcomes should involve discussion of critical issues of relevance to our daily lives. These concepts should be made to mean something tangible and practical to an ordinary African.

My contention has always been that if the world, due to globalisation, has become a global village, then cities have become villages, and villages have become hamlets where bonfires can be shared. African universities should therefore be made accessible and turned into delicious community dishes to be enjoyed by the "hamlet" dwellers. Our duty as students, political scientists and teachers of literature and language in Africa today is, therefore, to embark on research with particular reference to cross border languages. We need to do situational analyses in terms of what actually happens at the grassroots level as far as language on the borders of African countries is concerned.

Language Map

The following are key questions that could help facilitate this type of research process. For instance:

In Southern Africa, what happens between/among:

- Namibia and Botswana as far as Otjiherero and Setswana are concerned?
- Namibia and Zambia as far as Silozi is concerned?
- Botswana and South Africa as far as Setswana and Sisotho are concerned?
- South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland as far as Xhosa, Zulu, Setswana, Sisotho and Swati are concerned?
- Zimbabwe, Malawi and Mozambique as far as Shona, Chiyeyi, and Tsonga are concerned?

In East Africa, what happens between/among –

- Tanzania; Kenya; Uganda as far as Kiswahili is concerned?

In West Africa, what happens between/among –

- Nigeria, Niger, Ghana and Togo as far as Hausa and Fulfilde are concerned?
- Nigeria and Benin as far as Yoruba is concerned?
- Senegal and the Gambia as far as Wollof is concerned?

Ladies and Gentleman the list is endless, and is as long as our imaginations can run and recreate an existing reality to benefit our African people, not only as nationals of colonial boundaries but also as members of various speech communities which existed long before. These speech communities, if sustained by active primary linguistic research, could help to break down African disintegration and instead bring about African integration through language as the powerful tool to dismantle rigid colonial borders to achieve socio-economic and politico-cultural affinities as bridges to African Integration.

At the launch of one of ATOLL's publications, *Guardian of the Word*, Professor Keto Mshigeni (2001:2) quotes Nikita Krushchev of the former USSR who, in 1960 said: "...politicians are the same all over. They promise to build bridges, even where there are no rivers."

It seems to me that politicians have succeeded because the institutional structures such as OAU, AU, NEPAD, SADC, EAC, CEMAC, ECOWAS etc are political bridges, which if appropriately tapped and utilised could yield positive results.

In conclusion, therefore, I shall concur with President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa that the time has come that we as Africans say "enough and no more". There is a need to broaden our horizons in this regard,

because African *integration cannot be achieved by relying strictly on political initiatives or focusing narrowly on economic dynamics (cf. Harsch, 2002:3)*. In fact, linguistic and education dynamics are crucial to African integration. Moreover, if we are to live up to the expectations of K. Y. Amoako, Executive Secretary, ECA who wants to see *intra-African integration, not because we will garner some utopian share of world commerce, but first and foremost because it will improve our lives here. It will free up the time of African business people to do business here. It will lower costs. It will make the African consumer's plight so much more hopeful.* We thus, need re-orientation. Therefore, irrespective of our various specializations as students of Africa, we have to have our hands on deck, find a common orientation so that we remake ourselves as *midwives of the African Renaissance* for African integration through language.

It is against this background that we as students, thus the youth of Africa, political scientists and language specialists cannot be complacent but need to be proactive to conduct research in this area. It is time politicians, students, linguists, literary critics, language teachers and other language specialists found out what actually happens between our borders within and among our countries so that Pan-Africanism becomes a concept with practical application through which Africa is reborn and African renaissance is enhanced to bear fruit that positively affects the lives of real African people.

Ladies and gentlemen, the ball is in your court, and it is hoped that at the next AAS conference various papers on the issue of cross-border languages will be presented.

References

Aitchison, J. 1978. *Linguistics. Teach Yourself Books/Hodder and Stoughton*. London: David McKay Company, Inc.

Association for the Development of Education in Africa. 2001. *ADEA Newsletter*, Vol. 13, No 2.

Bankie, B.F. (ed.). 2001. *Globalising Africans – Towards the 7th Pan-African Congress: A Collection of Letters, Minutes, Notes, Reports and other Papers*. CASAS Book Series No.14. South Africa.

Crystal, D. 1971. *Linguistics*. London: Penguin Books.

Du Bois, W.E.B. 1946. *The World and Africa*. New York: International Publishers.

Harlech-Jones, B. et al. 2001. *Guardian of the Word: Literature, Language and Politics in SADC Countries*. Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan.

http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mbeki/1998/tm0813.html

http://www.coe.ohio-state.edu/beverlygordon/834/mbole.html_

http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Congress/3781/forum.htm

http://www.sahrc.org.za/celebrate_africa_day.htm

http://www.uneca.org/eca_resources/ecainthenews/africa_recovery.html

Langley, J.A. 1973. *Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa 1900-1945*. London: Oxford University Press.

Lemelle, S. 1992. *Pan-Africanism for Beginners*. London: Writers and Readers Publishing.

Lyons, J. and N. Chomsky. 1977. *A Brief Introduction to the Works and Ideas of Chomsky*. Fontana.

Mandela, N. 1990. *No Easy Walk to Freedom*. Johannesburg: Heinermann.

Mazrui, A.A. *Comparative terror from Shaka to Sharon: Revolutionary, Racial, Religious and State Violence.*

Ndjoze-Ojo, B.R.K. 2004. "Pan-African Perspectives on South African Transition: What Makes Perspectives on South African Transition Ten Years after Apartheid, Pan-African?" Paper presented at the international conference *South Africa: Ten Years After Apartheid*, 24-26 March 2004, Pretoria, South Africa.

Ndjoze-Ojo, B.R.K. 2000. In: *Education in Perspective: A Commemorative Publication on Namibia's Tenth Anniversary of Independence*. Windhoek: Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology.

Nkrumah, G. et al. 2004. *African Renaissance: Africa and Arabia – Co-operation or Conflict?*, Vol. 1, No 1. Cape Town

Nkrumah, K. 1967. *Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah*. London: Panaf Books.

Nujoma, S. 2001. *Where Others Wavered: The Autobiography of Sam Nujoma*. London: Panaf Books.

Ofuatey-Kodje, W. 1985. *Pan-Africanism: New Directions in Strategy*. New York: University Press of America.

Padmore. G. 1956. *Pan-Africanism or Communism: The Coming Struggle for Africa.* London: Dennis Dobson.

Prah, K.K. 1998. *Beyond the Colour Line: Pan-Africanist Disputations, Selected Sketches, Letters, Papers and Reviews.* Trenton: Africa World Press.

Roger, T. 1981. *An Introduction to Applied Linguistics: Approaches and Methods in Language Teaching*. Batsford Academic and Educational.

FROM IMHOTEP TO THE INTERNET: HONOUR THEIR ASHES, FOLLOW THEIR FLAMES

Manga Clem Marshall

To all our children born and unborn
Seeds of our Ancestors in glorious return!

I know from my own schooling how curriculum can hurt or heal a Black child's soul. Some of my early classes were an exercise in humiliation, shackling me to the stigma of forced servitude. On other rare occasions I dared to hope, inspired by events like Haiti's 10, 000 freedom fighters' spectacular defeat of France's 60, 000 veteran terrorists abetted by their tyrannical, genocidal cousins from England and Spain. In my Caribbean classes, at that time, only one teacher, Norman Cameron, a scholar in our ancestral tradition of computation who was awarded the ***Mathematical Tripos*** at Cambridge University, pointed our awakening minds towards Kemet, the 'ancient Egypt' of our history books (Eglash, 1999; Carruthers, 1995).[1]

Today as teachers, and **each one must teach one** what we are blessed enough to learn, we have greater resources at hand. Pan-Afrikanists can source Afrikan inspiration, quite literally, from Imhotep our multi-genius Ancestor, pioneer of medicine, mathematics and architecture to popular inventions in medicine and the Internet today (Ejeckam, 1977; Asante & Abarry, 1996).[2] Laser eye surgery was birthed from the fertile mind of an Afrikan ophthalmologist born in the USA, Dr. Patricia Bath. Another contemporary genius, Dr. Mark Dean at Stanford University, in California, is one of the inventors of the IBM personal computer, today's ubiquitous PC. When we use a touch tone telephone, call waiting, send a document by a portable fax, decide on taking a call based on caller ID or can hear an overseas voice clearly because of modern fibre optics, we owe our comfort

to another Afrikan woman, Dr. Shirley Jackson of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the world-famous MIT.

It is not accidental that these achievements of Afrikans, both ancient and modern, are so carefully hidden from public view. What is particularly significant is that such obscurity occurs in the midst of the USA, the nation whose residents have the best access to the most information in this touted 'information age'. Not surprisingly, those forces that steal our songs or dances are also out to rob us of status for our creativity and eventually the wealth that flows from our generous gifts. A world permitted to see Afrikans as we really are, in the light of our diverse accomplishments, would find it harder to digest the daily doses of defamation that flow from print, radio and screen. Making our reality a reality for the world, then, becomes a primary task for our educators. Since we also know that the love of learning is the engine of education, we serve Pan-Afrikanism best when we study and introduce positive curriculum content to counter-balance the weight of negative spin in popular culture. That approach encourages learners to fall in love with loving Afrika and putting the human rights of the earth's first humans **first** again.

Pan-Afrikanism is a specific treatment for a specific complaint. At humanity's dawn our biology no doubt determined our looks. Over time, many if not most members of those groups that do not have hair, features or skin like ours, have grown accustomed to treating our looks like a Nazi pink triangle or yellow star, signs that mark us for extermination, persecution and abuse. Facing these harsh truths is not to deny another inescapable, triumphant reality. It is that Afrikans are still here, having survived unthinkable degradation and the inhumane beings that fed it with their brain, flesh and blood. It is a reasonable assumption that centuries of seasoning under the gun, being always fully alert, living as targets because of our culture, our features, hair and skin, have forged a unique collective response to collective trauma as well as the internalization of that response. The specific space, therefore, where we stand out and stand up, alone and unbowed, is where understanding Pan-Afrikanism begins but does not end.

Pan-Afrikanist curricula, therefore, aim to re-Afrikanize a specific, global group de-Afrikanized through a process of dispersal, dispossession, depopulation and dehumanization. Within the Pan-Afrikanist framework, learners rediscover the intensity, integrity and necessity of engineering or embracing uniquely Black experiences. In my experience it is inside those significant spaces for self-reflection and collective exploration of parallel realities that we forge the tools for ensuring our survival and ongoing evolution. We Pan-Afrikanists are convinced that The Creator made no mistakes in creating us **first** and loving us for the **longest** time, among all the

families of human beings on this earth. Therefore, we can also be confident of following divine example in reminding ourselves and the world to love Afrikans singly or as a group wherever we happen to be born.

The title of this paper, ***From Imhotep to the Internet: Honour their Ashes, Follow their Flames,*** pays tribute to our great thinkers, teachers, defenders, martyrs and prophets. We can stand taller today because a monument sculpted by our Ancestors 'Hor-em-Akhet', 'Horus-Rising-in-the-Morning' or 'Abu Hol', 'the Sphinx' to awe-struck Greeks, still gazes into the horizon across the Afrikan desert after ten thousand years.[3] Pan-Afrikanists can also be proud of PanAfrika's fearless freedom-fighting children (as opposed to child soldiers) who marched unarmed against bullies with horses, dogs and machine-guns from British Brixton to the Ku Klux Klan's Birmingham, Alabama; from Steve Biko's Soweto to the Black Panthers' Watts; and from ***Black Power*** rallies in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad to ***Black Power*** protests in Toronto and Montreal (Biko, 1986; Cleaver & Katsiaficas, 2001; Gosine, 1986; Walker, 1980).[4]

Our task in designing curricula is complicated today because, while most colonizers or enslavers no longer subjugate us directly, their words and images can still paralyze our will and effectively colonize far too many Afrikan minds. Self-alienating vocabularies devalue our history or collective achievements in our speech, writing and thoughts (Wilson, 1998).[5] We use **slavemaster** where **terrorist** better describes his deeds. We call free Afrikans **slaves** for being held as **hostages** by thugs, robbers and rapists. Generally, those of us who study and teach still regurgitate, with major or minor adjustments, dubious 'truths' we were taught and imbibed in our youth. In my case, many of those manufactured 'truths' include distortions of Afrikan experience embedded inside bibliographic references in the European languages through which I filter my ideas. In the USA, journalist Ida B. Wells, a generation ago, identified the virus of defamation that creeps into our 'lifestream' as a product of "the white man's misrepresentations …in the public libraries and college textbooks of the land" (Wells, 1970: 5).[6]

Operationally, the world treats us as lesser human beings for being Afrikan. Because I am Black and male, I, like my brothers across the globe, am incubated under suspicion and live with it until I pass on (Harper, 1996; Pinkney, 1994; Porter, 1997).[7] "Black males", writes a psychologist, "are more likely than males of any other race to be viewed as troublemakers and to be harassed by police" (Wright, 2000: 232)[8]. In everyday situations, from crossing borders, registering at hotels or just doing business at a bank, we must repeatedly prove that we are not criminal, immoral, unintelligent or of otherwise questionable social worth (Walker, 1980: 32; McIntyre,

1993: ii).[9] Our mothers and sisters live under ubiquitous threat of disrespect and attack as well. The stress of daily existence for most people of Afrikan ancestry makes it vital for us to read our environment with meticulous accuracy, scrupulously consider our "presentation of self" and prepare to defend that self at all times and costs (Goffman, 1959:13).[10]

On Meaning in Curriculum

When I use **Afrikan** or **Black**, **Asian**, **European** or **White** in this present exploration of ideas, I am not referring to present geographically or politically ethnicized or racialized locations, even where a present location is perceived by a group as its permanent home. I am referring to ancestry. In piecing together my memories or learning of our fractured collective history, it becomes increasingly clear to me that when strangers wandered uninvited into Afrika ages ago, they fell in love with our way of life but certainly not with **us.** That's not unlike today, where the Eurasian world grooves to a Black beat while remaining largely hostile or indifferent to the suffering of the Afrikans who produce it.

Hence, today, peoples from many other lands, who identify with those lands and put their own group's interests first, are also born **in** Afrika but not **of** Afrika. However, we also inhabit a world where Europeans, Arabs, Jews, Japanese, Indians or Chinese, for example, still do not treat Afrikans born, resident or just passing through their lands, operationally, as humans at par. In a contemporary St. Patrick's Day Parade in Ireland, the parade's Queen, "Tara Heckster, who is half-Irish, half-Black-Nigerian, was the target of a number of racial epithets" (Heinrich, 2004).[11]

Natural justice and logic demand, therefore, that Afrika remain the irrefutable refuge of her First Nations in the same way that the world's major powers defend Israel as a refuge for Jewish people, Europeans who have also faced extermination as Afrikans continue to do today. Just as Europe, operationally, is run by Europeans for Europeans; India by Indians for Indians and China by Chinese for Chinese, "Afrika", in the prophetic words of Marcus Garvey, must be "for Afrikans at home and abroad."

Based on the concept of common ancestry, I employ **anti-Kemetic** (where 'Kemet' symbolizes an inclusive ancestral Afrikan origin and experience) to describe the broad spectrum of beliefs, attitudes, behaviour, customs, practices and laws that undermine Afrikan dignity or threaten our humanity anywhere in the world (Marshall, 2005: 65).[12] **negro**, written with an uppercase 'N' or not, is treated here (like **kaffir, munt**, **galla**, **native**, **pygmy**, **bushman**, **abd**) as a pejorative, negatively charged or inaccurate descriptor of Afrikan peoples (Powell, 1979; Moore, 1992).[13]

Who are we? For half of human history, before anyone else appeared, Afrikans knew the earth as our home. Vibrant colours enrich paintings on the walls of many ancient caves and show us celebrating the spectacular generosity and grandeur of the gift Nature made to us. **Who marked us and targeted us for abuse?** That beginning comes a long time before the appearance of Habiru peoples (Hebrews or Arabs), Persians, Romans or Greeks. The record of a very early attempt at de-Afrikanization identifies the perpetrators as a people called "Hyksos [Shepherd Peoples]" (Finch, 1999; Diop, 1974).[14] However, their personal lives and deeds remain in as much shadow as the trails of many major apartheid criminals remain today (Khoisan, 2003).[15]

Why must we retell our own stories? Martin Luther King's inspiring, "I have a dream" and the ***Civil Rights Movement*** marching song, ***We Shall Overcome,*** have become freedom anthems across the globe. Most of the time, however, they drown out the Black martyr's passionate denunciation of liberal collusion with White supremacy in ***Letter from a Birmingham Jail.*** From solitary confinement, on smuggled out scraps of toilet paper, Dr. King challenges the men of 'The Book' – bishops, preachers and a rabbi who condemned him for "unwise and untimely" action. Noting that, "**groups tend to be more immoral than individuals"**, the media's Black darling before Nelson Mandela thunders:

"**We have waited for more than 340 years for our …God-given rights…[It] is easy for [others] to say, 'Wait'.** [Emphasis added] But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers… and drown your sisters and brothers…policemen curse, kick and kill…when your first name becomes 'nigger'…and your wife and mother are…never… respected… then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait (King, 1967: 150-151).[16] That story reveals how readers can be manipulated into underplaying the virulence of racism through contraction of some ideas and inflation of others.

Operationally, **popular culture** is often just another term for **propaganda** by forces expecting or hoping to dominate us in perpetuity. For example, over generations, the proliferation of pictures of Afrikans held mute in captive spaces, waiting for guidance or rescue by 'good Whites' has made the false concept of **negroes**, Black pawns created by nature to serve White whim, seem real. Through sleight of **mind**, even when our peoples win spectacular victories as in Haiti, Guinea, Zimbabwe or Angola, our children mostly get to know of our triumphs through demeaning distortion (Williams, 1994; 4).[17] Writers, Europeans for the most part, bury our moans under a cacophony of exculpatory euphemisms where ruthless, pirate thugs running **death ships,** like Britain's John Hawkins, are laun-

dered into genteel **captains** of the high seas (Dow, 1980).[18] Distancing linguistic devices in curricula condition succeeding generations of Afrikans to digest defeat. Euphemisms are so seductive Marshall McLuhan writes that "[men and women] are united only in their eagerness to be deceived by appearances" (McLuhan, 1981:ix).[19] Parallel to their propaganda onslaught against Afrikans, the media creates illusions of progress in the form of an infinite number of tiny steps that leave the status quo largely intact. Thinker Ato Quayson identifies the impact of their sophisticated system of mind control where the "social life of images" distorts our lives (Quayson, 2000: 12).[20]

Whether we are born Afrikan in Europe, the Americas or the Caribbean our behaviour often mirrors that of many artificially cloned nation-states in Afrika. On our mother continent, most of the **alibi Black** faces in office, still enforce borders and structures Europe carved out to serve her interests when she ruled with torture, bayonets, whips and guns (Grovogui, 1996; Duffield, 2001).[21] Pan-Afrikanists challenge any rationalizations that undermined our Ancestors yesterday or destabilize Afrikan minds today (Nkrumah, 1970).[22] From southern Africa to the Sudan, we are still living out the tragedy of forced divisions of ancestral communities that split apart ancient ethnic groups and clans, setting brother against brothers and sisters across the land (Pakenham, 1991; Williams, 1994).[23] As schisms continue to lay siege against Afrika's interests and to compromise her integrity, Pan-Afrikan consciousness identifies outsiders and the processes by which they gobble up her wealth and bleed her population dry (Grovogui, 1996; Duffield, 2001).[24]

A curriculum to deepen understanding unpacks the basic contradictions that underpin claims of Afrikan identity by groups from Eastern Europe, the Maghreb and South Asia now occupying Afrikan land. By way of example, these transplanted populations remain attached, collectively, to the pre-eminence of their culture and people within their particular native lands (Arabs in Arabia, Jews in Israel, Lithuanians in Lithuania and Hindus in India). However, they also support the neo-apartheid claim of instant Afrikan identity for all predatory intruders on the soil where the bones of our Ancestors lie. This peculiar fiction has taken flesh in the manufacture of implausible White leadership for Black **underground** movements against White state terrorism. A White man, James Hall, after a brief encounter with Afrikan religion even claims to be a 'sangoma' (TRC, 1998; Sapa, 2003; Hall, 1994).[25] Significantly, confusion also exists within 'scattered' Afrika, where supporters even elected President Bill Clinton to the Black Hall of Fame in the USA (Slater, 2002). Consciously unconscious White or Black integrationists have generally acted as **buffers**

between Pan-Afrika's oppressors and her liberators with significant costs to victimized sufferers.

Living Ashes and Ancestral Milk

Our culture is our mother's milk. The science and improvisational genius passed on to us are amniotic fluid, food from the womb, to strengthen our bodies and immunize our collective mind. Codes embedded in our culture, like the clicks in our speech, remind us that our people are as timeless as Hor-Em-Akhet that awe-struck Greeks called 'The Sphinx' (Prah, 1997; Allsopp, 1996; Suzar, 1996).[26] As we Afrikans endure, we also exhume buried memories of the suffering our Ancestors overcame. Like hot coals they burn away despair. We are both the fire inside the coals and coals in the fire. We are our dances, songs and grand ideas. Ancestor sages have taught us not to fear our passions, our holocausts or cleansing fires. Instead, like the Dagara we take comfort from nature where ashes always remain after fire has stripped the mountains and bared the plains. Born across the globe we are all Pan-Afrika's ashes, we who remain true to the soil that birthed our kind and pay honour to the sacrifices our Ancestors made.

Given the depth of the psychic damage that serial genocide imposed on historically generous Afrikans, Pan-Afrikanists logically conclude that we require **a curriculum to deepen our understanding** of the unique threats within our environment. However, because we have also inherited mountains of contradictory or ambiguous evidence on our history, we need an accompanying **Pan-Afrikan centred forensic audit** to inform an inventory of our vulnerabilities and strengths. In addition, curricula must help learners break free of the captive discourse that hides White-sponsored massacres and genocide behind surrogate, deluded or colluding, Black faces. Tales of Black barbarity frame CNN, BBC and TV5's parade of White-faced saviours forever engaged in the thankless task of rescuing the Black race from itself. For example, even as a global Euro-medical cabal unscientifically and inaccurately defines AIDS as a tragedy of Afrikan superstition and sexual excess, it reaches into its arsenal of implicit insults and anoints yet another White foreigner (presumably unfamiliar with superstition and sexual excess) to be the Afrikan voice in a virtual media ***War Against AIDS***. (Gisselquist, 2003; Maggiore, 2004: AFP, 2002)?[27]

Mainstreamed religion, 'peoples of the Book' who ritually end prayers with "Amen/Amin – the Kemetic name for "The Hidden One", from South Africa to the Sudan, generally continues to mock or dismiss Afrikan ancestral faiths (Eliade, 2000; McCray, 1992; Harpur, 2004; Felder, 1997)?[28] Historically, the conversion faiths, including converted Afrikans and popular supremacist culture have also caricatured our sacred ancestral cer-

emonies and practices as 'devil-worship' or evidence of backward Afrikan 'superstitions' (P'Bitek, 1980; Diop, 1990; Mudenge, 1986).[29] A Pan-Afrikanist information base offers learners tools for integrating complex and enduring paradoxes into a worldview in which Afrikan humanity is always respected.

Anticipating Evidence Arising from a Forensic Audit

Even a cursory exploration of prevailing trends reveals the difficulty governments of Afrika's First Nations face in controlling their economy, borders or foreign policy (Quayson, 2000)[30]. That situation persists whether we form the majority or are a significant minority population anywhere in the world (French, 2005; Lata, 2005; Duffield, 2001; Ryan & Barclay, 1992).[31] Nor do Afrikans, by and large, exercise effective sovereignty over the wealth generated by our individual or collective talents or resources. From Bollywood to Hollywood and beyond, Asians, Europeans or their surrogates also copy, control and benefit most from the fruits of Afrikan creativity in music, movement and the visual arts (Grant, 2004; Neal, 2002; Ward & Burns, 2000; Veal, 2000; Rubin, 1984; Siefert, 1938). In addition, many writers continue to award credit for the ancient inventive genius that first recorded philosophy or the sciences to their own group (Harpur, 2004; Gadalla, 1999; Onyeuenyi, 1994; McCray, 1992; Diop, 1974; Asante & Abarry, 1996). Eventually and cumulatively **a curriculum of question** offers an approach to answering why, from faux-Greek columns copied from ancient Kemet to Eminem posing as **the** Hip Hop king, this pernicious phenomenon has lasted so long.

The conjunction of conquest and **conversion** must be accounted one of the significant ironies of human history. Having justified, promoted and practised genocidal, brutal enslavement for economic or social domination, "the world's great religions" as one title suggests, then prescribed religious conversions that proved more a curse than a cure for Afrika's social ills. Independent minds wonder why their spiritual messages remain so spectacularly unsuccessful in preventing their own kith and kin from fleecing, dominating and decimating innocent Afrikan populations (Montgomery, 2004; Somé, 1995).

Lived experience counsels caution, not trust. This story told by Robert Parker (Parker, 1986:v; Marshall, 2002; Moore, 1992), chauffeur to 1964 Civil Rights Act president, Lyndon B. Johnson, provides a glimpse into the hidden reality behind many a **benefactor's** smiling face:

> He [the president] leaned close to my ear. Let me tell you one thing, **nigger** [my emphasis], he shouted. As long as you are

> black, and you're gonna be black till the day you die, no one's gonna call you by your goddamn name. So no matter what you're called, nigger, you just let it roll off your back like water, and you'll make it. Just pretend you're a goddamn piece of furniture.

A curriculum designed to serve Afrikan self-determination cannot afford to be neutral. Feeding future generations seductive tales of Christian, Muslim, Jewish or any other people's concern for Afrikan survival without unveiling the menace often lurking behind the masks that groups wear, disarms our heirs and leaves open the door to their extinction. Logically, the information and analysis that become a learner's worldview or give life its shape either nourish or deplete the Afrika-starved soul.

Facing The Fear Factor

Curriculum does not operate in a vacuum. Rather it must confront a highly organized global system of information and disinformation. From his 19th century Pan-Afrikan perspective Martin Delany (1983:181), a pioneer in Afrikan repatriation, wrote:

> A child born under oppression has all the elements of servility in its constitution, who, when born under favorable circumstances, has, to the contrary, all the elements of freedom and independence of feeling".

In our day, sophisticated agents and agencies with long practice in destabilizing Afrikan populations are equipped to manipulate social conditions that breed fear. In the nineteen fifties, research by European scientists and psychiatrists confirmed Delany's assessment. They studied individuals and groups, from the Soviet Union to Africa and the Caribbean to the US South. Surveying data gathered, English psychiatrist William Sargant (1970:128) wrote:

> ... various types of belief can be implanted in many people after brain function has been sufficiently disturbed by accidentally or deliberately induced fear, anger or excitement. Of the results caused by such disturbances, the most common one is temporarily impaired judgment and heightened suggestibility. Its various group manifestations are sometimes classed under the heading of 'herd instinct', and appear most spectacularly in wartime, during severe epidemics, and in all similar periods of common danger, which increase anxiety and so individual and mass suggestibility.

Framing Curriculum Against Fear and For Self-Determination

In the tradition of our Ancestors, let's frame our grounding with a parable from Nature. A hunter shoots a mother duck, rescues her duckling and raises it in his second-floor bedroom. When it first waddles straight down the stairs, it slips. From then on it would only descend sideways. When by accident it forgets, it panics, flutters back to the top and safety with its rescuer who is its mother's killer, then starts down again - the crooked way. Do our distant embedded fears filtered through random acts of kindness also induce us to trust unwisely? If they do, what are the costs and where lies the cure?

Over time, because of a conjunction of anxiety and need in our lives, we may so persuade ourselves to survive inside the abnormal that it begins to feel normal to us. It's scary risking any security or benefits we enjoy – a steady-paying job; paid trips for professional development; health and life insurance; chances to get published; the reward of living off our talent or off the benefits of credentials we've sacrificed to attain. Inevitably, however, the human costs of pernicious compromise catch up with us. From Canberra to Cape Town, coded anti-Kemetism flows through decisions about the desirability of Afrikans, as opposed to Asians and Europeans, as workers, immigrants or even guests. Defamatory venom relentlessly erodes Afrikan human rights and poses an ongoing challenge to our human worth. Eventually all that supremacist societies can offer us is the perilous compromise of existing indefinitely as sheep fearfully alive in dens of wolves.

Even members of groups that actively persecute Afrikans have expressed astonishment at our unique addiction to collective self-negation and infinite acts of elastic forgiveness. In contrast to Archbishop Tutu's ***Truth and Reconciliation Commission*** embrace of "ubuntu – [I-am-you]" politics, White supremacy's General Smuts' was refreshingly frank during a visit to the USA in 1930. The forthright anti-Kemite declared "that the black man's patience was one of the world's marvels [and] second only to the ass's" (Cell, 1987: 246).[38] Before apologists discount his words as specific to time and place, I quote a young woman (McKague, 1991:93) from more recent (nineteen eighties) raw data of sociological research into Canadian racism:

> One can treat blacks like dirt for years, cease such treatment, and, almost immediately they are willing to be your best friends ... because blacks do not have the capacity either to tell injustices or to remember them [while] Jews, ... are quite a different threat.

Pan-Afrikanists do well to study China's experience of the connection between extermination and "contempt" and incorporate it into curriculum. Iris Chang writes that before the *Rape of Nanking* "teachers instilled in [Japanese] boys hatred and contempt for the Chinese people preparing them psychologically for a future invasion of the Chinese mainland" (Chang, 1997: 30).[40] Over four centuries the world's most politically and economically powerful populations have been bombarded with information that demeans Afrikans. The propaganda we have absorbed also seduces populations of Afrikan ancestry into loving and valuing other races and rejecting our own (Wilson, 1993)[41]. To equip learners to counter its pernicious influence conscious Pan-Afrikanist educators see the need of **a curriculum of combative ideas** that takes a prophylactic approach to anti-Kemetism.

Sometimes our ideas are questions. We look inward and ask:

How does this curriculum lead peoples of Afrikan ancestry towards loving our selves, valuing each other, upholding our collective dignity, practicing self-determination in our daily lives and advancing an agenda for eventually repossessing our ancestral lands?

Our answers are vital information for living inside an ancestry under siege, where prison systems, from South Africa to the Americas, have succeeded sharecropping and Bantustans as the concentration camps of our day (Davis, 2001: 43; Cell, 1987).[42] Pan-Afrikan nations, like Haiti, Congo and Zimbabwe that resist White control face destabilization, sanctions and even illegal foreign invasion by White nations or their surrogates (Horne, 2001; Farmer, 2003; Arthur and Dash, 1999).[43] For unrepentant predators on the prowl, in the tradition of deliberately "disappeared" peoples of Tasmania and the Caribbean, AIDS has become a **promise,** in invisible ink, of the disappearance of Afrika's First Nations (Hart, 2005; Maggiore, 2004; AFP, 2002; Hornblum, 1998; Jones, 1982; Wei and Kamel, 1998).[44] Our communities remain vulnerably porous in a global climate that flaunts indifference where injustice to Afrikans is concerned (Williams; 1994; Hochschild, 1998; Bradford and Blume, 1992; Pakenham, 1991).[45]

A Pan-Afrikan curriculum of courageous solidarity challenges the legions of non-Afrikans, so determined to penetrate every fissure of Black experience as **friends**, to act as **allies** first. Its direct question to presumptive friends, male or female, be they Christian, Muslim, Jewish, Hindu or Buddhist, whether they come from distant Europe or nearby in the Maghreb, is this:

> Are you willing to work in the interests of peoples of Afrikan ancestry and for Pan-Afrikan self-determination that liber-

> ates us from influence, interference, profit or control, costly to Afrikan populations yet benefiting non-Afrikans, including your own kith and kin?

True friends won't publicly hold our hands so they can hold on to our culture, goods or land. Allies do not mass-produce our ancestral kalimba, steal the title song of the hit musical ***The Lion King***, effectively disinheriting future generations of the collective benefits it bestows, or record unsigned music, copy unsigned ancestral designs and then masquerade as experts on kente cloth, the kora or the djembe drum. Allies don't hang around carnival **mas** bands in Trinidad, absorbing its creative juices, and then take out a patent for the steelpan. When Afrikan artists generously teach them to play our music they don't rob them of scarce chances for work, independence and pride. Integrity forbids friends to parade Carnival's spirit-based Moko Jumbie stilt dancers on the Olympic world stage with White faces receiving the accolades and cash that its Black originators have never received.

It is significant and instructive to Pan-Afrikanists that while Michael Jackson's not-for-profit imitation of Whiteness has been widely mocked and condemned, the crude plagiarism of Black culture by racist whiteface imitators from Al Jolson and Paul Whiteman to Mick Jagger and Eminem who caricature Afrikans for astronomical profit and give nothing back, vaults those perpetrators instead into the stratosphere of stardom (Andersen, 1994; Turner, 1999; Shepp, 1970; Rogin, 1998)[46].

Nor do allies try to bribe us into silence about past and present thievery and 'thuggery' by their undeserving kith and kin with money, status, intimacy, sex, marriage or other inducements. Where and when we are not respected, no gift or kindness is of benefit to us. ***NEPAD***, any deed or valuable touted as enriching us loses operational worth unless it leaves our dignity and self-determination intact. True lovers of Afrikan peoples do not need to wear the loyalty and devotion of their Afrikan protégés like trophies on their arm. They refuse to play the popular culture game that increasingly view Afrikans as an archive or resource to provide **a Black experience** for non-Afrikans (Root, 1996).[47] Allies serve panAfrikan self-determination without being seen, knowing that the world is already saturated with excessively grateful, too often grinning, trophy Blacks.

Real allies understand that collectively, Afrikans are infantilized when the procession of faces saving Afrikans from landmines, famine, poverty or AIDS on CNN as well as the eyes looking compassionately out from the front pages of the *London* or *New York Times* are never Afrikan, like the **needy** people portrayed. Allies search out ways to change their nation's

policies or international practices that render Afrikan communities vulnerable and make us needy in the first place. When they can, real allies return or redistribute the spoils and misinherited benefits of their people's pillage. Their own integrity commands that the beneficiaries of past crimes assume responsibility for repairing the ravages of those crimes that Afrikan survivors endure today. Allies aren't anxious to hold our hands in public, compromising our self-defense. Rather they quietly use their influence and resources to hold back the hands of their brothers and sisters who would misuse, abuse, harm or disarm the defenders of innocent Afrikan women, children or men.

A Pan-Afrikan curriculum restores human faces to Afrikan holocausts. After witnessing that martyr's fate at the hands of gratuitously vicious Englishmen, a European doctor in Guyana wrote of "Amsterdam" (Pinckard in Daly 1993:134):

> [They] sentenced him to be burnt alive, first having his flesh torn from his limbs with red-hot pincers ... [after] being compelled to ... watch thirteen of his comrades broken on the wheel and hanged, and then made to walk over their dead bodies on the way to his own execution.

In another report, the captain of an Atlantic **death-ship** cut up the warm heart and other organs of an innocent hostage then forced horrified captives to eat their brother's bloody flesh (James, 1989: 9).[49] Out of the belly of such White depravity are ongoing myths of Black cannibalism born. So in 2001, when Toronto's Mayor Mel Lastman alluded to cannibals in Afrika, I reminded him that Europeans sold Black mummy's flesh in their apothecaries in the 18th century. Kidnapped hostage Ouladah Equiano fainted for fear of being "eaten by those White men with horrible looks, red faces and long hair" (Marshall, 2001)![50]

A Pan-Afrikanist curriculum rebuilds Black confidence by unearthing defamatory myths and exploding them. In 1526, Nzenga Meremba, the Mani Kongo and spiritual leader of his people wrote to his counterpart in Portugal. His words challenge the familiar refrain of European historians, as well as many of the Afrikans they trained, which calls the pernicious "trade" an essentially Afrikan affair where the venal or stupid sold their own'. In the present translation, the Mani Kongo's letter (1969:3) reads:

We cannot reckon how great the damage is since the above-mentioned merchants [Europeans] daily seize our subjects, sons of the land and sons of our noblemen and vassals and our relatives ... They grab them and cause them to be sold: and so great, sir, is their corruption and licentiousness that our country is being utterly depopulated ... That is why we beg of Your

Highness to help [us] to avoid [them] ... We need from [your] kingdoms no other than priests and people to teach in our schools, and no other goods but wine and flour for the holy sacrament…[Please] assist us in this matter commanding your factors that they should send here neither merchants nor wares, because **it is our will that in these kingdoms there should not be any trade in slaves or market for slaves** [emphasis added].

On the other hand, studies show that painful stories stimulate memory more than pleasant ones (Williams, 1994: 10)[52]. Providing concrete evidence of atrocities is key in connecting to a learner's memory to the gut. For example, at ground zero during apartheid's 1976 Soweto massacre, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, the leader of Black resistance at the level of lived experience, leaves posterity a bullet-by-bullet account (1976: 16):

I was on the scene. About 10 000 children were marching ... the police let loose a dog on a child ... and ... the dog bit the child ... The dog was killed and the police immediately opened fire; the first shots landed on a ten-year-old who died on the spot.

A curriculum of necessary truths is vital in inoculating Afrikan populations against future attack by exposing the global network of covert forces consciously planning our extinction. South Africa's ***TRC Report*** (1998) is a rare look behind the screen where:

... white-coated scientists, professors, doctors, dentists, veterinarians, laboratories, universities and front companies ... with the support of an extensive international network ... [misuse science to] undermine the health of [Black] communities ... [with] cholera, botulism, anthrax, chemical poisoning and the large-scale manufacture of drugs ...

From inside **affinity groups**, discrete gatherings of Afrikan ancestry, Pan-Afrikanists provide unsentimental analysis of events, achievements or mistakes surrounding military strategists like Haiti's Toussaint L'Ouverture whose army of ten thousand downtrodden Afrikans whipped sixty thousand Napoleonic veterans, Europe's 'finest and best' (Farmer, 2003; Arthur and Dash, 1999; Marshall, 2003).[54] Today's **curriculum of conscious transformation** also familiarizes learners with successful strategies of other racialized groups, such as the Chinese, who have wrested control of their destiny from callous hands that once forced them to buy dope (Chang, 1997: 28).[55]

Our race has walked too many roads and borne too many heavy crosses for us to ever turn back. We who have been blessed with knowing and remembering are the designated voices of the innocent majority of our brothers and sisters with little shelter from the bombs raining down. …

And we know who those Innocents are
the Innocents are not 'passport whites'
with residence or citizenship in canada the usa australia israel or the european union
the Innocents aren't government ministers who make dirty sweetheart deals
with the imf and world bank
trading away clean water fertile land and the heritage of Afrika's heirs
in exchange for privileges they pass on to their own children or clan
junkets to monaco to gamble posterity away
ivy league learning at the sorbonne oxford toronto or yale
shares in blood diamonds timber oil and gold
listed on the new york london paris melbourne or tokyo stock exchange
the Innocents don't play the diplomat with their fancy european or arabic titles
or posts while our children keep on dying day after day
they don't spout comfortese like 'racism hurts everybody' and 'everybody is
african' while the real Afrikans die at their side
the Innocents are wary of missionaries journalists and ngos
advancing their personal or racial interests
under cover of n*epad debt reduction* or their *war on aids*
apparently without exception such schemes the Innocents know
have always conspired to leave Afrika poorer and cost more Afrikan lives
the Innocents don't manufacture land mines to maim grandmothers or babies
and turn lush land into barren fields of death
the Innocents don't conspire with the racists
who shamelessly hire apartheid-blooded mercenaries dogs of war
as if blowing up innocent families in exchange for a fat bank account
were a profession and not a dastardly cowardly crime
the Innocents don't dress up in red bishops' hats black academic robes or white
judges wigs
spout shakespeare cervantes proust or marx and quote latin hebrew or greek
to dazzle and befuddle humble hardworking Black folks
they don't trick the trusting into groveling humiliation for crumbs
while foreign plunderers of Afrika's wealth fly off free
we who have braved our mirrors and relive the past
ask the Ancestors to tell us who the Innocents are
hearing their answers in our deepest heart
listening to their whispered answers in the drums
the Innocents they say
the Innocents live in all of us
Ashay!
(Clem Marshall, 2005)

Unfortunately, in this proven anti-Kemetic world, innocence is a fragile defense. To win we must pray for the wisdom of our Saints. Hendrik Witbooi, martyred for love of his Nama people and this land, had tried to

walk the path of appeasement to keep the predators at bay. In the end, however, betrayal by his erstwhile German allies forced him to conclude, "**Peace means my death and the death of my nation, for I know there is no refuge for me under you**" (Davis, 1990: 180).[56] We, Pan-Afrikanists born into a prophetic, collective vision for these times are summoned by Heru, keeper of the Kemetic Eye, to share all we see with our race. As the people of Medw Nechr, The Sacred Word out of Kemet, we say no to further domination by any peoples of any Book. The lenses our Ancestors left us see far and look deep. That is both our blessing and a sacred trust. Ashay!

References

Agence France Press. 2002. "Bulgaria-Libya-AIDS: Bulgarian minister faces families of Libya AIDS victims." *AEGIS-AFP News,* 4 May 2002.

Allsopp, R. (ed.). 1996. *Dictionary of Caribbean English.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Andersen, C. 1994. *Michael Jackson: Unauthorized*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Arthur, C. & M. Dash (eds.). 1999. *Libète: A Haiti Anthology*. Princeton: Marcus Wiener Publishers Inc.

Asante, M.K. & A.S. Abarry. 1996. *African Intellectual Heritage: A Book of Sources.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Asante, M.K. & Abarry, A.S. 2002. *Egypt vs Greece and the American Academy: The Debate Over the Birth of Civilization*. Chicago: African American Images.

Biko, S. 1986. *I Write What I Like.* New York: Harper & Row.

Bradford, P.V. &. H. Blume. 1992. *Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo*. New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing.

Carruthers, J.H. 1995. *MDW NTR, Divine Speech: A Historiographical Reflection of African Deep Thought from the Time of the Pharaohs to the Present*. London: Karnak House.

Cell, J.W. 1987. *The Highest Stage of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South*. Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press.

Chang, I. 1997. *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of WW II*. New York: Penguin Books.

Cleaver, K. & G. Katsifiacas. (eds.). 2001. *Liberation, Imagination and the Black Panther Party: A New Look at the Panthers and Their Legacy.* New York: Routledge.

Daly, V.T. 1993. *A Short History of the Guyanese People*. London: Macmillan Press, 1993.

Davis, A.Y. 2001. "Race, Gender and Prison History: From the Convict Lease System to the Supermax Prison". In: Sabo et al. 2001. *Prison Masculinities*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Davis, N.E. 1990. *A History of Southern Africa*. Harare: Longman.

Delany, M. 1983. In: T'Shaka, O. 1983. *The Political Legacy of Malcolm X.* Richmond: Pan Afrikan Publications.

Diop, B. 1990. *Le Thème de la Malédiction des Noirs [the Theme of the Black Curse] in Méditerranéen l'antiquité*. Toronto: Terebi.

Diop, C.A. 1974. *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality.* Westport: Lawrence Hill Books.

Dow, G.F. 1980. *Slave Ships & Slaving*. Toronto: Coles Publishing Co.

Duffield, M. 2001. *Global Governance and the New Wars.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Eglash, R. 1999. *African Fractals: Modern Computing and Indigenous Design.* New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Ejeckam, G.C. 1977. "African Medical Theory and Practices". In: *UFAHAMU VII, No 2 – The Interdisciplinary Issue*. Los Angeles: African Activist Association.

Eliade, M., I.P. Couliano & H. Wiesner. 2000. *The Harpercollins Concise Guide to World Religions*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.

Farmer, P. 2003. *The Uses of Haiti*. Monroe: Common Courage Press.

Felder, C.H. 1997. *The Original African Heritage Study Bible, King James Version.* Nashville: The James C. Winston Publishing Co.

Finch, C.S. 1992. *Echoes of the Old Darkland: Themes from the African Eden.* Decatur: Khenti Publications.

French, H.W 2005. *A Continent for the Taking: The Tragedy and Hope of Africa.* New York: Random House.

Gadalla, M. 1999. *Historical Deception: The Untold Story of Ancient Egypt*. Greensboro: Tehuti Research Foundation.

Gisselquist, D. et al. 2003. "Let It Be Sexual: How Health Care Transmission of Aids in Africa was Ignored." In: *International Journal of STD and AIDS*.

Goffman, I. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* New York: Doubleday Anchor Books.

Gosine, M. 1986. *East Indians and Black Power in the Caribbean : The Case of Trinidad.* New York: Afrikana Research Publications.

Grant, L.T. 2004. *Carnavalitis: The Conflicting Discourse of Carnival.* Jamaica, NY: Yacos Publications.

Grovogui, S.N. 1996. *Sovereigns, Quasi Sovereigns and Africans: Race and Self-Determination in International Law*, Vol. 3. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Hall, J. 1994. *Sangoma: My Odyssey into the Spirit-World of Africa.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Harper, P.B. 1996. *Are We Not Men? Masculine Anxiety and the Problem of African-American Identity*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Harpur, T. 2004. *The Pagan Christ: Recovering the Lost Light*. Toronto: Thomas Allen Publishers.

Hart, L. 2005. "The White Supremacy of AIDS". http://portland.indymedia.or/en/2005/04/316129.shtml.

Heinrich, J. 2004. "Racial Slurs: Words People Use to Hurt". In: *The Gazette,* 21 March 2004.

Hochschild, A. 1998. *King Leopold's Ghost*. New York: Houghton Mifflin.

Hornblum, A.M. 1998. *Acres of Skin: Human Experiments at Holmesburg Prison: A True Story of Abuse and Exploitation in the Name of Medical Science.* New York: Routledge.

Horne, G. 2001. *From the Barrel of a Gun: The United States and the War against Zimbabwe, 1965-1980*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

James, C.L.R. 1989. *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*. New York: Random House.

Jones, J.H. 1982. *Bad Blood: The Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment – a Tragedy of Race and Medicine.* New York: Collier MacMillan.

Khoisan, Z. 2001. *Jacaranda Time: An Investigator's View of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission.* SA: Garib Communications.

King, M.L. jr. 1967. "The Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Writes a Letter from the Birmingham Jail". In: Commager, H.S. 1967. *The Struggle for Racial Equality: A Documentary record*.

Kofsky, F. 1970. *Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music*. New York: Pathfinder Press.

Kongo, M. 1969. "Personal Letter to King Manoel of Portugal." In: Nkrumah, K. (ed.). 1969. *Challenge to the Congo*. London: Panaf Books.

Lata, L. 2005. *The Horn of Africa as Common Homeland: The State and Self-Determination in the Era of Heightened Globalization.* Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier Press.

Maggiore, C. 2004. *What if Everything You Thought You Knew About Aids was Wrong?* Studio City: American Foundation for AIDS Alternatives.

Marshall, C. 2001. "Search History for Truth about Cannibals." In: *Share,* 28 June 2001.

Marshall, C. 2002. "The Last Word on the N-Word." In: *Share*, 2 May 2002.

Marshall, C. 2003. "Declaration of Afrikan Dignity." In: *Share*, 2 January 2003.

Marshall, C. 2005. *Du Mot Injuste au Mot Juste: Count(er)ing Costs of Black Holocausts, A PanAfrikan Approach To Education.* Toronto: Unpublished M.A. Thesis, OISE/University of Toronto.

McCray, W.A. 1992. *The Black Presence in the Bible: Discovering the Black and African Identity of Biblical Persons and Nations.* Chicago: Black Light Fellowship.

McIntyre, C.C.L. 1993. *Criminalizing a Race: Free Blacks during Slavery.* New York: Kayode Publications.

McKague, O. (ed.). 1991. *Racism in Canada.* Saskatoon: Fifth House.

McLuhan, M. 1981. "Media Ad-Vice: An Introduction." In: Key, W.B. (ed.). 1981. *Subliminal Seduction: Ad Media's Manipulation of a Not So Innocent America.* New York: Signet Books.

Montgomery, C. 2004. *The Last Heathen: Encounters with Ghosts and Ancestors in Melanesia*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd.

Moore, R.B. 1992. *The Name "Negro": Its Origin and Evil Use.* Baltimore: Black Classic Press.

Mudenge, S.I.G. 1986. *Christian Education at the Mutapa Court: A Portuguese Strategy to Influence Events in the Empire of Munhumutapa.* Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House.

Neal, M.A. 2002. *Soul Babies: Black Popular Culture and the Post-Soul Aesthetic.* New York: Routledge.

Nkrumah, K. 1970. *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-Colonization.* London: Panaf Books.

Onyeuenyi, I.C. 1994. *The Afrikan Origin of Greek Philosophy: An Exercise in Afrocentrism.* Nsukka: University of Nigeria Press.

Pakenham, T. 1991. *The Scramble for Africa: White Man's Conquest of the Dark Continent from 1876-1912*. New York: Avon Books.

Parker, R. & R. Rashke. 1986. *Capitol Hill in Black and White.* New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

P'Bitek, O. 1980. *African Religions in Western Scholarship*. Kampala: Uganda Literature Bureau.

Pinkney, A. 1994. *Lest We Forget: White Hate Crimes, Howard Beach and Other Racial Atrocities*. Chicago: Third World Press.

Porter, M. 1997. *Kill Them before They Grow: Misdiagnosis of African American Boys in American Classrooms*. Chicago: African American Images.

Powell, R.P. 1979. *The Invisible Image Uprooted: A Mystery Revealed*. New York: Philemon Co.

Prah, K.K. 1997. *Beyond the Colour Line: Pan-Africanist Disputations.* RSA: Vivlia Publisher.

Quayson, A. 2000. *Postcolonialism: Theory, Practice or Process?* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Rogin, M. 1998. *Blackface, White Noise: Jewish Immigrants in the Hollywood Melting Pot*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Root, D. 1996. *Cannibal Culture: Art, Appropriation and the Commodification of Difference*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Rubin, W. (ed.). 1984. *'Primitivism' in Twentieth Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art.

Ryan, S. & L.A. Barclay. 1992. *Sharks and Sardines: Blacks in Business in Trinidad and Tobago.* St. Augustine, Trinidad: University of The West Indies.

SAPA. 2003. "I am Agent RS 452B". In: *Business Day*.

Sargant, W. 1970. *Battle for the Mind: A Physiology of Conversion and Brainwashing.* London: Pan Books Ltd.

Siefert, C. 1938. *The Negro's or Ethiopian's Contribution to Art.* Baltimore: Black Classic Press.

Somé, M. 1995. *Of Water and the Spirit: Ritual, Magic and Initiation in the Life of an African Shaman.* New York: Penguin.

Suzar. 1996. *Blacked out through Whitewash*, Vol. 1. Highland: Aldor Productions.

TRC/RSA. 1998. *Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission*.

Turner, I. & N. Cawthorne. *Taking Back my Name: The Confessions of Ike Turner*. London: Virgin Books.

Veal, M.E. 2000. *Fela: The Life and Times of an African Musical Icon.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Walker, J.St.G. 1980. *A History of Blacks in Canada: A Study Guide for Teachers and Students.* Toronto: Minister of Multiculturalism.

Ward, G. & K. Burns. 2000. *Jazz: A History of America's Music.* New York: Alfred A. Knoph.

Wei, D. & R. Kamel. 1998. *Resistance in Paradise: Rethinking 100 Years of U.S. Involvement in the Caribbean and the Pacific.* Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee.

Wells, I.B 1970. *Crusade for Justice.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Williams, E. 1994. *Capitalism and Slavery.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Williams, F.-N 1994. *Precolonial Communities of Southwestern Africa: A History of Owambo Kingdoms 1600-1920.* Windhoek: National Archives of Namibia.

Wilson, A. 1993. *The Falsification of Afrikan Consciousness: Eurocentric History, Psychiatry and the Politics of White Supremacy*. New York: Afrikan World InfoSystems.

Wilson, A. 1998. *Blueprint for Black Power: A Moral Political and Economic Imperative for the Twenty-First Century.* New York: Afrikan World InfoSystems.

Wright, M.A. 2000. *I'm Chocolate, You're Vanilla: Raising Healthy Black and Bi-Racial Children in a Race-Conscious World – A Guide for Parents and Teachers*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

MARKETING PAN-AFRICANISM TO A NEW GENERATION: A CASE STUDY OF LIBERTY HALL – THE LEGACY OF MARCUS GARVEY, KINGSTON, JAMAICA

Nicosia Shakes

Introduction

The word 'Pan-Africanism' confounds some. Usually whenever I ask the meaning of the word to school children who come in groups to tour Liberty Hall, they answer with a blank look. They might not know of the word, but they have heard of Marcus Garvey, Nelson Mandela, and Martin Luther King Jnr. Pan-Africanism may be defined as:

> A worldview that purports the oneness of black people by virtue of their common ancestry in Africa, and which stresses the need for Africans who live in the Diaspora and on the Continent to form social, economic and political links in order to improve their standing in the World.

A Pan-Africanist therefore is not only someone who abides by these principles but also involves himself/herself in the struggle for equal rights, justice and economic and political advancement – as advocated by Marcus Garvey, Henry Sylvester-Williams, Kwame Nkrumah, C.L.R. James, W.E.B. DuBois and Amy Jacques Garvey. Of course there is also the view that any black person who fights for black liberation, regardless of his/her ideological views on the African continent can be called a Pan-Africanist. Barrington Watson, the famous Jamaican painter, to the disagreement of some, used this more generic definition for the production of his acclaimed set of paintings and accompanying booklet: **The Pan-Africanists, 1999**.

The argument can be made that a Pan-Africanist need only display Pan-African sentiments in his/her work and not necessarily articulate it. After all, the action of black people within a particular country coming together to fight for racial justice, can be seen as the beginnings of the wider ideology which speaks to global unity. Indeed, when Paul Bogle fought under the banner of "colour for colour, blood for blood"[1]; he was articulating a Pan-Africanist sentiment in its purest form. The slogan: "Africa for Africans, at Home and Abroad" adopted by the UNIA in the 1920s, can be considered a more sophisticated version. For the purpose of this paper, I will use the first definition of Pan-Africanism given above as it encompasses history, identity and politics. I will however, take into consideration that there are numerous black persons throughout history who may not have articulated a Pan-Africanist ideology explicitly, but who are principal actors in the Pan-Africanist tradition.

This paper will examine how Liberty Hall: The Legacy of Marcus Garvey, an educational, cultural and social institution in Kingston Jamaica, has been creating means through which the ideas of Marcus Garvey and the sentiments of Pan-Africanism are disseminated to Jamaican youth. Liberty Hall's purpose is not only to inform and educate, but also to use the ideals of Pan-Africanism to create positive self-identities, and in essence aid social and economic development in Jamaica.

Liberty Hall has recognised that Pan-Africanism not only has to be disseminated but actually marketed; meaning disseminated in such a way as to make it interesting, considered something worthy of adopting and essential to one's well-being. The success of these techniques cannot be assessed at this point as Liberty Hall has been open for just two years and has to operate within the larger framework of Jamaican society, which does not always speak explicitly on racial concerns and which also shows evidence of the negation and degradation of Africanness. The principal task is to do an exploration of Liberty Hall's activities, in keeping with the aims of the institution.

Background to Liberty Hall

Liberty Hall: The Legacy of Marcus Garvey was first opened in July 1923 as the headquarters of the Kingston Division of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League (UNIA-ACL). The UNIA-ACL, which had over a thousand registered divisions worldwide in its heyday (Hill, 1990), stipulated that all its divisions should have Liberty Halls. The Liberty Halls had administrative, social, educational, cultural and commercial purposes. Along with serving as the headquarters of the UNIA's Kingston Division, Liberty Hall, Kingston

was Marcus Garvey's office for a short while after his deportation from the United States. It also housed a laundromat, canteen, job placement agency, and a co-operative loan bank. Liberty Hall hosted cultural functions such as recitals, plays and dances, was an arena for ideological engagement, as well as serving as the base for the UNIA's community service efforts. UNIA auxiliaries such as The Black Cross Nurses, The Juveniles and The African Legion had their meetings there. Over the decades, the building passed into private hands. At one point, in 1929 it was seized and auctioned by the Jamaican Supreme Court to settle the suit in the case of Marke vs the UNIA.[2] The building was used as the venue for a number of events well into the 1950s. At one point it even housed a nightclub called "The Liberty Hall Club."

Eventually in the latter decades of the 20th century the building fell into disrepair. It was bought by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT) in 1987. The Heritage Trust in partnership with the Jamaican Government and the Institute of Jamaica as well as a group called *The Friends of Liberty Hall* co-operated to restore the building into a living monument to Marcus Garvey. It was officially re-opened on October 20, 2003, Jamaica's National Heroes Day.

Liberty Hall is located in the central business district of Downtown Kingston. This location in a number of ways aids the objective of Liberty Hall as well as vice versa. Downtown Kingston is not only the seat of commercial activity in Kingston; it is also in many ways the seat of cultural activity and in Garvey's time, was the seat of intellectual activity. It is the gathering place of peoples from all walks of life and location in Jamaica. Downtown Kingston and its environs was the scene of watershed moments in 20th century Jamaican history and culture. It was a site for anti-colonial resistance during Garvey's time; most notably the Labour Riots of the 1930s; the place where a considerable percentage of rural Jamaicans settled after migrating to Kingston in the early to late 1900s; the environment in which Reggae Music, Jamaica's most popular cultural form was developed and marketed; and where the Rastafarian religion came to prominence. Rastafari is the most powerful Pan-African ideology next to Garveyism, to emerge from Jamaica.

A social, cultural and educational institution such as Liberty Hall needs such an environment in order to flourish, and vice versa. In Liberty Hall's environs you find a number of inner-city communities, which are some of the poorest in Jamaica; and in this way Liberty Hall's outreach activities are of particular relevance and necessity. At the same time however, the location of Liberty Hall in this volatile area, sometimes has proven to discourage visitors from other parts of Jamaica.

Liberty Hall's Goals and Areas of Concern

Liberty Hall's mission statement is:

> To inform the public about the work of Jamaica's first National hero (Marcus Garvey) and to use his philosophy and opinions to inspire, excite and positively affect the self-identity of Jamaican people while creating social and economic wealth.

Liberty Hall, through its facilities aims to spread the ideals of Pan-Africanism via a variety of means, which will later be examined in more detail. As it concerns Pan-Africanist ideals, three principal areas of interest can be deduced based on Liberty Hall's Mission statement and activities:

- The achievement of positive self-identity, stemming from the belief in the equality of all the races and a rejection of racist thinking that devalues Africanness.
- The fostering of appreciation and understanding of the history and culture of Africa
- The appreciation for Pan-Africanist ideals:
  - The recognition of the continent as the ancestral homeland of black people
  - The belief in the global unity of all black people

Though Liberty Hall principally uses the philosophy and opinions of Marcus Garvey as the reference point; it basically locates Garvey within the larger Pan-African tradition.

Self-Identity

The issue of self-identity is at the base of any discourse on Pan-African thought. It is arguably the most difficult issue to tackle, and the most affective. The effort to foster Pan-Africanist sentiments in a person can be either hampered or assisted by the nature of that person's self-image. Jamaica, like most countries in the Caribbean ,has a history of slavery and colonialism which is very recent in historical terms. The country gained independence from Great Britain in 1962, which was a mere 43 years ago. Though the institutional support for them no longer exists, features of the colonial socio-political and economic structures, which included racial and class discrimination, are still present. Slavery, which ended 300 years ago, has also had a lasting effect on the political and social institutions in modern-day Jamaica.

Ninety and a half percent of the Jamaican population is black. This is an overwhelming percentage; yet, speaking in racial-economic terms, it would appear that blacks still compose the largest percentage of the working class. There is an evident identity crisis within the black population of Jamaica that is exacerbated by racial structures in the economy, society and from a more subjective point of view – aesthetic preferences. Racism continues to exist after the political support for it was seemingly eroded with independence. One of the most blatant evidences of an identity crisis in Jamaica is skin bleaching by both males and females. The practice, which dates back to the beginning of the century or perhaps even before that, involves the use of dermatological applications to lighten the complexion. Garvey as early as the 1920s spoke out against advertisements for skin bleaching products (Garvey, 1986:77-80):

> There were many degrading exhortations to the race to change its black complexion as an entrant to society. There were pictures of two women, one black and the other very bright and under the picture of the black woman appeared these words: 'Lighten your black skin,' indicating perfection to be reached by bleaching white like the light woman.

Bleaching seems to be becoming more popular and/or more transparent with the development of a variety of bleaching products. Health authorities in Jamaica estimate that thousands in the population of 2,6 million are engaging in this practice (Merrick, 2002). There are two basic reasons that have been given for bleaching in Jamaica. The first reason is aesthetic, and generally holds that lighter skinned people are considered more attractive. The second reason is social— lighter skinned people receive more respect. So prevalent is the bleaching phenomenon in Jamaica that it is even being considered a fashion trend by some; equivalent to a hairstyle or clothing line. So desperate are the skin bleachers that many even use non-dermatological products such as toothpaste and cornmeal. Coupled with the insecurities about skin are insecurities about facial features and hair. In recent times, owing in large part to a greater level of black consciousness penetrating Jamaican society, there is greater acceptance of African features than in decades gone by. The issue of hair and facial features is still a problem however. There are business places in Jamaica that still do not hire employees with African-inspired hairstyles such as dreadlocks. Interestingly, there appears to be no problem as it regards acceptance of *bodily* features defined as African, such as relatively thick legs and rounded buttocks. In fact, it is not uncommon to find that while women may yearn

for lighter skin, longer hair and a straighter nose; they also yearn for a more curvaceous body. This of course demands more detailed analysis.

The History and Culture of Africa and The African Diaspora

> The history of a movement, the history of a nation, the history of a race is the guidepost of that movements' destiny, that nation's destiny, that race's destiny.
>
> (Garvey, 1986:1)

Up until recently in about the last two decades, African history was rarely taught in school. During the colonial era, it was unheard of. The education system was designed to ensure respect for Great Britain and to simultaneously invalidate or ignore other sides of the history of black people. Another reason was that very little was known of Africa by the educators themselves, apart from the negatives. In the late 1960s as a consequence of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States and the international Black Power Movement greater attention was paid to the African past. Black scholars with their research were able to discredit the notions of Africans being backward, advanced by European pseudo-scientific theories and one-sided history. Even with the inclusion of Black history in schools and the media, we still have a very long way to go; particularly as it concerns African history prior to Slavery. During Black History Month in Jamaica most of the focus tends to be on African history after slavery. With regards to knowledge of modern-day Africa there is also ground for concern. Africa is usually featured in international news when there are negative events taking place, such as ethnic conflict, genocide, political corruption, starvation, the HIV-AIDS epidemic. Thus, the picture of Africa in Jamaica is considerably skewed. This lack of knowledge deeply influences the way that we see ourselves in relation to Africa. If Africa is a continent riddled with poverty, HIV-AIDS, ethnic warfare and genocide, then it would follow suit to disassociate oneself from it.

The Ideals of Pan-Africanism

The Rastafarian Movement and the influence of the Black Power Movement of the seventies, coupled with greater access to information has ensured that Pan-Africanist ideals have reached a large cross-section of Jamaica. There is a general understanding, even if the word is not used, that Pan-Africanists speak of the unity of all black people and of the need to form transnational linkages.

There is still quite a bit of misunderstanding concerning the particulars of Pan-Africanism. One of the biggest misunderstandings as regards

Garvey's thinking, concerns the Back-To-Africa Programme. Many, including adherents to Pan-Africanism still believe that Garvey aimed to take all black people in the Western Hemisphere back to Africa on a big ship called: 'The Black Star Liner'. This belief while it may inspire loyal adherents to Garveyism, discourages others who consider it ludicrous.

There is also a lack of comprehension of the racial issues that Pan-Africanism seeks to address. The fear of being labeled racist is a factor. It is ironic that in a population where the majority has a history of being discriminated against racially, there is the tendency to ignore racial problems. Garvey's ideas, and those of other Pan-Africanists such as Walter Rodney, have often been termed racist. The Jamaican motto: 'Out of many one people', while it may be credited for trying to foster a sense of nationalism regardless of race, has concurrently sought to stifle the race question. Political leaders have been guilty of suppressing the race question under the guise of fostering national unity. In the 1960s a number of books by black activists and containing Pan-African undertones were banned from the country.[3] So too were a number of scholars who had Pan-Africanist and socialist leanings. These included Winston Davis, a young socialist, Leroy Taylor a Jamaican economist, and George Beckford, a Jamaican economist who had visited Cuba. Things came to a head when Walter Rodney, considered a troublemaker for speaking out against racism and classism, was declared persona non grata. The "Rodney Riots" followed; not only because of Rodney's expulsion, but also exacerbated by the frustration of urban youth with their socio-economic situation.[4]

Marcus Garvey (1930) commented that the belief that there was no race problem in Jamaica was a fallacy:

> So long as the black man is half-naked, almost dirty and hungry being unable to earn a decent livelihood to maintain himself and his family, and others are able to enjoy opulence, to the latter it would appear that there is a settlement of the race question but those of us who represent the Negro population …cannot see any settlement and we cannot admit that Jamaica is any good index to any settlement and good relationship.

While Jamaica has been deeply influenced by the cultural heritage of countries such as India, Britain, and China; at the base of Jamaican culture is a very heavy African influence, most evident in popular music, and language. The popular language used by Jamaicans, which is spoken by all regardless of race, while containing versions of English words, also contains a considerable number of African words. It is only with the advent of its study by scholars such as Maureen Warner-Lewis[5] and Carolyn

Cooper,[6] and its promotion by cultural icons such as Louise Bennett[7] that there has been some recognition given to African retentions in Jamaica. Even so, there is a tendency for some degree of shame to be attached to the African elements of Jamaican culture. As regards the Jamaican vernacular, it is taken as a given that English is the official language while 'Patois' is a 'corruption' of English. Artforms and religious practices such as Kumina[8] and Revival[9] that are deeply influenced by Africa are also frowned upon and seen as demonic at worst.

The fact that self-identity is a major issue and that racial slurs such as "anyt'ing too black nuh good" (anything that is too black is not good) persist, as well as the fact that Jamaica is so deeply steeped in African retentions not just biologically but also culturally; proves the relevance of Pan-Africanism in the country and the need to use Pan-Africanist thinking to assist in the psychological and social development of Jamaicans.

The Activities of Liberty Hall

Liberty Hall's facilities are:

- The Garvey Multimedia Museum,
- The Garvey Research/Reference Library,
- The Garvey Multimedia Computer Centre,
- An Educational/Outreach Programme, which is supported by the four other facilities.

Liberty Hall also hosts **Cultural and Intellectual Programmes** from time to time.

I will now examine each facility in detail, as well as the cultural/intellectual programmes.

The Garvey Multimedia Museum

The Garvey Multimedia Museum is still being set up. It will arguably be the most striking and popular facility at Liberty Hall when it is completed. At present, it is the most visited. The Museum will be the first in the World solely dedicated to Marcus Garvey, and the first multimedia museum in Jamaica. Every feature of the museum design is targeted at exciting and interesting its patrons, particularly children. At present, the walls of the Museum are lined with poster boards containing quotations from Marcus Garvey as well as information on his life and work. A wall paper depicting various images involving the UNIA and famous Pan-Africanists will soon be placed on the walls.

The main feature of the Museum will be interactive touch-screen kiosks depicting various themes. The first set of touch screens will contain information on *Marcus Garvey and the UNIA*. The others will be on the following themes:

- Self-identity
- The African Primer — Comprehensive Encyclopedia of the African Continent
- Pan-Africanists
- The Poetry of, and inspired by Garvey
- The Music inspired by Garvey
- Garvey in the News
- Readings of Garvey by famous personalities

For the first set, the aim is to tell the story of Garvey and the UNIA, utilising as much of Garvey's own autobiographical writings as possible. Material is presently being gathered for the second set of touch-screens involving self-identity. Liberty Hall will be using personal stories as relayed by visitors and users of the facilities, to discuss racial prejudice and identity. The touch-screens will feature audio and video pieces such as images, recitations of Garvey's speeches, and film footage. Liberty Hall plans to launch the museum on August 17, 2005, the 118th Birthday of Marcus Garvey.

Another installation currently in place, is a flat-screen, which shows films and documentaries in the Museum. Presently, visitors to the Museum view the documentary: *The Mission of Marcus Garvey*, as well as two ongoing narrated slide shows entitled *Marcus Garvey's Family Life* and *Politicians in Colonial Jamaica* – all produced by Liberty Hall. For the month of February, Liberty Hall hosted a movie series, which entailed the showing of five different films to the public.

Garvey Research/Reference Library

The Garvey Research/Reference Library comprises children's and adults' sections. The Library contains written and audio-visual materials on the themes of Pan-Africanism and Pan-Africanists, Garvey's life and work and the history and culture of Africa and its Diaspora. The adult Library contains 1000 books and the children's library, which caters to children from the age of six to adolescence, contains approximately 543.

Whereas the adult library is primarily focused on non-fictional materials, the children's library is almost entirely fictional. This path was chosen to awaken the children's interests and to affect their imagination while

subtly teaching them about racial issues. The Children's library tackles the issues of self-identity, and historical and cultural knowledge of Africa. The vast majority of the fictional books, for example have black children as the characters. One of the most popular books is *Sleeping Beauty* by Fred Crump Jr., which retells the classic European fairytale from an African perspective. The main character Elora is the daughter of an African king and the story takes place in Africa. Elora is depicted with very dark skin and short kinky hair. Her Prince is depicted in the same way. *Not So Fast Songololo,* another popular book takes the reader through a day in the life of Songololo, a young African boy. Other books contain rich African historical contexts. *Mansa Musa* tells the story of the historically renowned King of Mali. The non-fictional books are principally related to African, Caribbean and Afro-American history as well as geography and science. *Africa is not a Country* provides basic information about African countries by giving accounts of the day to day lives of the children who live in them. Other books refer to famous black personalities such as Jackie Robinson and Marcus Garvey. One of the most utilised books is *Marcus Teaches Us*, a small book containing information on Marcus Garvey's life in simple form. Geared at children between the ages of 6 and eight, it is highly interactive, featuring puzzles, trace-drawing and colouring.

Accompanying the reading materials is a diverse collection of audio-visual materials, primarily films. So far there are over 25 films on VHS and DVD media. The films are primarily documentaries. The film collection includes: *The Promised Ship*, *Look for Me in the Whirlwind*, (both about Marcus Garvey and the UNIA), *Shackles of Memory: The Atlantic Slave Trade*, *The Mirror Lied*, which deals with black self-identity; *The Emperor's Birthday*, which documents the events surrounding the hundredth birthday celebrations of Emperor Haile Selassie; and *Mama Benz* and *Asante Market Women*, both of which look at the activities and lives of market women on the African continent. There is also *SANKOFA*, a critically acclaimed movie, involving a woman's discovery of her African past. For the children, there are *Children of the Gambia*, a five part documentary series that follows the lives of two children in the Gambia, while highlighting features of African culture; and *Kirikou*, an animated African film with a child protagonist.

The Garvey Multimedia Computer Centre

The Garvey Multimedia Centre is of much interest to the public, particularly children. This is because it contains computers, the ownership of which is still a luxury in the community in which Liberty Hall operates. Adults and children from the surrounding communities come to Liberty

Hall to learn basic computer skills at a nominal fee. The adults learn more specific skills such as word processing and with this, resumé writing.

The children learn word processing, drawing as well as the use of the ENCARTA Encyclopaedia (digital). In 2004, Vilcomm Services International Ltd., the computer firm that was contracted to teach multimedia classes developed a *Techno-Garvey Concept,* which entailed the use of Marcus Garvey's image, philosophy and opinions to teach computer applications to children. Liberty Hall still utilises Garvey's philosophy to teach computer skills, particularly in the children's classes. The Paint programme which involves drawing is utilised often for drawing pictures of the flags of African countries. Word processing is taught using quotations from Marcus Garvey and other Pan-Africansits, as well as passages from some of the children's books. The typing of these quotations is followed by a discussion of whatever issue was raised.

There are plans to involve the older children in an African Research Project in which they will research a specific African country, and use word processing as well as paint to convey and present the information. The *ENCARTA* Encyclopedia software, which is developed particularly for research by children is a very popular feature of the multimedia classes and is utilised to do research on World and African history and more general topics involving science, geography and social studies.

The Educational Outreach Programme

Currently, the most vibrant facility at Liberty Hall is the educational outreach programme. It involves an After-School Programme which caters to children between the ages of 7 and 17. Most of the children live in the surrounding communities. They visit Liberty Hall after school from 2:30 p.m. to 4:30 p.m. on weekdays and engage in dance, drama, reading, science, art and computer application classes. There is also a homework programme. Motivational speakers are invited from time to time to have sessions with the children. The outreach programme targets self-improvement, self-identity, and educational advancement in ways that incorporate and go beyond the ambit of explicit racial concerns.

All the classes operate under Liberty Hall's mission statement. For example, the children who do art may make a friendship bracelet out of gold, red and green (The Ethiopian Flag) yarn. Those who do computer classes learn computer applications while also learning about Africa, Pan-Africanism and African culture and history (discussed in the section on the Multimedia Centre).

One of the visual results from the outreach programme is a **Garvey Mural** located in the Garvey Great Hall on the second floor of the Liberty

Hall building. It features paintings depicting Marcus Garvey and other Pan-Africanists, Slavery etc. and was the result of Liberty Hall's Summer Art Programme in 2004. Six young artists and twenty children from the outreach programme collaborated for six weeks to produce the mural. Prior to its production, the children and artists went through an intense period of sensitisation to the issues that would come out of the mural, including African history and identity and Marcus Garvey's philosophy and opinions. Each artist represented a group and each group was identified by an Adinkra Symbol.

Cultural/Intellectual Programmes

Liberty Hall is also the host of many programmes with cultural/intellectual orientations. In 2004, it planned a number of lectures on various topics including: *Marcus Garvey's Jamaica Years*, *Women in the Garvey Movement*, and *The Poetry of Marcus Garvey*. In all, there were eight lectures in that year. The largest intellectual/cultural programme to date was a symposium entitled: **SANKOFA**[10]**: The Impact of Slavery on Contemporary Jamaica**, held in 2005. It featured discussions on Slave Resistance, African Retentions, the Economic Effects of Slavery in Jamaica, the Ideological Justifications of Slavery, and the Psychological Effects of Slavery. Tertiary and secondary level students were especially targeted and turned out in droves. To underscore the lectures, each presentation was preceded by the reading of a slave narrative from various countries in the African Diaspora.

On August 17, 2004 Liberty Hall celebrated the 117th Birthday of Marcus Garvey with an extensive four hour-long cultural programme, featuring performances from various cultural personalities in Jamaica. It plans to host more cultural/intellectual programmes as they have evoked considerable public interest.

Liberty Hall, on some occasions has served as the venue for cultural programmes organised by groups within the community. On Saturday mornings the Garvey Great Hall is the venue for the rehearsals of a popular drumming group called: *The Akwaba Drummers.* The Kingston chapter of the UNIA-ACL has used Liberty Hall for its monthly cultural/intellectual gathering. In February, 2005 the UNIA-ACL held its Renaissance Show paying homage to the Sunday meetings of the Garvey era, which featured intellectual talks accompanied by cultural performances.

Conclusion

Liberty Hall has received a great degree of public support. However, it continues to be hampered by the need for financial support. Even though the Jamaican government maintains the building, provides some office

supplies and pays members of staff, the operation of Liberty Hall's facilities relies largely on contributions. The library, multimedia centre and museum would not exist were it not for grants, donations and volunteers. Nevertheless, its very high goals remain unchanged.

As an institution dedicated to the spread of Pan-Africanist ideals, Liberty Hall arguably has a very difficult mandate. The varied approach that it has taken to the dissemination of Pan-African ideals is fascinating and appropriate, considering that varied approaches have been used in the degradation of Africa and in the development of negative self-identity amongst persons of African descent. There are already traces of Liberty Hall's influence particularly in the children who take part in its after-school programme. The children display more knowledge of Africa and Pan-African ideals than they did when they started the programme. The issue of negative self-identity however, continues to be a problem; and Liberty Hall's most challenging task will prove to be the fostering of positive self-identity. As evidenced by the amount of visitors to, and users of its facilities; Liberty Hall, in the space of two years has managed to evoke much public excitement and fascination. It can serve as a model for institutions with a similar mandate.

Notes

1. Paul Bogle, a National Hero of Jamaica, was a black Methodist deacon from St. Thomas, Jamaica. He was the main leader in the Morant Bay Rebellion of October, 1865, which emerged from the frustration of Jamaican blacks with their social and economic oppression under British Rule. By the end of the Rebellion, over 430 persons, including Paul Bogle, were hanged or shot. George William Gordon, another National Hero, was a prominent near-white legislator who had been sympathetic to the cause. He was also hanged. Gordon was partly blamed for the uprising even though he was not a part of it.
2. In 1927 George Osbourne Marke, a former officer of the UNIA, sued the organisation in the United States ,The UNIA Inc., (which was now a separate organisation from that of which Garvey was President) for backpayment of salaries. The organisation in the United States had gone bankrupt and was unable to pay, so Marke brought his case to the Jamaican Supreme Court. The Court ruled that the suit could be upheld in Jamaica. Liberty Hall was seized and auctioned. In 1930 the judgment was overturned when the case was made that the US organisation was distinct from the one in Jamaica. Over the years the UNIA suffered financial problems, exacerbated by the worldwide depression of the 1930s. As a result, the ownership of Liberty Hall passed through various hands from the 1930s to 1970s.
3. Under the *Undesirable Publications Law* of May 1967 all books written by Stokely Carmichael, Malcolm X, and Elijah Muhammed were banned along with all books coming from Moscow, and international organisations financed by the USSR, Peking and Cuba. In 1968, Roy McNeil, Minister of Home Affairs also banned *The Crusader*, which was edited by African-American nationalist, Robert Williams. (Lewis, 1998:40)

4. Walter Rodney was a Guyanese-born historian, political activist, and Black Power adherent who lectured at the University of the West Indies in Jamaica during the 1960s. Rodney used to visit Jamaican inner-city communities to teach African History. In October 1968 upon his return to Jamaica from Montreal, he was denied entry into the country and informed that the Hugh Shearer-led government had declared him persona non grata. The following day, students of the University of the West Indies protested peacefully. This peaceful protest erupted into mayhem when other persons joined. At the end of the riots, *The Daily Gleaner* (October 18, 1968) reported that two persons were killed, 13 public buses destroyed, 72 damaged, in addition to 90 buildings; 11 policemen injured and 23 persons arrested. (cited in Lewis, 1998 p.43) Walter Rodney was assassinated in Guyana in 1980. His powerful book: *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa,*(1973) has provided insight into the way in which European colonisation of Africa and the slave trade, resulted in simultaneous enrichment of Europe and impoverishment of Africa.
5. See Maureen Warner-Lewis, *Central Africa in the Caribbean: Transcending Time, Transforming Cultures* (University of the West Indies Press, Kingston, Jamaica, 2004)
6. Carolyn Cooper, in recent times, has been one of the advocates of the Jamaican language commonly called 'patois' being seen as a language in its own right and not just a dialect of English.
7. Popularly called "Miss Lou", Louise Bennett Coverly is an actress, poet, writer and storyteller who has been largely responsible for the promotion of Jamaican language in Literature and theatre. Bennett, who has been performing since the 1930s, was one of the first poets to use Jamaican language.
8. Kumina is an African spiritual practice that came to Jamaica mainly though Koongo-speaking Africans in the early post-emancipation period. Its practice of ancestral veneration has earned it a lot of criticism.
9. Revival is the generic name given to religious practices that combine elements of Christianity with African Spirituality. The Native Baptist Church and Zion religion are two variants of Revival.
10. From the Ghanaian Adinkra symbol which means 'to return and take'.

References

Garvey, A.J. 1986. *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*._Massachusetts: The Majority Press.

Garvey, M. 1930. "The Race Question and the West Indies". In: *The Blackman*, 27 December 1930.

Hill, R. (ed.). 1990. *The Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers*, Vol. VII._California: University of California Press.

Lewis, R. 1988(a). *Marcus Garvey: Anti-Colonial Champion*. New Jersey: Africa World Press.

Lewis, R. 1988(b). *Walter Rodney: 1968 Revisited*. Kingston: Canoe Press.

Lewis, R. et al. (eds.). 2004. *Marcus Garvey's Jamaica: 1929-1932*.

Merrick, A.A. 2002. "The Skin Bleaching Phenomenon: Commentary". www.jamaicans.com/articles.

PAN-AFRICANISM, AFRICAN NATIONALISM AND AFRO-ARAB RELATIONS: PUTTING THE AFRICAN NATION IN CONTEXT

PAN-AFRICANISM AND AFRICAN NATIONALISM: PUTTING THE AFRICAN NATION IN CONTEXT – THE CASE OF THE SUDAN

John Garang de Mabior

On behalf of the African people of the New Sudan, the SPLM/SPLA and on my own behalf, I send you a thousand congratulations for the great success in organizing the 17th All African Students' Conference (AASC) 28th – 29th May, 2005.

Indeed it is a welcome move that the great people of Namibia have hosted this Conference under the umbrella and with the solidarity of the nationalist South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) Government.

My greetings and thanks to all the sons and daughters of the African Nation at this gathering. Indeed greetings to my elder brother His Excellency former President and great revolutionary, Dr. Sam Nujoma, and His Excellency President Pohamba.

My regards equally go to the Rt. Hon. Nahas Angula, Prime Minister, the Vice Chancellor and all the academic staff of the University of Namibia (UNAM), including the organizers, His Worship the Mayor of Windhoek, all VIPs, the participants, facilitators, invited guests and the Diaspora.

Please to you all sons and daughters of Africa at home and in the Diaspora, accept my apologies for failing to be present at the Conference as I promised. I am sure our great son of the Continent, Mr Bankie, will pardon my absence.

Speech read and Dr John Garang De Mabior represented by Dr Barnaba Marial Benjamin.

The Unity of Africa

I am a freedom fighter and I must come straight to the point. The message of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/SPLA) to the 17th AASC is that the survival of Africa lies in its unity. Africa must unite, not as a continent, but as a Nation, and therein lies our individual and collective survival as a people. We failed to heed the prophetic words of the great Pan-Africanist, Comrade Kwame Nkrumah and what he predicted is now the plague of Africa. On unity Kwame Nkrumah said:

> If we do not formulate plans for unity and take active steps to form a political union, we will soon be fighting and warring among ourselves with imperialists and colonialists standing behind the screen pulling various wires, to make us cut each other's throats for the sake of their diabolical purposes in Africa.

This Conference must come up with a credible platform for the consolidation of the economic and political union of Africa, for otherwise all our ad hoc and emergency fire-brigade type efforts will always end up in only managing and restructuring backwardness, poverty, misery and hopelessness without changing them.

The second message of the SPLM/SPLA to this Conference concerns our African Brothers and Sisters stolen from us centuries ago and now in the Diaspora. Africans in the Diaspora contributed to the Pan-African movement, especially in the early days. The names of WEB Du Bois, Marcus Garvey and more recently Malcolm X and Bob Marley readily come to mind.

The State of Israel is largely supported in one way or other by a few million Jews in the Diaspora. I do not have the statistics on hand, but there must be over 100 million Africans in North and South America. Although poor, they are many and if they effectively organize, rather than agonize, to use the slogan of the 7th Pan- African Congress, the Africans in the Diaspora can make a major impact on the Pan-African movement, both intellectually and materially.

This Conference must consolidate the solidarity, or rather the oneness of the Africans on the Continent and in the Diaspora. This Conference must call upon Africans in North America and South America to play an

effective role in the African renaissance, to channel positively the role of Africans in the Diaspora, including in business ventures.

Modalities for Solving the Problems of the People of the Sudan

In this connection of developing effective modalities to solve African problems, the SPLM/SPLA has evolved approaches for solving the Sudanese civil war. These modalities are based on the Pan-Africanist ideals of fundamental change, unity and national renaissance. There is no time here to go into the history of the Sudan and of the SPLM/SPLA.

I take this opportunity to affirm that the SPLM/SPLA is sincerely and totally committed to the ideals of Pan-Africanism, that is the ultimate Pan-African objective of African political union, and this is reflected in the objective strategies and tactics of the SPLM/SPLA. Allow me therefore to connect the Sudan and the struggle of the Pan-African movement

The history of the Sudanese people has been one of continuous struggle between the oppressed and the oppressors, the invaded and the invaders, between the exploited and the exploiters. From our ancient past to the present day, the Sudanese people have always struggled for freedom, justice, human dignity, and for a better life.

Our present revolutionary struggle, spearheaded by the SPLM/SPLA, is an integral part and a continuation of these past struggles of our people. The SPLA recourse to armed struggle in 1983 was a resumption of earlier wars before, during and after colonialism. All these wars and struggles were aimed and are aimed at regaining African dignity and nationhood that has been mutilated over the centuries.

The Historical Background of the Sudan and Africa

Our country the Sudan is an unfinished product of a long historical process. It has undergone a continuous process of metamorphosis and mutation through history – changing identity, and the correlation of power among the socio-political and socio-historical forces at any given period. The civilizations of Kush, Pharaonic Egypt and the early Christian, Islamic and colonial states have appeared and disappeared on the soil of our great land, the Sudan.

If we visit the corridors of history from the biblical Kush to the present, you will find that the Sudan and the Sudanese have always been there. It is necessary to affirm and for the Sudanese to remind themselves that we are a historical people, because there are persistent and concerted efforts to push us off the rails of history. But there is no book of significance from

antiquity in which we are not mentioned and in which our greatness and the richness of our civilization is not narrated.

In the Bible, Isaiah Chapter 18, we are the land of Kush, the land of the black people beyond the mountains of Ethiopia, a land of brave, fierce and proud, tall, smooth skinned people, that sent ambassadors to Jerusalem with expensive gifts, a people that conquered Egypt and pushed into Palestine, and were only repulsed from Asia by the combined armies of the Assyrians and Hycos.

Ancient Rome called us Africa, meaning the land of the blacks, while to the ancient Greek historians we were Ethiopia, meaning the land of the blacks. They also called us Egyptians meaning the land of people with woolly hair, which means the same as the land of the blacks. In later days the people of the Arabian Peninsula called our country "Bilad El Sud", meaning "Land of the blacks", from which we now derive the name of our country, the "Sudan".

Bluntly put the name "Sudan" or "Bilad El Sud" as the Arabs called it, simply means Africa. To the ancients the names Ethiopia, Egypt and Sudan simply meant Africa, an undivided Africa, without internal boundaries. It was only during the recent 19th century colonial partition of Africa that the continent got carved into boundaries and lost its comprehensive names, and so Ethiopia and Sudan came to mean the present colonially demarcated countries.

The Concept of the African the Nation

The name Africa lost its original identification of a 'people' and increasingly came to mean a "continent" rather than a 'nation'. I call upon this 17th All Africa Students Conference to put back into the name of Africa its true meaning and content of a nation, the "African Nation" rather than the "African Continent". Let us ask ourselves, what does it mean to the Pan-African movement. To unite a continent you unite a nation, not a continent, and this is the African Nation. The time has come for Africans to think through what constitutes the African Nation. Are all parts of continental Africa parts of this African Nation? Arabia has its own nation, incorporated in the Arab League. Do we want in our African Nation peoples belonging to another nation? The time has arrived for the African youth to determine who will lead the national movement.

> The concept of the African Nation must stick and become a living ideological weapon of struggle for the unity of the African people. The concept of the African Nation with a historical mission and destiny must be taught in all our schools beginning

> from childhood, and African students and youth must put pressure, including demonstrations, against African leaders who do not actively promote the cause.

The colonial boundaries, which our newly "independent" states inherited, only expressed, and still express, the limits separating one colonial zone of influence from the other, they did not represent nations or nation evolved by Africa for Africans. Before colonialism, Africa knew no boundaries. There were no passports, identity cards, border checks, tariff barriers, etc. Colonialism fragmented Africa. At independence the colonial boundaries represented an African nation in pieces. One can draw parallels between the apartheid bantustanization of South Africa and the neo-colonial balkanisation of Africa. Time will come when those boundaries will go, like the South African Bantustans have disappeared. This is the task of the Pan-African movement, to remove the colonial boundaries. These boundaries were designed to serve colonialism, not the African Nation.

But despite the shortcircuiting of the development of the African Nation, there were many well meaning patriotic African leaders who tried their level best to put the pieces together. They correctly analysed the situation and knew what needed to be done. They stressed such issues as "national formation", "nation building" and "national unity" as their top priorities. They realized that colonially inherited states had to be moulded into viable nation states, and further stressed the necessity of African unity. The best of our Founding Fathers, not surprisingly were Pan- Africanists. The names that readily come to mind include Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Jomo Kenyatta and Jamal abdel Nasir, to mention but a few. We are proud of them and posterity will always continue to honour them. But "nation building", "nation formation" and "national unity" became in many cases empty slogans because the African Nation was developing not through its own trajectory, but rather through an externally imposed mode of nation formation. This state of the fractured African Nation at independence naturally enabled, or rather was meant to enable some of the most notorious unprincipled local elites, thugs and outright bandits to seize power, masquerading as nationalists, while they pillaged and rendered the people of the new states destitute, in collaboration with those who prepared and installed them in power. We are reminded of the likes of Idi Amin Dada and Emperor Bokasa, who seriously believed that he was the real incarnation of Napolean Bonaparte and had himself crowned, with the crown alone costing two million US dollars. The former corporals and sergeants of the colonial armies soon became the leaders of the newly independent states.

The Rise of Afrabians in the Sudan

In our country the Sudan, the unprincipled elites who took over power after colonialism were not individual thugs like Idi Amin and Bokasa, but a social group which is collectively and popularly known in the Sudan as "Jellaba". But who are these Jellaba, where did they come from and how did they develop?

The Jellaba (Afrabians) are a social group which has developed in the Sudan since the 15th century from elements of foreign and local traders including slave traders, and who have established themselves in trading centres which later became important urban centres and towns such as Dueim, Omdurman and Sennar. The Jellaba are a hybrid of different races and nationalities from the indigenous Africans, and the immigrant Arabs, Turks, Greeks and Armenians, who have interacted and intermarried in the long historical process which took place mainly in Northern Sudan. The Jellaba are therefore part African and Sudanese, but they choose to identify themselves as Arabs although very many of them are blacker than myself. The Jellaba are thus the so-called Arabs of the Sudan.

Because of their economic and social position of strength (in relation to other social groups) the Jellaba were better prepared to inherit political and state power when Sudan was "granted independence" in 1956. This is in addition to the fact that the Jellaba were developed and aided by the colonial regime, and prepared directly or indirectly by that regime to assume power when direct colonialism collapsed.

The last colonial census, taken by the Anglo Egyptian Condominium colonial Government in 1955, show that those who registered as Arabs constituted 31 % of the Sudanese population, while 61 % registered as Africans. The remaining 8% is classified under "others". These others were actually West Africans, popularly known in the Sudan as "Falata", a corruption of "Fulani". The African population, including the Falata, according to the 1955 census was therefore 69% of the Sudanese population. The Jellaba are thus a privileged ruling minority, and that explains why they adopted the ideology of Arabism and political Islam to entrench themeselves and protect their privileged economic, political and social position in Sudanese society. The tragedy of the Jellaba as a social group is their narrow Arabo Islamic outlook and their total failure to look beyond these two parameters of Arabism and Islamism as the sole uniting factors for the Sudan. With a much blurred outlook, the Jellaba were bound to become incapable of leading the Sudanese people towards the achievements of the historic tasks of national formation and national liberation. Former President De Klerk of apartheid South Africa was better than the Jellaba statesmen that have come and gone in Khartoum,

because De Klerk collaborated with the ANC to bring about majority rule in South Africa. The Jellaba are intellectually stagnant, too convinced to learn.

This short analytical review of the Sudanese situation shows its complexity. Some analysts have compared the Sudan with apartheid South Africa, describing Sudan's problem as that of racism, specifically Arab or pseudo Arab racism. Others have described the problem of the Sudan as that of "indigenous colonialism" where the Jellaba of Northern Sudan are the colonizers and the Southern Sudanese the colonized, and that the solution is therefore that of decolonisation and the independence of Southern Sudan. Others have called it a religious problem characterized by an Islamic crusade attempting to Islamise Southern Sudan, Nuba Mountains and other similar areas in the North. Yet others have argued that Sudan's central problem is that of a crisis of identity. Is Sudan an Arabo African country? Or is Sudan a bridge between the African and Arab Worlds as others have claimed?

These questions clearly sum up the complexity of the Sudanese problem. I once asked a leading Northern Sudanese politician, whether he considered himself as a Sudanese Arab or an Arab Sudanese, and he found the question puzzling! I have attempted to analyse the Sudanese situation objectively and dispassionately in order to correctly identify the problem of the Sudan, for unless a problem is correctly diagnosed, a correct answer is difficult to find. I have argued here and established that the problem of the Sudan is the hegemony by the minority Jellaba of Northern Sudan, and for lack of a better "ism" I shall call the Sudanese problem the problem of "Jellabaism". How do we solve the problem of Jellabaism?

The New Sudan

The SPLM/SPLA has advanced the concept of the New Sudan as the most appropriate solution to the Sudanese civil war and the eradication of Jellabaism. The SPLM/SPLA defines the New Sudan as a socio-political mutation, a qualitative leap out of the Old Sudan. If the Sudan is to be rescued and to survive as one country and thus further the aims of the Pan African movement, whether the "solution" is under a political system of centralism, regionalism, federalism or con-federalism, we must clearly move away from the parameters of the Old Sudan of racism, political sectarianism, religious fundamentalism, and tribalism and the associated economic collapse, instability and wars, and evolve the New Sudan, a new Sudanese socio-political entity to which we pledge our undivided allegiance irrespective of race, religion, tribe or sex, a new Sudanese political dispensation and commonwealth that provides equal opportunities to every Sudanese to develop and realize his or her potential.

The SPLM/ SPLA has studied in depth the Sudanese problem, its root causes, development, tendencies and effects and it is from that analysis that we developed the vision of the New Sudan as a solution of the problem of Jellabaism. We have also studied and worked out all possible solutions and modalities to implement and realize the vision of the New Sudan, as well as to integrate into this conceptual model all other options, without ruling out any of these other options.

The Paradigms for Resolving the Problem of the Sudan

Objectively, there are five possible outcomes in resolving the Sudanese crisis. I have represented these possible solutions in five conceptual models for ease of understanding. As has been said; one diagram is worth more than a thousand words. These models are shown on the last page.

Model 1 – New Sudan Model

This represents the outcome of a United Secular Democratic New Sudan, as envisioned by the SPLM/SPLA. This model entails the total destruction and disappearance of the Old Sudan and on its ruins the buildings of a just United Democratic Secular multi-racial, multi-cultural and multi-religious Sudan, which we call the New Sudan. I present that this is a Pan-Africanist model.

Model 2 – Confederation Model

This is also a Pan -Africanist Model. It represents a transitional situation involving interim arrangements and an interim period. The model implies a temporary co-existence of the two systems, the Old Sudan and the New Sudan, whereby the Old Sudan shall continue to operate in those parts of the Sudan where the resistance to it has not developed into armed conflict and civil war, while in all other areas where there is war an SPLM/ SPLA administration shall be set up.

The SPLM/SPLA presented the Confederation model at the Abuja-2 peace talks as its “Interim Arrangement”.

Each Confederate state is sovereign in its laws and security arrangements. Hence, the controversial issue of Sharia (Islamic) Law, and any similar issue, shall be handled separately by each state according to its constitution, and no state can compel the other against its will, since the security arrangements are separate.

It is these common features and interests, on which the Confederate States agree and cooperate for mutual benefit, upon which a healthy Union can be built. It is these mutual benefits and not compulsion, which militate

against complete separation, as a result of self-interest on the part of the states.

Model 3 – United Islamic Arab Sudan Model

This model is that of the Khartoum system, of a united Islamic Arab Sudan. This is the Model which has been in force since 1956 to the present, and that has resulted in 39 years of war out of 50 years of independence. This is essentially a War and Separatist Model, because the non-Arabs (Africans) and non-Muslims cannot be expected to accept an Islamic Arab Sudan. They would resist this model, go to war and eventually separate from the Sudan. This is why I have labelled it as a war model, as well as a separatist model, as it essentially seeks to subjugate, assimilate and or annihilate the Black African and Non Muslim people of the Sudan, thereby causing war and leading to separation by the Africans.

Model 4 – United Secular Black African Sudan Model

This is a hypothetical model, but not far fetched. As I said before, those who registered as Africans in the 1955 census were 69 %, while 31 % registered as Arabs. If the 31 % Arabs of the Sudan can call for a United Islamic Arab Sudan, of Model 3, as they have done since 1955, there is no reason , why the 69 % Africans both in the north and in the south, cannot call for a United Secular Black African Sudan. They would resist this model, go to war and eventually separate from the Sudan because it would seek to subjugate, assimilate and or annihilate the Arab people of the Sudan, thereby causing war leading to separation by the Arabs. As the SPLM/SPLA has signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) with the National Islamic Front (NIF) Government in Khartoum, the war option has been replaced by the referendum in 2011, where the South will vote Yes or No for unity.

Model 5 – Total Separation Model

This is the separate existence or total independence model, in which the Old Sudan and the New Sudan part ways as a result of total incompatibility. It is clear from the diagrams that Model 3 and 4 lead to Model 5, while Model 2 can also lead to Model 5, if the concept of a transformed New Sudan fails.

The above are the five possible solutions for resolving the Sudanese conflict. We ask the 17th AASC to support Model 2, which is within the spirit of Pan- Africanism. The SPLM/SPLA supported the peace initiative under model 2.

The SPLM/SPLA fully realizes that for the Sudanese people to attain any one of the five options, we are fully cognizant of the fact that we must

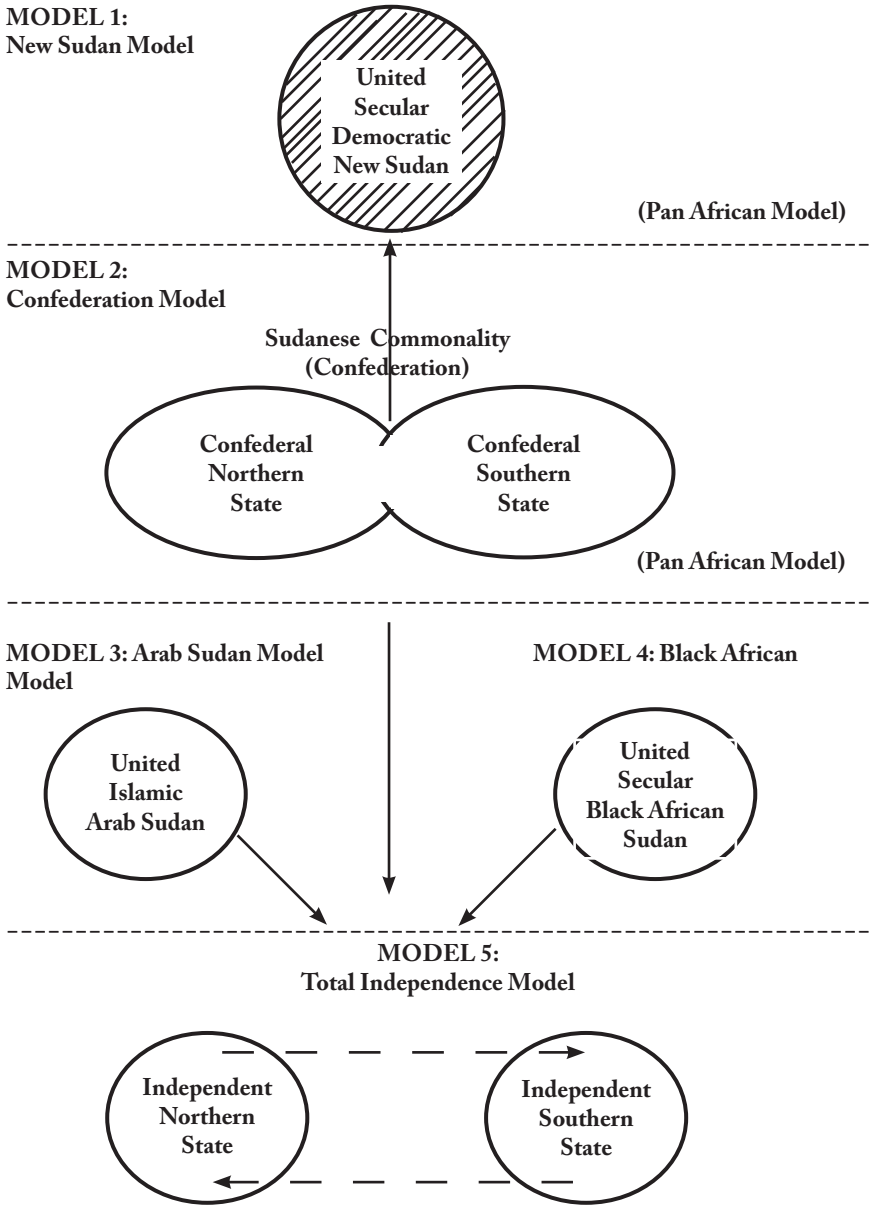
struggle because to attain true liberation, democracy, justice and dignity in the whole or part of our country, it is our struggle that at the end of the day will be the decisive factor. But the solidarity and moral support of the Pan- African movement, especially supporting model 2 and the right to self determination, which it entails, will greatly help the just struggle of the Sudanese people and indeed such solidarity is expected from all those who love justice and freedom.

Model 2 is promoted as a basis for independent African countries to achieve a Confederation in Africa, representing a transitional phase leading to eventual total African political union. The current efforts at economic and cultural integration, such as the attempt to revive the East African Community, the PTA, COMESA, IGADD, SADC and ECOWAS – all these efforts are commendable and must be consolidated, but they are not enough. I strongly urge the 17th AASC to adopt Confederation as the next phase of African political integration and eventual realization of the African Nation, integrating the African Diaspora.

May I finally assure you, once more, of the commitment of the SPLM/ SPLA to the ideals and goals of the Pan -African movement.

I wish the AASC and the African Nation in formation the best of health and growth.

Solution Modalities for the Sudanese conflict within the context of the Pan African Movement



PAN-AFRICA OR AFRICAN UNION?

Bankie Forster Bankie

Henry Kissinger is quoted as follows in the foreword to a French book dedicated to Tarek Aziz, the Iraqi diplomat (Bouvet & Denaud, 2000:13):

> Whereas the intellectual analyses the functioning of the international order, politicians create that order ... and there exists a great difference between the perspective of the analyst and that of the politician.

Background

In international relations 'no position is permanent' and only self-interest remains as a continuous guiding principle in diplomatic exchange. From a duo-polar world, we are now in the unipolar phase, before proceeding to a multi-polar world some years hence. So, too, the pursuit of foreign policy must be under constant review taking cognisance of the shifting nature of domestic and foreign interests.

The text finds its origins in the paper 'Pan-Africanism or Continentalism?' presented by the author at the Institute for African Alternatives in London, England, on 13 March 1991. The introductory note of that text (1995) stated:

> The linkage of Africa with its Diaspora is merely one of the important elements in the advancement of the Pan-African Project. This linkage is only one of the keys to Pan-Africanism – another is the issue who is an African – yet another is the question of Pan-Africanism or Continentalism?

The inability of African political leaders to confront a situation, which in many respects appears overwhelming, some might say god-given, the

absence of a collective sense of nation, and the ability of the denationalised African elites to ignore the problems of other Africans living elsewhere – has meant that Africans in general as represented by their governments, have chosen 'collective amnesia' as regards some events happening in other parts of Africa and its diaspora. So it was that the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) failed to act on one and a half million lost lives in the Sudan since 1983 and four million displaced, or when thousands were massacred or displaced in Mauritania, and reports filtered through of genocide in other parts of the 'Borderlands', and of the harassment of African communities. The Borderlands is that area of Africa running from Mauritania on the Atlantic Ocean, eastwards through the Sahel, to Sudan on the Red Sea.

The OAU, which emerged as a compromise from the earlier Pan-Africanist struggles, based its project for unity on unequal Afro-Arab relations, which did not reflect the lived experience of the Afro-Arab interchange, which was less than cordial at the point of contact in the Sahel. There is a view that Africa was saved from being annexed by Pan-Arabism by the Jewish settlement of Palestine. Later the examples of Sudan and Mauritania will be used to illustrate the reality in the Borderlands. The marginalisation of Africans in the area was not, after all, a new phenomenon and had been centuries in the making. One of the foremost exponents of the OAU approach to unity had married an Arab to symbolize his aspirations for continental union, by a co-habitation.

With hindsight one increasingly asks how the leaders of the 1950's and 1960's believed that they could short circuit centuries of history and move to immediate union with a people who had pursued a policy of expansion over centuries and who by the mid-twentieth century had created their own pan-movement for Arab solidarity, lead by the Nasserite revolution, which captured the imagination of the Arab world and spawned the Arab nationalist Baath parties of Syria and Iraq and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The policies pursued by the Baath party and the Jamahiriya were but a continuation of the age old policy of Arab expansion into Africa, with the Iraqi Baath party training the elite military structures of the Mauritanian army, the Republican Guard; with Iraq supplying mustard gas to Khartoum to be used in south Sudan and with Libya seeking to annex Tibesti in Chad, creating chaos and anarchy in west Africa (e.g. Liberia, Ivory Coast, ect), whilst seeking to extend its influence in the Central African Republic, Zimbabwe and elsewhere.

The formation of the OAU Charter was contested. The objective of a United States of Africa was watered down by the majority of states which opted for a gradual approach. The Charter provided for a loose cooperation of African states and not a union of African people. By resolving to

strengthen the links between the African states 'through the establishment and reinforcement of common institutions' the OAU Charter represented an abrupt break in the trajectory of the Pan Africna movement, as it failed to incorporate the aspirations of the people (rather than their states) and the destiny of Africans in the Diaspora, despite the fact that the organisation owed its origins to the work of Pan Africanists.

Apparently the Founding Fathers of the OAU, or at least some of them, did not know the real nature of Afro-Arab interaction in the Sahel, and were ignorant of the grassroots conflictual relations which exploded into violence in Nouakchott, Mauritania for the first time in 1966. As the movement largely driven by Libya, gained momentum towards the revision of the OAU structures, some observers monitored closely the formulation of the Charter of the emerging African Union (AU). This was not easy, given that the elaboration took place, at least in the early stages, away from public scrutiny and knowledge. From the 'Report of the meeting of legal experts and parliamentarians on the establishment of the African Union and the Pan African Parliament' dated 17-20 April 2000, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia Ref Cab/Leg/23.15/6/Vol IV, at paragraph 48, under the rubric 'Consideration Protocol relating to the Pan African Parliament' at the section referring to Article 4 'Objectives' it is stated:

> On the issue of composition it was proposed that the prospective members should represent not only the people of Africa and those who have naturalized, but peoples of African descent as well. However, other delagations were of the view that only, African peoples should be represented in the Parliament...

At paragraph 55, appearing under the same rubric as paragraph 48 (i.e. 'Consideration Protocol relating to the Pan-African Parliament'), in the section referring to Articles 2 and 3 ('Establishment and relationship with the OAU'), it is reported:

After effecting certain amendments to paragraph 1 and 2 of Article 3, the reference to members of Parliament representing all people of 'African descent' was deleted.

It is no secret that Arabia in the OAU never saw a place for the African diaspora in its deliberations, whereas Africans in general embrace their 'kith and kin' taken out of Africa through slavery. In his contribution to the Amman Seminar on Afro-Arab relations, Mohamed Fayek, Director-General, Dar Al-Mustaqbal Al-Arabi, Cairo, Egypt, points out that prior to the Nasserite Revolution of 23 July 1952, Egypt had no organic relationship with the rest of Africa, and there existed no linkage movements. He (1984:90-91) goes on to state that:

> ... The African movement itself, which was initiated by black Americans in reaction to discrimination against them, adopted the theme of the black man's dignity and freedom and his returning to his roots – while the black Americans had neither knowledge nor concrete links with the African continent, other than the colour of their skin. Hence the birth of what is called 'Africanism' based on their African descent – but only with black Africa in mind. African unity was to them as much a way of reviving the ancient African empires of Ghana, Songhi, Mali and others, as it was the unity of black Africa. With this, Africanism, before reaching the African continent itself, took a separate path from Arab Africa. Egypt, therefore, as well as the rest of North Africa, had no connection with this particular African movement.

The Borderlands and the Sudan

It is submitted that the resolution of the problems in Afro-Arab relations, specifically as reflected in the Borderlands, will require time and introspection. As these issues are addressed, it will result in the reorientation of African international relations. It will affect how Africans see the world, how African unity is constructed, and how the rest of the world sees Africa. This strategic shift in intra-African relations represents the first major departure from the interpretations and 'sets of problems' left to us by those who formed the OAU in the 1960s, which precepts have remained unchallenged in conventional circles from the formation of the OAU to its reincarnation as the AU today.

The establishment of the Afro-Arab 'dialogue', if needs be, will require as its principal interlocutors, from the African side, the people of the Borderlands who have coexisted with the Arabs, not the coastal peoples of West Africa, nor the central, east and southern Africans, who have in general chosen to ignore the problems in the Borderlands. It is with the people of the Borderlands that the Arabs north of the Sahel, the Moroccans, Egyptians, Libyans, Tunisians, Algerians (whose government, less we forget, needs to resolve its differences with the Berbers in their midst) *et al* that the dialogue may take place. Some Africans are saying that the issue of reparations for Arab-led slavery should not be addressed in this period, when the Middle East is being regime changed. Here again such tactical questions need to be answered by those living in the areas affected.[1] The attempt to postpone the issue of reparations equates with the existing generalised Arab disrespect of Africans. It is a reminder that Nigeria, Senegal and Uganda have renounced at different times rights to reparations for slavery.

The Arab world in general as represented by the Arab League, as well as the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), has supported the Sudan government in its war in the south against African nationalism. In the Sudan, as in the Borderlands in general, Africans have had to contend with Arab expansionism. In these circumstances they had to choose whether to Arabise and Islamise or to take the option of African nationalism. Those who chose the latter option, some of whom opted for Christianity, have been fighting central government in Khartoum. The major opposition is formed by the Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement (SPLM), although other groups are also at war with the central government in Khartoum.

Kwesi Kwaa Prah (2000) has explained the reason why the Sudanese conflict has failed to find definitive settlement. It is the oldest war in Africa, having started in 1955. Prah states that this has been due to the inability of the warring parties to achieve a political and constitutional arrangement which would resolve the contradictions on which the civil war was premised. The intractability of the war reflects the depths of the contradictions.

Essentially the war in the Sudan represents a clash of African and Arab nationalism, contending for economic, cultural, political and social stakes within the colonially bequeathed borders of the Sudan. Prah states that the dominant feature in the Sudan situation is the national question. This he states, is illustrated by the fact that in the Sudan:

> ... an Arab minority controls state power, dominates the armed forces, the civil bureaucracy, the political elite, commerce, trade, banking and the judiciary and orders these instruments of state power towards a spoken and unspoken policy of Arabisation of the African national majority.

The discovery of large quantities of oil in the Sudan adds further fuel to an inflammatory situation.

Although Sudan on independence rushed to join the Arab League, only 39 per cent of its people consider themselves Arabs. Sudan is, in effect, a minority-ruled state. The majority of its people are Africans, who are mainly concentrated in the south, where the cultural features are less Arabised and the people are partially Christian. The north is predominantly Islamic and Arabic, including blacks who opt for Pan-Arabism. Prah states 'the unresolved national question and its class underpinnings can be identified as the fundamental cause of the civil war'.

The issues the Borderlands raise date back thousands of years and it is suggested that the area provides a sharper, historically based, holistic definition of the African nationality than that hitherto offered by the black consciousness movements in the Americas and Southern Africa. In the

Sudan, as in the Borderlands in general, exists a minority group of Arabised black people who do not consider themselves Africans and who participate in the oppression and enslavement of the majority African population. Clearly what is at stake is not a matter of colour, but a question of culture. A fact which was confirmed by the author on a visit to Khartoum in December 2002. The Borderlands teach us that the African nationality is primarily cultural, not race based. For the African unity movement the implications of this mean a need to 'wipe the slate clean' and a need to 'return to the drawing board'. Too much emphasis was placed on geopolitics, economics and race at the cost of marginalising the significance of culture. Indeed culture is the missing link in development planning (Prah, 2002).

We need to recall at this point how Africa, from the Mediterranean Sea southwards, had been originally populated by black people. The doctoral thesis of Cheik Anta Diop of 1960 established the cultural origins of the Egyptian civilisation as being African. This was affirmed in Cairo from 28 January to 3 February 1974 at the UNESCO sponsored Symposium on the Peopling of Ancient Egypt and the Deciphering of the Meroitic Script, attended by Diop and Theophile Obenga (Diop, 1992).

The author examined at the National Museum in Khartoum in December 2002, irrefutable evidence that the earliest civilisations in the area of present day Sudan were African cultures. We know that with the passage of time other Indo-European peoples entered North Africa through the Nile Delta pushing southwards the Africans they met, so that today the Borderlands define the point to which Africans have been pushed southwards, generally to arid, infertile areas. In the Borderlands, due to the Arabisation of its people, some of those leading the fight southwards are black people culturally Arabised, who have been denationalised and thus reject their African national identity.

The Annual Report of Sudan Organisation Against Torture (SOAT), on the situation of human rights in Sudan for the period March 2002 to March 2003 refers to the situation in the province of Darfur in Western Sudan. The problems in the area arise from what the Sudanese government terms as 'tribal conflicts' between Arab tribes from Chad and Darfur and the African tribes of Darfur. This conflict provides the material evidence of the nature of the contact between Arab and African cultures in the Borderlands today, the point of conflict having over centuries been pushed by the Arabs down from the Mediterranean coast to Darfur in the Sudan and other points westwards, towards the Atlantic.

According to SOAT, this 'tribal conflict' has taken the form of attacks by militia from the Janjawid group of 28 Arab tribes, amongst them the

Mahariya, the Zizeigat and the Iraqat, against villages of the Fur, Massaleet and Zagawa African people, in which at least 75 people had been killed since May 2002, many more injured, hundreds of houses destroyed and thousands of livestock lost.

The Report goes on to state:

> Large numbers of people have been displaced by these attacks and left without shelter and food in an area where prolonged drought has resulted in consistently high levels of food insecurity. The authorities are aware that these attacks are taking place, but no investigations have been launched and none of the perpetrators pursued, despite the fact that leaders of the Fur and Massaleet tribes have identified leaders of the militia attacks to the Government of Sudan. The Fur tribe have accused the Government of Sudan of training and supporting militia from the Arab tribes.
>
> The Government of Sudan maintains that the conflict in Darfur is primarily a tribal one, centred around competition for land between pastoralists and crop farmers in the area. Whilst this is true to a certain extent, as drought in Darfur has led to severe shortages of pasture land and conflict over viable land between tribes has occurred, this is not thought likely to be the primary cause of militia attacks on villages of the Fur, Massaleet and Zagawa. Leaders of the Fur tribe insist that the consistent depopulation of villages by Arab militia attacks and the changes in land ownership which have resulted are part of a government strategy to change the whole demography of the region of Darfur. To date, 59 Fur villages in the region have been depopulated in attacks by militia from Arab tribes.

From time to time the National Islamic Front (NIF) government in Khartoum has talked of capturing Kampala as a strategic objective to control the headwaters of the Nile and to push Arabisation further southwards, over the Equator. The situation in the Sudan and the progress of the war is regularly put on the political agenda of the Arab League at a time when it has never been raised in or placed on the OAU agenda. The Arabs led by Egypt have tenaciously resisted the inclusion of the conflict at the various OAU summits and ministerial meetings, on the basis of it being an "internal matter". The support of the Arab world in general by way of finance and in terms of military supplies to Khartoum, has at times included volunteers, such as Bin Laden, the Muslim fanatic. Dr Hassan Abdalla El Turabi, the then chief ideologue of the NIF government, was

quoted as saying in February 1999 'we want to Islamise America and Arabise Africa' (Nyaba, 2002:27).

Slavery

Adwok Nyaba (2003:2) in his paper delivered on 22 February 2003 at the Conference on Arab-led Slavery of Africans held in Johannesburg,[2] states that whereas the trans-Atlantic slave trade has been recognised and been the focus of the ongoing struggle for reparations, the Nile Valley, Red Sea and Indian Ocean traffic in slaves:

> has either been ignored, minimised or completely rejected on false account that the Arabs either were 'brothers in Islam', equally colonised and oppressed by the west or participated in the decolonisation struggles of the African people.

Adwok goes on to state that the slavery of black people in the Nile Basin began in earnest with the defeat by the Ottoman Empire of the Mamelukes of Egypt in 1517. He states that the commodification and merchandisation of the trade with routes taking slaves down the Nile to Egypt and southern Europe and across the Red Sea to Arabia, Persia and to China, is traced to the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Adwok (Nyaba, 2003:38) makes the point that it is rare to find descendants of these slaves in the Arab countries today, in the same way that slave descendants are found in the Americas and the Caribbean today. According to Adwok, the reasons for this lie in the Arab's non-recognition of black people as human beings. Men were castrated and the women were used as sex-machines, so that over generations the off-spring of the enslaved women merged into general Arab society, albeit into an inferior colour based caste-type class of sub-species.

Mekuria Bulcha (2003:2) in his paper delivered at the same conference in Johannesburg, quoting from Austen, states that it is estimated that over 17 million Africans were sold to the Middle East and Asia between the sixth and twentieth century. Bulcha points out that this trade has received little attention in the past. He points out that slavery in Islam was considered a '*hajir*' – a legal incapacitation. He states that any distinction made between western and Islamic slavery is largely figurative. Both arrangements involved violence and cruelty as well as the devaluation of humanity. Bulcha states that lacking networks and organisations, Africans in the Middle East and Asia remained 'a disjointed Diaspora'. Records from the nineteenth century suggest that whereas there was a persistent desire for repatriation amongst them, they did not embark on large scale return movements as the Africans in the Americas did.

Records on the Red Sea slave trade predate the Atlantic slave trade by more than a thousand years. Of the slaves exported Bulcha, quoting Austen, states that about four million were exported across the Red Sea. As slavery was abolished in West and Southern Africa, slave trading increased from the ports of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. With the abolition of slavery in East Africa in the 1870's, thereafter most of the slaves in the markets of the Middle East and Ottoman Empire came from Ethiopia. Caravans conveyed slaves from the Ethiopian highlands to the coast. The Red Sea slave trade was a trade in children, the majority of the captives being girls between the age of seven and fourteen years. In general the ratio of female to male children exported across the Red Sea was two to one.

Prof. Helmi Sharawy (1999) of the Arab Research Centre for Arab-African Studies and Documentation (ARAASD), Cairo, Egypt which is headed by Prof. Samir Amin, in his paper entitled 'Arab Culture and African Culture: Ambiguous Relations' affirms the unstable nature of the relationship between the two cultures, with a history of military conflicts. Contemporary Arab literature perceives Africa as without culture and civilisation.

The Johannesburg Arab-led Slavery of Africans Conference of 22 February 2003 also looked at slavery in Berber society, trans-Saharan slavery, the slave markets and Islamic societies of the Middle East, the slave trade in East Africa (1840's to 1890's), slavery in Niger, African slave trade in central Europe and the Ottoman territories in the 18th and 19th centuries, and slavery in Mauritania, amongst other issues. This Conference convened by the Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) of Cape Town, and the Drammeh Institute of New York, issued a Declaration calling for, amongst others, reparations; the establishment of relations between continental Africans and the African Diaspora in the Arab world; that the issue of Arab-led slavery of Africans be placed on the agenda of the AU; and condemning forced cultural Arabisation.

The Borderlands and Mauritania

As the Mauritanian Garba Diallo (1993:14) states, whereas the Arab immigration into North Africa was attributed to Islamic conquest drive, ecological degradation in Arabia was decisive in the timing and number of people who abandoned Arabia for greener pastures, so that following the tragic collapse of the Marib Dam, near San'a in Yemen in 570 AD several hundred Arab tribes left the area headed for North and East Africa. This migration took place 40 years before Islam was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad in 610 AD.

For example the Beni Hilal tribes of Yemen, who had first penetrated North Africa three centuries earlier were part of the 570 AD movement into Africa. By the 14th century they had reached northern Mauritania. Diallo informs us that for 200 years these groups plundered the area, coming into conflict with the Berbers who were also present in northern Mali. The Berbers were subsequently defeated and rapidly Islamised and Arabised. The combined forces of the Arabs and Berbers on the one side and black Africans on the other continued to fight right up to the arrival of the French in the area in the later 19th century. During this period of overt Afro-Arab wars, thousands of Africans were captured into slavery by the Arabs so that on 1 January 1990, Ould Taya, the Head of State of Mauritania declared 'Mauritania cannot be in the process of Arabisation as it is an Arab country'.

Adwok Nyaba, in his paper 'The Afro-Arab Conflict in the 21st Century: A Sudanese Viewpoint' (2002:35) informs us that the Arabs arrived in North Africa, driven there mainly by hunger and the wish to capture richer lands. In the wars that ensued in North Africa they looted and stole movables and occupied lands. By 640 AD Arab armies had ransacked Tripoli. Carthage was razed to the ground and the *Magreb* in general put to the sword, thus breaking the resistance of the Berbers.

It is impossible to obtain detailed figures of those who have lost their lives in the Sudan conflict. According to Adwok (Nyaba, 2002:37) 'the world watched the people of South Sudan bleed about one and a half million people to death in the seventeen years' war'. In Mauritania, likewise, figures on the genocide are hard to come by with many killed, with deportations of Africans reaching 130 000 by mid-1989, and with 100 000 full time slaves and 300 000 semi-slaves and ex-slaves still held in bondage by Arab Mauritanians (out of a total population estimated at 2 million in 1988) (Diallo, 1993:11, 22, 28, 41, 43). In Mauritania on 24-25 April 1989, according to the report issued by *Africa Confidential,* elements of the government-supported Structures de L'Education des Masses (SEM) massacred more that 1 000 Senegalese, black Mauritanian, Guineans, Ghanaians and Ivorians, without reaction from the OAU. The United States Congressional Record, Extension of Remarks of 9 July 1991 (E2465) condemned:

1) 'the forcible expulsion in 1989 and 1990 of up to 80 000 black Mauritanians into Senegal and 10 000 into Mali, where most continue to reside in refugee camps;
2) the burning and destruction of entire villages and the confiscation of livestock, land and belongings of black Mauritanians by the security

forces in 1989 and 1990 in an effort to encourage their flight out of the country;

3) the death in detention as a result of torture, neglect or summary execution of at least 500 political detainees, following the arrest of between 1 000 and 3 000 black Mauritanians in late 1990 and early 1991;
4) discrimination against non-Hassaniya speaking black Mauritanians in all walks of life, including unequal access to education, employment and health care;
5) an aggressive policy of 'Arabisation' designed to eradicate the history and culture of black ethnic groups; and
6) the use of state authority to expropriate land from black communities along the Senegal River Valley through violent tactics.'

Mauritania had no serious problems of land ownership before the 1970's and 1980's droughts. Arabs led a nomadic way of life in the north of the country while the blacks continued their mainly settled way of life along the Senegal River Valley. The drought of 1968-1985 decimated the camel, goat and sheep herds of the Arabs. In 1983-84 new land laws were adopted. African customary land ownership in the south of the country was abrogated to allow the state to allocate fertile African lands along the Senegal River to Arab nomads and businessmen from the north. Both Arab nomads and businessmen moved en masse to colonise the south. The ensuing tensions lead to the formation of the African Liberation Forces of Mauritania (FLAM), which launched an armed struggle for the political, economic and cultural rights of African Mauritanians. The current regime of Taya, which seized power on December 12, 1984 responded to black demands with violence and discrimination. As the 1983-84 land reforms were implemented by the regime, the Prefect of Boghe, Ould Jiddou, issued Circular No. 19/DB in May 1988 confiscating all black-owned farmland in the Boghe area. Some of these farms were owned by farmers living on the Senegalese side of the river. Their rights to farm in the area pre-dated the arrival of Arabs in the area and the creation of the state of Mauritanian itself.

As relations developed on a daily basis of conflict between Arab settlers and black farmers, so relations between Mauritania and Senegal deteriorated. This lead to the 24-25 April 1989 anti-black massacre. Black Africans were identified as Senegalese by the regime and were rounded up into detention for deportation to Senegal and Mali and for summary execution. These events were reported in the *Amnesty International Newsletter* of September 1990 and in the *New York Times* of 17 June 1991. 30 000 to 40 000 Senegalese immigrant labourers in Mauritania were repatriated. This operation was assisted with air transport from France, Morocco,

Algeria and Spain. Mauritania then began an unprecedented campaign of deportation of its own black citizens to Senegal and Mali.

No independent Commission of Inquiry was set up by Mauritania to investigate these events and the loss of life. By 22 April 1992, Senegal, which had come under intense pressure from the donors, restored diplomatic ties with the Mauritanian government (Diallo, 1993:13). The donors insisted on privatisation and the establishment of large projects in the Senegal River Valley, which attracted Arab agribusiness investments, which were facilitated by the availability of slave labour.

Arab Nationalism

Arab nationalism in the twentieth century was in full expansion in Africa, which it perceived as a 'cultural vacuum' waiting to be filled by its Arabisation schemes and Islam. In contemporary politics Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt was its principal exponent. Nasser was able to cooperate with leaders of the Pan-Africanist movement, convincing them that there was no contradiction between Arab and African nationalism.

However contemporary observations are that latter day Arab nationalism, as seen in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, and the Baathist parties in Syria and Iraq, sees itself as an expanding force in Africa. So we have the report of the Pan-African News Agency (Dakar) of 28 March 2001 as follows:

> Amman, Jordan
>
> The leader of the Libyan Revolution Col. Mouammar Kadhafi last Tuesday in Amman invited Arab countries to join the African Union.
>
> Speaking to reporters at the Arab summit winding up in Amman, Jordan today, Kadhafi said the third of the Arab community living outside Africa should move in with the two-thirds on the continent and join the African Union 'which is the only space we have'.

Kadhafi made so bold as to invite Arabs to Africa to continue and supposedly complete the work they had been embarked upon before the birth of the Prophet Muhammed. In May 2003 Kadhafi proposed a tripartite union including Libya, Sudan and Egypt.

Diallo tells us that after Mauritania joined the Arab League it adopted a hostile policy to its captive black population. Iraq and Algeria became the countries of preference for the training of Mauritanian military men.

Iraq was chosen for its adherence to the Pan-Arabist doctrine of the Baath party. Regimes such as those ruling Mauritania and Sudan today have pursued anti-African policies in the name of advancing Arab nationalism. The Sudan today is test tube proof that Arab nationalism is inimicable to African nationalism. It was Arab nationalism that motivated the National Islamic Front (NIF) government in Khartoum to aspire to the ambition of capturing Kampala and the head waters of the Nile, a symbolic dagger thrust into black Africa. Indeed Nyaba in his paper perceives the Arab threat as the primary danger for Africa today, given the experience in the Borderlands in general.

Wherever expansion has pushed Arab nationalism in Africa, it has resulted in war, loss of life and the enslavement of Africans. Arab nationalism is also an export ideology which usurped the Sudanese state in a military coup on 30 June 1989 and which became the driving force for the NIF government in Sudan, which was an exponent of radical Pan-Arabism. Thereafter the NIF used a strategy of fomenting conflict and instability in the neighbouring countries of Eritrea, Ethiopia, Egypt and Uganda, whilst supporting Islamic political movements in Kenya and Somalia. It supported Hutu rebels and the Interhamwe against the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) government in Rwanda, which rebels were based in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (Nyaba, 2002:27).

Arab expansion into Europe was halted in 732 AD at the battle of Tours in Poiters, in the south of France. European cultural fears of Islamo-Arabic expansion date from that period. The application of secular moslem Turkey to join the European Union raises age-old anxieties for Europeans. Events in Algeria reflect the continuing anxiety by European states such as France that Islamic fundamentalism could spill out of Algeria onto the European mainland. France could therefore not tolerate the installation of an Islamic fundamentalist government in Algiers. Africa is not alone in its concern with Arab-Islamic expansionism. The bombing of the Twin Towers World Trade Centre in New York on 11 September 2002, brought home to Americans something those in the Borderlands have been living with for centuries.

Within the Arab world today, the leading edge of progressive thought remains with the Nasserite option for socialism. For the Jamahiriya the preoccupation is less with Islamisation and Arabisation. Modern Arab nationalism is unencumbered by cultural and religious objectives and more driven by the Arab encounter with the global influence of socialism, which was on the ascendancy in the mid twentieth century. The Jamahiriya is a continuation of the Nasserite project of spreading secular Arab socialism.

The push southwards into the well-watered lands of sub-Saharan Africa remains an objective of Arab nationalism.

The Jamahirya proceeds in a two pronged fashion using two principal methods – cheque book diplomacy and 'senseless' violence. The dispensation of largesse has seen Libyan banks established in compliant African states. Violence as a foreign policy tool was seen in West African countries such as Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone and Liberia. It was used in the Central African Republic. The third arm of Arab penetration is armed 'Jihad' (Holy War).

Arab nationalism is on the defensive in the Middle-East and is being denied terrain in the Americas and in Europe. Being gregarious, compulsive and by its nature expansionist it is expected to become more active in Africa.

Notes

1. Prof. A. Tier, Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Khartoum and specialist in Human Rights law, endorsed the legitimacy of reparations for Arab-led slavery in Khartoum on 12 December 2002.
2. On 22 February 2003, the Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) in Cape Town and the Drammeh Institute of New York convened the Conference on *Arab-led Slavery of Africans* at the Sunnyside Park Hotel in Johannesburg. These proceedings are available from casas@casas.co.za (proceedings forthcoming).

References

Bankie, B.F. 1995. "PanAfricanism or Continentalism?". In: *African Opinion Series*, No. 4. Cape Town: Harps Publications.

Bouvet, B. & P. Denaud. 2000. *Tarek Aziz: Le Diplomate de Saddam Hussein*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Bulcha, M. 2003 "The Red Sea Slave Trade: Captives' Treatment in the Slave Markets and Islamic Societies of the Middle East". Paper delivered on 22 February 2003 at the Conference on *Arab-led Slavery of Africans*, p. 2 (proceedings forthcoming).

Diallo, G. 1993. *Mauritania: The Other Apartheid?* Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Diop, C.A. 1992. "Origin of the Ancient Egyptians". In: Sertima, I.V. (ed.). 1992. *Great African Thinkers*, pp. 35-63. Rutgers: Transaction Books.

Fayek, M. 1984. "The July 23 Revolution and Africa". In: Khair El-Din Haseeb (ed.). *The Arabs and Africa*, pp. 90-91. London: Croom Helm.

Nyaba, P.A. 2002. "The Afro-Arab Conflict in the 21st Century: A Sudanese Viewpoint". In *Tinabantu*, Vol.1, No.1, p. 27.

Nyaba, P.A. 2003. "Righting the Past Wrongs against the African People: Time for Arab Restitution for the Nile Valley, Red Sea and Indian Ocean Slave Trade". Paper delivered on 22 February 2003 at the Conference on *Arab-led Slavery of Africans* (proceedings forthcoming).

Prah, K.K. 2000. "Constitutionalism, the National Question and the Sudanese Civil War". In Nnoli, O. (ed.). 2000. *Government and Politics in Africa: A Reader*, pp. 392-410. Harare: AAPS Books.

Prah, K.K. 2002. "Culture, The Missing Link in Development Planning in Africa". In: Karikari, K. (ed.). 2002. *Where has Aid taken Africa? Re-thinking Development*, pp. 107-126. Accra: Media Foundation for West Africa.

"Report of the Meeting of Legal Experts and Parliamentarians on the Establishment of the African Union and the PanAfrican Parliament". 2001. In: *Newsletter of the African Association of Political Science*, Vol.6, No.1. Harare: African Association of Political Science.

Sharawy, H. 1999. "Arab Culture and African Culture: Ambiguous Relations". In: *The Dialogue Between the Arab Culture and Other Cultures*. Tunis: ALECSO.

PAN-AFRIKANISM AND AFRIKAN NATIONALISM: PUTTING THE AFRIKAN NATION IN CONTEXT

Sabelo Sibanda

> What does it mean to the Pan-Afrikan Movement to unite a continent? You unite a nation, not a continent and this is the Afrikan Nation.
>
> –Dr. John Garang De Mabior

In an attempt to properly address the question of putting the Afrikan Nation in context, it is a necessary point of departure to, first of all, seek to make a general analysis of the concepts of Pan-Afrikanism and Afrikan Nationalism. It is in formulating an understanding of these two ideological viewpoints that it can then be possible to develop the issues involved in putting the Afrikan Nation in context.

The crux of the matter really, is that, it is most paramount that the Global Afrikan Family, as much as possible, be on the same page on issues to do with the race and on questions of interpreting itself for the benefit of its own people.

Pan-Afrikanism

Pan-Afrikanism, in its 'formal' sense, per se, dates back to the year 1900 when Henry Sylvester Williams, a Trinidadian barrister organised the first Pan-Afrikan Conference in the United Kingdom. To a great extent, one of the primary tenets of modern Pan-Afrikanism was formulated by Barrister Williams, at that early stage, namely, to "bring into closer touch with each other the peoples of Afrikan descent throughout the world".

Through subsequent Pan-Afrikan gatherings, since then, the tenets of Pan-Afrikanism have been further evolved, developed and given more clarity. Amongst the most important, of the said tenets, are the following:

- Afrika, the Motherland, is the central element of the ideology surrounding the espousing of Pan-Afrikanism.
- All people of Afrikan descent, world over, regardless of their physical location, whether they know it or not, are members of a single Global Afrikan Family.
- The entire Afrikan continent must be free of all forms of imperialism and neo-colonialism.
- Generally considering Afrika to be the source of the Afrikan people's quest to revive their dignity, culture and therefore identity.
- Together with combating foreign exploitation of Afrikan people and Afrikan resources, Pan-Afrikanism is very much devoted to the oneness, unity and solidarity of the Global Afrikan family.

Afrikan Nationalism

The starting point in addressing Afrikan Nationalism has to be the question as to whether Afrikan Nationalism, as a recognised political ideology exists or not. In the very limited and highly restrictive Western definition and understanding of a nation, Afrikan Nationalism cannot and therefore does not exist. To properly develop the concept of Afrikan Nationalism, the question of the recognition of political ideology has to be further interrogated. Who has the right or the authority to define and thereupon categorically decide as to what is acceptable and hence recognised political ideology?

Amongst the major weaknesses in the theory of Afrikan Nationalism is that even amongst Afrikan people themselves there is still no universal interpretation of what it is exactly, that is meant by Afrikan Nationalism. Worse still, is the fact that there are some Afrikans who completely dismiss the notion of the existence of Afrikan Nationalism.

In some quarters, Afrikan Nationalism is very much confined to the quest for independence in the different Afrikan countries. This particular school of thought accepts that there is Afrikan Nationalism, but with the limited interpretation that restricts the nationalism to that by Afrikan people of a given Afrikan country and cannot be given a meaning more extensive than that.

A lot of credibility and support was accorded to this idea of Afrikan Nationalism during the days of the liberation struggles of the different Afrikan countries and was, arguably, relevant for the time. It could be said that 'organised' Afrikan Nationalism began to be evident as from the late nineteenth century and gained momentum during the twentieth century thus forming itself into a movement of Afrikans fighting against white oppression of Afrikan people.

On the other hand, there is a school of thought that has taken a much broader and consequently more radical approach to the concept, namely that Afrikan Nationalism takes on board the entire Afrikan Nation. Admittedly this school of thought finds itself faced with the question of addressing whether indeed the Afrikan Nation exists or not?

In order to trace whether indeed the view that an Afrikan nation exists or not, it is necessary to briefly examine the idea and therefore evolution of the word 'nation'. Everyone in the world is presumed to belong to a nation, in the sense of being a citizen of a particular country. Nationhood and nationalism, in the manner that the world generally understands them to be now, are relatively new concepts, which have their genesis in the historical realities of Europe and America (Bjorson, 1991:1).

The word nation derives from the Latin word *nasci* (to be born) and was generally used with reference to people who were born in the same place, geographically. It is interesting to note that in Medieval European Universities the word nation was used with reference to students from a particular region. It was only in the late eighteenth century that the word *nation* acquired the meaning that it is generally assigned today. Voltaire's definition of nation was, in many ways, confined to the self-conscious elite that was capable of influencing the intellectual and political movements that decided a people's future. Rousseau and other eighteenth century thinkers, on the other hand, popularised the notion that a nation should represent the all-inclusive choice of the people that lived within its borders (Bjorson, 1991:1-2).

An insight into the French Revolution of 1789 will reveal that it was at this stage in Europe that the idea of nation found its fullest expression when the French soldiers were shouting "long live the nation" (Senghor, 1964:11).

In looking at Pan-Afrikanism and Afrikan Nationalism, the question that immediately jumps out is whether the obviously Western conceptualisation of nation, albeit acceded to by Afrikan countries at the gaining of independence, is in keeping with the Afrikan Nation or not. For as long as the interpretation of the word nation is encumbered by the limitation

of restrictions as related to borders and citizenry it can never even begin to address the Pan-Afrikan notion of Afrikan Nationalism.

For Afrikan-Nationalism to be properly understood, in as far as any discourse whatsoever of speaking to putting the Afrikan Nation in context, then the word nation has to be looked at from an Afrikan perspective and not the Western approach. If Afrikans are to make any headway at all as regards their self understanding and hence advancement it is high time that they evolved a vocabulary that speaks to who they are and their aspirations with no care as to what the rest of the world thinks of that interpretation. The most paramount aspect should be to create a language that Afrikans themselves understand and can readily relate to, for their own benefit.

Regardless of the understanding given to nationalism, during and after the quest for independence in the different Afrikan countries, it is submitted that that understanding is highly erroneous and negatively misleading for the Global Afrikan Family. The current world concepts of nationhood do not even scratch the surface, where Afrikan people are concerned.

It is most imperative that in seeking to formulate a Pan-Afrikan oriented comprehension and grasp of the word nation, a brief moment be taken to revisit the history of Afrikan people. It is to be noted that in the days of Ancestral Afrika (which Europeans so arrogantly call pre-colonial Afrika) Afrikan people, despite being under different Kingdoms and/or Chieftaincies, in different parts of Afrika, were at the end of the day still Afrikan.

Whether, at the time, they necessarily had a full appreciation of their oneness as Afrikan people or not, the most significant element is that they belonged to the same race and appreciated the inviolability of each other's rights at individual level as well as at Kingdom/Chieftaincy level. This is not to suggest that there were no wars at times; there were, but still these Afrikans did not find it necessary to divide themselves into the kind of strict entities that the Europeans found necessary to do for themselves.

During the latter days of Ancestral Afrika, the Afrikan Nation was forcibly dispersed and divided into units not capable of collective defense. The common aspirations of Afrikan people were shattered as some Afrikans (mainly the young, fit and able-bodied men and women) were enslaved and completely stripped of their Afrikan identity, culture and heritage.

Leading to the days of Post Ancestral/Pre-Independent Afrika (which again the Europeans arrogantly call colonial Afrika) the Afrikan continent was further divided into units which came under the governance of the imperialist European countries. It was particularly after this theft and division of Afrikan land that the Europeans began to push Afrikans in a direc-

tion where Afrikans, themselves, started to adopt the European concept of a nation, for themselves.

In what has now been commonly referred to as 'The Scramble for Afrika' the Europeans extended and imposed their nation model on the people of Afrika. This was not for the good or benefit of Afrika but for the full and most effective exploitation of a weakened, divided and almost entirely subdued Afrika.

The Pan-Afrikan interpretation of a nation, on the other hand, completely rises above the limitations that the Europeans have tried to impose on the Global Afrikan Family. Such imposition of interpretation is only designed to keep the Afrikans divided, at their own expense. To the Pan-Afrikanists, the notion of the Afrikan Nation is all encompassing in the sense that it treats all Afrikans as members of one nation. To the Pan-Afrikanists, the Afrikan Nation does not have to be restricted within the borders of one particular country, the issue is more concerned with the revival of a nationhood that has been deformed and, in some people's minds, completely crippled.

The position of the Pan-Afrikanists is that the nation aspect of the Afrikan Nation is given credence and weight by, amongst others, the following factors:

1. Afrikan people, regardless of whether they were born and live on the continent of Afrika or not, originate from the same Afrikan ancestral heritage and therefore are members of the same nation.
2. Afrikan people have a common Motherland, a land of their own, namely Afrika.
3. In more ways than one, albeit with different emphases, in as far as manifestation is concerned, Afrikan people share a similar culture.
4. Despite, again, different emphases, Afrikan people have highly similar experiences of racism, exploitation and the quest for freedom, thus meaning that, in more ways than one, Afrikan people's history is the same.

Despite the fact that it is not the original name of the continent, it should be noted that the name Afrika has, over the years lost its original identification of a 'people' and increasingly came to mean a 'continent' rather than a 'nation' (Garang de Mabior, 1994:4).

In putting the Afrikan Nation in context, it is not correct, nor indeed prudent at all, to create the impression that there are easy answers and formulae that will enable the Pan-Afrikanists to put the Afrikan Nation

in context immediately. Indeed Pan-Afrikanism, with its lucid rendition of Afrikan Nationalism, goes a long way in making it obvious that there is Afrikan Nationalism which, though not in keeping with the Western version of nation is none the less relevant and applicable to the Afrikan Nation. In so defining, the Pan-Afrikan Movement is defining itself for itself and at the same time removing the shackles of Western vocabulary where it compromises the advancement of the Afrikan Nation.

As there are no clear answers and formulae, it is most essential and therefore inescapable that a brief analysis of some of the challenges that Pan-Afrikanism faces be carefully thought out. In this regard it is a must that it be taken into account that these challenges are not exhaustive as they do not, and cannot be deemed to represent all of the challenges that are and will be faced in bringing the Global Afrikan Family together. Amongst the challenges are the following:

Continentalism vs Global Pan-Afrikanism

Within the Pan-Afrikan Movement there have been those people who have taken the limited view that Pan-Afrikanism is only about uniting the people on the continent of Afrika and this view is mainly confined to those people actually born and/or resident on the continent. This school of thought does not fully put into perspective and thus recognise the significance of the contributions of Diasporan born Afrikans to the Pan-Afrikan Movement.

The likes of the already mentioned Henry Sylvester Williams who called the first Pan-Afrikan Congress cannot go unrecognised or unapplauded as he, for all intents and purposes, got Afrikan people to think from a more global angle in addressing their problems of exploitation. Further, someone like the Honourable Marcus Mosiah Garvey, the leader of the largest Afrikan people's mass movement to date, cannot be simply overlooked. Some of the gains and advances as a direct result of his work and effort have been felt and continue to be felt on the continent of Afrika as much as in the Diaspora. The teachings of Marcus Garvey spread throughout the Black World to as far South as Namibia and Azania (South Afrika) in the 1920s (Emmett, 1986:20).

Another Afrikan in the Diaspora, WEB Du Bois, who eventually relocated, lived and ultimately died in Ghana, also made one of the most significant contributions to the development of Pan-Afrikan thought and teachings. Working alongside Kwame Nkrumah, he was also very instrumental in the putting together of the Pan-Afrikan Congress in 1945 amongst other achievements.

The other viewpoint, in as far as the extent of Pan-Afrikanism is concerned, is that Pan-Afrikanism is a global movement and cannot be seen or heard to be discriminating against those Afrikan people born and/or resident in the Diaspora. This school does not seek to marginalise or penalise Afrikan people simply because they found themselves being the victims of the enslavement process.

According to the global view, Pan-Afrikanism and Afrikan Nationalism can only really and truly be said to be putting the Afrikan Nation in context when there is a realisation that Pan-Afrikanism is global. Whether Afrikans are on the continent or in the Diaspora they still have an indispensable contribution to make to the Pan-Afrikan Movement as a whole.

It is needless to say that should the Continental Pan-Afrikan viewpoint be seen to prevail then the Afrikan Nation shall never really be put in context. Maybe then, there would have to be a clear distinction between Pan-Afrikanism, which even by its name is obviously global and a Pan-Afrikan Continentalism, which would be highly parochial and consequently meaningless to the global Afrikan people's cause and advancement.

It is important to reiterate the point that by putting the Afrikan Nation in context, Afrikan people can then work together in unison, to strengthen the oneness of the Afrikans in Afrika and those Afrikans in the Diaspora, whilst at the same time strengthening Afrika, the Motherland. Global Pan-Afrikanism realises that Afrikans are one people and share a common destiny, and the suffering of one group of Afrikan people is suffered by all, which aspect is not necessarily true with Pan-Afrikan Continentalism. As the Global Pan-Afrikan Movement is unified and therefore strengthened, Afrika is strengthened; as Afrika is strengthened, the Global Afrikan Nation is strengthened and hence gains more respect.

Pan-Afrikanism, without taking on board the fact that the presence of the Afrikan Nation is global and not just on the Afrikan Continent, is highly deficient and may render itself ineffectual and meaningless, thus null and void.

Balkanisation and the Threat of Arabisation

For Pan-Afrikanism and Afrikan Nationalism to positively put the Afrikan Nation in context, the movement must be based and centred on the collective aspirations, dreams and desires of Afrikan people as a whole, and not just mere Balkanised pockets here and there. In allowing Afrika to be Balkanised, the totality of the Pan-Afrikan vision and perspective stands to be compromised.

By leaving the Afrikan Nation Balkanised, Afrikan people eventually play into what Kwame Nkrumah referred to as the 'Pan-Afrikanism of Jan Smuts' whereby Smuts proposed to group the various colonial territories of the several powers in Afrika into loose geographical regions. Each group of territories was to be covered by a central Regional Council, with representatives of the colonising powers within that zone. Also on the Council were to be representatives of powers with strategic economic interests (Nkrumah, 1973:17).

As it is, some Afrikans have accepted European imposed zones and will proudly refer to themselves according to these divisive terms. Some of the terms in question are Arab Afrika, Sub Saharan Afrika, Anglophone Afrika, Francophone Afrika, Lusophone Afrika and other such names.

Together with these divisions, that have been imposed by foreigners, and used to the detriment of Afrika, Afrikans themselves, in spite of the Organisation of Afrikan Unity which has transformed itself into the Afrikan Union, are continuing with the Balkanisation process. Afrikans have created geographical regions such as COMESA, ECOWAS and SADC and some supposedly Afrikan countries are in support of, or are directly involved with the Arab League. Of note about these Afrikan created geographical bodies is that some states actually belong to more than one body and there is an unnecessary duplication of effort and resources and this is ultimately bound to lead to confusion.

Failure to view the Afrikan continent as one collective unit can only lead to serious devastation of the Afrikan continent and also result in slow gains in so far as the effectiveness of the Pan-Afrikan Movement.

One of the real challenges to the contextualisation of the Afrikan Nation, with regard to Balkanisation, is the treatment of the Diasporan Afrikans as though they were an entity completely different from their Brothers and Sisters on the continent. It is absolutely critical for Diasporan Afrikans to have a voice and play a very active role in the direction and hence development of Afrika. It is further essential that Diasporan Afrikans not be made to feel as though they were a people apart from the rest of the members of the African Nation.

The way some Afrikan leaders treat Diasporan Afrikans is as though the Diasporan Afrikans were a cut above the Continental Afrikans and therefore have the natural right to lead. These same leaders, in their conduct, create the impression that the Continental Afrikans have a natural obligation to follow.

Unfortunately some of the Diasporan Brothers and Sisters, end up conducting their Pan-Afrikanism from that perspective of superiority. As the Afrikan Nation is contextualised, it is important to realise the signifi-

cance of the submission that there is no one who has the natural right to lead as much as there is no one who has the natural obligation to follow. The Afrikan Nation has to choose its best leaders.

The weaknesses created by Balkanisation should also be seriously viewed from the real threat of Arabisation, which has been an issue since the eleventh century or thereabouts. There seems to be no significant Pan-Afrikan response or challenge to the threat of Arabisation. As it is, the Arabs have forcibly pushed Afrikan people off the land of their ancestors. The land which is now wrongly referred to as the Near and partly Middle East, in actual fact constitutes part of North East Afrika and is not Arab land and never has been; Afrikans just lost it to the Arabs.

As if it were not enough that Afrikans lost such precious land with lots of oil reserves, they have, on the continent itself, lost the bulk of the Northern part of Afrika, now referred to as Arab Afrika (which land is sometimes deliberately and arrogantly referred to as the Middle East as well). There is nothing like Arab Afrika, all it means is that it is land lost by the Afrikans to Arabs. To further drive their land grab, the Arabs are, in this very day and age, enslaving Afrikans in such countries as Sudan, Western Sahara and Mauritania, with the ultimate aim being to rid those lands of any effective Afrikan opposition and resistance to their Arabisation and Islamisation process.

It is amazing that the Afrikan Union and the Pan-Afrikan Movement, generally, do not seem to be making any real challenges to this obvious spread of Arabism into the Southern parts of Afrika. Is it not strange that in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan got involved, on the side of Kabila, against Mobutu Sese Seko, not from a Pan-Afrikan ideological stand point but from a drive to entrench an Arab, Islamic influence into the central part of Afrika (Nyaba, 2002)? The reason why the involvement in the DRC should not be mistaken for genuine Pan-Afrikanism is that the reality of the workings of the Sudanese government is contrary to any suggested Pan-Afrikanism. Their destabilising involvement in other Afrikan countries and in Sudan itself, against the Afrikan people there, reflects a fight against Pan-Afrikanism and is a far cry from any aspect of Pan-Afrikan ideology.

In the Arabisation strategy and ensuring that Arabisation continually spreads south, the Sudanese government has seen fit to actively support Islamic and dissident groups fighting their governments in Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Uganda. Further, Sudan has also supported the Islamic political movements in Kenya and Somalia and the Hutu rebels and *interahanwe* against the government in Rwanda (Nyaba, 2002).

Is it not rather strange that the Afrikan Union would agree for Sudan to send forces to Somalia under the pretext that they are peacekeepers? How can the Sudanese government be heard to want to keep peace in Somalia when it was behind the warmongering dissidents in the first place?

Doctrine of *Utti Possidetis*

The term *utti possidetis* is derived from Latin and it means "keep what you have". It is by virtue of this doctrine, *utti possidetis,* that the Organisation of Afrikan Unity (OAU) adopted the principle of non-inviolability of arbitrarily drawn colonial borders. Accordingly what this meant was that the new Afrikan governments were to respect the political map of Afrika as created by the partition of Afrika in Berlin, more than 100 years ago, except for democratically agreed territorial adjustments (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 1987:42). It is interesting to note that this approach is not explicitly contained in the OAU Charter per se but is to be found in Resolution 16(1) of the First Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU in 1964 (Nkiwane, 1997:19).

In the main, this position, as adopted by the Organisation of Afrikan Unity, was not only influenced but also decreed and dictated by the League of Nations and the United Nations. These two Western entities, masquerading as World Bodies, gave legal status to the supposition that all countries must be clearly bordered entities, showing forth the inclinations of the citizens of that particular country. Of particular interest are the following documents that have a direct bearing on the Afrikan approach to the border issue:

The United Nations Charter (Article 2) and Montevideo Convention on Rights and Duties of States (Article 11)

The thrust of this article is to protect the political independence, hence sovereignty, of any state from outside aggression. Effectively what it does is to ensure that recognised borders are not violated and this is a position that has been accepted by Afrikan countries. It is noteworthy that the applicability of this provision is not uniform as was the case with the invasion of Iraq, and also the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). In the case of the DRC it is amazing to take note of the fact that those countries that fought to protect the sovereignty of the DRC were the ones blamed the most by the so-called international community.

Vienna Convention on Succession of States in Respect of Treaties (Article 11)

The important aspect of this article is that it effectively denies the right of a successor state to change the boundaries of the country if such

boundaries are entered into by way of a treaty. This then necessarily means that even if the treaty is bad, like the creation of Afrika's 'artificial borders' the successor nation cannot interfere with those arbitrarily drawn borders. This has definitely been the case with Afrikan countries inheriting borders that are detrimental to the interests of their people and still agreeing to be bound by them all the same.

1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (Article 62)

Albeit that this convention recognises the termination of a treaty per se, it does not do so where the issue at stake is the alteration of a boundary. The net result is that Afrikan countries have agreed to be bound by the provisions establishing the 'artificial boundaries' (for a more detailed analysis of the treaties covering the border question, see Nkiwane, 1997).

The position as detailed by the above conventions was, maybe, relevant and workable in Europe, where the countries had evolved around language and culture mainly. But, with Afrika, where the colonialists had not taken culture into consideration, it was bound to fail and has indeed failed in most, if not all, affected Afrikan countries.

Pan-Afrikanism, in its verdict on the interpretation of Afrikan Nationalism, views the border question as one in need of urgent attention if the Afrikan Nation is to be properly put into context. Unlike in America where a civil war was waged for the preservation of a United America and in Europe (through the European Union), where they are effectively dismantling their borders and facilitating easy movement of Europeans in Europe, Afrikans are busy making movement, through strict border controls, more difficult and cumbersome for each other in Afrika.

Some would want to counter the Pan-Afrikanist argument for the dismantling of the borders by stating that the political reality is such that these borders create easy conditions for modern nationhood and national administration (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 1987).

The Pan-Afrikanists, on the other hand, would argue that the suggested modern nationhood is not that modern after all; what is more modern is the Pan-Afrikan approach that does not need borders to constitute and define the Afrikan Nation. To the Pan-Afrikanists, Afrikan Nationalism finds its expression in the Afrikan personality, cultural unity, communalism and historicity amongst other important factors.

The doctrine of *utti possidetis*, it must be noted, was and is being applied vigorously in Afrika, to keep Afrika and therefore Afrikan people, the world over, weak and divided. Divide and conquer again, with Afrikans themselves now entrenching the divisions and further facilitating their own conquest.

Instead of Afrikan countries viewing themselves as one entity representing and protecting the socio-political interests of the Global Afrikan Nation, they still view themselves as separate entities and hence find it difficult to speak with one collective voice for the benefit of the Nation.

Actively Involving the Masses

One of biggest challenges that Pan-Afrikanism faces is transforming itself from a mere academic exercise to being a people oriented movement. In making the transformation it also becomes imperative that all true Pan-Afrikanists realise that geographical location has nothing to do with who leads the movements, all should be based on merit and the leadership qualities that the Afrikan Nation lays down for its leaders. Whether in villages, towns, cities, mainlands, islands, Afrika or the Diaspora, all Afrikans have a vital role to play and should choose their leaders on merit.

Together with the leadership element, is the question of taking the Pan-Afrikan message to the remotest parts of wherever the Afrikan Nation is to be found. Pan-Afrikanism and Afrikan Nationalism would have failed to put the Afrikan Nation in context if the masses are not reached by the message.

In conclusion, it is necessary to give the Pan-Afrikan response to two important questions:

- To the question whether the Afrikan Nation and therefore Afrikan Nationalism exist or not, the answer is an *unequivocal yes*.
- To the question whether the Afrikan Nation is continental or global, the answer is an *unqualified global*.

Having concluded as above, what then is the Pan-Afrikan response to the challenges identified? The Pan-Afrikan Nation is under an obligation to do everything within the power of the members of the Nation to raise the levels of awareness of the Global Afrikan Family. As the levels of awareness are raised so also will be the morale, the confidence, sense of worth and sense of belonging of the people.

Having said that, one of the necessary approaches is to dialogue with our leaders, more so the Afrikan Union from a collective position as members of the Afrikan Nation to create a forum where there can be a specific People's Pan-Afrikan Desk, or some such related organ. Further, it will be necessary to create spaces where there can be Pan-Afrikan Networks or like-minded sectors of areas of concern, globally. Together with

this there has to be a direct, pro-active response to the ever-encroaching Arabism.

Finally the Afrikan Nation has to engage in anything and everything that will assist it to bring together the drive for Afrikan Nationalism in a spirit and manner that will *CONSOLIDATE WHAT UNITES AND OVERCOME WHAT DIVIDES*.

> The Black people of the world have, therefore, come at last to destiny's crossroads. They must make some fundamental decisions as a single people.
>
> – Leopold Sedar Senghor

References

Bjorson, R. 1991. *African Quest For Freedom and Identity*. Indiana University Press.

Emmet, T. 1986. "Popular Resistance in Namibia 1920-1925". In: Lodge, T. (ed.). 1986. *Resistance and Ideology in Settler Societies*. Johannesburg: Southern African Studies.

Garang de Mabior, J. 1994. "The SPLM/SPLA And The New Sudan In The Wider Context Of The Pan-African Movement". Speech delivered to the 7th Pan-Afrikan Congress, 1994.

Nkiwane, S.M. (ed.). 1997. *Zimbabwe's International Borders*. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publishers.

Nkrumah, K. 1973. *Revolutionary Path*. London: Panaf Books.

Nyaba, P.A. 2002. "The Afro-Arab Conflict in the 21st Century". In: *Tinabantu: Journal of African National Affairs*, Vol.1, No.1.

Nzongola-Ntalaja. 1987. *Revolution And Counter-Revolution in Africa*. Zed Books.

Senghor, L.S. 1964. *On African Socialism*. Frederick A Praeger Publishers.

AFRO-ARAB RELATIONS: ROMANTIC OR REAL?

S.J. Dima

Introduction

In this paper we are going to examine the relationships between the people of Africa and the Arab Middle East as presented by the continental Sub/Regional Institutions as well as the social, cultural, economic and religious relations that exist between the two peoples sharing close geographical proximity. The paper begins with a brief examination of the Arab invasion of North Africa in the 7th century and traces the relations of Africans and the Arabs during the slave trade and the colonization of Africa.

The paper further traces the spread of Islam since the Arabs set foot on the continent, in North Africa, the emergence of Afrabian[1] communities in North Africa, the Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia and the coast of East Africa stretching from Somalia to Sofala in Mozambique including the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba and Mafia. The paper then makes some observations on the social, cultural, economic and religious relations between the Africans and the Arabs, and on the relations between the Afrabians and the non-Muslims in the continent using the example of the Southern Sudan and Nigeria and that between the Afrabians and indigenous African Muslims citing Darfur in Western Sudan. It then examines the role played by the Arabs in the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement, one of whose objectives was to liberate the African continent from the European colonial yoke.

Making deductions from the observations on the long history of Afro-Arab relations, the paper examines their implications on future Afro-Arab relations. On the basis of these, the paper draws some conclusions on whether Afro-Arab relations are romantic or real. And if they are romantic, what structures and institutions should be put in place to ensure

that Afro-Arab relations prosper for the mutual benefit of the Africans and the Arabs.

Origins of Afro-Arab Links

The Conquest of North Africa

Geographically Africa is bordered by the Middle East in the North Eastern part of the continent, separated by the narrow Red Sea. Before the digging of the Suez Canal at the beginning of the 20th century, the land mass was continuous, thus allowing free interaction between Africans and Arabs. The Arab conquest of North Africa and the Arabization of the area started in the 7th century AD. Egypt was conquered between 640 and 645 AD. The Arabs soon pushed westwards in the direction they called Maghreb (west). This includes much of present day Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. In 661 AD, a new period of Muslim expansion commenced. A campaign to conquer North Africa began in 663 AD and the Arabs were to control most of the major cities of Libya. By 670 AD, the Arabs had taken Tunisia and by 675 AD, they had completed construction of Kairoun – the city that would become the premier Arab base, (Prah, 2002). Kairoun was later to become the third holiest city in Islam in the Medieval period after Mecca and Medina. By 695 AD, Carthage had been taken, the Byzantine Empire was finally defeated and the Arabs turned their attention to Islamic conversion of the Barbers and by early 8th century, the Arab armies included 12 000 Barbers. This eventually enabled the expansion of the Arab Empire to the Atlantic Ocean.

The communities in North Africa have adopted Arab culture and Arabic as their language and Islam as their religion. Those on the East African coast have adopted Kiswahili (a combination of Arabic and some Bantu words) as their language, as well as Arab-African culture and Islam as their religion. Both the Arabic and Kiswahili speaking Afrabians look more to their Arab ancestry in the Middle East than to their African ancestry in the continent.

It is in the light of this early history of conquest and imperialism that the process of Islamization and Arabization and its movement southwards has to be seen. Some Barber groups in the region demand cultural freedom particularly linguistic rights. Trade in African slaves was one of the most heinous crimes committed by the Arabs throughout this period.

North Africa/Sahel/West-Africa

Historically relations between North Africa and West Africa were dominated by thriving trade links between kingdoms South of the Sahara

especially at the beginning of the 8th century. By this time Islam had already began to penetrate into West Africa. This was intensified in the 15th and 16th century, sweeping aside the African Empires of Mali, Songhai, Kanetu-Bornu, Kano and others. Further southwards, expansion of Islam was cut off by the colonization of these areas during the same period. Bujra (2002) points out that:

> ... despite the colonial and missionary ideological attack, against Islam and the Arabs, Islam spread rapidly in both Francophone and Anglophone parts of West Africa.

According to Bujra (2002), contemporary inter-state relations between North Africa and the Sahelian states are much stronger than those, which prevail in other parts of Africa. Similarly people to people relations between "Arabs" and the West Africans. Bujra points out that:

> ... there are nevertheless points of tension in several countries over the role of Muslims and Islam – especially since independence when Christian Evangelism from the USA and Western Anti-Islamic biases and misinformation had increased. Nigeria, Mauritania and Cote d'Ivoire are some of the important countries experiencing internal tensions over the role of Muslims and Islam.

Eastern Africa

Relations between Arabs and Africans in Eastern Africa go back to before the Christian era. Arabs have traded over the centuries. They moved to the Horn of Africa and intermarried with Africans resulting in the emergence of the Afrabian communities in Eritrea, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia and the East African coast stretching from Mogadishu to Sofala in Mozambique. Here emerged the Afro-Arab people called the Swahili. Like in North Africa, the Arabs were the sole proprietors of the Eastern Slave Trade through the Indian Ocean to Saudi Arabia, Yemen, India, Pakistan and Indonesia. In the 16th century, while the Europeans were shipping Africans from West and Central Africa as slaves to the Americas, the Caribbean and Europe, the Arabs intensified trade in African slaves to the Middle East and South Asia. It was during this period that Zanzibar became the largest slave market in the world. Bujra , 2002, accuses the colonial powers of:

> The colonialists created serious problems in this region between Afrabians and Africans and also amongst the Afrabians them-

> selves. Afrabian tensions and conflicts were created in Eritrea, Somalia, Zanzibar, Tanganyika, Kenya and Mozambique.

The conflicts Bujra is referring to between the Afrabians and Africans are based on culture and religion, and persist to this day. Some tensions exist between Muslims and Christians based on competition for converts. Amongst Muslims there are tensions between Afrabians and indigenous Africans and also amongst the different Muslim sects. Furthermore tensions exist between Christians and Muslims because of the claim by the Arabs and Afrabians that it is the colonialists who are responsible for converting Africans into Christians, forgetting that both Islam and Christianity are foreign to Africa. Foreigners - that is the Arabs and the Europeans who have been responsible for enslaving the Africans, resulting in the depopulation of the continent - have brought both. Both tried hard to change the identity of Africans in the Diaspora and in the Continent forever. During the colonial era the Europeans and to some extent the Arabs as collaborators exploited the human and natural resources of Africa for their own benefit.

The River Nile Valley

The interaction between Arabs and Africans was facilitated by the River Nile whose waters provided life for the Arabs - the new occupants of Egypt. The occupation of Egypt was later extended to Nubia - the present Sudan - after the destruction of the Christian Kingdom of Kush by the upsurge of Islam from the 8th century onwards. This led to the creation of a so-called Afrabian Country in the Sudan (Bujra, 2002), where the Afrabians in Northern Sudan have established an Islamic State in the heart of Africa. From the Nile Delta at the Mediterranean Sea before Christ, indigenous Africans who were recorded to have been grazing their cattle there, have been pushed far south to the Equator by the Arab slave trade and occupation of their vast territories to where they are now in the Southern Sudan. This perhaps marks the last barrier of resistance before a new exodus of Arabs and Afrabians into the heartlands of the African continent as focused by Ali Mazrui. ("The Africans, a triple heritage"). This state of affairs is the main reason for the long and tragic war that has ravaged the Southern Sudan for the last fifty years unnoticed until recently (John Garang, 2005). Having followed closely the war in the Sudan and having studied in detail the impact of Arabization in the Sudan, Prah (2004) aptly observes that:

> However, there is a step further which leads to denationalisation and Arabization. This involves linguistic usurpation and

> the replacement of African customary practices with Arab ones. The most contentions geographical point of this today lies in the Afro-Arab border lands in areas straddling Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Chad and the Sudan. Indeed, in many ways the Sudan and Mauritania are the frontlines of this civilization clash. We are well aware of the fact that on the map of the States of the Arab League, the Arab world ends literally on the equator, at the border between the Sudan and Uganda. It needs to be said without fear or favour that Africans cannot accept a slow encroachment of their national areas by the Arab world.

Bujra (2002) discussing the situation in the Nile Valley, but extending it to Ethiopia, points out that:

> ... This relationship (between Yemen and Ethiopia), has continued over a long period and has affected the highland Christian Ethiopian Kingdom; there are now more Muslims in present day Ethiopia than Christians. Ethiopia may therefore be going through an identity crisis – as in the Sudan.

He adds that:

> The colonization of Egypt, Sudan and Uganda by the British and the subsequent linking of these colonies with the Arabo-Islamic culture beyond the Arab-Sudanese communities, has since created two major conflicts – over the use and control of the Nile River and over the geographical boundary of the modern Sudanese State. British rule in the Sudan has created a serious conflict within modern Sudan between Afrabians and non-Afrabians. This conflict in particular has presented a major obstacle to Afro-Arab relations in general.

It should be pointed out here that the same conflict in the Southern Sudan has now found its way to Darfur in Western Sudan. Initially, the people of Darfur and Eastern Sudan saw and were told by various Sudanese Governments in Khartoum that the problem in the South was religious, that is Christians versus Muslims and perpetrated by the British. Eventually, however, after interaction with the Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement and Army (SPLM/SPLA), the people of Darfur discovered the bitter reality of their own predicament that in some instances they were worse off than the Southerners; that after all the problem was not Islam or Christianity; rather it was the colour of skin or the African-ness of the Southerners of which they are part. It was to a large extent this

realization that made the people of Darfur rethink their stand and collaboration with the Sudanese Government in the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of innocent Southerners in the execution of the scorched earth policy – notoriously known in Arabic as "Nadafa Junub" (literally translated - clean up the south).

Many of the people of Darfur in the Sudanese army then started defecting and begging for forgiveness and training so that they could go and liberate their people from subjugation, oppression, exploitation and segregation by the Sudanese army and the ruling junta in Khartoum, made up largely of Afrabians or sons and daughters of the Afro-Arab diffusion going back to the days of capture, rape, subjugation and enslavement of the Africans.

The Government of the Sudan reacted with an unproportionately oppressive force of arms augmented with the recruitment, training, arming and releasing into the civilian population of Darfur of the notorious Arab Janjawid militia. The objective was to instil awe and fear into the hearts and minds of the people of Darfur.

On the contrary, despite the killings of large numbers of people, now estimated at 200 000 dead (April 2005), the two military movements in Darfur are popular, hence the complexity of the situation. The other objective of the Sudanese Government is to scare the Beja in Eastern Sudan whose plight is similar to that of Darfur; though mobilization for war seems to be gaining momentum in that part of the Sudan.

The problems in Darfur and in Eastern Sudan have laid bare the policy of subjugating a people through Islamization, Arabization and the changing of their African identity. For many decades the authorities in Khartoum have been playing on the intelligence of those who have been converted to Islam, but yet marginalized because the colour of their skin happens to be darker than that of the ruling elite. As Bujra has pointed out the problems of Sudan may create others in countries with similar problems. Mauritania is already unstable because of the relations between the Arab settlers and the indigenous African Muslims in the midst of strong evidence of the continued enslavement of the Africans and their marginalisation by the ruling Arab settlers.

The Political Liberation of Africa (1950-1994) and Afro-Arab/Asian Relations

The period 1955 to 1965 saw close cooperation between Africa and Asia. It was a question of mutual political support where independent states and liberation movements took their places side by side. This was

the period of the "Wind of Change", when colonial Europe yielded to the demands for political independence after the tripartite fiasco of Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt in 1956; America came to the rescue of Egypt. It must be pointed out here that in a twist of national interest, Egypt and Britain became best bed fellows after Egypt offered Britain some concession in the Suez Canal in exchange for Britain joining the territory now know as Southern Sudan to the Sudan to ensure Egypt's supply of the waters of the Nile (John Garang, 2005). The French gave Tunisia and Morocco independence in 1956, but withheld that of Algeria. This resulted in the eight years of colonial war that ravaged Algeria (1954 to 1962). By 1960 Europe chose to accelerate the independence of the Sub Sahara African countries with the expectation of future economic exploitation of their resources. The conflict which had developed between the radical nationalist political forces and those that emerged from European concessions from 1960–1963, divided Africa into the Casablanca group and the Monrovia group particularly on the issue of the former Belgian Congo. The fusion of the two gave birth to the OAU in 1963. The Founding Fathers introduced the clause on non-interference in each other's internal affairs and to support only the liberation of the countries that were still under colonial rule – namely the Portuguese colonies, Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), South West Africa (now Namibia) and South Africa. It was in this atmosphere for the unity of the continent that the first plans for intra-African, intra-Arab and Arab-African co-operation took shape. It was a matter of extending the political solidarity of the liberation movements into new economic co-operation between the states liberated from colonialism and refusing to surrender to the new colonialist prospects offered by the west. This co-operation was highly selective and involved only the radical nationalist states viz – Nassers' Egypt, Algeria, Nkrumah's Ghana, Sekou Touré's Guinea, Modibo Keita's Mali and Nyerere's Tanzania.

Nkrumah spearheaded the implementation of Pan-Africanism, Nasser Pan-Arabism. The two had perceptions of the long-term development of the two adjacent regions. The envisaged co-operation was not limited to finance, but it encompassed the constitution of a common front against the imperialist West in order to strengthen the bargaining position of the partners, and the gradual development of a regional society better integrated through the evolvement of internal complementarities leading to the overcoming of the asymmetrical and unequal North South relations.

Unfortunately, most of the envisaged aspirations for cooperation under the "Bandung plan" could not be realized as they were in opposition to the tendency towards a more or less well defined "national and popular plan

that would have entailed a genuine de-linking to open the long transition to socialism" (Amin Samir et al, 1986).

The treaty of Rome in 1957 for the establishment of the European Common Market, took over from the old colonialists. Freshly independent African countries were linked to the market and subjected their vision for development to the imperatives of the European strategy. The Radical African Nationalist states accepted the terms of the Yaounde Convention and later the Lome Conventions without examining the terms and conditions critically. At the same time Europe continued with its "concealed" support for Portugal and the apartheid regimes in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia. Africa, through the OAU, on the other hand, continued its support for the liberation struggle until the independence of the Portuguese colonies (1974), Zimbabwe (1980), Namibia (1990) and South Africa (1994).

The Arab world and Asia alongside the collapse of the radical national experiences in Africa through military coups, decided to attach more significance to North-South relations than to South-South cooperation. From here on a global re-alignment of the West behind the United States took place, whilst the IMF and the World Bank imposed on the Third World countries the so-called Structural Adjustments Programmes aimed at opening up the economies of the developing countries to the manipulations of Northern multinational corporations. Thus throwing away the efforts of infant industries, and the protection policies and programmes of the previous 35 years.

The period between 1973 and 1985 is remembered for the substantial establishment of cooperation programmes in the Third World. These embraced all African and Arab countries, regardless of their political regimes and internal and international ideological and social options. The financial institutions between the OAU and the Arab League including the Arab Bank for Economic Development of Africa (BADEA) are evidence of the all-round conception of cooperation. A cynical observer (Sharawy, 1999) has however pointed out that:

> Some Arab leaders refused to name this common bank the Afro-Arab Bank, preferring to use the name BADEA, which shows the level of the political culture and the current development model. Allow me to say that well balanced regional development should be our highest priority in order to resolve the problems identified as being obstacles to Afro-Arab understanding, which cares about culture and social realities and not only about political realities. I am referring to the Nile Region, the Horn of Africa, the Senegal Valley and the Sahara region. It

> is impossible to achieve a real cultural dialogue without taking into account the situation in these parts of the continent and their social and cultural aspects.

He (Sharawy, 1999) further asks the question:

> Is a dialogue possible between African and Arab Unity Movements? A dialogue, which goes further than the romantic concepts of these two movements. Is it possible that a re-examination of the foundations of the nation state will give unity a new basis and under new conditions? This seems possible from the documents published by the 7th Pan-African Congress held in Kampala (1994), in which hundreds of delegates took part, with massive African-American presence and the noticeable absence of Arabs. Taking into consideration the absence of the Arab league at this forum, how can we hope to establish an Afro-Arab dialogue, a dialogue that is related to the Arab and African political culture? We ask this question when the Pan-African Movement is being moved from West Africa to the centre and the East, and so to speak to the borders of the Arab World and its strategic limits (Nile, Red Sea). We want to remind the Arabs that the immediate activities of the Pan-African Movement raise the question of the European responsibility in the slave trade, but the role played by the Arabs will not be forgotten!

Detailed examination of the country to country lending of Arab petrol dollars to Africa reveal that most of the funds are channelled for the establishment of Islamic centres to strengthen the ties with local Muslims and to propagate Islam in the continent. Many such centres have been established in countries with a large population of Muslims such as Nigeria, Sudan, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Senegal and Niger to mention a few. But in the 1970s and 80s, the activity of establishing Muslim centres was extended to countries where Muslims are a minority such as Rwanda, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Liberia and Burundi. Some Arab countries fund the construction of mosques and supervise the establishment of elementary and high schools and libraries within the context of their aid to Muslim communities in Africa (Yoh, 2001).

Closely linked to the Islamization of the continent using petrol dollars is Arabisation. The September 1970 report of the Arab League (Yoh, 2001) stated that:

> ... League activities were being conducted in Mali, Djibouti and Kenya and that Arabization activities are of great importance and recommended increasing budgets for this purpose. Unfortunately, it seems that the ongoing Arabization serves to highlight its foreign elements and thereby increase African suspicion regarding the political aims of the countries involved. This is quite so, especially the increasing hidden competition between Iranians and Libyans in several African countries.

To add insult to injury, as if the use of petrol dollars to Islamise and Arabize the African continent in the name of Afro-Arab cooperation were not enough, some Arab leaders like Colonel Qadhafi have been reportedly calling for the remaining Arabs to move to Africa. Prah (2004) reacts thus:

> Many Africans take great exception to the sentiments and views expressed by Col. Qadhafi at the March 2001, Amman, Jordan meeting of the Arab League where he said that:
>
> "The third of the Arab community hiding outside Africa should move in with the two thirds on the continent and join the African Union, which is the only space we have."

The Future of Afro-Arab Relations

As indicated in the outline above, Afro-Arab relations only showed some positive trends in the period 1955 to 1965, when there was a mutual desire to liberate the African continent and the Arab countries from colonialism and oppression. For the rest of the period, Afro-Arab relations have been bedevilled by suspicion of the true intentions of the Arabs in Africa and the Arab pretence that they had no role in the Arab-African slave trade which affected and still continues to affect the development of the African continent in many aspects.

Political Relations

Politically, the countries in North Africa - namely Egypt, Libya, Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco - together with Sudan, Djibouti, Somalia and Mauritania, are also members of the Arab League. This double membership has made it difficult for the AU to draw its own priorities on issues that affect the continent. For example for decades the OAU was split over the wars in South Sudan and Western Sahara, because each time the African countries wanted to strategise, the Arab League members opposed it because of the fact that the Sudan is a member of the Arab League, without examining the merits and demerits of the issues involved.

When the OAU supported the case of Western Sahara, Morocco, one of the North African countries decided to withdraw its membership of the OAU preferring to remain with the Arab League. Similarly both the AU and the AL are split on the Israeli- Palestinian conflict in the Middle East because some African countries support Israel.

Economic Cooperation

On the economic and cultural fronts, Afro-Arab cooperation established some important institutions such as BADEA and numerous Arab Development Funds and NGOs, which have been funding development activities in various African countries. A close examination of these reveals that most aid is channelled to countries with a large Muslim population or those that have the potential for Islamization and Arabization of the recipients. Because of this nakedly aggressive use of Arab petrol dollars for the propagation of Islam, many African countries have been reluctant to borrow or receive aid funds from the Arab countries, preferring to borrow from the international financial institutions. Thus overall the aid that the Arab countries give to Africa is insignificant. It has had limited impact in Africa's development efforts to eradicate poverty, unemployment, food insecurity and the scourge of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, which is ravaging the continent. The Arabs seem to prefer to keep their billions of reserve dollars in Western banks instead of investing them in Africa, which they claim has geographical, cultural, religious and historical ties with the Arab world. Bujra (2002), sums up present Afro-Arab relations thus:

> If the AU reviews its African- Arab Cooperation Programme and record so far, it will come to the conclusion that it is highly unsatisfactory. A new and more relevant and extensive programme is therefore urgently needed.

After most African countries obtained political independence, Africans have been made dependent and beggars for food because of low international commodity prices paid to producers in the South, in addition to unfair trade practices. Presently globalisation has been imposed to reverse the meagre gains made by developing countries in the period immediately after political independence. Multi-national corporations from the North are rapidly taking over control of the economies of the so called third world countries at the peril of the people of the South, including Africa. Thus the comment that can be made on the statement made by Arabs and Muslims that "it is the colonialists who converted the Africans into Christians who are responsible for creating tensions with the Moslems", is that the statement is insulting and calculated to undermine the intel-

ligence of the African peoples who became Christians of their own will as free people.

Islamization and Arabization

One of the programmes that all the Arab Muslim countries have been pursuing aggressively in Africa is that of Islamization and Arabization of the African people. I quote from the speech of Colonel Qadhafi delivered to the Muslim centre in Kigali, Rwanda, on 17 May 1985 and aired live on Radio Rwanda (Yoh, 2001):

> First you must stick to your Islamic religion and insist that your children are taught the Islamic religion and you teach the Arabic language because without the Arabic language we could not understand Islam. Furthermore, you must encourage the children of Christians to embrace Islam and the doors of the Islamic centre, the Islamic school and hospital should be opened to the children of Christians. You must teach the children of Christians that Christianity is not the religion of Africans, that Islam is the religion of Africa, that Christianity is the religion of colonialism, that Islam is the religion of God. Christianity is the religion of the French, Belgian, German and American enemies. It is also a religion of Jews…. Muslims must become a force to defend their religion. You must raise your heads high in Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda and Zaire. You must raise your voice high and declare that Allah is great because Africa must be Muslim. Africa is no Christian. Christians are intruders in Africa. Christians in Africa are agents of colonialism. We must wage a holy war so that Islam may spread in Africa.

Statements such as this from a head of state do more harm than good to Afro-Arab relations. Religion should be left to the individual and her/his god, rather than to be state managed and imposed on Africans. Islam like Christianity started in the Middle East. Both are therefore foreign to Africa and Africans, so the claim that Islam is the religion of Africa is insulting to the Africans. It is as if the Arabs through the Afrabians like the Qadhafis of this world have a duty to see that Africans are Islamised and Arabised. Yoh (2001) has recorded a long list of Arab organisations that work in Africa with the main objective of spreading Islam throughout the length and breadth of the continent. These include Al Azhar University , the Office of Religious Trust and the Supreme Council for the Propagation of Islam (Egypt), Al Dawa Al Islamiya (Libya), Office of Religious Trust and Islamic Affairs (Kuwait), The Islamic Conference Organiza-

tion (Jeddah) , Muslim Solidarity Conference and Muslim World League (Saudi Arabia), and Al Ahmedia Association in East Africa.

Besides the propagation of Islam and the Arabization of the people the Arab countries have a training programme ranging from the Koran (Nursery) schools to University level. The writer was confronted in Kuwait in 1987 by a group of young Southern Sudanese boys who were smuggled out of Juba by the Kuwaiti Consulate in Juba to Kuwait to study Islam. When the boys reached there they wanted to study other subjects but were not allowed. They could not return to Southern Sudan because they had no money.

It has been observed that some of the young men taken to the Middle East for Islamic studies are often recruited to the Islamic organisations working in Africa which are said to have been responsible for the inter-religious conflicts in countries like Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, South Africa, Ethiopia and Nigeria (Yoh 2001). Furthermore Yoh observes that the embassies of Arab and Islamic countries have had a crucial role in the Islamization and Arabization of Africa by inviting African Muslim leaders to visit these countries.

Conclusion

This paper has briefly but critically examined Afro-Arab relations starting from the time the Arabs set foot on the African continent in the 7th century as invaders, settlers and traders (including of African slaves), then as colonizers (Egypt ruled the Sudan jointly with Britain, Morocco is still occupying Western Sahara illegally), as co-liberators with the Africans to remove the colonial yoke from the African and Arab countries and finally as neighbours, brothers and sisters facing the same harsh selfish and capitalist world. In all these long years, the relationship has not been even, realistic, honest or mutually beneficial to the Africans and Arabs. Many of the relationships have been romanticized – social, cultural, Islamic brotherhood and sisterhood. How can the Africans and the Arabs re-institute structures and institutions that can evolve and develop closer relations? The answer requires a deeper and more serious examination of the historical facts and the social, cultural, economic and religious constraints that exist between the two peoples in a transparent way with a view to establishing genuine relationships based on forgiveness of the historical enslavement of the Africans by the Arabs, equality, respect for each others social, cultural and religious differences for the mutual benefit of the two peoples. We end this paper by quoting from two academics from the region, one African and the other Arab/Afrabian, both of whom have had an in depth look at the situation . We start with Prof. Sharawy (1999):

> Diverse political circumstances have made it difficult to establish a dialogue in other fields, which could have provided the opportunity for building an understanding between Arabs and Africans. For example the conflicts in Western Sahara, Chad, South Sudan and Somalia have developed a direction which transformed Arab quarrels into centres of tension for Africans on the one hand, and paralysed common institutions on the other. This situation developed negative perceptions of the Arab presence in Africa and almost destroyed the dialogue on complementarities between the African and the Arab Worlds. It has made difficult enlightened sociological analysis of the regional formations of the continent. Knowing that the problems raised great potential for misunderstanding between the North and the South of the continent, one should understand that the colonial project to turn the Sahara into a frontier cutting the North of Africa from the South is still alive and well, though the Sahara has been for centuries a place of cultural and intellectual integration. Actually Afro-Arab commercial exchange relations have not helped in solving these problems, which raises the need for a new cultural dialogue and a new space for reflection, in the era of globalisation that affects the African and Arab Worlds.

Prof. Prah (2004) concludes thus:

> Africans and Arabs need to create platforms and bases for a civilization dialogue, which will help to advance mutual understanding and foster co-existence in peace and prosperity. For as long as one party regards the other as a 'civilization vacuum', which needs to be occupied civilisationally, there is little hope for long term peace on this continent. Afro-Arab cooperation will not be achievable in any serious sense if efforts are accompanied, wily nilly, by obfuscation and the philandering of time. What we need is openness and critical discussion. No issues should be embargoed, the search should be for amicable, neighbourly and brotherly or sisterly solutions, which bring democracy in all areas of social life. If this cannot be achieved, then we should be able to go our separate ways in peace in the Afro-Arab borderlands. Africans will be custodians of their own destiny and will fight to achieve this.

Notes

1. Afrabians is a term coined by Professor Ali Mazrui to describe the Arab-Africans in North Africa - Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Djibouti and the East African coast. These people speak Arabic as their mother tongue. They have adopted Arab culture and Islam as their religion and look to their Arab ancestry in the Middle East.

References

African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD). 1997. *Preventive Diplomacy: The Case of Sudan*.

Afro-Arab Relations. 2005. *Afro-Arab Cooperation*.

Afro-Arab Youth Festival. 2004. *The Khartoum Declaration*.

Arabic News. 2005. *The Arab League and the African Summit*.

Bujra, A. 2002. *Afrabia and African Union*. Tripolis: ACARTSOD.

Chad: Relations with Arab States. 2005. Library of Congress.

Clark, J.H. 2005. "The African Holocaust: The Slave Trade". In: *Education for a New Reality in the African World*, Part 3.

"The Continuing Holocaust". 2005. In: *Modern Day Slavery: Sudan and Mauritania*.

The Forgotten Holocaust: The Eastern Slave Trade. 2005. Website.

Garang de Mabior, J. 2005. Speech made for the celebration of the 22 anniversary of the SPLM/SPLA. 16 May 2005.

David De Chand, D. 2005. *The South Sudanese Objective.* The Fourth World –Nations without a State. Right of Self Determination: A legal and political right for South Sudan. March 2005.

Elikia M'bokilo. *The impact of the slave trade on Africa.* April, 2005.

Makau Mutua. 2004. *Racism at root of Sudan's Darfur Crises.* The Christian Science Monitor. July 14, 2004.

Ali A. Mazrui. *Afro-Arab Crossfire: Between the Flames of Terrorism and force of Pax-Americana.* Occasional Paper No. 6. DPMF.

Kwesi, K. Prah. 2004. *Towards a strategic Geopolitical Vision of Afro-Arab Relations.* The Tharwa Project. Paper submitted to the African Union (AU) Experts' Meeting on a strategic geopolitical vision of Afro-Arab Relations. AU headquarters, Addis Ababa 11-12 May 2004.

R. Runako Rashidi. 1992. *Introduction to the study of African Classical Civilizations.* London. Karnak House. The Global African Community.

Mohammed bin Sallam. *Afro-Arab congregation is the first in the Region. Foreign Ministers discuss Security, Peace.* Yemen Times, 6th November 2003

Piero Scaruffi. *The origins of the African Slave Trade.* (undated)

Helmi Sharawy. 1999. *Arab culture and African culture: ambiguous relations.* Arab Research centre for Arab-African Studies and Documentation (ARAASD), Cairo, Egypt.

John G.N. Yoh. 2001. *Reflections of Afro-Arab Relations: an African Perspective.* A Paper presented at the monthly seminar at the Arab Thought Forum, Tuesday 16the October 2001. Amman, Jordan.

John G.N. Yoh. 2001. *Politics of War and Peace in the Sudan.* A Paper prepared for the African Institute of South Africa, July 2001. Pretoria, Republic of South Africa.

ISLAMISATION AND ARABISATION OF AFRICANS AS A MEANS TO POLITICAL POWER IN THE SUDAN: CONTRADICTIONS OF DISCRIMINATION BASED ON THE BLACKNESS OF SKIN AND STIGMA OF SLAVERY AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE CIVIL WARS

M. Jalâl Haashim

Background

Introduction

The name "Sudan" has more or less been the same all through history. Aside from the toponyms relating to the south (such as *Hent-Hen-Nefer* and *Wawat*), it has been associated with the colour of blackness (such as *Ta-Nehesu*, *Kush*, *Kerma*, *Æthiopia*, *Nubia*, *al-Saltana al-Zarqâ* and lastly *al-Sûdân*) [Sagheiroun, 1999], which was – and still is – the colour of its people, since the early times of the ancient civilizations of the Nile Valley up to the present. The same name seems to have evolved by translation from one language to another in the course of time. The name puts Sudan in the heart of Africa, which is called the Black Continent. What seem to be differences of colour among the Sudanese are nothing more than shades of blackness.

The significance of the name "*Sûdân*" is important, because it bears very strong identity implication. The Arabized people of middle Sudan, do not recognize themselves as black Africans. As the Sudan for the last five centuries has belonged ideologically to this group, Sudan has ended up

identifying itself more with the Arabs than with black Africa. This issue is central to the contemporary problem of the reality of the Sudan and national integration.

The State

In what roughly constitutes the geography of present day Sudan, the Sudanese State has prevailed all through history. Archaeologically the State can be traced back seven thousand years at least [*cf.* Wesley, 2000]. Like in other parts of Africa, the State functioned in a kind of federal autonomy where the ethno-cultural entities were its political nuclei. The vast geographical space necessitated that justice be the key for any ruler to reign for longer. Seeking a better place to live in was handy and convenient for every ethnic group thus leaving any tyrant to rule either the desert or the jungle. Today's demand for self-determination by different marginalized groups is the modern manifestation and formulation of the history-long practice of pulling out from any state that does not answer equally the longing of its different subject-groups for *Freedom*, *Justice* and *Peace*.

At no time was there any kind of political vacuum in the Sudan. The traditional tribal federacy of ancient Sudan was maintained in the Christian era (650BC-1505AD) and in the Funj Sultanate (1505AD-1821AD).

The People

All the people of present-day Sudan contributed in making the ancient civilization of Sudan. Even the people who call themselves 'Arabs' have their rightly recognizable share in building that civilization since they are a mixture of Arabs and indigenous people. In fact the weaving of the ethno-linguistic fabric in Sudan, which is taken for granted to be heterogeneous, reflects homogeneity as well. For example, taking the Eastern Sudanic group, we may well be amazed to see people living on the Sudan-Uganda borders (e.g. the Bari) who are cousins of the people living on the Sudan-Egypt borders (Nubians) and both people are related to others living on the Sudan-Ethiopia borders in the Funj region (i.e. Ingassana) and all of them are related in the same way to other groups living on the Sudan-Chad borders (e.g. Daju). We must bear in mind that before the Arabization of middle Sudan those people were in dynamic contact with each other. This is an ancient land with ancient people and an ancient civilization; the least that can be expected is that they are interrelated ethno-linguistically.

Below we are going to show how the peoples of the Sudan are related to each other in an intrinsic way. The ethno-linguistic groups (based on www.ethnologue.org) will be mentioned according to their principal regional habitats which comprise the following: Equatoria, Bahr al-Ghazal, Upper Nile, Nuba Mountains, Dar Fur, Funj and Ingassana, Eastern Sudan,

Northern Sudan, and Middle Sudan. The languages spoken by the people in these areas will be used as a material indicator of the ethnic groups. Although Arabic is the *lingua franca* of the Sudan, and it is spoken all over the country, it will be related to the Middle of Sudan where it claims supremacy. 'Northern Sudan' indicates here the ethno-linguistically distinguishable group of Nubians only. Both Meroitic and Old Nubian and other extinct languages will be mentioned for historical significance only. The following characters, which are randomly applied, will mark the ethno-linguistic affiliation: Afro-Asiatic, Niger-Kordofanian, and Nilo-Saharan with its sub-group of Eastern Sudanic. The eastern Sudanic sub-group shall be mentioned because it cuts across the Country, from Nimule to Halfa, and from Geneina to Kurmuk. We shall try to mention all ethnic entities, but we cannot claim that the list is exhaustive; we apologize to those who may have been left out.

1.3.1. Middle Sudan

☺Arabic Colloquial ☺Arabic Standard
♀Meroitic ♀Old Nubian #All

1.3.2. Eastern Sudan

☺Arabic ☺Bedaweyit ♂Fulani
☼Fur ☺Hausa ♀Meroitic
♀Nobiin ♀Old Nubian ☺Tigrey
☺Tigrinya

1.3.3. Northern Sudan:

☺Arabic ♀Dongolese ♀Kunûz
♀Meroitic ♀Nobiin ♀Old Nubian

1.3.4. The Nuba Mountains and Kordufan:

♀Affitti ♀Aka ♀Ama
☺Arabic ♂Dagik ♀Dair
♀Daju ♀Delenj ♀Dinka
♂Eliri ♂Fulani ♂Garme
♀Hugairat ♀Ghulfân ♀Haraza
☺Hausa ♂Heiban ♀Kadaru
♂Kanga ♀Karko ♂Katcha

♂Kadugli ♂Katla ♂Keiga
♂Kawalib ♂Kau ♂Korongo
♂Lafofa ♂Laru ♀Liguri
♂Logol ♂Lumun ♀Meroitic
♂Moro ♂Ngile ♀Old Nubian
♀Shatt ♂Shuway ♂Tagoi
♂Talodi ♀Tese ♀Temain
♂Tima ♂Tingal ♂Tocho
♂Togole ♂Torona ♂Tulishi
♂Tumma ♂Utoro ♀Wali
♂Warnag ☼Yulu

1.3.5. Dar Fur:

☺Arabic ☼Bargo ♀Baygo
☼Berti ♀Birgid ♀Berno
♀Daju ☼Fongoro ♂Fulani
☼Fur ☺Hausa ♀Kanuri
☼Masalit ♀Meroitic ♀Midob
♀Old Nubian ♀Sungor ☼Zaghawa

1.3.6. Bahr al-Ghazâl:

☼Ajja ☺Arabic ♀Daju
♀Dinka ♂Feroge ♂Fulani
☼Gula ☺Hausa ♂Mangayat
♀Meroitic ☼Mittu ♀Njalgulgule
♀Old Nubian ☼Sinyar

1.3.7. Equatoria:

☼Avukaya ♀Acholi ☺Arabic Std.
☺Arabic Juba ♂Bai ☼Baka
♂Banda ♀Baria ♀Belanda Bor
♀Balanda Viri ☼Bongo ♀Dongotono
♂Homa ♂Indri ☼Jur
♀Kachipo ♀Kakwa ☼Kaliko
☼Kresh ♀Lango ♀Lokoya

♀Lopit	☼Luluba	♀Luwo
☼Ma´adi	♀Mundari	♀Meroitic
☼Mo´da	☼Morokodo	☼Moru
♂Mundo	♂Ndogo	☼Njamusa
☼Molo	♀Old Nubian	♀Otuho
♀Shilluk	♀Suri	♀Tennet
♀Thuri	♂Togoyo	♀Toposa
♂Zande		

1.3.8 Upper Nile

♀Anuak	☺Arabic	♀Atuot
☼Beli	♀Didinga	♀Dinka
♀Jumjum	♀Lokoro	♀Longarim
♀Mabaan	♀Meroitic	♀Murle
♀Nuer	♀Old Nubian	♂Tumtum
☼Uduk		

1.3.9. Blue Nile, Funj and Ingassana:

☺Arabic	☼Berta	♀Burun
♂Fulani	☼Funj	☼Gumuz
☺Hausa	♀Ingassana	♀Kelo
☼Komo	♀Meroitic	♀Molo
♀Old Nubian	☼Opuuo	

The above-mentioned relationships which reflect the reality of today stand as an evidence that the Sudanese people are united in their diversity. How can one draw a line and say that this is the South and this is the North? Or even this is the East and this is the West? All the groups cut across the country from Halfa to Nimuli and from Kurmuk to Jinēna. The Nilo-Saharan Group (☼), of which the Eastern Sudanic (♀) is a sub-group, constitutes 64% of the total identities of the Sudan, of which the Eastern Sudanic sub-group (♀) alone constitutes 44% and 22% of the whole. The Niger-Kordofanian Group (♂) constitutes 32%, where the Afro-Asiatic Group (☺) constitutes only 04%. Although the populations of these ethnic identities are proportionately reversed, the issue of Human Rights, however, is not a question of 'how many?' All ethnic groups should

be entitled to equal rights in matters pertaining to culture and development regardless of whether their population number is small or big.

The Boundary

The historic boundaries of ancient Sudan are thought to have been much bigger than today's boundaries. The chart of languages shows that all areas share the Meroitic and Old Nubian languages, consequently their culture and civilization. There is archaeological evidence to this effect. Excavations have proved that there are both Cushitic/Meroitic and post-Meroitic settlements in Southern, Western and Eastern regions. The linguistic evidence is proving that languages as far as Equatoria (the Baria (♀) for instance) can potentially help in deciphering the Meroitic language (♀) ['Abdu al-Gādir M. 'Abdu Allah, 1985]. Archaeological evidence has supported the stories of ancient historians about the tall and very black cattle herdsmen who used to roam the area of today's Butāna up to the Red Sea hills. This is also supported by oral traditions of Nilotic tribes, the Dinka in particular. The meaning of the place-name 'Khartoum', which is traditionally pronounced as 'khērtūm' is offered in Dinka language as 'kēr tom', i.e. the 'the river confluence' [cf. Lazarus, 1985]. Just 250 years ago the White Nile region above Jabal Aulia was Shillukland. The Arab thrust into the centre of Sudan caused Nilotic people and other groups to shrink back deep into the Savannah and Equatorial zones and thus cut off from the milieu of their lingo-cultural setting of Nilo-Saharan and Niger-Kordofanian region, which has been in fact disrupted altogether by this factor. The historical and natural frontiers of this region are the Equator in the South and the cataract of Asuan in the North.

Westward the boundaries of ancient Sudan are much bigger as natural topographical features do not obstruct the movement of people. Recent researches have shown that the iron industry of Meroe is to be associated with the industry of iron smelting in Central Bilād al-Sūdān [Lobban et al, 1999]. The Hausa and Fulani people have been taking these routes in their eastward movement since ancient times [El-Nagger, 1970]. These are the same routes the Arabs took in their migration into the Sudan from Bilād al-Maghrib [Fadl, 1973].

Religion

In this regard two things have characterized Sudan all through history; it has always been multi-religious and religiously tolerant. Ancient polytheism accommodated other deities survived in today's traditional religions. The treasurer of the Candace of Meroe [800BC-450AD] was a Jew who converted to Christianity in its early days apparently without fearing the slightest persecution. Christianity did not invade the Sudan [Vantini, 1978;

Werner et al, 2000]; it was the Sudanese who asked for it. In Dongola, the capital of the Christian Kingdom of Nubia [650AD-1350AD], there was a Mosque for which the Christian State was responsible. In Soba (25km south of Khartoum on the Blue Nile), the capital of the Christian Kingdom of Alodia [650AD-1505AD], where there were about 300 churches, there was also a Mosque within a hamlet assigned for the Muslims.

In the 19th century Christianity will catch up again as a result of intensive missionary work. The biggest Christian communities are in the South and Nuba Mountains and the big urban centres. In the face of the rise of Islamization and Arabization as vehicles for facilitating the domination of the central state, Christianity will get involved and eventually it will become, along with Africanism, the ideological backbone in countering Islamo-Arabism.

Islam broke the encapsulation of Sudan and opened it to the outer world of that time. The transformation from Christianity to Islam took a gradual process thus giving way for a distinctive mix of Sudanese cosmology and culture of tolerance. A Sudanese Islam was in the making that finally took its shape in the Sufi sects that flourished in post-Christian Sudan, thus bringing about an effective acculturation of indigenous practices and Islamic teachings. The local people transformed from the traditional and Christian choirs to the Sufi chanting smoothly.

The conversion to Islam culminated in the Funj Sultanate [1505AD-1820AD], which retained many ancient features with regard to administration and cultural symbols [cf. Spaulding, 1980]. The traditional system of tribal federacy, with its inherent democratic practices, was maintained. Other ancient practices such as the ritual killing of the king (regicide) and the Christian headgear and regalia were also retained. In the beginning Sufi Islam assumed supremacy in reflecting the ideology of the State. A little later a rival came into the scene represented in scholastic Islam that could only be acquired through classroom teaching at such religious centres like al-Azhar in Cairo [Yahya Ibrāhīm, 1985]. Where Sufi Islam interacts with the local society, scholastic Islam challenges it in its persistent endeavours to reshape it according to its own norms. Where the former does not give heed to the penal code of the Sharīʿa as literally stated in the scriptures, the latter only pays attention to the scriptures without giving any heed to the realities of setting and context. At the beginning many scholastic shaykhs took to denouncing their jurisprudence by throwing away their symbolic scholastic graduation robes, to declare themselves as Sufi. At the end of the game this will be reversed.

The Sufi Islam could have won the rivalry if it were not for the Turco-Egyptian colonial rule [1820AD-1885AD], which introduced the culture

of official Muslim clergymen who were appointed and paid by the state and who adhered to scholastic Islam as they were mostly graduates of al-Azhar Mosque-University. That rule also introduced the modern educational system where the classrooms were made available for this kind of Islam to flourish.

The Mahdia Islamic state [1885AD-1899AD] represents the ultimate victory of the scholastic Islam over the Sufi Islam. The Mahdi was a Sufi man who revolted against what he took to be leniency on behalf of the Sufi shaykhs towards the traditions of people which – according to his own views – did not follow the book of Sharī'a. The Mahdia state understandably followed a strict scholastic Islam. Thenceforward the Sufi Islam will gradually identify with the scholastic Islam so as to catch up in the long run. By the late decades of the 20th century the two can hardly be distinguished from each other.

The British-Egyptian colonial rule [1899AD-1956AD] resumed the same system of the Turco-Egyptian rule with regard to government-sponsored education and the culture of official Muslim clergymen. By the time the Sudan achieved Independence the educated class was mostly orientated to scholastic Islam. This showed in the rising tide of the Islamic fundamentalist movements among the students of higher educational institutions.

Slavery and its Impact on the Process of Power Appropriation in the Sudan

The Origin of Slavery

Slavery is a history-long human vice. All nations were involved in slavery and all of the members of their respective societies were virtually subject to slavery if it chanced upon them. Long before the Christianization of the Roman Empire the institution of slavery in the West has accommodated another vice, which is racism. In Judaism the sons of Ham, erroneously taken to be the apical father of the blacks, were cursed by God [cf. the Bible, Genesis 9:25], hence they have come bearing African features [cf. Yamauchi, 2004]. Christianity took from there its own bias against blackness. Thus the Christianization of Europe paved the way for a culture of anti blackness. From Rome and Byzantium it gradually moved westward to infect the whole of Europe. A little later, with the rise of the Arabs just before Islam, slavery will take another swing of colour connotation, which created a very lasting racial effect – that is the association of slavery with the black colour. The infection of racial slavery came to Arabia from Judaism and Christianity. Thenceforward slavery will be more and

more associated with the black coloured people thus making Africa its prime target.

With the coming of the age of geographical explorations and industrialization the West frantically scrambled on Africa from all directions in pursuit of slaves, showing evilness unprecedented in the history of mankind. Populous Africa was depopulated in a few decades. Africa has come out of this with an eternal wound; the West with an eternal shame.

The Arabs, a dark-skinned people themselves, began showing in their culture a strong orientation toward light-skin colour. Their pre-Islamic and Islamic poetry is abundant with racial and derogatory themes about black colour. 'Antara ibn Shaddād, a famous pre-Islamic poet whose mother was a black African with fuzzy hair, painfully suffered from discrimination; his people did not recognize him until he proved his ultimate knighthood in tribal wars. Prophet Muhammad addressed to this problem many a time in his traditions. Bilāl ibn Rabāh , a close companion of him who was a black man of African origin, suffered a lot from colour derogatory remarks made by other Muslims.

By the end of the Abbasid Caliphate the Arabic word for 'black' has become synonymous with the word 'slave', just like the word 'nigger' became synonymous with 'slave' in Western languages. However enslaving white people did not stop. Slavery for hard labour was almost restricted to black Africans; Children from non-black communities, especially from the Caucasian regions in Central Asia, were abducted in order to be sold either for soldiery in the case of the males, or as harem in the case of the females. Even so they were not called slaves; the former was called 'mamlūk', literally means 'owned', and the latter was called 'jāriya', i.e. 'mistress. They were saved the derogatory word 'slave' simply because they were not black. In Egypt those white slaves managed to assume the rule of the country for centuries to be removed only by Muhammad Ali Pasha -himself an Albanian Ottoman mercenary – in the early 19th century. One of those mamlūk, however, was a black African thought by some scholars to be enslaved from the Nuba Mountains in Sudan. He managed to usurp the power from his master who was the governor and became the ruler of Egypt. His name was Kāfūr, a typical name for a black slave. He was highly cultured to the extent of being called 'al-Ustāz' i.e. the teacher. In one of the most famous Arab derogatory poems he was bluntly called "abd' i.e. slave and further mocked by the advice that no slave should be bought without a stick to straighten them up with. (Ironically, for years this infamous piece of poem was taught in Sudanese schools). Thus by the middle ages any black was subject to be called slave in the Arab and Islamic world.

Al-Jallāba: the Slave Traders of Sudan

Slavery was practised in Sudan since ancient times. The Arabs in the Paqt treaty demanded from the Christian Nubians slaves that were brought from hinterlands. However it was more or less African traditional slavery resulting from petty tribal feuds and wars. It kept on like that in the early time of the Funj Sultanate until the Europeans began making incursions into the continent to procure slaves. It was the Turco-Egyptian colonial rule that launched the era of mass slavery in the Sudan. They made it a state-policy loaded with the whole weight of Arab cultural stigmatization of the blacks. Locally, the Arabized people of the centre, which was growing fast, followed their lead. They played the role of the intermediary who organized the raids, captured the blacks and then sold them. The term al-Jallāba is a plural adjective in Sudanese colloquial Arabic literally meaning the procurers. The singular is jallābi. The term originated in reference to the intermediary slavers who were mostly Arabized Sudanese. The culture of al-Jallāba had a big impact in consolidating the establishment of the centre. When the Turco-Egyptian colonial rule was compelled to abolish slavery, al-Jallāba defied that and boldly continued to practice it. By that time their raiding squads had developed into formidable armies. In the last decade of the Turco-Egyptian colonial rule, Al-Zubayr wad Rahama, their leading slaver, led his slaving army and conquered Dar Fur. In fact they were just one step from becoming the rulers of the Sudan. The Turco-Egyptian rule not only recognized the de facto al-Zubayr's governorship of Dar Fur, but further bestowed on him the prestigious title of 'Pasha'. The Jallāba cherished the prospects of inheriting the faltering Turco-Egyptian rule. If it were not for the Mahdia revolution that tool place, they would have assumed that power.

The Mahdia state, strictly following the scripture of Islam where there is no direct verse from either the Qur'an or the Prophet traditions abolishing slavery, indulged itself in reinstating the institution of slavery. However it strongly abolished tobacco and snuff although there is no direct verse either from the Qur'an or the Prophet traditions to that effect. Understandably the pragmatic and Machiavellian Jallāba were among the first to declare their allegiance to the Mahdia. They put their huge military resources and expertise at the service of the revolution. That is one of the factors that made the Mahdia state to belong ideologically to the Arabized centre.

Backed with its colonialist pragmatism, the British-Egyptian rule that succeeded the Mahdia had very soon consolidated its alliance with the Arabized centre. Although officially declared abolished, slavery was tolerated as a practice and culture (cf. Saikinga, 1996). In post-Independent

Sudan, the national rule clearly showed its stand in this regard by naming a street in Khartoum after al-Zubayr Pasha, the most notorious slaver in Sudan's modern history. In fact the culture of slavery is truly the catalyst behind the bad treatment of the black Africans of Sudan who live in the periphery around the Arabized middle. Successive national governments have shown this malignity, which takes place under the pretext of curbing the civil war.

The Arabization of the Sudan and the Power-related Conflicts of Identity

The Demise of the Christian Kingdoms of the Sudan

With the weakening of the Christian kingdoms, between the 14th and 16th centuries, many Islamic and Arabized kinglets began appearing and eventually succeeded in replacing the old regime [Fadl, 1973; Shibeika, 1991]. The first was the Kunūz (Bani al-Kanz) kingdom around Asuan area in present-day Egyptian Nubia, to be followed a little later by the Rabī'a-Beja Islamic kinglet of Hajar (Eastern Sudan). In the late 15th century the Islamic kinglet of Tegali (Togole) in Nuba Mountain (West-Middle Sudan) came into existence. A century later the Ottoman Sultan Selim the Second made a thrust deep in Nubia in the aftermath of which appeared the Northern Nubian Islamic kinglets of the Kushshāf, Mah as, and Argo (Northern Sudan). Two centuries later the Fur kingdom of Kunjāra was established upon the fall of the Tunjur kinglet (Western Sudan). But the most important was the Funj Sultanate which came into existence in the early 16th century and which succeeded in spreading its influence over most of these kingdoms.

The Funj Sultanate came into existence with slavery looming in the background and with the colour black fully stigmatized by being synonymous with 'slave'. By the turn of the 15th century, Soba, the capital of the last Christian kingdom of Alodia, fell at the hands of the Arabized people (known in middle Sudan as the Arabs). Having its founders being virtually blacks, it was understandably called "al-Saltana al-Zarqā'", i.e. the 'Black Sultanate'. As it came in response to the growing influence of the Islamo-Arabized Sudanese it explicitly showed an Arab and Islamic orientation. The new formations of Arabized tribes began claiming Arab descent supported with mostly fabricated genealogies. The small family units compensated for their vulnerability by claiming the noble 'sharīf' descent, i.e. descendants of Prophet Muhammad; eventually in the name of this descent they would appropriate both wealth and power, something the immediate descendants were not ordained to have while Prophet Muhammad was

still alive. To be on an equal footing with these tribes in matters pertaining to power and authority, the Funj also claimed an Umayyad descent. Scholars in Arabic and Islamic sciences from other parts of the Islamic world were encouraged to settle in the Sudan.

Arabization and the Rise of Islam

Thenceforward the Arabized Africans of middle Sudan will pose as non-black Arabs. Intermarriage with light-skinned people would be consciously sought as a process of cleansing blood from blackness. A long process of identity change began; in order to have access to power and to be at least accepted as free humans, African people tended to drop both their identities and languages and replace them with Arabic language and Arab identity. A new ideological awareness of race and colour came into being. The shades of the colour of blackness were perceived as authentic racial differentiations [cf. Deng, 1995]. A Sudanese-bound criterion for racial colour was formed by which the light black was seen as an Arab (wad 'Arab and wad balad), i.e. white or at least non-black. The jet-black Sudanese was seen as an African, i.e. slave ('abd). Then a host of derogatory terms was generated in the culture and colloquial Arabic of middle Sudan that dehumanize the black Africans.

Right there the seeds of Sudanese ideology of Arab-oriented dominance over the Africans were sown. It works through two mechanisms: 1) the stigma of slavery, blackness and people of African identity, who occupy the margin and surrounding periphery and 2) the prestigma (coined by the present writer from 'prestige' to serve as a countering term to stigma) of the free, non-black and Arab, who occupy the centre. This ideology, in its drive to achieve self-actualization, underlines a process of alienation and domination. While posing as whites, they do not hold white people proper in high esteem. They largely indulged themselves in stigmatizing the Africans and prestigmatizing the Arabs with whom they identify. This ideology of alienation has prevailed for the last five centuries up to the present moment. It has been consolidated by successive political regimes whether Turco-Egyptian or Egyptian-British or national rule. It finds its roots in the vice of slavery. No wonder slavery was once again in full swing by the late 20th century as a result of extremely intensifying the processes of prestigmatic Islamo-Arabism by the state. By sublimating the Arab as a model for them through this erroneously confused concept of race, the Arabized people of Sudan have made themselves second-class Arabs. The repercussions of this will not only affect them, but their whole country, which will be split up between Arabism and Africanism

The State Ideology of Centro-Marginalization

Introduction

Although roughly situated in the middle of Sudan, the centre is neither geographical nor cultural. Rather it is a centre that comprises both power and wealth. People from the periphery are always encouraged and tempted to join the centre by renouncing their African cultures, languages and becoming Arabized. This complex process is made to look like a natural cultural interaction that takes place out of the necessity of leaving one's home village and coming to live in a town dominated by Arabs (i.e. Arabized Africans). The cultural relegation of the periphery will eventually end up into developmental relegation. Within the Arabized middle itself there are different circular castes. The centre is very complex. In essence it is neither racial nor cultural nor geographical; neither Islamic nor Arab. Rather it is a centre of power that makes use of all these, especially Islam and Arabism. This is why we depict it as Islamo-Arabism, which is of purely ideological bearing. This centre of power processes itself through the cultural agenda of Islam and Arabism. This has virtually lured those who identify with Islam and Arabism with power and wealth so as to consequently turn them into complicity. Usually the spearheads of the centre are people who originally belong to the margin, but chose with their own free will to alienate themselves from their people in order to serve the centre loyally. Those should not be counted as belonging to the margin. One of the aims of this essay is to show that those Arabized people of Sudan are in fact being done for right at the moment when they perceive themselves to be winners. This is because the parameters of centralization are embedded in the marginalization of the Arabized Sudan to the Arabs proper.

The "Melting Pot" Perspective as a Mechanism for erasing Non-Arab Identities

A discourse of unity and national coherence will opportunely come into shape, as different ethnic groups from the periphery are being culturally reproduced in the centre. The mishmash is hailed as the real Sudanese make. Hence we have the perspective of "the melting pot" as a backbone of the discourse of national unity, i.e. the process of assimilation. But since the origin was in the processes of stigmatization versus prestigmatization it will always fall short of achieving integral unity even when the assimilation is complete. The jet-blacks of Sudan who have been completely assimilated in the Islamo-Arab culture and religion are not only being racially discriminated against, but are still stuck with the stigma of slavery and consequently being dehumanized. This is so because the whole process is built on contradictions and paradoxes; where the process of prestigma

would wave the people toward pro-Arab culture and Islam, the process of stigma on the other side would keep dismissing them on racial grounds. One can acquire a new culture in a relatively short time, but one can hardly change their colour. So, blackness is always taken as a stigmatic clue to slavery.

Conflicting Ideologies: the Circular versus the Linear Polarization

It is clear that the model of ideological polarization is a circular one represented in a centre working hard to assimilate the margin, and a margin fighting hard to dismantle the centre. This model reflects the realities of pluralism represented in both the Arabism and Africanism as analogous entities parallel to the 'centre' and the 'margin'; the 'middle' and 'periphery'. Where the Arabism can be called Sudano-Arab as it consists of the Arabized Sudanese, Africanism can be called Sudano-African as it consists of those who have their African languages and who have their homelands either in the north, south, east or west. So far, the awareness of 'Arabism' as opposed to that of 'Africanism' has been analogous to that of centro-marginalization. Although it seems to be reduced into dual form, the circular polarization, however, is rather pluralistic rather than dualistic. The social arenas of the centre and margin have their respective internal differentiations and strata, because they contain the nucleuses of pluralism. This makes the circular model of polarization qualified to reflect and tackle the situation of centro-marginalization.

The mechanism of centro-marginalization has been working for the last five centuries. One may wonder how come that the people of Sudan have been living under the yoke of centro-marginalization for so long? The short answer is that by being subject to the operating vehicles of prestigma and stigma. The centre has never posed as being a centre of wealth and power facing a margin; it is, rather, a bloc of free and noble people of Arab origin linearly divided from another bloc of slaves and degenerate people of African origin. By this tactic it does not only neutralize the people of the middle but also turns them into accomplices. When it comes to the people of the periphery it neutralizes them by linearly stratifying their stigmatisation further. According to the process of the stigma, the people of the margin are not equally stigmatized. It goes as follows below.

The Degrees of Stigma

The more black a person is and the more African this person is, the more stigmatized they become. The levels of stigma go from high to low degree as follows: a) African features (thick and broad nose and lips, and fuzzy short hair); b) blackness; c) an African language; d) and lastly being a non-Muslim. The most stigmatized are those who combine the

four degrees of stigma, like the majority of Southerners who thus become first-degree stigma. The Africans of Nuba Mountains and Ingassana come immediately after the Southerners as a via media second-degree stigma. Then come the peoples of western Sudan "al-Gharrāba" as the third-degree stigma, regardless of their different tribal affiliations, and of whom the most stigmatized people are those who are originally from either Central or Western Bilād al-Sūdān, like the Fulani and Hausa, etc. Then next group is the Beja people of eastern Sudan who, although light-skinned, have their own non-Arabic language and are very poorly educated and can hardly speak either standard or colloquial Arabic fluently; furthermore, they are bedouins leading a life that is very backward [sic] at best. The last to come are the Nubians in the north who are the least stigmatized for one main reason. The people of the middle, generally speaking, are nothing but Arabized Nubians, with some survivals of Christian customs still manifested in their cultures. Nothing is wrong with the Nubians of the north except their twisted tongue, i.e. their language, which clearly betrays their African origin. This is also why the Nubians will be the last to get disillusioned regarding where they belong. Both the Beja and the Nubians are halfway, but not prestigma in any way.

The Independent Sudan and the Question of who is Sudanese

The Sudanese Nationality Law

The national rule will not only run smoothly in the groove of linear polarization, but will institutionalize it by law. The law of Nationality enacted immediately after independence holds any Sudanese as a suspect foreigner until they prove otherwise. The Sudanese people will be the first people in the world to hold inside their own country official documents to prove that they are Sudanese and not foreigners. The states all over the World take the population in its generality as to be nationals, and then tend to control the foreigners who are relatively very few. This is common sense: if you have a bushel of peas mixed up in a sack of broad beans, you sort them out by picking up the peas from the broad beans. The successive governments of post-Independence did exactly the opposite; they began picking out the Sudanese inside the country and leaving out so called foreigners. Until now, far fewer than 9 millions have proved that they are Sudanese in this linear demarcation of nationality. This strange nationality law is nothing but a tactic of obscurantism and a tool of deception and alienation. According to the last census undertaken in the 1990s, a figure of at least 26 million is given for the total population of Sudan. These

are two systems that defeat each other, but simultaneously adopted for a reason. According to this law, all marginalized Sudanese are officially not considered as Sudanese until they prove otherwise.

The linear significance of the law in classifying the people as stigma vs. prestigma becomes clearer as its first victims are always those who are jet black or those whose ancestors were immigrants, but not in any way the so-called Arabs. In the mid-1970s a Libyan-backed movement of armed Sudanese opposition broke into Khartoum with the intention of toppling the May regime. After being routed, it was dubbed by the regime as the movement of "Mercenary Foreigners". Sudan TV made live interviews with people in the streets of Khartoum to show to the world that they were really mercenaries and foreigners from the public's point of view. The standard question was as follows: "How did you know that they were foreigners?" The average answer was that: "They were blacks and did not speak Arabic". The people were not saying this because of siding with the regime. By simply belonging to the centre culturally and socially, they were telling the truth as they perceived of it.

The Policy of Islamization and Arabization

Since independence, Islamization and Arabization have been shared in common by successive governments as state-dictated policies [cf. Al-Sīd, 1990]. Taking for granted that the middle of Sudan represents the whole country prompted this. The post-Independence governments dealt with the Sudan as consisting of (a) the noble Arabs of the middle, (b) the Muslim Africans in the periphery, who, with possible Arab blood, are supposed to undergo very quickly the process of Arabization so as to be honoured with Arabism, and (c) the slaves, who have not yet undone their black Africanism with Islam and a drop of noble Arab blood and who have no place so far in the bench of power. If allowed, the prestigma would have created an institutional apartheid state.

Being the first sub-Saharan African country (i.e. black African) to achieve independence, Sudan was expected by many African liberation movements to lead the struggle against colonialism. Its flag of independence, which consisted of the three horizontal colours of yellow (desert), green (jungle) and blue (Nile), will be revered by black peoples as the flag of freedom; later when they respectively achieved independence their flags will more or less be made of these colours. But Sudan turned its back on black Africa and ran to the Arab world so as to be recognized as an Arab nation. Declined by some Arab states, its membership might have not been accepted if it were not for Egypt, which takes Sudan as its strategic backyard. This prompted a veteran of African liberation movements to say that:

"Instead of being the best Africans, the Sudanese people have chosen with their own free will to be the worst Arabs". Later, under the May regime (led by Nimeiri, a Nubian who is a pious Pan-Arabist, sic) Sudan dropped the flag of freedom for a typical Arab-design flag. And this shows how the ultimate goal of the processes of centro-marginalization is to marginalize Sudan, and Sudanese people, as an Arab state.

The Civil Wars of Sudan

The First War in the South

A Linear Civil War of South vs. North

In the three years of self-rule (1953-1956) that preceded Independence, the Southern politicians made it clear that they wanted the South to be ruled by its own people in whatever way possible, whether federacy, confederacy or self-rule. Too excited to reflect on what they were saying in their eagerness to take over from the colonial ruler, the Pan-Arab Northerners (dubbed as mondukuru by the Southerners) generously made promises to this effect [Alier, 1990]. Holding the Southerners generally in the status of slaves, they naturally took the Southern politicians lightly with the evil intention of flatly dishonouring these promises. Overnight the Southerners discovered that Independence meant to them a change from master to another, from foreign master to an indigenous master. The conflict will be triggered by what was then called the Sudanization of senior government posts in which the Southerners were not only disqualified, but even the few qualified were conspiratorially removed away from the milieu of their influence, in the South. To further strip the South from any potential power, the mondukuru came up with a plot to disperse the Southern soldiers in the army in different parts of the country away from the South. They were taking their precaution against the plots of the Southerners; the plots, which were the brainchildren of their own. Coming to Independence with bad intentions combined with shortsightedness, the prestigmatic centre projected its own bad intentions upon the Southerners so as to rationalize its plots for weakening the South. To enter the phase of Independence with such weakness meant that the Southerners were doomed forever. One year before Independence (1955) they took to arms; having their just demand of self-rule declined by the mondukuru, now they will fight for the separation of the South from the North.

This is how the civil war began. That was truly the launch of the war of the marginalized people of Sudan against the Islamo-Arab centre. It should have come backed with awareness of its circular nature rather than the linear track it had followed. For many factors beyond the control of

the Southerners the civil war came out based on the same linear polarization, South vs. North. Looking retrospectively one may observe that the colonial rule did not only obscure the processes of centro-marginalization, but it further reinforced it by adopting the linear polarization in its policies. For instance, in what it took to be the North, the educational system was designed in a way that would only enhance the Islamo-Arab ideology of dominance and assimilation. Of the peripheral Sudano-African people who were threatened with marginalization, it accelerated the rate of their assimilation in the dominant culture. Betrayed by both the colonial British who at the same time boasted of protecting them and by the mondukuru politicians of Khartoum who dishonoured their promises, and having the rest of the Sudan menacingly posing as an Arab entity, the Southerners were left with no choice but to mobilize the Africanism of the South to linearly counter the Arabism of the North.

The Sudanese army systematically ravaged the South. Both elected governments and military regimes ran the Sudan with one goal of subjugating the South. Where the role of the former is to deceptively kiss the South on one cheek to lure it into a peace that does not solve its problems, the role of the latter is to heavy-handedly slab it on the other cheek. It is very rare for any Sudanese not to have come across an ex-soldier who has stories to tell about the nasty atrocities committed by the army in the South in the period 1956-1973.

Addis Ababa Accord: A Linear Peace for a Linear War

The 1972 Addis Ababa agreement granted the Southerners the self-rule they demanded 17 years before. A year later the Peace Accord of Addis Ababa was signed according to which the Southerners put down their arms and came with a clean heart only to find the old system of stigma waiting for them. At last the guerrilla fighters joined the same army they were fighting and their leaders enjoyed the high echelon of government posts they had previously been denied. A few years later President Nimeiri, whose day deeds never honoured his previous night speech, dishonoured the peace accord [cf. Khalid, 1985; Alier, 1990].

Administratively the South was divided into three provinces with a Supreme Council. By establishing the whole peace process of rehabilitation of the South on the linear polarization of the Sudan, with its parameters of centro-marginalization and the vehicles of stigma vs. prestigma, the Southerners came out to be completely identified with the North. The South began forming its own prestigma, which was represented in the biggest, and strongest tribe, the Dinka. This consequently led to the formation of a Southern centre with its own margin. The Southerners who

fought the dominance of the mondukuru for 17 years could not tolerate the dominance by the Dinka. A tendency to pull out from this Dinka centre surfaced to be immediately picked up by the big centre in Khartoum with the evil intention of scrapping the whole peace accord. The three provinces were nominally promoted into fully autonomous regions, which practically made the peace accord redundant. These regions did not survive for long; otherwise they would have infinitely undergone further linear segmentations. This is because the linear polarization can only manage dualistic situations but not pluralistic situations. The South is a pluralistic chromosome of Sudan, and Sudan is a pluralistic chromosome of Africa. If applied in a pluralistic context, the linear polarization will push it into dualism in order to deal with it.

Back to Arms: the Second Civil War in the South

Background to the Second Civil War

By 1982 the state in Sudan was plunging into an abyss of extreme religious fanaticism; Nimeiri, a secular sanguinary despot, feigned saint-hood and put on the regalia of Islam as a camouflage. The Inquisition state of the Mahdia type was reinstated once again. Islam was abused by reducing it into a harsh penal code, arbitrarily applied. The machine of the prestigma/stigma was operated at full throttle, thus targeting the people on the margin; the blacker you were the more targeted you became. In an unprecedented measure, Khartoum was declared a stigma-free capital; it was decided that people from the margin be evacuated from the Tri-capital (Khartoum, Umdorman and Khartoum North) under the pretext of eradicating vagrancy and loitering. In daylight, under the cynical and mocking laughter of the (black) Arabs, the black Africans of Sudan were hunted and herded like animals to be loaded into trucks that took them back to their home regions, which were too impoverished by the process of centro-marginalization to sustain them. Ordinary Sudanese people did not understand what was going on; it seemed to them that leaders at the top had lost their common sense. As the targeting was proportionate with the degree of stigma, the Southerners, by virtue of their true Sudanese complexions, were the most to moan under the yoke of that apartheid-like state. Their intellectuals and political leaders, who were mostly Christians, were forced at gunpoint to undergo the humiliation of declaring their allegiance to the false Imam, Nimeiri, according to the Islamic allegiance [sic] (al-bay'a). Being already abrogated some years ago, Addis Ababa Accord was long since forgotten by President Nimeiri, the delirious Imam.

SPLM/SPLA

In 1983 a group of Southern military soldiers rebelled and took to the jungle: the second civil war had begun. It proved to be one of the longest civil wars in modern history, claiming the lives of over two million Southern civilians who were massacred by the marauding army of the government or caught in the cross fire or otherwise perished of hunger and disease. This tragedy of major proportions went unnoticed by the international community including the Organization of African Unity in spite of repeated appeals by the SPLM.

The rebellion was engineered by three different groups and was very soon joined by veterans of the first civil war. The scenario of civilians' tragedies and legacy of that war with its demand for separation of Southern Sudan still loomed in the minds of Sudanese people. Of the three factions that were behind the rebellion at least one of them was wholly committed to the separation of the South [Johnson, 2003]. Then a highly educated senior army officer, who was also a veteran of the first civil war, joined the rebellion to emerge very soon as its paramount military commander and intellectual thinker. This was of Dr. Col. John Garang De Mabior who will make Sudan take its sharpest turn in history since the establishment of the Funj Sultanate in 1505AD, that is, the unification of the marginal forces against the centre.

According to its Manifesto, the revolutionary body was called "the Sudan People Liberation Movement" (SPLM), with its military arm called "the Sudan People Liberation Army" (SPLA). Although greatly and understandably overshadowed by the South, the movement declared itself as concerned with the whole of Sudan. It declared that the war was not a war of the South against the North, but rather it was the war of marginalized people in the South, the Funj and Ingassana, the Nuba Mountains, the West, the East and the North against the centre which is represented by the government of Khartoum, which is not in any way the virtuous government of the whole of Sudan. The dominance of the centre on, and its exploitation of, the marginalized people was deeply rooted in the system that only an armed liberation movement could undo it. That is to say to transcend the linear polarization model (South vs. North) to the circular polarization model (margin vs. centre); that is to say to transcend "the melting pot" model of nationalism to "the unity in diversity" model of national integration. The true version of Afro-Arabism as an identity of Sudan has been declared where the plural components of Africanism and Arabism shall be honoured on an equal footing without violating the rights of any party. All this was concluded under the banner of the "New Sudan". It took Sudan five centuries to reach this point of national maturity.

The Circular Civil Wars of the Margin against the Centre

Introduction

Presently the civil war is not only in the South, it has spread to these other marginalized areas. One of the two armed movements of the people of Dar Fur has named itself Sudan Liberation Army (SLA). It is only the people of Northern Sudan, especially the Nubians and the Manās īr, i.e. the fourth column of the margin, who have not yet taken up to arms. There are strong indications that they may take to arms very soon. By claiming that it came to liberate Sudan from the hegemony of the centre, which relegates the whole country into marginalization, especially the periphery, the SPLM/SPLA has become very attractive to people from the margins. Now it includes among its fighters people from Nuba Mountains, Ingassana, Beja, Dar Fur and representative figures from all over the country.

The Civil Wars in the Nuba, Ingassana and the Beja

From the South, the civil wars first spread to the regions of Nuba Mountains and Ingassana Mountains in the strategic area that lies between the North and the South. A little later it spread further to include the marginalized area of the Beja in the Eastern region. Eventually they all joined SPLM/SPLA. At the beginning, very few people took the words of SPLM/SPLA and its nationalist banners seriously. The people from the margins began slowly taking the movement at its word; after so many centuries of subjugation and intimidation, it was so difficult for them to believe in freedom at its face value. Then they began adhering to the movement. The people of the margins joined the call of the movement in accordance with their degree of stigma: the more stigmatized the people the more enthusiastic they were in taking to arms (‹1›the South, ‹2›Ingassana and Nuba Mountains, ‹3›the West, ‹4›the East and ‹5› last but not least the North). A considerable number of people who were socially supposed to belong to the prestigma showed their national far-sightedness by joining the movement as soldiers and politicians.

Being the most stigmatized, the Southerners were the core of the movement and its army. As was the case in the first civil war, they took it also to be their own war. The national nature of the movement will not dawn on them until later when joiners from outside the South began showing among their ranks. Given the relatively small number of joiners, the national dimension of the movement was not felt in a direct way yet. It was extremely distressful for the Southerners to fight and die on behalf of other people who do not support them even sentimentally, to say nothing about the mondukuru. Nevertheless they kept fighting under the banner of liberating the whole of Sudan. The increase of joiners, with whole areas

(such as 2nd degree and 3rd degree areas) taking to arms, soothed their hurt feelings and boosted their morale.

The War in Dar Fur

Dar Fur has been the victim of the involvement of the neighbouring Arab states in the civil war of Chad that flared up in 1970s. Libya, an extreme advocate of Pan-Arabism with highly volatile policies, intervened in Chad with the sole aim of helping the Arab nomad tribes with money, logistics and arms. These Arab tribes are generally an extension of the Arab tribes of Kordufan and Dar Fur in the Sudan. During the 1970s-1980s they used to make incursions deep into Sudan where their Arab brethren in Dar Fur and Kordufan invariably welcomed them. To them Sudan was a kind of backstage common room where they took a rest and made plans quietly; they also made business in arms trafficking. However, they did not cruise their way in and out of Sudan peacefully; they would maraud the villages of African sedentary tribes they came across, killing and looting. Due to the ruthless atrocities committed by these Arab tribes in Chad, they were compelled to flee the country after peace was restored. By this time they had already plunged the region of Dar Fur into chaos due to the culture of armed robbery they had established. In one decade, history-long conventional and customary laws that govern the relationship between the pastoralist Arabs and sedentary Africans were scrapped. The rift between the two groups widened more than ever. Tribal rivalries and petty tribal skirmishes and vendettas were magnified, and eventually developed into tribal wars launched by the most armed group, i.e. the Arabs. With the fanaticization of the state in Khartoum and ethnic manipulation the tribal war has turned into holy jihad directed towards the "infidels" who were taken at first to be the Southerners. In essence, however, it is a racist war camouflaged with religion, as it will unfold later.

Al-Di'ēn: the Launch of Slavery and Genocide in Dar Fur

The ideological polarization of centro-marginalization will reach its zenith when people who have a lot to share together would come after each other. That is how the Baggāra Arabs came to commit the worst bunch of crimes in Sudan's contemporary history against people with whom they have been living peacefully for so long.

The Baggāra tribes in Kordufan and Dar Fur are nomadic Arabs who have been greatly influenced by the Nilotic tribes, especially the Dinka, from whom they have taken the cows for livestock and the colour of blackness. The word "Baggāra" is a plural adjective in Sudanese colloquial Arabic derived from the word "cow". Highly conscious of their Arab identity they are naturally susceptible to prestigmatic orientations, but they are not in

any way prestigma. A bedouin Arab is never considered a prestigma even in pre-Islamic Arabia. However such orientations were triggered off in an anti-Dinka direction for the first time during the Turco-Egyptian rule and the Mahdia as the Baggāra were drawn into the vice of slavery. Although the rift between the Baggāra and the Dinka had already happened during the British-Egyptian rule, they were, however, kept at bay by the infamous policy of pacification, i.e. crushing the people in order to impose stability. By the time the prestigma assumed the national rule immediately before independence, the Southerners declared their first civil war. The manipulation of the Baggāra Arabs by the prestigma as cat's paw had also begun. The dirtiest and most gruesome part of the game will be assigned to them to undertake; later prestigmatic intellectuals can easily furnish excuses by portraying them as savage and wildly uncontrollable bedouins. With the intensification of the civil war, the Dinka who live on the border of Kordufan and Dar Fur, such as the Ngog, found themselves being held accountable by the state for the war. The elected government of al-Sādiq al-Mahdi (1986-1989) did use the Baggāra Arabs to punish them.

In 1987 the prestigmatic elected government of al-Sādiq al-Mahdi established the infamous Popular Defence Forces (PDF) as a pretext for officially arming the Baggāra Arabs to fight the Southerners, in this case the above-mentioned Dinka who were taken for granted to be SPLM/SPLA. The defence minister (Burma Nasir) was an army general from the Baggāra Arabs. Until then the hostility between the two sides was relatively kept at bay due to the history-long interrelationship. Thousands of Dinka who fled the war zone came and lived with the Baggāra. This is how in a certain village called al-Di'ēn in Southern Dar Fur more than 6.000 Dinka people peacefully took refuge and lived with the Baggāra.

Armed in this way, the marauding Baggāra squads of PDF began making incursions into the South, raiding the Dinka villages that naturally sought help from the SPLM/SPLA. The latter came to the rescue with a vendetta. In all aspects the Baggāra Arabs were not an equal to SPLA. They began licking defeat after defeat. The prestigma was driven too far away with its own vanity to sensibly feel the incumbency of saving the Baggāra the degradation of this manipulation. The fact was that it was not only the Dinka that were being victimized, but the Baggāra as well. As they faced mounting defeats, the Baggāra began nursing deep hatred towards the Dinka in general. The rift was widening, the inter-relationship weakened. A certain bitter defeat that befell the Baggāra at the moment when they thought themselves victorious led them to direct their attention to the peaceful Dinka who were living with them at al-Di'ēn on whom they sought to take revenge, pouring the venom of their hatred.

In one day in mid 1987 at least 1,000 Dinka were massacred, 4,000 were burned alive, and the survivals – around 1,000 – were enslaved. The massacre began early in the day. At first the bewildered Dinka did not believe what was going on. When reality dawned on them, they fled into the houses of their hosts who were also their attackers. They were dragged by their feet like animals to be butchered outside the houses of their hosts. The Dinka took refuge in the Church; there they were killed along with the priest. Then they ran and took refuge inside the Police station which was part of the railway station, but, alas, the Police turned to be accomplices. They were killed there also. Whether in good or bad faith – which does not matter – they were ill-advised to take refuge in the empty carriages of a standing freight train so they could be taken away from al-Di'ēn. With the trustfulness usually shown by totally vulnerable and helpless people in their eagerness to cling to a straw, they hurriedly obeyed. Once crammed inside, they were locked from outside. Caged in like animals they saw with their own eyes barrels full of diesel being rolled toward them. They were burnt alive, all of them. Only then, with the barbecue smell of that holocaust, did the Baggāra come to their senses. The survivals were fortunate that they were only enslaved. Slavery was the common sense of that doomed day.

A booklet hurriedly prepared by two brave scholars ['Ushāri Mahmūd & Baldu, 1987] who stumbled on al-Di'ēn by accident the day after the massacre soon appeared, understandably with many a flaw if judged academically. The first reaction of the government was to condemn the booklet and meekly deny the incident, especially the part relating to slavery. The prestigmatic intellectuals, the enlightened ones particularly, accepted the fact that that was enslavement. However, they classified it as African traditional slavery confined to tribal feuds and wars. Then they turned their full attention to the deficiencies of the booklet in an attempt to discredit the whole case. The atmosphere became very tense, with the outside world awakening to the shocking realities in the Sudan. While snarling at any one who dared discuss the massacre, holocaust or the enslaving of the survivals from a point of view that did not agree with its own, the government declared the formation of fact-gathering committee. In Sudan it is known that if you want to kill off a case, form a committee to investigate it. Discussing the events was discouraged whilst the committee was doing its work. Fortunately for the elected government the coup of June 1989 took place.

The elected government was saved by the coup from the day of reckoning. The junta took from where the elected government left off; recruitment into the Popular Defence Forces was intensified with the clear intention of militarizing the whole society. Islam and Arabism were abused as

never before. In the repercussions of the frenzy of the regime to recruit civilians in masses, the militarization of children was eventually adopted. In the period 1989-1999 only God knows how many massacres like that of al-Di'ēn took place.

The Genocide of the Janjawīd in Dar Fur

A decade later, i.e. since the Dinka massacre in al-Di'ēn, the scenario of ethnic manipulation by the state has expanded to cover the whole of Dar Fur and most of Kordufan, i.e. the West. Riding their horses, the nomadic Arab tribes of Dar Fur have been committing genocide and ethnic cleansing against the African sedentary tribes. The era of terror of the infamous Janjawīd had been launched. The term is an appellation of terror with various connotations and meanings, the most famous of which the one we are citing. The term is a composite word that consists of two corrupted words: jan+jawīd. The word (jan) comes from machine guns (GM3) corrupted into Arabic JīEm> Jīm> Jēn> Jan. The word (jawīd) is from the Arabic word for 'horse' i.e. jawād, signifying the horse and its rider, engaged in the diminutive form juwēd> jawīd. As both the culprit and the victim are Muslims, the racist nature of the linear polarization, whether latitudinal or longitudinal, becomes very clear. At last the Apartheid orientation of the Arabs of Sudan have reached the point where they can no more tolerate to see the indigenous black Africans of Sudan living beside them. The absurdity is that, in the big circle of the so-called Arab world, those Arabs of Dar Fur will racially be relegated to the stigmatized status of black Africans.

News has poured from the mass media all over the world telling how villages are being razed to the ground, and how children and women are being killed with many cases of systematic rape. Based on the narratives related by the survivals, many observer organizations, regional and international, have come to accept the truth and point the finger of accusation toward the Islamo-Arab government of Khartoum. The regime of Khartoum has not only backed the nomadic Arab tribes, but has also armed, and fought by land and air along with, them. All through the decade of 1982-1992 skirmishes and limited killings were commonplace in Dar Fur. The Khartoum regime down played them as 'armed robbery'. In 1995 the massacres were launched first against the Masālīt tribe of the state of West Dar Fur. The governor himself was a Masālīt Muslim Brother who was given orders from Khartoum to let his sedentary people host a heavily armed clan of pastoralist Baggāra who were driven out of Chad to be welcomed by the regime of Khartoum simply out of bias to the Arabs. Believing the assuring words of their own son (i.e. the governor) that the Baggāra will in no way be allowed to violate the history-long conventional laws

that regulate the relationship between sedentary and pastoralist people, the Masālīt innocently and generously welcomed the newcomers. Under the official eyes of the State government, which was headed by their own son thousands of the Masālīt, were butchered in mid 1995.

The fact that the latest genocide in Dar Fur has been committed by Muslim Arab tribes backed by the Islamo-Arab State against Muslim African tribes shows that Islamo-Arabism in Sudan is an ideological consciousness that has nothing to do with Islam. Those are Muslim people killing Muslim people with the intention of cleansing the land they live in from non-Arab people just as they did towards the African Dinka in al-Di'ēn; the Arabs are killing the Africans. Where the assimilation seems to be a cultural process, its parameters are racial. Centro-marginalization is based upon the processes of prestigma/stigma. The gruesome atrocities and genocide, which are being overtly committed by State-backed Arab tribes, have in fact been covertly committed in the South since 1955.

The Northern Nubians and the Completion of the Circulation of the Civil War

By 2003, with the semi-circular civil war spreading first from the South into Nuba Mountains, Ingassana Mountains, the East and the West, the awareness of marginalization among the Africans of Sudan and the necessity to fight it out have succeeded in securing the allegiance and moral support of the people of the whole margin, i.e. including the Nubians in the North. The Nubians were believed by many to be the last to join the struggle of marginalized people and the least to take to arms. However, that changed rapidly when in late 2003 news leaked out revealing that negotiations at the highest levels with the Egyptian government had taken place so as to facilitate the settlement of millions of Egyptian peasants, along with their families, in the triangle of the Nubian basin of Halfa-'Uwēnāt-Dungula. Offers on behalf of the Sudanese government were generously made for a similar settlement in the fertile deltas of Tōkar and al-Gāsh in the Eastern region, but were declined by the Egyptians who seemed at this stage to be interested only in the Nubian basin. The aim of this move is said to safeguard the Arab identity of Sudan against the growing awareness (sic) of Africanism in Sudan generally and among the Nubians in particular. The Sudanese delegation, which was backed by a Presidential mandate, was led by Arabist Nubians who belong to the centre ideologically, but not by all means to their marginalized people. A cover-up plan named the Four Freedoms, which theoretically allow the Sudanese and the Egyptians as well to own agrarian lands and settle in both countries, was officially declared. Both parties were too eager in their

scramble to create a de facto situation before the Nubians become aware of what was going on. There is no agrarian land to be owned by the Sudanese investors in Egypt. But there is land in the Sudan at which the Egyptians are looking with greed to acquire. The Ministery of Agriculture announced that it had sold millions of fedans in the Nubian basin to Egyptians investment companies with long-term leases, i.e. investment through settlement. There is no mention of the Nubians in all these deals, which seemed to have been made overnight.

Occupying the northern part of Sudan, i.e. the region of the Nubians, has been a declared goal of the Egyptians should the South secede. Under the pretext of protecting its national water security, nothing will stop Egypt from annexing the Nubian region just below the Shāygiyya land. Egypt has already been occupying the two triangles of Serra, north of Halfa and Halāyib on the Red Sea, for decades. The triangle of the Nubian basin of Halfa-'Uwēnāt-Dungula is what Egypt is after; it will be annexed to the so-called Toshka agricultural scheme. The truth is that all through history Nubia (Sudan) and Egypt have been two separate States with the first cataract at Asuan as a natural divide and boundary. Occasionally they were united by the material force of occupation.

A memo of protest [cf. the Nubian Memo to Kofi Annan, Khartoum 13 April 2004] has already been sent by the Nubians to the UN secretary-general, delivered at the Khartoum UN Office, asking for protection from the threats posed by the governments of Khartoum and Cairo and identifying at the same time with other marginalized groups of Sudan. They have not yet received any gesture from the international organization addressing the problem. Aside from the marginalized groups already engaged in their respective civil wars, no political organization in the Sudan has so far made the slightest comment on the issue. The Nubians have raised the alarm, but it seems that the world is waiting for them to get killed in masses before paying attention, if at all. It should not be a surprise if we hear in the news that they have taken to arms.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusions

The war has become circular, i.e. it can only be described in terms of the margin vs. the centre. If there is any peace to be brokered, it should be inclusive in respect of all marginalized groups fighting alongside the SPLM/SPLA. However, the Naivasha peace initiative, which was brokered mainly by America and Britain, and which has just reached its final stages of signing by the government and SPLM/SPLA, is concerned only with

the civil war in the South. Like the rest of the West, America and Britain have persistently decided to deal with the civil war in Sudan as between the African and Christian South against the Muslim, Arab North.

It does not make sense in deciding to put an end to the war in the South and leave it to flare up in the Ingassana, Dar Fur, Nuba Mountains or Beja, especially when the causes of the war are the same and the fighting groups have achieved a kind of unifying body. It is much easier to deal with a single body that can help settle the whole conflict in one stroke rather than to have many parties to deal with. What is the wisdom behind telling the other parties to wait until the fight in the South comes to an end? It is like telling them to keep on fighting until you reach a deal with the biggest fighting group. Where the war is a circular one, Naivasha peace initiative is unfortunately a linear one.

Recommendations

People of the margins should come together. On the civilian political level they should have an alliance that represents their thinking. Before coordinating or uniting their military organs they need to have their civilian organizations united in a big alliance. The battle against the centre has had two fronts: military and civilian. So far the people of the margins have been faring very well on the military front, with nothing done on the civilian side. The two of bodies (civilian and military) are not to be necessarily conditioned by each other; although driving at one aim, the civilian battle, however, is virtually different from the military battle. This alliance of the forces of the margins is fundamental in peace and war. If it is war, then war should be fought properly; if it is peace, then peace should be well-guarded.

References

Alier, Abel (1990). *Southern Sudan: Too many Agreements Dishonoured*. Exeter.

Deng, F. (1995). *War of Visions: Conflict of Identities in the Sudan*. Washington.

Fadl, Yusuf Hassan (1973). *The Arabs and the Sudan: From the Seventh to the Early Sixteenth Century*. Khartoum: Khartoum University Press.

Ibrāhīm, Yahya (1985). *Tārīkh al-ta'līm al-dīni fil-Sūdān [The History of Religious Education in the Sudan]*. Beirut.

Johnson, D. (2003). *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil wars*. Oxford: James Currey. Kampala: Fountain Publishers. E.A.E.P. Bloomington & Indianpolis: Indiana University Press.

Khalid, Mansour (1985). *Nimeiri and the Revolution of Dis-May*. London.

Lazarus, E. (1985). *The Dinka Resistance to the Condominium Rule*. Khartoum: Post-Graduate Faculty. University of Khartoum.

Mahmoud, Ushari & Baldu, S. (1987) *The Di'ein Massacre and the Institution of Slavery in the Sudan*. Khartoum.

Nagger (El), Omer (1970). *The Pilgrimage Tradition in West Africa*. Khartoum: Khartoum University Press.

Saghayrūn, Intisār (1999). "Asmā' wa ma'āni al-Sūdān al-qadīm wa dilālātuha al-jughrāfiyya wal-thaqāfiyya" [The Names and Meanings of Ancient Sudan and their Geographical and Cultural Implications]. In:, *the 2nd National Conference on Geographical Names, the National Committee for Geographical Names (Ministry of Survey & Buildings Promotion) in Cooperation with Sudan University for Science & Technology*, 6-8 April 1999, Sharjah Hall, Khartoum.

Shibayka, M. (1991). *Al-Sudan 'abr al-qurūn [The Sudan through Centuries]*. Beirut.

Sīd (al-), Nāsir (1990). *Tārīkh al-siyāsa wa al-ta'līm fil-Sūdān [The History of Politics & Education in the Sudan]*. Khartoum: Khartoum University Press.

Sikainga, Ahmed [1996]. *Slaves into Worker: Emancipation and Labour in Colonial Sudan*. Austin. Texas: Modern Middle-Eastern Studies No. 18.

Spaulding, J. (1985). *The Heroic Age in Sinnar*, Michigan: African Studies Centre. Michigan State University.

Vantini, G (1981). Christianity in the Sudan. Bologna.

Welsby, D. "ed." (2000). *Life on the Desert Edge: Seven Thousands Years of Settlement in the Northern Dongola Reach of the Nile*. London: Sudan Archaeological Research society.

Werner, R., Anderson, W. & Wheeler, A. (2000). *Day of Devastation, Day of Contentment: the History of the Sudanese Church across 2000 years*. Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa.

Yamauchi, E. (2004). *Africa and the Bible*. Michigan: Baker Academic.

Primary Sources

The Bible, Genesis.

"The Nubian Action Group (2004) "The Government of Khartoum sells out its Nubian Subjects and their Land", Memorandum to Kofi Annan, the Secretary-General of the United Nation",13 April, 2004, Khartoum.

Summer Institute of Linguistics, www.ethnologue.org

Postscript

AFRO-ARAB RELATIONS - A COMPLEX SOCIO-POLITICAL COMPOSITION

El-Tahir Adam El-Faki

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to explore the Afro-Arab socio-political relations focusing on history of Darfur and Southern Sudan as examples. The article argues that Arab/Islamic complex remains divisive factor for unity of Sudan and a hindrance for a possible construction of Pan African identity. Africanism and Arabism are variables in the search for social construction of cultural identity. While the two are supposed to converge into a single African identity that possibility remains remote in the wake of race/religious affiliation. The resultant social structure has led to formation of societies with lost identities within the African continent. This evolution has become a real obstacle to the unity and progress of Sudan and accordingly to the unity of the African nations (Pan-Africanism) at large.

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) reached between the Government of Sudan (GOS) and the SPLA/M in May 2005 recognized the possibility of secession of the South from North Sudan along socio-cultural dynamic ideology – Arab/Muslims against Africans/non-Muslims. Formation of yet again another premature African State in Southern Sudan or Darfur is not in line with the dreams of future united African nations.

The concept of unity of Sudan is greatly influenced by the ambiguous relation between Arabs and Africans. Arabisation incorporates ethnic Africans into the Arab kinship system leaving them at odds with their own ethnic relatives.

Pan Africanism vs Afro/Arabism

Pan Africanism as initiative grew up in the 19th century to end slavery and the trade in Africans (http://geography.about.com/b/2003/07/26/definition-of-pan-africanism.htm). It is a process that inspires blacks of African origin to call for a united homeland, which is Africa. It was originally meant to bring the black people throughout the world together on the ground of common history, culture and experience. The first Pan African Conference was held in London in 1900, followed by 1919 in Paris and once again in 1921 in (London, Paris, Brussel), 1923 in London and 1927 in New York. The last official conference was held in 1949. The pioneers and the notables of that cause include Sylvester Williams, W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Kwame Nkrumah and others. They all accepted that Africans should stick together and unite against colonialism, slavery, racism and human degradation. There was no consensus on the definition of Pan Africanism, which meant different things to different groups. The presence of Arabs and Europeans in Africa made the definition on the bases of race or colour even more difficult. The long struggle of South Africans against the Apartheid rule ended with peaceful and democratic transformation and handover of power to the African National Congress (ANC) and preservation of rule of law and Human Rights. South African identity has been created that incorporates all ethnic groups in the country. In contrast, African identity has not been defined yet, same as Arab identity.

History of Arabs in Drafur

The turning point in the history of Darfur, and indeed in Sudan as a whole, was the invasion and penetration of the region by the Arabs and accordingly the gradual process leading to spread of Islam and Arab culture. During this stage the region came to be dominated by a new phenomenon of interlock of race and faith 'Arabs/Islam'. The permanent influence of that phenomenon on Darfur has been far greater than in the rest of Sudan where almost the whole terminology of the cultural, spiritual and ethnology has changed. In other parts of the Muslim empire where it rapidly expanded great civilisations developed facilitated by the collaboration of some of the native peoples. We have not witnessed a spectacular process of flourishing material and cultural civilisation in the region of Darfur with Arabic as its chief medium of expression. The dynasties that mushroomed in the area were of indigenous African origins that professed Islam for political and economic control of the regions and trade routes respectively.

Amr Ibn Al-As invasion of Egypt was said to be against the will of the Caliph and without extreme difficulties he managed to seize the whole

of Egypt and signed a treaty with the Coptic Patriarch in the 7thcentury. From thereon the governor of Egypt, Abdullahi ibn Sa'd ibn Abi Al-Sarh pushed his troops southwards into Northern Sudan as well as into North Africa (Hassan 1973:114-5). There were no accurate estimates of the numbers of Arabs involved in the invasion. The importance of this would have given a measured estimation of those who went further into other regions of Sudan and especially Darfur. It would not have been possible for the numbers to exceed few thousands at the most. This estimation is based on the numbers of Arabs who invaded Egypt. Arab stocks found their ways into Darfur region (O'Fahey 1980:5) and (Ibid; see also Hassan 1977).

The settlement of the Arabs among Darfurians and their sparse but sporadic intermarriages with the indigenous peoples has never matured so far to amount to the formation or emergence of a distinct group of truly Arabised Darfurians. By this we mean purely Arabic speaking, light coloured and with curly hair. Those claiming to have biological Arab blood refuse to acknowledge or accept that they indeed have intermixed with the indigenous people. They claim to have nothing but pure Arab blood in their genetics.

A Mawla is a Muslim whose parents is not descendent by birth of pure Arab origin and did not preserve the original Arab way of life and language. It has not been recorded that the Arab invaders of Darfur or their present descendants considered the Darfuris as either Arabs or Mawali. The new comers were alien to the region by race, language, culture and religion. In place of Mawla Darfurians and Southerners alike are called (gharaba), which means westerners or (abeed), means slaves.

While Christianity spread for centuries among the different races as a religion unrelated to a particular ethnic group or defined race, on the contrary Islam remained part and parcel of Arab ethnicity and language. Islam spread in Darfur was related to the matrimonial bond of a Tunjur Arab/Muslim invader into the last ruling Daju family princess (O'Fahey 1980:123).

The close relation between Arabisation and Islam makes it difficult to separate one from the other. It should not be assumed that relations between the new comers and the natives of Darfur were smooth. Clashes between the newly arrived Arabs and the indigenous population did occasionally happen.

The similar geographical constituent of the region of North Darfur to that of the Arab peninsulas and desert made it nearly familiar and accessible to the Arab nomads who settled with ease in the outskirts of natively populated areas. The nomad use of camels as means of transport for sup-

plies and provision of milk and other basics of life and their ability to use the desert as safe havens in times of emergencies made the region ideal environment for settlement. The Arab Nomads did not take to agriculture the products of which they bought from the indigenous sedentary populations. It was therefore not by coincidence that the new comers established their main bases in areas on the fringes of the desert and later on migrated further deep into fertile regions when the needs became necessary. Despite the possible large numbers of the Arab nomads compared with those who settled in towns and cities it was the settled minorities and those who actually lived and had communication with the indigenous populations and the natives in the region that really played a bigger role in the history of Arabs in Darfur.

Sudanese historians and writers of Arab descent continue to state that spreading Islam was the main cause for the penetration of Sudan by the Arabs without credible evidences (Hassan 1973:125). The Arab nomads whose religious piety has always been questionable did not initially aim at Islamic expansion. It was probably substantially for settlement as Arab race benefiting from Islamic laws that call for the conquered people to submit unconditionally to the ruler. The Arabs found in Islam that potent means to strengthen and solidify their authorities on the invaded area of Darfur.

From the Seventh century on, the Islamic empire and the Caliphate witnessed rapid socio-political agitations, civil wars and mounting desires for acquiring new land in neighbouring and far away countries. These were more than purely religious reasons to drive the nomads into Sudan. Those periods of crises compounded by a large-scale tribal strife among the Arabs in the peninsula followed the death in 683 of Yazid Ibn Muawiya who left his infant son Muawiya the second as his successor. Series of civil wars erupted after the death of Muawiya the second and raged throughout the Muslim Empire that was supposedly followed by new phase of emigration.

The first Islamic civil war occurred between 656-661 during the struggle between Muawiya and Ali for the Caliphate. Some of that emigration culminated in more penetration of Arab nomads into North Africa and consequently the Sudan. The Umayyad social structure was mainly based on the domination of the Arab race as an aristocratic social class acquired by birth into Arab parents and not on Islam. The glory of the Islamic empire was a product of the new way of life the Arab rulers had taken to in their newly occupied countries rather than in their native land. It was more in the interest of the Arabs to preserve the privileges obtained as a race than to preserve and spread Islam. Supporting this view was the fact that

the successive Caliphs all through the Islamic rule suppressed the Khawariji who fought against domination by any race including the Arabs.

The transformation of the Arab Empire by Muawiya to pure monarchy brought a new method of hereditary succession to the caliphate unknown to the Arabs before. It would be wrong to assume that the new system would not have implications and repercussions among the dominant and proud Arab tribes that found themselves excluded from the Caliphate and marginalized. The widespread exodus from the Arab peninsula was not alone for booties through invasions but some were driven to emigrate. Nevertheless the inherent lust for Blood and Loot remained. On the other-hand the pious and the religious who would not accept to deal with what he saw, as corrupt and ungodly regimes found no reason to stay and accordingly had to emigrate as well. The emigration was easier to areas where the environment was favourable and where some of their kinship had already settled before, such as the Sudan. The failure of the Arabs to get North Africa under their rule and the heavy losses they encountered against the Berbers, the Romans, Byzantines and the Greeks may also led to small groups of them escaping into Western Sudan. The later Muslim expansions into North Africa along the Mediterranean coast including Tripoli, Kairouan, Carthage and Tangier made it possible for them to gain territories and mix with the local populations of the Maghrib. The Maghrib territory consisted of present day Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. Several historical trading routes existed between Africa and the Mediterranean coast. The new invaders probably brought much the same system and principles of administration applied at their homeland. Darfuris did not inherit the title of a Caliph till the era of the Kanem/Bornu Empire and lately called their rulers sultans in line with the Ottoman rule. Right at the beginning if the intentions of the invaders were the spread of Islam the system of administration would have been the Shura and the Caliphate and not Monarchy. As it was not Islam that brought the Arabs to Darfur they continued to maintain strong tribal bonds and the absolute loyalty of their kinship to their tribal leaders or Sheikhs instead of the religious bond.

The numbers of Arabs who settled in Darfur were not precisely known, but they must have formed a small minority among the native populations. In the peninsula the Arab nomads in their attempt to revolt and escape from the newly centralised control and discipline introduced by the successive Caliphs, especially Muawiya must have found in Darfur suitable environment to that of their homeland and settled as free tribes and not by the drive or intention to expand Islam. Further support for this view was the preservation of their nomadic life and culture; some of which bla-

tantly contravened the newly introduced Islamic teachings. The Nomads continued to look at the indigenous communities of Darfur as inferior in race, culture and language no matter what equality they have as brothers of Islam. That contravenes basic Islamic doctrines.

Arab infiltration into the region continued with a changing pace following the gradual decline of noble birth and tribal prestige they enjoyed before and subsequent to the collapse of the Umayyad political rule and the emergence of Mawali. Some Arab tribes would not accept or tolerate the growing numbers of Mawali to gain social equality and prestige and consequently found it undignified and hard to stay in the Arab peninsula and had to leave. Some must have immigrated to Sudan where the desert presents an ideal atmosphere for them to preserve what they thought purely Arab race. This process took time. Until at least the turn of the 9th century the Abbasid's era succeeded the Umayyads where dependence on the support of the Arabs dwindled and the Mawali began to have more influence as an autocratic social class supported by military power and assumed divinity. Sudan was not far away from those changes.

The administrative systems Darfurian dynasties adopted became autocratically similar to that of the Abbasids, which was organised in series of Diwans or ministries. The Fatimids reign that followed was known for the building of Cairo and Al-Azhar Mosque as the centre of their faith. Al-Azhar was later to become one of the main centres of Islamic thought and religious life where Darfurians sent their students to gain higher Islamic education. The Fatimids managed to extend their sway eastward into Palestine, Syria and Arabia. It would not be unreasonable to believe that they infiltrated southwards into Sudan and some went to Darfur. The support for this rests with high level of relation between the two. The Ismailite sects, that are products of the Fatimids, could be traced in Darfur up to the present time. What we are aiming at is to show that the penetration of the Arabs into the region was gradual with different pace dependent on the political change in the Arab peninsula and Egypt.

As elsewhere the spread of Islam among the natives of Darfur was accompanied by the spread of Arabic language (Ibid;see Hassan 1966:122). in some of Western Iran where most of the old native languages died out and Arabic became the mainly spoken one, the same phenomenon revealed itself in Darfur. Some of the old native languages gradually disintegrated like that of the Berti passed into extinction. (El-Tom, Abdullahi 1998b.'Islam and ethnic identity among the Berti of Darfur, Sudan', GeoJournal, 46(2), 155-62).

Sudanese in general consider the element of religion essential for the Arabs invasion of Sudan. We have shown so far that Arabs intentions were

for different reasons and Islam was a bi-product of that penetration and not the aim. A small clan called Awlad Al- Reef (urban descendants) whose colour is lighter and speak Arabic with regional dialect not understood by Arabs, may be thought by some people as an Arab quasi-tribal group. Neither the Arab tribes nor the Darfurians consider Awlad Al-Reef to be Arabs by origin. They may be descendents of Arab origin from Egypt assimilated due to intermarriages with the natives who themselves had lost their original vernacular language and spoken Arabic with a dialect.

Although the Arabic language spoken by most Darfurians is a tongue that had diverged to a greater extent from standard Arabic, most of those who use it call it Arabic anyway. Majority of Darfurians speak Arabic dialect mainly in cities and towns to show their sophistication, but those who do not speak it manage on their vernacular languages among their own kinships. The Darfurians, especially of the lower social classes speak dialects differing substantially from standard Arabic while the educated elite rarely manage in divesting themselves of their native accent and idiom and very often fail to acquire new accent of standard Arabic. Further on some Darfurians of Arab origin flatter themselves that they speak and pronounce Arabic better than the Arabs themselves in the peninsula. And when it comes into practice they normally become subject to criticism and ridicule. The same applies to the tongue used by Southern Sudanese, Nuba Mountains and the Beja.

The analogy rests with Northern Sudanese tribes whose mother tongues are not Arabic and speak their own vernacular languages and Arabic with dialects like the Danagla and the Nubians from the North. Yet when Darfurians or Southern Sudanese speak Arabic it becomes a subject for ridicule and drama. Those of Northern Sudanese descent claiming Arab origin and not speaking Arabic at all and in their attempt to speak the language with a dialect not different from that of Southerners or Darfurians still believe in their Arab descent and deny it at the same time to Darfurians. This is not to imply that the former groups pride to profess Arab origin. New local Arabic dialects developed as the language became widely used by the black natives in Darfur as well as in the South. The nomads and the sedentary Arabs speak Arabic with minor differences between their different clans but widely divergent to that in the peninsula.

Loose Socio-Political Relations – Lost Identities

Arab/Islamic infiltration and involvement into the African continent unlike into other continents have resulted in loose socio-political relationship with the indigenous populations and has so far become barrier to unity within Sudan and ominous to Pan-Africanism. The war in South-

ern Sudan that went on for over five decades remained testimony to that statement. Arab-Islamic invasion of Sudan has also polarised the African indigenous communities themselves along ethnic and religious lines alienating them from their original ethnic backgrounds and for some black Africans to become accomplices of the Arabs.

Arab infiltrations into the black continent produced miseries and resentment and lead to the flourishing of slavery, racism and human subjugation. Racial segregation has been rife and alleged Arab supremacy over Africans continues up to the present time. While Europeans came to Africa for material gains they left the role of religious missionary to the churches. Racism, slavery and subjugation of Africans were not unique to Arabs alone. Involvement of religion and race remained distinctive to Muslims of Arab origin. The close and intertwined integration of ethnicity with Islam made it difficult for Muslims and outside observers to separate one from another. Race and religion merged in a unique combination to form a phenomenon that continues to haunt some societies. While Islamic faith doesn't recognise superiority of any human race as such, ethnic manipulation has made it as though Islam is a monopoly to Arab race. One of the main factors in this predicament is the colour of the skin of the invaded communities by early Muslim settlers. When blacks convert to Islam they are still seen by their fellow non-blacks as lacking the right colour.

Black African people suffered at the hands of South African Whites same as those who suffered at the hands of Arabs. While Apartheid was defeated in South Africa, the Arab-Apartheid-in-disguise is still flourishing in Sudan, Mauritania and other North African countries. For this reason unity of Sudan is at stake. The distrust is mainly the consequence of race/religious differences. Everywhere else, except in the African continent, Arab invaders tried as much to integrate by marriages into the communities and gain their respect. Loose socio-political relations outside Africa did not turn out to be a main factor for fragmentation and disunity of a nation.

Race/religion in Sudan has become an obstacle to formation of a defined nation. The creation of ethnic black groups in Africa with Arab aspirations has led to communities with lost identities. This is the problem facing Sudan. They are neither Arabs nor Africans and hence Sudanese geographically but with undefined identities. This is the real threat to Sudanese people and indeed to the African Continent at large.

Late Dr. John Garang de Mabior and former leader of rebel Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), in an interview with the Washington Post said; "We were obviously African . . . but this is the issue of identity. We don't know who we are, and that underlies the ambiguity. I am only gathering momentum to rediscover ourselves, to evolve the

Sudanese identity that incorporates all of us, irrespective of tribe, religion or race." And he continued to say; 'since 1956, the country has "failed to find itself and to have a soul," "Various governments have come and gone, and the Sudanese have looked for their identity elsewhere -- in Christianity, in the Arab world, in scenarios of an Islamic state. But we did not ask ourselves: What made us Sudanese?" "Now we have a possibility to fundamentally change Sudan, of putting our country back together again and achieving our vision for the new Sudan. It is payback time for the SPLA, to the people who have suffered, to deliver, to build schools and hospitals, to have the new Sudan we have fought for,"[3]

John Garang's words are a summary of what is happening in Africa at large. Africa has no defined single identity. The geographic Africa is a land inhabited by diverse ethnicities, Arabs and Europeans included. South Africa witnessed Apartheid with all its horrors and human degradations and finally freed itself. Black or white South Africans identify themselves as South Africans but not as Pan Africanists. Every African nation sees itself in the context of its geographic borders rather than its ethnic background. This view is unlikely to encourage the black populations to proceed for integration into a one African nation. Geography on its own will not be the answer to a future unified Africa. Unity is a belief based on common history, culture, aspirations for economic success and achievement of personal goals. What will happen in Southern Sudan and Darfur is crucial to the fate of the Sudanese nation and to the African continent.

Socio-Political Dynamics

Africans invaded by Arab ethnic identity, language and ideology has gone through the following stages:

The first group rejects out rightly both the Islamic ideology and the Arabic language and at the same time resists to integrate with the invaders by any means and therefore remains as the indigenous community. Examples outside Africa are plentiful, Christian tribes in Iran and Spain, Buddhists in Pakistan, India and China. In Africa most of the Christians and animists tribes in Southern Sudan and the rest of the non-Muslim African countries remained immune to both Islam and its proxy Arab race. This group retained its language and culture and at the same time managed to resist social integration with the Arabs. Islam failed to gain a foothold within such communities for over a thousand and half years. If we made a careful look at the other scenarios where communities submitted to the Arab language or engaged in social integration by marriage, ethnic assimilation and absorption eventually took place in favour of Arab identity.

The second group preserves its original language, rejects the alien Islamic ideology but accepts ethnic integration by marriage or other means. The trick here is for this community to accept mixing with the Arabs/Muslims. This case is precarious because the Arab/Muslims will not allow their women to marry into non-Muslims while they are free to marry into others. The dichotomy here results in measured formation of new societies that speak its own vernacular languages but with departure from their ethnic roots straying into new-unsettled identity. The new mixtures are neither Arabs nor the indigenous communities anymore. Unlike in Christianity the indigenous community retains its roots and does not have to attach or subscribe to certain race when it embraces the faith. They continue to keep their identity, their language and their culture and at the same time become Christians. Furthermore the converts to the new Islamic doctrine have to learn Arabic to conduct its rituals. This step will in the long run lead to generations that eventually speak Arabic as its mother tongue. Accepting ethnic integration with Arabs means capitulation to the language and religion at the same time. This is the case in North Africa and in Sudan. Total communities of Berber have been absorbed into the new ethnicity as time went.

This second group specifically have always been the one that lost most of its original language and culture. Sudan has been much afflicted by this process and tribes once endowed with its own language had at the end lost it to Arabic.

In Darfur the population is unanimously Muslims with Arab aspirations but the colour of their skin fails to qualify them as Arabs. Some of the tribes lost their original language in favour of local dialect Arabic. While in Southern Sudan it is normal to see affiliates of different religions within the same family but the one who is Muslim is always the odd. He/she is uncomfortable about his/her family and sees them as infidels thus alienating him/her along religious lines. To conduct the religious sermons Arabic is mandatory. The close association between Islam and Arab ethnicity obliges the new converts to be indifferent to their ethnic background and become fascinated with the acquired Arabic tie.

A third group retains its language and culture but capitulates to the new ideology and the Islamic religion. As we have seen above this group is theoretical. Whenever a person converts to Islam he/she should immediately cast away all previous un-Islamic practices and convictions and submit to Islamic doctrines. With the passage of time the person adopts new personality synonymous with the Arab culture. The chain of events starts first by accepting Islam, which will then take care of the rest.

A fourth group would take the language alone but preserves its ethnic background and its own ideology or religion. The Copts in Egypt and Sudan managed to preserve their religion but lost their language to Arabic. Animists in Southern Sudan and in other African countries also managed to keep their culture and religion but spoke the dialect Arabic language.

The fifth and last group integrates completely with the newcomers at all levels of ethnicity, language and culture. When the colour of the skin is lighter the person claims pure Arab ethnicity and disputes or rejects all past non-Arabic origin. Such is the case of Northern Sudanese who claim Arab descent more than those in the peninsula.

The five groups are well represented in Africa in different proportions especially in the South. This scenario failed to demonstrate all its components in Darfur comparatively with Southern Sudan. While some of the Darfurians do not speak Arabic they are however unanimously Muslims and are considered part of the Arab world. Whether Darfurians consider themselves Arabs or not they are seen as such by non-Muslims of the South. Islamisation of all of Sudan is an ongoing process that has not ripened yet. The South managed to maintain some resistance against this process without an outright success. The eruption of Darfur problem has exposed a project well underway of ridding the region of its black population to pave the way for planned Arabisation of North Africa. The socio-political dynamics of Afro-Arab integration is unlikely to mature where such project exists.

Arab Race Zeal

The attitudes of the Arab world towards Southern Sudan and Darfur problems are appalling. The Arabs consider the problems in both regions real threat to their ethnicity in general and at the very worst possibility a means to the destruction of their identity in Sudan. Reports of systematic expulsion of Darfurian elites and businessmen from the rich Arab countries are unfolding. Professor Abdullahi El- Tom wrote; "(Abdel Jabbar Sahraf Eldin, January 8th, has some embarrassing news for us in this regard. Talking about Emirate State, he says; "The Emirate State has opted to show enmity to Darfur people, to detain those who go there seeking refuge; .. to destroy their businesses without them having committed any crime. The Emirate State has so far deported Dr. G. I. M, the Director of Sky Leader for Air Transport; Mr. I. A, the Director of Loader for Transport and Mr. A. G. A, Director of Bamshi Company for Transport (Sudanjem, January 8th, 08). http://www.sudanjem.com/en/index.php?page=leserbrief.full&id=400. The same author also gave names of three other Darfuris who were deported after suffering lengthy solitary detention. Moreover, the author

also gave names of two Darfuris who have been in an Emirate prison since October 07 without being charged. Such is the fate of Darfur people in the Arab world)".

During the struggle of SPLA/M the Arab world remained hostile to its cause and supported the GoS financially and militarily and diplomatically. Air fighters equipped with missiles contributed in bombing positions of SPLA in Kormok and others. Sudan continued to receive diplomatic support at the UN from same Arab regimes.

Of more concern, though, are the ethnic issues that signify classical targeting of non-Arab Sudanese by the Arab countries and a hatred that will not recede any time soon. There is a sense of urgency on our side to confront the Arab world with their failure to recognize that they are engaged in actions against Darfurian civilians in the Gulf and conducting their behaviours on the rule of the jungle. By this we mean their unconditional support to the government of Sudan (GoS) at all costs against Darfur people, same as they did once against Southern Sudanese. Arabs and Muslims alike have failed so far to identify or distinguish between two kinds of zeal they are engaged upon, the first being their ethnic superiority illusions over blacks in general Darfurians/Southerners included and the second is for their cultural survival and domination. Since Darfur society is entirely Muslims, there is very little room for manoeuvring the religious issue. It certainly remained to be one factor and that is the ethnic card. The Arabs thus consider the Darfur Problem as a threat and a real challenge to their own survival as supreme race. They mull over their actions as defence mechanisms. For so long they continue to believe that Islamic/Arab expansion into Africa and elsewhere have in fact produced cultural, economic and political revolution for the best among the new societies that capitulated to their domination. Whether the blacks stick and practice Islamic rituals is considered something different. It remained in the Arab minds that they preside on their divine rights as distinctive race and the capitulation of the conquered perceived as natural. If the conquered or the converted peoples ventured to seek equal rights then they are considered a threat to both Islam and consequently Arab ethnicity in general.

Arab Imperialism in Darfur and the marginalised areas in Sudan have remained to present day different to the British or the French colonialism as a single –minded expansion of religion and race intertwined. They mull over their expansion as Islamic while the English and French left religion for the clergies and the missionaries. They take for granted that their empire remains envisioned by Allah. In this sense any struggles for freedom, peace, justice and equality that jeopardises their privileges is considered a threat to Islam even by the most pious. Arab expansion in Darfur and perhaps

the rest of Sudan is more potent than the expansion of Islam because the concept of separating the sacred from the profane remained to present day on the association of the converted to Arab ethnicity primarily.

While the British and the French went about annexing Africa and other parts of the world for earthly and material benefits than for spiritual dominance allowing the missionaries and the clergies to propagate faith, the Arabs on the contrary took over the functions of both the clergies and the masters at the same time. This phenomenon eventually led to protecting their race at all expenses irrespective of religion or geographic boundaries. Accordingly, this explains their strong willingness to support those in power who seek to preserve their domination such as the GoS. Arab solidarity with the Sudanese regime that has been indicted by the international community with gross human rights atrocities and genocides among the Muslims in Darfur remain testimony to their fanatic ethnic protection at all costs. The rhetoric that the Arab/Islamic world is working for the larger community of the Muslims to unite and bring together all of those separated by geographical boundaries into a common State is totally lacking. In this sense it is easy to explain the relation of the Arab regimes with the Sudanese dictatorial system against the victims of Darfur. Further on, the Arab regimes find themselves obliged to go along with the Sudanese claims that the Arab Nation is in real threat hitting the tones that stimulate immediate defensive responses.

The Sudanese government worked hard to explain to the Arabs that Darfur problem is but a small tribal conflict over a camel which they culturally and historically understand, and very difficult for the rest of the world to comprehend. This tactic played well to the advantage of GoS by rallying all the Arab communities behind it. Furthermore, the continuous GoS accusations of America and Israel as instigators of the rebellion in Darfur blunted their vision and distorted the facts behind the roots of Darfur and the marginalised problem. It therefore became easy for the agents of the GoS to convince the Arab States that the presence of active Darfurian elites in their territories is not only a threat to the GoS but a genuine threat to Arab existence as race. They failed to see the Darfurians as different stocks of the Islamic world they already know. And this mistake turned out to be critical in the long term relations between Arabs and Darfurian.

Arab/Muslim regimes are targeting merely the victims of an evil Sudanese system. The corrupt Arab regimes continue to overlook the behaviour and fanaticism of its pro-regime in Sudan driven by their blind faith in their ethnic domination of blacks in the marginalised areas. The end result is their apparent failure of the direction they took to find reasonable and

humane response to the Darfur problem that fits within their doctrines of reason and persuasions. Unfortunately for both the Arab world and Darfurians, the response came from the GoS that advised targeting of all Darfurians who she considers actually or potentially to cause threats to Arab existence in Darfur and accordingly in the whole world. This way of thinking is unique to the Arabs.

Muslims on the other hand along with the Arab community believe that the problem has some dirty Western hands in it and their support to fellow Muslims in Darfur remains poor. Arab race zeal is the basic principle in their response to the Darfur problem. From the early days of Islamic expansions they continued to reject anything that threatens or subverts their supremacy as race and not as Muslims. While Islamic religion calls for all Muslims to forsake family, race, property, children, parents and dear life for Islam the Arabs failed to support the Muslims of Darfur in their plight and misery. It is a proof that the blood relation transcends faith.

Exhausted Afro/Arab Social Partnership

Southern Sudanese and Darfuris are possessed with high moral standards of tolerance and acceptance of others, sharing their wealth and allowing others to settle and live among them. The result of such standards, over time, created new social attachment between the natives and the new Arab comers. The resultant ethnic and social partnership thus created progressed from principle to practice. Since the majority of the population in Darfur lived in the countryside where the traditions of respect are strictly observed by the natural local leaders of the society endowed with preservation of social standards and order, the partnership remained unchallenged. Although there were no discovered or written agreements partnership developed into moral bond fashioned from the loyalty of the local people to their natural accepted leaders. When we speak about the partners to the social and ethnic agreement we mean the indigenous populations' vis-à-vis the Arabs and others who immigrated to the region from the rest of Sudan or from West Africa. An important and enduring consequence of the new relationship was flourishing of the region with trade, agricultural products and availability of cheap labour. Darfuris have the tradition of communism consisted of providing the 'Dhara' (free meals), which was an area where every one brings his share of food and made available for everyone to enjoy.

The rapid influx of Arab nomads into Africa brought with it the anarchy and indiscipline, which took time to sublux and finally dislocate the existing moral bonds and the natural agreements that kept the societies together for centuries. The Arab nomads brought with them their means

of survivals, which included raiding on neighboring tribes to seize fertile land for pastures and livestock -the policy of raid and loot.

The sociopolitical organization of the nomads was rudimentary, headed by a sheikh who usually happened to be the elder of the group. The tribe had no political, religious meaning or religious objectives. The tradition of blood vengeance which consisted of imposing on the next of kin of a murdered person the duty of exacting vengeance from the assailant or one of his fellow relatives or tribe was brought into Darfur by Arabs

Conclusion

Afro/Arab relation is the product of accumulation of historic, cultural, religious, ethical, economic and other legacies that continue to play from ancient to present time. It is a complex socio-political component. Arab ethnicity is closely related to Islam and accordingly very difficult to separate one from the other. Adopting Islam requires departure from inherited non-Islamic values and acquiring the Arab culture. Those who accept Christianity are unlikely to change their culture or inherited values and are not apt to subscribe to particular ethnicity. The divide created two groups among the African nations – Muslims and non-Muslims. Further on the divide separates the Muslims into Arab/Arabised or Africans.

Africans continue to consider Arab invasion of Africa compared with European colonialism to be by far less obnoxious for the reason that some of the Arab countries themselves suffered white European colonialism. White colonials quitted voluntarily or evicted from Africa but left the legacy of slavery, neo-colonialism and racism to taint Afro-Arab relations. The case of racism and subjugation of the indigenous black population in Sudan by those Sudanese claiming Arab descent is precarious. Southern Sudan fought the North for over two decades against socio-political marginalisation and racism. The Darfur problem is the other face of a continuous process of racial-discrimination and deliberate marginalisation against non-Arab blacks leading to imbalance of power and wealth. Africans see the rebellion in Darfur together with its predecessor in Southern Sudan as a product of that marginalisation rather than a struggle in their quest for Pan African identity. In fact Pan Africanism became an outcome of the struggle more than a primary call.

Afro/Arab relations have taken course of cultural differences, assertion of religious/race hegemonies, exposed diverse experiences and failed to foster cohesion and resistance to exploitation. Slave traders such as Zubair Rahma were of Northern Sudanese origins that left bad memories among the marginalised in Sudan.

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) is a real challenge for the future of Sudan and Africa. The South itself is not uniformly non-Muslims. As we saw above, the community is composed of Muslims, Christians and Animists. The factors that would lead to fragmentation of the country are the seeds in the South that threaten its integrity. It is extremely difficult for Muslims in the South who see themselves as the majority to reconcile their differences and live among others. This will lead to instability and development of a vicious cycle.

The road to African unity and indeed to unite Sudan at the end of the interim period remains critical. The values stipulated in the CPA can be preserved and the country may achieve unity if the Sudan is to adopt the secular system based on rule of law, democracy, and respect of Human Rights. Having black populations whose visions for a future African identity based only on religious/ethnic dimension challenges the success of any project for unity and recognised African identity.

Sudanese identity could gradually be shaped and defined in terms of new social dynamics irrespective of religion or culture. If a united Sudan came out successfully at the end of the interim period, an example may be set for future moves towards united Africa. The essential task for Sudanese politicians remains to provide a philosophy, a set of principles and a program, which inspires personal and social, practices and eliminates marginalisation. Moreover, the task should not only satisfy individual needs but to transform people's perceptions of race in the process, making them self-conscious agents of their own life and liberation from unnecessary religious ties. The individual should not see this as departure from his/her religious obligations but a new approach to acceptance of the others.

Muammar al-Gaddafi, president of Libya, has in recent years been the most vocal and ardent caller and active organizer of African unity and has proposed the formation of aUnited States of Africa, based on Kwame Nkrumah'sdream,http://jacumbai.com/Documents/Final%20Report%20-%20Dakar%20ENGLISH.pdf Report]

The scale of Darfur crisis came to the surface in an overwhelming speed and erupted like wild fire with devastating consequences. The seeds of the response the GoS took against Darfurians were already sewn in the failed Afro/Arab socio-political complex. The process of social integration has been weakened by an already tailored Arab/Islamic project. While the crisis is regional its roots extend wider, far beyond Darfur borders to include most of the marginalized areas in the Sudan. The road to unity of Sudan has been hampered by the failure of those claiming Arab descent to reconcile and abandon a project that led nowhere other than extensive human loss and miseries. The atrocities in Southern Sudan that went for so

long with unnecessary loss of over two million lives was another example of failed Afro-Arab integration.

As the Arabs in Africa constitute 2/3 of their population worldwide there have been genuine calls by some of their leaders for a united Arab State. The last of these calls was by Colonel Muaamar Ghadhafi, the Libyan president who advised the Arabs in the peninsula to come into unity with the Arabs in Africa to form an Arab State. In his speech in the Syrian capitol in March 2008 he reiterated that vision again. He went further to tell the Arabs that all other ethnicities have their own states except the Arabs. His first call was back in March 2001 in Oman but fell on deaf ears. The call for a Pan-Arab state is not new. Right at the start of Arab colonialism the aim was to change the face of the whole world into an Arab-Islamic state. While apparently the drive to create an Islamic state seems the aim, nevertheless the ultimate goal remains Arab ethnicity. Such calls are not conducive to establishment of Pan African identity.

28th April 2008

PROMOTING INTER-AFRICAN TRADE, MEETING THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGES

DEVELOPING AFRICA THROUGH INTER-AFRICAN TRADE AND MEETING ECONOMIC CHALLENGES

Zelipa Mwanza, Luti Mwasetuka, Yimbilanji Sichone

Introduction

This paper will critically analyze the meaning of inter-African trade and how to promote it while looking at the economic challenges facing the continent. It will further look at the trade problems faced by individual countries and their position in global trade over the past few years. Since we are dealing with economies of nations we do not overlook the exploitation of nation by nation through terms of trade, which tend to be advantageous to larger countries thus usually being detrimental to the trading partner. We further analyze the different reasons concerning the lack of interest in inter-African trade by the individual countries and why the rest of the western world is reluctant to invest in Africa.

To promote inter-African trade, the issue is not whether to trade but in what to trade and the terms on which to trade. The importance of teaching the current generations to be innovative in being the stepping-stone in promoting inter-African trade for future benefit and economic growth is also key.

Furthermore an integrated continental market offers the best hope for Africa to build its manufacturing sector so as to diversify its economy away from primary products. National markets on the continent are small in terms of population and purchasing power terms. This is a critical constraint to diversification and to capacity for reaping the gains from international integration. Specialization and resulting economies of scale are limited by the small size of markets, leading to high- cost, uncompetitive industries.

Despite Africa's considerable progress over the last ten years, as evidenced by the restoration of macroeconomic stability and the resumption of economic growth, the continent faces daunting economic challenges. It seeks to accelerate growth, alleviate poverty, and attain the Millennium Development Goals (M.D.G). A major challenge facing most countries is raising their benefits over costs gained from trade.

We have to find a way to enhance intra-continental trade in order to stimulate individual nations' economic growth with sustainable results. Herein lies the importance of trade for gaining access to internal finance. However, trade interacts in complex ways with other domestic policies. Seemingly rational trade policies, for example, to protect national producers, can often have unforeseen and undesirable consequences. If all countries instituted such strict policies then the whole trade web would collapse. Furthermore the inclusion of Diaspora countries adds to the size of the market base of inter-African trade.

Although actions at the multilateral level are critical to bringing about better trade performance by Africa, there are also domestic bottlenecks that need to be addressed, including securing appropriate and predictable sources of trade finance, strengthening trade capacity, improving trade facilitation services, and addressing the fiscal implications of trade liberalization.

The message for Africa is that effective trade policy is not a simple, static choice between openness and control but correctly sequencing these over time. The key policy problem is the ordering and sequencing of openness and control across different sectors over time rather than the extent of aggregate openness at a point in time. However, such an approach poses great challenges for African governments for reasons of both capacity and political economy.

Many of the fast liberalizing African countries - such as Ghana, Morocco, Senegal and Tunisia - which have seen a fall in trade tax revenues over the late 1990s, managed to reduce their deficits or move from deficit to surplus. Most of these countries achieved this outcome by increasing domestic taxes on goods and services, particularly value-added tax (VAT), while several countries managed to raise revenues from direct taxes on income and profits (ECA, 2004:14).

How Africa has Performed in Global Trade

Africa's recent trade performance reveals alarming trends that show that the continent has been losing market share in commodity exports without being able to diversify into manufactured exports. The continent has also not gained much from global integration as compared to other world regions. "Its share in world merchandise exports fell from 6.3% in

Table 1: Manufactures as percentage of export trade for selected countries, 1980 – 2001

	1980	1990	2001
Algeria	0.3	2.6	2.3
Angola	12.9	0.1	-
Cameroon	3.8	8.5	4.7
Ivory Coast	4.7	-	14.5
Egypt	10.9	42.5	32.7
Ghana	0.9	-	15.8
Kenya	12.1	29.2	20.8
Mauritius	27.4	65.8	74.2
Morocco	23.5	52.3	64.1
Nigeria	0.3	-	0.2
Senegal	15.1	22.5	28.8
South Africa	18.2	21.9	59.4
Tunisia	35.7	69.1	77.0
Uganda	0.7	-	6.9
Zambia	16.0	-	12.7
Zimbabwe	35.8	30.9	28.1

Sources: World Bank, World development indicators (2003); UNCTAD, Handbook of statistics (2003)

1980 to 2.5% in 2000 in value terms. It recorded a mere 1.1% average annual growth over the 1980-2000 period as opposed to 5.9% in Latin America and 7.1% in Asia."(UNCTAD 2003a). Manufacturing is a key driver of technological development and innovation. About 70% of developing countries' exports are manufactured goods, yet Africa hardly benefited from the boom in manufactured exports (see table):

Regional Economic Profiles

Central Africa

Central Africa comprises ten countries: Burundi, Central African Republic (CAR), Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Rwanda, Sao Tome & Principe, and Cameroon. Most of these countries are major exporters of oil. However, political instability, most notably in the great lakes region, has long prevented them

from exploiting their abundant natural resources and rich agricultural land to the full. Central Africa as a whole is relatively open to trade by continental standards (ADB Report, 2003). The importance of trade has grown with oil development. Six of these countries are working towards adopting a common external tariff and the lifting of intra-regional import barriers within their economic grouping (CEMAC).

East Africa

This region comprises eleven countries: Comoros, Djibouti, Kenya, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Mauritius, Seychelles, Somalia, Tanzania and Uganda. Most of these countries thrive on tourism and the export of primary commodities notably tea and coffee. The region is a net importer of oil. The majority of these countries have adopted across the board liberalization and export oriented development strategies. External trade in the region stood at 55% in 2003 (ADB report, 2004), which is low by continental standards.

North Africa

North Africa comprises seven countries: Algeria, Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania and Sudan. It is the largest contributor to the continent's wealth. It accounted for almost 40% of the continent's GDP in 2003.whereas merchandise exports from some of these countries tend to be entirely oil and gas related some export composition tends to be wider in others. Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia export textile and electronic equipment goods. The region is moderately open, because Egypt, the main economy in the region, has traditionally been inward looking, having the largest domestic market.

Southern Africa

This region is comprised of ten countries: Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique and Malawi. The region is heavily reliant on exports of non-oil minerals (gold, diamonds, copper and platinum) and agricultural products. All countries except Angola are net importers of crude oil. The region is dominated by South Africa, which is relatively closed thus indicating a large domestic market. The region is the second largest contributor after North Africa to the continent's GDP.

West Africa

This region is comprised of fifteen countries: Benin, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Mali, Guinea Bissau, Senegal, Niger, Togo, Cape Verde, Guinea, The Gambia, Nigeria, Liberia and Sierra Leone. Nigeria is the region's chief

exporter; a reflection of its rich endowment in crude oil and gas. All countries except Nigeria and the Ivory Coast are net importers of oil. West Africa is relatively open by continental standards. The region is also dominated by domestic conflicts, notably in Nigeria, The Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone and most recently Togo. These have spillover effects in the entire region and play a detrimental role in promoting intra-African trade.

The Growth Effects of Trade: The Theory of International Trade

Three of the four vital points made by Van Harbeler may be identified with regards to the growth effects of trade. The understanding of these points can benefit individual African countries and become a vehicle to attaining efficient intra-African trade.

- Firstly, trade provides material means (capital goods, machinery and raw and semi-finished materials) that are indispensable for economic development.
- Secondly, and even more important, trade is the means and vehicle for the dissemination of technological knowledge, the transmission of ideas for the importation of know-how skills and managerial talents and entrepreneurship.
- Thirdly, free international trade is the best anti-monopoly policy and the best guarantee for the maintenance of a healthy degree of free competition (Van Harbeler, 1968:7).

Classical Theories of Trade

Other important dynamic benefits from trade consist of the stimulus to competition. In the classical theory of trade the Ricardian model established that differences in comparative advantage are the proximate cause of trade. The neo classical theory of Heckscher-Ohlin also considers inter-country differences in comparative advantage as the proximate cause of trade (ADB Report: 2004,p120). In simpler terms, this means that countries should put their energies into producing goods and services in which their technology and factors of production allow them to produce more and better goods and services than their trading partners. (I'll produce corn and beer while you produce clothes and sugar, then we'll formulate a trade agreement on our final terms of trade.) These theories can be argued in terms of consumer taste and the different prices of goods and services, and it makes all countries better off in the sense that no country is limited as to what they produce and every good has a certain market base, locally or internationally.

The Debt Burden

As we all know debt has become one of the biggest problems in Africa. As noted, the accumulation of Africa's debt reflects the fact that African countries have consistently imported more than they have exported (invested more than they saved), and hence have borrowed from abroad to bridge their financing gaps. The persistence of this pattern has led to accumulation of debt and to debt repayment problems. Apart from this, most African governments are every year adding on to the debt burdens their nations are already facing by using parts of acquired loans to finance personal goods and services. This situation gave rise, in Africa's recent past, to numerous debt-relief schemes, the latest of which is the extended HIPC initiative.

While the HIPC initiative has led to marked reduction in Africa's debt indicators in recent years, the pattern of Africa's trade and her specialization in primary product exports pose serious conceptual questions to the sustainability of this scheme, which is chosen because of its simplicity and workability. The scheme dictates that once an HIPC country reaches the decision point, it should not allow its debts-to-export ratio to exceed 150%. However, this definition of sustainability is now under pressure mainly because of the pattern of trade of African countries and their excessive reliance on primary product exports.

There are also countries that have not yet qualified for the HIPC initiative and their debt is increasing at an alarming rate. Countries have a tendency to borrow from one creditor to repay another, which does not help reduce debt in that interest on the funds borrowed keeps going up because the deadline of payment is not reached. Trade becomes non-profitable because the little profit that is realized after exports is used to try and pay back the pending debt. The mismanagement of donor funds by governments is also a matter of serious concern in Africa. The lack of good and solid investment decisions and also the high rate of corruption are putting Africa in a terrible financial and bad economic situation.

The root of the heavy debt of HIPC countries is that they consistently had a current account deficit because their imports were persistently more than their exports, which leads to more borrowing to finance already existing debt. The conceptual challenges facing the issues of debt sustainability as related to nexus of trade growth and poverty reduction can be summarized as follows:

1. The challenge of development targeting.
2. The challenge of accommodating concessional borrowing for development.

3. The challenge of graduating from aid dependency to self-sustainability and private sector flows.

There is no clear policy mechanism in HIPC arrangements to ensure that poor countries escape from the debt trap. The funds released by HIPC programs are essentially used to finance investment in the social sector, which does not generate foreign exchange earnings directly or in the short run. In a nutshell, the accumulation of foreign indebtedness in the case of many African countries is related partly to the structure of their economies and partly to the manner in which the borrowed funds are contracted and utilized. A high level of external debt can reduce a government's incentive to carry out important structural and fiscal reforms if it is anticipated that foreign creditors would reap most of the benefits.

Another aspect of Africa's debt that every African needs to look at and realize is that most African countries have already paid their debts back and what they are paying back now is the interest on those debts. This can be viewed as the developed nations way of crippling a very rich continent that they, in past lives, robbed of its ancestors and minerals, as these interest payments increase annually. The question one must dwell on thus becomes how are we going to get rid of Africa's debt and ensure that we are not manipulated again by greed or hate? The key lies in development, as it is only through development that one truly becomes independent, not just the word but also the true meaning of it all.

Trade Finance and Export Success

Access to trade finance is a major constraint for African entrepreneurs who want to establish or expand export businesses. "Trade financing" refers to financial instruments and institutions to facilitate commercial transactions by exporters. A fully fledged trade-financing infrastructure includes commercial banks and export credit agencies, private-sector credit insurance, and finance targeted at the informal sector. The establishment and strengthening of specialized export-credit, insurance and guarantee agencies, such as export-import banks is critical. But their efficiency depends on the development of the commercial banking sector, which provides the institutional backbone. African countries, regional and international organizations and the private sector, need exports to find ways of securing appropriate and predictable sources of trade finance. The following issues need to be addressed (ECA 2004:12-13):

1. Creating a transparent financial environment.

2. Promoting export development institutions.
3. Involving regional development banks.
4. Dealing with WTO issues on trade financing in the context of General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS).

Single Monetary Unit for Africa?

The critical question for Africa is whether the creation of a regional central bank can be a vehicle for solving credibility problems that bedevil existing central banks. But before this can be instituted, the monetary and trading blocks should each have their own currency. This will then act as a stepping-stone towards establishing the single African currency. This is because the five regions each have unique endowments and policies that would sustain the monetary unity.

With the advent of a single monetary unit in Africa the eventual dynamics of international finance would yield the much-desired smooth trade transactions within the continent. Furthermore the inception of a continental central bank is in the pipeline with several countries putting in bids to host it, this would also stimulate tariff rates across borders, which would in turn promote intra African trade with fair results.

Better Trade Facilitation

Delays at customs are a major obstacle to trade in Africa. Customs processing is hampered by lack of information on customs laws, complex regulations, excessive discretion in classifying and valuing goods, unnecessary inspection of cargo, and mandatory warehousing. This also leads to widespread corruption. Efforts should be made to ensure that customs bodies make greater use of technology, place greater reliance on post-release audits, build up closer working relationships with Ministries of Finance, and work towards high levels of professionalism and integrity. Customs authorities should develop a service orientation and establish good relations with the trade community.

Addressing Fiscal Implications of Trade Liberalization

Trade liberalization is a potential source of fiscal instability for African countries because of their high dependence on trade taxes for public revenue. Taxes on international trade are an important part of fiscal revenue in African countries because when tax administration is inefficient, governments tend to concentrate on easy ways to collect taxes such as trade taxes. Even with rising revenues, many African countries struggle to maintain sustainable fiscal positions. Between 1995 and 2002/2003

Table 2: Significant beneficiaries from the regional groupings

	GAINERS	SIGNIFICANT LOSERS
COMESA	Angola, Ethiopia, Malawi, Seychelles, Sudan, Zambia and Zimbabwe.	Egypt, Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritius, Namibia, Swaziland and Uganda.
EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY	Kenya	
ECOWAS	The Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone	Benin, Burkina Faso, Ivory coast, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo.
SADC	Botswana, D.R.C, Malawi, Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Seychelles, Zambia and Zimbabwe.	Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa and Swaziland.
WAM Zone	Nigeria	The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea and Sierra Leone

Source: Mason and Pattillo (2004).

most African countries saw a deterioration in their fiscal positions. At the same time they pushed forward with trade liberalization. Over the late 1990s trade tax revenues as a percentage of GDP declined. An important policy issue is how countries should react to falls in revenue as tariffs are cut. This is critical for African countries because they have already carried out considerable liberalization of their trade regimes. The policy challenge is then how to maintain fiscal stability when liberalizing trade (ECA, 2003(b); ECA, 2004).

Guaranteeing Macroeconomic Stability

A sound macroeconomic environment is critical to preventing fiscal distress during trade liberalization. During the late 1990s fast liberalizers generally showed good macroeconomic performance, with decreasing inflation and positive growth rates in per-capita GDP. However, the terms of trade deteriorated in most countries, because of falling international prices for most exportables. Overall, good macroeconomic performance helped fast liberalizers to contain the negative fiscal impacts of trade liberalization (ECA, 2004).

Equalising Intra-Regional Trade Benefits

First we ask ourselves whether the A.U's strategy of building on regional economic communities is viable enough. Recent historical data for the communities that already have specific projects and timetables, suggest an uneven pattern of trade only beneficial to certain countries. Large market economies like Egypt and Kenya (COMESA), South Africa (SADC), open up their markets to foreign imports but cannot seem to establish a desirable market for their exports in return. With the advent of a single monetary unit on the continent the following table summarizes selected countries that would be significant losers and gainers.

Removing Non-Tariff Barriers

Non-tariff barriers remain prevalent in Africa. For example, new non-tariff barriers (eight-axel limits for trucks, for example) among Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) member States are affecting trade flows in the sub-region. Non-tariff barriers also prevail in West Africa, including unofficial fees collected from traders at border crossings, administrative delays at ports, cumbersome customs formalities and roadblocks. Efforts to eliminate non-tariff barriers are essential to the success of free trade areas. There is currently no regional mechanism for monitoring non-tariff barriers.

Improving Transport and Telecommunication Networks

The poor state of transport and telecommunication systems in Africa are major hindrances to the promotion of inter-African trade. If inter-African trade is to be developed then individual African countries have to put in the effort of developing their transport and telecoms systems. This will benefit both landlocked countries and countries along the coasts. Damaged roads and the inaccessibility of some areas due to thick rain forests, or due to wars in other countries form trade barriers which have a negative impact on inter-African trade promotion. Telecommunications networks will have to be developed immensely as one cannot run a profitable business without them. Remote areas will have to be linked with those that are more accessible, thereby linking various regions, towns, cities and countries together.

Conclusion

International trade is an important engine of growth, and if used carefully, is capable of contributing to broad-based development and poverty reduction. Although Africa has attempted to increase its integration to

global markets, the continent has not reaped gains to the extent of other developing regions. The continent remains heavily tied to its traditional pattern of primary commodity dependence in trade. Africa needs to take action to boost its competitiveness. Hence we have to find sustainable ways of promoting inter-African trade in order to push Africa to global competition.

As established by the African Economic Commission (2004), central to regional integration schemes is fostering intra-African trade and unifying regional markets by removing trade barriers within the continent. By creating free trade areas and customs unions, large internal continental markets can be created that can be used to reap economies of scale, so helping to build competitive industries destined for world markets. Higher volumes of intra-African trade in free trade areas can also help stimulate private cross-border investment and foreign direct investment.

In order for Africa to realize and attain continual sustainable development, it is important to teach the current and future generations to be innovative. This will not just focus on short-term development but on long-term development thereby achieving sustainable development across many African generations.

References

Africa Development Bank. 2003. *Annual Report*. Kampala: Africa Development Bank.

Africa Development Bank. 2004. *Africa in the Global Trading System: Africa Development Report*. New York: Oxford University Press.

ECA. 2003(a). *Economic Report on Africa: Accelerating the Pace of Development*.

ECA. 2003b. Papers from Expert Group Meeting on the Fiscal Impact of Trade Liberalisation, Addis Ababa.

ECA. 2004. *Economic Report on Africa*

Van Harbeler, G. 1994. *International Trade and Economic Development*. San Francisco: International Center for Economic Growth.

Masson, P. & C. Pattillo. 2002. *The Monetary Geography of Africa*. Washington: Brookings Institution.

UNCTAD. 2003(a). *Handbook of Statistics*. New York/Geneva: UNCTAD.

UNCTAD. 2003(b). *Trade Performance and Commodity Dependence*. New York/Geneva: UNCTAD.

World Bank. 2003. *World Development Indicators*. Washington: World Bank.

PROMOTING INTER-AFRICAN TRADE, MEETING THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGES

Felix Dimbare Tughuyendere

Introduction

Trade has been and continues to be advocated as a vital conduit through which modern economies can achieve economic growth. Thus, trade promotion avenues have been one of the central discussions among scholars, many of whom, if not all, contend that Africa is a continent that badly needs to trade with the rest of the world as well as with its own self in order to achieve some degree of economic growth.

Other scholars believe that intra-African trade is an integral component in Africa to which considerable attention should be paid. As the focus turns on intra-African trade, directional and thought-provoking questions do emerge, such as:

1. What is required for African countries to promote intra-African trade?
2. What are the possible economic and political advantages that Africa can derive from intra-African trade?
3. What possible challenges are African countries confronted with in their attempt to advance intra-African trade?

In a nutshell, this paper which is basically on intra-trade among African states is arranged in the following fashion:

- Part I focuses on the potential advantages that can accrue from inter-African trade as well as on the possible disadvantages.

- Part II covers past experiences with regard to attempts that have been made to promote inter-African trade.
- Part III highlights past problems with inter-African trade, and
- Part IV examines the strategies that could possibly be used to promote inter-African trade and presents a comprehensive conclusion of the substantive aspects of the paper.

Potential Advantages and Possible Disadvantages of Inter-African Trade

Trade has long been regarded as an engine of economic growth. Thus, individual countries have in the past tried to promote trade in varying degrees at different times in order to attain a certain level of growth. A review of relevant literature based on the promotion of inter-African trade is undertaken in this section.

According to Madeley (1996:1), countries trade with one another in order to generate foreign currencies for spending on imports that other countries export. Moreover, trade increases specialization when countries trade with each other. This is in line with the theory of comparative advantage. The theory states that a country should specialize in the production of and export of certain goods and services that it produces more efficiently than other countries with which it trades (i.e. with a lower opportunity cost of production) and imports those goods and services that it does not produce as efficiently (i. e. with a higher opportunity cost of production). Trade, whether regional or international, has the potential to help materially poor countries out of poverty. The degree to which the latter is relevant is a function of the proper redistribution of the gains from trade.

However, Bingham (1972:321) argues that besides getting rid of poverty, countries benefit from trade by trading what they have for what they do not have and this leads to an increase in the living standards of the people (by shifting the consumption possibilities curves to the right). This is true by virtue of the fact that factors of production are not evenly distributed among nations of the world.

Furthermore, the economics of trade teach us that trade allows people to buy more than their countries can produce and increases the incentives for firms to innovate.

The benefits of increased interdependence among nations which reinforce trust, improve communication and understanding, foster cultural exchanges and reduce the chances of war are all political gains from trade. These gains, though political in nature, are over and above those discussed

earlier as cited in Bingham (1972:374). According to Todaro (1992:378) trade helps countries to achieve development by promoting and rewarding those sectors of the economy where individual countries have a comparative advantage whether in terms of labour efficiency or factor endowments.

As far as disadvantages from trade are concerned, Madeley (1996:12) is of the opinion that the economic impact of trade on most Third World economies appears to breed inequality in the exporting countries. Participation in the international trading system also leads to a situation whereby some countries gain more than others. Hernandez et al (2004:43) points out that domination of trade relations is one of the disadvantages confronting developing countries, particularly African countries. Hernandez et al (2004) contend that "more than 30% of the Sub-Saharan countries' exports and imports involve an EU member country".

In addition, the concentration of trade flows in a few countries is a challenge to most African countries. This is in line with Hernandez et al (2004:43) who argues that trade flows between the US and Sub-Saharan Africa are concentrated in a few countries, with a large proportion of US imports from the region coming from either South Africa or Nigeria. The effort to promote inter-African trade appears to receive some support under the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). Under AGOA Sub-Sahara African countries are able to export raw materials, apparel and other manufactured products to the USA duty-free. However within AGOA provisions, economic and political conditionalities prevail such as the privatization of industries, reduction of corporation taxes, introduction of US-style democratic governance, economic reforms and liberalization of economies and so forth. Moreover, Hernandez et al (2004:55) contend that "only a few countries are exploiting the benefits of AGOA. As of November 2002, only half of the eligible countries (18 out of a total of 36) actually exported clothing duty-free to the US". The latter serve as existing limitations of current agreements and preferences.

Table 1 presents a sectoral examination of imports under the AGOA program. The effect of the agreement differs by sector. A large volume of US imports included in the AGOA and Generalised System of Preference (GSP) programs are imports of transport equipment, textiles, and clothing.

Bingham (1972:375) cites that the concentration of export production on relatively few primary commodities such as cocoa, tea, sugar and coffee renders developing countries vulnerable to market fluctuations in the prices of these products. As a result, developing countries experience a general decline in export revenues.

Table 1: Sectoral analysis of AGOA

Product	Imports under AGOA+GSP (in percent)			Imports under GSP (in percent)			Duty-free items added (in percent)		
Year	2000	2001	2002	2000	2001	2002	2000	2001	2002
Agricultural products	0	0	23.3	16.4	12.6	12.9	0	7.1	11.9
Forest products	0	0	24.7	16.4	20.6	27.3	0	0.1	0.2
Chemicals and related products	0	0	30.4	8.3	22.6	40.4	0	0.6	1.1
Energy-related products	0	0	58.3	21.0	19.0		0	47.8	58.3
Texiles and apparel	0	0	70.7	0.3	0.4	0.3	0	35.7	70.4
Footwear	0	0	21.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	16.2	21.8
Minerals and metals	0	0	13.8	9.9	8.3	9.1	0	3.0	5.1
Machinery	0	0	7.7	17.7	8.7	7.7	0	0.0	0.0
Transport equipment	0	0	87.7	41.5	14.9	9.9	6	60.4	77.8
Electronic products	0	0	17.8	36.9	25.7	17.8	0	0.0	0.0
All sectors	0	0	49.4	17.7	16.1	22.3	0	36.0	45.9

Source: Hernandez-Cata (2004)

Past Experiences with Inter-African Trade

Several regional economic blocs were established with a view to promoting economic cooperation from which African countries could benefit. One of these economic blocs is the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) which was established to replace the then Preferential Trade Area (PTA) in 1994. The PTA established three instruments to support intra-PTA trade, namely the PTA Clearing House (1984), the PTA Bank (1988) and the PTA travellers' cheques (1988). The main function of the PTA Clearing House was to promote the utilization of national currencies in the settlement of all transactions among member countries, according to Mshomba, (2000:183).

Noteworthy is that all three instruments, especially the PTA Clearing House, have been underused due to lack of information, understanding of their operations, and bilateral payment arrangements among member states whereby payments are handled outside of the Clearing House mechanisms. In addition, some member states insist on payments in hard currencies. The uniqueness of these instruments was eroded by the liberalization of the financial markets including foreign exchange markets which occurred in the 1990s under the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). Musonda (1995:13) argues that indifference on the part of the member countries with regard to the utilisation of the Clearing House has also contributed to the under-use of the Clearing House.

Musonda (1995:13) points out that "apart from having an officer who handles PTA affairs, most of the monetary authorities do not have follow up mechanisms to ensure compliance of their directives by commercial banks. The PTA officer merely handles communication with the secretariat rather than ensuring that PTA decisions are implemented at the national level". Still on the main reasons for the underutilisation of the Clearing House, the "export retention schemes" under the PTA further contributed to the latter. Under the export retention schemes, exporters are permitted to retain a certain proportion of the export proceeds in convertible currency to make it easier to import certain intermediate inputs and other necessary spare parts for use in the production process. In this regard, the export retention schemes have, therefore, worked against the Clearing House (Musonda, 1995:13). Other problems include disunity, political instability and multiple memberships of trade blocs.

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) was also established in 1994 (Originally SADDC-1980), inter alia, to promote trade at regional and international levels. The main problem with regard to trade in the SADC region is that member countries prefer exporting their products to other foreign countries rather than exporting their products within the region. As far as intra-African trade is concerned, the following factors have long acted as barriers towards free intra-African trade, namely, poor physical infrastructure, in particular road transport and communications, insufficient human development, and a greater degree of product homogeneity.

The UN tendency to discourage Rwandan mineral exports from entering EU markets on the grounds that Rwanda is exploiting mineral resources that do not belong to them but to the Congolese has been cited as a constraint confronting those exporting minerals. This has had a negative impact on the volume of those minerals exported and it has discouraged investors in this sector, according to the Rwandan Country Report produced by the COMESA secretariat (2004:7). Besides, lack of access to short and long term

financing, which affect exporters with regard to the effective and efficient execution of their business operations by virtue of the stringent conditions laid down by the Rwandan local banks, has been cited as a constraint in the report. The report goes on to point out that export is also hampered by high transport costs due to the fact that Rwanda is a landlocked country.

The Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa is one of the attempts that emerged in an effort to promote both intra-African trade and inter-African trade. The plan provides a number of recommendations based on intra-African trade expansion. These entail, among others, measures to eliminate trade barriers which have the effect of reducing trade among African countries by the end of 1996, the identification of certain goods consumed in rural areas to raise their production so as to make them available for intra-African trade, giving priority to investment in the production sector and ensuring that funds are used properly by taking suitable measures. Other recommended measures include 'exploring and exploiting the possibility of processing locally available raw materials for marketing within the African region given the potential for trade creation which prevails in Africa'(Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa, 1980:65-68).

From the recommendations a realisation dawns. It is, however, at best instructive to note that concrete political will was not sufficiently devoted to the above recommendations. Moreover, identifying goods consumed in the rural areas is not a sufficient stimulus in itself for intra-African trade. There have been time lags between the adoption of the recommendations to explore and exploit the probability of processing locally produced raw materials and the attention appears to be given to the marketing of these already processed materials in the developed economies. The main reason for the latter may be to give African countries some degree of clout in the international markets for the processed materials.

Past Problems with Inter-African Trade

Many, if not all, African countries have experienced problems with regard to inter-African trade. These problems are, among others, product similarities, the predominance of primary commodities, lack of transport and communications infrastructures, lack of political commitment to implement trade agreements as well as lack of export diversification. Other contributing factors include climatic conditions that have adverse impacts on commercially oriented primary commodities, domestic products that are produced for export markets in Europe and other parts of the world in order to earn foreign exchange or hard currencies as well as lack of harmonisation of national currencies.

The Uruguay Round embraced a number of issues, inter alia, trade-related investment measures (TRIMs). While TRIMs were designed to make foreign investment more enticing, TRIMs provisions could be deemed to have had the unintended effect of undermining national sovereignty. Cheru (2002:26) argues that these provisions may lead to unwarranted efforts to repeal local legislation designed to protect local industries. While African countries may open up their economies for imports and foreign investment, they may experience a dearth of capacity to capitalise on new opportunities for exports in non primary commodity sectors, unless they consolidate their technological base and enhance the competitiveness of local firms.

The Uruguay Round requires countries to reduce export subsidies to farmers. In consequence, African countries may find it difficult to provide required support for agricultural sectors in the form of restrictions such as quotas and tariffs without violating GATT rules. Furthermore, Cheru (2002:27) contends that "Africans could become victims of dumping such as occurred when European C-grade beef was dumped on South African markets, thereby undermining Namibian beef exports to South Africa". With regard to the Uruguay Round requirement that countries reduce export subsidies to farmers, Cheru (2002) is of the view that it is not realistic for such a thing to occur while African countries confront increased protection mechanisms in their export markets via subsidies and other protection measures such as sanitary and phytosanitary measures. Of note is that the cost involved in abiding by the requirements of these measures is high because firms "are expected to restructure their production and distribution infrastructure", Cheru (2002) concludes.

The Everything But Arms Initiative (EBA) adopted in October 2000 seeks to stimulate growth in least-developed countries by granting these countries quota and duty-free access to the EU markets. The agreement entails all products included in the EU Generalised System of Preference (GSP) system. Hernandez et al (2004:52) argues that this is a feeble agreement in that, in practice, it applies only to agricultural products for which the least-developed African countries have low comparative advantage such as sugar, cotton and bananas, etc.

Strategies that Could be Used to Promote Inter-African Trade

In view of the problems highlighted above, it is significant to formulate policies that attract direct foreign investment and to foster export diversification. The creation of conditions for the successful transfer of technology and generation of competitive advantage also constitutes part of the strategies that could be employed to promote inter-African trade. The construc-

Table 2: Product liberalization under the EBA (2001)

Country	Total Export to the EU (in Euro thousands)	Eligible Export of products Liberalised in 2001	Export of products liberalised in 2001 requesting access under EBA
ACP countries			
Angola	1.944.630	91.0	0
Republic of Congo	941.784	7.0	0
Equatorial Guinea	754.865	0.0	0
Liberia	736.973	10.0	0
Madagascar	600.912	72.0	0
Guinea	579.518	41.0	0
Mozambique	530.174	248.5	0
Tanzania	395.283	35.0	0
Sudan	303.550	778.0	0
Mauritania	258.568	6.0	0
Uganda	242.524	116.3	0
Malawi	194.903	0.0	0
Ethiopia	159.389	12.0	0
Zambia	158.375	1.359.0	0
Central African Rep.	152.804	0.0	0
Niger	119.613	6.0	0
Benin	63.698	69.0	0
Total ACP	8.634.365	3.344.0	0

Source: Hernandez-Cata (2004)

tion of the necessary transport and communications infrastructures, the harmonisation of national currencies of African countries as well as the liberalisation of the flow of labour are part and parcel of the mechanisms that could possibly be considered. Other strategies could include investment in human capital, timely implementation of trade agreements, political stability and encouraging intra-African exports.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the study has shown that trade increases specialisation, helps countries to get out of poverty, enhances consumer choice and can

also generate political benefits. Trade can also promote development in certain sectors where a country has comparative advantage and through foreign trade, hard currencies can be obtained to pay for imports.

Through trade, inequality, domination of trade relations and situations whereby some countries gain more from trade than other countries are some of the possible disadvantages that emanate from trade. Besides, economic and political conditions and concentration on primary commodities that are vulnerable to market fluctuations are also part and parcel of the possible demerits.

Poor infrastructure, product homogeneity, predominance of agricultural commodities or lack of export diversification and lack of harmonisation of national currencies are among the past problems with inter-African trade. The study has indicated that problems such as the implementation of trade agreements on the part of the signatories and subsidies given to farmers in the developed countries are over and above those highlighted earlier.

The strategies that could be used to promote inter-African trade encompass export diversification, improvements in the existing transport and communications infrastructure, creation of necessary conditions for successful transfer of technology, free flow of labour as well as harmonisation of national currencies. Other strategies include implementation of trade agreements, political stability and intra-African exports.

References

Bingham, C.R. 1972. *Economic Concepts: A Programmed Approach*. New York: McGraw Hill.

Cheru, F. 2002. *African Renaissance: Roadmaps to the Challenge of Globalisation*. London: Zed Books.

Hernandez, E., K. Schwab & A. Lopez. 2004. *The African Competitiveness Report 2004*. New York: World Economic Forum.

Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa. 1980. Addis Ababa: Organisation of African Unity.

Madeley, J. 1996. *Trade and the Poor: The Impact of International Trade on Developing Countries*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications Ltd.

Musonda, F.M. 1995. *Tanzania's Trade Within PTA Countries: A Special Emphasis on Non-Traditional Products*. Nairobi: The Regal Press Kenya Ltd.

Mshomba, E.R. 2000. *Africa in the Global Economy*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Rwanda Country Report. 2004. Lusaka: PrintTech Ltd.

Todaro, P.M. 1992. *Economic Development in the Third World*. New York: Longman Publishing.

PAN-AFRICANISM: STRENGTHENING THE UNITY OF AFRICA AND ITS DIASPORA

Reindorf Gyamena

It is by no mistake that the topic derives its source from the main theme which calls for strengthening not only the unity of Continental Africa but also the unity between Africa and the Diaspora.

Pan-Africanism is a movement which seeks to promote greater African unity, advancement of the African cause, liberation of its people from colonialism (and now Neo-colonialism) and imperialism, and improvement in the quality of life for Africans.

It is in line with this that it is so imperative to promote inter-African trade which has not flourished successfully due to the enormous economic challenges facing the continent.

This paper seeks to identify some of the economic challenges which have constrained the promotion of inter-trade between African states, and how these challenges could be relaxed to promote trade among Africans for the development of the continent.

The following issues are looked at as challenges:

The Nature of the African Economy

The first thing we need to know is about the nature of the African economy. The larger African economy is inherently a primary economy which produces mainly raw materials with little or no value added. Most of the African economies also depend on the production of primary goods. This means that secondary or tertiary goods have to be obtained elsewhere than African States, thereby hampering trade among African States.

Poverty

Poverty is very widespread in Africa. It is estimated that more than half of the population in Africa lives on less than a dollar a day. This means their incomes are very low so they can hardly engage in any viable economic ventures/trade that would be promoted. They simply cannot produce enough to feed themselves, let alone trade the rest.

Political Upheavals

This is one cancer that has plagued the continent since the fall of colonialism. I have personally observed that no month passes without hearing of political disorder in one or more African States. This simply hampers any form of trade among African states and scares away investors since there is no confidence in these economies. This is because when war breaks out in a country, economic activities come to a stand still. Clear cases are Liberia and Rwanda.

Border Issues and Corruption

Although sub-regional bodies such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC) etc, have done their best in this regard; however, border issues and corruption still remain challenges to inter-trade in Africa. Activities that happen at the borders simply obstruct trade. There is also much corruption among immigration officers and the ordeal traders have to go through is simply unacceptable. Corruption continues to deal a big blow to many African economies. Monies that should have been invested on the continent are exported and stored abroad and these monies are used as loans to African countries by multi-lateral donors at interest rates. This seriously reduces funds available to be lent out domestically for investment and thus reduces output and trade in general.

Trade Dependence

As mentioned earlier, most African economies depend on Western economies for secondary and capital goods. This has ensured that African states trade with the West more that they trade among themselves. However, it should be mentioned that subsidies given by Western countries to their farmers have ensured that foreign (imported) goods are cheaper than local ones. In Ghana for example, the textile and poultry industries are suffering severely from this. Our inability to produce enough for domestic consumption has also restricted how much we trade out with fellow African states.

High Debt

Debts accumulated due to excessive borrowing are typical of most African countries. Most African states have their budgets subsidized by loans from western countries and multi-lateral institutions thereby rendering them dependent on the dictates of these countries and institutions. In effect, monies that should have been used for domestic development and investment to grow the economy are used to service external debt thus leaving little for use to produce goods for export among African States.

IMF and World Bank Conditionalities

Whenever African states seek financial aid or assistance from the Bretton Woods Institutions, there are specific directives or conditionalities attached to them. These range from directives to specific sectors of the economy which may not be the priority of the local government, to the purchase of raw materials and/or goods from certain multi-lateral corporations or countries. The effect is that inter-African trade is highly restricted.

It should be noted that these challenges are not exhaustive.

Having enumerated these challenges, we now move on to provide possible remedies to salvage the situation.

Cultivating Indigenous Culture

African governments must promote the culture of Africanism and the patronage of 'made in Africa" goods. This way, we would be able to reduce our consumption of foreign goods and buy more goods produced in Africa. This would ensure more inter-African trade than there is now.

Political Stability

The wind of democracy that is blowing across the continent must be sustained. African leaders should adhere to principles of democracy and good governance, the rule of law, conduct of free and fair and transparent elections, constitutionalism and due process. We should promote internal stability to attract investments which would tacitly promote trade. In this respect, the example of countries like Ghana, South Africa and Senegal should be emulated.

Relaxing Border Rules and Trade Restrictions

In order to promote trade between African states, border rules and trade restrictions for African goods should be relaxed a bit. Governments should allow tax and quota-free entrance for African made goods entering

their countries. On the other hand, there should be tougher restrictions on external (non African) goods which are seen as 'dumps'. Here, Nigeria should be called on to review its policy of banning chicken imports to allow in those from Africa.

Trade Dependence and Reducing Borrowing

The habit of trade being dependent on Western donors must cease. We must be able to produce enough for domestic consumption and export the rest among African states. The exports should be able to give us the revenue that otherwise would have been generated from exporting to Western Countries. Another reason why we may not be able to trade among ourselves is restrictions attached to borrowing from the West. We must tighten our economies internally to prevent excessive borrowing from the West. Our national budgets should be near balance or surplus with little external percentage in terms of contribution. Alternatively, we should encourage what I call 'Domestic African borrowing' - borrowing from among African states. The relatively rich African states should lend a hand to those with less national income. This means that money circulates within the continent, thus promoting inter-African trade.

Promoting the NEPAD Document

NEPAD is a document drafted and drawn by African leaders for Africans. In this document, African leaders have committed themselves to strengthening democratic principles, principles of justice and to alleviating poverty. By adhering to the tenets of the NEPAD document, there could be greater cooperation among African States, including economic integration and trade liberalization and this will lead to a free flow of goods and services between African States.

Adoption of a Common Currency

This is one of the economic catalysts for integration and trade enhancement. If the continent had one convertible currency, most barriers to trade, including high exchange and interest rates, could be reduced.

African economies would be more integrated monetarily, thereby promoting inter-trade between African States. The African Union can formulate policies towards the realization of this dream. It could draw lessons from the CFA zone in West Africa under ECOWAS. The trade success of the Euro to some members of the European Union should also urge us to attain this goal. Let me also use this medium to call on the countries of the second West African Monetary Zone (WAMZ) to strive hard to achieve

the convergence criteria so that the ECO can come into circulation within the shortest possible time. Trade benefits from common convertible currency are enormous.

In conclusion, let me say that these are among the many possible mechanisms which could be used to ensure that inter-African trade is promoted. The challenges aforementioned are not insurmountable. It demands concrete efforts and total commitment to sail through the storm to reach a palatable and desirable destination. Let us make our continent free of poverty, diseases, refugees and hunger brought by constant civil and political unrest so that the quality of our lives can be improved as enshrined in the cardinal vows of Pan-Africanism and the United Nations Millennium Development goals.

TOWARDS THE 8TH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS: STUDENT INVOLVEMENT IN THE PAN-AFRICAN MOVEMENT

TOWARDS THE 8TH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

Chen Chimutengwende

The Pan-African Congresses which are recorded as having started in the year 1900 in Europe and America by Africans in the Diaspora are there to promote Pan-Africanism, anti-imperialism and black liberation internationally. The last of these Congresses to be held was the 7th Pan-African Congress which took place in Uganda in April 1994.

At this Congress, it was resolved that future congresses should be held regularly and every three years. But nothing has happened during the past eleven years!!! This is totally unacceptable. We must therefore now move on, as a matter of urgency, and hold the 8th Pan-African Congress. We must also put in place a system which will ensure that these Congresses are held once every three years without fail.

In the global black liberation process, these congresses serve as an essential Pan-Africanist forum and instrument for networking, co-ordination and exchanging ideas, information and experiences. They are also there to continuously re-inspire and re-energise the struggle. Pan-Africanism served as the dynamic and driving force for the black liberation struggle during the colonial era.

If revolutionary Pan-Africanism is fully adhered to, it can also be a very effective guide and mobilisational instrument for the current and future struggles against neo-colonialism, imperialism, racism, exploitation and poverty. Pan-Africanism continuously inculcates the spirit of international black nationalism among black people as a discriminated and oppressed people internationally. This nationalism is essential to their unity in the struggle.

The congresses support the idea that black liberation is a process which moves in stages and indeed it has passed through many such stages during

the past four or so centuries. It has made a lot of progress and won many victories all over the world. It is also increasingly being accepted that the struggle against capitalism and exploitation is not an event but an endless and permanent process because of the nature of the enemy.

Centuries after the abolition of slavery and decades after the end of colonialism in most parts of the world, black people all over the world remain more oppressed and exploited than any other peoples of the world. Africa, the main centre of the Black World, is one of the richest regions of the world and yet most of its people are the poorest on earth. As a result, Africa remains a social, cultural, political and economic catastrophe which is continuously and dangerously getting worse!

The reason is that Africa's resources are used mainly for the benefit of European and North American capitalist whites and their local African quislings. In most African countries today, this system operates mainly through the western local quislings or puppet allies who are the collaborationist, oppressive, corrupt and capitalistic African ruling elites. These elites include politicians, business people and professionals who consciously or unconsciously, and directly or indirectly support the global white system of anti-black racism, capitalism and imperialism.

The answer to slavery, racism and colonialism was what may be termed as the First Liberation Struggle of Africa and the Black World. It was based on Pan-Africanism and was victorious. But the enemy came back with more sophisticated forms of racism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, class exploitation and globalisation. The only answer to all this is for black people to continue the struggle in the form of an equally sophisticated Second Liberation Struggle of Africa and the Black World. This should be based on revolutionary Pan-Africanism and socialism as advocated by Kwame Nkrumah.

The immediate objective of the Second Liberation Struggle should be the urgent establishment and the speedy socio-economic development of a Socialist United New Africa which is sometimes referred to as the United States of Africa. This will transform Africa into being the main base for the total liberation of the rest of the Black World. Africa should also serve as a major and secure base for the new global socialist revolution. Its past and present circumstances give it a great potential for playing such a historic and revolutionary role.

If black people want to be progressive and move forward, they should not forget their past which is rich in revolutionary experience, heroism, wisdom and dedication. It also fully exposes the evils of capitalism and imperialism. Black people should therefore fully use their past as a source of knowledge, wisdom, identity, confidence and inspiration. It is always

wise for human beings to learn from their past experience. Lessons from past experience are useful when planning for the future.

Black struggles in Africa and all other parts of the world have always been inter-linked and inseparable -hence the existence of and the need for Pan-Africanism which is mainly concerned with global black unity and liberation. International imperialism and capitalism of the modern era require a Second Liberation Struggle which is aimed at transforming the continent of Africa into a fully liberated zone. Africa will become a powerful and dependable base for both the current and future struggles for total global liberation from racism and capitalism.

The Second Liberation Struggle takes into account the fact that the enemy of black liberation is both internal and external. Such a struggle will bring about economic and cultural independence from western imperialism, and it should also be for socio-economic human rights, democracy and socialism.

The Second Liberation Struggle gives strong and active support to, and also seeks effective and maximum solidarity from the international movement of anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist and socialist forces. It also needs to give unwavering solidarity to anti-imperialist governments in any part of the world like those of Zimbabwe, Cuba and Venezuela. It should strongly fight against the demonisation, ostracisation and the regime-change measures by the West which are targeted at such governments.

The proposed Socialist United New Africa will fully incorporate and involve Diasporan Africans in its organisational structures, socio-economic development processes and all other programmes of action. But these have to be people who are committed to revolutionary Pan-Africanism and anti-imperialism. The same criterion should also apply to continental Africans who work for or are involved with the African Union.

Africa needs Diasporan Africans in its liberation and development processes. Diasporan Africans also need Africa as their ancestral homeland and global base. They need such a base at the international level. This global base is essential to their own liberation and socio-economic empowerment where ever they may be residing in the world. Therefore the best way forward to the true and practical Pan-Africanist unity is to increase the regions of the African Union by one or two which would be allocated to the African Diaspora.

Revolutionary Pan-Africanists need to tirelessly and unflinchingly promote the speedy development of the African Union and its transformation into a Socialist United New Africa. The envisaged United New Africa will be powerful, anti-racist, anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, socialist, independent, self-reliant, incorruptible, prosperous and democratic.

It will be totally committed to a fully comprehensive human rights system which includes cultural, political, gender and economic rights. This is opposed to the capitalist human rights system which is selective and is there to largely protect the interests and allies of capitalism internationally.

In order to reach this revolutionary destination, the Second Liberation Struggle must therefore be based on Pan-Africanism, socialism and class struggle as advocated by Africa's foremost revolutionary and modern Pan-Africanist theoreticians and practitioners like Kwame Nkrumah. His numerous published works are very clear on these issues.

Socialism and Capitalism

This is why revolutionary Pan-Africanists believe, and correctly so, that total black liberation and comprehensive socio-economic human rights cannot be fully achieved in a country which is under the capitalist system. This is because capitalism, by its very nature, essentially depends on racism, class exploitation, bribery and all other forms of corruption, neo-colonialism, imperialism and militarism for its survival and growth as a system. Therefore true liberation can only be fully achieved under a socialist system that is based on class struggle.

It is true that socialism is the only serious alternative to capitalism. It is also the only force that can defeat neo-colonialism in economic, political, cultural and in all other relevant fields. Socialism is the system which can seriously be engaged in a planned and systematic movement for the speedy reduction and eventual elimination of mass poverty, squalor, unemployment, illiteracy, corruption, injustice, rural neglect and ethnic wars. It can decisively confront HIV/AIDS and other endemic diseases.

Socialism has the capacity and the will to solve these problems because it is based on state or collective planning for the public good. But contrary to this, capitalism promotes and protects selfishness and individualism. It is based on individual planning for personal or private profit. Capitalism has therefore no capacity nor the genuine intention to solve such problems.

Indeed the experience of black people in their struggle against slavery, colonialism, racism, capitalism and imperialism show that Pan-Africanism is essential as a guide and a mobilisational instrument in that liberation struggle. But the issue that arises is how to prevent the exploitation of blacks by other blacks after the First Liberation Struggle, that is, during the post-colonial era. The blacks who exploit and oppress the rest of the black population are the ruling elites which control the state machinery and are therefore protected by that state machinery. They operate usually

as allies of international imperialism which also protects them at the international level.

After independence, the question of a black capitalistic class controlling the state and exploiting the people for its own benefit and that of international imperialism has to be addressed. The objective is to ensure that liberation remains true liberation. The nature of capitalism as a permanent enemy requires a permanent revolutionary process and that permanent revolutionary process can only be socialist.

Some of the issues that are central to socialism are the ownership and control of the means of production, distribution, exchange, and who controls the state and the socialisation process, and for the benefit of which class interests. Socialism also upholds the principles of class struggle and proletarian internationalism.

These issues are crucial in any society but they are not handled by Pan-Africanism because of its nationalist focus which is for the unity of all classes against the external enemy. At the same time, and in this age of racism and imperialism, Pan-Africanism and socialism are complementary to each other in the black liberation struggle. Pan-Africanism, for historical reasons, is a necessary stage in the black liberation process. In other words, Pan-Africanism must lead to socialism if liberation is to remain a true and permanent liberatory process.

Where Pan-Africanism does not lead to socialism, capitalistic elites will be free to take over the state, empower themselves and consolidate their power to oppress and exploit their own people. This is what has happened in most African states. These elites govern the countries concerned usually with the support and protection of western imperialists.

Indeed some will say that socialism is a discredited and an out-dated ideology. Historically, such people have never said anything positive about socialism. It shows who they are and on what side they are. Obviously socialism has been ruthlessly vilified by its enemies who are capitalists and advocates of capitalism. Naturally, true socialists do not listen to or take the advice of capitalists and their allies and puppets.

It is also the duty of socialists themselves to continuously and thoroughly expose the evils of capitalism. However, it is important to note that capitalist forces currently control more mass communication media systems internationally than socialists. This is indeed a temporary historical phase which is advantageous to capitalists. But this will certainly come to pass sooner or later.

There are some leaders or countries which at one stage or another may have described themselves as socialist. But they may have failed to implement socialism. This may be because they were defeated by internal

counter-revolutionary forces and/or external imperialist forces, or it may have been due to other circumstances beyond their control, or because some of them were simply pseudo-socialists who, in the first place, were never sincerely committed to scientific socialism. It is therefore totally illogical to say, as a principle, that if some other people failed in doing something in the past, nobody else can succeed in doing the same thing in future.

If a socialist leader or a country fails, or is made to fail to implement socialism or simply betrays it, that does not mean socialism itself as a system has failed or that it is an ideology which is impossible to implement. Socialists take all that as battle defeats which does not mean the whole war has been lost. The socialist journey is indeed a long march with many ups and downs, deviations, betrayals and battle defeats. But that does not stop the march of socialism. In fact it is the very existence itself of racist oppression, exploitation and imperialism that guarantees the victory of the socialist war against capitalism.

Therefore the collapse of the Soviet Union and the change of course by some other countries or leaders is taken in this context. It is also important to note that an extensive re-grouping and the resurgence of socialist forces world-wide are currently taking place. They are re-strategising for major global revolutionary initiatives.

But it must also be emphasised that as with any other system, socialist theory and practice need to be continuously developed and adapted to the ever changing times or circumstances for socialism to remain alive and relevant. It is therefore not meant to be a dogmatic ideology.

It is important to carry out extensive research, debate, networking and mass communication work dealing with both theoretical and practical lessons which should be learned from the positive and negative experiences of the international socialist movement. There are many organisations all over the world like the United New Africa Global Network (UNAGN) which are seriously concerned with these issues. (Please visit its website at www.unitednewafrica.com.)

Colonial Mentality and the Media

Many black people seriously suffer from mental colonisation. They need to be freed from this bondage so that they may be able to make an objective analysis of and thus be free to accept Pan-Africanism and socialism. This means a strong fight has to be mounted against colonial mentality or the brainwashing of black people by the West, especially the "educated".

Colonial mentality results in self-hate, inferiority complex, lack of confidence, political hopelessness, apathy, cynicism, confusion, conscious or

unconscious pro-white puppetism and political parroting. It makes people support capitalism consciously or unconsciously. Propaganda, brainwashing and colonial mentality are essential instruments of the West in the oppression and exploitation of black people, all peoples of the developing countries and the working and professional classes internationally.

It also makes it difficult for them to understand who the enemy is and the nature of that enemy, which is capitalism. It further makes it difficult for them to understand and accept the real alternative to capitalism which is socialism and the need for Pan-Africanism. Colonial mentality simply makes them have a mental blockage when it comes to these issues. The blockage has just to be removed. This must also to be done as one of the starting points of the Second Liberation Struggle.

The only answer to mental colonisation is a process of mental decolonisation which requires a massive re-education exercise together with specific information and mass communication campaigns in Africa and internationally.

This also requires the urgent creation of a powerful, pro-black, patriotic, anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist and socialist mass media system which will be exclusively funded and controlled by revolutionary Pan-Africanists internationally, and without any involvement or influence of the West or the white "donors". The proposed Pan-Africanist media system will have to be well-funded and highly sophisticated in order for it to be able to effectively counter the propaganda of the anti-black white racist, capitalist and imperialist international media.

Movement for the Second Liberation Struggle

It is crucial that the African Union should support the Second Liberation Struggle. The African Union has to play a role that is supportive of this struggle if it is going to be part of the solution. It is important for the African Union to work in conjunction with the effective, numerous, varied and independent groups, organisations and institutions which are Pan-Africanist and anti-imperialist.

It is out of such Pan-Africanist and anti-imperialist forces that a global movement for the Second Liberation Struggle for Africa and the Black World will emerge. It will be an independent movement of independent movements. This will also need a highly efficient international research outfit as a back-up structure and a secretariat which will encourage and facilitate research, the flow of information, communication, networking and co-ordination.

Theme of the 8th PAC

Having said all this, one can see why the Second Liberation Struggle should now be our main focus. It is the only process which can lead Africa and the Black World to a higher stage in the liberation process. The writer is therefore appealing to the International Steering Committee to choose the *Second Liberation Struggle* as the theme for the 8th Pan-African Congress. If this is accepted, the papers to be presented at the 8th Pan-African Congress will carry reports on and analyses of the various liberation struggles that are being carried out by black people and anti-imperialist governments all over the world.

The following are some of the topics on which Congress presenters could, under this theme, write their papers:

1. The meaning and significance of the Second Liberation Struggle of Africa and the Black World, and the relevance of revolutionary Pan-Africanism as a guide and a mobilisational instrument in that struggle.
2. The current propaganda, cultural, political and economic strategies and tactics of western capitalism and imperialism for brainwashing, controlling and exploiting developing countries for the benefit of the West.
3. The struggle for revolutionary socio-economic democracy and a comprehensive human rights system as opposed to the capitalist and selective system of human rights which is designed mainly to serve western imperialist objectives.
4. Reports and analyses of the struggles for economic independence in the former colonial countries of Africa and the Caribbean.
5. The struggle for black women's economic, political and cultural liberation in Africa and the Diaspora.
6. The world-wide black struggle for cultural and spiritual liberation from imperialism.
7. The nature and progress of the African liberation struggles from slavery, racism and oppression in the Afro-Arab Borderlands.
8. Land reform in Zimbabwe and elsewhere as part of the Second Liberation Struggle.
9. The fight against the demonisation and ostracisation of the Zimbabwean, Venezuelan, Cuban and other anti-imperialist governments in developing countries.
10. International anti-black white racism and the class system as instruments of western capitalism and imperialism.

11. Reports and analyses of the current struggle against racism and for freedom in western capitalist countries.
12. Reports and analyses of the progress and problems of black economic empowerment in western capitalist countries.
13. How to practically popularise, publicise, defend and campaign for the African Union among its constituents and internationally.
14. The blueprint of a Socialist United New Africa which is also often referred to as the United States of Africa and how to achieve it through active support for the development and transformation of the African Union.
15. How to build a well-organised and invincible global Pan-Africanist movement for the Second Liberation Struggle of Africa and the Black World.

The topics listed above are by no means exhaustive and are only meant to serve as a guide. Writers will be free to present papers on any topic of their choice but relevant to the main theme of the Congress.

Congress Organization

Two to five thousand people attend these Congresses which should be held as people's congresses. They should not be state-sponsored. The problems encountered at the 6th Pan-African Congress in Tanzania and the 7th Congress in Uganda show that the Congresses are better left to the people themselves to organise. But anti-imperialist governments should be free to donate like any other donors.

THE UNIVERSITY, STUDENT ACTIVISM AND THE PAN-AFRICAN MOVEMENT

Nadeen Spence

How do students become politicized? What are the factors that prompt students to political action? Answering these questions requires investigation into the whole nature/nurture debate. The debate, which attempts to analyze the reasons that account for the presence of activists within the student population, examines both the student's genealogy and environment. In a sense, therefore, it attempts to predict which undergrad is likely to end up an activist. There are those who are content to argue that the undergrad is too caught up in the learning exercise to pay much attention to what takes place in the outside world. The university by its very nature is a microcosm of society, thus the popular myth that not much can penetrate the thick walls of contentment surrounding the academy which cradles and protects the idyllic life of the undergrad is far removed from reality and as such there is not much effort needed in isolating the student from what goes on outside the walls of the academy. For it is the student who takes the society into the university, it is the student who creates his own societal reality within the university. The student as the university's most important citizen, knowingly or not, sets the political agenda of the university's student population.

The agenda setting exercise that precedes the establishment of student engagement and activism and the establishment of the student movement is thus determined by those controversies that permeate the society in which the university resides. The presentation assesses this process and speaks to the exercise itself in an attempt to unearth the reasons that influence this process. The presentation further alleges that it is not the university which contributes to the present lack of activism which permeates the student population and the university; it is in fact a lack of societal engagement and contradictions. The presentation examines the 1960s and accounts for the

activities of black students within that that period. The presentation highlights the fact that student activism is not motivated by the mundane or the regular; rather it is inspired by defining moments, those big important activities that are dramatic in impact and which shock people into some form of response. The 1960s was a decade of defining moments, the black world shook as it was attacked and it responded. Whether on the continent or in the Diaspora African students responded to the call of their race. In Africa the liberation struggles marked the emergence of a new African Continent, while in the Diaspora The United States faced a most tumultuous period - assassinations of prominent black leaders, Malcolm X, Medgar Evers and Martin Luther King; the emergence of the Civil Rights era; and in the Caribbean, the journey to independence and the promise of a new society further galvanized what had become a global moment.

This presentation identifies the moments that gave rise to the emergence of student activists in the black world. It makes the point that once again the pan-African ideal was realized as students of African descent in all corners of the globe recognized the similarity of the struggle and acted upon it.

Introduction

Apathy and a lack of interest in political and social issues are said to be the phantom phenomena draining the dynamism and creativity from today's young people. Students, as a special group within the youth population, are by no means an exception as they too have become extremely distrustful and cynical about the political processes and political systems. This distrust has resulted in a kind of detachment from public life so that what results is a situation where students within institutions such as the university operate within a context of disengagement, seeing the acquisition of knowledge and the university experience as a period of professional training or a traditional and necessary rite of passage.

This is very disconcerting considering that youth have always been important players in the movement for social change. Students operate in a manner which suggests that they are not concerned with the collective well being of their community instead as Astin and Antonio point out "while students in previous decades showed concern for social and humanitarian issues, students in recent years seem to be increasingly concerned with their own careers and financial security" (Astin and Antonio, 2000:3). At the University of the West Indies, Mona some students do feel a need to engage with the public through the political sphere and attempt to do this using student government as a training ground for entry into representational politics.

Whereas the 1960s to 1970s can be described as the decade of student activism, the 1980s and beyond essentially saw a serious decline in what was before an active movement. There are signs to indicate that this decline is not permanent, as there appears to be evidence of tentative renewal in some parts of the world. Students have changed their tactics. They are now more polite and much less confrontational than their counterparts of the 1960s and 1970s; they recognize that they need to adjust their tactics to suit the situation and times.

What is Student Activism?

Student activism refers to those cultural, political and social factors that cause young scholars at whatever level of the education system, to become involved in and fight for. Student activism as used in this paper, speaks to the tangible manifestation of this involvement.

A more progressive analysis of student activism can be made within the context of the student movement, because it essentially suggests two things; firstly the idea of a movement implies universality, uniformity and consequently coordination, permanence and an institutionalization of student concerns; secondly it supports the point made earlier that student activism is multi-dimensional and does not always involve student protest. The paper uses student activism to refer to those social and political activities that students with a heightened sense of political awareness and social conscience would be engaged in. Additionally, the paper proposes that there is a unique relationship between dialectics and student activism. Student activists are essentially in the business of truth seeking, in their estimation the best way to do this is through logic and discussion, they achieve this by raising public awareness on issues that they see as critical to the survival of human kind in one form or the other, and then they take steps to illicit a response, a rationale.

Theories on Student Activism

> We are culturally savvy.
> We are pragmatic idealists.
> We are critical and thoughtful.
> We are young whippersnappers.
> We are political minded street urchins.
> We are young democratic socialists.
> We are the activists.
>
> (Activist Manifesto)

This section of the presentation intends to focus on the theoretical and historical arguments in the debate about student activism. The arguments presented in this section of the paper will essentially seek to explore the factors that impact upon students and that contribute to the creation of activists within the student population.

Robert Cohen in his article "Student Activism in the 1930s (Cohen 2002) notes that student activism emerged in American universities in the 1930s around about the period of the Great Depression. His argument suggests that the liberal faculty teaching about reform was one of the main motivators of the beginning of the movement. This leftward shift was attributed to several factors: including economic hardship, middle class guilt, fears of war and fascism, the search for an egalitarian community and the influence of progressive parents and teachers.

Prior to the 1930s student organizations in America were primarily social in nature. When the new student radicals emerged in the 1930s their more apolitical peers criticized them for being too "engrossed in their studies and not showing the proper collegiate spirit" (Activist Manifesto).

The radicalization of students in the 1930s was attributed to the impact of the economic crisis; with declining family incomes student budgets were severely curtailed. Part time employment was no longer available and tuition fees had also been increased. There was a feeling among the students of the 30s that the system was their enemy and it had to be defeated. This is what made it possible for Leftist students to challenge insularity, complacency and elitism of traditional student culture. Students of the time saw economics as the driving force in the radical Leftward shift.

Robert Cohen wrote that the student movement was not only a compilation of causes; it was also a community. A community populated by activists who share a strong egalitarian ethic. Many students were attracted to the community because of a genuine need to be a part of a society with its principles and agenda. The student movement united affluent, privileged students who were basically untouched by the economic realities of the Depression with Left-leaning students of the middle and working class who felt the pinch of the Depression.

There was a racial egalitarianism about the student community that made it possible for it to transcend the differences and difficulties posed by a society segmented by race, ethnicity and class. Women were also able to find voice and a space in the student movement community. Its egalitarian nature had a special appeal to female undergraduates. Cohen wrote that the movement offered women much more opportunity for political leadership than did most traditional undergraduate institutions as they tended to be male dominated. The movement itself did not give high priority to

feminist issues; in fact the women themselves were content to have the same political agenda as their male counterparts.

Any attempt to understand the dynamics of the contemporary student movement has to begin with a detailing of the activities that took place at Berkley University in 1964. What has become enshrined in the annals of history as the Free Speech Movement had its genesis at the University of California. Edward E. Sampson in his book *Student Activism and Protest* (1970:65) described the impact of the Berkley phenomenon in the following way:

> When the students of the University of California, Berkley committed themselves to action in 1964, they became the triggers that released a barely tapped reservoir of national energy. They were fed from a stream, which flowed out of the civil rights movement and they gave impetus, direction, and a base of identification for the new and growing force of under-thirty youth.

The realities of the sixties were the motivators behind the unprecedented levels of political activism among students. The issue that catapulted the US into its most active civil rights era yet was race. To describe the environment of the 1960s as tense and racially charged would probably be an understatement. Civil rights campaigns and protests quickly spread from the South and over the rest of the United States. Raymond Winbush (2001) wrote:

> I was a black child of the 1960s. It meant experiencing the assassination of Medgar Evers in June of 1963 in Jackson, Mississippi, watching the march on Washington in August of that same year and hearing about four little black girls bombed to death in September of 1963. It also meant watching the events of Dallas unfold before a nation as America killed its president named John Kennedy; hearing about Malcolm X's death; watching televised urban rebellions in Watts, Harlem, Cleveland and Newark; and in 1968 watching news coverage of JFK's brother, Bobby Kennedy, killed just two months after Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated.

These he described as "defining moments" primarily because they had such a dramatic impact on the people in the United States of America. As a result many students were deeply influenced by the Civil Rights movement of the time.

There was no private issue in the students' eyes; every public matter was made open and taken into public spaces for discussion. Perhaps the most phenomenal motivation that prompted the students' action was their belief that they could change the world. They knew that there was a clear demarcation of what was right and what was wrong on each issue and in their estimation they were right, they knew the truth. Raymond Winbush in describing this fact stated that students then really believed that they could change the world and did. He states further (Activist Manifesto):

> We organized without permission, challenged bureaucracies without hesitation, and talked into the wee hours of the night about the "legitimacy of our rights as a people." We were "bad" and knew it, powerful and relished it, idealistic and used it to liberate our people.

Perhaps the most unique quality of the student activists of the 1960s was the attitude they had of arrogant self-righteousness. In essence "the youth of the 1960s formed a "counter culture", which rejected many of the fundamental values of American society" (Churney, 1979). This youth culture affected almost every college student of the 1960s. The university provided the opportunity and the community that encouraged the fermenting of these progressive ideas. By providing the space for youths and students to confront the issues, the university fostered the critical debate and discussions that were necessary for the development of a heightened politicized consciousness.

The University in Theory and Practice

> The University is heir to traditions that have to be adjusted to the surrounding social environment and must be prepared to change if it wishes to guarantee its future.
>
> (Cabal 1993, 176)

The quotation that has been selected speaks to the university as an institution of the past needing to adjust and reprioritize in order to become relevant to the future. It brings to light the very real possibility that the university as an institution of higher learning could very well become an anachronism if it does not engage in serious self-examination with a view to making itself relevant to the needs of its several publics in this contemporary global reality. This adjustment that society is demanding of the university is not being asked of universities alone, however, because the university has such a long and distinguished tradition of investigating and pursuing the truth, it is always poised to engage in such internal examinations.

Universities by nature are complex social, educational, cultural, political institutions. This complexity has forced the university to take on different roles and different identities convenient to a particular, cultural and political context. Universities are heavily influenced by specific material imperatives; as such their claim to universality is mere theory. In reality the university, both as an institution and as a concept, is constantly changing. This dynamism has further added to the complexity, which makes the task of defining the university a difficult one.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the student and the university have become different creatures. No longer was the university a place of quiet repose; instead the institution was becoming more responsive to its environment. By the 1930s it is quite apparent that the student was taking on new roles and becoming involved in different things. The above detailing of the university's responsibilities is more appropriately seen as its institutional responsibilities. The twentieth century saw the evolution of the university into a more complex institution with significant social and political concerns. The idea of leisure while learning and the relaxed repose with which students approached their education was no longer the sole occupation of the university.

In the first instance the university as a place whose agenda and priorities are set by society is almost impossible so that the concept of university autonomy is rather fragile. It suggests that the university can be held responsible for the state of society and vice versa, and in doing this suggests that the university is a microcosm of society. The second analysis is concerned with the university as a place where knowledge and its generation, ownership and transmittal is negotiated between the professor and his student.

The university, as we know it now will not be the university of ten years to come. It will have changed because society has changed and despite contentions and arguments about what is deemed appropriate it has to change to match society. If it does not have the capacity to respond in this fashion then it runs the risk of becoming obsolete, of becoming dispensable. In other words society must feel the need for the university because if it does not the university will be forced to exist in a vacuum locked off from true realities, generating knowledge that is irrelevant and little practical use to the social order.

Firstly and most importantly the established reality is that the student is in the university to learn. Unfortunately, this realization is usually followed by the belief that the student comes as an "empty vessel waiting to be filled" and the professor/lecturer is the "know it all" an arbiter of all knowledge. This belief can easily lead to the erroneous assumption that the student's contribution to the university is negligible and as such the

student takes from rather than gives to the university. There are some who argue that because the student is but a temporary passer-by his claim to being a legitimate member of the university community is rather tenuous. This explains Seabury's (1975:ix) contention that:

> To speak of the status of students then, in a strict sense, is absurd, for being a student means a through passage on the route to ultimate destinations. All who have completed this journey once were, if briefly, university students; this in order to become something else.

This depiction of the student body as a transient group undermines and negates the contribution of the student body to the growth and development of the institution. Jurgen Habermas states that the student is a citizen of the university community. As such he affirms they have a legitimate role in determining local and national policies about the university and higher education (Habermas 1970, 13). There is merit to this position. Regardless of how long he is a part of the university community the student has a right to become a part of the decision making process, this is what democracy is about. The university in a democratic society must recognize and abide by the ideals and principles of that society.

While there is much disagreement as to the role of the student, the university must attempt to produce an educated individual with an awakened political consciousness. No doubt awakening the social and political conscience of the student is not a task that begins at the doors of the university. One demand that society has placed on the university is that it becomes a centre of criticism. If the university intends to live up to this expectation then it has to ensure that its students are taught to think independently and critically and not to accept things dogmatically. Then and only then will the university be able to claim that it is a centre of criticism. The university student has to see the *status quo* as his enemy, especially in a developing society where the *status quo* is premised on perpetual inequality and poverty. A state funded university has to turn its back on what society has established as normal.

The progressive ideas being taught in the university are such that students are encouraged to challenge that which is perceived to be just and inevitable, which is why the university is a centre of dialectical engagement because this exercise is about arguments and counter arguments in a search for truths. The university pulls theory and social practice together in a debate about applicability and relevance; this is another part of the quest for truth. What is quite apparent is that student activism and student

movements are in fact functional and necessary to the survival of the university, where the quest for truth is an ongoing exercise.

The 21st Century: The Pan-African Movement in Student Activism_

The Leftward trend that characterized the nature of student activism during the 1960s and 1970s has noticeably changed since the end of the cold war. In this process the intensity of student activism has changed, however an important shift is taking place as the Pan-African movement is taking its place as the central focus of student activism. The demise of the Left has left a notable space for the development of a strong Pan-African movement in the 21st Century. The euphoria that characterized the age of the Cold War is absent. However, the lack of such excitement provides an opportunity for the articulation and development of a political program to connect the African continent and the Diaspora.

The 21st Century student activist with knowledge of historical precedent is much more mature than his historical counterpart. The 21st Century student shares the youthful exuberance of the past but is not as politically naïve. It is with this historical experience that the ills that destroyed the pan-African movement in the past can be alleviated. The All African Students' Conference is a part of the repositioning taking place in Pan-Africanism. The prospect of the All African Students' Conference revolving around the African continent over the coming years presents a unique opportunity for the development of much needed linkages between the continent and the Diaspora. The conference in its role as a major source of information dissemination has the opportunity to spread the message of African unity and African Nationalism across the Continent and the Diaspora.

References

"An Activist Manifesto." s.d. In: Activist. Available at www.theactivist.org/manifesto.

Cabal, B.A. 1993. *University as an Institution Today*. Paris: UNESCO Publishing.

Churney, L. 1979. *"Student Protest in the 1960s"*. Available at www.yale.edu/ynhti/curriculum/units/1979/2.

Cohen, R. 1993. *"Activist Impulses: Campus Radicalism in the 1930s"*. Available at www.newdeal.feri.org/students.

Habermas, J. 1970. *Toward a Rational Society: Student Protest, Science and Politics*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Sampson, E. 1970. *Student Activism and Protest*. San Francisco: José- Bass Inc.

Seabury, P. (ed.). 1975. *Universities in the Western World*. New York: The Free Press.

Winbush, R. 2002. *"Student Activism in the 70s and the New Millennium"*. Available at www.black-collegian.com.

PAN-AFRICANISM AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 21ST CENTURY: A STUDENT MOVEMENT PERSPECTIVE

Leon Burrell

This paper seeks to investigate the absence of a Pan-African spirit among students of African descent at UWI, Mona. The paper contends that the university, by its very nature, is a place of engagement; where students are interacting with new information and are developing a new awareness of themselves, their environment and their existential realities. The assumption is that, in seeking to make what we are learning relevant to our particular reality we engage in a process of dialectics; a search for ideas through logic and discussion. Having arrived at these ideas, forceful, positive and determined change must follow to better the nation, as education is the only means through which a people prepare themselves to take control of their own particular civilization.

Introduction

The problem for Pan-Africanism in its historical and 21st Century manifestation has been its inability to cement a place for itself as a viable political alternative for African people. Pan-Africanism has always found itself to be the victim of opposing political forces. In this process it has been derailed and de-legitimized. Whether it is the sweeping force of the euphoria of Cold War politics or the current manifestation of neo-liberal globalization, in the 21st century Pan-Africanism has always faced the problem of political legitimacy and centrality. It has always faced questions about its practicality and it has always succumbed to issues of identity. However, the fact that Pan-Africanism has been able to withstand these political pressures is due to what can only be explained as the Pan-African spirit. While the spirit of Pan-Africanism is everlasting and naturally

inherent among African peoples the challenge has been the transformation of this burning spirit into a political program.

A cursory look at the trajectory of the Pan-African tradition has revealed to us that Pan-Africanism is an ideology that has brought Africans and the peoples of African descent into focus with one aim; 'the political, economic and social solidarity for Africans'. This ideology has manifested a spirit among African students. The Pan-African spirit is responsible for forging feelings and actions between Africans and the people of the African Diaspora, which encourages racial pride and unity among Africans, and people of African descent. The Pan- African spirit is the tool used to generate historic, social, economic and political consciousness between Africans and students of African descent in the Diaspora. The Pan- African Spirit finds its roots in the heritage of blacks in Africa and in the Diaspora.

The Beginning of Pan-Africanism

Just 16 years before the first Pan-African Conference in 1900, the major European powers had gathered in Berlin to discuss the sharing out of the colonies in Africa. In what was known as the 'Scramble for Africa' the British, French, German and the other European governments carved up the continent sending troops, settlers and missionaries to almost every territory that was not already occupied. This action fostered anti-European sentiment within the African community worldwide and from the early twentieth century this anti-European sentiment merged into a people's movement.

European colonization of the African continent meant wide-scale exploitation of African resources and African people. It reinforced European ideas of white superiority and black inferiority; ideas that had been used to justify the inhuman practice of slavery. The achievements of Black people and African culture were dismissed as 'primitive'. Many of the colonialists saw it as their duty to impose European beliefs and systems on the colonized people whether they wanted them or not. From this experience of oppression and humiliation emerged a new generation of African leaders, mostly educated in European-run schools but eager to rid their countries of the colonial masters. Such leaders dreamed of seeing their nations free of outside rule and of restoring a sense of pride in their people's African identity. Some also had an even greater dream of seeing a divided and exploited Africa reunited.

The coming together of African intellectuals and those from the Diaspora marks the beginning of the modern Pan-African movement. The reality of European colonialism in Africa and the Caribbean along

with the prevalence of Jim Crow in the United States affirmed that there was a collective identity among people of African descent. It also affirmed the view that aspirations for liberation and justice were intricately linked together. This shared understanding of the need for freedom and justice became inseparable from the issue of 'Africa and African-ness'. Just as those opposed to colonialism in the continent proclaimed an independent Africa, so those whose ancestors were removed from there as slaves looked towards Africa as the source of their culture and identity. This moment represented the introduction of Pan-Africanism as an alternative political program for African people in the continent and in the Diaspora. Pan-Africanism was the natural ideology for the dispossessed and demeaned African seeking to reverse political injustice.

The Meaning of Pan-Africanism

When individuals and groups turn their gaze towards Africa as their true homeland, as the place to which they truly belong , this is what is known as Pan-Africanism. It can also be defined as a series of aspirations arising from Africa itself and from its various nations and peoples; aspirations that included the desire for peace and freedom, an end to foreign exploitation, and unity and solidarity between Africans.

Pan-Africanism can perhaps be best described through some of its strongest features:

- It is an association or a movement aimed at giving Black people full participation in the political, social, cultural and economic dimensions of world affairs.
- It is unmistakably and emphatically Afrocentric, that is to say it takes Africa as its starting point for all its ideas and beliefs.
- It assumes that all Black people around the world constitute a single family, descended from a common African origin.
- It stands for the decolonization of Africa and the independence of all states. It is totally opposed to any form of racial injustice or discrimination.
- It is committed to the universal recognition of the full dignity of Black people and their equality as citizens of the world.

Pan-Africanism is a useful doctrine for students in the 21st century as it insists on a rewriting of history to give Black people the right place both in the past and the present.

However the nature and meaning of pan-Africanism has changed as the international context in which African people live has changed. If one looks at the founding fathers of what is referred to as the modern Pan-African movement, one notices the specificity of time. One of the movement's founding fathers, W.E.B Dubois, explained this goal: " Pan-Africanism seeks to preserve its own past history, and write the present, erasing from its literature the lies and distortions about black folks which have disgraced the last centuries of European and American literature… Pan-Africanism seeks an end to making Africans simply profitable workers for industry or stool pigeons for propaganda, and seeks to make them modern, intelligent, responsible men and women of vision and character." Dubois' definition of Pan-Africanism speaks to the anti-colonial nature of Pan-Africanism in its inception. The depressed state of African people socially and economically internationally was the primary motivation for the need for independent African and Caribbean states as well as civil rights for African people in America. Pan-Africanism was thus a universal ideal of freedom and justice for African people, with clearly recognizable goals in the quest for de-colonization. The conditions in which African people live have noticeably changed, as generations of young Africans in the Diaspora and the Continent are living in free independent states. In many respects the successes of the Pan-African movement have blurred the vision and revealed its political weaknesses. The Pan-African movement in its anti-colonial formation by the likes of W.E.B Dubois and Henry Sylvester-Williams was unable to move beyond an ideal of freedom and justice towards a well-articulated political ideology as a viable political alternative for African people. There was no need for such clarity in the exposition of a political ideology as the historical moment defined the mission in the quest for de-colonization. As the gains of economic prosperity and education have seen increased numbers of African people going into the middle class, Pan-Africanism is faced with the question of relevance and the political shortcomings of its anti-colonial formation.

It is in this context that Garveyism is so important for pan-Africanism in the 21st Century. Garvey was able to move beyond many of the pan-African leaders in that he was able to articulate an analytical framework through which to address the issues facing African people. Garvey, through discussions on the issue of race was able to weave together a theory of nationhood and cultural politics, which is today unmatched by any modern day scholar. Through the exposition of a race-first philosophy Garvey was able to develop a political ideology, which is not immune to specificities of historical formation.

Anti-Colonial Formation: The Historical Precedent

Figures such as Harriet Tubman and Fredrick Douglass were vitally important in undermining the institution of slavery by encouraging slaves to escape and by galvanizing opposition to the system among Americans and overseas. In every territory where slavery existed, slaves were also instrumental in securing their own freedom by escape, revolt or in the case of Haiti, full escape/revolution. In the course of these struggles, the images of a distant Africa were never far from the minds of those who saw themselves as imprisoned in an alien country.

When the slaves were eventually freed there were some who returned to Africa from the US and the Caribbean. Individuals such as James Holy Johnson, Edward Wilmott Blyden and Henry Highland Garret visited or stayed in West Africa, establishing schools, churches and hospitals in Liberia and Sierra Leone, the two countries settled by freed slaves. Others stayed in the US and the Caribbean, undergoing the trials and tribulations which followed emancipation. Individual such as Dubois, who was born in the immediate aftermath of abolition, had to struggle against institutional racism to become leading thinkers and spokesmen for Black people and their rights.

If the birth of the modern Pan-African can be traced to the 1900 conference, its evolution can also be followed through a series of succeeding conferences and meetings. From the first gathering in London, four more Pan -African conference took place between 1919 and 1945, all of them inspired and organized by the influential figure of Dubois. Of these perhaps the most important was the fifth, held in Manchester in 1945, and attended by almost 100 delegates from Africa, Europe and the Americas. Among those present was George Padmore, another Trinidadian who devoted his life to the cause of bringing African and African descended people together with the common purpose of ending colonialism. C.L.R James, one of the greatest historians of the twentieth century and a life long enemy of colonialism, took part. Also there were Jomo Kenyatta and Kwame Nkrumah, later to be leaders of independent Kenya and Ghana respectively.

The 1945 conference showed how far pan-Africanism had come. While earlier conferences had issued polite appeals to European governments for better conditions in the colonies the meeting which followed the end of the Second World War was altogether more militant. Inspired by the defeat of fascism and particularly by the return to power in Ethiopia of Emperor Haile Selassie, the delegates called for an end to colonial interference in Africa. At this point Pan-Africanism became no longer a protest movement by people of African descent in the Caribbean and the

US. It had become a weapon with which African nationalists would fight colonial rule. Hence some historians describe WW2 as the watershed for decolonization.

In the 1960s and 1970s the liberation struggle taking place in Africa provided further motivation for the struggles of Africans in the Diaspora. There was an intense need for blacks in the African Diaspora to identify with the liberation struggles in Africa. There was a universal need for the upliftment of black people everywhere, yet each set of struggles was distinct and had its own peculiar characteristics. The protest movement in the US, meanwhile, was gathering impetus with the fight against segregation in states such as Alabama. Here, figures such as Martin Luther King Jr. and Rosa Parks led the way in dismantling racist laws, which sought to separate blacks from whites in all areas of life. They were preceded by the charismatic Paul Robeson who never renounced his Marxist faith through-out the cold war and saw socialism as the only road to Black freedom. Later opponents of racism in the US included the unique Mohammed Ali, whose political integrity cost him three years of his boxing career, and the mercurial Malcolm X, who emerged from a life of crime to be the most outspoken Black Muslim of his generation.

In Jamaica, the moment was defined by the grounding of an African aesthetic that was a deliberate counterpoint to European domination and colonial subjugation - Jamaica experienced the rise of the Rastafari movement through popular Jamaican music, political violence, Haille Selassie's visit and the lack of economic progress that hampered and frustrated the process of the majority black working class. Caribbean students were able to draw inspiration from struggles around the world to deal with those regional and national issues that needed to be addressed.

As decolonization became a reality, Pan-Africanists such as Nkrumah and Kenyatta found themselves in power. Julius Nyerere joined them in 1962, created a united Tanzania and tried to introduce an original form of rural socialism. Elsewhere, however the transition from colonial rule proved more traumatic, as in the Congo, where Belgium and the US conspired to bring about the downfall of the radical Patrice Lumumba in 1961.

Post-independence Africa has had more than it's fair share of pain - civil wars, continued foreign interference, droughts and famine. Yet among the bad news, certain positive developments are often overlooked. One of these has been the survival of the Pan-African ideal and its empirical implementation in the struggle against apartheid and racism in southern Africa. From its founding in 1963 in Addis Ababa, the Oganisation of African Unity played a leading role in the campaign against the white dominated regimes in South Africa and Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia). The

dismantling of apartheid and the emergence of a free Zimbabwe owe much to the effort of leaders such as Nkrumah and Nyerere. When Nelson Mandela walked free in 1990 after decades in prison, it was a moment of victory not just for Blacks in South Africa, but also for Pan-Africanism all over the world.

The 21st Century Pan-African Context

As a Pan-African student movement in the 21st Century, the challenge is to address neo-liberal globalization in its de-legitimization of race and embrace of the multicultural. The student movement of the 21st Century has the mandate to regenerate, rebuild, reposition and revitalize Pan-Africanism by using the ideas and information which we have garnered from the movement to fuel the Pan-spirit among African students. In seeking to make what we are learning relevant to our particular realities we must engage in a process of dialectics; a search for ideas; and reasonable and sensible discussion. Having arrived at these ideas it is now time for the student movement to work forcefully and positively to better unite our nation, as education is the only means through which people prepare themselves to take control of their own particular civilization.

The primary focus of student activism has always been dominated by the euphoria of Leftist politics and within this there has been sympathy for African nationalism. The trend of Leftist politics that dominated internationally during the 1960s and 1970s was a sweeping movement, which placed Pan-Africanism on a back burner. Also within the context of the dominance of the cold war, the left defined Pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism in its singular focus on the development of African people internationally did not fit in neatly to the calls for international solidarity among the left in the movement against capitalism. In this process Pan-Africanism was derailed and peripheralised due to the moment. The post independence development thrust of the new African and Caribbean states required a political ideology which was found in the struggle against capitalism. The Pan-African flame failed to capture the moment as the allure of anti-capitalism seemed to provide practical solutions for young student activists seeking to change the world.

The situation that the Pan-African movement is faced with today is slightly different; however the trend of Pan-African derailment remains a fixture of the current moment. Neo-liberal globalization has brought forward two different but interrelated ideological concepts - the idea of the non-existence of race and the myth of multiculturalism. The reality of global telecommunications and the increasing interconnectedness of the global economy have created the idea of a multicultural world and it

is within the context of the multicultural that concepts such as race are becoming de-legitimized. In this new era it is the allure of non-racial existence and becoming part of one big multicultural community that is defining the young generation of today. It is this symbolic manipulation of events that is hiding the reality of racial injustice and white supremacy and in the process threatening the centrality of Pan-Africanism. The 21st Century moment is not defined by the development of a political movement against Pan-Africanism, it is instead a set of carefully crafted ideas with a counter-posed political agenda. However, the absence of a political movement may provide the opportunity for Pan-Africanism to cement a central place as a viable political program.

Conclusion

In conclusion the opportunity for a Pan-African re-emergence in this current era requires a renewed commitment towards the ideological principles of Garveyism. Garveyism provides the analytical framework through which the content of a Pan-African political program can be built. It is in this particular era of political relativism rooted in the idea of multiculturalism that a firm commitment must be made towards the ideals, hope and spirit of Pan-Africanism. It is imperative that students take the lead in forging the steps towards the development of Pan-Africanism in the 21st Century. It is through youthful exuberance and a commitment to the spirit of Pan-Africanism that a political program can be developed to uplift African people on the continent and the Diaspora.

EARLY INFLUENCES IN THE PAN-AFRICAN MOVEMENT: REPARATIONS AND NATIONALITY RIGHTS – MEETING THE CHALLENGES OF THE DIASPORA IN THE 21ST CENTURY

THE MARCUS GARVEY MOVEMENT AND THE PAN-AFRICAN STRUGGLE

Ryan Williams

The Marcus Garvey Movement (MGM) as a major student movement with a stated political agenda emerged on the University of the West Indies (UWI), Mona Campus in the mid-1990s. Subsequently, it distinguished the politically conscious student population as an important group; as a community which has established itself as a legitimate agent of social and political change. This development of a mature political perspective comes as a result of a highly developed civic conscience and a vision that students have of themselves as agents of social change. Key to understanding the political, social, cultural and economic concerns and activities of students is an appreciation of the fact that the student responds to societal contentions out of his or her own personal convictions of right and wrong. The MGM therefore is not a discrete entity even though it operates within the context of wider societal issues and engagements and more often than not assumes and constructs agendas out of this wider community; inspired by the teachings of Marcus Garvey, the MGM sets out its agenda for the advancement of peoples of African descent. The ensuing presentation will use the MGM as a case study for repositioning Garveyism in the 21st Century.

Introduction

The Marcus Garvey Movement (MGM) is a student organization located at the University of the West Indies (UWI), Mona campus and formally established in 1998. The MGM, inspired by the illustrious tradition of student activism on the UWI, Mona campus in the 1960s and 1970s, has provided the organizational impetus for the summoning and articulation of the Mona student population at the beginning of the 21st Century. The MGM has defined itself as a student movement based on the

view that students are agents of social change, while drawing on the Black Nationalist philosophy of Marcus Garvey for inspiration and guidance.

The MGM functions in two main trends of student activism; it is idealistic and dialectical. These two qualities have fashioned the organization and have allowed it to establish a political dispensation unique in its focus and scope. Within this framework the MGM is constructing and articulating a philosophy and praxis that maintains a commitment to the core belief of Garvey, while ensuring its relevance to the contemporary world. The case of the MGM reveals that in order for Garveyism to be repositioned in the 21st century it must be founded on the politics of personal conviction.

The aims and objectives of the Marcus Garvey Movement (MGM) reflect a new thrust towards student activism and are as follows:

- To promote the teachings of Marcus Garvey;
- To advocate for and on behalf of the student population;
- To engage in wider community service; and
- To promote an entrepreneurial spirit among its members and entrepreneurial activity within the organization.

These aims and objectives have attained a level of fixity among the members of the organization; becoming "law-like" in their ability to regulate the activities of the organization. The organization is sustained through a skillful balance of its Pan-African political agenda and student advocacy. This paper examines the events and circumstances, which led to the formation of the organization and its political agenda.

The Local Context: University of the West Indies in the 1990s

The destruction of the ideological fervor that had characterized Jamaica in the 1960s and 70s came to an abrupt halt in 1983 with the Grenadian Revolution and subsequent invasion by the United States of America (USA) with the support of the Seaga administration. Jamaica and the Caribbean were eventually consumed by the wave of ideological conformism that was to sweep the world as a result of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the triumph of Neo-liberalism globally. National political movements in Jamaica are often linked to international movements, thus the death of the left internationally led to an inevitable standstill in anti-systemic political movements in the Caribbean.

Historically, Caribbean social and political movements have their roots in the activism of the students of UWI, and without the existence of leftist movements across the world there led to a closure and emptiness of thought, which lacked any ideological direction in the early 1990s. This ideological conformism taking place internationally manifested itself on the Mona campus in student ambivalence and contentment. The tradition of youthful idealism devoid of its ideological context was now transformed into materialism, which functions on the self-doubt and helplessness of the student population.

Within this political dispensation, instances of student thought and action on the Mona campus were inarticulately defined and poorly thought constructions, often linked to the personal aggrandizement of the people involved in the activity. This was particularly the case at UWI, Mona, as during the early 1990s student activism becaome solely and centrally located in the student government. In this reorganization the student and the student activist were given a peripheral status and reduced to addressing narrow and parochial issues and concerns. In particular the student government became a creature of the national political scene with young ambitious politicians using the student government to catapult themselves into their prospective political parties. It is important to keep this in mind in order to appreciate fully the political and psychological importance of the re-definition of the student and the student activist with the emergence of the MGM on the Mona campus.

Nonetheless, as students attempted to generate new ideas and sought to give organizational expression to these ideas there were a series of organizational experiments emerging to counter the comfortable complacency plaguing student activism. The establishment of the MGM arose out of this frustration of students on the Mona campus who felt that the current political and social environment was unacceptable, and was the culmination of various organizational efforts that began in the early 1900s. These organizational efforts however had two consistent principles that governed their operations: a grounding in the philosophies of Marcus Garvey; and an unrepentant belief in the role of students as agents of social change.

Black Spear: Anti-Colonial Ideologies

Black Spear, the first of these organizational efforts, was established in 1993 and consisted of a group of UWI, Mona students inspired by the often competing and converting ideologies of Rastafarianism, the Civil Rights Movement and the 1960s Black Power Movement. Black Spear sought its philosophical inspiration from the anti-colonial ideologies and within this context the experience of leaders such as Martin Luther

King, Frantz Fanon, Malcolm X, Haile Selassie, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Marcus Garvey and Walter Rodney.

As a group of thinkers locating themselves within this tradition of anti-systemic political movements there was a natural alliance with the left. There was a deification and acceptance of the socialist/black nationalist framework that dominated during the 1960s and 1970s. The group realized quickly that working within this framework generated certain practical and ideological difficulties. At the outset the group had to deal with the specificities of the historical moment, which framed the period of the 1960s and 1970s. The tradition was locked in time and thus the group had put it itself in the impossible position of trying to recapture the anti-colonial movement in the contemporary moment. It also had to deal with the ideological inconsistencies that had beset the anti-colonial tradition that had led to its demise, in particular the tension between Black Nationalism and socialism. In the case of Black Spear the deification of the 1960s and 1970s in political history meant that it had to contend with the additional influence of Rastafari.

The inability of the group to define a space outside of the traditional realm of anti-systemic political movements led to a paralysis of thought and action. As activists seeking to express their thoughts and ideas into action they were beset with numerous problems. The first problem that the group faced was the major personality difference between the 1960s student population and the now globalized university student living in the 1990s. The nostalgic nature of the group failed to appeal to the new generation of students who saw the period as distant and saw in the period of the 1960s and 1970s political and economic failure. The members of the group were labeled as politically naïve and idealistic, largely out of touch with the materialistic and practical orientation of the new generation of university students.

Black Spear was naturally isolated from the rest of the university community and was composed of young ambitious economists and political scientists who had succumbed to the nationalist party politics of Jamaica[1]. Members of the group easily identified with the governing elite, in particular the traditionally leftist People's National Party (PNP) who saw the 1960s and 1970s as a missed opportunity. Thus, within this context members were able to use the nature of the organization to promote themselves within the national political scene. Others, who were not so inclined, entered with the movement into its restructuring/redefining phase.

UNIA and ACL[2]-UWI Chapter: Pan-African Idealism in the Contemporary Era

As students naturally rethinking and re-conceptualizing themselves, Black Spear gradually evolved into the UNIA and ACL-UWI Chapter. The UNIA-UWI Chapter was attached to the UNIA Paul Bogle Memorial Division[3] and reflected a renewed respect and admiration for the organizational and philosophical achievements of Marcus Garvey. In particular the establishment of the UNIA-UWI Chapter reflected a traditional view of Garvey and the Garvey movement, and symbolized a yearning on the part of these students to re-create the past glories of the UNIA. The new politically conscious and idealistic UWI student believed that Garvey provided the most appropriate ideological framework within which to address societal issues and the life of the man represented those qualities that were absolute necessities for surviving as an organization in the new political dispensation. The toughness, intuitiveness and the strong sense of political conviction that had defined Garvey throughout his life were qualities that this new group of student activists took as examples in building a movement, especially in the light of the less than favorable political environment. The students of the UNIA quickly distinguished themselves from the rest of the student population by their political consciousness, using their political conviction as a means of survival in the midst of overwhelming opposition to Garvey and the concept of radical student activism.

The traditional vision of the UNIA that was held by the members became in conflict with more modern interpretations of the Garvey movement. The new organization had three internal challenges that came with practising Garveyism in Jamaica: the issue of articulating a racial politics and all its variants in a majority black country; redefining Garveyism in a tradition of Christian orthodoxy; and the ideological battle spurred on by the Rastafarians in the group regarding the place of Haile Selassie in the organization.

One of the major challenges that the UNIA-UWI faced was the opposition to the iconoclasm of the organization, which led to a division between the reformers and traditionalists. The reformers felt that the organization was not tailored to the local context and was more committed to re-invigorating the past rather than a serious appraisal of Garveyism and its relevance to black people. The traditionalists believed that any ideological allegiance to Garvey had to come with wholehearted support for the original mission of the UNIA. The traditionalists were able to dominate the organization primarily due to the fact that there was a general uneasiness about the specifics of the creation of a new Garvey organization. The UNIA platform was already in existence and historically had a proven

track record of success. It would take a major political shock to change the organization and redirect power in the organization to the reformers.

The presence of the UNIA-UWI brought on to the university campus a black student movement. The presence of a black student movement in a country with a majority black population raised the issue of personal identity and brought to the fore the issue of racial identity. This was a major challenge for the organization as the UNIA-UWI became defined based on the individual identity of people. For most Jamaicans the issue of race was a peripheral issue, which was a direct result of the fashioning of the Jamaican state. The entire machinery of the Jamaican state has promoted the idea of a "raceless" society articulated into the national symbols such as the national motto, which states "Out of Many, One People". The organization was faced with dealing with an identity that is pervasive throughout Jamaican society, and was not conducive to the healthy functioning of such an organization. Thus the organization suffered from continued lack of recognition and opposition from the student population.

Another problematic issue that the UNIA had to address on the campus was operating in a Christian space. The only force that had been able to consistently and consciously defeat the radical student movements on the UWI Mona campus was the Christian Movements[4], and the UNIA was not spared their wrath. The UNIA was quickly identified and defined as an atheist organization by the Christians and effective strategies were afoot shortly thereafter to bastardize and demonized the group. This came to a head when permission was given by the UWI administration to the UNIA to put up permanent notice boards on the campus as part of the organization's service to the student population. The UNIA's colourful red, black and green notice boards that brandished a symbol of the 'ankh' in the top right hand corner attracted the rebuke of the Christians, as they were seen as devil colours and symbols.

In addition to the general identity issues of the general student population there was also the issue of identity within the organization, in particular the role of Rastafarians and their support for Haile Selassie. The members of the UNIA UWI who were Rastafarians felt that Haile Selassie was being maligned and peripheralised in the organization. The intense pressure placed by the Rastafarians on the issue polarized the organization into a Rasta and non-Rasta divide. All of these issues of division would be solved when the organization made the transition to the Marcus Garvey Movement.

The Politics of Protest and the Birth of the MGM

The transition from the UNIA-UWI Chapter to the Marcus Garvey Movement (MGM) took place in 1999 in the aftermath of a major student

protest organized by the chapter. The UNIA-UWI Chapter launched a protest against the multinational corporation Popeye's in Black History Month due to a political row that existed between the company and the UNIA Paul Bogle Memorial Division. The issue surrounded the significance and importance of Black History Month. The UNIA Paul Bogle Memorial Division, much to the disgust of the UNIA-UWI Chapter, had asked the company to sponsor a Black Beauty Contest for Black History Month. It was not the rejection of the request that sparked the protest but the maligning and de-legitimizing of Black History Month by the management that prompted calls for action.

The UNIA-UWI Chapter felt that this was blatant disrespect to black people and, filled with a strong sense of personal conviction, the young warriors took to the streets. The nature of the protest was a testament to the adeptness at organizing as well as the high level of political acumen on the part of the movement. The organizers manipulated the political desires of the young political leaders for a history-defining moment to gain the support of the student government. The next course of action was to alert and gain the necessary allies in the media in an effort to sensitize the general public. This was done and the protest took the form of a well-coordinated media assault and public demonstrations in the streets under the organizational leadership of the UNIA-UWI Chapter. For students in the 1990s the event was the biggest protest undertaken by the student population that did not deal with the usual student issues such as school fees and security.

For the vast majority of middle class Jamaican university students, public protests were an uncharted terrain and the magnitude of the event overwhelmed and enticed many to the cause. The scope and impact of the protests were only heightened in the consciousness of the organizers when they started to receive death threats and witnessed the introduction of muscle bound men to intimidate the protesters. However, in spite of all of this the organizers maintained a commitment to the cause, which made the next series of events heartbreaking.

In a weird twist of fate the UNIA Paul Bogle Memorial Division and the Popeye's Jamaican management resolved their dispute in secret without informing the members and supporters of the UNIA-UWI Chapter[5]. One must imagine the horror on the faces of these young activists when they heard about this series of events on the radio[6]. It was the public announcement of this resolution that led to the unraveling of the protest. The first to leave was the student government who sought to distance themselves from the organizers. Then the vast array of students, feeling betrayed by the series of events, left the protests psychologically aggrieved and thus

the UNIA-UWI was left all alone and isolated. For the members of the UNIA-UWI Chapter this was a traumatic and eye-opening experience of the harsh realities of politics. It was at this moment of betrayal that the students of the UNIA-UWI Chapter proceeded to undertake a prolonged discussion about their future and in particular their association with the UNIA Paul Bogle Memorial Division.

The movement during this time went through a series of re-definitions and was particularly distressed about the prospect of detaching itself from the UNIA Paul Bogle Memorial Division. While it was recognized that the leadership had betrayed them, there was still a sentimental attachment to the UNIA, which it felt was part of Garvey's vision. The members, in a state of flux, undertook a series of discussions about the proposed new name for the organization. It was in this process that the members moved away from the romantic discussions of the UNIA and sought to ascertain their own reading and meaning of Garvey. It was also at this point that many of the political difficulties faced by the organization started to be addressed.

The name chosen – the Marcus Garvey Movement – was reflective of the fact that the organization was not simply a Pan-African movement but a movement grounded in the "Race First" philosophies of Marcus Garvey. In addition to the name change the organization reformed the original version of the UNIA motto, "One God, One Aim, One Destiny" to "One Aim, One Destiny, Africa". The removal of the spiritual dimension of the motto reflected the movement's view that religion should be kept out of the political discourse. The changing of the motto also helped to solve the personal identity issues that were raised by the members of the movement that were Rastafarian; changing the motto neutralized these two contending wings of the organization. It was also based on a broader understanding on the part of the founders that religion had played an often negative role in the quest for black unity.

The birth of the MGM introduced a new politically conscious university student. It was a student movement awakened by a renewed sense of urgency and from its recent experiences, more cognizant of the potency of the student population in engineering societal transformation. It was a student movement isolated from the student population after its first political battle but emboldened by its political convictions to carry on the struggle. Emerging out of this traumatic experience the MGM would address all issues of political, social, cultural and economic importance within a sense of right and wrong. For this young cash-strapped organization the sole arsenal in their weaponry became their personal conviction.

As a student movement the MGM developed its own political dispensation through which it viewed all issues of national and international importance. As an organization existing within the context of the Jamaican political landscape and in a large university community, it could not define itself solely based on the Pan-African struggle. It was with this in mind that the movement engaged in the socio-political concerns of students. Through advocacy of student political concerns the MGM ensured its relevance to the student population and the university community. The philosophical underpinning of the movement's stance on student politics and activism was itself an irony as it was based on the Marxist concept of dialectics. The search for truth through logical deduction and discussion was the means through which the movement approached most issues. The peculiar nature of the MGM was not the determination of truth but the organizational efforts that were the result of the pursuit of a truth.

Thus as a student movement the MGM engaged in networking, discussion and information sharing on issues relating to the Pan-African struggle and local situations. This was done through the organizing of conferences, symposiums, teach-ins and public lectures all geared to exposing the student population to issues of importance for African people. Through these endeavors the MGM was able to transmit information to people and connect with other student organizations locally and internationally.

The MGM, strengthened and guided by its ideological core, uses it as a means of building its organizational capacity and international network rather than being trapped in an ideological quagmire. The MGM positions itself to support any event or activity that it deems a contribution to the development of African people, offering its time and energy to the fulfillment of the project. On the university campus the MGM has formal alliances with key institutional players such as the Institute of Caribbean Studies, the Reggae Studies Unit, the Centre for Caribbean Thought, Friends of Liberty Hall, and Partners for Peace. In addition to working with these local institutions the MGM is affiliated with key international institutions such as the South African High Commission in Jamaica and the African Union, York University Black Students' Alliance and Black Youth United in Canada, The Global African Congress, and the All African Students' Conference (acting as interim secretariat). In all of these relationships the movement provides key logistical assistance needed to ensure the successful completion of projects. It is important to note that on many occasions the MGM engages in projects without formal organizational recognition. While organizational recognition of the MGM is desired, it is a secondary preoccupation. The MGM is committed to the bigger picture at all times. It is this commitment to the larger picture that

allows the movement to ally themselves with like minded organizations, despite the lack of ideological agreement.

New Vision, New Politics: Our African World Newsletter

The most visible sign of the MGM's existence to the student population is the publication of a weekly newsletter called **Our African World (OAW)**. This newsletter has become one of the most consistent projects undertaken by the movement and is an indication of the importance given by the movement to the articulation and discussion of new ideas. It has now become a customary feature of the student political culture, with eager supporters and opponents ready to dig into the issues addressed by the newsletter. The OAW newsletter is a testimonial of the way in which this new politics of personal conviction established by the MGM can transform and mould the political debate in a community.

In the first issue of the OAW dated September 25, 2000, Kamau Au Amen throws down the gauntlet in relation to the movements motives and articulates the complex emotions and ideas of the university population that gives it the necessary ideological direction. The discussion surrounds the issue of 'power', as Kamau voices the reality that for most students the attainment of an education is linked exclusively to the desire for power. Instead of a chastisement of these hidden emotions of the University population and a narrative articulating the utopian values of an education there is an acceptance of the need for 'power' in all its manifestations. However, there is a recognition of the prevailing emptiness in relation to the concept of 'power' which provides the ideological context. For many students the inaugural publication of the OAW was the beginning of their political awakening. The inaugural publication of the OAW is singled out because of the fact that it signals an important dimension of the MGM and the nature of activism in the 21st Century. Activists in this new era need to adapt and mould themselves within the culture in order to provide the necessary direction. In this instance it is re-directing a material definition of power and instilling a greater meaning and significance for African people.

The OAW indicates the development of a new stream of thought on the Mona campus, which is immune from the trappings of the class and cultural discourses dominant in society. The OAW focuses on the deconstruction of the popular cultural symbols with the discussion surrounding the cultural and political significance of the myth towards the development of African people in the Caribbean.

Ayanda Boipelo writing on the MGM summarizes well the nature of the activism pursued by the movement. Boipelo writes "The students of

the MGM operate within a particular tradition of black activism informed by the complexities of the black struggle that has been the lot of the African since he was forcibly taken from his homeland. Committed to the philosophy of 'Race First' as espoused by the Most Hon. Marcus Garvey, they recognize that Africa as homeland of the black man must hold a special place in their praxis"[7]. The challenge for Pan-Africanism in the 21st Century is how African people deal with the conceptual challenges and complexities that confounded the movement during the 20th Century. If the example of the MGM is taken, it has to begin with a strong sense of personal conviction and a commitment to the larger picture, which allows the Pan-African movement to move beyond parochial considerations to move forward to assert Africa's rightful place in the world.

A Global Vision: The All African Students' Conference

In the attempts to assert Africa's rightful place in the world the MGM is leading the charge through participating in international conferences such as the All African Students' Conference (AASC). The AASC aims to mobilize African students from across the Diaspora and the Continent to speak on issues relating to African peoples. The All African Students' Conference was established in 1989 in North America. For over 15 years the conference has been mobilizing university students and providing a forum for the exchange of ideas and networking. The MGM entered the fray of the All African Students' Conference in the 11th Session of the conference in Toronto. It was at this initial point that the MGM saw the potential of the All African Students Conference to be a major avenue through which to organize African people. The movement however, realized that in order to expand the AASC it had to deal with its major weakness, which was the fact that the conference since its existence had never been held outside of the North American region. The MGM realized that this had narrowed the focus of the conference to North American issues to the detriment of a wider understanding of issues facing African people.

It was in the context of widening the scope and nature of the conference that the MGM sought the opportunity to host the conference at the University of the West Indies, which was granted by the conference secretariat. The MGM was proud to host the 15th All African Students' Conference under the theme "Pan-Africanism at the beginning of the 21st Century – New Century, Same Challenges". This was the first time that the conference was held outside of the North American region. The theme of the conference reflected the MGM's ambition to move the cause of Pan-Africanism out of its quagmire-like existence and deal with the problems that faced the global Pan-African movement. The conference proved

to be a shining success in all areas, as the organizing was exceptional and important issues were tackled. There were two important resolutions that came out of the conference; the first was the realization that the conference should move outside of the western hemisphere, preferably to Brazil or Africa and the process was put forward to make the University of the West Indies and the MGM host the permanent secretariat for the AASC. It is with this aim in mind that the MGM would spend the next two years mobilizing to ensure that the resolutions became a reality.

The MGM took the lead after the 15th All African Students' Conference and the movement eventually became the functioning secretariat of the conference. This took place as a result of the fatigue of the North American organizers who relinquished the duties of the conference secretariat to the MGM. This led to the MGM and the University of the West Indies hosting the 16th All African Students Conference in which the thrust of the conference was the celebration of the 200th anniversary of Haitian Independence. Under the theme "The Bicentenary of Haitian Independence and the Historical Significance of the Haitian Revolution: Prospects, Possibilities and Perspectives". The conference convened to reflect on Haitian independence and the contemporary problems facing Haitian society. The significance of the conference was further increased by the fact that Haiti was faced with severe internal political problems, which had resulted in the overthrow of the democratically elected Aristide government which was in temporary exile in Jamaica. In this context the conference led by the MGM officially recognized President Aristide as the legitimate leader of the Haitian people and in this regard a citation was presented to President Aristide. This series of events helped to heighten the presence of the AASC in international politics and helped to further establish the conference as an important forum of Pan-Africanism. It was at this time that it was decided that the 17th All African Students' Conference would be held in Namibia. For the first time after 16 years of existence the MGM was able to have the conference convened on the African Continent.

The 17th All African Students' Conference held in 2005 is historic not only for the conference secretariat but for the MGM itself, as it is the first time that the organization had sent a delegation to Africa. The 17th AASC under the theme "Pan-Africanism – Strengthening the Unity of Africa and its Diaspora" fits in with the political agenda of the Marcus Garvey Movement (MGM). The 17th AASC helped to usher in a new period for the MGM. Having consolidated its presence locally the MGM now seeks to cement and create new partnerships with our African brothers and sisters on the continent.

A Luta Continua

For a social or political movement to be successful there are a number of prerequisites that have to be met. Firstly, there must be a reputable and credible organization to carry a well defined ideology to fruition. The MGM is the organization with the requisite, defined ideology. Among its ranks is the necessary leadership, the second important prerequisite, grounded in an ideology and committed to the movement. Finally, the support of its constituency becomes premium. The MGM mobilization, organization, and networking capabilities have ensured that it captures the imagination of the Pan-African community locally and internationally. The MGM is therefore poised to carry the Pan-African vision into the 21st Century.

Notes

1. Senator Floyd Morris now Minister of State in the Jamaican Ministry of Welfare and Social Security was part founder and leader of Black Spear. Senator Morris, it is argued, cut his teeth on active politics while leading the Black Spear Movement and took advantage of the platform that was laid by such activities to enter into the wider Jamaican Political landscape.
2. This name was taken from the Organization founded by Jamaica's first national hero The Right Excellent Marcus Mosiah Garvey in 1914. The acronym represents The Universal Negro Improvement Association and the African Communities League. However, in an attempt to redefine it the students on the Mona campus who comprised the organization decided to replace Negro with the word NUBIAN, as while they were nostalgic towards the acronym, they considered Negro to be derogatory.
3. The UNIA Paul Bogle Memorial Division is located in Kingston, Jamaica and operates under the international UNIA Charter of the UNIA Kingston Division.
4. Trevor Monroe, the energetic leader of the leftist student movement on the Mona campus in the 1960s was defeated twice in his bid for president of the Guild of Students by an organized Christian Movement on the Mona campus.
5. The UNIA Paul Bogle Memorial Division was at the time headed by Horace Matthews who we later discovered had a long history of such activities.
6. This was revealed in an interview with Allan Bernard in 2004, who was the chief mobilizer of the UNIA UWI Chapter and protest organizer.
7. Boipelo Ayanda "Walking the Pan-African Walk" Our African World Vol. 8 Iss. 10 March 21, 2005.

PAN-AFRICANISM AND NATIONALITY RIGHTS FOR THE DIASPORA: A CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE

A. Bernard

At the beginning of the 21st Century, Africa and the African Diaspora are engaged in redefining national identity and citizenship, and are subjecting multiculturalism to intense scrutiny and criticism. At the same time both parties appear to be much more interested in developing ideas of a global cosmopolitan transnationality and flexible citizenship. This paper will explore the issues of nationality, citizenship and cultural identity in relationship to the Africans in the Diaspora, and is intended to encourage discussion and research on how Africa and the African Diaspora view the issues of nationality rights, citizenship and identity.

Introduction

It is to be noted that the debate on nationality rights is intrinsically tied into the debate on repatriation and the right of return for Africans in the Diaspora. The discussions on nationality rights are relatively new and were placed squarely on the agenda with the decision of the Heads of State and Governments of the African Union of February 2003 to invite and encourage the participation of the Diaspora in the activities of the African Union (AU)[1], and to facilitate discussions on the inclusion of the Diaspora as the Sixth Region of Africa to participate in the Pan-African Parliament.

The discussions on the right of *return/repatriation* issues are not new or particularly startling; neither are they idiosyncratic to Africans. In fact there is a current resonance of the issues in international relations, particularly international law, politics and diplomacy; the two clearest examples of which are the Jews and the Chinese.

Amongst Africa's Diasporas - both the pre-modern and the modern - claims of *repatriation/return* are advanced not only by those domiciled in the Americas (and Europe, largely as a result of recent migrations) consequent upon the Euro-American operated system of modern Atlantic chattel slavery. The strong cultural commitment to return to Africa that characterised enslaved Africans was later practically expressed by Marcus Garvey and Rastafari. Emperor Haile Selassie I recognised these claims in a small but significant *land-grant*. However, Ethiopian *citizenship rights* were not granted and the land-grant itself is now being truncated by the Ethiopian state.

Africa's Atlantic slavery-produced Diasporas' rights of return/repatriation are substantially grounded in law and morality. A clear legal claim for *reparation* exists against the organising Euro-American corporations and states, many of which remain in existence today. Continental Africans were to an extent complicit: not Africans in general but specific states and classes, raiders, capturers, holders, granters of rights to build factories/forts/castles and sellers of Africans. Lines of juridical descent from these African entities are broken and otherwise unclear resulting in a corresponding lack of clarity as to the appropriate African objects of legal action. In these circumstances, it is the moral basis of the *repatriation and return* claims by Diasporan Africans that survive to be recognised and redressed.

Pan-Africanism, Citizenship and Nationality

The body politic for which the state claims to exercise many national responsibilities and from which it expects many national services is not limited to the conventionally recognized citizenry of the state. It is a claimed entity which historically Pan-Africanism has called African Peoples or Peoples of African Descent. Any examination of Pan-Africanist ideology must therefore begin with an exposition of the meaning of the claimed constituency of the African state; the African People.

The term is one of the most problematic identifications of a subject in the vocabulary of modern politics - particularly municipal and international law. In the first place, it is a fact that substantial numbers of peoples of African descent, perhaps a majority of all Africans in the world, categorically reject any identification which would include them as constituent parts of a separate domicile nationality. There is a crucially important difference between the expressions "Africans" and "Peoples of African descent".

In Pan-African discourse Peoples of African descent is the claimed nationality constituency. Consequently, it is necessary to know who or what

"The African" is to comprehend the ideology with which Pan-Africanism proposes to meet the needs of this constituency, as it perceives those needs. The functions and activities of the African state, which is the homeland for Peoples of African descent, are to be determined by these same Pan-Africanist perceptions. It should be that in the principles and practice of Pan-Africanism, Peoples of African descent should have a much more precise meaning than is generally indicated in the casual usage employed in the conventional media or by politicians, or even by those reputed to be serious statesmen or diplomats.

Pan-Africanism was not meant to be an ambiguous synonym for Diasporan involvement in the activities of the continent, but an official, legal/political instrument. Pan-Africanism is intended to mean the defined collectivity of Peoples of African descent with nationality rights and responsibilities equal to those of Continental Africans.

Marcus Garvey, one of the foremost Pan-Africanist of the 20th Century and founder of the largest Pan-African Movement (Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League – UNIA & ACL) in 1916, knew the majority of Africans in emancipated societies rejected any concept which regarded them as a separate, political nationality. One of Garvey's basic dogmas, asserted his classic, Back to Africa Movement:

Africa for Africans, Home and Abroad[2]

No doubt Garvey made the declaration with such unqualified dogmatism because the prevailing perception of African peoples about themselves, and to a lesser extent perhaps of other's about them, was different from the concept he offered of a separate nationality. But the perception of Africans as a national entity was indispensable to Garvey's embryonic campaign to obtain a turf for the African nation he wanted to believe existed and which he wanted the international community to recognize. That Garvey and his colleagues of the time knew no such entity existed is evident in his Africa for Africans Programme, which was the operative platform for the UNIA and ACL until it was superseded by the Civil Rights Movement.

According to Garvey, Africa was the only place where Black people could launch a successful bid for equality with other races and nations. This he noted was essential as other nations have sought to create for themselves a place that they can refer to as home, that is, a place where they belong and have built and will continue to build. For too long the Negro had built nations for others to flourish. The time was now right for Black people to take a stance and build a nation for themselves: 'Africa for Africans'.

The declaration of the necessity to develop a programme for 'national consciousness' was an admission that an African Nationality did not yet exist, and that it needed to be created.

It is not necessary for present purposes to engage in the polemic of whether or not such a nationality entity exists even now. It is sufficient to acknowledge that, despite consistent historic rejections of the concept by many Africans, the international community of nations has often acted as if the entity does exist. Walter Rodney reminds us in his writings on *West Africa and the Atlantic Slave Trade*, that Sierra Leone was started as a settlement for Africans who had once been slaves in America and England, and history shows that the western slavers always meant to send us back when they had finished with us, and that our African identity was never in question is a matter of fact. In the Caribbean for example, slaves and ex-slaves were always referred to as Africans, while the white planters were the West Indians. It was not until 1865, in the aftermath of the Morant Bay Rebellion that blacks in Jamaica were recognized as Jamaicans.

Slavers only changed their minds about sending us back when they decided that they wanted Africa for themselves. Consequently everything possible was done to make us forget our African-ness. Rodney points out that "the end of the Atlantic slave trade was followed by the 'Scramble for Africa', and the period of imperialism". Therefore, at this point, it became actually necessary to prevent those of us who would challenge their domination from going back to Africa; Garvey was the classic case in point.

The value of the mandate, apart from being a great success for Pan-Africanism, consists in the recognition of the African Nationality. This is of immense value, which will bear fruit and will open up new perspectives as yet hidden from the current debates. Recognition of this African Peoples Nationality concept is the first priority of Pan-Africanism's diplomacy. It is the cornerstone of the Pan-Africanist state's system of nationality rights and obligations. Appreciation of the centrality of this factor is indispensable to the successful repositioning of Africa in the 21st Century and to its long-range adaptability to current global realities. It is therefore imperative to any evaluation of any formula touted to solve the African problem with the desired results.

Citizenship, Nationality and Peoples of African Descent

The construction of an African nationality is uniquely characterized by its philosophical, ontological, epistemological and historical realities. This understanding, while recognizing the legal and political nuances associated with the principles of citizenship and nationality, gives greater credence

to the sentiments and prudence of the recognition of these realities for peoples of African descent.

Citizenship in fact corresponds to the western definition of nationality, conferring all the rights and obligations of the members of a state, without distinction of sex, ethnic community or religion. It is important also to note that while citizenship and nationality might be viewed as synonymous and at times used interchangeably, they are tied into a bigger concept which is the 'state'. It is this legal and political definition of the state, with a philosophy premised in the west, which has posed some of the most troubling obstacles to modern day progress, particularly for the building and strengthening of community vis-à-vis peoples of African descent.

The concept of "peoples of African descent" therefore becomes a specifically African notion which consists in the inscription on the 'individual's identity' the race, linage, heritage, and culture to which he or she belongs: Ibo, Zulu, Yoruba, Ashanti, etc. In short, it is recognizing the significance of Africa as a donor culture to the realities of its Diaspora, and not as a replacement of Diasporan nationalities or citizenships. It is possible to acquire African nationality, even without being of African descent, if the conditions determined by the law are fulfilled: several years' residence in Africa, or birth to an African father or mother, a pledging of loyalty to an African state, etc.

However, these policies are often not applied evenly, and appear to discriminate against Diasporans. For example, in Ghana the Right of Abode granted under the Rawlings government (instead of giving citizenship) is only available after seven years to Diasporans, while non-Africans can get full citizenship after three years. This citizenship means that non-Africans can vote, support and fund political parties, become MP's and fully engage in the running of the country, while Diasporan repatriates to Ghana have no such rights. It would suggest therefore that such efforts are inimical to the precepts of Pan-Africanism.

The Pan-Africanist Law of Return: Quintessential Reparations

At a very basic level, if reparation is to repair the wrongs committed against African peoples through slavery and its apprentices, colonization and imperialism, the first wrong committed was taking millions of peoples from their homeland. Those taken from Africa lost, among other things, their citizenship and this is the first thing that needs to be given back. It is morally and philosophically the first step in the journey of a thousand miles that needs to be undertaken if Africa and African peoples are to move forward in a forceful, positive and determined manner in the 21st Century.

Concomitant with this position therefore is that the law of return can only be made possible by African governments/states, not the West. It is to be stated clearly nonetheless, that this is a right, not a concession or special privilege. Diasporan repatriates should not have to prove which part of Africa they are from. The loss of this specific identity is a part of the harm done by slavery, and cannot be used by African governments to reject Diasporans. Any African government which challenges the right to return to Africa for proof of specific identity is in breach of their own claim for compensation for slavery.

Giving citizenship to Diasporans who want it in no way punishes any part of Africa, and would never be a drain on Africa's resources. On the contrary, Diasporans who choose to return take essential skills and resources to Africa and contribute more to the sustainable repair of the economic and social underdevelopment of Africa than exploitative international 'aid' measures. Diasporan historians, researchers, musicians and cultural artists contribute to reclaiming Africa's history, proclaiming African humanity and restoring the self esteem of African people everywhere; essential to the sustained development of Africa. Rastafarians have long led the praise for Africa, and call for Pan-African unity and cooperation, and have remained faithful and constant to their commitment to Africa even in the face of ridicule and opposition.

Pan-African Imperative

The discourse and subsequent official relationship between the Pan-Africanist movement and African governments, and the political/national substance of future legislations, must make it clear that Pan-Africanism is an important - even an overriding - national interest of the African state. It is, therefore, unrealistic to attempt to negotiate with the African state about anything without taking Pan-Africanism into consideration, even as it would be unrealistic to attempt to negotiate with any other state while ignoring or objecting, even implicitly to the fundamental value-system of the particular state.

No democratic state could be expected to surrender, voluntarily, its fundamental democratic values. No capitalist state can be expected, voluntarily, to abandon its commitment to free markets. No socialist state can be expected, voluntarily to jettison its dedication to collectivist values. Self-proclaimed protestations of pragmatism to the contrary, it is unrealistic to expect the admitted Pan-Africanist state, voluntarily, to abdicate its perceived role as both the bastion of Pan-Africanism and the beneficiary of a supra-national movement.

Whether or not such abandonment is essential to resolving, for example, the Borderland disputes depends of course, on the substance and character of Pan-Africanist ideology. Regrettably, most examinations of the phenomenon have been done by, and their significance has been limited to academicians, theorists and others removed from the many negotiating formulas which, over the years, have been constructed in the search for peace. The accessible records of these many negotiations offer almost no evidence that the participating statesmen confronted this central factor. It is at least a credible deduction that all the formulas to manipulate territory, compromise formulas for establishing the legitimate rights of the African peoples. Schemes for guaranteeing security of all states in the area have failed because, by design or ignorance, this vital interest of one of the major parties has never been put on the agenda.

Notes

1. This position was reflected in the Statement and Plan of Action of the South Africa-African Union-Caribbean-Diaspora Conference held in Jamaica on 16-18 March 2005 under the theme "Towards Unity and United Action by Africans and the African Diaspora in the Caribbean for a Better World: The Case of South Africa".
2. Excerpts of Garvey's Africa for Africans Proclamation in particular and writings on his Back to Africa Programme can be obtained the Philosophy and Opinion of Marcus Garvey , and The Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers.

References

Campbell, H.1987. *Rasta and Resistance: From Marcus Garvey to Walter Rodney*. New Jersey: African World Press.

Garvey, A.J. (ed.). 1987. *The Philosophies and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*. Majority Press.

Hill, R. 1995-2005. *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Vol. 9, Los Angeles:UCLA.

Martin, T. 1984. *The Pan-African Connection*. Majority Press.

Rodney, W. 1982. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Howard University Press.

Rodney, W. 1967. *West Africa and the Atlantic Slave-Trade*. Nairobi: East African Press.

"Towards Unity and United Action by Africans and the African Diaspora in the Caribbean for a Better World: The Case of South Africa". Papers of the South Africa-African Union-Caribbean-Diaspora Conference held in Jamaica on 16-18 March 2005.

STATEMENT OF THE 17TH ALL AFRICAN STUDENTS' CONFERENCE

STATEMENT OF THE 17TH ALL AFRICAN STUDENTS' CONFERENCE

1. Africans from the Continent and the Diaspora gathered at the University of Namibia (UNAM), Windhoek, Namibia on 27-29 May 2005, for a Conference jointly organized by UNAM Dean of Students, and International Programme Office, as well as the UNAM Foundation, The Namibian National Students Organization, the Pan Afrikan Centre of Namibia, the Pan African Students Society, the National Youth Council of Namibia and the African Publishers, with the theme "Pan-Africanism: Strengthening the unity of Africa and its Diaspora".
2. Conscious of the political contribution made by students in Africa and its Diaspora to the development of the African Continent and its peoples, and informed by a historical sense of community and collective well being, the AASC brings together students from Africa and its Diaspora as well as individuals from organizations working in the interests of Africa and its Diaspora. The main objective is to provide students in Africa and of African descent with a forum to share and exchange ideas and information and to promote linkages between Africa and its Diaspora.
3. The 17th AASC recognized and paid homage to the luminaries and stalwarts, past and present, of the Pan-African Movement, from the Continent and the Diaspora, and charged this generation with the responsibility of building on the tradition that has been handed down to them, for the benefit of Africa and its Diaspora.
4. The 17th AASC recognized the continued importance of the pursuit of the millennium development goals of the United Nations and sought to: ensure the development of Africa; advance knowledge especially among students and youths in general; promote gender equity and the empowerment of women; ensure the well being of all Africans;

promote sustainable development and develop global relationships for African development.

5. The 17th AASC recalled the decision of the Assembly of Heads of States and the Governments of the African Union (AU) to invite and encourage the participation of the Diaspora in the activities of the AU.
6. The 17th AASC recognized that whereas the concept of Pan-Africanism is accepted by all as important for the development of African peoples, more discussions on the conceptualization of the term needs to be undertaken among the youth population for greater understanding and better appreciation in the 21st Century.
7. The 17th AASC recognized that the absence of an effective networking mechanism is hindering the creation of tangible linkages between youths / students on the Continent and those in the Diaspora, and further recognized the importance of science and technology training.
8. The 17th AASC recognized the importance of mental liberation as a critical ingredient to address the gamut of concerns relating to the acceptance, creation and maintenance of an African identity.
9. The 17th AASC highlighted the importance of the pursuit of economic liberation and encouraged inter-African trade as an effective response to the African debt crisis; a deepening of economic relations; better understanding of NEPAD; addressing the imbalances of the global political economy and, a strengthening of economic relations with the Diaspora as the way forward.
10. The 17th AASC recognized the importance of the inclusion of Pan-Africanist issues in the school curriculum and highlighted the need for common African languages and the regional African university to enhance the process. The inclusion of the grassroots organizations was also recognized as crucial in this process.
11. The absence of an African-centered approach to the teaching of history and other educational subjects was recognized as a serious hindrance to the sustainability of the Pan-African movement. The creation of a new and innovative approach to marketing Pan-Africanism to youths is seen as an imperative in this regard.
12. The 17th AASC recognized the importance of women's involvement in the Pan-African movement and acknowledged the role played by women in the promotion and continuity of same.
13. The 17th AASC recognized the importance of women's health issues, in particular HIV and AIDS, and acknowledged the critical link between

women's biological and reproductive health and the economic, political and social health of Africa and the Diaspora. Emphasis was also placed on the negative impact of this pandemic on young people.

14. The 17th AASC further expressed its concern over the deeply troubling situation in Africa and its Diaspora regarding the HIV/AIDS pandemic as it impacts on the social, political and economic fabric of the realities of African peoples
15. The 17th AASC expressed its concern over political situations occurring in Haiti and in particular in the Sudan. As regards Sudan the Conference dwelt on Afro-Arab relations and drew from these the acknowledgement of the African Nation with its own interests. The youth were called upon to involve themselves in understanding and seeking solutions to these issues.
16. The 17th AASC further expressed its concern over the growing misuse of Africa's resources by local authorities. It proposes that African Governments and organizations not only enact, but enforce, laws to curtail corruption on the Continent and it's Diaspora.
17. Reparations, repatriations, nationality rights and citizenship for the Diaspora were recognized as important matters to be resolved for Pan-Africanism to remain significant in the 21st Century.
18. The 17th AASC also expressed its concern over the re-colonization of Africa's resources by imperialists forces and proposed that the African Nation must put measures in place to counter this process.
19. The 17th AASC recognized the fundamental role of African cultures in fostering and enhancing the Pan-African sentiment. It further stressed the importance of reclaiming African culture for Africans as a means of social, political and economic liberation.
20. Participants at the 17th AASC in their discussions, in the various working sessions recommended that the AASC ensures that the dialogue between Africa and its Diaspora continues and information and ideas generated are manifested in practical, tangible programmes to be disseminated not only among students in the academies but to the community at large.
21. Participants at the 17th AASC also expressed their support for the Conference and its objectives, and expressed their desire to see the Conference series grow from strength to strength.

29 May 2005