

## **African Continentalism: The Future of the Past**

### **Keynote Address Vision of African Unity (1930s-2018) Bloemfontein**

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How good and how pleasant it would be before God and man, yea-eah! -  
To see the unification of all Africans, yeah! -  
As it's been said a'ready, let it be done, yeah!  
We are the children of the Rastaman;  
We are the children of the Iyaman.  
[Bob Marley, Africa Unite Lyrics]

The concept of African unity, or Pan-Africanism, is far from new. As a philosophy, it has been evolving since the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Its premises are simple: African people, in spite of their differences, have much in common.<sup>2</sup> They share similar cultural connections, and they certainly share similar racial connections. By working together, they could strengthen mutual objectives and form a movement that is both cultural and racial in nature.

Pan-Africanism applies to more than just African people on the continent. As a movement, Pan-Africanism refers to a “political and cultural phenomenon” that joins “Africa, Africans, and African descendants in the African Diaspora as a single sociocultural unit.”<sup>3</sup> Ultimately, people of

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<sup>1</sup> George B. N. Ayittey, “The United States of Africa: A Revisit,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 632 (2010): 86.

<sup>2</sup> For this idea of oneness, See C.A. Diop, *The Cultural Unity of Black Africa* (London: Karnak House, 1989).

<sup>3</sup> Rita Kiki Edozie, “The Sixth Zone: The African Diaspora and the African Union’s Global Era Pan Africanism,” *Journal of African American Studies* 16, no. 2 (2012): 271.

African descent have different ideologies and backgrounds, but they are connected to the African continent, which is what calls for togetherness.

Pan-Africanism's inception occurred under colonial rule in Africa, and in response to slavery and discrimination outside of Africa.<sup>4</sup> There is evidence that Africans resisted colonialism in any way that they could. The Arabs of Mauritania, in North Africa, rebelled against their French governor, Xavier Coppolani. They eventually killed him in 1905. From about 1860 to 1920, similar forms of resistance were well-documented. The Ethiopians, Sarakolle Kingdom, Asante of the Gold Coast (now Ghana), the Abe, the Maji-Maji, the Sotho, Zulu, Shona, and Ndebele all rebelled against invaders. These are just a few examples of people who rebelled across the continent. History has shown that African people needed to defend themselves and fight for their autonomy and culture. Unfortunately, the African revolts faced advanced European weapons. Many Africans died, and some leaders were sent into exile.<sup>5</sup>

Outside of Africa, similar revolts led to the first Pan-African conference, arranged in London in 1900 by Henry Sylvester Williams, a lawyer from Trinidad. The event gathered black people from across the world to speak their ideas. Although few people were in attendance, black representatives came from Africa, the Caribbean, and the United States to confer with white representatives from Britain.<sup>6</sup> At this conference, black people protested their treatment, and

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<sup>4</sup> For some of the literature on the evolution of Pan-Africanism, see I. Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement: A History of Pan-Africanism in America, Europe, and Africa* (New York, NY: African Publishing Co., 1974); J. A. Langley, *Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa, 1900-1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973); and P. Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement 1776-1963* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1982).

<sup>5</sup> Edozie, "The Sixth Zone," 87.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

speakers extolled Africa's history and cultural accomplishments.<sup>7</sup> More Pan-African conferences followed, including one assembled in Paris by W. E. B. Du Bois in 1919.

The Paris conference was more obviously Pan-Africanist in nature, emphasizing the need to educate Africans and the need for Africans to become more active participants in the political process.<sup>8</sup> According to George B. N. Ayittey, this may have foreshadowed African leaders striving for independence toward the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>9</sup> Du Bois called for two more conferences in 1923 and 1927. They were even more influential and powerful, with several delegates sponsored by international labor movements. Around the same time, Marcus Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association, also known as the UNIA.<sup>10</sup>

Garvey's contributions are notable. His concept of the "New Negro" portrayed the African person as a character whose poverty was due to prejudiced and racist oppressors.<sup>11</sup> Garvey felt that by uniting black people under an African family, they could live out their full potential. He saw the necessity of improving Africa's autonomy and self-efficacy. According to Tony Martin, a Garvey scholar: "Garvey saw Africa essentially as the only place where black people could launch a successful bid for equality with other races and nations ... [If] the black man became powerful

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 87-88.

<sup>8</sup> For the history of Pan-Africanism over the long period, see Hakim Adi, *Pan-Africanism: A History* (New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018).

<sup>9</sup> Edozie, "The Sixth Zone," 88.

<sup>10</sup> The literature on Garvey is rather extensive. Among others, see R. A. Hill (ed.) *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Papers*, Vols. 1-10 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983); and A. Ewing, *The Age of Garvey: How a Jamaican Activist Created a Mass Movement and Changed Global Black Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

<sup>11</sup> Mark Christian, "Marcus Garvey and African Unity: Lessons for the Future from the Past," *Journal of Black Studies* 39, no. 2 (2008): 322.

in Africa this would necessarily raise his status all over the world.”<sup>12</sup> In other words, Garvey felt that “without Africa being a free continent, there could be no way for peoples of African descent inside and outside of Africa to be free and respected human beings.”<sup>13</sup>

Garvey created the UNIA so that millions of black people with African ancestry, living outside of Africa, could understand that European treatment of and beliefs about African people were false stereotypes that they should not embrace.<sup>14</sup> Garvey himself warned communities that failing to reunite meant that they would be forgotten and their land would be overrun, just like the identities and territories of North America’s indigenous population.<sup>15</sup> UNIA was a widespread organization, with bases in the south, west, and southwest of Africa.<sup>16</sup> It would have expanded further, if not for European pushback fearing the UNIA movement as an act of resistance.<sup>17</sup>

Europeans had cause for insecurity; the UNIA and Garvey-ism were acts of resistance.<sup>18</sup> Garvey’s powerful sentiments allowed African people and black people across the globe to connect with their home continent. Today, many underestimate the power of the Garvey movement and its great psychological impact, partly because it is difficult to quantitatively measure. There was Garvey-ism and Garvey-ites before there was Nkrumah-ism, which is very important!

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<sup>12</sup> Tony Martin, *Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Dover: Majority Press, 1976), as cited in Christian, “Marcus Garvey,” 323.

<sup>13</sup> Christian, “Marcus Garvey,” 323.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Marcus Garvey, in *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, ed. Amy Jacques Garvey (Dover: Majority Press, 1986), 60, as cited in Christian, “Marcus Garvey,” 323.

<sup>16</sup> Martin, *Race First*, 372-373, as cited in Christian, “Marcus Garvey,” 324.

<sup>17</sup> Christian, “Marcus Garvey,” 324.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 325.

Even without quantitative measurement, it is possible to see how Garvey influenced black communities across the world in the twentieth century. For the first time, these communities expressed hope. Mark Christian has argued that if modern African leaders could dig into the African subconscious just as Garvey did, the African continent could be saved.<sup>19</sup> The Garvey movement led to a fight for independence,<sup>20</sup> and a revitalization of Garvey's beliefs can empower a fight for strength and unity.

The concept of Pan-Africanism borrowed some of Garvey's ideas to evolve on the continent and became part of the political vocabulary in the 1940s. Self-proclaimed Pan-Africanists became prominent, like Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore,<sup>21</sup> and Julius Nyerere, as well as Nnamdi Azikiwe to some extent.<sup>22</sup> They advocated for the spread of democracy, a free press, and freedom of speech.<sup>23</sup> As was said in the 1945 Pan-African Congress in Manchester:

We are determined to be free. We want education. We want the right to earn a decent living; the right to express our thoughts and

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 324.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 326.

<sup>21</sup> One of the leading voices of commitment to Pan-Africanism was George Padmore, who influenced activists like Kwame Nkrumah. For Padmore's views, see G. Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism? The Coming Struggle for Africa* (London: Denis Dobson, 1956); G. Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism?* (New York, NY: Anchor Books, 1972); and G. Padmore, ed., *Colonial and Coloured Unity: History of the Pan-African Congress* (London: New Beacon Books, 1995).

<sup>22</sup> For a cast of Pan-African activists, see, for instance, H. Adi and M. Sherwood, *Pan-African History: Political Figures from Africa and the African Diaspora since 1787* (London: Routledge, 2003); and R. A. Hill, ed., *Pan-African Biography* (Los Angeles, CA: Crossroads Press, 1987).

<sup>23</sup> For an extensive discussion, see H. Adi and M. Sherwood, *The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress Revisited* (London: New Beacon, 1995).

emotions, to adopt and create forms of beauty. We will fight in every way we can for freedom, democracy, and social betterment.<sup>24</sup>

In 1957, some years later, Ghana was the first African country to achieve independence. Nkrumah became the prime minister, but he ardently believed that Ghana could not truly be free if the rest of Africa was not free as well, and part of the potential United States of Africa. He designated Padmore as the key person to create a secretariat supporting independence movements across the rest of Africa. Padmore organized two international conferences between 1958 and 1961.<sup>25</sup> By 1960, 17 other African countries achieved independence, and 80% of African countries were independent by 1963. This allowed 32 African countries to participate in the establishment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), a system to allow African states to achieve mutually beneficial goals.<sup>26</sup>

Nkrumah, like Garvey, was a central figure in the Pan-African movement because of his profound influence on conceptualizing African unity.<sup>27</sup> He credited both Garvey's vision and the global African dedication to Pan-Africanism for inspiring the fight for African unity across the globe and in his own home of Ghana.<sup>28</sup> As a leader, Nkrumah's sentiments had profound influence on modern African intellectuals; they have retained their significance and relevance over half a century later. One of his most iconic speeches identified the crux of the African versus imperialism

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<sup>24</sup> J. Ayo Langley, *Ideologies of Liberation in Black Africa, 1856-1970* (London: Rex Collins: 1979), 121.

<sup>25</sup> Ayittey, "The United States of Africa," 89.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>27</sup> Nkrumah is the best studied Pan-Africanist and African leader. A recent book is by Matteo Grilli, *Nkrumaism and African Nationalism: Ghana's Pan-African Foreign Policy in the Age of Decolonization* (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2018).

<sup>28</sup> IBW21st, "Prof. Rupert Lewis and Samia Nkrumah talk African Unity and Reparations," YouTube video, 30:29, October 22, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zxmgQp9BEew>.

epidemic, furthering his goal of establishing conferences to solidify unity and common goals among independent African nations. Nkrumah, as president of the Republic of Ghana, delivered a seminal address in Accra on June 4, 1962, to the Nationalist Conference of African Freedom Fighters. He said that the conference was to help make progress toward Africa’s “liberation and unity.”<sup>29</sup> In his view, the mission was “to rid Africa completely and forever of imperialism and its handmaidens, colonialism and neo-colonialism.”<sup>30</sup> These words could galvanize any African, especially when Nkrumah appealed to the African sense of destiny — the idea that destiny will show that their autonomy is their own, and that it cannot be taken from them.<sup>31</sup> Nkrumah acknowledged Garvey by quoting him at Ghana’s independence, and later establishing a Black Star Shipping Line, similar to Garvey’s.

Nkrumah said that Africans must understand that their “enemy” was imperialism itself. Nkrumah warned his audience that in order to strive for unity, they should not fall prey to the false belief that imperialism on the African continent had ended. The reality was quite the opposite: imperialism was still alive.<sup>32</sup> To Nkrumah, imperialism was dangerous: its sole mission was to move forward and claim new territory. As a result, “weak links” formed, allowing some African states to become independent. Nkrumah warned his audience that this reality should not be ignored.<sup>33</sup> He cautioned them that Africa’s worst choice would be to resort to tribalism and fragmentation — it would allow the “chain” of imperialism to exploit the continent and take advantage of states that had already been liberated. In this way, neo-colonialism would continue,

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<sup>29</sup> Kwame Nkrumah, “Step to Freedom” (address, Nationalist Conference of African Freedom Fighters, Accra, Ghana, June 4, 1962), 1.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 4.

and Africa would be imprisoned in a cycle of subjugation.<sup>34</sup> Nkrumah repeated the advice that he gave at the All African People's Conference, also in Accra, in 1958. Africans should progress through the following stages:

1. Gaining independence
2. Consolidating independence and freedom
3. Creating unity and a sense of community among all free African states
4. Reconstructing the society and economy of Africa.<sup>35</sup>

Despite Nkrumah's inspiration and the positive inclination towards African independence, the OAU experienced many challenges and setbacks. Not all countries had achieved independence. In 1966, a military coup overthrew Nkrumah, and the face of African independence and unification was gone. There was no truly impassioned leader to take his place for several decades afterward. Various attempts tried to revive the ideals of Nkrumah with limited success.<sup>36</sup> The OAU continued to struggle, although it worked towards its goal of economic integration among African countries.<sup>37</sup> Between 1966 and 2001, the OAU did not make much progress, because it never seemed to maintain its focus. Since the beginning of the OAU and all the way through Apartheid, African leaders called for the protection of human rights, law, and democracy.<sup>38</sup> But even after all African

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>36</sup> See, for instance, B. F. Bankie, *Globalising Africans: Towards the 7<sup>th</sup> Pan-African Congress* (Cape Town: Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society, 2001); H. Campbell, ed., *Pan-Africanism: The Struggle Against Imperialism and Neo-Colonialism—Documents of the Sixth Pan-African Congress* (Toronto: Afro Carib Publications, 1975); G. Colenso and C. Saunders, "New Light on the Pan-African Association: Part 1," *African Research and Documentation*, 107 (2008): 27-46; G. Colenso and C. Saunders, "New Light on the Pan-African Association: Part II," *African Research and Documentation*, 108 (2008): 89-110.

<sup>37</sup> Ayittey, "The United States of Africa," 90.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 91.



countries achieved independence, Apartheid in South Africa was strong enough to eradicate all hope for universal democracy.

By 1990, only Mauritius, Senegal, The Gambia, and Botswana were democratic. By 2008, 16 African countries had democracies, which left 38 countries un-democratic. The worst irony, according to Ayittey, is that the point of Pan-Africanism and independence was to put an end to the suppression of Africans. However, with Apartheid, any form of “independence” continued to humiliate Africans and subjugate them. The OAU did not have a means of tackling this issue or spreading democracy.<sup>39</sup> Even with prominent leaders like Nelson Mandela, Pan-Africanism continued to struggle toward the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>40</sup> It seemed that Africa had to settle for being on the defensive, at least for the time being.

It is important to address other dilemmas that have plagued the continent. As of right now, the African continent is mostly divided, although it can be argued that African countries are more alike than they are different. Africa is rife with problems such as debt, drought, civil war, and poverty.<sup>41</sup> Initiatives intended to bring long-term benefits toward the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, like Live AID and the Brandt Commission, unfortunately fell short; they did not originate with the people themselves. Hope currently rests in the African Union (AU) that was created in 2001; it is overseen by more than 40 African governmental leaders.<sup>42</sup>

The African Union and modern leaders face yet another challenge: the impact of globalization. Africa must decide how to respond to this unavoidable external impact. In closing

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 92.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 93-95.

<sup>41</sup> Christian, “Marcus Garvey,” 316, 318.

<sup>42</sup> Z. Yihdego, "The African Union: Founding Principles, Frameworks and Prospects," *European Law Journal*, 17, 5 (2011): 568-594.

the twentieth century, Ali Mazrui said that even though globalization has, as the name implies, spread across the globe, it has given the West all the benefits and left Africa with little. According to Mazrui, Africa's path to autonomy is the only one worth taking. Remarking on the failures of the twentieth century's final decade, Mazrui concluded that the globalist movement did not bring about the transformation that Africans sought for several reasons:

1. Africa no longer has socialist allies in the United Nations, and the Warsaw Pact has focused its efforts on the West, rather than Third World countries.
2. The end of the Cold War caused the West's old rivals to compete with Africa for Western resources. As a result, the West will choose to give more of its aid and resources to old members of the Warsaw Pact than to Africa.
3. Since 1990, there has been a sparse number of African members in the United Nations; it used to have an advantage by one-third.
4. Ultimately, Africa has lost the "strategic value" that had initially incentivized the USSR and the United States to consider it.<sup>43</sup>

For these reasons cited by Mazrui, many of which continue into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Africa has no choice but to unite and become completely self-directed.<sup>44</sup> Writing in 2012, repeating Mazrui's conclusion from fifteen years earlier, Molefi Asante concluded that "The current situation on the continent is untenable. Africa's destiny will be that of a beggar continent for centuries if Africa is not united."<sup>45</sup> Concerned about the declining economies of the 1990s, Mazrui suggested three ways for Africa to be supported in its efforts by receiving funds from the Western allies of Africa along with Asian countries like Taiwan, South Korea, China, and Japan.

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<sup>43</sup> Ali Mazrui, "From Slave Ship to Space Ship: Africa between Marginalization and Globalization," *African Studies Quarterly* 2, no. 4 (1999): 5-11, as cited in Christian, "Marcus Garvey," 319.

<sup>44</sup> Christian, "Marcus Garvey," 319.

<sup>45</sup> Molefi Kete Asante, "The Character of Kwame Nkrumah's United Africa Vision." *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 4,10 (2012): 20.

1. African institutions should be established and/or strengthened.
2. They should be willing to cooperate with one another for the common purpose of creating more African autonomy.
3. Democratization should continue to be spread throughout Africa, and allies can help this process through election monitors and a free press.<sup>46</sup>

Mark Christian also believes that African institutions and countries should establish rapport among themselves before additional outside support can be maintained. Without this foundation, there can never be any sustained strength in Africa. Christian proposed that African leaders consider Mazrui's advice when working together as a common unit. They could agree upon common goals, such as a universal healthcare system, defense, and currency, in addition to coordinating rail infrastructure.<sup>47</sup>

More practical matters are also worth considering, such as the question of how Africa can be united when its people have so many different cultures and languages. A common observation is that if Europe can do it, with its own myriad of cultures and languages, then so can Africa. This is technically true, but Europe is not Africa, nor can it ever be Africa. Europe has not experienced the trauma of colonization and enslavement.<sup>48</sup> Modern Pan-Africanists cannot use Europe as a model, and Africans must not rely exclusively on Western methods for the continent's improvement, lest they fall victim to a modern form of colonialism.

It is interesting that the AU was based off the concept of the European Union (EU). Like the EU, the AU was to focus on unity. Its original design included the following:

1. A parliament with a Pan-Africanist perspective

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<sup>46</sup> Christian, "Marcus Garvey," 319.

<sup>47</sup> Christian, "Marcus Garvey," 320.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

2. A central bank
3. A court of justice
4. An organization that was similar in design to the United Nations Security Council<sup>49</sup>

Unfortunately, the AU's beginnings were just as problematic as the OAU's beginnings. The AU rapidly incurred a debt of \$54.53 million, because 45 of its 53 members did not pay their dues. And the transition from OAU to AU was not finalized in 2001. Although the transition was supposed to be completed in 2002, officials unexpectedly announced that they would need at least three or four more years. This did not inspire hope in the AU's mission of unity. According to Ayittey's assessment, the AU was yet another failed experiment after a series of other plans — over decades — to bring about Africa's "golden age of prosperity."<sup>50</sup>

Ayittey's perspective was not entirely bleak. He believes that the AU is a revolutionary concept that is absolutely necessary. However, as of 2002, the African states did not hold the same prowess as the European states; they cannot be considered replicas of European states or be expected to negotiate with the European states.<sup>51</sup> Ayittey made several recommendations for the AU as it goes forward:<sup>52</sup>

1. Although the philosophy of Pan-Africanism is essential for success, and it is based on truth, it cannot rest in the hands of one leader. (This is similar to Mazrui's observation, allowing me to qualify Christian's idea about Garvey. Garvey's views are useful, but it is unreasonable to expect one person, no matter how Garvey-like, to achieve African unity).

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<sup>49</sup> Ayittey, "The United States of Africa," 96.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 97.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 99.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 99-102.

2. It is a waste of time to call this continental unification a United States of Africa or the AU, because both terms reflect Western concepts. If Africans duplicate the foreign systems that originally colonized them, they will never be free. Perhaps the AU can be called the Confederation of African States (CAS), or the African Confederation.
3. It could also be useful to gradually unify countries within regions, rather than across the whole continent simultaneously. After unifying countries within regions, a universal unification will be much more feasible.

There are many discussions on continental organizations and the role of Pan-Africanism, with conflicting views and opinions, although they consistently agree on unity.<sup>53</sup>

### **The Economic Basis of African Unity: Regional Integration Networks**

In 1958, the United Nations' Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) created the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), which serves as one of the U.N.'s five regional commissions. The ECA comprises all 54 African countries, and the ECA plays two roles: first, the African arm of the United Nations; and second, a major component of Africa's "institutional landscape," gathering needed resources for Africa. As part of Africa's institutional landscape, the ECA collects data on the demographics of African countries to ensure that policies meant to help Africa's unity are effective. The ECA follows trends in African technology, natural resources, social realities based on gender, trade, social development, and governance. The ECA also advises and helps assistance programs for African institutions, governments, and organizations within

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<sup>53</sup> See, for instance, W. B. Ackah, *Pan-Africanism: Exploring the Contradictions: Politics, Identity and Development in Africa and the African Diaspora* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); S. Adejumo and A. Olukoshi, eds., *The African Union and New Strategies of Development in Africa* (Amherst, MA: Cambria Press, 2008); and O. Agyeman, *The Failure of Grassroots Pan-Africanism: The Case of the All-African Trade Union Federation* (Oxford: Lexington Books, 2003).

governments.<sup>54</sup> Through the ECA, the world receives reliable information on the state of Africa and its attempts to unify. Furthermore, the ECA provides information on how 54 African countries have categorized themselves into different regional economic communities, hoping to unify the continent.

According to the Economic Commission for Africa, there are eight regional economic communities that are recognized by the African Union: Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), East African Community (EAC), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and Southern African Development Community (SADC). Within these communities, countries implement agreed-upon policies, based on the idea that states are stronger when working together.<sup>55</sup> The philosophy of these eight communities is inherently based on African unity, making them our best example of African unity in action. Each of these eight communities pursue goals and implement structures that aim to make unity possible amongst their neighbors.

### ***Arab Maghreb Union (AMU)***

The Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) was founded in February of 1989, through an agreement between heads of state from the northern countries of Libya, Algeria, Tunisia, Mauritania, and Morocco. Under their treaty, the participating states “agreed to coordinate, harmonize and rationalize their policies and strategies to achieve sustainable development in all sectors of human

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<sup>54</sup> United Nations | Economic Commission for Africa, “Overview,” *United Nations | Economic Commission for Africa*, n.d. <https://www.uneca.org/pages/overview>.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., “Regional Economic Communities,” *United Nations | Economic Commission for Africa*, n.d., <https://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/regional-economic-communities>.

activities.”<sup>56</sup> The Union has several goals in its mission work, as stated by the Economic Commission for Africa:

1. The unification of cooperating states and strengthening of their bonds;
2. The bolstering of the participating states, so that they may be prosperous and maintain their rights intact;
3. The constant fight for peace, equity, and justice;
4. The realization of a common policy among the cooperating states; and
5. The attainment of the freedom of movement of persons and their goods.<sup>57</sup>

The AMU works through several structures to achieve its goals: the Judicial Organ, the University of Maghreb, the Meeting of the Prime Ministers, the Consultative Council, the Presidency Council, the Secretariat, the Monitoring Committee, the Council of Foreign Affairs, and the Maghreb Bank for Investment and Foreign Trade.<sup>58</sup>

### ***Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD)***

In 1988, the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD) was created, consisting of 24 states from the western and northern parts of Africa. CEN-SAD officially became its own regional economic community during the 36<sup>th</sup> ordinary session of the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held from July 4–12, 2000. CEN-SAD also obtained observer status at the General Assembly, acquiring the power to create agreements with

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., “AMU – Arab Maghreb Union. *United Nations | Economic Commission for Africa*, n.d., <https://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/amu-arab-maghreb-union>.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

various international and regional establishments. The treaty that initiated the Community in 1988 outlined several objectives:

1. The creation of an Economic Union to pursue an agreed-upon development plan among all the states included in CEN-SAD. This Economic Union would make investments in society, culture, industry, energy, and agriculture.
2. The assurance that obstacles hindering state unity would be eliminated through various means, including free movement of individuals and capital, the ability for individuals to freely choose jobs and homes, and the assurance that individuals among all states of the union would receive the same rights.
3. Cohesion within the states' educational systems, technical systems, and scientific systems.

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The original treaty remains mostly unchanged. However, CEN-SAD slightly revised it in 2013 to explicitly state how CEN-SAD would work to:

Strengthen sustainable development; and

Strengthen regional security among the states.<sup>60</sup>

With this new treaty, the official structures acting to meet CEN-SAD's objectives are: the General Secretariat, the Sahel-Sahara Bank for Investment and Trade, the Conference of Heads of State/Government, the Permanent Peace and Security Council, the Executive Council, the

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., "CEN-SAD – The Community of Sahel-Saharan States," *United Nations | Economic Commission for Africa*, n.d., <https://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/cen-sad-community-sahel-saharan-states>.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.



Permanent Council in Charge of Sustainable Development, the Economic Social and Cultural Council (ESCC), and the Committee of Ambassadors and Permanent Representatives.<sup>61</sup>

### ***Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)***

By the mid-1980s, the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) in eastern and southern Africa dissolved. A replacement was not available until 1994, when another entity, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), would become a recognized regional integration network by the African Union. This entity was established to assist the 19 eastern and southern African states that agreed to work together and develop their human and natural resources for the benefit of all citizens. Through this vision, COMESA has focused on creating a strong economy and sizable trading system to circumvent various trade barriers put in place by other states. COMESA seeks to create a strong economy through several means:

1. The promotion of sustainable marketing and production systems;
2. Joint effort among states for security, peace, and stability for the citizens;
3. The realization of the African Economic Community's goals;
4. Bolstering the relationship between the Common Market and the world at large;
5. Economic cohesion and the implementation of macro-economic programs and policies to provide a better quality of life for citizens and to better connect the states; and
6. The promotion of research, technology, and science.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., "COMESA – Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa," *United Nations Economic Commission for Africa*, n.d., <https://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/comesa-common-market-eastern-and-southern-africa>.

The structures of the COMESA are: the COMESA Court of Justice, the Technical Committees, the Council of Ministers, the COMESA Heads of State and Government (the central authority of COMESA), the Intergovernmental Committee, the Committee for the Heads of Central Banks, and the Secretariat. Within the private sector, the COMESA has established the following: the COMESA Business Council (CBC), the COMESA Clearing House, the Trade and Development Bank for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA – Bank), the COMESA Regional Investment Agency (RIA), the COMESA Monetary Institute (CMI), the COMESA Re-Insurance Company (ZEP Re), the COMESA Competition Commission (CCC), the COMESA Leather and Leather Products Institute, the Alliance for Commodity Trade for Eastern and Southern Africa (ACTESA), the African Trade Insurance Agency (ATI), and the Federation of National Associations of Women in Business.<sup>63</sup>

### *East African Community (EAC)*

The East African Community (EAC) was originally founded in 1967, but it dissolved in 1977. It was not until 1999, more than 20 years later, that the EAC was resurrected through the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community. The treaty was originally signed by leaders from Uganda, Kenya, and the United Republic of Tanzania, which laid the groundwork for other states to follow: Burundi and Rwanda in 2007, and South Sudan as recently as 2016. Overall, the EAC agreed on a Customs Union, a Monetary Union, a Common Market, and a Political Federation of East African States. To ensure unity, the 1999 treaty establishes the following principles for the community:

1. The promotion of women in all facets of society, culture, and politics;

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

2. The agreement to cooperate for equal economic development among the states and an improved quality of life for the citizens;
3. The encouragement of peace, stability, and security within the states at all times;
4. The bolstering of partnerships between the states, the private sectors, and civil society at large for greater and more stable political and socioeconomic development;
5. The achievement of harmonious, cohesive growth;
6. The promotion of sustainable natural resource consumption to avoid harming the environment of the states;
7. The fostering of the economic, cultural, social, and political relationships among the states so that the people remain the main focus of policy progress; and
8. The assurance that all activities within the states serve the community first and foremost and that the states agree to partake in similar activities for unity's sake.<sup>64</sup>

The EAC upholds these principles with the following bodies: the Council of Ministers, the Secretariat, the Sectoral Committees, the East African Court of Justice, the Summit, the East African Legislative Assembly, and the Coordinating Committee. The EAC also has secondary structures: the Lake Victoria Fisheries Organization, the East African Health Research Commission, the Inter-University Council for East Africa, the East African Development Bank, the Lake Victoria Basin Commission, the East African Science and Technology Commission, the Civil Aviation Safety and Security Oversight Agency, and the East African Kiswahili Commission.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid., "EAC – East African Community," *United Nations / Economic Commission for Africa*, n.d., <https://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/eac-%E2%80%93-east-african-community>.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

### *Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)*

In 1983, the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) was created to meet the need for a larger economic community within the central African states. ECCAS was officially founded by Sao Tome and Principe, Burundi, Zaire, Rwanda, and some members of the Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa (UDEAC). Although ECCAS was established in 1983, ECCAS was not officially recognized as one of the African Union's eight pillars until 1999. ECCAS was inactive for the first few years of its life, due to financial problems and the outbreak of war within the Democratic Republic of Congo. Happily, ECCAS is quite active today, consisting of 11 central African states. As of 2014, the total gross domestic product of ECCAS was USD 257.8 billion.<sup>66</sup>

The main goal of ECCAS is to create a self-sustainable economy to support energy, trade, finance, education, science, culture, tourism, technology, transport, and agriculture. By doing so, ECCAS seeks to make its citizens self-reliant, enjoying higher standards of living and existing in peace with each other. ECCAS has pursued this goal through various means:

1. The creation of a Cooperation and Development Fund;
2. Cohesive state policies supporting tourism, transportation, natural resources, energy, agriculture, trade, finance, industry, and education;
3. Development in states that may be landlocked or semi-landlocked;
4. The creation and sustainment of an outside common customs tariff;

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., "ECCAS – Economic Community of Central African States," *United Nations / Economic Commission for Africa*, n.d., <https://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/eccas-economic-community-central-african-states>. Also, see <https://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/eccas-economic-community-central-african-states>.

5. The elimination of barriers to trade;
6. The creation of a trade policy through third states;
7. The abolition of customs duties that have negative effects on exports and imports among states; and
8. The eradication of barriers to the free movement of persons and goods.<sup>67</sup>

Currently, the ECCAS structures in place are: the Court of Justice, the Council of Ministers, the Advisory Commission, the General Secretariat (considered to be the community's primary source for making its voice heard), the Specialized Technical Committees, and the Conference of Heads of State and Government (considered to be the "supreme body of ECCAS").<sup>68</sup>

### ***Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)***

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), comprising 17 western African states, was created with the 1975 signing of the Treaty of Lagos. Originally, the treaty only addressed "economic cooperation" among the participating states.<sup>69</sup> However, political events led to a revision of the treaty in 1993 to accommodate more than just economic need. Today, ECOWAS strives for the integration of states and cooperation among states so that economies are stabilized, the standard of living among citizens is improved, and development among states is bolstered. Since 1993, the revised ECOWAS treaty stipulates:

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., "ECOWAS – Economic Community of West African States," *United Nations / Economic Commission for Africa*, n.d., <https://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/ecowas-economic-community-west-african-states>.

1. The cohesion of measures and standards among the states;
2. The cohesion and coordination of policies related to environmental protection among the states;
3. The promotion and creation of joint production initiatives;
4. The creation of an economic union, made possible through the adoption and implementation of cohesive policies related to financial, social, cultural, and economic sectors;
5. The establishment of a monetary union;
6. The formation of a common, united market;
7. The cohesion and coordination of policies related to food, transport, communications, energy, finance, taxation, trade, money, education, culture, technology, science, services, legality, tourism, and health among the states;
8. The acceptance of policies that allow for the union of private sectors;
9. The encouragement of combined undertakings by private sectors and other economic sectors, especially in relation to an official agreement on investments across borders;
10. The bolstering of sustainable development across regions, especially regions that are landlocked or islands;
11. The cohesion of investment policies;
12. The promotion of a fair legal atmosphere;
13. The implementation of community policies that take into consideration the equilibrium of socioeconomic development and demographic features;
14. The promotion and strengthening of relationships among states, so that information permeates across all regions; and

15. The acceptance of any other activity that may unify the states and adhere to community values.<sup>70</sup>

The official structures of ECOWAS are the Economic and Social Council, the Community Parliament, the ECOWAS Commission, the Authority of Heads of State and Government, the West African Health Organization, the Inter-Governmental Action Group against Money Laundering and Terrorism Financing in West Africa (GIABA), the Community Court of Justice, the Council of Ministers, and the ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development (EBID). In addition to these structures, ECOWAS maintains specialized agencies: ECOWAS BROWN CARD, the West African Monetary Agency (WAMA), the ECOWAS Regional Agency for Agriculture and Food (RAAF), the ECOWAS Regional Electricity Regulatory Authority (ERERA), the ECOWAS Infrastructure Projects Preparation and Development Unit (PPDU), the ECOWAS Gender Development Center (EGDC), the West African Power Pool (WAPP), the ECOWAS Youth & Sports Development Center (EYSDC), the ECOWA Center for Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency (ECREEE), and the West African Monetary Institute (WAMI).<sup>71</sup>

### ***Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)***

In 1996, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) was established, succeeding the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development that was established in 1986. The eight states from eastern Africa that compose IGAD strive to enhance the original purpose of the International Authority on Drought and Development, which assisted the Horn of Africa whenever crises occurred that were related to desertification and drought. This purpose is

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

enhanced by assisting Horn of Africa states to achieve economic stability and cooperation, peace, security, environmental protection, and food security. According to the Economic Commission for Africa, the IGAD has the following objectives:

- i. Harmonize state policies on customs, trade, natural resources, agriculture, communication, and the free movement of people and goods;
- ii. Achieve regional food security and successfully encourage states to fight drought, natural disaster, and manmade disaster;
- iii. Promote cohesive development plans allowing macroeconomic policies and programs in the scientific, technological, and social sectors to blend seamlessly;
- iv. Establish an environment supporting domestic, inter-border, and foreign trade;
- v. Initiate programs to care for the limited amount of natural resources existing among the states;
- vi. Undertake initiatives to ensure peace and security among the states through the supervision of intra- and inter-state conflicts;
- vii. Promote and facilitate scientific and technological research;
- viii. Mobilize resources among the states in times of emergency or for periods of longer duration; and
- ix. Encourage and realize the African Economic Community's and COMESA's objectives.<sup>72</sup>

There are four structures within the IGAD: the Secretariat, the Council of Ministers, the Committee of Ambassadors, and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., "IGAD – Intergovernmental Authority on Development," *United Nations / Economic Commission for Africa*, n.d., <https://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/igad-intergovernmental-authority-development>.



### *Southern African Development Community (SADC)*

The Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) was founded in 1980 to bolster policy and establish economic liberation among the southern African states. The SADCC sought to make southern African states independent from apartheid South Africa. In 1992, the 15 participating states decided to take their mission one step further by creating a true community of integrated states, which became official with the signing of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Treaty and a Declaration “Towards a Southern African Development Community.” In this declaration, the SADC listed the following objectives:

1. Constant security and peace;
2. The evolution of cohesive political systems, institutions, and values among the states;
3. The realization of harmonizing strategies and programs among the states;
4. The bolstering of cultural and historical ties among the citizens of the states;
5. The attainment of sustainable economic growth and development, the eradication of poverty, and the improvement of the quality of life for the citizens of the states;
6. The usage of sustainable and recyclable natural resources that will protect the environment;
7. The promotion of fruitful development through states’ individual autonomy and collaboration with one another; and
8. The assurance of effective work and appropriate use of the states’ resources.<sup>73</sup>

The SADC executive structure is composed of eight directorates: the Directorate of Social and Human Development and Special Programs; the Directorate of Policy, Planning, and Resource

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., “SADC – Southern African Development Community,” *United Nations | Economic Commission for Africa*, n.d., <https://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/sadc-southern-african-development-community>.

Mobilization; the Directorate of Trade, Industry, Finance, and Investment; the Directorate of Food, Agriculture, and Natural Resources; the Directorate of Human Resources and Administration; the Directorate of the Organ on Politics, Defense, and Security Cooperation; the Directorate of Budget and Finance; and the Directorate of Infrastructure and Services.<sup>74</sup>

### **REVIVING PAST DREAMS**

What of the dreams of those like Garvey and Nkrumah? Mark Christian believes that Garvey should inspire the African people, but what do African intellectuals think of this? Are the dreams of Garvey and Nkrumah dead? Happily, Kwame Nkrumah's ideals live on through his daughter, Samia, who is currently a politician in Ghana. She believes that her route to politics started in 1966, on the day that Ghana's military overthrew the government and Kwame Nkrumah's wife and children fled to Egypt. Later that night, Samia recalls her father calling the family to give each of his children some advice over the phone in the midst of a harrowing situation. When it was Samia's turn, he told her to be strong and not to be afraid.

As Samia grew older, she reflected on that advice, deciding that it was a call to continue her father's work and mission. As a Ghanaian politician today, she strives for the "total liberation and unification of Africa." She, like her father, seeks liberation in economic, cultural, and political terms. Like her father, and like Garvey, she seeks unification not just on the continent but also for people of African descent around the world. Because Nkrumah valued Garvey's views so highly, his daughter also maintains that ardor for Garvey and his vision. Samia ultimately believes that every African should read her father's writings, and that his ideology should not merely live in Africans' minds but rather be lived daily by Africans themselves. She also believes that a united

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

Africa would “change the destiny of [the African] people’s lives” by improving their lives substantially.<sup>75</sup>

Samia Nkrumah believes that progress requires looking to lessons from Africa’s past and the words of past African leaders. When she saw Ghana’s rural areas after so many years of being away, Samia knew that the development model in place was not viable. However, she thinks that it is essential to rely on African ideas and ideologies, not the ideas and ideologies of others — for this reason, looking to past African wisdom is essential. Some ideas of past African intellectuals must be adapted for the present, but the essence of Pan-Africanist ideals matters most because its merit is eternal.

This objective is not recognized by other modern African politicians. After her revolutionary Parliamentary seat win, she lost the seat due to pushback from politicians that were not ready to accept her progressive terms. Samia’s ideas are clearly not new, but they are still considered revolutionary; for some, they are something to fear. Even with these setbacks, the vision of Pan-Africanism continues through Samia and others. Samia founded the Kwame Nkrumah Pan-African Center in Accra. Its main purpose is to reignite Kwame Nkrumah’s principles, particularly by republishing his works so that all Africans can access them. According to Samia, reading Nkrumah’s words can empower young people in ways that could not be done by merely reading about him in a textbook. By reading Nkrumah’s words and reinvigorating the Pan-Africanist mission, young African people could “change Africa’s destiny.”<sup>76</sup>

## **WHY AFRICA MUST UNITE**

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<sup>75</sup> IBW21st, “Prof. Rupert Lewis and Samia Nkrumah.”

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

Kwame Nkrumah's revolutionary idea, which he detailed in his *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare*, has been kept alive. The idea was translated by Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael) into a political party known as the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) — it focuses on the need to unite all African people against capitalism and its many forms of racism, imperialism, and neocolonialism. The party is convinced that capitalism and the imperial domination of Africa cannot be destroyed without African unity.<sup>77</sup> This party sees endemic political, sociocultural, and economic instability ravaging the continent as a result of continuous interference from erstwhile colonialists “whose desire for self-sustenance and preservation is connected to African resources. As such, it is deliberate for them to distort the social formation of Africa and to make her quest for unity and development elusive.”<sup>78</sup> The party has made one of the strongest cases for African unity, listing ten major reasons why Africa must unite:<sup>79</sup>

### *Africa's rich natural resources*

In terms of mineral resources, such as gold, gas, copper, and diamonds, Africa is the wealthiest continent on Earth. These resources have been essential for humanity's technological progress. Africa also has a great amount of arable land: 632 million hectares. However, less than 30% of this land has actually been cultivated. And even though Africa is wealthy in natural resources, these resources are not distributed evenly: 40% of the uncultivated natural resources are located in Nigeria, the two Sudans, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. These areas have

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<sup>77</sup> All-African People's Revolutionary Party, “About the A-APRP,” AAPRP, N.d., <https://aaprp-intl.org/about-aaprp/>.

<sup>78</sup> Ahmadu Ibrahim, “African Union and the Challenges of Underdevelopment in Contemporary Africa,” *British Journal of Education, Society and Behavioural Science* 14, 4 (2016): 8.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., “10 Reasons Why Africa MUST Unite.” AAPRP, June 12, 2014. <https://aaprp-intl.org/10-reasons-why-africa-must-unite/>.

enough land rich in agriculture to feed and sustain all of Africa's people multiple times over. If the land can be cultivated and utilized for the good of all, not just for a select few, all of Africa will benefit.

### ***Investments for growth***

A united Africa will more easily acquire the money and resources necessary for agricultural and industrial expansion. If Africa unites, it will no longer have to ask for money from outside of the continent to make this expansion to happen. Africa is currently asking for money from places that charge incredibly high interest rates systematically designed to keep Africa disadvantaged and in debt. The All-African People's Revolutionary Party proposes that all African countries should place 5% of their foreign reserves into one collective African Infrastructure bond, sharing burden beyond a select few African countries. A handful of African countries cannot supply all of the money necessary for growth — ultimately, Africa needs a "Great Bank of Africa" for the benefit of all people. It would keep Africa from begging other countries for money.

### ***A united market***

A united Africa can offer one large, optimal market allowing the continent to sustain itself globally and establish large-scale production. The African Union has calculated that all of Africa's combined wealth amounts to a continental "purchasing power" of \$1.515 trillion, which would make Africa the 11<sup>th</sup> strongest purchasing power internationally. A divided Africa's purchasing power is limited; African producers have relied on the purchasing power of other consumers, like the United States. A divided Africa does not have the motivation to expand, which is to its own detriment.

### ***A protected market***

With unification, Africa would be able to protect its own market from exploitation at the hands of more industrialized and globalized markets. A unified market would allow Africa to apply subsidies, tariffs, quotas, and duties.

### ***The power to bargain***

Separate African countries will always have a disadvantage when bargaining against more unified powers, such as those in the United States or the EU. A unified Africa would allow the continent to receive fairer deals and set its own terms.

### ***A common currency***

A common currency would truly unify the continent's economy and set prices in a practical way. A single African currency would reduce the transaction costs involved in conducting business between different African countries. The prices of all goods would be knowable, and the African currency would have more value internationally.

### ***Planning as a continent***

Not all problems facing Africa are experienced by all African countries equally. African countries with dried-up river basins are seeing the devastating effects of global warming, but individual countries do not have the power to solve this problem themselves. Only a unified Africa can alleviate this distress, which would benefit the entire continent. The All-African People's Revolutionary Party argues that the problems facing Africa can be solved with scientific solutions gathered from a unified continent. Less than 5% of African land is being irrigated, which is causing the unnecessary hunger throughout the continent. There is enough food and water on the continent to counteract global warming, but without a unified continent, this supply of food and water can never be evenly distributed.

### ***Giving Africa access to the sea***

A unified continent would provide an immediate route to the sea for about 20 African countries. This would create a greater supply of raw materials and develop a stronger tourism industry.

### ***Putting aside internal conflicts***

Africa has the most national borders of any continent on Earth — it has 166 of them. Even with independent African countries, there is still an immense amount of political conflict, and economic development is very difficult. A unified people with a unified military will be able to stop the civil wars plaguing the continent.

### ***Africa's assertion of its autonomy and identity***

The All-African People's Revolutionary Party believes in the Pan-Africanist principle that Africans are more similar than they are different. From the All-African People's Revolutionary Party perspective, the collective African ethos emphasizes humanism and egalitarianism. Africans know what it is like for this ethos, and the African way of life, to be disregarded by the rest of the world. If all Africans recognized that this common ethos gives them strength, they would be able to express themselves with one united voice. They would be unstoppable, embodying what Kwame Nkrumah called the "African Personality."

Ultimately, Pan-Africanism has struggled as an ideology and has been difficult to implement due to global resistance, internal divisions, and limited commitments from African leaders. However, Pan-Africanism and the vision of African unity is not doomed to die; its merits bring promise to a continent whose other methods have been broken apart. A timeless adage says that there is strength in numbers, and this adage could not be more true for Africa.

Contrary to what westernized history has taught us, Africa is a vibrant continent of culture, beauty, and vitality. In order to show this truth for what it really is, Africa must come together and fight the beast of capitalism that has been unfairly suppressing it for so long. "To achieve

remarkable results in economic, political and social fronts, the disparate peoples of Africa must first identify themselves as [a] people with common interests, agree to work together toward a common goal, adopt common approaches, and enact common laws and policies to achieve their objectives.”<sup>80</sup> This keynote has offered the viewpoints of intellectuals and passionate citizens of African descent, both past and present. Let us take their words to heart and move together, as one unit, toward progress.

### **AFROFUTURISM AND A NEW AFRICA**

Can a community whose past has been deliberately rubbed out, and whose energies have subsequently been consumed by the search for legible traces of its history, imagine possible futures? Furthermore, isn't the unreal estate of the future already owned by the technocrats, futurologists, streamliners, and set designers – white to a man – who have engineered our collective fantasies?”<sup>81</sup>

Africa and its descendants are in a constant struggle, searching for their true selves and a suitable identity amidst their distorted past, miserable present, and uncertain future. In Eshun's view, the imperial racism that has “denied black subjects to belong to the enlightenment project” has necessitated the “urgent need to demonstrate a substantive historical presence. This desire has over determined Black Atlantic intellectuals for several centuries.”<sup>82</sup> Pan-Africanism, Black Consciousness, Black Nationalism, Afropolitanism, and now Afrofuturism are ideological

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<sup>80</sup> Levi M. Obijiofor, “The Future of Africa Lies in Home-grown Solutions.” In *African Voices: African Visions*, edited by Olugbenga Adesida and Arunma Oteh. Stockholm: Nordic African Institute, 2001, 131.

<sup>81</sup> Mark Dery, “Black to the Future: Interviews with Samuel R. Delany, Greg Tate, and Tricia Rose,” *Flame Wars: The Discourse of Cyberculture*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994, 180.

<sup>82</sup> K. Eshun, “Further Considerations on Afrofuturism,” *CR: The New Centennial Review*, 3, 2, (2003): 287-302.



dispensations of true African cultural recovery and re-orientation. These ideologies highlight the need for unity that is evident in their morphological formation, where "Black" and "Afri" are re-occurring lexical signifiers of a common African identification and heritage.

Afrofuturism proposes a subtle shift in the actualization of a unified and advanced Africa, moving away from the cultural and socio-political perspective that is predominant in most Pan-African ideologies and related, African-driven ideologies. Afrofuturism is anchored on the innumerable possibilities that stem from the synergy of African myths and culture merged with science and technology — it redefines Africa within the premises of a modernity that is technoscientifically driven. As a speculative aesthetic, Afrofuturism is characterized by a blend of fantasy, magical realism, history, African beliefs, and science fiction to project the future of black people.

Africa, through Afrofuturism, seeks to rediscover itself by reflecting on its cultural essences and values. If colonialism, westernization, modernism, and other forces of European imperialism condemn African beliefs and norms, Afrofuturism seeks to realign the African existence within the premises of these values. It redefines them, and the re-definition of these values does not suggest a shift in cultural interpretation, but rather a proper framing of these conceptions and what they truly represent by re-orientating the people, especially Africans, with their true essence. Afrofuturism, like Pan-Africanism, advances the definition of Africa on its own terms and essence. The ideology is grounded on an attempt to move forward while looking backward, which would “enable Africa to draw on the lessons of history”<sup>83</sup> to fortify its future.

The origin of Afrofuturism can be traced to Mark Dery’s 1994 interview, “Black to the Future,” of Black writers such as Samuel Delaney, Greg Tate, and Tricia Rose. There, Derry conceives Afrofuturism as a “Speculative fiction that treats African-American themes and

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<sup>83</sup> Obijiofor, “The Future of Africa Lies in Home-grown Solutions,” 132.

addresses African-American concerns in the context of twentieth-century techno-culture—and, more generally, African-American signification that appropriates images of technology and a prosthetically enhanced future—might, for want of a better term, be called Afrofuturism.”<sup>84</sup> Afrofuturism compensates for the under- and ill-representation of African-Americans in science- and technology-driven speculative narratives. It provides a world where African Americans exist as the center of the narrative, presenting a world where Blacks are in control of socio-economic and political activities, subverting their representation as aliens and minorities in Eurocentric science fiction of the twentieth century.

In a similar manner, Alondra Nelson recognizes Afrofuturism as “African American voices with other stories to tell about culture, technology and things to come.”<sup>85</sup> This ideology has its roots beyond the shores of Africa; its immediate propositions are not towards the representation and affairs of ‘Africa(s)’. However, it has Africa at its center — Africa is the root of African-Americans, and their history and ancestry stem from it, no matter how inglorious. On this premise, Anderson and Jones attempt to realign Afrofuturism as an indigenous African ideology. According to them, “the African Diaspora has been institutionally designated the sixth zone of the African Union and similar to early developments of Pan-Africanism starting in the African Diaspora,” hence, “Afrofuturism is now a Pan African project.”<sup>86</sup>

Since its conception in 1994, Afrofuturism as an ideology, movement, and art medium keeps evolving and revolving around Africa, representing different ideologies over the course of time. The initial phase solely addressed the representation of African Americans in speculative

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<sup>84</sup> Dery, “Black to the Future,” 180.

<sup>85</sup> A. Nelson, “Introduction: Futuretexts,” *Social Text*, 20, no.2, (2002): 9.

<sup>86</sup> R. Anderson and C. Jones, “Introduction,” *Afrofuturism 2.0: The Rise of Astro-Blackness*. New York: Lexington Books, 2016: IX.

narratives, attending to the concerns of African Americans. The second phase, commonly regarded as Afrofuturism 2.0, upgrades the original conception and aims to revert and assert that the root of Black existence is Africa. In tandem with this aim, Kodwo Eshun offers the definition of Afrofuturism as “a program for recovering the histories of counter-futures created in a century hostile to Afrodiasporic projection and as a space within which the critical work of manufacturing tools capable of intervention within the current political dispensation may be undertaken.”<sup>87</sup>

Afrofuturism has two root words at its center. ‘Afri’ means Africa, and ‘Futurism’ invokes the conception of Africa in the future. Afrofuturism’s mission as a projection of a desired Black future is impossible without the involvement of Africa and its people. Despite the claim that contemporary Afrofuturism “is moving in the direction of a more applied, theoretical, critical, and transdisciplinary approach in regards to the future of African peoples,”<sup>88</sup> the continent and the people themselves have not embraced and adopted it as a valuable tool to formulate and channel a new course for a better future — despite the fact that Africa is at the center of the ideology. This view has been confirmed by Reynaldo Anderson,<sup>89</sup> the foremost contemporary proponent of Afrofuturism, who has said that Africa has yet to embrace the tenets of the ideology. He suggested that Afrofuturism 3.0 could be launched by Afrocentric creatives<sup>90</sup> projecting a better and more positive African future/image.

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<sup>87</sup> Eshun, “Further Consideration,” 301.

<sup>88</sup> Anderson and Jones, “Introduction,” ix.

<sup>89</sup> *The Black Scholar*, “On Black Panther, Afrofuturism, and Astroblackness: A Conversation with Reynaldo Anderson,” March 13, 2018. <http://www.theblackscholar.org/on-black-panther-afrofuturism-and-astroblackness-a-conversation-with-reynaldo-anderson/> Retrieved January 4, 2019.

<sup>90</sup> What Anderson designates Afrofuturism 3.0 is what they (Anderson and Jones, 2016: X) had earlier referred to as African Afrofuturism within the regional Pan-African wings of Afrofuturism.

Some see Pan-Africanism's overtly Afrocentric nature and approach as a limiting factor, as opposed to Afrofuturism, which aims to unify Blacks through a more global approach. Afrofuturism infuses African cultural and religious roots into mainstream popular culture for wider accessibility and acceptability. This dissemination results in a consciousness known as Astro-Blackness,<sup>91</sup> which "represents the emergence of a black identity framework within emerging global technocultural assemblages, migration, human reproduction, algorithms, digital networks, software platforms, bio-technical augmentation and a reconstitutive of racialized identities that are increasingly materialized vis-à-vis contemporary technological advances."<sup>92</sup> Unification of the Black race, as inherent in the ideology of Afrofuturism, can be achieved by recognizing and propagating African culture, history, and religion as the true definitions of Africa. The numerous possibilities of advancement latent in the utilization of modern art, science, and technology alongside African traditional art, culture, and religion can enhance a genuine African development.

Anderson and Jones<sup>93</sup> highlight five dimensions of contemporary, twenty-first century Afrofuturism, which can be channeled towards the advancement and unification of Africa. The first dimension is the metaphysics capturing the African origin of beings and existence; understanding this indigenous epistemology of existence, true African religions, and spirituality can help foster the sense of nationalism within African states. The second dimension is aesthetics, which is inherent in the various manifestations of culture, such as music, myths, proverbs, literature, art and festivals. These products are, by default, carriers that shape the culture and its

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<sup>91</sup> Beyond Du Bois' notion of double consciousness, Afrofuturists envision the possibility to "access triple consciousness, quadruple consciousness, previously inaccessible alienations." (Eshun, "Further Consideration," 2003). This limitless possibility is what Anderson and Jones (2006) refer to as Astro-Blackness.

<sup>92</sup> Anderson and Jones, "Introduction," Vii-viii.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., X.

people. The theoretical and applied sciences are the third dimension, including areas such as “archaeology, math, physics, chemistry, biology, astronomy; and applied areas such as computer science, architecture, engineering, medicine, and agriculture.” The social sciences, which compose the fourth dimension of the ideology, include disciplines such as “sociology, anthropology, psychology, political science, history.” The fifth dimension of Afrofuturism, the programmatic arena, includes “exhibitions, community organizations, online forums, and specialized salons or labs” where Afrofuturist inventions are presented and advanced. These dimensions establish Afrofuturism as an all-encompassing African re-orientation ideology, “a global aesthetic movement that encompasses art, film, literature, music, and scholarship.”<sup>94</sup>

Afrofuturism has come to represent the totality of attempts at recovering and distilling the African past and projecting its future. In corroboration, Yaszek opines that “Afrofuturism has evolved into a coherent mode not only aesthetically but also in terms of its political mission. In its broadest dimensions Afrofuturism is an extension of the historical recovery projects that black Atlantic intellectuals have engaged in for well over 200 years.”<sup>95</sup> This implies that Afrofuturism as an ideology has been latent in the various African ideological dispensations — although not in its contemporary mode — seeking to understand the African past, improve its present, and envisage its future.

In the present time, the speculative narratives of Nnedi Okorafor, the movie *Black Panther*, and more recently, Tomi Adeyemi’s *Children of Blood and Bones*, have increased the popularity of Afrofuturism and global interest in the neo-representation of Africa. *Black Panther*

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<sup>94</sup> L. Yaszek, "Race in Science Fiction: The Case of Afrofuturism and New Hollywood." *A Virtual Introduction to Science Fiction*. Ed. Lars Schmeink. Web. 2013. <[http://virtualsf.com/?page\\_id=372](http://virtualsf.com/?page_id=372)>. 1.

<sup>95</sup> L. Yaszek, “Afrofuturism, Science Fiction, and the History of the Future,” *Socialism and Democracy*, Vol.20, No.3, (2006): 47.

for example, depicts an advanced African society, Wakanda, that has never been colonized and possesses great scientific and technological innovations. On this premise, Afrofuturism reflects on Africa's past, but more importantly, it looks beyond this tragic past to envisage a better future for Africa, an act of moving forward but looking backward.<sup>96</sup>

As an alternative historical representation of Africa, Afrofuturist Wakanda is suggestive of an African paradise without the tragic interruption of the colonizers. On a metaphoric level, Wakanda's reluctance to apply vibranium and advance its community and the world at large subtly suggests the limitless possibilities inherent in abandoned African culture, religion, magic, and myths when fused with modern-day art, science, and technology. The story of Wakanda suggests that the integration of African culture and religion with science and technology would play a vital role, first in developing Africa, and then in its unification. Science and technology applied through social media and pop culture present an avenue to harness Africa's heterogeneity and create a global multicultural state.

Hence, "Afrofuturism is not just about reclaiming the history of the past, but about reclaiming the history of the future as well."<sup>97</sup> It becomes an intervention that negotiates the African past and future, the traditional and the modern, and the cultural and the scientific. Afrofuturism presents a means to reclaim the African future from "the futures industry"<sup>98</sup> that

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<sup>96</sup> According to Nelson (2002:4), a collective or self-identity is a negotiation between the irreversible past and the unknown future, a "dialectic between defining oneself in light of ties to one's history and experience and being defined from without." A view anchored on the conception that progress can only be ascertained by drawing insights from historical pasts to understand "what was" so as to envisage "What if."

<sup>97</sup> Yaszek, "Afrofuturism, Science Fiction, and the History of the Future," 47.

<sup>98</sup> According to Kodwo Eshun (2003: 290), this "Futures Industry", which embodies science fiction, and "Market Dystopia" are the converging point and predictions of mass media, technoscience and capitalism on the dystopian future of Africa.

depicts it as a space of perpetual calamity and ultimate doom, in the past and in the future. According to Eshun, the future is driven by power and information. These are within the scope of the futurists, and the future belongs to those who can envision it. Information and the possession of power, and all its ramifications, can be envisioned and actualized. The proposed confluence of African culture and religion merged with science and technology makes Afrofuturism an aesthetic expression that delivers a future filled with limitless possibilities.

### **HOW CAN AFRICA UNITE?**

The concept of a united Africa, or pan-Africanism, can be traced back a long way, and efforts to unite the vast continent continue today. The African Union (AU) was formed on 26 May, 2001, intending to replace the Organization of African Unity (OAU), but the union has a long way to go in achieving a united Africa. This section discusses the various reasons why Africa must unite and how it must do so, organized as a series of proposed policies and discussing their benefits and feasibility for achieving a workable, united Africa.

#### *Regionalization*

Global superpowers, including the United States, the European Union, and China, support the concept of a united Africa. However, these powers may not have African interests in mind. They intend to replicate an 'EU-like' union in Africa, which does not consider Africa's history of colonization and political division. Although the goal of African unification may seem daunting and unachievable, individual African states can prioritize unity within their regions of the continent. Substantial economic decisions and growth have been actualized through the African sub-regional economic platforms, like ECOWAS, CEN-SAD, COMESA, and EAC, which provides motivation and indicates the developmental possibilities that are feasible through the

regionalization of Africa. These regional communities, which are not limited to economies alone, can also serve as building blocks for viable regionalization in Africa.

Regional unions are not a new concept. Many regionalization plans have been or are being established across Latin America, Europe, Asia, and North America.<sup>99</sup> These regional unions enjoy benefits from free trade, mutual defense, and strengthened bureaucracy with an end goal of incorporating such regions into a single union. For Africa, the lack of infrastructure and communications between the states make it impractical to try and unite the entire continent at once.<sup>100</sup> The best strategy is for Africa to establish sub-regional government units before uniting all of the regions into one powerful African Union.<sup>101</sup> In the wake of African states' independence, several discourses were held on the need for the continent's regional integration "upon the discovery that the States within the continent are all interwoven into one integrated whole whose collective existence as a whole is the only possible means of regional development of both individual Member State and the continent as a whole."<sup>102</sup>

An illustration of this process is seen in the emerging 'Tripartite Free Trade Area' (TFTA). It unites three regional economic systems in Africa, including the sub-regions known as the 'Southern African Development Community,' the 'East African Community,' and the 'Common

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<sup>99</sup> Alex Newman, "IN AFRICAN UNION, Globalist Agenda Becomes Clear," *New American* (08856540) 31, no. 19 (October 5, 2015): 21–24.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> Eastern Africa, Northern Africa, Southern Africa, Western Africa and Central/Middle Africa are the five African sub-regions according to the United Nations geoscheme for Africa. This existing sub-categorization can be capitalized on to ensure the full fortification and development of each member of the region through regionalization.

<sup>102</sup> Godwyns Ade' Agbude, Ademola Lukman Lawal and Ebikaboere Ovia, "Amilcar Cabral and the Development Paradigms in Africa: Revisiting the Earlier Strategies for the African Union," *Journal of African Union Studies* 4, 1 (2015): 8.



Market for Eastern and Southern Africa’ in a single ‘free trade’ area.<sup>103</sup> The project stretches from Cape Town to Cairo, aiming to eliminate national borders and create a trans-national economic system. The TFTA is also working to join with other sub-regional units and eventually unite the entire continent of Africa.<sup>104</sup>

In some ways, the quest to do away with Africa’s national borders might not be as challenging as attempting the same in Europe or Latin America. Most African countries or ‘nations’ are largely artificial — the borders between states were drawn by Europeans with no regard for the people’s pre-existing ethnic formation. Nigeria alone has more than 250 distinct ethnic groups, many of which had existing geographic borders long before European colonization.<sup>105</sup> Unlike Europeans and Latin Americans, people in Africa have more loyalty to their individual communities than to the nations created by Europeans. Political divisions amongst ethnic groups and internal conflicts within African nations are unlikely to stop any time soon; it might be wise for Africans to create a union of ethnic groups and also of countries.

An alliance of a united Africa would be a burden on some states if other members lag behind or fail to make the necessary efforts to develop themselves. This means first fortifying the national growth of each African state, and then homogenize these actively developing states into peacefully co-existing sub-regions of Africa. Finally, these regions can be gradually integrated into a united Africa. Regionalization is not an end itself, but a vital means to Africa’s successful integration.

### *United Economic Policies*

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

One of the main challenges to African unity is Africa's need to define its own development priorities. For Africa to become truly sustainable, it cannot allow the west to define its process of development. It should not have to rely on international loans and grants putting Africa in debt and at a disadvantage.<sup>106</sup> Africa does not need more aid, it needs to stop enabling those who would rig 'aid' to exploit and profit from Africa. It is the richest continent in natural resources, but it is also the continent with the highest rate of poverty, which is an unfortunate paradox.

...it was revealed that Zimbabwe held one-fourth of the world's diamonds. This may be considered good for Zimbabwe, but what does it mean for Mozambique or Zambia? Why should not Zimbabwe be a rich state within a richer nation? Gabon is statistically one of the world's five richest nations by per capita income when you consider the size of the population and the value of wealth from its oil, but why should Gabon be rich and its neighbors suffer. And why should its own people suffer from poor distribution? Why not have a federal government that manages a continental-wide policy of development?<sup>107</sup>

Regionalization of the continent would drive economic growth that facilitates inter-state commerce and economic activities, strengthening economic growth further in a virtuous cycle. Africa has plenty of resources to support all Africans, if the continent is united, and those resources should be used to meet basic needs — food, clothing, infrastructure, electricity, housing, healthcare, and education.<sup>108</sup> Prosperity and development start with the well-being of the people, not with the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a corrupt few.

To establish the needs of the people as Africa's main economic and social priority, it is necessary to develop an innovative monetary system and a single African currency. This would be

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<sup>106</sup> "Wanted: African Single Currency," *New African*, no. 407 (May 2002): 34.

<sup>107</sup> Molefi Kete Asante, "The Character of Kwame Nkrumah's United Africa Vision," *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 4, 10 (2012): 21.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

part of the economic policy that unarguably helps to foster the development and unification of Africa. It would reduce the burden and value depreciation associated with currency exchange within the continent and internationally. United Africa could create a unified foreign exchange reserve fund, collecting revenue from outside the continent to be fairly distributed trans-nationally to those in need. This system would protect against foreign ‘aid’ that exploits African people for the benefit of a few. A single African currency, on par with the Euro or the dollar, would unify the economies of African nations and be more valuable for international trade.<sup>109</sup>

Divided, Africa is made up of weak economies that have little power in the face of globalization. To rise above a peripheral status, it is vital for all African states to give up their individual sovereignty, joining together as one union with a common economic policy, rather than remaining weak and retaining the competing economic systems of individual states.<sup>110</sup> An organized economic policy would ensure and encourage a productive economic relationship between African states. Such a policy would establish friendly trading agreements between the states, and internationally, which would bolster the economic growth of each state as favorable markets, creating demand for commodities produced within the states.

The replicating effect of such a policy is not limited to the continent. Not only would it help integrate and develop the continent, it would also provide enough economic leverage to negotiate at the international level. Such a policy would encourage the production, consumption and distribution of locally manufactured goods, decreasing import costs and reducing African dependence on internationally produced commodities. These reductions would have positive

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Henry KamKah, “‘Africa Must Unite:’ Vindicating Kwame Nkrumah and Uniting Africa Against Global Destruction,” *Journal of Pan African Studies* 4, no. 10 (2012): 26–41.

effects on an African currency's exchange rate in international markets. Only in this way can Africa confront the superpowers of the EU, US, and China in the global economy.

Some sub-regional regimes in Africa are in the process of establishing or have already established components of a trans-national union like the EU. The East African Community (EAC), which was created in 2001, is a pan-national confederation consisting of Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, South Sudan, and Burundi. The EAC has a single currency, a common language (Kiswahili), and several shared initiatives, including education, technology, and tourism.<sup>111</sup> The confederation encourages regional pooling of resources and free trade amongst the six countries. In 2010, the EAC established a common market within the region for shared goods, labor, and capital. In the fall of 2018, a committee was formed within the EAC to begin drafting a regional constitution.<sup>112</sup>

The EAC was created as a precursor to the establishment of the East African Federation, a proposal to unite the six countries into a single sovereign state. Such a model can be used as an example for other regional African regimes seeking trans-national economic development, resource management, and good governance. If the other regions created trade blocs and shared markets similar to those of the EAC, it would be easier to unite the whole African continent.<sup>113</sup>

### *Leadership in the African Union and Pan-African Parliament*

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<sup>111</sup> Baruti Katembo, "Pan Africanism and Development: The East African Community Model," *Journal of Pan African Studies* 2, no. 4 (2008): 107–16.

<sup>112</sup> Moses Havyarimana, "Ready for a United States of East Africa?" *The East African*, September 30, 2018. Accessed February 05, 2019. <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/ea/Dream-of-a-United-States-of-East-Africa/4552908-4783896-g1b164/index.html>.

<sup>113</sup> Baruti Katembo, "Pan Africanism and Development: The East African Community Model," *Journal of Pan African Studies* 2, no. 4 (May 2008): 107–16.

Many African leaders believe that the problems of Africa can be solved by outsiders. They want to rely on the West, a.k.a. their former colonial masters, for solutions instead of coming up with their own plans to solve problems.<sup>114</sup> As long as African leaders act in this manner, the African continent will remain corrupt, poor, underdeveloped, divided, and exploited. To make African unity into a reality, the institutions working towards pan-Africanism should be made up of elected leaders who believe in it and have the power to make it happen. Currently, the so-called Pan-African Parliament is no such institution.

The Pan-African Parliament (PAP) was established in 2004 by the African Union, made up of 250 members representing 50 member states of the AU (5 members for each state). It has a president and four vice presidents, representing five sub-regions of Africa.<sup>115</sup> Instead of a truly democratic parliament, the PAP members are not directly elected; the parliament has no binding legislative powers. It's problematic and bothersome that the PAP lacks any sort of meaningful power, questioning its own legitimacy and purpose. It seems meaningless for the everyday people of Africa to want trans-national unity if they cannot directly elect those who would lead the process and if they cannot give those representatives the power to actually work towards it. If the leaders are not elected, they have no obligation to meet the demands of their people and no reason to be in positions of power.<sup>116</sup>

Recent allegations of corruption and wasteful expenditure by the PAP have had serious consequences; bad publicity could damage PAP attempts to gain more meaningful legislative

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<sup>114</sup> Henry KamKah, "'Africa Must Unite:' Vindicating Kwame Nkrumah and Uniting Africa Against Global Destruction," *Journal of Pan African Studies* 4, no. 10 (January 15, 2012): 26–41.

<sup>115</sup> B. Fagbayibo, "Why the Pan-African Parliament must clean up its act if it wants to survive," *News24.com*. 26 May 2018. <https://www.news24.com/Africa/News/why-the-pan-african-parliament-must-clean-up-its-act-if-it-wants-to-survive-20180526>

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

power. It is imperative that the AU take responsibility for the PAP's actions and investigate any corruption among PAP members and leaders. Better yet, the PAP should be reformed so that its members are directly chosen by the people and given the power to work towards uniting Africa into a single union.

#### *A Transformed Pan-African Educational Policy*

Statistics continuously show that Africa has the largest number of states with the lowest literacy rates in the world — Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest illiteracy rate in the world.<sup>117</sup> The development of each African state and sub-region depends on education of the people, equipping and empowering them with the tools and ideologies to make the necessary contributions, economic and otherwise, to develop their society. Education has been established as a global measure of development, and the lack of education contributes to increasing poverty rates in the continent. A united Africa is unlikely with the present rates of illiteracy; education must be more accessible for the larger African population.

Instead of the flawed Western educational system, Africa should adopt an educational policy as a continent that attends to its immediate and future needs. This educational policy would draw from its existing corpus of knowledge and skill transmission, it would embrace African ideological aspirations, it would be accessible to young and old alike, it would not discriminate between rich and poor, and it would be an education policy that transcends the basic acquisition of ideologies and the ability to read and write. A reformed, Africanized educational system is

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<sup>117</sup> Statista, "The Illiteracy rates among all adults (over 15-year-olds) in 2016, by world region," Accessed February 11, 2019. <http://www.statista.com/statistics/262886/Illiteracy-rates-by-world-regions/>

needed, built on the true definition of Africanism. The failure of present educational policies to do so is what Jagusah refers to as a “little regard for pre-colonial African educative processes.”<sup>118</sup>

The educational system and policies in most African states are imitations or extensions of systems put in place by the colonialists — those systems were not based on African knowledge and skill acquisition, but on the advancement of neo-colonialism. Before the intrusion of colonialism, Africa had always been a cradle of knowledge. Colonialism derailed the African educational system, and “the colonial education project was to ensure that African natives should be as much as possible unaware of the developments within their own environment.”<sup>119</sup> The Western educational system, as it is practiced in most African states, is a covert tool of imperialism that ensures the continued subjugation of the African people.

The African educational system should be reformed, established on existing African cultural epistemologies that are present in each African state. The continent is a multicultural society, and cultural epistemologies are informed by the need to nurture “the child’s physical skill, character, intellectual skills and sense of belonging to the community as well as inculcating respect for elders, and giving specific vocational training and the understanding and appreciation of the community’s cultural heritage.”<sup>120</sup> A reformation would expose and afford the African people an understanding of the values embedded in their culture, collective history, and spirituality, which are the summation of their past, present, and future existence. It would create the sense of belonging and awareness necessary for the unification of Africa.

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<sup>118</sup> Olivet I. W. Jagusah, “Educational policy in Africa and the issue(s) of context: The case of Nigeria and South Africa,” *International Education Journal* 2, 5, (2001): 117.

<sup>119</sup> Roland N. Ndille, “Educational Transformation in Post-Independence Africa: A Historical Assessment of the Africanization Project,” *Preprints*, 2, 2018, doi:10.20944/preprints201808.0062.v1.

<sup>120</sup> Hauwa Imam, “Educational Policy in Nigeria from the Colonial Era to the Post-Independence Period,” *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education* 1, 2012: 182.

At all levels, the educational curricula must include cultural, historical, and linguistic studies of Africa through the existing plethora of pan-African ideologies, introducing students to the true beauty and definition of Africa, “For Africa to be for Africans, pan-Africanism should be a lived experience, not an ideological project for political rhetoric.”<sup>121</sup> The seemingly deliberate neo-colonial effort to obliterate the linkage between the African people and their heritage has meant the displacement of African languages, literature, history, religions and cultures in African schools. These essentialities are regarded as non-obligatory, at best. The educational system should also be reformed to equip skilled and unskilled professionals; education in its broadest conception is the preparation for life.

The African educational system must equip African people with the skills and knowledge necessary to address the immediate challenges facing various African states while bearing future challenges in mind. The immediate challenges bedeviling the continent must be identified, along with those that could occur in the near future. Then people must be equipped with the practical skills and knowledge to overcome them, instead of the undue emphasis currently placed on the acquisition of theoretical knowledge. The nations that African educational systems imitate are encountering difficulties that are quite different from the African challenges. These other nations developed their educational systems practically, catering to their own needs and challenges, based on their cultural methods of knowledge acquisition. African nations, at large, are “grossly underdeveloped because the educational system at all levels is not equipping beneficiaries with the needed skills necessary for national development.”<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Mashupye Herbert Maserumule, “Sobukwe’s pan-Africanist dream: an elusive idea that refuses to die,” February 16, 2016. *The Conversation* <https://theconversation.com/sebukwes-pan-africanist-dream-an-elusive-idea-that-refuses-to-die-52601/>.

<sup>122</sup> Hauwa Imam, “Educational Policy in Nigeria from the Colonial Era to the Post-Independence Period,” *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education* 1, 2012: 194.



It is vital to shape African educational policies to resolve the needs and challenges specific to the continent, not just to imitate policies adopted by other nations. A reformed African educational system would nurture the sense of belonging necessary to integrate the continent, and it would address the immediate and future challenges specific to the continent, ensuring the development of a united Africa.

#### *African Languages, Cultural and Literary Exchange Programs*

Several languages have been proposed as the continent's *lingua franca*, especially Kiswahili, which is the most spoken language in Africa — it is already popularly adopted as the *lingua-franca* of East African nations. However, gradual integration through regionalization also applies to the adoption of a common language. To shatter the shackles of linguistic imperialism, it would be more feasible to first adopt common languages within sub-regions of the continent, just as the East African nations have done. Those selected common languages could be adopted as the continent's *lingua franca*.

The common languages adopted within sub-regions of the continent should also be adopted as official languages for their member states. Only English, French, Portuguese, and Arabic are currently recognized as official languages in most African countries, and they are all non-African languages; they do not represent the African past. The multicultural and multilingual nature of Africa is not an impediment towards the unification of the continent. Instead, it has “given the African a broader cultural understanding and enriched him culturally and made him a tolerant and amiable personality”<sup>123</sup> which is an essential trait for acquiring and sustaining the integration of Africa.

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<sup>123</sup> Abdulaziz Y. Lodhi, “The Language Situation in Africa Today.” *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 2(1) 1993: 80.

The adoption of a common language not only bridges the communication challenge posed by the presence of several languages within the continent, it also fosters unity and the nationalist sense of belonging that is needed for the successful integration of the continent. “Peace is a prerequisite for growth and prosperity, and in the African context, peace may be maintained only through some degree of national integration achieved by a reasonable amount of linguistic homogenisation.”<sup>124</sup> Language defines an individual’s consciousness and conception of the world. To understand and speak in a language is to understand the world-culture that formed it and which it seeks to express in turn. To speak an African language is to understand the African worldview. This understanding and awareness is what Nkrumah referred to as “conscientism,”<sup>125</sup> which in Kanu’s view “would synthesis[e] a harmonious whole out of the otherwise conflicting cultures in Africa.”<sup>126</sup>

The exchange of indigenous African languages and cultures should be encouraged. African literature has also proven to be a viable carrier of the African culture and language. Foreign languages, like Mandarin, Spanish, German, Portuguese, French, and others, are increasingly being adopted and circulated in the continent, especially by elites using them as second languages. These languages and their cultures are being introduced to secondary school students and institutes in various African tertiary institutions, “This simple linguistic act alone cuts these young ones off from a wealth of cultural capital needed for all contextual, personal and societal development.”<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Abdulaziz Y. Lodhi, “The Language Situation in Africa Today,” *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 2(1) 1993: 82.

<sup>125</sup> Kwame Nkrumah, *Conscientism*. London: Heinemann, 1964.

<sup>126</sup> Ikechukwu Anthony Kanu, “Nkrumah and the Quest for African Unity,” *American International Journal of Contemporary Research* 3, 6, 2013: 112.

<sup>127</sup> Olivet I. W. Jagusah, “Educational policy in Africa and the issue(s) of context: The case of Nigeria and South Africa,” *International Education Journal* 2, 5, (2001): 120.

African languages and cultures, in their multitude, should be acquired by Africans as second languages for educational, governmental, economic, and communication purposes. Swahili, Wolof, Amharic, Hausa, Yoruba, and countless others are examples of well-spoken languages both in the continent and beyond, and they can be adopted as second languages, regional languages, and official languages.

We know that adopting African languages as official languages and second languages would help unify the worldviews represented by these languages, enhancing the speakers' understanding of them. The exchange of African languages and African literature means understanding the multiple cultures present in the continent, helping to actuate the integration of Africa. More effort is spent cultivating the cultures of international states in African committees than is spent cultivating indigenous cultures within many African states, by international bodies and Africans alike.

Aside from the consequences of colonialism, Africans consider African languages and cultures inferior to non-African languages and cultures, which is a case of alienation and xenophilia. A Yoruba person, most likely, would be more interested in understanding Mandarin and the Chinese culture than he would be in learning about Igbo language and culture. There is a need to develop linguistic and cultural centers and institutions to promote and encourage African cultures and languages. Attempts are gradually being made to highlight literature produced in the continent through various activities, especially literary festivals. A substantial amount of success has already been recorded by literary festivals such as the yearly Ake Book and Literary Festivals in Nigeria, which is curated by Lola Shoneyin, creating the necessary awareness and discussions about developing issues in Africa, her culture, and general existence, especially as projected in literary narratives.

These literary-cum-cultural exchange activities not only help integrate the continent, they also place it on a global stage, generating income and encouraging Africans and non-Africans to

visit the host country. Major cultural festivals took place in different African countries after independence, celebrating pan-African influence and effect. Malaquais and Vincent commented that “At these gatherings, conferences were given and discussions and publications ensued, concerning the place of African languages, literatures, and art forms in the construction of new, independent, and forward-looking societies across the continent and diaspora.”<sup>128</sup> These gatherings create important moments for elaborate discussions of collective African visions.

The occurrence and reach of such literary and cultural exchange activities must be intensified throughout the continent, creating equal opportunities for the literary exploration of every African state. More importantly, these literary activities should support works in African languages as well as ideas that promote African cultures. Policies should encourage the exchange of literature, indigenous languages, and cultures among the African states because they define our essence, past, and worldview. Most average “Westerners” erroneously think that Africa is a country, but the internal exchange of African cultures and languages would help transform Africa into a united multicultural state.

### *The Promotion of Pan-African Sport & Entertainment Activities*

Sports have the power to inspire—and it has the power to unite people in way that little else does...sports can create hope where once there was only despair. It is more powerful than government in breaking racial barriers – Nelson Mandela.

Unlike American and European athletes, who benefit from policies promoting their activities, African athletes and entertainers are self-made. They must overcome numerous challenges with little or no support from their state governments. The potential of sports and entertainment have been overlooked for years, resulting in little support. Nevertheless, these professionals have proven

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<sup>128</sup> Dominique Malaquais and Cedric Vincent. “Entangled Panafrica: Four Festivals and an Archive,” May 2018. *Mezosfera* <http://mezosfera.org/entangled-panafrica/>

their ability to enhance the continent's image and foster relationships between African states and internal bodies/states. In its *Policy Framework for the Sustainable Development of Sport in Africa* (2008-2018), the African Union conference of sports ministers reiterated that "Sport has the capacity to develop the physical, intellectual, social and moral dimensions of life for all the continent's citizens and it has over time been a conduit for communication between nations and people and an instrument that brings down barriers and safeguards peace. Beyond its physical and health dimensions, sport contributes to comprehensive and harmonious development and fulfillment of the human being."<sup>129</sup>

It is urgent to support the development of other sports activities in the continent besides soccer, which itself is still at a developmental stage and struggling with challenges. Other athletic activities lack support, despite the availability of many passionate and skilled athletes who remain largely undiscovered, due to the "lack of proper network for talent identification and development."<sup>130</sup> These other activities are too numerous to be counted, but their adequate funding would bolster the spirit of one Africa, and "The importance of sports has not been sufficiently appreciated by African governments for it to be integrated into their national development plans. There is no doubt that sports could play a critical role in attaining peace, development and stability."<sup>131</sup> Sports is regarded as a major economic sector in Europe and America. It contributes

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<sup>129</sup> "Policy Framework for the Sustainable Development of Sport in Africa (2008-2018)." *Second Session of the African Union Conference of Ministers of Sport* October 10 – 14, 2008: 8. Accra, Ghana.

<sup>130</sup> Lilian Onyinyechi Uche, "Sports and Entertainment: Niches or Fabrics of Attaining the African Dream?" 10.

<sup>131</sup> John O. Kakonge, "Sports in Africa: An untapped resource for development." *Pambazuka News* May 12, 2016. <https://www.pambazuka.org/global-south/sports-africa-untapped-resource-development/>

3.7% of the EU GDP and provides employment for over 20 million people in Europe.<sup>132</sup> With the presence of a larger, more resourceful youth population, athletics hold more potential for Africa.

Investment in a continental sports policy would be a valuable tool for eradicating poverty and uniting the continent. However, the promotion of sport activities should not be limited to the known western ones. It must include indigenous African sports activities, which should also be developed and given the necessary support to promote the African image, its culture, and its contribution to the world of sports. Underdevelopment of sports in Africa has been linked to the inability to implement practical and realistic sports policies in independent African states, as in the finding of Keim and Coning on sports and development in Africa,<sup>133</sup> which is a challenge that can be overcome by a unified Africa with a collective, supportive system for African sports.

The entertainment industry is a proven method of integration, economic development, and cultural promotion. African entertainers from past and present, especially in music and films, contribute immensely to reshaping the African image; they are perhaps the foremost enablers of African unity. Thanks to the progressive growth of pop culture in Africa, which is steeped in transculturalism and multiculturalism, the entertainment industry has been active uniting the cultural disparity dispensed by multi-ethnicity in Africa. Borders and barriers, locally and internationally, are being annihilated as the impetus develops for the integration of the continent. Movies produced in Ghana are embraced in South Africa, Nigerian musicians are given a warm reception in Kenya, and the continent's stand-up comedians perform sold-out shows to audiences around the world. These first carriers shape the African image as agents of unification.

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<sup>132</sup> Lilian Onyinyechi Uche, "Sports and Entertainment: Niches or Fabrics of Attaining the African Dream?" 5.

<sup>133</sup> M. Keim and C. de Coning, eds., *Sports and Development in Africa: Results of a Collaborative Study of Selected Country Cases*. Cape Town: Interdisciplinary Centre of Excellence for Sports Science and Development (ICESSD), University of Western Cape, 2014.

These activities can harness the enormous support and nationalist spirit shown by Africans for their representative teams and athletes in continental and international tournaments.<sup>134</sup> A sense of solidarity has always been present in world tournaments, where citizens of African states cheer for their sister states, demonstrating a collective wish to triumph and a shared sense of belonging. “By and large, integration of sports into the mainstream national development agenda will be essential and the first step to developing the sports industry, enabling it to serve as a catalyst for increased productivity and performance to improve the living standards of the African people.”<sup>135</sup> Besides the economic, sociocultural, health, environmental, infrastructural, educational, and ethical potential of sports and entertainment, these activities exude a spirit of oneness and solidarity among the people. With more opportunities to do so, a united Africa is possible.

#### *A Reformed Unified Political and Military System*

Since the colonial period, the political system of governance and leadership in African states has not been based on solid humanitarian ideologies. Instead, we see nepotism, godfatherism, populism, dictatorships, and other evils. The African political system must be positioned on well-grounded ideologies to ensure the continent’s development. The vision of an integrated Africa requires a unified African political system to ensure stability of governance and the sustenance of the collective African visions. This system would guarantee the necessary accountability to prevent the deterioration of the established visions and ideologies that guide it.

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<sup>134</sup> Likewise, the same amount of support, if not more, is given to Africans representing non-African countries/teams at the international level. The numerous African soccer players that excel in European and Spanish soccer leagues while receiving massive support from fans at home are examples of African solidarity.

<sup>135</sup> John O. Kakonge, “Sports in Africa: An untapped resource for development,” *Pambazuka News* May 12, 2016. <https://www.pambazuka.org/global-south/sports-africa-untapped-resource-development/>

This view is shared by Musewe in his thoughts on resuscitating pan-Africanism. According to him: “the destiny of Africans is solely dependent on the emergence of new political forces within Africa. We must see the emergence of a new generation of African leaders that focus on local development. We need to see the establishment of new accountable political institutions within countries and a new narrative of self-sufficiency and sustainable development.”<sup>136</sup> A vital part of Nkrumah’s objectives towards the attainment of a true pan-African society, as expressed in *Africa Must Unite*,<sup>137</sup> is the establishment of a cohesive African political party with a centralized structure that would serve as a combined political force to combat colonialism and division, attaining true liberation. “For in practice, such a unity requires a common political basis for economic planning, defense, foreign and diplomatic relations.”<sup>138</sup> Cohesive African political party: not named!

The establishment of a unified military system would create an exchange of military expertise and resources across the continent, providing comprehensive training across a variety of terrain using the modern equipment necessary to discharge duties and create a formidable military strength. This unification would ensure a central intelligence system, affording secure sharing of intelligence amongst African states and internationally to address threats to the safety of member states or the continent collectively. Existing military practices and policies in independent African states are weak, needing both continental and regional reinforcement. The continent is reputed to be one of the largest regions of “military and security companies operations in the world” yet

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<sup>136</sup> Vince Musewe, “Pan Africanism is dead.” September 20, 2014. *The Zimbabwean* <https://thezimbabwean.co/2014/08/pan-africanism-is-dead/>

<sup>137</sup> Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*. London: Oanaf, 1963.

<sup>138</sup> Ikechukwu Anthony Kanu, “Nkrumah and the Quest for African Unity.” *American International Journal of Contemporary Research* 3, 6, 2013: 114.



without a “regional convention or policy on their regulation.”<sup>139</sup> To date, OAU-AU has recorded a number of victories, including mediation in border disputes between African states; the provision of financial support for movements trying to defeat Portuguese colonialism in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique; opposition to white minority rule in South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia; and participation in several U.N. peacekeeping operations.<sup>140</sup>

Immense possibilities are latent in the unification of Africa and the creation of a unified African military force. Most African states face security challenges due to insufficient funds allocated to their security and defense ministries, suggesting that many African states are unable to maintain a robust defense system and guarantee their people’s safety. It would help to shift the focus from state security to human security, which is a “concept that identifies the security of human lives as the central objective of national and international security policy.”<sup>141</sup> The concept of global security has recently broadened beyond the scope of territory defense to include economic, political, environmental, and sociocultural security, although African military systems and leaders are “typically are much more interested in securing regimes than societies at large.”<sup>142</sup>

A unified African military would not only ensure internal security within the continent, it would also provide a cavalry to secure the continent against external threats. African states share common security threats that have been described as extremely problematic, complex, and

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<sup>139</sup> Tshepo T. Gwatiwa, “Private Military and Security Companies Policy in Africa: Regional Policy Stasis as Agency in International Politics,” *Scientia Militaria, South African Journal of Military Studies* 44, 2, (2016): 68.

<sup>140</sup> Ezedikachi Eze-Michael, “The Roles of African Union Vis-À-Vis Human Security in Africa,” *International Affairs and Global Strategy* 50, 2016: 29.

<sup>141</sup> Ezedikachi Eze-Michael, “The Roles of African Union Vis-À-Vis Human Security in Africa,” *International Affairs and Global Strategy* 50, 2016: 27.

<sup>142</sup> Daniel W. Henk and Martin Revayi Rupiy, *Funding Defense: Challenges of Buying Military Capability in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2001, 1.

challenging, which can only be resolved through a military alliance capable of responding and available to provide intelligence. It would intervene and resolve conflicts within or between the states, unlike foreign forces that withdraw when such conflicts pose no threat their own interests. These shortcomings informed Cabral's view that "We cannot for a moment think of liberating our land, of building peace and progress in our land, by bringing in foreigners from outside to come and struggle for us."<sup>143</sup> Terrorism and other menaces experienced in various African states stem from the illegal and unregulated provision of weapons from the West, whose intent is to "stampede any effort towards reconciliation and peace as requisite for economic development"<sup>144</sup> in Africa. A unified military system would help to guarantee the maximum level of security attainable for the continent, especially in states with weaker security and those facing challenging threats.

A continental military system would be open to public scrutiny and accountability in their operation and financing. It has been noted that "no one really knows what many African countries spend on defense, including senior officials of the countries themselves. Calculating the amounts spent on the nonmilitary services—particularly the intelligence service[s]—is even more problematic."<sup>145</sup> Conflicts in various African regions are abused by despicable African military and political leaders as opportunities for profiteering and misappropriating funds. For this same reason, they have been reluctant to advance the agenda of African unification. An alliance would boost the military strength, integrity, and confidence of the continent, and it would also reduce

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<sup>143</sup> Amilcar Cabral, *Unity and Struggle* (London: Heinemann, 1980), 76.

<sup>144</sup> Ahmadu Ibrahim, "African Union and the Challenges of Underdevelopment in Contemporary Africa," *British Journal of Education, Society & Behavioural Science* 14, 4, (2016): 8.

<sup>145</sup> Daniel W. Henk and Martin Revayi Rupi, *Funding Defense: Challenges of Buying Military Capability in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2001), 6.

dependence on foreign intervention to resolve security challenges, which limits foreign opportunities to intervene in the governance and economies of Africa.

*The Exploration of a synergized Science and Technology with the African Culture*

We could will development to happen, asking juju to supply electricity here and water there. The charm that glued the uniform of a police officer to his body could also be deployed to produce water in pipes as well as electricity from trees.<sup>146</sup>

Not quite so, but there are immense possibilities inherent in African culture, tradition, and spirituality. Equally limitless potential for unifying Africa rests within science and technology. It's saddening that Africa is stuck in its tragic moment of the past — between its lost paradise and its awaiting future — embracing neither its culture and spirituality nor the possibilities of science and technology. The first is from self-hatred and inferiority complexes, and the latter is what Apusigah describes as “an aversion to modernity and insane fear of breaking from African traditions and the destruction of our cultural heritage.”<sup>147</sup> But development and unification in Africa will remain a mirage without exploring the huge possibilities of science and technology.<sup>148</sup> The success of advanced nations is marked by their continuous technological improvement and scientific discoveries.

In the integration of Africa, it is no doubt that “our past traditions should serve as strong basis for integration and regionalism. Tradition became the basis for progress toward

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<sup>146</sup> Toyin Falola, *A Mouth Sweeter than Salt* (Ibadan: Bookcraft, 2008), 253.

<sup>147</sup> A. Atia Apusiga, “Forging African unity in a Globalizing World: A Postcolonial Challenge.” *Congresso Ibérico De Estudos Africanos* 38: 10, 2010.

<sup>148</sup> Bolanle A. Olaniran, “Africa in the 21st Century: A Case for Innovative Use of Technology,” In *African Voices: African Visions*, edited by Olugbenga Adesida and Arunma Oteh. Stocholm: Nordic African Institute, 2001, 147.

modernity.”<sup>149</sup> Modernity is forged by the continuous negotiation between culture and tradition and science and technology. More power is immersed in the African culture, tradition, and spirituality than we can conceive; their fusion with science and technology could achieve unimaginable growth. The synergy of these variables is required to drive Africa into modernity and unification, while the need to make the African culture and tradition accessible and available within the premise of modernity is required for their survival.

Contrary to the popular Eurocentric perception that Africa is a "dark continent" with little or no techno-scientific innovation and development, a more accurate assessment recognizes that the progress of science and technology in Africa was interrupted and distorted by Western intrusion. Africans were enslaved in the Americas to work on plantations not only because of their physical strength and immunity to disease, but also because their advanced agricultural practices and expertise were superior to that of their enslavers.

African culture and tradition are a means to awaken the people’s consciousness to their descent and heritage as Africans, and technology is a viable tool for exploring this heritage in the face of modernism. Ongoing projects are codifying the Ifa divination system to make it more accessible to African people around the world,<sup>150</sup> and there are attempts at making smart devices, search engines, and programming instructions available in indigenous African languages. These efforts to Africanize technological innovations are what Obijiofor describes when noting that the provision of “A technology that meshes well with local cultural practices has a greater probability of being accepted.”<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> A. Atia Apusiga, “Forging African Unity in a Globalizing World: A Postcolonial Challenge,” *Congresso Ibérico De Estudos Africanos* 38: 7, 2010.

<sup>150</sup> See <https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=IQb3CB0MUrs>.

<sup>151</sup> Obijiofor, “The Future of Africa Lies in Home-grown Solutions,” 144.

The African economy is largely dependent on agriculture, oil, and other natural resources, which require technological advances to fully harness their economic potential. This means the distribution of technology to ease and increase agricultural production, processes, and distribution across the continent, accomplished through an affordable, modern-day, technology-driven transportation system that cuts across the continent. This means the enhancement of the Africanized educational system by using technological tools. This means the availability of a supportive healthcare system that uses advanced medical technologies. This means technology innovation from Africans to expedite development and attend to immediate societal needs specific to Africa. All these are dimensions of Afrofuturism, which we discussed earlier, and they are essential for Africa's development and unification. Innovative science and technology provide virtually all the solutions to challenges threatening the survival of African states.

## **Conclusion**

Africa's unification requires a constant, collective intellectual envisioning channeled towards Africa's greater development. Vision is a futuristic outcome, anticipated from pursuing a set of guiding policies over a set period of time. The efficient governance of people and development of society typically involves three groups of people: the leaders, the fighters, and the thinkers. The leaders perform the duty of governing society, at the executive and judiciary levels; the fighters protect lives and properties, ensuring peace and safety in society by working in the military, the police, and other paramilitary forces; and the thinkers are the visionaries who must visualize feasible societal growth and development, both in the present and in the future, to be pursued by the leaders.

Some analysts suggest that there is an identity crisis marked by lack of self-knowledge, self-appreciation, and the commonality of the experience for Africans, regardless of their location in the world. We tend to differentiate ourselves along artificial borders constructed by the

colonialists, such as Nigerians or South Africans. However, scholars and activists have argued that none of these states can survive on its own.

Self-hate and xenophobia are seen as manifestations of this identity crisis. Although Africans welcome people of other races, some say that Africans hate themselves and promote the differences of ethnicity instead of similarities that drive the integrative power of continentalism. Self-hatred and ethnic rivalries are borne out of the need to escape the tyranny of poverty, encouraging the betrayal of trust, selling collective interests to foreign buyers, and suppressing voices of dissent. The visionaries must develop strategies to counter divisive forces. Visionaries will understand the past, review the lineage of liberation literature,<sup>152</sup> and generate ideas that transform the future.

These visualizations are not merely wished or willed into manifestation — the thinkers must strategize intricate plans to ensure the manifestation of such visions. There is an abundance of thinkers in Africa, but the missing element is a collective vision that can unite Africa and that can fuel its development as a collective society. Ensuring the unification of Africa requires a belief in the collective vision of a united Africa. We must envision a better Africa by developing practical intellectual strategies to ameliorate African challenges and constraints, from the continental level to the sub-regional level and for individual states. A shared intellectual vision and strategy would guarantee the solid integration of Africa, collectively tackling the challenges of each state and adopting a uniform developmental strategy ensuring equal growth.

The unification of Africa, as envisioned by countless visionaries — from W.E.B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey to Kwame Nkrumah, Joseph Casely-Harford, Muammar al Qathafi, and the

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<sup>152</sup> See the hundreds of voices of liberation captured in J. A. Langley, *Ideologies of Liberation in Black Africa, 1856-1970: Documents on Modern Africa Political Thought from Colonial Times to the Present* (London: Rex Collins, 1979).

contemporary, vibrant Julius Malema in South Africa — is the path to a greater African future. In line with Pan Africanism’s objectives, constant and collective African intellectual visions will guide, fortify, and revitalize the common goal of African development and unification. A collective intellectual vision is an ideological position for African advancement that reiterates a unified African future.

The policies that I have identified are up for exploration and further development; their prompt implementation will be most expedient, continually aligning them with the true ideologies of pan-Africanism. This will achieve a united and well-developed Africa in the interests of the people: our poor, struggling masses. The concept of African unity is not a far-fetched vision. It pre-dates pan-Africanism and all related ideologies. Unity in Africa is embraced by the cultural ethic of collectivism, *ubuntu*.

Africa’s unification means a strengthened voice opposing the continuous domination of the continent by former colonialists and neo-colonialists; the unification of Africa would ensure the stability of the continent and our people through unified political, military, economic and sociocultural policies. Pan-Africanism is grounded in radical politics in words, actions and activities,<sup>153</sup> which means that we cannot ignore the need to protest.<sup>154</sup> The vision of African unity

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<sup>153</sup> See, for instance, S. K. B. Asante, *Pan-African Protest: West Africa and the Italo-Ethiopia Crisis, 1934-1941* (London: Longman, 1977); and E. L. Do Nascimento, *Pan-Africanism and South America: Emergence of a Black Rebellion* (Buffalo, NY: Afrodiaspora, 1980).

<sup>154</sup> C. L. R. James, *A History of Pan-African Revolt* (Washington DC: Drum and Spear Press, 1969); T. Abdul-Raheem, *Speaking Truth to Power: Selected Pan-African Postcards* (Oxford: Pambazuka Press, 2010); J. Genser and I. Cotler, eds., *The Responsibility to Protest: The Promise of Stopping Mass Atrocities in Our Time* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); and R. Y. Williams, *Concrete Demands: The Search for Black Power in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

is predicated on the long-established radical intellectual tradition of African thought liberation,<sup>155</sup> which was connected with socialism, and even communism, during certain periods.<sup>156</sup> We must not only revive this intellectual tradition, but we must continually renew it, spreading it to the next generation.

Stability, security, and true independence can only be achieved through a unified Africa. As in the philosophical conception of Cabral,<sup>157</sup> Africa is an assemblage of closely related realities that cannot meaningfully exist in isolation, but as co-existing integrated realities. The unification of Africa has long transcended the ideological state of a shared desire. It is a crucial requirement for the economic, political, and sociocultural survival of all Africans struggling against the hydra heads of imperialism, underdevelopment, and globalization that continually subjugate Africa. We must unite the people to unite the continent — a united space must generate collective sharing, in the best tradition of building communities, and the promotion of grassroots values. Africa and Africans must forever exclude themselves from any index or dictionary of xenophobia.

Thank you.

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<sup>155</sup> See, for instance, Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem, ed., *Pan-Africanism: Politics, Economy and Social Change in the Twenty First Century* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1996).

<sup>156</sup> See, for instance, H. Adi, *Pan-Africanism and Communism: The Communist International, Africa and the Diaspora since 1787* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2013).

<sup>157</sup> Amilcar Cabral, *Unity and Struggle*. London: Heinemann, 1980.