

Chapter One

General Presentation

1.1 Introduction

After years of slavery and exploitation, Africa emerged from the hands of colonialism devastated with no strong institutions that reflected the cultural and social values of the people but a flag, an anthem and a motto. With colonial memories, the immediate need was perceived to locate in setting the continent free, getting it united and creating room for new relations with the rest of the world. The major challenge was however not whether to do it but how best to achieve it. This was assisted by the lack of a common African language, the ongoing apartheid system in South Africa, the apparent presence of neo-colonialism through the economic fabric, lack of technology, covert support to pro-Western dictators and the imposition of puppets against nationalists where possible. The newly enforced tool to perpetrate divisive practices seems to be covert imposition from behind the scenes through the masses to call for democratic reforms, women (or sometimes human) rights, regime change in order to invade sovereign states and bring down nationalist regimes, in a way that is defined by the invaders to shield hidden intentions from both domestic and the international masses.

On a reflective note, Africa successfully navigated through socio-economic and political crises of the bi-polar world as a non-aligned block and playing a key role in the fall of apartheid. But two decades after the end of the cold war, pan-Africanism remains shallow as the gap widens. Rather uni-polarity has led to super power rivalry and an overt gradual return to realism is apparent even though distances have been narrowed by a global economy and technological innovations. With the proliferation of nuclear weapons and US military bases around the world, terrorism, the quest for a new world order, endless conflicts, increased threats of wars and rumors of wars, uncertainty looms in the backyard and a world void of *ubuntu* seems to be heading to an imminent doom if there is no change in thinking, talking and acting.

Besides, three years away from the deadline of 2015 for the UN millennium development goals, the world falls short of effort, will and commitment as more attention seems to be focused on fighting new wars, even as the global economies are breaking down and the environment presents new challenges. This further exposes the dual nature of man and human existence

between God and Satan, Good and Evil, the ten commandments of Moses and the seven deadly sins, divine wisdom and human intelligence because the way and manner people respond to mistakes has been noticed to often leading to greater mistakes than the initial mistakes.

In this respect, the fundamentally moral, economic progress and political stability of the world could be termed as depending on the correction of rational thinking and affirmative action to heal the wounds of the past and provide a transparent platform on which to cooperate and operate as partners who seek to undermine global differences for the sake of global peace on which humankind depends for their survival, happiness, livelihood and freedom. Also, the consideration of the modernizers' assumption that places the superiority of western life style with the pre-notion of moral and socio-economic worth of various countries and their administrative institutions need a rethinking when it comes to moral judgment.

Therefore a rational shift of thinking could rightly be termed necessary to fulfill this dichotomous notion that seem to urge some people to think that a *united Africa is not good for them*. This paradigm shift within the global discourse that should involve impersonal experts and independent African think-tanks, both in words and in practice, is very much likely to succeed where bombshells, dictators, puppets, lies, foreign aid, imperialism and veto powers have failed.

Furthermore, it is observable in history that any attempt to keep a people divided who share a common history and territory has only led to wrath, resistance, oppression, divine favor and the eventual victory of the oppressed as evidenced by the holocaust, the fall of all ancient empires, apartheid in South Africa, the Biblical Joseph in the dry pit and the Israelis in ancient Egypt, with the eventual victory of the oppressed nurtured by the firm will to retain control over their own actions, civil liberties, culture and their own environments. From this view, it would be in the best interest of the oppressor to participate in, encourage and accelerate the freedom and unity of the oppressed. This can arguably be achieved through a change in behavior from the top because anything short of these measures is likely to fuel more protests and resistance from below in reaction to undesired impositions from the top.

To this end, a united African continent that benefits from fair western assistance, in terms of technology, polity decentralization and readiness to act as equal players of the human family could be understood as a mutually beneficial relationship susceptible to linking up with the many

successful legacies of self-help, peaceful co-existence, trade balance and non-violence. Thus, contrary to the rampantly aggressive nature of instrumental capitalism, this paradigm shift would result to sustainable development as a prime human value and as a basis of global peace if applied to other parts of the world where people feel oppressed or stereotyped. Without this foundation, any foreign assistance or presence (for good or for bad) seen as a progressive return to colonialism or imperialism which are deemed unacceptable by the people, will only lead to continued chaos, distrust, disintegration, terror, suspicion and a further split that divides the poor and the rich, impoverished and the enriched, the religious and the unreligious, the puppet and the nationalist.

Clearly therefore, African unity as well as other integrations around the world should be given a rational rethinking because profound, secure and sustainable development does not locate in an expansive imperialist and technocratic control but rather in the sum total of all human efforts that aim to liberate and transform woes to joy which in turn results to freedom, justice, equality and institutions capable to stand the test of time.

This backbone thinking makes it plausible to investigate the present challenges to the realization of the pan-African dream and how it can be bridged and transformed to opportunities for its entire people and the entire human family. In doing so, it would be observable if these are obstacles that cannot be overcome and therefore the continent should be abandoned in the current status quo while its people continue to patiently wait for providential benevolence.

1.2 Historical Background

African struggle for freedom from external powers dates back from the 16th century with the beginning of the great African holocaust or slavery and its trade involving the Portuguese, the British, the French, the Spaniards and the Americans, a process that lasted for four centuries and that is ongoing, taking different forms over the years (slavery, colonialism, occupation, annexation, mandated administration, imperialism, exploitation, neocolonialism, structural adjustment programs and brain-drain)¹. Once captured, slaves were transported to the colonies in North and South America to forcefully labor on tobacco, cocoa, cotton, sugar and coffee

¹ http://www.africanholocaust.net/html_ah/holocaustspecial.htm (consulted on 14-03-2012 at 12:46)

plantations, toil in silver and gold mines, in rice fields, the construction industry, timber for ships, or in houses to work as servants² (Klein and Klein, 1999); (Mannix 1962).

Having toiled hard and for long enough to develop Europe and with the beginning of the industrial revolution, slave trade became gradually unprofitable paving way for new ways of exploitation and putting the continent in limbo. This change led to the race or scramble for Africa where Otto Von Bismarck encouraged his European counterparts to eliminate the threat of a Europe-wide war over Africa³ (Robinson et al. 1965). This resulted to a “transition from 'informal imperialism' of control through military influence and economic dominance [and exploitation] to that of direct rule”⁴ (Shillington 2005). His efforts were not in vain as the continent was successfully shared like a piece of cake on a table in Berlin. However, this partitioning was not enough to stop Europe from starting and fighting two major wars that went global.

Having formally lost their freedom and with the advent of world wars one and two, Africans were recruited by their respective colonial masters to help fight each other both in Europe and in their various colonized territories in a desperate effort to not lose their colonies to their rivals. The end of these wars also marked the end of Germany's short-lived overseas empire as Britain, France, Spain, Portugal and Belgium divided up the German African colonies between them, though their colonial rule was also cut short by a new spirit, that of self-awareness and demand for independence. A spirit that was partly motivated by war veterans who met with disappointment on their expectation for a reward for the crucial role they played in protecting the interests of the colonialists.⁵

Having fought alongside the colonialists, Africans saw the Whiteman being defeated and the myth of being seen as a god or white supremacy began to wade away. This was spiced by the rise of African nationalist leaders like Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Léopold Sédar Senghor,

² Herbert Klein and Jacob Klein. *The Atlantic Slave Trade*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. pp. 103–139.

Daniel Mannix, *Black Cargoes*. New York: The Viking Press. 1962, pp.1-5

³ R, Robinson, J.Gallagher and A. Denny, *Africa and the Victorians*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965, p. 175.

⁴ Kevin Shillington, *History of Africa: Revised Second Edition*, (New York: Macmillian Publishers Limited, 2005), p. 301

⁵ <http://science.jrank.org/pages/10398/Nationalism-in-Africa-African-Nationalism-after-World-War-II.html> (accessed on 14/03/2012, 15:55)

Nelson Mandela and so on who through education were now familiar with the notion of self-determination which was boosted by the Soviet criticism of imperialism, civil rights movement in America, the Haitian success and earlier activities of Marcus Mosiah Garvey Jr. Besides, by virtue of several centuries of exploitation, the imperialists were convinced that the continent was now a wasteland but were eager to maintain their rule for economic reasons. These led to the rise of several resistant movements to colonial rule and the eventual assertion to independence after fierce battles across the continent and by 1963, most countries had gained independence with the last one being Namibia in 1990 following the fall of apartheid. This uneven pattern of independence drove a refreshed thinking which underscored calls for unity of the continent as a preventive vaccine against similar dilemmas in the future.

Gaining independence was only considered as the one step forward towards a united Africa with the aim to “minimize the differences between the various peoples of Africa in favor of a generalized "African" heritage⁶ (Howe 1999) which Philosophically represents the aggregation of the historical, cultural, spiritual, artistic, scientific and philosophical legacies of Africans throughout history and inspired by an ethical system that traces its origins from ancient times which seek to promote values that are the product of the African civilization and the struggles against slavery, racism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism⁷. But, though everyone agreed on the necessity of creating such a block, views differed on the type of union that was necessary. This variation led to what became known as the Monrovia and the Casablanca blocks led by Senghor and Nkrumah respectively, the Monrovia block arguing for gradual economic cooperation and the other supporting total integration including the political system. Nevertheless, the OAU was born in Addis Ababa following an invitation of the two blocks by Emperor Haile Selassie I. but with France still exerting too much political and economic control on its former colonies, unity was a scarce ingredient especially over support of the cold war belligerents. Once again, Africa stood firm and navigated through the storm stronger with growing economies and infrastructural development but cognizant of this new reality, more severe weapons were to be introduced to halt development, the structural adjustment programs or SAPs

⁶ Stephen Howe, *Afrocentrism: mythical pasts and imagined homes*, 1999: p103

⁷ "The Politics of Liberation". Hakim Adi , African Holocaust Society. Retrieved 2007-01-04.

Introduced by the World Bank and the IMF, the SAPs came with conditions that had to be respected by borrowers such as cutting expenditure (austerity), devaluation of currencies, trade liberalization, removal of price controls and state subsidies, privatization, economic output through resource extraction, encouraging foreign direct investors, promoting good governance and fighting corruption, trade liberalization, increasing investment stability, and balancing budget without overspending. As a consequence, most African economies fell, development was weakened and corruption increased as bankruptcy took centre stage. Realizing how high the cost of freedom was, it became urgent to reopen the debate for African unity once again. With this mindset, the OAU was disbanded in 2002 to be replaced by the AU with the sole mission being to end imperialism of the continent. To counter this move, the Union for the Mediterranean was suggested by Nicolas Sarkozy to include all 27 EU member countries, North African countries and a few others in the Balkans and the Middle East.

Today, Africa and other third world regions around the world are considered to be the “Whiteman’s burden” which some consider as clearly pinpointing “Eurocentric racism ...and Western aspirations to dominate the developing world”⁸ (Leonard et al. 2006); (Chisholm 1982); (Amina 1995). This line of thinking has also inspired what Hubert Harrison describes as the “Blackman’s burden”⁹

Understandably therefore, slavery, the scramble for Africa, colonialism and imperialism may all have officially ended but remain rooted officiously, in justification of the international relations doctrine that *there are no permanent friends except permanent interests*. But interest in itself may not be the problem. They only constitute a problem if they are uneven and marred with injustice and oppression. It therefore becomes very important to attempt an investigation into what the future holds for the dream of pan-Africanism and the world in a new world order.

⁸ Thomas M. Leonard, Taylor & Francis, Ed. Eurocentrism". In *Encyclopedia of the Developing World...*, 2006 p. 636

Michael Chisholm *Modern World Development: A Geographical Perspective*. Rowman & Littlefield, 1982, p.12

Mama, Amina *Beyond the Masks: Race, Gender, and Subjectivity*. Routledge, 1995, p. 39

⁹ THE BLACK MAN'S BURDEN (A REPLY TO RUDYARD KIPLING) from *When Africa Awakes* (New York, 1920) (available on <http://www.expo98.msu.edu/people/Harrison.htm>)

1.3 Problem Formulation

The past few decades have witnessed a rapid steam-up of efforts by various regions to form regional blocks capable of serving as a single platform on which to face common challenges and foster economic growth, development and political stability. However, though so much effort and resources have been deployed to achieve these goals by various parties, some blocks are arguably more successful than the others. This success imbalance springs to mind several questions aimed at determining the factors that account for this phenomenon. On its part, pan-Africanism remains in a limbo especially after the slaying of its most recent front-runner by NATO-backed rebels. Therefore this thesis will centre on pan-Africanism with a focus on exploring what a united Africa means to its people and the world at large. A keen attention will be placed on salient block-building mechanisms that contribute to the success of unity, what accounts for the huge disparity between the talking and reality and how these phenomena can be transformed. It would also be interesting to focus on how a successfully united Africa can be transformed to a win-win situation as the EU or US are known to be. Thus, the research question in this project is geared towards providing a spectral understanding on the following dilemma:

- Fifty years since the establishment of the OAU and ten years of AU, why has African unity not been realized irrespective of the overwhelming recognition as a boon and how can the gap between rhetoric and reality be bridged?

By focusing on this, the spectrum is expected to provide a deeper understanding on a contemporary dream that remains illusive despite an endless rhetoric of political will and increasing pressure from the masses and the intelligentsia. It seeks to explore the various advantages that the entire human race stands to benefit from the continent acting as a single voice on the global stage. The importance of this study therefore needs not be overemphasized considering the huge implications involved in putting an end to injustice, inequality, imperialism, human suffering, wars, abuse, poverty, invaluable human and material losses and other unanswered questions. This is prompted by the fact that common knowledge is gotten from stories told by winners who for the most part shield what is generally considered to be in their disfavor as a means to avoid public wrath, resentment and the need for legitimacy in the establishment of empirical control over other people. Finally, the need to provide a mirror through which a close self look can be taken so that collectively, we can start making the right change if and only if we are sincere with the stories we tell on mainstream media and the

internet, the doctrines we give to our children, the rebels we support to overthrow regimes, the aid(s) we dish out, the campaign promises we make before elections and the oaths we take before assuming power.

1.4 Methodology

Methodology here refers to the procedures and rules applied to reach conclusions included in this work. Accordingly, the following methods which have been further sub-categorized have been used:

1.4.1 Theoretical Approach

In line with Robert Cox, theories are always meant to serve some people's agenda¹⁰ (Cox 1996), and because the topic under discussion is not limited in context given the global nature of our world today, it would be beneficial to consider a number of theories on which to test the findings included in this work.

1.4.2 Data Collection

Data used shall largely focus on secondary data like journals, research reports, official statistics, books, credible online and electronic material that is however not very holistic as a result of the contemporariness of the subject under discussion which accounts for the limited availability of material surrounding the topic being discussed. For this reason, steps were taken to conduct interviews from seasoned scientists within the field of international relations and some diplomats on mission in the country. Unfortunately, none of the contacted persons or representatives consented to an interview. However, this gap has been bridged by a survey which is quite representative. Also, relevant material shall include data from the Holy Bible. This indicates that the collected data spans from the Biblical ages to contemporary events as they are witnessed. Besides, by virtue of the very complex and contemporary nature of the topic under discussion, the project shall be approached from various angles bearing in mind various points of views that surround the issues of pan-Africanism. The reason behind this choice stems from the fact that it gives room for analysis, description, evaluation, generalization, interpretation, and synthesis of

¹⁰ Cox. W. *Approaches to World Order*, Cambridge: Cambridge university Press, 1996, p87

the primary data as well as an in-depth understanding of various opinions and provides room for independent conclusions or remarks.

Also, the collected data for analyses shall be both qualitative and quantitative. This dual choice is reflective of the complexity of the main topic under study which warrants a combination of both comparative and contrastive study of related literature, analysis and statistics. Apart from its flexibility which is neither predetermined nor predicted by the researcher, qualitative interpretation focuses on quality which cannot be ignored when seeking to understand the nature of things since quality is said to reflect what, how, when and the where of a phenomenon through the use of words, images and descriptions of how decisions are taken, why they are taken, how they are applied, why they fail here and succeed there or simply why they are ignored in some situations.

The research is deductive beginning with more general themes to specific ideas as follows:

- Research area: Africanism.
- Research topic: what accounts for the gap between rhetoric and reality and how can the gap be bridged?
- General research question: Is pan-Africanism a problem or an opportunity to the rest of the world?
- Data collection questions: what do foreign partners think about pan-Africanism, how are their words reflected in their actions and how can they best participate in the realization of the agenda?

1.4.3 Plan of Work

The structuring of this thesis is tridimensional: it includes the theoretical and analytical parts as well as the synthesis. Part one is an embodiment of the first, second, third and fourth chapters. Part two includes the fifth chapter while the last part is related to the synthesis. While the second chapter shall deal with the theories, the third shall delve into the selected cases for analysis while the fourth on its part shall be analytical. In the fifth chapter a rethinking on pan-Africanism shall be put forward while the sixth and last would bear the synthesis.

1.4.4 Limitation

Considering the very complex, contemporary and salient nature of the topic under discussion in this work, there is need for a concise and comprehensive research based consultation. Unfortunately, a number of factors bound findings to be limited within a certain framework but without undermining succinct data necessary to achieve the goal of the study. One of such limitations refers to the limited number of selected countries for a continent which counts 54 that share a common territory and history with similar aspirations. However, the historical account expressed in the background knowledge, strives as much as possible to bridge this gap. Besides, events in one part of the continent are very similar to the other except for a few variations now and then.

I also recognize the fact that I have not been exhaustive in the findings and for this reason, I expect constructive criticisms from specialists in the field who might feel that I have either been too passionate, idealist or neglectful. I behold and stand as beneficiary to all the criticisms and words of enlightenment which would be very useful for future research.

1.4.5 Presentation of Case Studies

As earlier indicated, the history of African countries share a common history characterized by foreign attacks, both on the people themselves and their resources. This commonness makes it generally difficult to make choices when it comes to selecting case studies on topics that embody the entire continent and which involve the outside world. Taking advantage of this common pattern of events, the countries to be considered in this case are: Cameroon, DRC, Ethiopia, Ghana, Libya and South Africa. The choice of Cameroon stems from its peculiarity of having experienced occupation by the British, French and Germans. Cameroon is also representative of modern day French neo-colonial legacy like most of its former colonies. The choice of the DRC on its part is largely stimulated by the fact that it remains in perpetual turmoil as a result of its mass reserves in highly needed mineral resources but also as a result of the manner by which the first highly democratically elected prime minister of that country was assassinated because of his nationalist views. The choice Ethiopia is unique and serves as an example to emulate on several counts but primarily because it owes its reputation to being able to retain its sovereignty throughout the colonial periods with an efficient army and incredible leadership. Because of the

instrumentality of Kwame Nkrumah in the pan-African dream that led to the creation of the OAU, Ghana cannot be ignored. The choice of Libya need not be overemphasized because of the fresh memories of the reasons and manner by which the continent's most recently active architect of that dream was slaughtered by NATO-backed forces as another desperate effort to hibernate the dream, a move that can be said to rightly epitomize previous assassinations of the continents unifying architects. Finally, apart from having a bloody colonial past, South Africa goes down in history as a model of what the world could be by virtue of being able to crush apartheid, having the drive to reconcile and the will to forgive in order to peacefully move on as one nation with a common destiny.

Chapter Two

Concepts and Theories

This chapter is divided into two parts. Part one aims to provide explanations to some of the salient dictions deemed necessary to be given an explanatory platform before diving into the heart of the topic. The second part concerns with a presentation of the theories used and how they serve as a window from which discussions and analyses are perceived. Where necessary, questions are being raised for further discussion, criticism and analyses.

2.1 Concepts

2.1.1 Colonialism and imperialism

Colonialism is captured by Ronald Daus as “the establishment, maintenance, acquisition and expansion of colonies in one territory by people from another territory”. The process involves the claiming of sovereignty by the metropolis over the colonized territory with a radical change of the socio-cultural, political and economic structure of the colony by the colonizers who then govern from the metropolis. It breeds “unequal relationships between the metropolis and the colony and between the colonists and the indigenous population”¹¹ Imperialism on its part has been defined by Dictionary of Human Geography, as "the creation and/or maintenance of an unequal economic, cultural, and territorial relationship, usually between states and often in the form of an empire, based on domination and subordination."¹² (Johnston and John 2000) Both concepts share a common characteristic in that they involve expansionist and mercantilist policies that widen inequality and injustice; largely beneficial to the occupiers at the detriment of the occupied territories and people.

2.1.2 Nationalism

Nationalism has been defined differently by different scholars. It is considered on the one hand to be a political ideology involving a strong identification of a group of people with a political entity on the basis of a nation. This definition identifies two major perspectives on the origins

¹¹ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonialism> (accessed on 21-03-2012 at 24:54)

¹² Johnston, Ronald John. *The Dictionary of Human Geography* (4th ed.). Wiley-Blackwell. 2000 p. 375.

and basis of nationalism. One of which is the modernist perspective that describes it as a recent phenomenon that depends on structural conditions of modern society in order to exist. The second is the primary perspective that terms nationalism as a reflection of the ancient and evolutionary human tendency “to organize into distinct grouping based on an affinity of birth”¹³ (Motyl 2001). According to Will Kymlicka, “it is a belief that citizenship in a state should be limited to one ethnic, cultural, religious, or identity group, or that multinationality in a single state should necessarily comprise the right to express and exercise national identity even by minorities.”¹⁴ (Kymlicka 1995)

However, nationalism in the course of this work would be considered as “collective identities toward imagined communities which are not naturally expressed in language, race or religion but rather socially constructed by the very individuals that belong to a given nation” or territorial mass.¹⁵ (Anderson 1991)

2.1.3 New World Order

This term is increasingly being used to refer to a secret agenda orchestrated by some elite within the world system with the aim to rule the world through the establishment of an authoritarian world government that would replace sovereign nation-states. It is also said that “significant occurrences in politics and finance are speculated to be orchestrated by an unduly influential cabal operating through many front organizations...with various numerous historical and current events being seen as steps in an on-going plot to achieve world domination”¹⁶ (Camp 1997). The link between such an agenda and the topic under discussion is that it is easily achievable within the specter of a divided rather than united third world couches who maybe rightly termed to be potential first losers if it had to be.

2.1.4 Regional Integration

¹³ Motyl. *Encyclopedia of Nationalism, Volume 1: Fundamental Themes*. San Diego, California, USA; London, England, UK: Academic Press, 2001. Pp. 251

¹⁴ Will Kymlicka. *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1995 p. 16.

¹⁵ Benedict Anderson, . *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso. 1991 pp. 37–46.

¹⁶ Gregory Camp. *Selling Fear: Conspiracy Theories and End-Times Paranoia*. Commish Walsh. 1997

This terminology has been conceptualized to describe a process in which countries enter into some kind of regional agreement in order to enhance regional cooperation through common supranational or intergovernmental decision-making institutions (or a combination of both) and rules covering, social, cultural, political and economic dimensions. It can also be understood as a political economy initiative which provides that commercial purposes are the means to achieve broader socio-political and security objectives.¹⁷ (Ginkel and Langenhove 2003)

Philippe De Lombaerde and Luk Van Langenhove define regional integration as a “worldwide phenomenon of territorial systems that increases the interactions between their components and create new forms of organization, co-existing with traditional forms of state-led organization at the national level”.¹⁸ (lombaerde and Langenhove 2007)

Past efforts at regional integration have been centered on the removal of barriers to free trade in the region as a means to increase the free movement of people, labor, goods, and capital across national borders. It is believed that such efforts largely contribute in reducing possibilities of regional armed conflict and adopting strong common policies on issues, such as the environment, climate change, foreign invasion, imperialism and so on.

Regional integration can briefly be considered to be the merging of individual countries within a region into a larger entity but “the degree of integration depends upon the willingness and commitment of independent sovereign states to share their sovereignty” because profound integration confronts with many difficulties¹⁹ (Claar and Andreas). Such regional blocks abound in Africa but have fallen below expectation.

In the spirit of Van Langenhove, Regional integration initiatives should at least fulfill the following eight important functions:

- It should be able to strengthen trade integration in the region
- It should be able to create a good environment favorable to private sector development.

¹⁷ Van Ginkel, H. and Van Langenhove, L: "Introduction and Context" in Hans van Ginkel, Julius Court and Luk Van Langenhove (Eds.), *Integrating Africa : Perspectives on Regional Integration and Development*, UNU Press, p.1-9, 2003.

¹⁸ De Lombaerde, P. and Van Langenhove, L: "Regional Integration, Poverty and Social Policy." *Global Social Policy* 7 (3): pp. 377-383, 2007

¹⁹ Simone Claar and Noelke Andreas, “Deep Integration”. in *Development and Cooperation*, 2010 No.3, p.114-117

- It should be able to develop infrastructure programs in support of economic growth and regional integration
- It should be able to develop strong public sector institutions and good governance;
- It should be able to reduce social exclusion and the development of an inclusive civil society
- It should be able to contribute to peace and security in the region²⁰ Lombaerde and Langenhove 2007
- It should be able to build environment programs at the regional level.
- It should be able to strengthen the region's interaction with other regions of the world.

The common history of Africa made obsolete the emerging concept of a system of sovereign states to end colonial rule and imperialism on the continent. This concept was a hallmark behind the Casablanca block initiative. Today, regional integration is gaining momentum around the world as a reckoning power over the economy as much as globalization seems to challenge the current global order that is based on sovereign states.

2.1.5 Slavery

Slavery has been described as a system under which people are treated as salable property that can be bought and sold, and are forced to work. They “can be held against their will from the time of their capture, purchase or birth, and deprived of the right to leave, to refuse to work, or to demand compensation.” The great holocaust was institutionalized, in America and some European countries involved in the horror but can be said to continue even today through the practices of debt bondage, servitude, domestic servants kept in captivity, forceful work of children by some pervasive adoptions, child soldiers, forced marriages and so on²¹

2.1.6 Terrorism

Because of the very complex nature of this concept, largely resulting from the fact that it is embedded with emotional and political undertones, it is somewhat difficult to present a straight forward explanation of the concept. However, in the course of this work, it would be understood as increasingly perceived by many who consider it as those acts of force and coercion that instill

²⁰ De Lombaerde and Van Langenhove, “Poverty and Social Policy” in *Global Social Policy*. SAGE, 2007, pp. 377-383

²¹ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slavery> (Consulted on 20-03-2012 at 16:22)

fear as a means to defend ideological, political, or religious interests with deliberate disregard of the consequences that such acts may have on innocent civilians. While it includes violent acts perpetrated by a state against another foreign state, it does not exclude those acts of violence carried out by a state against its own people or simply by non-state actors.²² (Hoffman 1998)

2.1.7 We-feeling

The we-feeling concept here refers to a spirit of oneness. It is nurtured by the understanding of the fact that the things that unite a people are stronger than those that divide them by virtue of common past and present experiences. A break in this spirit leads to traitors within the group because no people ever got united and remained so without a sustained we-feeling spirit. It can be constructed from the top and spread through education and the media to reach the entire social fabric of a given society. But it can also be constructed informally from below within family circles to the top.

2.1.8 Foreign Aid(s)

This notion has been applied as a pun perceivable from two different angles. In its first perception, it refers to a voluntary transfer of resources from one country to another, either for diplomatic, military, or humanitarian reasons. It may also be given for vested self interests such as rewarding a government for an earlier behavior beneficial to the donor, to extend the donor's cultural influence, to provide infrastructure needed by the donor for resource extraction from the recipient country, or to gain other kinds of commercial access. While it is generally given by governments, it could also come from private organizations or individuals. The second perception has been expressed on the basis of recent revelations by Dr Bob Becks²³ and Robert Gallo²⁴ which suggest that HIV and aids are American-made biological weapons for “socio-political” warfare, birth control in Africa and economic gains for pharmaceutical companies. Views from other scientists like Jacob Segal, Alan Cantwell and Leonard G. Horowitz pinpoint to the same conclusion. How this disease has affected African growth, development and unity

²² Bruce Hoffman. *"Inside Terrorism"* New York: Columbia University Press 1998 p. 32

²³ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8VHiSUM0RMo> (consulted on 20-03-2012 at 19:27)

²⁴ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CDxZ7PX8YGI> (consulted on 20-03-2012 at 19:27)

can only be measured by what would have been the fate of humanity if King Herod had been successful in his conspiracy to kill the child Jesus Christ.

2.2 Theories

2.2.1 Functionalism and New Functionalism

These international relations theories of integration provide a global concept of authority. On the one hand, the focus of functionalists is on common interests and challenges shared by communities, states or even non-state actors in the course of global integration to counter the bottlenecks of state sovereignty. In direct contrast to state-theories, it aims to transform state authority from one based on territory to that based on functions and needs. According to functionalists like David Mitrany and Jan A. Scholte, the collective governance and international interdependence leads to the development of internal dynamics as states integrate in limited functional, technical, cultural, scientific, social or economic areas. In due process, international agencies meet human needs, through knowledge and expertise which is rewarded by loyalty from populations who benefit from the functional agencies²⁵ (Scholt 2001). The degree of integration is however said to depend on 3 basic assumptions: that this integration process takes place within a framework of human freedom; that there is adequate knowledge and expertise to meet the needs for which the functional agencies are constructed and that the process is not sabotaged by states for whatever reason²⁶.(Mitrany 1933)

Neofunctionalism on its part downplays the global dimension of functionalism by narrowing it back to territorialism. Neofunctionalism is jointly considered a theory and a strategy of regional integration with focus directed in the integration process among states of the same functional or economic region. Progressively, these partially integrated states experience an increase in momentum which signals calls for further integration in other related areas like culture, social issue or polity. This "invisible hand" of integration phenomenon, otherwise called "spill-over" by

²⁵ Scholte, J. A. *The Globalization of World Politics*, (Eds, Baylis, J. and Smith, S.) New York: Oxford University Press, 2001 pp. 13-34

²⁶ Mitrany, D. *The Progress of International Government*. New Haven: Yale university press, 1933, pp 99-102.

the Neofunctionalist School then makes integration difficult to be resisted though it may meet with resistance as it forges on²⁷ (Haas 1997).

These theories clearly mirror integration processes in Africa from independence to present-day AU. Failure to agree on a common platform led to the creation of OAU which was eventually disbanded in favor of a greater project. However, with the presence of dictatorial regimes, puppets, corruption, mismanagement and rebellions, territorialism seems to prevail over pan-Africanism in the midst of several regional blocks with shallow integration.

2.2.2 Institutionalism

Institutionalism or institutional theory pays attention to the profound and more resilient aspects of social structures like schemes, rules, norms, and routines on how they get established as guidelines of authority to regulate social behavior. William Richard Scott indicates that organizations must act in conformity to the established rules and existing belief systems that prevail in the environment of operation in order for them to survive, because homogeneity of structure or institutional isomorphism, will earn the organization legitimacy, and shield it from strains imposed by either the state or profession²⁸ (Richard 2004). This implies that Multinational corporations that operate in different countries with different institutional environments will encounter diverse pressures which would exert outstanding influence on practices of human resource management and strategies of competition. Institutionalists further note that firms operating in different environments respond differently to similar challenges that are conditioned by Socio-economic, and political factors within an institutional structure. The presence or absence of institutional structures determines the degree of incentives for firms intending to engage in specific types of activities in a particular environment. Businesses are more likely to succeed or perform better if they receive institutional support. While the presence of institutional structures curbs fraud, abuse, tax evasion, propels integration due to interdependence and investment, its absence promotes corruption, cronyism and mismanagement as in most parts of Africa.

²⁷ Ernst Haas "International Integration: The European and the Universal Process," in *International Organization* (1961), 366-92, and Wayne Sandholtz and Alec Stone Sweet, "European Integration and Supranational Governance" *Journal of European Public Policy* 4, 1997, 297-317

²⁸ Scott, W. Richard. "Institutional theory" in *Encyclopedia of Social Theory*, George Ritzer, ed. 2004, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage P408-414

2.2.3 Hegemonic Stability

This theory stipulates that “...the international system is more likely to remain stable when a single nation-state is the dominant or hegemon²⁹”. The hegemon then acts as a stabilizer through diplomatic, coercive or persuasive means and by so doing, asserts its role as leader. When a state is able to deploy this power preponderance, it enjoys hegemony which Goldstein describes as the state’s “...ability to single-handedly dominate the rules and arrangements [that bind] international political and economic relations³⁰” because the theory is based on the belief that “The stability of the global system, in terms of politics, international law, and so on, relies on the hegemon to develop and enforce the rules of the system among the most important members of the system³¹”, including state and non-state actors.

As a rule, the hegemon must satisfy three major requirements: “The capability to enforce the rules of the system, the will to do so and the commitment which is considered to be mutually beneficial to the major states³²”. In order to achieve maximum capability, the hegemon must have “A large growing economy, [it must enjoy dominance] in a leading technological or economic sector and political power backed by projective military power³³”.

Because the system is one in which everyone wants to go their way, the hegemon has as responsibility to encourage or force “...other states to support the system”. This explains why the US, which currently enjoys global hegemony, strives to champion human rights, free trade, while producing and encouraging democracy, capitalism and rule of law. In as much as “Other nations will try to enjoy the benefits of these institutions, [they will] try to avoid paying the costs of producing them. Thus, the US must remain committed to free trade even if its major trading partners erect barriers to trade³⁴”. Any attempt by the US to erect its own barriers, will inevitably lead to the collapse of the system.

²⁹ Joshua S. Goldstein. *International Relations*. New York: Pearson-Longman, 2005., P.107

³⁰ Joshua S. Goldstein., *Ibid.*, p.83

³¹ <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/pol116/hegemony.htm>

³² *Ibid*

³³ *Ibid*

³⁴ *Ibid*

Cognizant of this reality, a contextual African hegemonic stabilizer,³⁵ with a strict focus on protecting the interest of the entire continent, just as the current hegemon protects the interests of the “most important members of the [present world] system”³⁶ could be a booster for pan-Africanism. This is even more likely if it is based on ubuntu principles not individual interests, legitimized by the AU and accompanied with an ICC-like court to judge cases of crimes against humanity committed by Africans on African soil. It could be backed by a military defense system that does not aim to confront other regional blocks, but to tackle rebellions that might erupt against unity.

. 2.2.4 Nationalism

Nationalism is termed to be a political ideology involving a hard identification of a group of people with a nation and involves two main lenses on the origins and basis of nationalism. On the one hand, there is the primordialist lens which describes it as a reflection of the perceived evolutionary and ancient tendency of humans to organize into distinct grouping on the basis of birth affinity. On the other hand, there is the modernist perspective which describes nationalism as a modern phenomenon which cannot exist without the structural conditions of modern society³⁷ (Motyl 2001).

Historically, national identity commonly has been embraced by an influential group or groups of individuals in response to dissatisfaction with traditional identities as a result of inconsistency between their defined social order and the experience by its members of that social order. This then leads to the breakdown of social bonds between an individual or group of individuals and their community ties that nationalists seek to resolve³⁸ (Motyl 2001). As a result, the society or societies reinvents itself by reinterpreting identity, removing elements deemed unacceptable and retaining elements that are deemed acceptable with the aim to create a unified community. This transformation may stem from internal structural issues or the effect of resentment by a particular

³⁵ Nashiru Abdul-aziz and Goddy A. Nzonji, *Conflicts and Humanitarian Intervention in Africa: Why Intervene*, 7th Semester Project, Aalborg University, December 2012

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ Motyl. *Encyclopedia of Nationalism, Volume 1: Fundamental Themes*. San Diego, California, USA; London, England, UK: Academic Press, 2001. pp. 251

³⁸ Motyl 2001 p262

group or groups towards other communities, especially foreign powers that are considered to be controlling them or are deemed to be doing so³⁹ (Motyl 2001). This fits Nkrumah's perception of nationalism in calling for the unity of the African continent that has not flourished partly due to the presence of divided authority, lack of a self-sustainable industrial economy, and a central supreme authority that can maintain unity and authority⁴⁰ (Motyl 2001) which are minimum requirements for pan-Africanism to be effective.

2.2.5 World-System

This theory puts emphasis on the international division of labor that is divided into periphery, semi-periphery and centre or core countries. The core refers to the US and its allies that focus on higher-skill and capital production through the exploitation of raw materials which abound in the periphery that in turn focus on low-skill and labor-intensive means of production. The semi-periphery on its part refers to emerging economies like China, Brazil, India and South Africa. This cyclical structure constantly reinforces the dominance of the core countries over the periphery in particular. Immanuel Wallerstein defines it as:

“a social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation, and coherence. Its life is made up of the conflicting forces which hold it together by tension and tear it apart as each group seeks eternally to remold it to its advantage. It has the characteristics of an organism, in that it has a life-span over which its characteristics change in some respects and remain stable in others. One can define its structures as being at different times strong or weak in terms of the internal logic of its functioning”⁴¹ (Wallerstein).

This description clearly indicates that the socio-economic and political interests of the periphery are relegated to the background especially as the core enjoys five crucial monopolies which Samir Amin identifies as follows: the monopoly of technology supported by military expenditures of the dominant nations; the monopoly of control over global finances and a strong position in the hierarchy of current account balances; the monopoly of access to natural

³⁹ Ibid

⁴⁰ Ibid pp 508-509

⁴¹ Immanuel Wallerstein. *The Modern World-System*, New York, Academic Press, 1974, pp. 347-57

resources; the monopoly over international communication and the media and the monopoly of the military means of mass destruction⁴².

This state of affairs is a reminder that freedom and sustainable development can only be achieved collectively considering the many obstacles and the various weaknesses of the periphery which can only come about by pressure and efforts from within rather than benevolence from beyond.

2.2.6 African Renaissance

The notion of an African Renaissance, though not new, is the most recent initiative Africa has produced. It proposes the harnessing of Africa's potential to boost development and eradicate the sources of conflict. By so doing, it seeks to transform Africa from a zone of indignities to that of self-esteem and economic prosperity, peace and stability. Thabo Mbeki, notes that this renaissance can only be successful with a "rebellion or an 'open resistance to authority'⁴³ ...against political instability on the continent, and an end to "the mixture of greed, dehumanizing poverty, obscene wealth and endemic public and private corruption practice" that give birth to many of Africa's coups d'états, civil wars and situations of instability".⁴⁴ And though a concise manner by which to translate this notion of "rebellion to authority" is not determined, it arguably has to cut through the liberation of consciences mature enough to openly question authority, spark civil disobedience, encourage boycotts and speak out against "the continent's economic and political marginalization in world councils"⁴⁵.

2.2.7 pan-African Contract: A contextual theory

Linda Hartling posits that:

“...rather than thinking of human dignity as an individual, internal phenomena ... [it is better to] think of human dignity as a co-created experience. It is an experience developed through respectful connection (interpersonal, social, international, etc.) in

⁴² DIR Lectures Aalborg University, Autumn 2011

⁴³ Neil Thompson, Theory and Practice in Human Service, Open University Press, Philadelphia, 1995, p.1144

⁴⁴ http://www.africavenir.org/uploads/media/LouwAfricanRenaissanceForceMultiplier_03.pdf (Consulted on 08-05-2012 at 17:15)

⁴⁵ Ibid

which people feel known and valued, they feel that they matter... It is our responsibility to participate in the construction of this relational experience for all people [because a continent]... without humiliation dignifies us all”⁴⁶

This indicates that Africans have a collective responsibility to recognize that the dream of a strong, peaceful and prosperous Africa locates in unity not division. This is because no single African country can guarantee political stability and security which are vital components for peace, economic growth and prosperity. Therefore, while it is crucial to acknowledge diversity, it is important to note that most of the things that divide the continent like language are colonial relics which remain unhealthy for a continent that seeks to replace conflicts, wars, foreign intervention, disunity, stereotypes, misery and human suffering with unity, peace, prosperity and excellence. As such, this requires the imagination of a continent free of puppets, greed, dictators, a dozing civil society and war. An environment where unity, peace and economic prosperity born of ubuntu prevails in the midst of today’s chaos. Can this new Africa be contracted? This is what this contextual theory is all about.

As a prerequisite, this requires a self-cross examination to check where we have each faltered and what needs to be done to right the mistakes of the past because we have either applauded when we ought to jeer; voted when we ought to veto; prayed when we ought to expose conspiracies, rebelled when we ought to stand by nationalist leaders; blamed others when we ought to blame ourselves; lied when we ought to speak the truth; indoctrinated when we ought to educate and embezzled when we ought to serve. These mistakes have only earned Africa war, poverty, economic stagnation, stereotypes, exploitation, diseases and low life expectancy. On its part, Ubuntu excludes going by the old doctrine of “*an eye for an eye*” as this will eventually result to a continent of blind people. A united, peaceful and happy Africa is feasible based on fundamental human principles that seek to win the understanding of each other without humiliation or ridicule. A continent based on cooperation not rivalry; dialogue not monologue; and service not embezzlement; with the aim to bridge the gap between rhetoric and reality. The new pan-African contract is therefore based on the ubuntu principle which includes love and justice that would reconcile the continent with its past and present on the one hand and with man and God on the other. This is largely because the misinterpretation of decisions, actions and the

⁴⁶ <http://www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/quotes.php> (Consulted on 04-05-2012 at 10:39)

scriptures has a huge toll on human actions and reactions to acts of injustice, inequality and civil liberties as a result of a breach in human connectedness that seem to have been shifted to money, authority and power. This contextual theory therefore requires a dual transformation process that aims to deconstruct on the one hand and reconstruct on the other for a house that is breaking apart needs replacement not repairs. By correctly interpreting the scriptures, for instance, true shepherds would spring to shepherd the sheep. Moreover, a united Africa centered on a single authority within a decentralized system of governance will provide a sense of belonging if every citizen has the, opportunity to make important decisions, while satisfying the need for power, prestige, status and ceremony. It would equally create a climate of competition, motivation and morale that is helpful in improving productivity, good relationships and a sense of achievement. On the organizational platform, it is common knowledge that the AU has not been successful in the face of external aggressions. This ignites the necessity to inject it with the right spirit and arsenal to be more effective on both local and external fronts. Also, since ubuntu is based on love not hatred; and unity not division, countries would have to consider freezing border restrictions of persons and not only for goods and services. Besides, constructive education based on ubuntu has the soft power to instilling self-discipline by nurturing love rather than spreading a doctrine that only helps to maintain the status quo of the current dilemma. The following figure illustrates the dual transformation process:

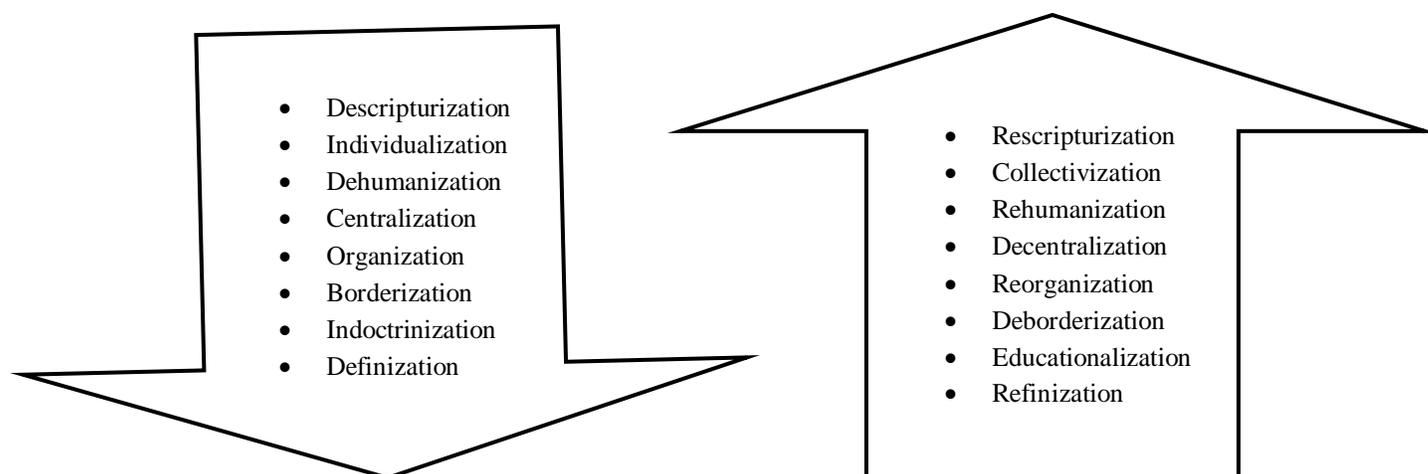


Fig 1: The transformation processes of the new pan-African contract

This may seem a very big dream but dreams should be able to contain societies, sustain growth and promote peace and happiness because “once we were fine. We were all one. Then we de-

defined ourselves: this person is [North African, this is South of the Saharan; this person is Anglophone or Arabic and this is Francophone]...Now it's time to re-fine ourselves, and once again see that we are all one. So we were fine, we de-fined, now we must re-fine"⁴⁷.

2.2.8 Social Constructivism

The focus of social constructivism is on human awareness or consciousness and its place in world affairs. The Point of departure of this school is grounded on the rejection of the neorealist position which emphasized on the anarchical nature of international relations and the concept of self-help. Unlike the neorealist, the constructivist believed that identities and interest of states are not given but created by their ideas during the process of social interaction with each other⁴⁸ (Jackson and Sorenson 2007). Wendt argues that international politics is a social construction, instead of an objective reality. He identifies human structures mainly by shared ideas rather than material forces and that the identities and interests of people are constructed to suit in the straight-jacket of shared ideas rather than being products of nature. This straight-jacket is based on the notion that norms are generally created and sustained by the identities, interest of the powerful states and their preferences as well as the need for legitimacy of international order⁴⁹ (Wendt 1999). This is true of African countries that became members of international institutions which were created with the aim to prioritize the interests of the *powerful states*. Therefore, understanding the need for pan-Africanism requires a profound understanding of Africa's historic and contemporary plight in relation to these international structures which were created when Africa barely had a sovereign state within the domestic and systemic realms of world politics.

⁴⁷ Swami Satchidananda, <http://www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/quotes.php> (Consulted on 04-05-2012 at 16:30)

⁴⁸ Jackson and Sørensen. "Wendt" in *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*, 3rd edition, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007., p.168

⁴⁹ Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999

Chapter Three

Presentation of case Studies and Integrationist Rhetoric

3.1 Case Studies

As earlier indicated, African countries have a common history of struggle against agents from far flung lands. This makes its history particularly unique in many ways and serves as a propeller for endless calls and relentless efforts for a united Africa that would lead to the complete freedom of the continent. However, with the presence of various interests groups from different countries and with different forms of colonial administration and military force, the decolonization and integration processes took various forms and involved various actors throughout the continent. Approached with peaceful and diplomatic moves in some cases; faced with an iron fist in others; and completely disregarded redesigned in some more. This accounts for the choice of a number of countries deemed to convey a sum-total picture of what Africa owes to itself and what the rest of the world owes her in terms of healing the wounds of the past and helping rather than faltering its efforts at achieving pan-Africanism. Therefore, the following selected case models would serve as a guide: Cameroon, DRC, Ethiopia, Ghana, Libya and South Africa. However, by virtue of the afore presented general background knowledge, focus on each case study will centre on some of those particularly dramatic incidence that single out each case from the rest thereby making it unique.

3.1.1 Cameroon

When Africa was being partitioned on a table in Berlin, what is today known as the country Cameroon was not an exception with the share going to Germany which was later lost in 1915 as a result of WWI. The country was then partitioned between Britain and France under the League of Nations mandate. While France integrated the country's economy with that of France using its "divide to rule" policy, Britain on its part administered indirectly from its colony of Nigeria. Following the advent of the UN after WWII, the territory was converted into a UN trusteeship and independence became a major bone of contention in French Cameroon. This led to the rise of several political parties with the most influential one being the Cameroon people Union, (*Union des Populations du Cameroun, UPC*). A major guerilla warfare erupted in 1945 following the outlawing of the party by France and the eventual assassination of its leader

Reuben Um Nyobe but fighting continued and in 1962, French Cameroon gained independence. Following a plebiscite in British Cameroon, the two territories reunited in 1972 to become one and inseparable.

After fifty years of independence, the country is still ruled economically by France, as it does most of its former territories said to be independent. Cameroon is just one of the fourteen former French occupied territories whose currency is still being guaranteed by the French treasury. This means that France determines its value and regulates these countries' foreign trade as was the case in 1994 when the currency was sharply devalued by 100 percent and France's unilateral decision to maintain it under its control through the euro in 1999 with the French treasury having the sole responsibility to determine its convertibility. By this financial arrangement, 65 percent of these countries' foreign reserves are deposited in the French treasury while another 20 percent is deposited to cover for financial liabilities^{50, 51}.

Cameroon is a member country of the AU and was chosen to host the headquarters of the African Monetary Fund that was due to go operational in November 2011.

3.1.2 Democratic Republic of Congo

What is today known as the DRC was once a private property of King Leopold II of Belgium resulting from negotiations in the Berlin Conference, and naming it the Congo Free State. In this *Free State*, "colonists brutalized the local population to produce rubber, for which the spread of automobiles and development of rubber tires created a growing international market"⁵² (Fage 1982). In a bid to increase his capital through the exploitation of the territory, Leopold imposed rubber extraction quotas as an official policy which was enforced through the army by cutting off the limbs of any native who failed to meet their quotas before being killed leading to the death of millions of Congolese as a consequence. "The sale of rubber made a fortune for Leopold, who built several buildings in Brussels and Ostend to honor himself and his country"⁵³ (Fage 1982).

⁵⁰ <http://www.thefrontier Telegraph.com/content/012908/slavery.html> (Consulted on 26-03-2012 at 20:12)

⁵¹ <http://www.panafricanvisions.com/old/9/development.htm> (Consulted on 27-03-2012 at 15:21)

⁵² John D. Fage *The Cambridge history of Africa: From the earliest times to c. 500 BC.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1982, p.748

⁵³ Ibid

As a result these dramatic events which sparked up widespread protests in 1908, administration of the country was taken from Leopold by the Belgian parliament under a new baptism as Belgian Congo but this marked only a change of attire not attitude since the new Belgian rulers generally had a “condescending, patronizing attitude against the indigenous peoples, which resulted to bitter resentment”⁵⁴, especially after fighting in WWII alongside the triple entente during which they played a key role in defeating the Italians in North Africa.

Growing resentment led to the growth of a nationalist movement led by Patrice Lumumba in May 1960 and a month later, the country gained independence largely instrumentalized by him. As a result he became the country’s first legally elected Prime Minister, though he was not a favorite of the country’s former colonizer. His victory was entrenched in his ability to unite and as Jean Van Lierde notes, “He was the only Congolese leader who rose above ethnic difficulties and tribal preoccupations that killed all the other parties”⁵⁵. Van Lierde further indicates that Belgium’s hostility to him worsened after his independence day speech in which he denounced with passion all the atrocities, “...harsh brutalities and indignities suffered by the Congolese under Belgian rule”⁵⁶. This tension pushed the Belgians to side with Moïse Tshombe, a close friend to Belgian industrial companies that mined the conflict minerals in the rich Katanga province, urging him (Tshombe) to declare it independent from the rest of the country. Ludo de Witte adds that “...the Belgian government was secretly protecting its interest and directing Katanga’s secession from behind the scenes”⁵⁷. Lumumba’s challenge was now tilted towards reuniting the Congo but was soon targeted by his enemies. Joseph Mobutu who had by now been appointed chief of staff of the new Congo army, took advantage of the leadership crisis between Kasavubu and Lumumba, as he garnered enough support within the army to create mutiny. “With financial support from the United States and Belgium, Mobutu paid his soldiers privately. The aversion of Western powers to communism and leftist ideology influenced their decision to finance Mobutu's quest to maintain "order" in the new state by neutralizing Kasavubu and

⁵⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Republic_of_the_Congo (Consulted on 28/03/2012, 12:52)

⁵⁵ http://www.africawithin.com/lumumba/who_killed_lumumba.htm (Consulted on 29/03/2012, 11:30)

⁵⁶ Ibid

⁵⁷ Ibid

Lumumba in a coup by proxy”⁵⁸. After taking over power, he ruled as a dictator for over a quarter of a century leaving behind him a corrupt, devastated, indebted and ruined country. In guise to identify himself with African nationalisms, he renamed several cities from colonial legacies. However, with the end of the cold war, and being deemed unnecessary as a cold war ally, his relations with the West and the US deteriorated.

Today, the country remains unstable even as the Belgian government apologized in an official statement in 2002 for “its moral responsibility and “an irrefutable portion of responsibility that led to the death of Lumumba”⁵⁹ and these events affect pan-Africanism in various ways.

3.1.3 Ethiopia

Located in the Horn of Africa, the country Ethiopia navigated through the harsh waves of the colonial period with no rape of its sovereignty thereby becoming a charter member of the UN in 1945 after a brief Italian occupation. It is also scientifically known to be one of the oldest sites of human existence. It is considered to be one of four great world powers of the 3rd century besides Rome, China and Persia and served as an inspirational platform for many African countries after independence by adopting the colors of its flag and by leading them to adopt a Non-Aligned position during the cold war period. Also, it is not only the first major empire in the world to convert to Christianity and officially adopt Christianity as a state religion in the 4th century, but is equally home to the oldest Muslim settlement on the continent as well as the spiritual homeland of the Rastafarian Religious Movement..

Apart from having one of the most powerful militaries in Africa, it is the only African country where an indigenous alphabet is still widely in use, has its own calendar and time system, has the highest number of UNESCO World Heritage Sites and is the headquarters of the African Standby Force (ASF) and the AU.

During this long period of continental turbulence and occupation by European imperialists, the country fought several battles to preserve its sovereignty under great leaders. One of these historic battles led to the defeat of Italy in the first Italo-Abyssinian war in which Italy suffered a

⁵⁸ Central Intelligence Agency (2011). "Congo, Democratic Republic of the". *The World Factbook*. Virginia: Central Intelligence Agency. Retrieved 5 October 2011

⁵⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Patrice_Lumumba#Belgian_apology (Consulted on 09/12/2011, 11:49)

decisive humiliation and defeat at the battle of Adowa in 1896 under Emperor Menelik II. When Italy tried to attack the country again prior to WWII, Emperor Haile Selassie renewed this nationalist spirit by urging his people to defend the territory. He reminded them that

“If you withhold from your country Ethiopia the death from cough or head-cold of which you would otherwise die, refusing to resist (in your district, in your patrimony, and in your home) our enemy who is coming from a distant country to attack us, and if you persist in not shedding your blood, you will be rebuked for it by your Creator and will be cursed by your offspring. Hence, without cooling your heart of accustomed valour, there emerges your decision to fight fiercely, mindful of your history that will last far into the future.”⁶⁰

The Emperor extended invaluable military, spiritual and political support to Nelson Mandela and the oppressed native South Africans against the apartheid regime. He is said to have given him a gun with which to topple the regime that was still thriving at the time⁶¹.

This historical presence inspired many African countries to kill colonialism in what became known as Ethiopianism in reaction to the “frustrations felt by Africans who were denied advancement in the hierarchy of mission churches and racial discontent encouraged by the colour bar...and the restoration of political and cultural life”⁶².

Today however, with the presence of the imperialist US military base in Arba Minch region of the country, Ethiopia could be perceived as a dying lion.

3.1.4 Ghana

Formerly called the Gold Coast as a result of its impressive gold resources, this former British colony was the first African country to gain independence after over six decades of colonial occupation. The Ashanti people of Ghana particularly resisted and defeated the British on several counts recording several victories on their way but eventually lost in the early years of the twentieth century. These resistant moves continued even under colonial rule by both the chiefs and people against British policies leading to intensified decolonization actions after WWII,

⁶⁰ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emperor_Haile_Selassie_I_of_Ethiopia

⁶¹ <http://www.africaresource.com/rasta/sesostris-the-great-the-egyptian-hercules/mandelas-gun-the-gun-that-emperor-haile-selassie-gave-dr-nelson-mandela/> (Consulted on 29-03-2012 at 15:12)

⁶² <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/194224/Ethiopianism> (Consulted on 29-03-2012 at 16:38)

especially by the newly formed United Gold Coast Convention and later the Convention People's party involving Kwame Nkrumah who called for "self-government now". By embarking on a "Positive Action" campaign, he drew support from the rural people and the working class who altogether effected boycotts, strikes and civil disobedience. In reaction to these successes, the British futilely tried imprisonment several times as he eventually got released in 1952 after winning a majority in the Legislative Assembly. He then intensified negotiations with the British who had no other choice than to let the country go on 6 March 1957 and became its first president. As a pan-African, he sought a united Africa to prevent it from drifting into neo-colonialism. "Ghana's principles of freedom and justice, equity and free education for all, irrespective of ethnic background, religion or creed; borrow from Nkrumah's implementation of Pan-Africanism"⁶³ (Levy and Wong 2010).

3.1.5 Libya

Like many other African countries, Libya's history is marked by conflicts of colonial conquest, turmoil and political instability. However, since the primary focus of this work is on pan-Africanism, the background knowledge here would be centered on Colonel Muammar Qaddafi who is one of Africa's strong nationalists and pan-African in recent times.

Convinced that the then serving monarch was a puppet who was serving the interest of former colonial masters, he took power through a coup in 1969. In 1977, "he stepped down from his official executive role as the Chairman of the Revolutionary command Council of Libya [but remained] a symbolic figurehead" with executive duties being performed by the General People's Committees who were being voted following direct democratic principles.

In the view of most people who are conversant with his symbolic leadership like Louis Farrakhan, the country's citizens enjoyed free education, housing for all, and health-care while maintaining the country debt-free. Apart from Libya having the finest health care system in the third world under him, he subsidized basic food items and provided electricity for all. It is worth mentioning that under Qaddafi's leadership, life expectancy also rose from 44 to 75 years, and literacy rate went from 20 to 83%. Besides, irrigation projects were set up to support agriculture for food sufficiency and he successfully made an artificial river bringing water out of the desert

⁶³ Patricia Levy and Winnie Wong. *Ghana*. New York: Marshall Cavendish. 2010, p. 24

while providing every citizen waiting to do farming with logistic, material and financial support. He did not leave out women as he empowered them through education and were given equal rights like the men to serve in the army. More so, he used his position in OPEC to negotiate fair oil prices for all oil-producing countries and since he believed that “Economic democracy can only be achieved if the country’s GDP benefits all its citizens and when the country’s wealth is disbursed to every citizen”, he ensured that money from oil benefits were put into everyone’s account⁶⁴.

As a fervent Pan-African, Qaddafi aimed to reunite Africa. To this effect, he pioneered the creation of three vital economic institutions: the African Monetary Fund with headquarters in Yaoundé, the African Investment Bank with headquarters in Tripoli and the African Central Bank with headquarters in Abuja. Though much of the project had to be financed entirely by the AU member countries, Qaddafi shouldered the highest contribution.

However, a seemingly peaceful protest against his regime ended up in a rebellion that quickly received support from NATO after UNSC resolution agreed for humanitarian intervention in the country. Several calls by the AU to peacefully intervene were ignored. Rather, a UN resolution that was meant to protect civilians ended up in an armed conflict that led to great loss of human lives, infrastructure and the end of his regime following his capture and assassinated after which NATO forces left the country leaving the country divided and in ruins. As this work is being written, there is a civil war going on in the country that is drifting in debt as countries that were involved in the conflict are busy shipping the country’s resources across the Atlantic.

3.1.6 South Africa

The discovery of gold, diamond and other minerals in what is today known as South Africa spiced wars of conquests between the British and Dutch colonists prior to 1910 when the British emerged victorious. During this period racial segregation was mostly informal though some legislation was enacted to control the settlement and movement of native people⁶⁵ (Bond 1999). Segregation took a deeper dimension with the passing of the Native Land Act which severely

⁶⁴ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2mtAOCwJCW0> (Accessed on 04/04/2012, 14:47)

⁶⁵ Patrick Bond. *Cities of gold, townships of coal: essays on South Africa's new urban crisis*. New Jersey: Africa World Press. 1999, p. 140

restricted the ownership of land by Blacks to about 7 percent⁶⁶ as the ⁶⁷government established three racial classes: White, Colored (people of Asian or mixed racial ancestry), and Black, with rights and restrictions for each thereby institutionalizing apartheid. The country became a republic in 1961 after a White-only referendum but apartheid continued and became more controversial. This was followed by a period of strikes, sabotage, protests and boycotts led by the African National Conference and its legendary leader Nelson Mandela. In a speech issued by Pieter Botha to his cabinet in 1985, the then prime minister echoed a strong call to his “White brothers and sisters” to disallow moves towards equality, justice and freedom of Blacks and rather step up measures to systematically reduce black population while spreading the doctrine of white supremacy⁶⁸. Nonetheless, the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990 after spending 27 years in prison marked the end of apartheid.

During this period of racial segregation, the country was banned from being a member of the OAU and all other continental organizations or assemblies, including participation in games while Black leaders received support on a continental scale. The country boasted of nuclear power until February 1990 shortly before the end of apartheid. But while South Africa is reputed for producing one of the greatest statesmen in the world, it also produced a great racist, in the name of Peter W. Botha with his scheme to morally and physically annihilate Blacks through the introduction of diseases and other means to reduce Black population because all other Western countries discriminate against them.⁶⁹

Today, South Africa hosts the Pan-African Parliament and is one of the highest contributors to the organization but only two African countries are visa-free to the country, as opposed to over forty five non African countries.

⁶⁶ <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/native-land-act-was-passed> (Consulted on 04/04/2012, 16:50)

⁶⁷ <http://archive.org/details/transvaalpapersr00grea> (Consulted on 04/04/2012 at 17:13)

⁶⁸ <http://archive.org/details/transvaalpapersr00grea> (consulted on 04/04/2012 at 18:14)

⁶⁹ <http://www.inithebabeandsuckling.com/bothasplan.html> (Consulted on 04-05-2012 at 16:57)

3.2 Integrationist Rhetoric

Throughout human history, no people ever got united for a common course except they were led by selfless individuals or group of individuals who believed in a dream and who spared no energy to transform it into reality; this is true of the League of Nations, UN, EU, US, AU and so on. In this sub-section of the work, focus shall be on the vision of major Pan-African block-builders', views gathered from Africans and philosophies.

3.2.1 African Nationalists

The dawn of independence resulted to the springing of a good number of leaders with a pan-African spirit. While the efforts and visions of all who emerged would not be expressed here, the few cited cases serve as an overall mirror. One of those emblematic figures is Kwame Nkrumah who is largely known for his clear vision of a fully integrated African continent. In his view, Ghana's independence was "meaningless unless it [was] linked up with the total liberation of the African continent"⁷⁰ as enshrines in his conviction that a

"Divided [Africa is] weak; united, Africa could become one of the greatest forces for good in the world. ... [because] with the deep-rooted wisdom and dignity, the innate respect for human lives, the intense humanity that is [Africa's] heritage, the African race, united under one federal government, will emerge not as just another world block to flaunt its wealth and strength, but as a Great Power whose greatness is indestructible because it is built not on fear, envy and suspicion, nor won at the expense of others, but founded on hope, trust, friendship and directed to the good of all mankind"⁷¹ (Nkrumah 1961)

While this pan-African spirit drew varied support from like-minded leaders like Julius Nyerere, Kenneth Kaunda, Abdel Nasser, Haile Selassie, Sekou Toure, Léopold Sédar Senghor, Jomo Kenyatta, and so on, its freshness in the minds of Africans today remains overwhelming. On a comprehensive research study carried out in the Danish cities of Aalborg, Arhus and Copenhagen, most Africans consider a strongly integrated African continent as the only way to the end of the continent's woes though views differ regarding the reasons behind the gap between rhetoric and reality and the best way to bridge it .

⁷⁰ <http://www.guyanaundersiege.com/Leaders/Nkrumah1.htm> (Consulted on 09-04-2012 at 14:20)

⁷¹ Kwame Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom: A statement of African Ideology*, William Heinemann Limited 1961, pp. Xi-xiv

3.2.2 African Philosophies

Unity is ontologically embedded in Africa's mind as reflected in a number of philosophies; one of which is the South African "Ubuntu". This moral ethic bears witness to the allegiance and relations that all humans, regardless of race have with each other. It underpins the restoration of harmony, mutual understanding, reconciliation and love because of "human interconnectedness". Archbishop Desmond Tutu describes an Ubuntu person to be "open and available to others, affirming of others, does not feel threatened that others are able and good, based from a proper self-assurance that comes from knowing that he or she belongs in a greater whole and is diminished when others are humiliated or diminished, when others are tortured or oppressed"⁷² (Tutu 1999). This is underpinned in the creed that "*I am because we are and since we are, I am*"

Another such philosophies is *kawaida* which is a current synthesis of Africa's best thoughts and practices that remain in constant motion and exchange with the rest of the world as it seeks to "define and become the best of what it means to be both African and human in the fullest sense... [that] involves creating a language and logic of liberation, one of opposition and affirmation, and a corresponding liberational practice to create a just and good society and pose an effective paradigm of mutually beneficial human relations and human possibility."⁷³

While these philosophies differ in names, they echo a single message with unity being the pivot as it shall be observed in the next chapters.

⁷² Desmond Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness*, 1999, Image, New York

⁷³ <http://www.us-organization.org/30th/ppp.html> (Consulted on 11-04-2012 at 16:34)

Chapter Four

Analysis

The following analysis seeks to establish facts or anything close to it based on collected data and contemporary events; since of all fundamental human values, the only thing that remains constant is the truth. In order to have a clear understanding of this truth, Immanuel Wallerstein's argument is recommended in that people need to reject "much of what [they] learned from elementary school on, which is reinforced daily in the mass media. It is only by confronting directly how we have come to think the way we do that we can begin to think in ways that...permit us to analyze more cogently and more usefully our contemporary dilemmas"⁷⁴ (Wallerstein 2004)

4.1 Reasons for Bridging the Gap?

4.1.1 Internal Reasons

The reasons that warrant pan-Africanism are as varied and glaring as those that account for its past and present predicament. To take off, Africans need a revival of conscience by identifying the root cause of their problems and sharing the understanding that the things that unite them outweigh those that divide them. One of which is the need to end neocolonialism and other forms of imperialism on the continent. This huge task involves active participation of all African countries acting in synergy because division is a tool that facilitates imperialism as evidenced by its history. A contemporary case in point is that of Libya in which persistent efforts by the AU for a diplomatic intervention were either torpedoed or ignored by the important members of the world system because such interventionism did not suit the imperialists' agenda since Qaddafi was determined to give a great leap forward to pan-Africanism. The Libyan scenario provides evidence that divided, the entire continent will keep sitting down to watch history repeat itself over and over while it is likely to stand tall and fight for freedom, equality and justice if acting in unison. This falls in line with Regan when he notes that motivations behind interventions in intrastate conflicts include the urge for the intervener to protect its own diplomatic, economic, or

⁷⁴ Immanuel Wallerstein. *World System Analysis*, London: Duke University Press, 2004., p.xii

military interests⁷⁵ (Regan, 2006). Such interventions have generally resulted to instability rather than stability because of interveners' focus to stop fighting only "on terms favorable to the intervener"⁷⁶ (Druckman and Diehl 2006). This helps to justify the belief by some "Leaders and parties ... that peace emerging from negotiations threatens their power,, worldview and interests"⁷⁷ (Ibid).

Also, it is understood that what has been and is being lost can never be regained but there seems to be no excuse for the African people and partners if there is no change of attitude and action. In the singular case of slavery alone Maulena Karenga notes that

"In terms of the destruction of human life, estimates run as high as ten to a hundred million persons killed individually and collectively in various brutal and vicious ways. The destruction of culture includes the destruction of centers, products and producers of culture: cities, towns, villages, libraries, great literatures (written and oral), and works of art and other cultural creations as well as the creative and skilled persons who produced them...[and this involves] the morally monstrous destruction of human possibility"⁷⁸

Moreover, a momentous inspiration stems from the continent's common history that is written in blood and exploitation by far-flung strangers to a people who have not offended them in any way. But the point is that in a world characterized by greed, you do not actually have to offend someone to get offended. Given that the continent over flows with milk and honey, it will continue to attract creatures that seek to suck it dry if no change takes place in a way that would benefit both the owner and the needy. This is true of DRC through which Belgium got developed by the singular exploitation of rubber but which itself remains underdeveloped and poor despite large exploitation of other highly valued minerals by multinational companies of the core and this is a shoe that fits all African countries.

Besides, there is no African country that can single-handedly create a single economy capable to stimulate development and guarantee continental stability despite its resources without an

⁷⁵ Patrick M. Regan. "Conditions of Successful Third-Party Intervention in Interstate Conflicts". in *Conflict Resolution*, Daniel Druckman & Paul F. Diehl (eds.) London: SAGE. 2006., p.192

⁷⁶ Daniel Druckman and Paul F. Diehl, *Conflict Resolution vol. V.*, London: SAGE Publications, 2006, p.192

⁷⁷ John Stephen Stedman. "Spoiler Problems" in *Peace Processes, in Conflict Resolution Vol. V.*, Druckman Daniel and Diehl F. Paul (eds) London: SAGE Publications, 2006., p.255

⁷⁸ <http://www.africawithin.com/karenga/ethics.htm> (Consulted on 28-04-2012 at 13:36)

efficient cross-border investment and trade-flows on the continent which would in turn serve as a springboard for efficient competition in a global economy. Nkrumah indicates that "No independent African State today by itself has a chance to follow an INDEPENDENT course of economic development, and many of us who have tried to do this have been almost ruined or have had to return to the fold of the former colonial rulers"⁷⁹ (Nkrumah 1973) But unity would not only lead to a strong defensive artifact of one *voiceness* but would pave the way to huge flow of human and natural resources, increase productivity, boost the economies and provide affordable goods and services throughout the continent while opportunities for producers and consumers will flourish beyond national small markets. Apart from creating jobs and accelerating growth, it is likely to serve as a buffer to various modern enslaving mechanisms from the Breton Woods Institutions like the SAPs and foreign aid with unwelcome conditionality and consequences. In the words of the Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika unity is likely to reduce the costs of developing essential infrastructure such as transport, communications, energy, water systems and scientific and technological research, which cannot generally be guaranteed by the means of individual countries while facilitating large-scale investment by "reinforcing the attractiveness of our economies and reducing the risks."⁸⁰ This economic motivation is further highlighted by Nkrumah when he posits that:

"The foreign firms who exploited our resources long ago saw the strength to be gained from acting on a pan-African scale. By means of interlocking directorships, cross-shareholdings and other devices, groups of apparently different companies have formed, in fact, one enormous capitalist monopoly" The only effective way to challenge this economic empire and to recover possession of our heritage, is for us also to act on a Pan-African basis, through a Union Government.⁸¹

In addition, the need for pan-Africanism cannot be made more urgent than by the ongoing neocolonialism being perpetrated by France on fourteen African countries through their currency the CFA franc. Exploitation cannot be more arrogant than that the economy of sovereign states is entirely at the mercy of an imperialist power in the 21st century. By ensuring that this currency is guaranteed by the French treasury, the blood of the masses is systematically being sucked as they

⁷⁹ Kwame Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, International Publishers, New York, 1973, p. 242

⁸⁰ <http://www.un.org/en/africarenewal/vol16no2/162reg1.htm> (Consulted on 23-04-2012 at 15:53)

⁸¹ Nkwame Nkrumah, available on http://www.panafricanperspective.com/youtube_USofAfrica.html (Consulted on 12-05-2012 at 04:19)

lament in perpetual misery while France enjoys all the privileges and ceremony of what it means to be considered a rich nation in the world system. Conversely, most of these countries are generally classified by both the World Bank and the CIA as being the poorest countries in the world. This has always been attributed to myriad reasons like bad governance, corruption, wars and so on without alluding to this monetary robbery by France. A curious mind at this juncture should be questioning how a country can possibly develop with just 15 percent of its annual output since France requires CFA countries to store 65 percent of their annual foreign reserves in the French treasury and an additional 20 percent to cover for financial liabilities. Also, it has increasingly become a common denominator that African countries are not even allowed to know what they have in the so-called “operations account”, considered to be a heavily guarded French secret while they can only withdraw a limited amount at any given time.⁸² And how these reserves benefit the French economy and its stock exchange need not be overemphasized while the African countries remain largely dependent on France.

This tendency of exploitation can best be captured through the process of a staple food called “*garri*” that is largely consumed in many African countries and on which women in particular increasingly rely for income. Let us now consider a widow who spends a hard and long season tilling the soil, planting, weeding, praying for timely rain and sunshine, cultivating the cassava tubers and then finally harvesting. Prior to market day, the tubers are harvested, peeled, cleaned, and ground in order to come out with the best *garri* imaginable. The journey to the market is back-breaking because of bad roads and poor weather but the *garri* finally reaches the market. After hustling and tussling with customers, she finally sells her produce for say 20 Euros. She then begins to brainstorm on how to best spend the money since she needs palm oil and fish for food, school fees and uniforms for her children, medications, utility bills and credits to pay. Though the money cannot solve all her problems, she expresses joy for happily earned money because she has not earned it at the expense of other people’s pains, sacrifice or blood though incommensurate to her toil. Then as a thunderbolt, a stranger who has been standing at the market gate suddenly pops up from a corner, with a gun on the right hand and a Holy Bible on the left and urges her to surrender 13 Euros into a bank account controlled by him. As if that is not enough, he requests an additional 4 Euros as liability for all business transactions she may

⁸² Africa Recovery, Vol.12 No.4 (April 1999), page 27

want to carry out abroad. The widow is then left with 3 Euros to do as she wills while the man takes with him 17 Euros which he goes ahead to invest in his own economy and businesses including the manufacture of weapons and using part of it to raise some traitors amongst her kindred to ensure that she sticks to his demands each time he makes a request with little or no resistance. In order to sustain this for a long time, he endeavors that he goes unnoticed and prepares a cover-up story (including bribery and corruption) in case some smart eyes gets hold of him.

At his whims and caprices, he may come now and then to give the widow 1 Euro that he calls development aid while stereotyping her as poor, lazy, disease-infected, heavily indebted and so on; making sure that he convinces her and the world through the media that he is benevolent, her best friend and partner. This circle continues as it is inherited by each French president in office. Puppet dictators, coups and tyranny account for the long survival of this Machiavellian arrangement. Now any attempt by a nationalist leader to breach this status quo earns them the tag of a dictator, undemocratic, illegitimate, human rights violator, killer of their own people, and within a twinkle of an eye, a coup is masterminded and he or she is either condemned, taken out of power, assassinated or charged by the ICC. And this cycle is repeated over and over since it is handed down from one generation to another as witnessed in the few cases of Lumumba, Thomas Sankara, Moussa Dadis Camara, Laurent Gbagbo, Maummar Qaddafi and so on. This spectrum, suggests that every person that is ruled by a puppet is a widow. It is equally a microscopic illustration of the macro on how the continent is being plundered as the cankerworm has penetrated the entire resource fabric.

This brings to mind the project of a single currency with a monetary fund, an investment bank and a central bank that Qaddafi stood and died for. The US and now the eurozone are good indicators of the many advantages surrounding a single currency. one of these advantages relates to its enhanced credibility by virtue of it being used in a larger currency zone thereby making it more stable and independent from foreign control. Also, it unleashes cross-border economic growth as producers and consumers are not required to change money when travelling, during cross-border transactions or suffer huge losses incurred during such transactions or inter-state money transfers. According to European estimates, a traveler “visiting... member states ... would lose 40% of the value of his money in transaction charges alone. Once in a lifetime a

family might make one large purchase or transaction across a European border such as buying a holiday home or a piece of furniture. A single currency would help that transaction pass smoothly.”⁸³ In this line, a single currency would enable the continent to be able to become masters of their own destiny rather than living at the mercy of others who determine the value of their currency including the power on when and how it should be devalued. This also indicates that inter-state commercial transactions would stop facing administrative costs of accounting that includes the time involved for any currency fluctuations especially as “it is estimated that the currency cost of exports to small companies is 10 times the cost to the multi-nationals, who offset sales against purchases and can command the best rates.” Another major point stems from the fact that a single currency will gain international credibility and is likely to translate into lower interest rates from the continental monetary institutions, thereby boosting investment, creating jobs and enhancing development.

Furthermore, as a political project, unity would go a long way to eliminating wars between African countries. Strong economies like the US, China, Japan and the Eurozone largely owe their strength to large populations that support each other through this interconnectedness, large scale production and mass consumption. This potential cannot be guaranteed by a single African country and when countries depend on each other for survival, they do not fight one another because a crisis in one immediately sends shock waves to the rest of the system. Besides, unity is momentous to tourism since it marks an end to long immigration procedures which in turn greatly impact inter-state relationships and marriages by virtue of increased acquaintance with the other rather than stereotype from a distance. Throughout human history, this type of social construction provided a platform for alliances, strategic diplomacy and peace between states. While such examples abound, a well-known example today is the marriage between Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom and Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh who was born a Prince of Greece and Denmark. And when people are interconnected not only by economics and politics but by complex bloodlines through children and grand children, the outcome breeds love as it improves trust, understanding, cooperation, excellence and peace.

⁸³ http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/special_report/single_currency/25081.stm (Consulted on 24-04-2012 at 17:41)

More so, a united military force is necessary for common defense. At present, the common tendency is the contracting of defense pacts with foreign powers. This threatens the security of other states, encroaches on sovereignty and is limited to internal aggression in the advent of foreign aggression since foreign powers prioritize the interests of each other. A unified military does not only reduce the financial burden of each state but also facilitates the adoption of a unified foreign policy to provide political guidance for the protection and economic development of the continent⁸⁴ (Nkrumah 1970).

Also, a survey carried out among one hundred Africans in Denmark proves that there is an overwhelming consciousness and belief in the African project as the only panacea to imperialism and unscrupulous plundering of the continent's resources. The respondents included current students and graduates from six different African countries. Some of the graduates have either completed a master's degree either in Denmark or other European countries and are involved in unskilled jobs after a failed dream of having skilled jobs through the Danish skilled workers program. The table below provides details of the survey.

⁸⁴ Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite* (New York: International Publishers, 1970), pp. 132, 141-3, 217-221

Section A	Yes	No	Undecided
Do you believe in a pan-African structure capable to guarantee human freedom, justice, equality and prosperity?	65	30	5
Do you consider such a project as the ultimate solution to the continent's woes if it ever came into being?	80	18	2
Do you see violence or terror as an alternative solution to its achievement?	32	68	0
Do you believe that the present generation of African leaders can make it possible?	25	60	15
Are you satisfied with work done so far through the OUA and now AU?	40	53	7
Would you anticipating your return if this project were successful in the future?	90	1	9
Would you be willing to participate in affirmative action or constructive dialogue?	88	10	2
Are you happy with the way Africa is presented to the world?	16	84	0
Section B			
	UN	Other Partners	Africans
In your opinion what has narrowed the dream?	35	25	40
In your opinion, what is the key determinant for its success in the future?	30	5	65

Fig 2: Survey on the pan-African Project

Observably, most respondents concluded that pan-Africanism as advocated by Nkrumah and as attempted by Qaddafi can only become a dream come true through active and peaceful participation of a new breed of African leaders pressured from below by the masses and a sense of self-consciousness and nationalist spirit. Some noted that the UN and its security council has not been helpful and cannot be trusted by virtue of its role on Libya and Ivory Coast alone through the important members of the world system whose goal remains to recolonize the continent by different means. On why they are not satisfied with Africa's image abroad, they blamed the absence of a strong African owned media, thus leaving the African person to be defined by strangers who would not stop at nothing to stereotype Africans. Besides, many of the

respondents noted their readiness to return home and be part of the many opportunities that such a transformation would bring to both Africa and the world especially as stereotyping would then become insignificant. On why they are not happy, most cited the nature of jobs they are bound to do despite being on a skilled worker scheme, covert discrimination and racism by some citizens. This further highlights the need for Africa to redefine itself to the world since her image has been poisoned; a poison that continues to affect its relations with others who only know the African man “through this stereotyping and thus damaging the truly human relations among people”⁸⁵

More so, it is an historical fact that most of what we have today as national barriers are colonial legacies as they are the outcome of the Berlin conference of 1884 which took no interest in preserving the fundamental values and principles of a people. This is today reflected in the socio-cultural and political fabric and public relations within the continent as many attach so much importance to national barriers while breaking boundaries with the imperial centre. This is best showcased by the example of South Africa which is by several degrees visa-free to non-African countries than the continent that harbors its roots. This is no good news for the African people in general because in the advent of a disaster in one part of the world which may warrant mass exodus to another part of it, those who do not need a visa to enter a haven country stand a greater chance to surviving than those who need one. Another salient factor when contemplating unity is this colonial legacy which makes cynics to prioritize stronger links with their former colonial masters than those with whom they share a common history and territory. To this effect, though it is an established fact that nuclear weapons are not good because of the great devastation that they incarnate, what else could possibly explain the fact that apartheid South Africa was allowed to have nuclear weapons which were dismantled just before the end of the racist regime apart from the fact that nuclear nations perceived a majority-ruled South Africa as a threat to their interests. This links up with fresh claims that provide that Qaddafi financed Sarkozy in 2007 but that did not stop the latter from leading a military action that slaughtered the former.

In addition, it is common knowledge that population dynamics such as growth rates, age structure, fertility and mortality, migration and more, influence the social and economic development of a people. The absence of a united continent capable to guide against aggressively

⁸⁵ <http://www.africawithin.com/karenga/ethics.htm> (Consulted 28-04-2012 at 14:11)

annihilating strategies such as the introduction of pandemics like HIV and aids which are alleged to have been developed by the US as a tool to reduce population in the third world for easier imperial control is another strong call for unity. Quoting Henry Kissinger, Louis Farrakhan notes that the virus was suggested by Henry Kissinger, who concluded that unlike in the past, it is easier to kill people today than to control them. He is said to have advised the White House that:

“Depopulation should be the highest priority of US towards the third world [due to national security and because] the US economy will require large and increasing amounts of minerals from abroad, especially from less-developed countries...wherever a lessening of population can increase the prospects for such stability, population policy becomes relevant to resources, supplies and to the economic interest of US”⁸⁶

This falls in line with recent revelations which point to Robert Gallo as the brain behind its invention. And while this may be argued as mere fabrication by cynics, Dr. Robert Becks points to the US government for suppressing his aids vaccine discovery. He further counts the support given to him by Qaddafi in the research as a major reason behind his assassination. While the economic repercussions of this disease are of imaginable magnitude to pan-Africanism, it should be recalled that it was a desperate effort to kill Jesus Christ that urged King Herod to order the slaughtering of all the children in Bethlehem and in all the coasts thereof⁸⁷ (The Gideons 1978). How this links up with the deliberate infection of Libyan children by foreign medics, systematic elimination of African nationalists or the complete disregard of Prof Victor Anomah Ngu’s⁸⁸ claim of having found a breakthrough in the HIV/aids vaccine is another myth. And God alone knows the number of genius, pan-Africans and saviors that have been swept away by these apparent human enterprises.

Another major factor stems from the necessity for the continent to have a strong voice in the UN Security Council that would defend its interest. Such a strong voice would only be useful on a united front else it stands a chance of being converted into a divisive tool against the very interests it would set to protect. Such significant presence would make the continent shoulder its

⁸⁶ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IxMbY4NEmNY> (Consulted on 19-05-2012 at 19:05)

⁸⁷ The Gideons International, *Holy Bible*, Mathew 2:16-18 Nork York: National Publishing Company, 1978, pp 992

⁸⁸ <http://www.thefrontiergraph.com/content/012908/vanhivax.html> (Consulted on 01/05/2012 at 18:58)

successes or failures without having to shift it unto others all the time, who, void of sincerity would never admit their share of responsibility of the problem. But in reaction to apparent unwillingness by that body to help curb imperialism, it is in Africa's interest to develop a hegemonic stability system to propel and defend the African course by tackling common problems like internal crisis, mismanagement, fair trade with the rest of the world and so on. And this cannot be without unity

Besides, if Africa's own history does not provide enough reason for the need to act collectively, then the enviable success of the EU should inspire many because in conformity with Samir Amin, a major factor that entrenched the Franco-German reconciliation after WWII was the identification of the US as a common enemy of Europe. This European project excluded Great Britain that was considered to be America's Trojan horse in Europe.⁸⁹

Finally, it is desirable for people to acquaint themselves with the fact that "problem makers" can never be the "problem solvers" especially on issues that require freeing a people from the grips of those who benefit from their suffering as P.W Botha intimates. This can be further attested by the assassination of those who attempted a hand at freeing the oppressed like Abraham Lincoln, John Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr.

4.1.2 External Reasons

In its article one of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the UN clearly states that "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood"⁹⁰. This is also enshrined in the US declaration of independence of 1776. This implies that all people should be given equal attention in the face of common calamity regardless of their race. Because good statements lose value if they are not matched by actions, the table below intends to investigate the role that race plays when it comes to calamities that curtail liberties and the pursuit of happiness by people, communities or countries. The table below is intended to establish a reflective dichotomy between what is being done, what seems to be done and what could be otherwise done.

⁸⁹ <http://monthlyreview.org/2004/11/01/u-s-imperialism-europe-and-the-middle-east> (Consulted on 15/12/2011 at 16:50)

⁹⁰ <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml#a1> (Consulted on 02-05-2012 at 14-15)

Country/ Territory	Race/People involved	Government Type	Casualties/ Estimates	Duration/ period	Reaction by International Community or Western partners
Colonial Africa	Africans	Imperial	No official figures	1884-1990 106 years	Ignored
Africa and WWI & II	Africans	Colonial	Several thousand/ no official figures	1914-1918 & 1939-1945 10 years	Ignored/ no compensation
DRC Congo	Africans	Dictatorial/ Puppet	Over 15* million	Ongoing	Ignored/ no compensation/ no military intervention/ UN peace keeping
Rwanda	Africans	Dictatorial/ puppet	800,000	1994, 100 days	Ignored
Germany	Caucasian	Nazi	6 million	6 years: 1933-1945	Compensated
Libya	Africans	Nationalist /Dictator	A few reported civilians	Ongoing	Military intervention/assassination/civil war/no compensation
Northern Ireland	Caucasians	Nationalist	3526 ⁹¹	Ongoing	Calls for independence ignored/ unity preserved
Slavery Africa	Africans	Imperialist	Over 12 million	4 centuries	No compensation/ no official apology
Apartheid South Africa	Caucasians and Blacks	Apartheid/ racist/ colonial	21000 ⁹²	1948-1994 54 years	Covert support/ no military intervention/ no compensation
Spain	Caucasian	Parliamentary Monarchy	Several hundred	Ongoing	Calls for independence ignored/ unity preserved
Sudan	Blacks	Totalitarian	2 million	Ongoing	Civil war/ intervention/split/ war

Fig3: The racial factor on the world scene

Colonialism witnessed among other things, a breakdown of indigenous cultures, unscrupulous exploitation of the people and their resources to industrialize the imperial centre. But rather than helping to reestablish order through compensation and constructive cooperation, Africa has been

⁹¹ <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/sutton/> (Consulted 28-04-2012 at 13:12)

⁹² Official figures by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

*This figure represents the number of people killed from the Congo Free State era to 2008 and excludes those displaced as a result

left to lick wounds of misery, diseases and debts in direct contrast to constructive cooperation witnessed in other parts of the world where European imperialists succeeded to establish majority rule like the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand which altogether reap the benefits of industrialization and economic development. This discrepancy is also noticeable with the complete abandonment and neglect of the continent after the world wars despite the participation of over 3 million people of African descent in wars they knew nothing about⁹³ (Khapoya 1998), especially when compared with the Marshal Plan worth US \$13 billion in economic and technical assistance that was given to help rebuild, modernize, reindustrialize, and make Europe prosperous and recover from the devastations caused by its own people. And though there is no exact figure, Colin Nicholson estimates about 55.000 Africans killed in WWI alone⁹⁴

This trend hooks up with the cases of DRC and Rwanda which were pooh-poohed by both their former colonial masters and the UN while millions were slaughtered. If capitalism is the rule of the day and the world is a realist one, then some can attribute the Rwandan case to the little natural resources it has to offer to the imperial industrial capitalists but the case of the DRC can only meet with shallow justification considering the deep-rooted economic interest of the industrialists whose growth, development and prosperity remains illusive without its underground endowment.

Furthermore, incongruity can be observed between the treatment of victims of the Nazi holocaust and the great holocaust or slavery. Unlike in the case of the Nazi holocaust, Africans had to campaign for a decade in order to have slavery recognized as a crime against humanity in the Durban I conference of 2001 but when African delegates requested for compensation and an apology which is generally known to convey a deep feeling of remorse when expressed with firm commitment to not repeat past mistakes, Western delegates pulled out of the conference. Conversely, Germany consented to moral and material indemnity, jointly determined by representatives of Germany and Israel for unspeakable crime committed by the German people thereby brokering some kind of spiritual settlement on an issue of infinite suffering. With this contrast in mind, could it be that the Blackman is not human enough when it comes to

⁹³ Vincent Khapoya. *The African Experience*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1998, p112

⁹⁴ <http://europeanhistory.about.com/cs/worldwar1/a/blww1casualties.htm> (Consulted on 28-04-2012 at 12:23)

reconciling the “degradation of the systems of slavery and colonialism [among others with] a degrading and debilitating impact”?⁹⁵ (Ukabiala 2001)

On another landing, international response to acts of crime and rebellion can be said to have a bias undertone observing from the figure above which showcases acute heterogeneity in response to similar dilemmas in different geographical locations. The important members of the world system remain committed by virtue of not supporting armed pressure groups like the Farc and the Sinn Fein calling for secession in Spain and UK respectively as a legitimate right for self-determination. When compared to the Libyan, DRC’s, and Sudanese cases, a thirst that can only be quenched by the truth is unleashed from the deep bowels of all who advocate for justice, equality and freedom. But for the sake of the blind, it is probably important to elucidate that European based guerilla groups are prone to having more funding, better organization and easier access to weapons than their African counterparts who are generally led by individuals who can barely feed themselves, talk less of sponsoring an armed militia for a minute. This is in line with the resignation of Al Jazeera’s journalist Ali Hashem in March 2012 because “In Libya [they] came to realize [they] were serving a political agenda putting [their] journalism aside.”⁹⁶ Therefore, it can be considered that where overthrowing a free regime proves difficult like in Sudan, the country is divided, where possible the leader is simply annihilated as in Libya and where the dynamics of long lasting fighting are too complex; UN peace keepers are maintained to ensure the endless plundering of the country’s resources as in the DRC.

In reaction to this external influence, Nkrumah stresses that:

"While we are assuring our stability by a COMMON DEFENCE system, and our economy is being orientated beyond foreign control by a COMMON CURRENCY, MONETARY ZONE and CENTRAL BANK OF ISSUE, we can investigate the resources of our continent. We can begin to ascertain whether in reality we are the richest, and not, as we have been TAUGHT to BELIEVE, the poorest among the continents. We can determine whether we possess the largest potential in hydroelectric power, and whether we can harness it and other sources of energy to our OWN INDUSTRIES. We can proceed to PLAN our industrialization on a

⁹⁵ Jullyette Ukabiala, *Slave Trade, 'a Crime against Humanity'*, in Africa Recovery, UN Department of Public Information, Volume 3, N°15, 2001, p5

⁹⁶ http://therealnews.com/t2/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=33&Itemid=74&jumival=854 (Consulted on 03-05-2012 at 15:44)

CONTINENTAL SCALE, and to build up a COMMON MARKET for nearly three hundred million people"⁹⁷ (Nkrumah 1973).

Last but not the least, imperialism on the continent is currently taking different forms and can only be tackled in synergy. One of these forms is through the increased number of military bases by the US through AFRICOM or U.S. Africa command and the ever France's military presence in its former colonies to tackle growing partnership between Africa and the BRIC countries. USAFRICOM just like French bases, it should be noted, aims to protect and defend "the national security interests of the United States"⁹⁸ which include oil and natural resources. And this means maintaining puppets in power at any cost as evidenced by the Libyan scenario.

The above-mentioned reasons are a clear indication that integration is not only necessary but indispensable as many Africans draw their source of hope from its spring of life, and justice, equality, freedom, prosperity and excellence. So that Africa should be raised out of its true history that will make it "a footnote and forgotten casualty in European history and thus limiting and denying their ability to speak their own special cultural truth to the world and make their own unique contribution to the forward flow of human history."⁹⁹

From this established platform, there is overwhelming evidence that "No sporadic act nor pious resolutions can resolve our present problems...As a continent we have emerged into independence in a difficult age, with imperialism grown stronger, more ruthless and experienced, and more dangerous in its international associations. Our economic advancement demands the end of colonialist and neo-colonialist domination of Africa"¹⁰⁰ and this requires a full scale integration that will give way to spiritual, moral and political correctness not just to the continent but the entire human family. As a people, we owe our children the duty of a free continent where they would reap a fair share of their endowments of providence, where they will not be ridiculed with stereotypes, where they will be masters of their own destiny and not begging for others to do for them the things they can rightly do for themselves. And as the human family, we have no excuse for failing to right our wrongs and those of our fathers to give way to a world

⁹⁷ Kwame Nkruma *Revolutionary Path* p242-243

⁹⁸ <http://www.africom.mil/AboutAFRICOM.asp> (Consulted on 01/05/2012 at 19:24)

⁹⁹ <http://www.africawithin.com/karenga/ethics.htm> (Consulted 28-04-2012 at 14:11)

¹⁰⁰ <http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=27628>

where our children will not be judged by the deeds of their forefathers nor the color of their skin or territory but by the acts they pose in the face of genuine justice and peace which can only be realized when the owner of the cake is allowed a fair share of it. How this can be achieved is another question which shall be further analyzed in the next chapter.

4.2 Why the Gap or Obstacles to Bridging it

Attributing the gap between rhetoric and reality of African unity to mere chance, fate or coincidence can be rightly considered to be a denial of moral responsibility and a lack of commitment to make a better world. In this vein, there are some indications that this predicament has been dictated or remotely controlled by a number of factors which cannot be ignored in the quest of a constructive project that aims to enshrine fundamental values of ubuntu that is bound by unity within a functional framework of peace, responsibilities, possibilities, progress and excellence.

4.2.1 Internal Factors

One of such obstacles is the question of sovereignty which continues to play a key role in slowing the pace of unity as most present leaders, having tasted the fruit of power (wealth, prestige and ceremony) and drunk of it, seek to maintain its grip till death does them part. This unhealthy climate makes them unwilling to cede power in favor of a greater project for the continent as they transform themselves to self-serving maniacs with a specialty in amassing wealth, attending unnecessary international meetings while shunning continental ones, making unfulfilled promises and covertly uniting to oppress those they ought to serve.

Also the wave of nationalist leaders like Nkwame Nkruma, Julius Nyerere, Patrice Lumumba was succeeded by that of puppet dictators in most countries across the continent who came to power either through coup d'états, democratic rape or overt rebellion which does not serve the interest of unity. Because they do not come to power through rightful means, they spare no energy to prioritize relations with the core on which they then turn attention for support and assistance since they become suspicious of every other person around them. This leads to the plundering of resources through corruption, embezzlement and rent paying as well as a breach in continuity of the predecessors' works and projects. The desire to retain authority results to a

government based on cronyism and very high military spending at the expense of infrastructure and economic development.

More so, greed and individualism have taken over the place of communalism and solidarity that was an African characteristic par excellence. These ills are visible from the proliferation of individuals who are vulnerable to accepting money or promises of power from interest groups on condition that they betray through participation or information those who resist imperialism or strive to put Africa first like Lumumba, Qaddafi or Gbagbo. This is what Nkrumah referred to as “the enemy WITHIN, [to describe] those who declare their support for the revolution and at the same time, by devious means, serve and promote the interests of imperialists and neo-colonialists”¹⁰¹ (Nkrumah 1968).

Furthermore, Africans inherited an educational system that was tailored by colonialists with elements that covertly aimed to promote the notion of White supremacy¹⁰² (Wildman 1996) which is rooted in ethnocentrism and the desire for power and hegemony¹⁰³. This construction resulted to the myth of racial inferiority. For the most part, this has led to brainwashing Africans into thinking that they cannot survive without the straight jacket of foreign tutelage. Over the years, the doctrine has moved from classrooms to the media, movies and religious symbols. This doctrine has kept many on the continent to be oblivious of their values as human beings and prevents the explosion and exploitation of their potentials to its best. This trend encourages the search of solutions to local problems from beyond, even when those problems can better be handled locally like the NATO intervention in Libya.

Moreover, a number of cultural bulwarks like religion, language, and ethnicity have been identified as being exploited by detractors to jeopardize efforts of unity. One of such vain attempt is the attempted Union of the Mediterranean by Nicholas Sarkozy to weaken Africa by creating a divide between Sub-Saharan and North Africa and linking the latter to the 27 member states of the EU, the Middle East and the Balkans. France loves integration of the Balkans and

¹⁰¹ Kwame Nkrumah, *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: A Guide to the Armed Phase of the African Revolution*, New York: International Publishers, 1968, pp.39-41,

¹⁰² Stephanie M. Wildman, *Privilege Revealed: How Invisible Preference Undermines America*. NYU Press. 1996 p. 87

¹⁰³ <http://www.theory.org.uk/ctr-rol6.htm> (Consulted on 10-05_2012 at1854)

the Middle East with the EU but what could possibly account for its common position against Turkish and Russian membership into the EU. This brings a rethinking that every society has a fraction of a people who are not satisfied with the totality, but this fraction that epitomizes a spark remains irrelevant and fireless until someone comes to fuel it up.

4.2.2 External Factors

External obstacles relate to all forms of imperialism or neocolonialism on the continent. Economically, this is visible through such masterminds like the predicament of the CFA zone countries, SAPs, foreign aid, trade imbalance, and exploitation that altogether contribute in keeping Africa dependent, underdeveloped and divided for as long as possible. Also the recent proliferation of American military bases as well as French military presence in some former French colonies on a continent that seeks unity, development and economic growth does not provide a fertile ground for unity to flourish. Besides, US Security advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski, is said to have intimidated that “In earlier times it was easier to control a million people than physically to kill a million people. Today, it is infinitely easier to kill a million people than to control a million people ...that bears directly on the use of force, particularly by societies that are culturally alien over other societies”¹⁰⁴. This falls in line with claims that the aids virus was developed following Henry Kissinger’s advice to the White House to depopulate Africa in order to keep it under its control¹⁰⁵. Could this be the biological weapon P.W. Botha refers to in his *Secret Plan for Blacks?*¹⁰⁶ While this remains to be certified, it is worthy to note that the HIV/aids pandemic is most prevalent in the southern part of the continent while mortality is very high in Africa, largely due to these pandemics, wars and conflicts. If all these are true then ubuntu is not just needed for Africa, but needs to be extended beyond its territorial confines.

¹⁰⁴ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wKzEpQc-yo8> (Consulted on 10-05-2012 at 14:14)

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UJl8ou1spDQ> (Consulted on 10-05-2012 at 14:18)

¹⁰⁶ <http://www.inthebabeandsuckling.com/bothasplan.html>

Chapter Five

Rethinking pan-Africanism

The desire to seek for avenues by which this gap could be bridged that would inevitably lead to complete unity of Africa, global welfare and happiness of the human family has resulted to exciting new findings and some basic truth which is the only thing that remains constant of all fundamental human values. How this fits in the assumption that “all truth passes through three steps: first it is ridiculed, second, it is violently opposed [and] third it is accepted as being self-evident”¹⁰⁷, remains to be seen. Having established the need for integration, it is crucial to ascertain what needs to be done, how it could be done and by whom.

5.1 Internal Dimension

Initially, a renaissance of conscience is necessary. This stems from the understanding that through the media, the masses have been put under sleeping pills by believing that their continent is cursed with diseases, wars and poverty and cannot survive without foreign aid, credits or assistance. The one way of doing this is by introducing fresh curricula centered on African history, identity, natural and cultural values with a particular attention on peace education that aims to “...define a vision which will allow the setting of a course to be steered and collective objectives to be identified”¹⁰⁸ (Cabezudo and Haavelsrud 2007) and pursued. In conjunction a strong pan-African media, would usher in a renewed spirit of reawakening, nurture we-felling, expose the odd factors and undermine internal differences in the face of common challenges considering the constructivist belief that identities and interest of states are not given but created by their ideas during the process of social interaction with each other¹⁰⁹ (Jackson and Sorenson 2007). In due course it is susceptible to strengthening mutual understanding while instilling confidence. Therefore, an educational system that intends to impact human functionality in the world in which we live could be the key.

¹⁰⁷ Arthur Schopenhauer, http://www.quotationspage.com/quotes/Arthur_Schopenhauer/ (Consulted on 04-05-2012 at 17:37)

¹⁰⁸ Alexia Cabezudo and Magnus Haavelsrud, “Rethinking Peace Education”, in *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies.*, Webel Charles and Galtung Johan (eds), New York: Routledge, 2007., p.280

¹⁰⁹ Jackson and Sørensen. “Wendt” in *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*, 3rd edition, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007., p.168

Besides, that educational system centered on peace, love and good neighborliness would cut through the moral spectrum of the masses who, having understood that someone somewhere benefits from their blood through the arms industry, uniforms and other military apparels, would rise against their elite through peaceful demonstrations, non-violence or simply boycotting goods imported from the companies and countries linked to any practices deemed destructive to peace, unity, love and ubuntu. In the long run and with minimal or no losses of lives, this is likely to not only steam up trade and cooperation with the rest of the world but would compel the others to join the band wagon of ubuntu.

Moreover, through education, raising rebellions would be much more difficult because the loving spirit of Africans would disallow them to be sell-outs of their people with the understanding that there is more to lose as a people than temporary self-gratification. A case in point is that the protesters in Libya in particular, would not have hugged NATO against the country knowing that such a hug would not only ensue to barbarism, civil war, indebtedness or the division and further plundering of the countries' resources but would hit a devastating blow on the three major financial institutions which raised the hopes of many for development, growth and pan-Africanism.

Furthermore, a voice or two in the UNSC brought about by concerted diplomacy or strategic pressure would rekindle hopes for pan-Africanism mindful of the fact that such a voice cannot be sustainably effective if divided on common issues. Acting as a frontline defensive tool at the Security Council, it stands a chance to increasing the spirit of interdependence which is an indispensable ingredient in unity because no African country, however mighty it may become can single handedly defeat imperialism.

Another way of doing it could be by linking up pan-African movements or institutions with ubuntu-inspired pan-African think tanks, students and pressure groups on the continent and across the globe to expose all acts and actors that perpetrate injustice, division and inequality and any project that aims to infringe peace, freedom and harmony. This plays a dual role of enlightenment and preemptive division and conflicts.

However, though it is recognized that this can only be done by Africans willing to brave the danger of their liberation and unity as captured by John Stuart Mill when he posits that "...the

virtues of freemen cannot be learnt in the school of slavery... [and because] the liberty which is bestowed [on a people] by other hands other than their own, will have nothing real, nothing permanent. No people ever was and remained free, but because [the people were] determined to be so; because neither its rulers nor any other party in the [world] could compel it to be otherwise”¹¹⁰ and considering the arguable fact that not everyone amongst the foreign powers scorns African unity, the continent can count on reliable foreign effort.

5.2 External Dimension

Because Africa is part of a broader world, external assistance could be as helpful as the lessons the continent has learnt from its history which could be termed to have largely contributed to the blooming of the concept of ubuntu in the inner chambers of the African person. Nevertheless, this assistance depends on the following preconditions:

- That the external partners are honest with the creed on *human rights, freedom, equality, humanitarian assistance, the Whiteman’s burden, foreign aid, UN millennium goals, “helping people help themselves”* and so on.
- That the UN has not only given terror to Africa because “Terrorism is not only [that] of al Qaeda, the status quo is also terrorism”¹¹¹
- That “...the hegemonic center [, US and its allies do not aim] to further its accumulation of capital at the expense of its periphery, [Africa and other third world countries]”¹¹² (Sing and Lauderdale 2010) by plundering their “Natural resources [which] are an important source of conflict in Africa”¹¹³ (Bjørn Møller 2005)
- That they are serious and “interested in changing something in [Africa], and do not only want to appear as a sum of dreaming persons taking care of abused human rights, [but

¹¹⁰http://oll.libertyfund.org/index.php?option=com_staticxt&staticfile=show.php&title=255&search=%22A+Few+Words+On+Non-intervention%22&chapter=21666&layout=html#a_809352 (Consulted on 15/12/2011, 12:51)

¹¹¹ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2mtAOCwJCW0_ (Consulted on 15-12-2011 at 11:35)

¹¹² Andre Gunder Frank, quoted in *Theory and Methodology of World Development: The Writings of Andre Gunder Frank*, Chew C. Sing and Pat Lauderdale (eds.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010., p.160

¹¹³ Rolf Holmboe, Conflict, “Human Security, Governance and Development” in *The Third World*, Bjørn Møller (ed.) DIR & Institute for History, International and Social Studies, 2005, p.79

willing to embrace] a culture of talking and changing ideas, even if some of the ideas at the first moment seem provocative”¹¹⁴ (Ingruba 2004)

- That Nkrumah was wrong when he warned Africa against dependence on capitalist global institutions such as the UN and the Bretton Woods institutions like the IMF and World Bank; stressing that the UN is the tool of the elite states which control the Security Council and that it was / is "just as reliable an instrument for world order and peace as the Great Powers are prepared to allow it to be"¹¹⁵ (Nkrumah 1961).

On these premises, the one landmark that will immortalize a hallmark in world history is for the partners to recognize the fact that it is Africa’s right to unite and to make mistakes in the process of doing so, just like other territorial entities. And that rather than the unwelcomed transfer of bombs, that of technology would be appreciated because as much as bombs are not good for cities like London, New York, Paris or Washington, they are not good for cities like Abidjan, Benghazi or Tripoli. This landmark would then be transmitted through an information or educational system that aims to make people stop believing “much of what [they] learned from elementary school on, which is reinforced daily in the mass media. [so that they] can begin to think in ways that...permit [them] to analyze more cogently and more usefully [the African project and join in the celebration as much as we all do the EU, the USA or the defeat of the Axis, in WWII]”¹¹⁶ (Wallerstein 2004)

¹¹⁴ Daniela Ingruba, “War on Terrorism in International Intervention” in *The Post-Cold War World: Moral Responsibility and Power Politics*, Davies C. Michael et al (eds.) New York: M.E Sharp, 2004, p.193

¹¹⁵ Kwame Nkrumah, (1961) *I speak of Freedom* pxii

¹¹⁶ Immanuel Wallerstein. *World Systems Analysis*. London:Duke University Press, 2004., p.xii

Chapter Six

Recommendations and Conclusion

The African story is pregnant with evidence that warrant a pan-African front within the concept of ubuntu to tackle present and future challenges. While paying tribute to Nkrumah and other pan-African pioneers for planting a tree that is still to bear ripe fruits, there seems to be no excuse of failure. The common upshot has been a shifting of the blame to those who divided or exploited the continent. But had the African story been different, it is unlikely that Africa would be seeking to stand tall on the world stage to pioneer the transformation of tears into joy, division of the human family into unity, war into peace, hatred into love, rivalry into cooperation and suspicion into trust. Therefore, that history should be perceived as part of the human story that is filled with mistakes which can only be made right through self-evaluation and constructive reaction in order to not make worse mistakes than the initial mistakes. Constructive reaction here refers to accepting responsibility of failure, asking the right questions, providing the right answers and willing to forgive because everyone needs forgiveness. Thus, the future of Africa and that of the world depends on our common response to acts of injustice and those who perpetrate them. While it is true that no empire rooted in blood ever stood the test of time, it is important to note that change can only be brought about through honest commitment.

Therefore, a positive response that would lead to the realization of this dream is captured by Nkrumah when he posits that, “The first step towards our cohesive economy would be a unified monetary zone, with, initially, an agreed common parity for our currencies... and a single bank of issue”¹¹⁷ (Nkrumah 1973). Keenly implemented, there is likelihood for it to result to an unprecedented economic prosperity, development and human welfare.

Besides, it would relieve Africa’s partners from the huge burden they shoulder through foreign aid, refugees, illegal migration, huge military spending and counter accusations of wrongful agendas and conspiracies against Africa. As a result, while the continent would be able to take care of its own problems, the partners would have huge savings in their budget that could be

¹¹⁷ Kwame Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, International publishers, Ney York, 1973, p.242

redirected towards other investments or bailing out defaulting economies that is widespread in Europe for the time being.

In addition, it would undermine the threats of war considering that natural resources have been identified as a major source of conflicts on the continent and rather than rivalry, it is certain to providing a leeway to cooperation void of suspicion and greed.

Moreover, a peaceful and progressive society ignites constructive democratic change, transparency in management and accountability. This landmark would thus mark the end of dictators, puppets, traitors, crimes against humanity and ICC which has been increasingly criticized for being partial as many consider it to have been established for the sole purpose of judging African leaders who refuse to condone with imperialism.

Furthermore, it is likely to give way to a reconciliatory platform between Christians, Muslims and traditionalist which preoccupy the belief centre of most people on the continent because in contrast to atheist, they all believe in a supernatural entity who only differs in name from one language to another. Thus in response to multifold skepticism, religious diversity on the continent is a boon not a bane. This links up with the recognition of all African languages as official, while the AU currently uses Arabic, English, French, Portuguese, Spanish and Swahili for mass communication.

However, this process requires a reassurance for some interest groups who wrongfully think that a united Africa stands as a threat to their interests which include oil and other minerals as captured by Rolf Holmboe when he stresses that “Natural resources are an important source of conflict [and imperialism] in Africa”¹¹⁸ (Bjørn Møller 2005). But several such examples of reassurance abound on the continent due to the loving nature of humanity that flows in the veins of the African people to which post apartheid South Africa is an outstanding finger pointer. Other examples include: the pardoning by Qaddafi of foreign medics who deliberately injected Libyan children with HIV/aids virus, the pardoning of French NGO workers by the Chadian president for attempting child trafficking and that of Margaret Thatcher’s son, Simon Mann by the Equatorial-Guinean president following his involvement in a failed coup attempt against his

¹¹⁸ Rolf Holmboe, Conflict, “Human Security, Governance and Development” in *The Third World*, Bjørn Møller (ed.) DIR & Institute for History, International and Social Studies, 2005., p.79

oil rich country, or better still Angola's willingness to bail out its former colonial master Portugal.

On the other hand, any failure to bridge the gap is likely to result to the postponement of the dream. A dream that would be inherited by our children; most of whom might never celebrate their eighteenth birthday due to wars, diseases, poverty, draught or who might never see light because foreign aid(s) is now being conditioned by the acceptance of same sex marriages and with poverty looming in the backyard, very few would be interested to having children they cannot cater for. Same sex relationships, otherwise known as homosexuality, it should be recalled, accounted for the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.

Finally, it is important to speak the truth and face it even if it means making some sacrifices while there is still some time. In Nkrumah's words, "We have the blessing of the wealth of our vast resources, the power of our talents and the potentialities of our people. Let us grasp now the opportunities before us and meet the challenge to our survival."¹¹⁹ Done otherwise, it is only when all our waters would be filled with blood, the banking system frozen, the earth crust torn apart by quakes, the cities over flooded by hurricanes, huts in villages proven more secure than mansions or bunkers in big cities and the air polluted by nuclear excesses, then and only then shall we come to a consensus that money and power cannot afford us everything we desire for "It [would be] easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God"¹²⁰ (The Gideons International 1978). Are we prepared to bridge the gap?

¹¹⁹ KwameNkrumah. *Address to the National Assembly*. 26 March 1965, available on <http://www.panafricanperspective.com/nkrumahquotes.html> (Consulted on 12-05-2012 at 03:00)

¹²⁰ The Gideons International. *Holy Bible*, National Publishing Company, Florida, 1978, P.1044

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