

THE INFLUENCE OF PAN AFRICANISM ON AFRICA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, 1945-1965

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ABSTRACT

As a philosophy, Pan Africanism represents the historical, cultural, spiritual, scientific, and philosophical legacies of Africans from past times to the present. It as a system that traces its history from ancient period, and promotes values that are the product of the African civilization, foreign policies, and the struggles against slavery, racism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. It aimed at encouraging and strengthening bonds of solidarity and unity between all people of African descent and thus has numerous impacts in the African continent. The thrust of this study, however, is to examine the influence of Pan Africanism on Africa's international relations from 1945 to 1965. This work will showcase how Pan Africanism affected the behavior, interactions and foreign policies and relations of African states during the period under review.

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INTRODUCTION

Pan Africanism can be said to have its origins to the fight of the African people against enslavement and colonialism. It was then an activity against the oppression and exploitation of the Negroes and racial doctrines that marked the era of slavery, which may be link to the first resistance on the slave ships through the continual plantation and colonial uprisings and back to Africa movement of the 19th century. However, it was in the twentieth century that Pan Africanism arose as a distinct political movement hitherto formed and led by the Diasporas. In 1900, Henry Sylvester Williams organized a conference that took place in London to protest racial segregation and other problems with interests to blacks (Esedebe, 1982). Later, it was the African American scholar and writer Dr W. E. B Du Bois who organized the first Pan African congress in 1919 in Paris, France. Again it demanded independence for African nations. Further congresses were held in 1921 (London, Brussels, Paris), 1923 (London and Lisbon), 1927 (New York). Each reiterated and refined

the fight for rights and freedom and built support for the cause. Meanwhile, the most significant was the 5th congress held in Manchester in 1945. For the first time, a large number of Africans from the continent were present and the meeting provided impetus for the various post war independence movement. By 1963, there were 31 independent nations. Some were agitating for immediate continental political union while others favored slower steps towards unity. Throughout the 20th century, cultural Pan Africanism weaved through the political narrative-the Harlem renaissance, francophone philosophies of Negritude, Afrocentrism, Rastafarianism and Hip Hop, artists of African origin and heritage have found inspiration in and been drawn to exploring and communicating their connections with the continent (Legum, 1965). The 6th and 7th Pan African congresses in Tanzania and Uganda respectively, took place by the radical black movements. It aimed to creating a big and open coalition of all citizens of African countries and people of African heritage in Diaspora. In the meantime, Ghana attainment of

Independence in 1957 marked a significant milestone, not just for the people of Ghana, but also for Africans and those in the Diaspora. It aided to intensify the struggle by the people of Africa for the complete independence of the continent from colonial domination and equally developed an irreversible march towards the vision of Pan-African leaders of the time.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

Pan Africanism can be seen as an international intellectual movement that aims to encourage and strengthen bonds of unity between entire people of African origin. It is grounded on the doctrine that unity is essential to economic, social, and political progress and aims to bring and uplift people of African origin. According to W. O. Alli, Pan Africanism includes the intellectual, political and economic cooperation that should lead to the political unity of Africa (Alli, 1999). Paul Gilroy suggests that Pan Africanism posits a sense of a shared historical fate for Africans in the Americas, West Indies, and, on the continent itself, has centered on the Atlantic trade in slaves, African slavery, and European imperialism (Gilroy, 1993). To George Shepperson Pan Africanism was a gift of the New World America to the old world of Africa. It is grounded in an ideology of resistance from colonial and European domination (Shepperson, 1972). On a general note, Pan Africanism can mean the doctrine of political union of all indigenous habitants of Africa that cares with promotion of African race, culture, and achievements.

PAN AFRICAN CONGRESSES

Although the precise origin is disputed, the term Pan-Africanism emerged in 1890s. And according to P. O Esedebe, the Chicago Congress on Africa held in 1893 signifies both the transition of Pan-Africanism from an idea to a recognizable movement⁶. while Adi and Sherwood in the book, "Pan Africanism: Political Figures from Africa and the Diaspora Since 1787" point to the creation of the African Association in 1898 and the convening of the first Pan-African conference in 1900 in London, both organized by Trinidad lawyer Henry

Sylvester Williams with the objective of bringing into closer touch with each other the peoples of African descent throughout the world, as the beginning of the organized Pan African movement (Adi and Sherwood, 2003). This congress drew to London about thirty two participants from Africa, the United States, the Caribbean, and parts of Europe. The London Pan-African conference produced the Pan-African Association which replaced the African Association. The PAA (Pan African Association), however, continued the work of the African Association but took as its goal creating a Pan-African movement. Its aims included securing civil and political demands for African people; promoting peaceful relations between races; encouraging African peoples in education, industry, and business; and ameliorating conditions of black people in Africa, America, the British Empire, and other areas of the world. When Henry Williams left London for the Caribbean in early 1901, many of the PAAs London based members ended the organization. Though Williams would return and attempt to create the organization, it faded silently into history. W. E. B Dubois made important speeches to the meetings of the Chicago Congress and the Pan-African 1900 Conference. Although Williams failed to make plans for a second conference to fruition, Dubois soon formulated his own movement, resulting in five Pan African Conferences during the first half of the 20th century (1919, Paris; 1921, London, Brussels, Paris; 1923, London and Lisbon; 1927, New York; 1945, Manchester). During this time, the nature of Pan-Africanist cultural and political activities changed drastically. Dubois arranged for the African Congress to meet in Paris, and it was organized in February 19-21, 1919. Chaired over by Blaise Diagne of Senegal and Dubois, it brought delegates throughout the African Diaspora, though no delegates came from the British West Indies, hardly any were present from West Africa. White delegates from France, Belgium, and Portugal defended their countries' colonial policies, while the U. S representative William Walling maintained that changes to American racial programs was on horizon. Indeed, the resolution adopted at the

conference was more towards moderation and gradual reform than anything approximating a fight for immediate independence. The resolution called on the proposed League of Nations to develop rules for governing African colonial subjects and put forward a series of guidelines for ruling Africans and peoples of African origin. Dubois seemed to know the problems that attended the first Pan African congress, importantly the lack of voice of African themselves. In organizing the second congress, he posited a desire to "have a strong representation of the West Africans". The second congress met in London, August 27-29, 1921, and in Brussels and Paris from August 31 to September 2 1921. Significantly, a third of its participants came from Africa, only seven of the 133 came from the Caribbean. The congress resolution came out more forcefully for self-autonomy in Africa, the transfer of expropriated lands, the development of the masses, and for race rulers to move themselves more closely to black workers rather than white capitalists. This conference also established a second Pan-African Association, which Dubois controlled. This PAA worked little better than its first iteration, but it did allow Dubois to starve off the deep schisms that started to arise between the Anglophone participants. In 1923 Dubois was able to call a third PAC in London and in Lisbon, Portugal. The fourth PAC, convened by the "Women's International Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations" met in 1927. Initially it was to meet in Tunisia or the Caribbean, but when the French and British governments blocked the conference, it was shifted to New York City. At the New York conference, former African blood brothers Richard B. Moore and Otto Huiswoud called the adoption of a resolution supporting black workers and pushing for Egyptian, Chinese, Indian and Indian liberation, and urging Caribbean national liberation and federation.

Furthermore, George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah, led by Ras T. Makonnen and Paul Robeson organized the fifth Pan African Congress in Manchester, England. They invited Dubois to join in the planning and in the congress itself. Africans made up over a quarter

of the delegates at the fifth PAC. This congress resolution was against the monopoly of capital and the rule of private wealth and industry for private profit alone, and unlike previous Pan-African congresses, the 1945 meeting declared "African negroes themselves...capable of expressing their desires" (Martin, 2012). The 1945 congress marked a turning point in the history of Pan Africanism in the sense that:

for the first time representatives of political parties from Africa and the west indies attended the meetings; the conservative policy of the forum gave way to radical social, political and economic demands; congress participants unequivocally demanded an end to colonialism in Africa; and urged colonial subjects to use strikes and boycotts to end the continents social and political exploitation by colonial powers (Adi and Sherwood, 1787).

The 1945 congress marked a watershed for the eventual decolonization of the African continent through its resolution for an end to racial segregation and colonization. The resolution and declaration did not only move forward the hopes and aspirations for a united Africa, but also put in a dose of radicalism which was taken back to Africa and improved the fight for independence. Prominent among the twenty six representatives from Africa who attended the congress were Hastings Banda of Malawi, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Obafemi Awolowo of Nigeria, and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. More so, Tanzania president Julius Nyerere organized Pan African congress in June-17-19, 1974, Dares Salaam. Commonly called the six PAC, this was first congress held in Africa. Nyerere considered this meeting, coming after national liberation had spread throughout Africa and the Caribbean, as a means to deliberate the means and further the progress of opposition to racialism, colonialism, oppression and exploitation everywhere. The resolution of the congress, however, mainly focused on neo colonialism, apartheid in South Africa, Class

differences, and Palestinian liberation movement.

The 7th Congress in Kampala, Uganda in 1994 sort to implement and rectify the 1974 Tanzanian conference resolutions by building a permanent organizational structure to execute decisions taken at the congress meeting. The major significance of this conference is that it established the Pan African youth movement, and the Pan African women's liberation organization to address the specific needs and aspirations of youths and women activists in the Pan African movement (Adejumobi, 2001).

Finally, another Pan African Congress was held 21 years later in Accra, Ghana from 5th to 7th march, 2015. The then president of Ghana, John Mahama officially opened the 8th Pan African Congress and delivered a keynote address calling all African governments and people to take practical steps collectively for the unity and development of Africa¹⁴. The 8th Pan African Conference resolutions through its commissions include: Pan African alternatives to neo-liberalism and for sustainable development; strengthening global solidarity and voice of the Pan African women's movement; and enhancing Pan Africanism through democracy and justices, etc.

THE IMPACT OF PAN AFRICANISM ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF FOREIGN POLICIES OF AFRICAN STATES (1945-1965)

The post independent African states majorly started from the period between 1957 upwards; this period was a remarkable and dynamic period in Africa history. It was also a period when the dynamics of African foreign policy began to take new shape. It is pertinent to ask one salient question why 1957 was synonymous for the changing dynamics of African's foreign policy. One major factor was the significance of Ghana independence on 6th of March 1957. Ghana had been pivotal for the Pan African movement in Africa. Ghana attainment of Independence in 1957 marked a significant milestone, it served to pave the way for closer co-operation among African people. Thus from 1958 onwards, the notion of Pan-Africanism moved from ideas to the formulation

of practical policies and programs. In April 1958, Kwame Nkrumah convened a meeting in Accra, with the exception of South Africa, of all the independent African states- Egypt, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Liberia, Morocco and Ethiopia. It was attended by 250 delegates, in order that they should recommit themselves to supporting independence for the rest of the continent (Marika, 2012). The broadest representation of the numerous political and public organizations in African countries was achieved through the First All African People's Conference that met under a motto "Hands off Africa! Africa must be Free!" It aided to increase the struggle by Africa people for the complete emancipation of the continent from colonial rule. The conference established its basic tenets of Pan Africanism: the attainment of political independence; assistance to national liberation movements; diplomatic unity between independent African states at the United Nations; and Non-alignment. Meanwhile, in 1959, Nkrumah, President Sekou Toure of Guinea and President William Tubman of Liberia met at Sanniquellie and signed the Sanniquellie declaration outlining the doctrines for the achievement of the unification of independent African states. The declaration called for a revised understanding of Pan Africanism and the unity of independent states. More so, the second meeting of independent African states was held in Tunis in January 1960 and the third in Cairo, Egypt in March 1961. From conference to conference there was a great desire for unity and on 25th may, 1963, 32 African Heads of State and Government came together in Addis Ababa to form the O. A. U (Organization of Africa Unity), an important step in the march towards African integration. Kwame Nkrumah at the formation of O. A. U states:

African nationalism was not confirmed to the Gold Coast. From now on it must be Pan African nationalism and the ideology of African political consciousness and African political emancipation must spread throughout the whole continent (James, 1995).

It must be emphasized that, long before the formation of the O. A. U, a lot of effort had been made to articulate Africa's aspirations for freedom, equality, justice and progress. The founding of the O. A. U can therefore be credited to the earlier work of the pan African leaders and movement. As the number of independent African states continued to grow in the 1960s, the need to preserve and maintain their independence, to ensure cooperation among themselves for economic and social growth as well in the world affairs, and to support the independence of the rest of the African countries motivated African states to build a common continental forum for the formulation and defense of their goals and aspirations.

Nigeria was another important West African country that geared the Pan-Africanist movement. Prior to her independence many Nigerian nationalists and Africanists contributed immensely to the liberation of Africa, even though her foreign policy like most other African colonies under colonial government were marred or determined by the metropolis. However, nationalist like Nnamdi Azikwe (National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon), Ransome Kuti, Herbert Macaulay, Mallam Aminu Kano (Northern People's Congress); Adewale Thompson, the secretary of Conventions People's Party (CPP) of Nigeria, Kole Balogun of the NCNC Youth Association in Nigeria amongst other were vocal in the call for Africa's freedom. From 1960, when Nigeria attained independence, her foreign policy took a radical dimension. Africa became the centre piece of Nigeria's foreign policy. The idea is centered on the understanding that Nigeria's involvement in the world affairs will be looked at the binoculars of Africa. As Nigeria Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hon. Aja Wachukwu averred on the imperative an Afrocentric policy. "Charity begins at home and therefore any Nigerian foreign policy that does not take into consideration the peculiar position of Africa is unrealistic".

Pan Africanism also influenced the political and foreign policies in Guinea especially under Ahmed Sekou Toure. France colonized Guinea and still wants to exercise

political influence and control in Guinea like in other Francophone countries. France offered its colonies a choice between freedom and becoming a formal part of the French nation to avoid armed revolutions. However, under the leadership of Toure, Guinea rejected the offer in favor of peace, and led the way for the rest of francophone Africa to declare their independence as well. His foreign policy actively includes decolonization process against the French, the full independence and stability in Guinea and the fight for African unity and dignity. The French punished Guinea by breaking political and economic ties with her. Ahmed Toure has been criticized as a dictator, but his strategies were effective in stabilizing the country and banning potential political allies of Europe. When Nkrumah was overthrown in Ghana, Ahmed Sekou Toure offered him asylum and made him co-president. As a notable figure in pan Africanist movement, Toure continuously opened his country to activists facing political persecution in the United States, including Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael.

In Southern Africa region, South Africa established a distinctive kind of race consciousness in the form of Ethiopianism. Ethiopianism arose in reply to European colonial settlement, the institutionalization of white supremacy, and rapid industrialization. It became a significant means of spreading proto-nationalist ideas and a sense of Pan African unity in south eastern and southern Africa (Lemelle and Robin, 1994). Specifically in South Africa, Pan Africanism did have some influence in the liberation of the country or their foreign policy. This was because the period was the height of racial domination and segregation in South Africa. White domination at this time was becoming more enhanced and oppressive. Pan Africanism contributed to the rise of nationalist in South Africa, including Robert Sobukwe, Peter Abraham, Alfred Xuma, Anton Lembede, Desmond Tutu, Jordan Ngubane, and Nelson Mandela. Pan African Congresses and Afro American Pan Africanists like Dubois, Marcus Garvey, and Bylden greatly influenced the nationalist's activities for men like Robert Sobukwe and Peter Abraham, and later

Desmond Tutu and Nelson Mandela to fight against Apartheid and White majority rule in South Africa. Additionally, they isolated themselves from other parts of Africa and adopted an Exceptional Policy; because they felt that their struggle was different from other Africans. However, the nationalists and resistance against Apartheid by African National Congress, the independence of Ghana in 1957 and the first African congress held in Accra in 1958 by Nkrumah led to a paradigm shift and a push for Pan- Africanism in South Africa, and thus led to the formation of Pan- Africanist Congress in 1959 and Robert Sobukwe becoming its first leader²¹. Pan-Africanism also led to the formation of Black Consciousness Movement- a grass root anti-Apartheid activist that emerged in the mid-1960s to fill the political vacuum created by the jailing and banning of the African Nationalist Congress and Pan Africanist Congress leadership after the Sharpsville Massacre. The Black Consciousness Movement represented a march for political consciousness and was established by Steve Biko. More so, Anton Lembede (one of South Africa nationalists) was influenced by George Padmore. He called for a massive struggle and confrontation with white racism and domination. He and his other followers believed Africans had common problem, they had to recognize their common identity, their common oppression, and the need for common action. In the 1950s, the ANC (African National Congress) became more tolerant and inclusive; it was argued that anyone who opposed apartheid was welcome and included. Secondly, they imbibed a Passive Resistance Approach to eliminate the oppression and dominance. This approach includes administrative and moral confrontation, and boycott. Subsequently, Pan African Congress led to radical approach towards the fight against Apartheid and White supremacy in South Africa which catalyst ANC, Desmond Tutu, and Nelson Mandela to achieve independence later in 1994. Furthermore, in Zimbabwe, the only surviving member of the age of African revolution, Robert Mugabe is African's longest serving democratically elected head of state. Angered that southern Rhodesia

was a British colony control by white elite, Mugabe embraced Marxism and joined Pan Africanists protests calling for an independent black led state. He established Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) which he used to become the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe. He has been praised as a revolutionary hero of the African liberation struggle who helped to free his country from British colonialism, imperialism and white minority rule.

Similarly, Pan Africanism and its ideology majorly influenced the foreign policies articulation in East African country of Tanzania under Julius Nyerere. On 9th December 1961, Tanganyika became an independent Republic and became known from then on as Tanzania. In 1962, it became a one party state under Julius Nyerere following Nyerere's ideologically driven policy of socialism. He was the author of 'The Arusha declaration', a five part manifesto that outlined the creed of the political party of which he was the head, the Policy of Socialism, the Policy of Self Reliance, the TANU Membership; and a Resolution (Campbell, 1975). Julius Nyerere's legacy remains in contention due to strongman political strategies and failed policy. He issued a pamphlet at the formation of O. A. U where he maintains;

For the sake of all African states, large or small African unity must come and it must be real unity. Our goal must be a united states of Africa only this can really give Africa the future her people deserve after centuries of economic uncertainty and social oppression.

Julius Nyerere with the zeal to implement the O.A.U aims and objective convened Pan African Congress in June-17-19, 1974, Dares Salaam. Commonly known as the six PAC, this was first congress held in Africa. Nyerere considered this meeting, coming after national liberation had spread throughout Africa and the Caribbean, as an opportunity to discuss the means and further the progress, of opposition to racialism, colonialism, oppression and exploitation anywhere in Africa.

In Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta made Kenya a showcase nation among the former African colonies. Kenyatta pursued a non-aligned but pro-western foreign policy and followed an orthodox African policy towards the Apartheid tactics of Rhodesia and South Africa. The Manchester Congress in 1945 which urged colonial subjects to use boycotts and strikes to end the continents social economic and political exploitation by colonial powers, influenced and led the Mau-Mau revolt between 1952 and 1960, and also as a result of the inspiration they drew from Jomo Kenyatta. In 1971, Jomo Kenyatta became the unmitigated leader in East Africa and achieved his greatest foreign policy success when he helped to settle a border dispute between Uganda and Tanzania. Under his foreign policy, the European settler problem disappeared in Kenya, and Kenya made conscious efforts towards greater African freedom and unity.

Furthermore, Pan Africanism sentiment in Ethiopia has been well by some its leaders. There is one important motive as to why Ethiopia is very Pan Africanist. It has to do with the segregation of the country by racially white people, and the fact that Ethiopia was not colonized and thus doesn't have any colonial heritage. Also for a long time, she had to defend its territories from invasion by Europeans expansionist and frequent attacks in North Africa. This has pushed her to Non Alignment movement first and later becoming leading African voice. Ethiopia under Haile Selassie was fighting in Manchester, Geneva and Israel, and he engaged with many Pan African congresses to fight for African unity and cause as seen in the formation of O. A. U. and she was the first to propose the African standby force, and the establishment of a Pan African university where future African leaders would be groomed.

In D.R. Congo, Pan Africanism influenced the nationalist activities and foreign policy afterwards under Patrice Lumumba who Malcolm X described as the most important black man ever lived. Lumumba attended the first all-African people's conference in Accra, Ghana in 1958 where he met nationalists across the African continent and was made a member

of the permanent organization created by the conference. His nature and vocabulary motivated by Pan African goals now took on the tenor of militant nationalism. Lumumba emerged as the leading nationalist politician of the Congo and later was asked to form the first government which he did in June 1960. After independence, Lumumba changed his foreign policy which was directed to anti-colonial influence and liberation efforts of other African movements. Before he was assassinated in 1961, he fought for attainment of political independence across Africa.

Furthermore, an important characteristic of the postwar period was the merger of Pan-Africanism and Pan-Arabism, which had initially remained distinct movements in North Africa. The flowering of anti-imperialist movements in North Africa after Second World War, and especially the Egyptian revolution of 1952, however, marked the emergence of a fusion of the two movements. Initially, this resulted principally from the political vision of Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918-1970), who succeeded Muhammad Naguib (1901-1984) as Egypt's leader. He maintained that his country had historically occupied the "Center of three concentric circles"- the Arab world, the Muslim world, and Africa- and argued on this basis that Egypt should not remain indifferent to liberation struggles in sub-Saharan Africa²⁵. The triumphant resolution of the Suez crisis in 1956 also enhanced Nasser's international standing, making him a source of inspiration and a symbol of the larger struggle to free Africa and the Arab world from European hegemony. More so, the final bloody years of the Algerian war of independence (1954-1962) also strengthened ties between Pan-Arabism and Pan Africanism. The anti-colonial war in Algeria had originally divided intellectuals and politicians in Francophone Africa; due to the special status accorded the territory as a lawful part of France. This began to change, however, after Ghana's independence in 1957 and 1958 First All Africa Conference, when Nkrumah an outspoken proponent of the Algerian cause became the Ghana president. In addition to Nkrumah's Ghana, Guinea and Mali joined the

predominantly Arab pro-Algerian Casablanca group, and Nkrumah became the first sub-Saharan Africa leader to support Arab nations in denouncing Israel as a weapon of neo-colonialism in Palestine when he supported the Casablanca declaration. Thus, after Algeria gained its independence in 1962, the O. A. U arose as the basic agent of Arab-African cooperation after 1963. Another impact of Pan Africanism could be seen in Libya under Muammar Gaddafi who fought for total liberation of his oil rich country. Libya under Gaddafi made decolonization process a strong tool in his foreign policy analysis. Muammar Gaddafi was the first African leader to propose and work towards a unified passport system, one African currency, and pan African trade blocks to establish an independent unified economy. Gaddafi like Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe ended virtually all relations with the west in favor of building alliances with his own people and Arabs. At the instance of Libya under Gaddafi, African Union was formed in Sirte Libya in March 2001 to address the marginalization of Africa in international affairs. Libya under Gaddafi was the best hope for a true United States of Africa, until he was allegedly assassinated by a United States backed Coup d'état in 2011.

Conclusively, Pan African congresses and goals influenced Leopold Senghor of Senegal through his political philosophy "Negritude", Houphouet Boigny of Ivory Coast, Ahidjo of Cameroon, Madibo Keita of Mali, Gamel Nasser of Egypt, Banga of Malawi, Augustine Neto of Angola, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, and Nelson Mandela of South Africa to fight and achieve political independence in their respective countries. Also Pan African congress of 1945 and first African people's congress in 1958 specifically influenced various liberation movements in Africa like MPLA (People Movement for Liberation of Angola) in Angola, SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) in Namibia, ANC (African National Congress) in South Africa, ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) in Zimbabwe, ANP (African National Party) in Kenya, NCNC (National council of Nigeria and Cameroon) in

Nigeria, and GPRA (Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic) in Algeria. Pan-African movement as well influenced and sparked of series of resistance movement by the colonized people of Africa. For example, in Southern Africa, there was the Soweto uprising which led to the killing of 176 people by the South African Security Forces²⁶. The unrest spread like wildfire throughout the country. In East Africa, particularly in Kenya, after the Manchester Congress, there was the Mau-Mau revolt between 1952 and 1960 as a result of the inspiration they drew from Jomo Kenyatta, a Kenya Pan-Africanists. Its core message to the colonisers was "give me liberty" or "give me death". A decade later, the British relinquished their grip in the East African country. And as stated earlier, in South Africa, Pan-Africanism led to the formation of Black Consciousness Movement- a grass root anti-apartheid activist that emerged in the mid-1960s to fill the political vacuum created by the jailing and banning of the African Nationalist Congress and Pan Africanist Congress leadership after the Sharpeville Massacre.

CONCLUSION

The concept of Pan-Africanism has continued to evolve, weighed by the problems and aspirations of Africans. During the independence period, this principle made Africans to overcome subjugation and discrimination by stopping colonialism and apartheid in the continent. The possibility of rapid socio-economic and political development of the continent was another aim promoted from early days. As noted by Emperor Hailé Selassié during the creation of the OAU, "Unless the political liberty for which Africans have for long struggled is complemented and bolstered by a corresponding economic and social growth, the breath of life which sustains our freedom may licker out."²¹This assertion still rings true.

However, despite high political mobilization for the liberation from domination, Africa has failed to achieve its full potential. It is well known that in the early 1960s, at the time of the creation of the OAU, there was high hope that Africa will do well. Many African countries

were at level or had even higher GDP rates than their countries in Asia. It could be stated that the GDP per capita of Ghana and South Korea was at the same par in 1960. Up until 1975, the fastest growing developing economy in the global world was Gabon. Botswana's growth was higher than that of Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia, and Thailand. Despite the optimism of the period, Africa was unable to complete the transformation journey which Asia has to a high degree now crossed. However, as we entered the 21st century, Pan-Africanism reflected Africa's conscious effort for not only political independence, and regional integration, but also the throwing of the tutelage of economic dependence and democratic setback that had seen it reversed the short lived prosperity of the independence period. This showed making a new economic positioning partnership in which Africa as an equal partner would negotiate with the rest of the world without missing the key tenets of unity, and freedom. Meanwhile, the future of Pan Africanism lies in the strength of the society and zeal to bring together young people, workers, political organizers, trade unionists, women activists and intellectuals behind a common mission of black empowerment at a global level.

Finally, it will be pertinent to raise the question of the place of Pan Africanism today? In March 2015, another Pan-African conference of major historical symbolism was held in Ghana. Its preoccupation was now that Africa is virtually free from former colonization, what can Africans do about its current problems of under-development and dependency?

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