Pan Africanism: Echoes of History in the New Millennium

ABSTRACT

The paper did set out to examine the evolutionary trend of "Pan Africanism" through the several historical and sociological and into the new millennium. The new millennium is presenting Africa and Africans with mirage of problems with some of these problems are carried over from the colonial past into the present. All of Africa's problems had kept the continent in constant state of flux with no clear cut direction on how to engender growth and development. Africa's problems in the new millennium includes hunger and shelter, unemployment and under employment, bad government and governance, diseases, climate change, terrorism, woeful economic performances and debt and colonial legacies. The interplay of these problems culminated in the relegation of the African continent to the "backwaters" of global "politics and economics". The question then is - what role has Pan Africanism played in the liberation of the African continent from the shackles of neo- colonialism. The attempt at proffering answers to the question did inadvertently lead the paper to several conclusions thus the recommendations canvass herein.
Keywords: *Pan Africanism, Geo-Strategic Agendas, Colonial Legacies, Neo-Colonialism, Integration, Development and Globalization.*

Emimeke Henry Dienye PhD
Department of History and Diplomatic Studies,
Ignatius Ajuru University of Education,
Rivers State, Nigeria.

I. Introduction
Background

The year 2024 would mark 131 years anniversary of "Pan Africanism" since its launch in 1893(Chicago). It was at Chicago that the name "Pan Africanism" was first coined and used. From 1893 onwards, Pan Africanism as a term had transverse several historical and sociological vistas leaving humankind, especially, those in the African continent with some glorious mark or footprints. Though on the flip side, several scholars too have interrogated the claim of "glorious footprints of Pan – Africanism" on the history of humankind and the African continent. Amongst the several issues/ concerns raised by these scholars, some boarders on the impact of "Pan Africanism" at the operational level of society in African states as they have not seen any meaningful growth and development in African states other than the flag independence. Whatever the concerns are and on what side of the divide one finds itself in the debate, one glaring fact is that Pan Africanism still resonates in the cosmic of global discussion and politics, especially, with the ever accelerating speed of globalization and the called for re – colonization of non - European cultures, especially, the African continent from certain quarters of Europe and America. One of the calls for the re - colonization of Africa came from the founder of Black waters Eric Prince (2024) who urged the leading powers in the current global system to kick start the re – colonization project in Africa. The premise of his call was corruption and pillage. This was a re – echo of an earlier call by Copper cited in Mbeki (1999). Copper had noted thus:

> *How should we deal with the pre – modern chaos as manifested in various areas of the world? What form should intervention take? The most logical way to deal with the chaos and the one most employed in the past is colonization. But colonization is unacceptable to post-modern states and (as it happens to some modern states too). It is precisely because of the death of imperialism that we are seeing the emergence of pre modern world...all the conditions f or imperialism are there, but both the supply and*

demand for imperialism has dried up. And yet the weak still need the strong and the strong still need an orderly world. A world in which the efficient and well governed export liberty and which is open for investment and growth... what is needed then is a new imperialism and one acceptable to a world of human rights and cosmopolitan Value.

From the standpoint of these calls, what is worrisome is that they are taking place in this millennium and age. The advocates of the new imperialism and re – colonization project are evidently not satisfy with the current status quo of the current international system, as they have consistently pointed at the ugly resume of Africa that is highlighted by corruption, Maladministration nepotism, hunger and poverty, diseases and failed infrastructural facilities, fail government and governance, sit tight rulers, woeful economic performances and debt. These protagonists have deliberately glossed over or totally ignored those that benefits from the ugly resume of Africa and the continued stay and relegation of Africa to the "back waters of global politics and economics". Further question borders on what lead to the African continent degenerating or sliding into underdevelopment? It is the attempt at proffering answers to the question that lead the paper into interrogating the ugly resume or the sliding of Africa into underdevelopment through the lens or purview of "Pan Africanism in the echoes of history" over time and space.

The Raison D'etre of the Global System and the Dawn of Africa's Subjugation

The import of the examination meant interrogating the "coming into being" of the current international system and the intent of the founders of the current global system. The creation of the current international system was the result of a conscious thinking and reasoning that dates back to 1492, when they (Europeans) introduced a new cartography. This fact was alluded to by Bessis (2003) while declaring that:

The west that was born around the year 1492 involved a radical break in medieval cartography, at once ousting it and taking possession of it to impose a new geography that place its own legitimacy upon a new foundation. In terms of the actual event, it may have been fortuitous that a victorious political – religious eviction so closely coincided with a process of discovery heralded by the whole European dynamic of the fifth teen century. But they formed a unity heavy with long significance that also founded a new ideology. While the conquistador cleared everything in their path in what they called the new world, the renaissance intelligentsia – if we may venture the anachronism- forged a total discourse that gave meaning both to expulsion and to the taking of possession. In this way, it constructed a history that is still the basis of western thoughts. Modern Europe, which really began to see itself as such only in the course of the sixteenth century, first invented itself around a series of myths, each based a rejection... but unlike in the great systemic cosmogonies, it was at the moment when Europe lay claim to reason that it developed its own founding myths.

The crux of Bessis (2003) declaration is that in the series of myths developed by the European around their civilization, there was the deliberate effort of writing off or the blanketing off the history of other civilizations and their contributions of towards the development and growth of their civilization. The primary reason for doing this expunging was for the primary reason of dominating the global system, therefore, the need to "inferiorize" other non-European cultures. It is in this light that the selective reading of European history commenced for the people of west and the gradual expunging of the impacts of non-European civilization on European thoughts. The act of expunging got to its apogee when the renaissance scholars/ thinkers concoct a direct line of descent from Athens, thus, enabling them to forget how they themselves had picked up the thread. The bottom line of all the analysis of Bessis (2003) is that the renaissances humanists were able to reconstruct a past and also decided on the content of its legacies and future boundaries, thus, allowing the new Europe invents its own frontiers beyond which allows for everything supposedly non Greco – Roman or non – Christian to be summarily written off. Again, the import of Bessis (2003) analysis on the thrust paper is that it allows for the appreciating of European intensions and genesis of Africa's continent association with the ugly resume. Part of the new Europe in deciding its content and legacies of its ideology was the crude depopulation of the America's and the fleecing of the African continent which found justification in European religion and racial superiority (ideology). During the time European discourses had begun tilting towards a peculiar path of grounding an ideology of domination upon the products of reason. The banal religious justification had been abundantly employed by armies in different parts of the world (global system) that won over to monotheism – from the "God wishes it"

of the crusaders during the blood bath in occupied Jerusalem, to the "God almighty" of the Arab Horsemen in their drive from the gulf to the Atlantic – but that was no longer adequate to the scale of the dispossession or the or the brutality of the domination. A new argument concerning the superiority of the conqueror was then added, Spain having based its national existence upon the idea of pure blood undertook to ground the legitimacy of its empire upon racial superiority. The rest of Europe fell behind it. Amongst the propagandist of the nascent theory of racial superiority was Juan de Sepulveda who was ingloriously famous for his bad guy role against Bartolomie Las casas's and an apostle of the mantra natural right to domination. Juan de Sepulveda cited in Bessis (2003) noted:

> *And it shall always be right and in accordance with natural rights and in accordance with natural law that these people the barbarous and inhuman nations should be subjected to the rule of more cultivated and humane princes and nations... if they refuse this rule, it may be imposed upon them by means of arms – and this war will be just, as natural law declares it to be... in conclusion; it is just normal and in accordance with natural law that upright, intelligent, virtuous and humane people should have domination over those who lack these virtues.*

While the word "divine" was totally missing in the thoughts of Juan de Sepulveda, it was there in the proverbial status of the hand of the "monkey in the soup" or in supportive capacity or role, thus, it is just and beneficial that they should subservient, and we see this being sanctioned by divine law. For it is written in the books of proverbs the fool shall serve the wise man. The mixture of racial superiority and the ideology that found justification in the divine law and natural rights effectively positioned non-European cultures for the taking. For Pan Africanism, it had its job was well cut out, judging from the objectives and motive of the Europeans that founded the current global system. The central thrust and theme of the Europeans in the "coming into being" of the current global system that commence with the imposition of a new cartography in 1492 was to "inferiorize" everything non-European, especially, when the "inferiorization" found rationalization in the divine law, natural rights, racial superiority and religion. Again, it was the motives and objectives of the Europeans that culminated into making Africa and Africans a "partaker in history" and not a "maker of history" for the obvious reason of wanting to dominate a system put together by themselves. Though, Part of the reason for the effective subjugation of the Africans by the Europeans was traceable to the Trans – Saharan trade of the Arabs. The trade lasted between the 7th - 20th centuries, with an estimated 6 to 7 million taken across the Sahara. The atrocities committed by the Arabs during the Trans Saharan had been clandestinely swept under the radar with little attention paid to it by scholars. But the salient point here is that the depopulation of the African continent had already started way back before the European slave trade and colonialism. For the reason best known to the Arab scholars, they clandestinely prompted the European adventurers with their claim that the Africans are best suited for manual labour, even though their land was flowing with "milk and honey". The Europeans bought this bait hook, line, and sinker without openly acknowledging this fact. Therefore, the prejudicing of the Africans started with the Arabs and got amplified by the Europeans, thus, Trevor – Ropers cited in Imbua, Onor and Odey (2017) claim that:

> *Perhaps in future there will some African history to teach. But at present there is none; there is only the history of the Europeans in Africa. The rest is darkness... darkness is not a subject of history... We cannot therefore afford to amuse ourselves with the unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes in picturesque but irrelevant corners of the globe.*

Again for the purpose of this paper, there is the need to point out that Trevor – Roper was an oxford trained scholar, who early enough choose to warn Africans of the true intent of the Europeans towards them in global system. The academic gyration of the erudite scholar never went unnoticed by Pan Africanist and historian by the name oyebade cite in Imbua, Onor and Odey (2017) when he noted inter alia:

> *As one whose erudite pen carried a lot of weight, his statement on pre - colonial African history was a disservice to the budding historical literature being produced on Africa by early 1960s. From the mid-1950s, African scholars had begun to research pre-colonial African societies and write on their histories. Trevor – Roper's blunt dismissal of efforts was a reminder that western historical tradition was not yet ready to accord intellectual recognition to African historiography. For Trevor Roper and many other imperial historians, the possibility of a pre - European African history as a subject of*

academic study was still a doubtful exercise. The dominant Eurocentric scholarship was not about to relinquish its age – old strangle hold on Knowledge.

The consigning of Africa to the backwaters of global politics and economics, by all intent and purposes was intricately woven to the primary desire, intent and purpose of the custodians (Europeans) of the global system in wanting to dominate the global system. They the custodians (Europeans) of the global system executed their inglorious agenda of fostering negative scholarly reviews on Africa, thus, the various qualifications/ tags Africa had been made to wear – the Dark Continent, white man's grave. In all of these negative qualifications and atrocities that Africa had been made endure, Pan Africa emerge from the horizon to interrogate all the negative labels, thinking, and thoughts associated with her, thus the question–what is "Pan Africanism".

Historicizing the Concept of Pan-Africanism

In giving a chronological development or historicizing the growth of Pan Africanism over time and space is the delivery of the narration about the African continent, its people and origins. Even oral traditions and cultures makes us understand that the narration of history, was shared by both men and women as the case in African, thus, Irvine (1978) contending that "genealogy" is indeed part of African movement and in the historicizing "Pan Africanism". Nwoko (1988) noted that "Pan Africanism" is uniquely a cultural and spiritual movement for the promotion of negritude and it was made popular amongst black Americans and West Indies by a Chicago journalist (Henry Sylvester Williams) in the 1900, but Immanuel Gess suggest that the idea dates back to the 1787, with events such as the agitation of the abolitionist movements and freed slaves in America, Britain, Sierra Leone, Libreville and other west African colonies epitomising it. Some other scholars had traced the idea of "Pan Africanism" to 1783 B.C. and inclusive of all social – historical struggles that occurred within Africa geographical world (Eze, 2019). By all intent and purposes, the idea of "Pan Africanism" emerged around the 15th century. Another salient point worthy of noting is that by the in the period preceding the 15th century race was never a yardstick for the categorization of humans. Over time within the larger context of the European ideology, this was to change and for the negative too, for the reasons of demand for black labour and wealth of the African continent. "Pan Africanism" emerged on the horizon as an intellectual movement and as a product of modernism that pushed the boundaries of "different others" to a new heights, especially, during the period of European enlightenment (civilized and rational man). To this end, Eze (2019) argued thus:

"Pan Africanism" as an intellectual movement is product of modernism insofar as the tapestry of history we share as a radicalized different other emerge during this era. Against a backdrop of the European enlightenment, a new ideal of humanity projects an image of a rational or civilized man. A reaction against the rigidity of medieval scholasticism, the enlightenment argues that human dignity is not a subjective handout conferred through the mercy of the church and the monarchy, rather humanity is embodied in every rational/ civilized individual.

The kernel of Eze's (2019) analysis concerning "human dignity" is that it is not dole out to anybody culture or race talks less of Europeans, like those of the medieval scholasticism. It is this skewed enlightenment and scholasticism that gave energy to the rise of Pan Africanism. The idea of linking together the whole Negro race for political purpose was developed by a wide range of nineteenth century Africa America intellectuals that followed through on the thoughts and philosophy a German philosopher by the name Johann Gottfried Herder (1744 – 1803). Herder held the opinion that people or as they often called nation such as slavs, Germans and Italians were known as central actors of world history, therefore, their identities were expressed largely in language, in literature and in folk culture, hence, the strong desire of such folks to live together in states/ political union that share or holds dear these common affinities. Simply put, because of negative depictions and the "inferiorization" of Africa within the cosmic of the Europeans ideology, Pan Africanism grew as a reaction and response to the negative scholasticism of the medieval Europe. Furthermore, Pan Africanism grew or came about as a result of the desire to awaken the African consciousness. But at the dawn of late 19th and 20th century, it assumed a political dimension through the efforts of Henry Sylvester Williams of Trinidad and William Edwards Burghardt Dubois of the USA, both of African descent that used the term extensively and gloriously too at Pan African congresses. The first Pan Africa congress was held in London in 1900. It was organised by Williams of Trinidad and it explored

among other things, independence of African and the rights of black people in the diaspora. In many ways this first congress of Pan Africanism afforded scholarship, Africans and Africa to view the future of the continent from multiple lenses, thus generational and ideological shift made possible especially when compared to the days immediately after slavery. After the period of slavery, Christianity was no longer considered as an essential to ideological and material revival of Africa. In 1919, the second congress took place in Europe and was overwhelmingly dominated by blacks from the diaspora with stars or precursor of the modern Pan African movement in attendance. At this congress Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. Du Bois played key roles in shaping the direction and path towards the future of Africa. An important take away in the first congress was theme that became recurring in future congresses - who will lead Africa out of European cruelty and domination. To Garvey, it was important for Africans to think in terms of race primarily and in this case – Black race as being the first important step toward Africa's liberation. To Du Bois, his views concerning Africa's liberation are well documented in all his works, with the recurring theme that the depiction of Africa by Europeans must change and challenged. These two "Dramatis personae" became the stars of the early times/ phase of Pan African movement that had other stars like Martin Delany (1812- 1885), Alexander Crummel (1882 – 1898) and Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832 -1912). Again, the increasing vigour and the spread of the mantra of the United States of America especially after the WWII – the right of colonial people to self-emancipation/ independence - brought new hopes to several states thus, several states in Africa their taking advantage of mantra, to seek independence and to throwing overboard colonial yoke. The changing global dynamics in the global system drew up new leaders in the Pan African Movement of which Kwame Nkrumah was one. Nkrumah brought in the energy into the advocacy for "African unity" by calling for the United States of Africa within the cosmic of "consciencism". Consciencism grew out the violent and brutal "inferiorization", Africa suffered in the hands of the European up to the period of the congresses, thus Okadigbo (1985) declaring that it was the mist of all happenings that "consciencism" came forth alongside the attempts by African scholars to investigation and document Africa's "consciencism" that was not a product of an individual scholarship. It was the manifestation of a "Geist" - the African Revolutionary idea. Simply put, Nkurumah became the arrow head of Pan Africa movement and an example to the generations of unborn Africans including those in the new millennium. Through "consciencism" the Age of Africa revolution (African Reason) Africa's consciousness became manifest for all to see. While the dialectics and the movement of Pan Africanism over space and time remain central to the theme of this paper, it is pertinent to state that its movement through the historical and sociological moments had made it acquire new indexes.

To this end, Gottschalk (2022), Robert (1973), Abegunrin (2009) and Taye (2019) and oyewole and Joash cited Taye all reference "Pan Africanism" as a philosophy and ideology that incorporates nationalism, political, historical cultural, spiritual and scientific legacies of African people and the Diaspora. Taye (2019) went a step further to declare thus:

> *Pan Africanism is also a cultural and political movement which promotes moral values, social norms traditional principles and customary laws that are the product of ancient African civilizations. Moreover, Pan Africanism as a system has struggle slavery, racism colonialism imperialism and neo colonialism. Major actors of Pan African movement believed that the African people had brought peace and survived long until the coming of the European colonizers by the help of these traditional moral values and customary laws.*

The kernel of Taye (2019) declarations is that there two major goals of "Pan Africanism" identified (1) to abolish slavery and colonialism by using Africanized ideology. (2) To realized "Pan Africanist" dream of the "United States of Africa". Therefore, objectively too, Pan Africanism aimed at correcting historical injustices of slavery, colonialism, and racism and to shoulder the goals of building a supra- state structure/Authority through the elimination of colonial and artificial boundaries/ boarders. In the light of the objectives Bujra (2004) asserted that the Manchester conference, the vision of Africa was encapsulated in the following terms (1) to achieve independence from colonial rule throughout the continent, so that Africans can rule themselves democratically (2) to achieve continental unity so that Africa can (i) experience faster economic growth and catch up with industrial countries and (ii) assume strong position within the international system. Aside being a

political movement and ideology, it encapsulates the spiritual essence of an African. Herein in are the chronological order and evolutionary trend across space and time.

Box 1: Pan—African Congresses

1893: Congress on Africa. Chicago; name "Pan-Africanism" coined.
1900: Pan-African Congress. London.
1919: "First" Pan-African Congress. Paris.
1921: "Second" Pan-African Congress. London, Paris & Brussels.
19205: "African for the Africans" - zenith years for UNIA branches in Africa, -
1923: "Third" Pan-African Congress. London & Lisbon.
1927: "Fourth" Pan—African Congress. New York
1945: "Fifth" Pan—African Congress. Manchester.
1958: First All—Africa People's Conference. Accra.
1960: Second All-Africa People's Conference. Tunis.
1961: Third All-Africa Peoples Conference. Cairo.
1974: "Sixth" Pan-African Congress. Dar-es-Salaam.
1994: "Seventh" Pan-African Congress. Kampala.
2004: AU inaugurates permanent Economic, Social, & Cultural Council, including 20 diaspora NGOs; Diaspora contingent dormant after 2012.
2014: "Eighth" Pan-African Congress. Johannesburg.
2015: "Eighth" Pan-African Congress. Accra.
Source, Gottschalk. 2012,12. http://www.ituc-africa.org/8TH-PAN-AFRICAN-CONGRESS-CALLS-FOR.htrxil.

It is in this light that the African union (AU) defined "Pan Africanism" as an ideology and movement that encourages solidarity of Africa's (black race) worldwide. The salient point to note is that the term "Pan Africanism" as claimed by Eurocentric scholars has no single universally agreed and accepted definition, but underneath this claim of the Europeans, Africa and Africans, that had endured years of fleecing, land grapping, slavery and pillage knows what "Pan Africanism" entails and its definition.

Pan Africanism and Echoes of History in the New Millennium

The new millennium has presented Africans and Africa with mirage of problems with some wearing new cloak in the sense that some of these problems are carried over from previous millennium. To that extent, Africa and Africans had been made to endure several centuries of torment, violence, disdain and dislocation to social, political and economic fibres of their societies depending on the historical and sociological vistas under scrutiny. From the dawn of the current international system and the preceding part of this paper, there was the deliberate attempt at bringing to fore the salient fact of the non-importance of Africa within the global purview of the Europeans as at when they were putting the global system together. Africa was not considered "good enough" to enjoying the same privileges enjoyed by the Europeans; rather, they were only considered "good enough" for the reasons of economic wealth and human labour. Therefore, for the "coming into being" of the current global system that has its roots in the treaty of Westphalia (1648), Africa never had any say in its foundation. By all intent and purposes, from outset, Africa was "marked for death" politically, economically and socially, just like every other non-European culture in the global system. What the "marking for death" meant to the "non-European" cultures was the re- awakening of the latent energy / force that helped them stand up to centuries of abuse, exploitation and domination by the Europeans. To the Africans this energy was encapsulated in Pan Africanism that demands the reawakening of the African spirit in all forms and ramifications. The 20th century witnessed the "coming to fruition" the "reawakening spirit" that had transverse through centuries and several historical and sociological epochs manifesting in independence of African states in the 1960s. These African states were made to embody same old problems of the past that had acquired new boundaries with the passage of time. For example the old style 'inferiorization' now cuts across political social and economic realms. It is so bad now that "inferiorization" is ingrain in the "African consciousness and minds" that "anything European is better". The Berlin conference of 1884 that had just one

theme - partitioning of Africa and the exploitation of Africans and Africa resource lead to the creation of new borders, thus, creating pseudo states administered by European legal system and laws that had become a permanent feature of the current African continent. All of these artificial boundaries created by the Europeans had turned to big social, economic and political problems. In the words of Malisa and Nhengeze, it was a concerted effort by the Europeans at keeping African disunited eternally. In the light of the thoughts of both Malisa and Nhengeze, Rothchild and Harbson (2000) took a "great leap forward" in articulating the problems of African states in this millennium, thus, their conclusion that modern African states are in a constant state of flux. Both scholars noted thus:

> *The weakness currently experienced by many African states is inevitably reflected in the wider system in which they are embedded. With the end of the cold war, African states, largely left to fend for them, have frequently found themselves hard press to fulfil the primary tasks they have set for themselves – namely securing their borders, achieving economic growth and development and providing good governance. Whereas some states have demonstrated a capacity to achieve their main goals in a difficult international environment, others have displayed weak capabilities being unable to regulate their societies effectively or implement their public policies throughout the territory nominally under their control. The problem of weak regulatory capacity is accentuated in some African states by the existence of a low level of political legitimacy.*

Following in the footstep of Rosechild and Harbson (2000) Taye (2019) attempted in an explicit manner encapsulated African problems in this new millennium under the following headings - Geographical and Historical challenges, security challenges, Political and leadership challenges, economic challenges, and global challenges. In the 1961 conference, Nkrumah used the term neo - colonialism to situate post-independence/post-colonial problems of Africa to the extent of warning emerging African leaders of the magnitude and shrewdness of neo colonialism. Neo - colonialism is the controlling of weaker states in the global system by powerful states without responsibilities. In other words, contemporary Africa's problems are situated within the purview of neo - colonialism. Neo-colonialism is the continued oppression of developing states through economic, social and political dominance. It demands no reciprocal responsibilities and transparency from the oppressors. Pan Africanism by all intent and purposes is delicately poised to deal with the problems of neo - colonialism if only Africans and Africa will be ready to yield to the re awakening spirit of Africa, as currently been witnessed in some west Africa states in Africa. Because of the unique nature of these problems confronting Africa and Africans there was inner resolve to confront them through Pan Africanism - that is political, social and economic movement that defined the essence of being an African. Eze (2019) in buttressing this logic cited Rodney who asserted inter alia:

> *Pan Africanism is something we must define in struggle. What is essential to the African slave struggle is the common experience of exploitation and opposition and the unity which the slaves forged, a commonality which could only be operative when they moved against European exploitation and oppression...that...is the essence of Pan Africanism in the period when it was born(in fifteenth century) and it had to be born in a context where a large number of Africans from different social background were thrown into a context in which this necessity would arise.*

The logic of Rodney and Eze (2019) did inadvertently support the position of Pan Africanism embodying the "essence" of Africa and African. That being said, their position did corroborates the logic Africa and Africans needing need a synergy between those in the diaspora and the motherland in the impending struggle between Africa and their oppressors. Though, both scholars never talked or gave pointer as to the nature and pattern of the struggle but Nkrumah did through the coinage and articulation on neo colonialism. The vigour and energy of Nkrumah was very visible for all to see during the formation of the organization of African unity. The O.A.U was to provide the newly independent states of Africa a veritable platform for a United Africa and the unity of the black race. This was the premise on which Thambo Mbeki (1999) built his analysis on the nature of would be leaders in Africa – they must always talk to their "Africaness" and the essence of their being Africans. Africa in the new millennium is an example of what governance and government should not be, thanks to neo colonialism, thus, the necessity of Mbeki's declaration that is finding manifestation in the west African sub region.. But be that as it may, the struggle was to cut across all fields of human endeavour as both scholars did acknowledge delicately in their analysis. From the logic so far, it is pertinent to state here that the earliest stars of Pan Africa movement were the blacks whose efforts at

asserting their blackness and confronting European domination in the period prior to the 15th.Century. The efforts of the great Africanist were consigned or written off by European scholarship that felt at the time it would amount to giving too much credit to them and Africa. The next generation of pan Africanist that refused to shut out or written off by western scholarship are the blacks in diaspora with such names as Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. Du Bois, Rudolf Fisher Jessie Fauset, Wallace Thurman, and Olaudah Equaiano. All the names were the earliest precursors of the movement, as generation pass by new personalities started emerging on the turf on Pan Africanism by re – echoing and also expanding the horizon of the thoughts and movements. Leaders like Ibrahim Traore of Burkina Faso, President Bassirou Diomaye Faye of Senegal, and President Mohamed Bazoum of Niger, are emerging with the reawakening Pan Africanism spirit in this new millennium that demands and requires every African purging itself/ herself of mental slavery and not until then, the entire Africa and African will remain doomed.

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