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A CRITIQUE OF THE HERMENEUTICS OF PAN-AFRICANISM AS THE BASIS OF AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract

The African continent is bedeviled by the phenomena of grand corruption, war, poverty, hunger, economic depression, racism, imperialism, colonialism, African slavery, neocolonialism, and political instability. The myriad of problems in Africa is self- inflicted and man- made. The problems in Africa today are simply as a result of a process that started since the invasion of African civilization. Hence, the African people are seen as deprived and diminished species in governance, economic organization, and culture. The problem of human degradation among the African people could be seen as a fall out from their logic of Western and European domination over the years. Pan-Africanism aims at addressing this purported Western and European domination of the African peoples. This paper adopts the analytic framework in navigating through the murky waters bedeviling the past and present African experience or pathetic situation. Pan-Africanism should be given a concerted attention in order to cement the frontiers of African economic development and political progress. Pan-Africanism aims at addressing the shared common unity and diversity of the African people amidst their cultures, validity and values. Pan-Africanism represents the conceptualization of the African family. This paper, therefore, concludes that Pan-Africanism is an emancipative political praxis; it is a worldwide movement that is aimed at encouraging and strengthening the bonds of African solidarity; it is Afrocentric in nature and it refers to the totality of African unity and diversity and that the conceptualization of Pan- Africanism is a misguided one because corruption, imperialism and neocolonialism remains the bane of African development.

Keywords: Pan-Africanism, Colonialism, Imperialism, Neo-colonialism, The African Continent.

1.1 Introduction

The term "Pan- Africanism" was a way of drawing the link between all peoples with an African ancestry. Pan- Africanism was also a reaction to the palaver of racism and intolerance. Pan- Africanism has to two streams; the Africanist stream and the non-racialist or equality stream. Pan- Africanism evolved into the ideal that all African countries should be united in pursuing the goals or aspirations of African economic development and democratic structures. Pan- Africanism is the idea that people of African descent have common goals,

and should be united in order to achieve their collective dreams and aspirations. The essence or the spirit of this theoretical discourse is to critically analyze and examine the conceptualization of Pan-Africanism, its prospects and challenges as it affects the African descendants. The whole conception of Pan-Africanism seems to be more theoretical than being practical. The objective of this paper, therefore, is to go beyond its theoretical reconstruction and simply dovetail into the practical aspects of its conceptual clarification. This paper aims at revisiting the historical experience of Africa, by which it is hoped, that African experience and freedom from European domination and control will be achieved only and if only on the theoretical and practical proposition that Pan- Africanism reflects the practical relatedness of the need for positive or progressive African development. Pan-Africanism is the philosophy of social movement or Black Nationalism that is aimed at addressing African historical, socio-economic malaise and political woes. Pan- Africanism is deeply rooted in Black Nationalism which simply aims at African emancipation and African development. The philosophy of Pan- Africanism reflects the continuous existential unraveling or imperative of African consciousness and freedom. Pan-Africanism relates to African freedom. For Dukor (2008:xii), the philosophy of Pan- Africanism is deeply rooted in the terrain of thought of the African people and emancipation. Pan- Africanism has its own philosophical basis. According to Dukor (2008:xii), philosophy criticizes the mode and the terrain of thought of people: it is a conscious exercise, reflection, revisionism and self-criticism resulting in the laws of thought: the laws of identity, excluded middle and contradiction. Therefore, in primitive and naturalistic sense, it portrays the identity of a people.

This theoretical discourse is subdivided into five subsections – according to their theoretical, ideological, conceptual and thematic framework, structure or relatedness. Section one discusses the introductory remarks on Pan- Africanism as the philosophical basis for African revival or structural revival. Section two was predicated on the ideological framework and the praxis of Pan- Africanism; its prospects and challenges. It is a reflection on our contemporary times in the African continent. Section three discusses the conceptualization of Pan-Africanism viz a viz African development. Section four reflects on the evaluation of Pan-Africanism as the basis of African revival. Section fiveis anchored on the concluding considerations of Pan- Africanism as the offshoot of colonialism, imperialism and neocolonialism. Pan-Africanism emerged as an intellectual response to racist ideology. The dismembering of human race is not only historical but also was accentuated and propagated by racist philosophy(Dukor,2009:182). This paper concludes that Pan-Africanism is an emancipative political praxis, it is a worldwide movement that is aimed at encouraging and strengthening the bonds of African solidarity, it is Afrocentric in nature and it refers to the totality of African unity and diversity and that the conceptualization of pan Africanism is a misguided because corruption and neocolonialism remains the bane of African development.

1.2 The Philosophy of Pan- Africanism

Pan-Africanism is a worldwide movement that aims to encourage and strengthen bonds of African solidarity among all indigenous people of Africa and in the diaspora. It reflects on the existential dimension of the ethnic groups of African descents. Pan-Africanism can be said to have its origins in the struggle of the African people against enslavement and colonization and this struggle may be traced back to the historical trajectory on slave trade. Pan-Africanism dates back to the rebellions and colonial uprisings and slogan "Back to Africa" movement of the 19thcentury based on the belief that unity is vital to African economic, social and political

progress or development and aims to unify and uplift people of African descent.At its core, Pan- Africanism is a belief or social movement that African people both on the continent and in the diaspora share not merely a common history, but a common destiny. Pan-Africanism is an intellectual, cultural and political movement that tends to view all Africans and descendants of Africans as belonging to a single family. Pan-Africanism refers to the whole of African family. The African family is deeply rooted in a shared cultural identity(Wangari, 2009:273). Pan- Africanism posits a sense of a shared common historical trajectory or fate for Africans all over the continent. Pan-Africanism is centered on addressing the plethora of African challenges such as African slavery, European imperialism, political instability and economic depression. It is worthy of note that:

Pan-Africanism influenced the establishment of the Organization of African Unity (now the African Union) in 1963.

Pan-Africanism is Afrocentric in nature

Black Nationalism is sometimes closely associated with Pan-Africanism

Pan-Africanism or Black Nationalism is the philosophy that encourages the reclamation of traditional African thought with the belief that it will empower or encourage the Africans to sustain their fight against racism and other fundamental issues such as political instability, economic depression, corruption, hunger, poverty, African identity crisis, trade imbalance, neocolonialism and imperialism. It is, however, germane to note that Pan- Africanism is aimed at addressing the fundamental challenges collectively facing the African continent such as slavery, imperialism, colonialism and other forms of oppression such as racism. The word "Pan- Africanism" was originally conceived by Henry Sylvester Williams (although some historians) credited the idea to Edward Wilmot Blyden. Pan-Africanism referred to the totality of African unity, socio-economicand political progress of all the continent of Africa. Pan-Africanism is seen as an endeavour to return to what is deemed by its proponents as singular, traditional African concepts about culture, society and values. The Pan-Africanist movement concerns the historical links between different parts of the continent of Africa and the benefits of cooperation as a way of resisting African slavery, imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism.

Moreover, in the 21st century, some Pan-Africanist aimed to address the fundamental issues of globalization and the problems of environmental justice as part of the ideological agenda of Pan-Africanism. Environmental justice is a social movement that seems to address the African continent which aimed at creating horizontal linkages in order to better the lives of the African people and to protect the collective interest of threatened people, and the ecological systems in which they are embedded, and upon which their survival depends. Pan-Africanism is a reaction to the civil rights movements and is today dedicated to teaching students about the African World experience. Pan-Africanism starting from Leopold Sedar Senghor's "*Negritude"* demonstrates the richness, vibrancy, diversity, unity, progress, history and vitality of African continent and African cultures.It reflects the fact that African leaders should stop casting aspersion and concentrate on the dividends of African democracy. Pan-Africanism presupposes the fact that in the global arena, the problems facing Africans should not be based on diversity but how the different existents of the African people can be reconciled in one by interaction, mutual understanding and compromises in the cosmopolitan city with one common necessity and equal freedom for self- determination and growth, thus

in the sense of which freedom of the African people is the realization of necessity. (Dukor, 2008:viii). Pan- Africanism should be considered along the parameters and paradigms of dynamic and practical philosophy. Philosophy is a dynamic historical activity whose definition and meaning continues to change with time. Philosophy must be region- based in order to be rich and comprehensive (Asouzu, 2004:126-127). Africa as a continent must get out of the current retarded development, socio-economic, psychological, historical and political woes. Africa, for instance, had a retarded development and Europe overtook her in the upward march towards civilization and humanism. Africa and the rest of the Third World had little or no opportunity of facing the challenges and competition dictated by a world characterized by the survival of the fittest and consequent upon which they have been grappling and struggling to meet up or, rather regrettably to emancipate from colonialism to neo-colonialism. The colonial and neo colonial situation is a situation of prolonged and sustained irregularities of citizenship in the world (Dukor, 2009:332). It is worthy of note that a critical look at Pan- Africanism reflects the fact thatAfrica is a paradox and it must be free of corruption. Africans must behave shrewdly, and encourage honesty and transparency, and not give away what they have so cheaply through ignorance and corruption (Wangari, 2009:274-275). Africans must make a deliberate choice to move forward together toward more cohesive macro-nations, where all can feel free, secure, and at peace with themselves and others, where there is no need for any group to organize violence against their neighbours. Then, everyone would begin to reap the benefits of unity in diversity (Wangari, 2009:289). For Wangari, the base of African society is the family. A critical element in promoting and sustaining development in Africa is to keep African families intact. Achieving this will involve what we might call the reintroduction of the African man to his family (Wangari, 2009:275). Pan-Africanism is above all, is an ideological construct, a political programme and a nationalist programme; it was an answer to the categorical necessity to present a unified front to colonialism. It is a reaction against the blind, inert, tactical force and brute force perpetrated by the evils of colonialism, neo colonialism and imperialism. It reveals the struggle for national freedom (Fanon, 1975:228). Pan-Africanism has been manipulatively misapplied, misunderstood and misused. Its conceptualization should be practically redefined to meet up with the present complexities of our times; it reflects the internal mechanisms of pseudo legitimate strategy of African survival.

Nevertheless, Pan-Africanism reflects a philosophical principle that showcases the relational context that always conceals and reveals the potentialities of the African peoples. Pan-Africanism reflects a sort of a practical sphere of human politico-existential, economic, socio-cultural relations and the standpoint of the epistemological paradigm of African political praxis. Pan-Africanism is crucial to reincorporate the principle of shared common history of the African peoples which reveals the emancipative mode of politics in contemporary Africa. Pan- Africanism reflects a sort of the traditional African political culture and human emancipation (Ramose, 2002: 109). Pan-Africanism is not just theoretical but practical. It is a functional or practical philosophy of the African peoples.It reflects the fact that African leaders should stop casting aspersion and concentrate on the dividends of democracy. The primary function of every responsible government is to provide for the welfare of its people. For Donohue, the primary function of government is to protect the rights and liberty of the citizens (Donohue, 1994: 150). The core of Pan-Africanism is that most African countries should seek along pragmatic lines, rather than in a doctrinaire fashion in resolving their socio-economic and political challenges (Omi and Anyanwu, 1984:349). The African peoples were

fooled by the technical prowess of the Europeans. They saw in it a symbol of power, a sign of a life force superior to their own. They envied this life force, bred outside their cleric traditions and much more. Firstly, the African has falsely become a retarded *homosapien* close or equal in intelligence to animal. Secondly, it has coaxed to contribute nothing to civilization. And thirdly, it has been denied the right to self-realization, self-determination and self-fulfillment. This weird logic, undoubtedly, provided the impetus and lubricating oil for colonialism, neo colonialism and imperialism. That African has been set adrift is the logical outcome of this process. Ironically, when colonialism was made out of fashion by humanity, Europe devised neocolonialism and imperialism as another subtle method of skewing the noble goals of the nascent African States.

Furthermore, Pan-Africanism as the philosophy of social change and social movement has not been able to grapple with the present complexities facing the African continent. Pan-Africanism seems to be more theoretical than practical. Pan- Africanism is yet to grapple with the fundamental problems of corruption, economic depression, poverty, hunger, diseases, imperialism and neo colonialism and other devices in which oppression is being perpetuated by the Europeans (Dukor (2009:xviii). Pan- Africanism is faced with the phenomena of war, poverty, economic depression, corruption, mis-governance by African leaders. Africans are mainly responsible for their own social, economic and political woes. Africans and African leaders had to be held responsible for most of the humanitarian, political, and economic crisis as wars, internal colonialism, corruption, and man-made disasters; the problems were still reducible to imperialism and neo colonialism (Dukor (2009: xix). Pan Africanism is an Afrocentric analysis of African cultures, notably and values.

1.3 Pan-Africanism as the Basis of African Development

The conceptualization of African development is fundamentally inspired by the emergence of Pan-Africanism despites its death on arrival. One of the fundamental problems facing African development is corruption. Corruption in the sense we are discussing it today is perhaps better defined as grand corruption which is the term used to describe cases in which massive personal wealth is acquired from States by senior public officials using corrupt means. One difficulty is that there is obviously no reliable publicly available information as to the sums involved. One suspect that grand corruption may be like an iceberg what is visible is only a small part of the real size of the problem (Chijioke, 2007:33). African development is not human centered due to the negative implication and the evils of corruption on the African continent. Development should be human centered and should aim at eliminating such evils of mankind such as poverty, disease, ignorance, illiteracy, malnutrition, hunger, unemployment, inequality, and deprivation of human rights. Features of development, inter-alia, are strong individually based economy, advanced and scientific agriculture, high income per capita, improved welfare, high level of integration, improved medical service and high life expectancy. In terms of comparing economies, Nigeria and Africa in general is marginally underdeveloped due to ineffective leadership structure, mis-governance and massive corruption that have plagued the whole continent of Africa (Enuka, 2006:77). The factors militating against African development include terrorism and terror, Islamic fundamentalism, poverty, hunger, diseases, ineffective leadership, lack of political will, lack of people-oriented programmes, the hydra-headed nature of corruption, illiteracy, poor taxation system, lack of scientific and technological progression or assimilation and poor human capacity building. The whole conceptualization of Pan-Africanism is an African

ideological agenda. Pan-Africanism should not just be a theoretical construct but it should serve as a praxiological perspective in redirecting the future of African and ensuring African democratic stabilization, economic development as well as human emancipation. Pan Africanism should not just be a reactionary ideology but it could serve as a platform for galvanizing African unity and African development. The existential question of human quest for sustainable development has become one of the problems facing the African states. The only fundamental solution to this purported problem of economic backwardness, political instability and underdevelopment is to see the need for transformational leadership structure that is determined to guarantee African development and to change the material and social needs of the African peoples. It is worthy of note that corruption has been the bane of African development and African societies. Usually, societies that were corrupt excluded the common people from playing an active role in government and political life (Murkherjee and Ramaswamy, 2007:144-145). Pan-Africanism and African development are offshoots of African Philosophy and they must have a positive impact on the African peoples. Development must have an impact on the citizenry and must be defined in terms of a reduction and elimination of poverty, inequality and unemployment (Enuka, 2006:76). Development must be in accordance with the choices and values of the African peoples. Development places a great demand on the African States to reorganize and re-orientate the economic development and the African social systems and productive outputs. Development must evolve within a progressive changes and framework that is deeply rooted within the material and the social needs of the African peoples.

1.4 Evaluation

In this theoretical discourse our argument for insisting on Pan-Africanism as the basis of African development has drawn an observation of our ability to see ourselves in varying ways, on how, as we move from one plausible view of African emancipation, we commit ourselves to different ways of acting, and on how we can make sense of the multiplicity of views of Pan- Africanism in African philosophy. It is worthy of note that we can see Pan-Africanism as a platform to see ourselves in different fashions and at the same time it remains a powerful reason for African unity. It is germane to note that our conception of Pan-Africanism is based on the praxiological dimension of African philosophy as an ideological tool. Having examined the theoretical reconstruction and the philosophical basis of Pan-Africanism, it is germane to assert that Pan- Africanism seems to be more theoretical than being practical. Hence, the assertion of Pan-Africanism is the assertion of African philosophy. This assertion of Pan-Africanism has great strengths and weaknesses in the face of fundamental issues that have been thrown-up in the debate about the status of the African continent. Yet the assertion of Pan-Africanism as the philosophical basis of African emancipation, philosophy and freedom is only plausible in the historical context of African colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. Besides, the philosophical basis of Pan-Africanism is understandable in the historical context in which we notice the existential praxis and paradox involved in the conceptualization of Pan-Africanism. The paradox of Pan-Africanism as embedded in this theoretical discourse is the debate about the status of the African continent and its peoples. The writings and the quest for a distinctive conception of Pan-Africanism as an African philosophy, that is, from historical context and an ideological point of view, are in a way to garner a support for African emancipation and to guarantee the socio-political and economic liberalization of the African continent. Pan- Africanism as a

Black nationalistic movement is deeply rooted in an attempt to liberate Africa and its descendants from the pervasive Europeanization of the African peoples.

Broadly speaking, Pan- Africanism as African philosophical movement must of necessity be historical, existential, contextual, analytical and ideological which must be withdrawn from the ideological myth of ethno-philosophy and viewed from the universal conception of philosophy Which is the case, philosophy, by its impersonal and critical nature, presupposes the freedom of every race. This theoretical discourse represents the only answer to the existential questions of African slavery nor is it the last attempts to pursue an analytical and rigorous examination of a thematic humanitarian question on African's right to self-realization and self- determination (Dukor; 2009: xiii). As rightly observed by Dukor:

> Africa, the land of the blacks, was conquered and colonized by the Whites, the Europeans. This was followed swiftly if not simultaneously by literatures, philosophies and ideologies empowering the white over and above the blacks even in their own lands. The motive for this was to distort the reality and create a pseudo world order to promote racism against the blacks. The Africans were pushed and cornered from all directions to the precipice of defeatism and fatalism. This is the politics of white and black which started from the ancient Greeks, though the medieval European racism, the Enlightenment European Philosophy of "I" and the 'other', the 19th century – colonialism to the 21st century and 3rdmillennium lopsided world order of imperialism and neocolonialism (Dukor, 2009:xiv-xv).

Furthermore, the African continent known in this century and millennium as the land of war, poverty, economic, depression and man- made disasters has its "explanans" and "definiens" in the historical, missing links and white man's opportunism, racism and prejudice (Dukor, 2009: xv). Critical and philosophical questions like why are Africans in this mess have continued to reverberates the walls of learning as to the cause of African predicament. However, efforts should be made to find the way out of this African predicament. The African, like anyone else must know the root causes of his problems (Dukor, 2009: xv). They should provide powerful solutions than their ancestors provided. They enjoyed eating the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table but they soon began to see the hollowness of it all(Omi and Anyanwu, 1984:343). Pan- Africanism presupposes the fact that humanity reaches an incredible degree of intensity(Ochieng, 1995:6). The whole idea of Pan-Africanism is known to be inadequate from a purely conceptual and analytical angle (Ochieng, 1995:14). When subject to conceptual analysis, the whole idea of Pan- Africanism has failed the rigorous test of logic. The conceptual clarification of Pan- Africanism reflects the generic identity of the Africans as a people(Ochieng, 1995:16). Pan-Africanism is a sort of African philosophy that is positivistic and it takes a form of a defensive posture (Imbo, 1998:6-7). It reveals the act that philosophy is thus best understood as a problem rather than a fixed body of knowledge. The problem which philosophy addresses will, of course, be coloured by specific historical, cultural and geographical particularities (Imbo, 1998:7). Pan- Africanism presupposes the widely known implications of communal living and the commonly assumed ramifications of the villagization of the world. Pan-Africanism exemplifies the nature of the truly modern man; it concerns acting towards others in a manner that acknowledges a shared morality and a shared humanity and a collective destiny of the African People (Owomoyela, 1996:108-109).

It reveals man's capacity for empathy. Pan- Africanism exhibits higher empathic capacity (Lerner, 1964:50-51). Moreover, Pan-Africanism as an ideological construct, historical context and an emancipative political praxis has not been able to address the crisis of governance in Africa. For Okere:

> A crisis is a point of danger, a critical turn, the peak of a problem; the entire African states is bedeviled by the debris of rogue states, failed government, violent successions, coup villains, and victims, violently repressing secessions, interminable wars, interminable rows of wandering refugees, endemic diseases, endemic poverty, hopeless debt burdens, ugly slums, desperate recourse to religion, and magic, massive unemployment of youths, above all, the absence of hope on the horizon. The modern world has witnessed its expansion of government responsibility in virtually all spheres of living, alongside the shrinking of the individual's capacity to satisfy his needs or protect his rights. It is the failure to provide these needs and the gradual destruction of the hope of ever realizing them that result in the woes and tragedies currently experienced by the African continent. … Thus, the tragedy of Africa can be termed a failure of governance (Okere, 2004:4-5).

Pan-Africanism aims at providing an appropriate socio-historical context for our African world in which philosophy can respond to the African predicament (Oguejiofor, 2001:23). Pan- Africanism has not been able to grapple with the fundamental issues of democratization in Africa. For Oguejiofor, democratization in Africa is still in want of a strong foundation; in Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Gambia and Algeria, the dictatorships which have since been replaced by pseudo-democracy. In all, in addition to the absence of national evolution of government and political systems from colonial times to the era of independence, the concomitant alienation of government from the people by African leaders have exhibited palpable lack of foresight. Systems are adopted and practiced without serious questioning of their suitabilityto African governments (Oguejiofor, 2001:33). Pan- Africanism reflects in the theoretical position that the African system is plagued with interminable crisis (Emmons, 1967:145). Pan-Africanism reveals an attempt not only to address the evils of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism but it is also an attempt to address the economic adequacy of the African continent. Accordingly, economic adequacy, is a future of the special conception of justice, is attained when the search for food, shelter and work for the African people has become a routine rather than urgent. The economic condition for the priority of the basic liberties is sufficient wealth for basic liberties to be effectively exercised (Dukor, 2004:41). Pan-Africanism provides the platform for the struggle against colonization. Colonization was not a smooth, perfect and dialogic process. It was rather brutal, domineering, antagonistic, war of conquest, dictatorial and arbitrary(Modestus, 2008:28). Pan-Africanism reflects the Afroxiology in authentic development in Africa. African traditional societies have the human person as prior, central and endpoint in techno-developmental valuations and engagements of the African peoples (Iroegbu, 1994:83). Pan-Africanism, although, has a definitional problem reflects the African culture of social order, self- realization and development. Culture is the mode of a people's existence that tailors their self-realization and development. This is entangled with the issue of social order because; culture is geared towards the serenity and progress of the extended family (Nelson, 2012:187). Pan-Africanism is saddled with the onerous task of addressing the basic problems of African development. It is the basic that the

problems of African development are both external and internal encasing which culminate in the loss of self- identity as a result of borrowed values that have crept into the deep consciousness of Africans (Izibili and Eribo, 2007:195). Pan-Africanism has great contemporary relevance on African development. Development remains a very critical aspect of human growth or emancipation. Development is the increase in gross national product or per capital income – sustained by growth. The importance of Pan-Africanism to African development could be viewed from the angle of emancipation process which includes social justice, reduction of inequality and eradication of poverty in human society (Izibili and Eribo, 2007:199). It is worthy of note that the importance of Pan-Africanism to African society are;

- It helped to launch the struggle for rights, privileges and equality for black people of Africa.
- It affirmed the worth of black people and therefore, out-rightly rejected the inferiority complex ascribed by racist ideology.
- The Afrocentric movement – asserted the right of Africans' independence; it showcases the need for the betterment of "Africa for the Africans".
- It served as a source of ideas, inspirations and contacts especially for students in higher institutions of learning.
- It helped to provide an ideological framework of African unity in the process of mass mobilization of the African people with regards to the independence struggle of the African continent.
- It helped to provide a building block or constituency in Europe and North America which was sympathetic to and supportive to the African struggle.
- It serves as a lofty ideal for the future of independent Africa.
- It was regarded as the platform for Black Nationalism that emphasized the unity in diversity of all African peoples and shared commitments, goals or objectives and ideals.
- It helped to fight against all the negative features of xenophobia, narrow parochialism, aggressive expansionism which have caused so much blood shed and horror in the African continent.
- Pan-Africanism served as a major source of influence on Africans. The term "Pan-Africanism" was a way of drawing the link between all peoples with an African ancestry. Pan-Africanism was also a reaction to the palaver of racism and intolerance. Pan- Africanism has to two streams; the Africanist stream and the non-racialist or equality stream. Pan-Africanism evolved into the ideal that all African countries should be united in pursuing the goals or aspirations of African economic development and democratic structures. Pan-Africanism is the idea that people of African descent have common goals, and should be united in order to achieve their collective interests.

Furthermore, the forerunners of Pan-Africanism are Anton Lembebe (1914-1947), Kwame Nkrumah (1901-1972), George Padmore (1958), Marcus Garvey (1887-1940), W.E.B. Du Bois (1868-1963), Leopold Senghor and Edward Blyden. Pan-Africanism is simply a call for African revival or the structural revival of the African continent. To paraphrase Patrick's position, the edifice called Pan- Africanism was built on sand therefore, it is necessary to fortify the structures with durable materials for it to be strong (Patrick, 2009:195). Pan- Africanism remains a communal body of thought (Momoh, 1989, 5). Pan-Africanism originates as a result of the imbalances of power. The imbalances of power are necessary condition of exploitation.

Exploitation is an act involving at least two agents, whose interaction is characterized by imbalance of power, including significantly different levels of knowledge, where the exploiter (the White man) makes the exploitee (The African) an offer to address a compelling need, which s/he cannot satisfy elsewhere to disproportionately further their own interests (Omonzejele, 2011:66). Pan-Africanism reflects an ideological framework that concerns the socio-economic and political liberalization of the African continent. Pan-Africanism is a social movement that reflects the worsening picture of the African and global psychological landscape. Pan-Africanism is invariably predicated on African politics. Politics is not just the pursuance of the collective interests of the people but the socio-political and economic existence of a people. Politics is the art and science of managing and administering human affairs; it is a science that deals with the intricacies and maneuverings in social, political and economic existence and living, which by so doing, tries to find out the ideal structure of human environmental sustenance. In politics, more than anywhere else, man is challenged to make optimum use of his God's given rationality in solving or finding solutions to his existential questions and quandaries (Nwankwor and Udeme, 2013:51). Pan-Africanism reflects a historical hermeneutics of African philosophy; and that the African had lived a closed system of life, thought, science, politics and philosophy –supported by European domination (Dukor, 2010:21). African philosophy is the truth in African thought rationally communicable to the world of scientific knowledge (Dukor, 2010:308). Pan- Africanism reveals the sustainability of African culture, and the cultural significance to knowledge and man. It is worthy of note that:

- Culture provides people with the capacity to live in the existential socio-political world
- Culture acts to reproduce and transmit knowledge to society form one generation to another
- Culture is thus universal, and part of what everyone shares (Dukor, 2010:433).

Pan-Africanism reveals a world historical order and African emancipation. It is however, germane to assert that everything seems to be to the disfavour of the Africans when compared with the western nations, especially the industrialized countries. Talk of economic development, Africa is backward, talk of political organization and governance, contemporary Africa is handicapped and compared with the technological knowledge, vision and skills between Europe and Africa. Hence, Africa, the infamous black continent but ironically the cradle of civilization, is a land of poverty, hunger, refugees, coup d'etat, wars, economic stagnation, and poor governance. The political fortunes or downturns of the developed world of America and Europe cast shadows on the state of economy and politics in Africa (Dukor, 2010:360).

However, we have in contemporary African philosophy particularly on the continent a situation in which philosophy has not been able to grapple with the African experience and African freedom; freedom from internal obstacles to African development and freedom in terms of African identity and democratic citizenship in Africa (Oladipo, 2000:20). The conceptualization of Pan- Africanism in the contemporary imperial situation in Africa must be geared towards propagating African identity and enriching African culture. African culture should be predicated on the scientific, technological and economic development of Africa in the global space. For Dukor, a culture of scientific, technological and economic development must be cultivated and propagated from within Africa in the global age (Dukor,

2010:360).The politico-existential question of African development is one of the most topical and popular issues confronting mankind and the United Nations for the simple reason that the people of Africa not only collectively, through theoretically, represent the cradle of mankind but also constitute, at least, one quarter of humanity… The reality of Black nations problems have no doubt put a question mark on the much celebrated freedom from the colonial overlords since, after sober and scientific assessment, it is clear that African countries are yet to be truly free in the sense of it(Dukor, 2010:362-363). A dialectical assessment of Pan-Africanism is basically anchored on ensuring African emancipative praxis.

1.5 Concluding Consideration

Having critically examined and holistically analyzed the conceptual framework of Pan-Africanism as a worldwide movement that aims to encourage and strengthen bonds of African solidarity, it is therefore germane to note that its origins reflects Black nationalism and the struggles of the African peoples against enslavement, colonization, imperialism and neo colonialism which may be traced back to the Atlantic Slave Trade. Pan-Africanism is an emancipative political praxis that is Afrocentric in nature. It tends to holistically address the traditional African thought and the struggles or agitation of the African peoples against Western and European domination. It tends to empower, encourage and address the African descendants to sustain their fight and drive against racism, colonialism, imperialism, neocolonialism and other forms of social woes such as corruption, hunger, poverty, crisis of governance, trade imbalance and economic depression facing the African peoples. African freedom has not been guaranteed due to the evils of corruption, oppression and mis-governance by African leaders. Pan-Africanism as a philosophical movement refers to the totality of African unity and diversity. Pan-Africanism as a worldwide movement or emancipative political praxis reflects the beneficial scheme of social cooperation among African descents. It is all about the cultures, society and values of the African peoples. Pan-Africanism reflects or demonstrates the richness, vibrancy, diversity, unity, progress, history, vitality and the totality of the African peoples. Pan- Africanism is the philosophy of social movement or social change. It reflects the historical trajectory and the relational context that conceals and reveals the pleni-potentialities of the continuous existential unraveling of the African peoples. Pan- Africanism reflects a crucial movement to incorporate the harmonious principles of shared common history and destiny of the African peoples. It reveals the emancipative mode of politics in contemporary African societies. Pan- Africanism has both strengths and weaknesses. It serves as a sort of a moral compass that reflects the emancipating consciousness of a people. Its major weakness is that it is more theoretical rather than being a practical demonstration of African socio-economic and democratic setting. Pan- Africanism is dead on its arrival but it could be reinvigorated or rejuvenated to address the challenges of African society. Pan- Africanism seeks to address the epochal twist of African history and fate traceable to the period of slave trade down to the contemporary times of the African continent. The African continent has been known for so long or decades as the land of war, poverty, economic depression, terror and terrorism, corruption, diseases and hunger. In the course of revisiting or redefining the conceptualization of Pan-Africanism with regards to African problems, we need to define and redefine Africa. The historical world opinion that the African continent is backward, that its peoples are backward, and that their civilization is also backward was not correct but Eurocentric in nature. Africa as a continent has been facing a compounded imperialist pressures from the Western world. One fundamental issue that

should be noticed is that the whole conceptualization of Pan-Africanism is a misguided one because corruption and neo colonialism have been the bane of African development.

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