

## Historicizing the Emergence of Pan-Africanism

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### Abstract

*The human society is segmented into races with distinct characteristics. No matter the distinctive features and characteristics that distinguish one race from another, all humans are presumed to be equal before God, the Creator. Unfortunately, over time, relationships between races began to experience some elements of dislocation. This unfortunate trend was exacerbated especially by the incident of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade during which African Blacks became items of trade, and for the service, particularly, of the White race in the New World. This development resulted in the eventual dehumanization of the Black race as conglomerates of humans created to serve the White race. The fall out of this erroneous perception was manifest in the way and manner the Blacks, particularly those taken to the New World to work in the sugar plantations, were treated. Generally, the perspective eventually fossilized by the White race about their relationship with the Blacks was that of master-slave. Consequently, wherever the Blacks co-existed with the Whites, the former were treated almost as sub-humans. It was in the wake of this unfortunate development that the Blacks nursed the idea of Pan-Africanism for the purpose of mobilizing the entire Black race in order to re-assert their “lost humanity”. The main thrust of this paper is, therefore, to examine the circumstances that instigated the rise of Pan-Africanism. To achieve this, the paper focuses on the originators of the movement, its objectives and spread. A historical approach with a multi-disciplinary tinge formed the main strategies adopted for data collection.*

**Keywords:** Pan-Africanism, Blacks, Whites, New World and Slave trade

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**Introduction**

The concept of Pan-Africanism has no water-tight definition. It is perceived variously by scholars. While some scholars perceive it as an ideology, others look at it as a movement or a philosophy driven by indigenous Blacks in Africa and in the Diaspora for the purpose of racio-cultural and political emancipation (Aziz Mostefaou, 2010)<sup>1</sup>. No matter the variety of definitions attached to the concept, one looks at it as a movement for the re-birth of the Black race and Africa after centuries of dehumanizing experience from the phenomena of trans-Atlantic slave trade, European imperialism and colonization in Africa. By extension, it could be construed to be a racio-cultural and political movement among the Blacks across the world for the purpose of reasserting the dignity of the Black race. The movement started in the Caribbean and spread to America, Britain and finally into Africa at the wake of the twentieth century.

Pan-Africanist movement transcended diverse phases cutting across diverse geo-political locations across the world. Each of the phases seemed to have projected definite perspectives based on the circumstances or factors that instigated certain individuals to identify with the movement (Minkah Makalani)<sup>2</sup>. However, no matter whatever factors that propelled each group of individuals to identify with the movement at any of the phases, the underlining factors stood up tall: racio-political and economic factors.

As with every movement, the Pan-Africanist movement was driven by founding individuals who featured as individual leaders, or acted as groups. Prominent among such individuals were Henry Sylvester Williams (Lubin, 2014)<sup>3</sup>, Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Kwame Nkrumah (Legum)<sup>4</sup>, Sekou Toure (Adi, 2003)<sup>5</sup>, William Tubman (Legum)<sup>6</sup>, and Ahmed Ben Bella (Evans & Phillips, 2008)<sup>7</sup> Patrice Lumumba, James Aggrey, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Obafemi Awolowo and Mallam Aminu Kano. There were also those African thinkers of the latter days who shared the ideology of Pan-Africanism. Among these were Muammar Gaddafi, John Jerry Rawlings, Murtala Ramat Muhammed, Thomas Sankara, among others. Apart from these individuals, the role of other factors like the Rastafarian Movement, religion and literature played in adding momentum to the propagation of the Pan-Africanist movement cannot be undermined.

The factors that instigated the emergence of the Pan-Africanist Movement and the intensity of the momentum that drove the movement were all tied to the very negative socio-political and economic image

ascribed to the Black race by the white race. These factors were exacerbated by the incidents of the trans-Atlantic slave trade and colonialism. The increasing spirit of acclaimed White superiority over the Blacks vis-avis the increasing evils of the slave trade and colonialism heightened the velocity of the spread of Pan-Africanism. The era of nationalism and eventual attainment of independence by some African states coupled with steady increase in the number of independent African states provided leadership, sense of direction, finance and courage to take the Movement to a higher pedestal. The Movement, more than any other factor, facilitated the process for the attainment of independence by many African states.

### **The Meaning of Pan-Africanism**

Generally construed, Pan-Africanism emerged out of the consciousness of the Black race to forge global unity for the purpose of emancipating itself from socio-political and economic enslavement or domination by the White race. The consciousness eventually developed to assume diverse perspectives such as a movement, ideology and philosophy based on the focus of each individual or group of Africanists. The multifaces the movement assumed constrained Tamba (2004)<sup>8</sup> to lament that “the precise definition of Pan-Africanism tends to be elusive---”.

Notwithstanding the wide range of perspectives Pan-Africanist

Movement seemed to have encapsulated, there are common denominators associated with each of its attempted definitions. The denominators border on unity and struggle by the Black race to free itself from White enslavement and colonization. This is why one sees Pan-Africanism as a racial movement by the Blacks, both in Africa and in the Diaspora, for the purpose of throwing off the yoke of White colonialism. Similarly, Tamba (2004)<sup>9</sup> states that “most scholars and activists concede that Pan-Africanism encapsulates the conscious attempts of the Blacks, 'at home and abroad', to forge a united front aimed at combating the dehumanizing effects of slavery, racism, colonialism and oppression of various sorts against all peoples of African descent”.

Even though Tamba's definition seems to capture it all, others have also made very impressive efforts to define Pan-Africanism in their perception of the concept. Clarke (1988)<sup>10</sup> states that Pan-Africanism is “Any thought or action on the part of the African person to protect and defend his concept of culture, history and politics and to defend his right to self-determination, is an act of Pan-Africanism”. As embracing as this definition is, it focuses solely on continental Africans. Warren Williams

(1992)<sup>11</sup> gives a more elaborate and all-embracing definition of the concept in his assertion that Pan-Africanism is “---a multifaceted movement for transnational solidarity among African people with the purpose of liberating and unifying Africa and peoples of African descent”.

Ahmed Mohiddin (1981)<sup>12</sup> seems to propound a more reactionary or revolutionary definition when he perceives Pan-africanism more as an idea and movement borne out of “deep feeling of dispossession, oppression, persecution, humiliation and rejection brought about by enslavement and colonization---” The cardinal object of the definition is a rejection of subjugation for the purpose of reasserting the right of self-determination and racial pride. Tunde (1998)<sup>13</sup> seems to give a more universal definition of the concept when he states that “Pan-Africanism emphasizes the unity of Africans and Black diasporans in a joint struggle, a struggle ordained by the pains of the deep historical wounds inflicted by slavery, racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism”. This definition, no doubt, assumes a more superior posture since it seems to capture almost all the issues that eventually mobilized all peoples of African descent for the purpose of redeeming their lost image, using whatever means deemed fit at any given time and place. This informs Phillipe's (1964)<sup>14</sup> assertion that, “Pan-Africanism designates, in fact, quite different currents according to the period at which they are considered”. Varied though they are, the samples of definitions of Pan-Africanism proffered should give us at least a hazy, if not succinctly clear, idea of what the Movement has been all about.

### **The objectives of Pan-Africanism**

The Pan-African Movement aimed at achieving the following objectives.

- i. The search by the Blacks in the diaspora to provide answers to fundamental questions about their heritage and identity such as: “What is Africa? What does it mean to be an African, African American, Afro-European, or Afro-Caribbean? More importantly, what is the essence of Africanness?”
- ii. Efforts by the Blacks in the New World to rediscover their identity and re-define their position within their racist societies.
- iii. The necessity by the Blacks in the New World of knowing more about Africa and Africans with whom they share common ancestry.
- iv. Efforts by diaspora Africans to deal with the unequal power relations in their societies founded on the basis of skin color, that

is, color-line syndrome.

- v. A struggle by diaspora Africans to liberate themselves from the “slave culture”, particularly in the New World.
- vi. A struggle by people of African descent, first in the New World, to better their lot.
- vii. Efforts by the Blacks, “at home and abroad, to forge a united front aimed at combating the dehumanizing effects of slavery, racism, colonialism, and oppression of various sorts against all peoples of African descent” (Tamba, E. M., 2004:21).
- viii. To restore the dignity of the peoples of African descent.
- ix. “To unite all peoples of African descent in order to demonstrate the mutual bond believed to exist among Blacks regardless of geographical location” (Tamba, E. M., 2004: 19).
- x. To glorify the African past and hope for a glorious future as well as inculcate the spirit of racial pride in African values.
- xi. Political and cultural aspirations of all Blacks to cement a lasting bond among all those sharing a common African heritage.
- xii. To prove the idea that there is a historical affinity between Blacks in the New World, or in the diaspora, and continental Africans.
- xiii. To build solidarity among peoples of African descent and to demonstrate the fact that Africa is the homeland of the Blacks, no matter wherever they are found.
- xiv. To mobilize all peoples of African origin or descent against racism and colonialism.

### **The Origin of Pan-Africanism**

Identifying the specific date the Pan-Africanist Movement started is as difficult as attempt to arrive at a universal definition for the concept. This forms the basis for Esedebe's (1982)<sup>15</sup> argument that “---it is futile to try, as some writers have attempted, to ascribe the phenomenon to any one man or trace its origin to a particular year”. Similarly, Aziz Mostefaou (2010)<sup>16</sup> argues that, “The exact period when the first Pan-African sentiments were expressed, and the exact man/men who first manifested such sentiments will undoubtedly never be known”.

It is imperative to state that even if our focus is more either on the 19<sup>th</sup> century or on the wake of the twentieth century phenomenon which was more or less political Pan-Africanist Movement, we cannot disassociate the development from earlier incidents; for they laid the foundation for and nourished the nineteenth and twentieth centuries phenomenon. Even if we are looking at the concept variously as a movement, ideology, organization and a philosophy, the difficulty of pointing at a specific date

will still stare us in the face, even more. It is against this background that Abdul-Rahman (meed) (1996)<sup>17</sup> broadly declares that, “Pan-Africanism can be said to have its origins in the struggles of the African people against enslavement and colonization”. Similarly, Aziz Mostefaou (2010)<sup>18</sup> states that “---most views (about the origins of Pan-Africanism) converge into the opinion that slave trade, particularly the trans-Atlantic one, the abolitionist movements, and European colonization had been the main pillars upon which the Pan-African ideology was erected”. The foregoing implies that the inter-play of two major historical epochs produced the variables that eventually gave rise to the Pan-Africanist Movement. These were the incidents of trans-Atlantic slave trade and colonialism. The foundation was laid by the slave trade following the discovery of the New World which eventually resulted in the dire need for Black labour for the plantations as from the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries when slave trade was abolished. It was this singular inhuman trade which subjected the black race to very dehumanizing treatment by the White race, as Aziz Mostefaou (2010)<sup>19</sup> elaborately described:

*With the initiation of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, a master-servant relation was imposed on the African race by the Whites--- And a slave, the African lost his freedom, dignity and his elementary human rights. After he was emancipated, he had to endure the White's racial prejudices, their contempt, and their violent actions against him like lynching. These feelings of frustration and rejection by the white race convinced the Blacks living in the New World that the only way to retrieve all that had been taken away from them was to unite their efforts to oppose white oppression and improve their conditions.*

It is imperative to note that even though slavery and slave trade had remained a common feature among Africans long before the incident of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, the former assumed a different dimension. It was a practice among Africans, and slaves were not captured and treated based on race or colour. Rather, “Most slaves were captives of inter-tribal wars--- condemned criminals, debtors, kidnap victims and mentally or physically deficient men and women” (Fage, 2010)<sup>20</sup>. Generally, within this context, racial factor did not play any role in defining the relationship between slaves and masters. Similarly, at times, the slaves could regain their freedom and be absorbed into the mainstream of the society, even of their former masters, as humans possessing equal rights and privileges with their hitherto masters as

opposed to the case with the victims of the trans-Atlantic slave trade who permanently lost the possibility of regaining their fundamental human rights. These, and other factors, soon ignited morbid hatred between the Black slaves and their White masters.

It is important to note that even before the African slaves could arrive the New World to assume their dehumanizing functions as slaves, the horrors of the “Middle Passage” alone made them to develop morbid hatred about the White slave merchants and their carriers, the ship owners. Apart from being packed in the ships like sardines, the slaves were subjected to other dehumanizing conditions such as, at times, being severely flogged and even thrown overboard into the ocean over flimsy allegations of stubbornness (Ransford, 1971)<sup>21</sup>. While Aziz Mostefaou (2010)<sup>22</sup> describes the conditions of the “Middle Passage” as really horrific, Oliver Ransford (1971)<sup>23</sup> avers that “It is quite impossible the most hardened person to read about the stretched out horrors of the Middle Passage without recoiling”.

Generally, each phase the phenomenon of the trans-Atlantic slave trade unfolded, it produced very negative variables in the relationship between the Blacks and Whites. Such variables were responsible for the attendant racial hatred between the two races. First, many Whites came into contact with the Blacks for the first, and with erroneous impression of relating with an inferior, or rather dehumanized race. For instance, for the slave merchants and the ship owners, Africans were regarded as trade items mainly to be maximized for profit making (Franklin & Moss, 1994)<sup>24</sup>. Both considered the slaves as mere cargoes who were not to be treated as humans, or with no dignity, which was why they were usually packed like sardines, starved for days, denied of any healthcare, and could, at times, be thrown overboard into the ocean when sick or allegedly accused or merely suspected to be stubborn (Franklin & Moss, 1994)<sup>25</sup>. Reader (1998)<sup>26</sup>, Bly (1998)<sup>27</sup> and Ransford (1971)<sup>28</sup> aptly capture the dehumanizing conditions the slaves were subjected to in the “Middle Passage”:

*The bodies (of the slaves) lie in tightly packed ranks, more like corpses than living beings, their positions showing more respect for the demands of geometry than the needs of people being transported across the ocean (John Reader, 1998).*

*--- the vile stench of the slave vessels---could be recognized at a distance of five miles away, in a strange gust of wind---(A, T. Bly, 1998).*

*---never can so much misery be found condensed into so small a space as in a slave ship during the Middle Passage (William Wilberforce, quoted by Ransford, 1971).*

The next level of revolts by the slaves against the slave masters and overseers occurred on the plantations. These were reactions by the slaves against their inhuman treatment such as incessant over flogging, gross underfeeding, excessive over working hours, lack of medical care, very poor conditions of accommodation, and other dehumanizing treatment such as branding marks including perforation of ears, cutting of either fingers or toes, among others, which were sometimes done as forms of harsh corporal punishments. Such inhuman treatment eventually compelled the slaves to begin to organize revolts against their masters and overseers during which some of the former were killed. Clark (1988)<sup>29</sup> specifically stated that the first slave uprisings occurred in Saint Domingue (present Haiti) in 1522, Cuba in 1550, “which were (later) followed by a series of other insurrections until the abolition of slavery in the nineteenth century”.

After the aforementioned slave revolts, more serious revolts occurred in the later years. Prominent among such revolts were the 1739 famous Stono Rebellion in Charleston, South Carolina, which lasted for several days during which thirty Whites and forty-four Blacks were reportedly killed (Franklin & Moss, 1988)<sup>30</sup>; 1801 slave revolts in Petersburg and Norfolk in the Virginia state, as well as some in North Carolina resulted in a great number of slaves being sentenced to death, in addition to very harsh corporal punishments meted on many (Aziz, M., 2010)<sup>31</sup>. Other revolts included the 1810 episode in Lexington, in the state of Kentucky; 1811 revolts in the state of Louisiana which was harshly crushed by the federal and state troops resulting in the death of seventy-five slaves; 1812 revolts in New Orleans; June 1822 Denmark Vesey's widely planned revolt in Charleston, in South Carolina, which was to involve young Blacks from Haiti and Africa was, however, uncovered and many Blacks were arrested and condemned (Geiss, 1974 & Franklin and Moss, 1994)<sup>32</sup>; 21<sup>st</sup> August, 1831, Nat Turner's insurrection in Southampton County, in the state of Virginia, aimed at delivering his brothers from slavery during which he and his followers killed the master and family, including sixty Whites within twenty-four hours (Aziz, 2010)<sup>33</sup>. In view of the gravity of Turner's revolt, and how it was fast gaining popularity, it was ruthlessly and harshly crushed by federal and state troops during which “one hundred slaves were killed, thirteen slaves and three ex-slaves were hanged on the spot, a couple of weeks

later Nat Turner was also captured and hanged” (Franklin & Moss, 1994)<sup>34</sup>. Earlier, there was the popular Haitian Black Revolution begun in August, 1791, which came up in Saint Domingue after the French Revolution in 1789. The black people insisted to also benefit from the famous motto of the French Revolution which was: “Liberty, Equity, Fraternity”. The success of the Revolution resulted in the establishment of the first Black Republic of Haiti.

The contributions of the catalogue of slave revolts to the development of the Pan-Africanist Movement in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were enormous. First and famous, the Blacks became very ready to sacrifice even their lives to retrieve their lost human dignity. Secondly, the revolts generated among the Blacks in the New World a strong spirit of solidarity and unity, which overwhelmed ethno-linguistic differences. Thirdly, the revolts produced able leaders among the Blacks who were ready to sacrifice their lives to advance the cause of the Blacks wherever they existed. Fourthly, the revolts proved the ability of the Blacks to effectively govern themselves thereby breaking the long-standing erroneous perception among the Whites that Blacks were not competent to rule themselves. This informs Langley's (1973)<sup>35</sup> assertion that, “The fact that the former black slaves had successfully seized power from their European masters---meant that they could now---counter the charge of Negro inferiority and incapacity for self-rule”. Fifthly, the success of the Haitian Revolution instilled in the Blacks the spirit of self-confidence to fight for their freedom. Sixthly, and very importantly, the revolts introduced “a tradition of protest among the Black Africans in the Western Hemisphere, more particularly in the United States, that would continue up to the twentieth century” (Aziz, M., 2010)<sup>36</sup>.

Based on the foregoing views, and equally subscribing to the view that Pan-Africanism emerged out of a protracted process which spanned across two major epochs, trans-Atlantic slave trade and colonialism, it would be more intelligible to seek to locate the origin of the Movement within the 15<sup>th</sup> century when the slave trade started. Eze (2013)<sup>37</sup> argues that prior to the incident of the inhuman trade:

*“---race was not a notional point of human categorization. One was not excluded or oppressed on the basis of any racial category. People were socio-culturally different as a Jew, Barbarian, Christian, heathen, pagan, or citizen--- anybody can be a slave or a master depending on his or her status---Even more instructive is that among many*

*Church Fathers were blacks: Augustine, Cyprain, Clement, Origen, and Tertullain; and even a few Popes: Victor, Miltiades, and Gelasius---Within the larger European context, being black or white was not an institutionalized form of human classification---*

This was even reflected in Shakespeare's work in which Othello, the hero, was a black prince (Eze, 2013)<sup>38</sup>.

The foregoing, no doubt, suggests that the incident of the trans-Atlantic slave trade introduced an unhealthy racial factor in human relationship. It was this very context which Europe used to justify the enslavement of Africans. The emerging consciousness was the feeling that the Black race was an inferior race and, as such, meant to play a subservient role to the White race. This is the view shared by Goldner (1997)<sup>39</sup> in his assertion that:

*The ideal of human classification nevertheless changed as from 15<sup>th</sup> century to coincide with the discovery of America. The need for labor necessitated the urgency of inventing a new kind of human category that could be objectified. From then on the idea of 'Blackness' would be enmeshed with a new understanding to reflect the social reality and express new power relations.*

The era of enlightenment in Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century equally provided additional ingredients for the eventual emergence of Pan-Africanist Movement. This was an era during which the European civilization was adjudged as the only yardstick for measuring world civilizations. This erroneous awakening in Europe, coupled with the incident of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, made Europe to appropriate, or rather to arrogate, to itself the status of possessing the most superior civilization, while rating African civilizations, in particular, as being barbaric and in the darkest stage that needed to be redeemed by Europe. In fact, the entire African system was considered to be highly primitive and barbaric. It was this erroneous consideration which made Europe to switch from enslavement of Africans to colonization in the 19<sup>th</sup> century which constrained Eze (2013)<sup>40</sup> to state that, "Pan-Africanism as an intellectual movement is a product of modernism--".

Although the Pan-Africanist Movement emerged in Africa in the twentieth century, specifically as a struggle for self-determination from European rule, the entire phenomenon was ignited by human rights movements among the Blacks in the New World and Britain. This forms the basis for Ferkiss'(1966)<sup>41</sup> assertion that:

*In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, other contributory*

*factors in the emergence of Pan-Africanism were the United Negroes Movement founded by Marcus Garvey in 1914, and Casely-Hayford's Aborigines Rights Protection Association (1877) and National Congress of British West Africa (1917).*

### **The role of Henry Sylvester Williams**

Notwithstanding the roles soon played by prominent Blacks' advocates of Pan-Africanist Movement in the persons of W.E.B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey, Henry Sylvester Williams, a Trinidadian barrister, is acclaimed to be the first person who coined the concept “Pan-Africanism” in 1900 (Eze, 2013)<sup>42</sup>. However, even though the concept officially emerged in 1900, all its paraphernalia had been developed before, especially during and after the American civil war (1861-1865), that is, during Abraham Lincoln's regime. Even among the Blacks in the New World, “it was only in the nineteenth century that they became more articulate in their protests against slavery and in their demands for freedom” (Aziz, M., 2010)<sup>43</sup>.

The role played by Henry Sylvester Williams in the development of Pan-Africanist Movement is linked to September, 1897, when he established a Pan-African political Movement popularly known as African Association with the following core objectives (Minkah, M., 2019)<sup>44</sup>:

- i. To draw representatives of the African race from all the parts of the world.
- ii. To encourage a feeling of unity (and) facilitate friendly intercourse among Africans.
- iii. To promote and protect the interests of all subjects claiming African descent, wholly or in part, in British Colonies and other places, especially in Africa.

Among the cardinal strategies adopted by the African Association to spread its message across the world from its base in London included a petition to Joseph Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to specifically agitate for the interests of native Africans, respect for their customs, create industrial schools, and to teach “a simple and true Christianity” devoid of racism (Minkah, M., 2019)<sup>45</sup>. Most importantly, the Association, through its publications and news reports, was actively involved in lobbying both the British Government and Parliament on behalf of Africans. Because of its global African outlook, the leadership of the Association cut across Africa and

diaspora Africans, for instance, “Rev. H. Mason Joseph of Antigua served as Chairman; T. J. Thompson of Sierra Leone was Deputy Chairman, while the South African woman, A. V. Kinloch, was Treasurer”, as Henry Sylvester Williams served as Honary Secretary (MInkah, M., 2019)<sup>46</sup>.

The major epoch-making event organized by Henry Sylvester Williams to promote the ideals of Pan-Africanist Movement was the Pan-African Conference held in London in the Westminster Town Hall from 23<sup>rd</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> July, 1900. One of the greatest successes the Conference achieved was its ability to gather together a total of thirty-two delegates drawn from Africa, the United States, the Caribbean, and parts of Europe, with the largest delegation being Afro-Americans, and only four from Africa (Minkah, M., 2019)<sup>47</sup>. Even though Eze (2013)<sup>48</sup> gave a counter number of only thirty delegates who attended the Conference, the delegates resolved on a definite common agenda which was “to initiate a dialogue among people of African origins to forge a united front against colonialism”. This resolution in itself provided a vision and sense of direction for the oppressed peoples of African origin across the world to begin to chart a course for their emancipation, which soon became manifest in their nationalist movements. Similarly, the Conference paved the way for the emergence of the Pan-African Association (PAA) at the London Conference in 1900.

The emergence of the Pan-African Association was more or less a replacement of the intellectual or ideological perspective of the movement by its political wing. The new perspective soon overshadowed the preceding perspective of the movement. W.E. B. Du Bois became the first leader of the Pan-African Association, which is why he is always accredited to be the father of Pan-Africanism. This is more so because he was the first to organize the first congress or conference of the Association held in Paris (France) in 1919 mainly for the purpose “of harnessing a universal sense of Black identity and shared aspiration and solidarity for Blacks all over the world”. This forms the basis for Ferkiss (1966)<sup>49</sup> assertion that, “if any one man can be called the father of African nationalism, it is Du Bois, and he symbolizes its international, racial and continental aspects”.

The contributions of the Pan-African Association to the eventual emergence of Pan-Africanism were enormous. After its inaugural congress in Paris in 1919, it organized six more congresses held as follows: the second and third Congresses in London in 1921 and 1923 respectively; the fourth Congress in New York in 1927; the fifth

Congress in Manchester (England) in 1945; the sixth Congress in Dar-es Salam (Tanzania) in 1974; and the seventh in Kampala (Uganda) in 1994 (Eze, 2013)<sup>50</sup>. The major political themes in all the Congresses for the purpose of furthering the ideals of the Pan-Africanist Movement were as follows (Eze, 2013 & Minkah, 2019)<sup>51</sup>:

- i. The liberation of African peoples all over the world from colonialism and neo-colonialism.
- ii. The right for self-governance for all peoples of African descent.
- iii. An unconditional recognition of peoples of African origins as equal citizens of the world, among others.
- iv. Building a Pan-African movement.
- v. Securing civil and political rights for African peoples.
- vi. Promoting friendly relations between races.
- vii. Encouraging African peoples in education, industry, and business.
- viii. Lobbying governments on behalf of African peoples.
- ix. Ameliorating conditions of Black people in Africa, America, the British Empire, and other parts of the world.

No matter whatever became the predicament of the Pan-African Association in later years, it made some remarkable achievements towards publicizing the ideals of Pan-Africanist Movement, which became the political instrument African nations used in their nationalist movements, especially in the second half of the twentieth century. One of the major achievements was the establishment of its branches throughout Africa, the Caribbean, the United States, and even in Britain. The Association equally held conferences each year in order not only to spread its agenda, but also to keep itself alive to the task. Similarly, it established a monthly magazine popularly known as *The Pan-African* for the diffusion of information. Even though the magazine was published only once due to some attendant problems which confronted the Association, it succeeded in laying a solid foundation for the takeoff and the activities of the Pan-Africanist Movement in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which resulted in the attainment of independence by African States.

Apart from the Pan-African Association, other movements and individuals also played crucial roles in the emergence of Pan-Africanist Movement in the twentieth century. These include Frederick Douglas, Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Kwame Nkrumah, Ahmed Ben Bella, Sekou Toure, William Tubman, Muammar Gaddafi, Murtala Ramat Mohammed, John Jerry Rawlings, Thomas Sankara, among others, and All-African Peoples' Congress (1960), Organisation of African Unity (now AU), the Rastafarian Movement and other Religious Movements like Ethiopianism, African Church, etc

### **The role of Frederick Douglas (Frederick Augustus Washington Baily)**

There are two contentious dates about the date of birth of Frederick Douglas. While some sources give 1817 (Geiss, 1974)<sup>53</sup>, Frederick himself mentioned 1818 (Frederick, D., 2006)<sup>54</sup>. The definite issue about his birth is that while his mother, Harriet Baily, was a slave, his father was a slave master (Frederick, D., 1845)<sup>55</sup>. He was born in Holmes Hill Farm, near Easton town, in the American State of Maryland, with the original name as Frederick Augustus Baily.

Frederick's upbringing under very harsh slave masters, especially under Edward Covey, who hired him for a year, coupled with his exposure to "Baltimore's local newspapers and speeches" made him to develop morbid hatred for slavery and slave masters. His allergy to slavery and slave masters was aptly captured by Aziz, M. (2010)<sup>56</sup>: "One day, while he was being tied for a whipping, Douglas showed his refusal to more submission by grabbing his master's (Covey) throat and--- soundly thrashed Covey, who thereupon abandoned the whip for the four remaining months of hire".

Douglas' eventual escape from the South to New York gave him the opportunity to use his oratory gift to launch his career as a great anti-slavery leader. On arrival in New York, Frederick Augustus Washington Baily changed his original name to Frederick Douglas to conceal his identity in order not to be identified and recaptured by slave catchers. Among his contributions to the development of the Pan-Africanist Movement were:

- i. Enlistment with the American Anti-Slavery Society in Nantuchet (Massachusetts) during which "he was employed by the Society to go on a tour of the northern states with other abolitionists to publicize the cause of the slaves and narrate his own experience as a slave fugitive" (Aziz, M., 2010)<sup>57</sup>. Douglas maximized the opportunity and very successfully used it to draw people's attention to the racist question in the North.
- ii. The publication of his autobiography popularly known as "The narrative of the life of Frederick Douglas, an American slave". John Sekora (1994)<sup>58</sup> adjudged the book to be "--- one of the most important books ever published in America. It has been called the single most significant slave narrative and the fount from which modern Black prose has flown--- Aziz, M. (2010)<sup>59</sup> equally testified that it "became quickly a best seller".
- iii. Douglas' very successful tour of the British Isles during which he

- pleaded “the cause of the slaves, denounced the institution of slavery, and gain support for the American Anti-slavery Movement” (Aziz, M., 2010)<sup>60</sup>. He equally gained the British public opinion in support of anti-slavery and abolitionists movements.
- iv. The launching of his Weekly Newspaper, “The North Star”, in December, 1847. Renamed “Frederick Douglass's Paper” after 1851, the cardinal aim of the paper was to fight the institution of slavery for the purpose of claiming Blacks' equality with the Whites (Aziz, M., 2010)<sup>61</sup>. The aim was, indeed, earnestly pursued by the Newspaper through its numerous volumes.
  - v. Douglas' strong belief that the destiny of Black Americans was in America as opposed to Garvey's “Back-to-Africa Project”. This endeared him to becoming one of the famous supporters of the “Underground Railroad” movement which was involved in anti-slavery campaigns, as well as assisting “runaway slaves from the South to the North and Canada. He sheltered and fed hundreds of fugitives, and condemned the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which threatened the physical security of many runaway slaves and increased their hardship” (Aziz, M., 2010)<sup>62</sup>.
  - vi. Douglas' support for revolutionary approach to end slavery. He was uprightly opposed to pacifist and political approaches which he argued were no reliable alternatives for fighting slavery and political rights of the Blacks in America. This was why he called on the Blacks to unite and be prepared to pay heavy sacrifices to fight for their freedom. He unequivocally declared, for instance, that, “We must do this, by labor, by suffering, by sacrifice, and if need be, by our lives and the lives of others” (Douglass, 2006)<sup>63</sup>. This was based on his feeling that non-violent approach was not feasible to provide solution to redeeming the status of the slaves.
  - vii. Douglas' active role in the American civil war (1861-1865). He played a prominent role in recruiting the Blacks into the Union army to fight against the secessionist Southern States. This assignment became more nationalized when, in 1863, Congress officially gave the Blacks the right to be enlisted into the Union Army. Earlier on 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1863, President Abraham Lincoln declared that “all persons held as slaves within any States, or designated part of the State, the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, henceforward, and forever free” (Aziz, M., 2010)<sup>64</sup>. The massive role the Blacks played in fighting along with the Union Army due, largely, to

- Douglas' campaigns made them to become more conscious of their freedom and the need to fight for same.
- viii. Douglas' role after the American civil war. The failure of the Union Government to improve the lot of the Blacks compelled Douglas to advance the fight for the civil rights of the Blacks further to the American Congress (Parliament). He officially protested to the Congress, the result of which was the passage of the Civil Rights Bill by the Congress in April, 1866. The passage of this Bill guaranteed full citizenship to the Blacks to enjoy all the rights enjoyed by all Americans, and the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment of the Bill in 1870 “guaranteed a wider exercise of the franchise of all citizens, regardless of their race” (Aziz, M., 2010)<sup>65</sup>.
- ix. It is imperative to state that the role played by Frederick Douglas in various capacities as a voice before, during and after the American civil war did not only earn him recognition as one of the eminent contributors to the rise of Pan-Africanist Movement, but also in the American politics. Consequently, after 18970, he found himself in one appointment or the other in America as elaborated below by Aziz, M. (2010)<sup>65</sup>:
- In 1871, the American President, Ulysses, S. (1822-1885), appointed him Assistant Secretary to the Commission of Inquiry for the annexation of Santo Domingo, a post from which he resigned before the completion of the Commission (Daniel Brantley, 1984, and Merline Pitre, 1983)<sup>66</sup>. In 1874, he was appointed President of the Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company, a Bank that had been chartered in 1865 exclusively for black people to encourage them to invest and save more money (Franklin & Moss, 1994)<sup>67</sup>. In 1877, he was offered political post as U.S Marshal for Washington, D. C. In 1880, he was appointed as Recorder of Deeds for Washington, D. C., a post which entailed the management of the Department that made records of property sales in the capital. In 1889, Douglas accepted the post of American Minister to Haiti and Charge' d'Affaires for the Dominican Republic--- Finally, in 1893, the Haitian government appointed him as Commissioner in charge of their pavilion at the World's Fair in*

*Chicago (Daniel Brantley)<sup>68</sup>. On February 20, 1895, Frederick Douglass died in Washington, D. C., at the age of seventy-seven, after a massive heart attack.*

- x. Even though some political analysts are tempted to conclude that Frederick Douglass' later engagement in political appointments in America diverted his earlier revolutionary approach in mobilizing the Blacks for their freedom, there is no denying the fact that “he preached unity among the black people to fight for a common cause and break away from the yoke of servitude and could, therefore, be viewed as an earlier forerunner of Pan-African thinking” (Aziz, M., 2010)<sup>69</sup>.

### **The role of Booker Taliaferro Washington**

As with the precise date of birth of Frederick Douglass, the precise date of birth of Washington is contestable. Washington (1915)<sup>70</sup> himself, in his autobiography, guessed whether he was born in 1858 or 1859. What is certain is that he was born to a slave mother and a White father in a large plantation near Hale's Ford, in Franklin County, in the State of Virginia. Having being set free following the Emancipation Proclamation issued by President Abraham Lincoln after the American civil war, Washington and his mother and two siblings, a brother and a sister, joined their stepfather in Malden, West Virginia.

Despite Washington's earnest desire to acquire knowledge, the abject poverty of the family could not allow him to achieve the ambition, especially at his early age. At the age of nine years, Washington found himself working in one salt furnace and coal mine or the other where his uncle worked until in 1871 when he enrolled in a school in Malden for the afternoon classes (Aziz, M., 2010)<sup>71</sup>. No matter the delay, the enrolment marked the beginning of his formal school education, which he combined with self-teaching up to 1872 when he was enrolled in the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia which was established by Samuel Champman Armstrong in 1868. The Institute was established specifically for meeting the educational needs of the Blacks because Armstrong “--- believed that through a system of industrial education, a trained economically successful Black group would emerge which would be significant and would inspire the mass of Blacks to seek to better their conditions” (Booker, T. G., 1975)<sup>72</sup>.

The eventual emergence of Washington not only as a voice and the emancipator of the Blacks but also as one admired by many Whites had much to do with his experience as a student at the Hampton Normal

and Agricultural Institute in Virginia, where he graduated in 1875. It was no where than in the Institute where he observed “--- the working out of a plan whereby emancipated slaves were being made self-supporting, intelligent citizens, and leaders of their own people on the pathway of progress” (Robert, 1933)<sup>73</sup>. Washington's return to the Institute, two years after graduation, as a teacher shaped his life as a leader and emancipator of the Blacks. However, the climax of his ambition was attained when he was appointed by General Armstrong as the Principal of the newly established Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Alabama, on July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1881, “which he headed until his death in 1915--- (Aziz, M., 2010)<sup>74</sup>.

Washington's cardinal achievements in the mobilization and improvement of the conditions of the Blacks were in the area of provision of vocational and technical education for them as the principal of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Alabama. His achievements were so enormous in this aspect that Booker, T. G. (1975)<sup>75</sup> remarks that, “Booker, T. Washington ranks among the most influential leaders in American education of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries”. His greatest achievements as the head of the Institute were as follows:

- i. He designed the curriculum of the Institute specifically to meet the needs of the black people in Alabama for the purpose of improving the socio-economic conditions. He placed much emphasis on industrial and vocational education specifically for the freed black slaves who had no means of livelihood in the United States. For instance, the Institute introduced skills such as brick-laying, carpentry, printing, cabinet-making, wagon-building, harness-making and shoe-making, among others (Booker, T. G., 1975)<sup>76</sup>
- ii. He strongly advocated for education for all, particularly for the Blacks who had just been freed from slavery. The purpose was to enable them lay hands on means of livelihood, especially by being exposed to industrial and vocational education. Monroe, N. W. (1925)<sup>77</sup> testifies, for instance, that, “Along with the idea of dignity of labor, Booker, T. Washington also advocated that the education should be made common, that is, not only should it be placed within reach of all; but it should also have as subject matter the common things of life”.
- iii. Introduction of deliberate socio-economic programmes aimed at improving the socio-economic status of former black slaves by

inculcating in them the American middle-class values. This was founded on his strong belief that, “making the Blacks self-supporting, useful, reliable and competent citizens and hence win the respect of the Whites” (Aziz, M., 2010)<sup>78</sup>. Booker, T. G. (1975)<sup>79</sup> reasons along similar line when he avers that by gaining self-respect and appreciable level of livelihood “--- prejudice (against the Blacks) would diminish and the barriers of discrimination would fall”.

- iv. Training the Blacks not only to become skilled labor, but, most importantly, to produce “a class of African Americans capable of owing and managing land, and equip them with the necessary skills to handle property” (John, P. F., 1969)<sup>80</sup>. This agenda made him to consider classical education less important for the slaves, at the moment, since he argued that the best education for the freed slaves, then, was to train them “in the skills they needed in their everyday life. In this way, he argued, they would ameliorate their conditions and achieve their progressive acceptance by integration into the American society” (Aziz, M., 2010)<sup>81</sup>.
- v. Concerted efforts to export his educational philosophy of industrial and vocational education to continental Africans. With keen interest, particularly in West and South Africa, Washington surveyed the possibility of establishing the Tuskegee-type schools throughout the African continent. The basis for this agenda was the feeling that such schools would also help his fellow Africans to improve themselves and their societies. Marable (1974)<sup>82</sup> states that through his earnest campaigns in Africa to woo African support for his educational philosophy:  
*---Washington— strongly influenced some African leaders such as the Egyptian Journalist and Pan-Africanist, Duse Mohammed Ali; the Gold Coast nationalist leader, Casely Hayford; the South Africans, A. Kirkland (Editor of the Voice of the Bantu), John Langalibalele Dube (Zulu educator and first President of South African National Congress), Sol, J. Plaatje (first General Secretary of the African National Congress), and the great politician, David Don Tengo Jabavu—who either visited him to seek advice, support, and guidance.*
- vi. Deliberate educational policies to deliver the African American women from the slave culture which made them to lose sense of their fundamental human rights and potentials. This made them to

subject themselves to being used sexually by slave masters and their sons, including overseers, for either leisure or for breeding potential slaves -slave children. (Jennie, B. M., 1933)<sup>83</sup>. In order to free them from this slave status and mentality, Washington designed a curriculum in the Tuskegee Institute specifically for reed black women which introduced them to vocational skills or programmes such as dressmaking, laundering, cooking, soap-making, dairying, poultry raising, and flowers and vegetable growing, in addition to other forms of domestic scores or functions (Jennie, B. M., 1933)<sup>84</sup>. These programmes were specifically to provide the Black American women with sources of livelihood in order to free them from complete dependence on men, particularly the Whites, for survival as well as for their dignity as human beings.

- vii. Washington's segregation policy, which was, however, vehemently criticized by W. E. B. Du Bois and other black American leaders. He advocated for separate settlements for the Blacks where they will manage their affairs by themselves without discrimination and interference by the Whites. In his “---momentous speech (popularly known as the 'Atlanta Compromise'), delivered on September 18<sup>th</sup>, 1895, at the opening of the Atlanta Cotton Exposition in Georgia, he (Booker, T. W., 1895)<sup>85</sup> declared that, “In all things that are purely social, we can be as separate as the fingers, yet as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress”. Washington hoped that he would take advantage of the segregation policy to promote black hegemony through economic independence (A. Young, 1976)<sup>86</sup>.

On the whole, by his educational policy for the Blacks, Washington did not only contribute immensely in elevating the socio-economic status of the Blacks in America, but also emerged as one of the most celebrated Black leaders in American history in the wake of the twentieth century. His efforts to export the virtues of his educational policy to Africa endeared him respect and admiration of both the Blacks and Whites, as well as set him as a great forerunner of Pan-Africanism. He inculcated in his fellow Blacks the sense of self-pride, the love for freedom, and the importance of unity, which became the strongest instrument used by the Pan-Africanist Movement.

### **The Role of Edward Burghardt Du Bois (W.E.B. Du Bois)**

Born on February 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1868, in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, Du Bois exhibited exemplary intelligence in his academic pursuit. On

graduation from Barrington High School, Du Bois enjoyed two scholarships due to his academic excellence. After his first scholarship from 1885 to 1888 to study at Fisk College, Nashville, in Tennessee, he obtained his Bachelor's and Master's degrees at the prestigious Harvard University in 1890 and 1891 respectively. His second scholarship for doctorate programme took him to the University of Berlin, Germany, adjudged to be “one of the best centres of learning in the world” (Aziz, M., 2010)<sup>87</sup> at the time. He was, however, compelled to come back to Harvard to complete his doctorate studies after two years due to the expiration of his scholarship in Germany.

Du Bois' concern about the black race was developed during his academic pursuit. Gerald (2019)<sup>88</sup> asserts, for instance, that, “At the age of fifteen, he became the local correspondent for the 'New York Globe'. And in this position, he conceived it his duty to push his race forward by lectures and editorials reflecting upon the need of Black people to politicize (sic) themselves”. However, his Pan-Africanist posture was fully developed while in Germany for his doctorate programme. This resulted from his exposure “to current race theories and Pan-German strands of thought” (Langley, J. A., 1973)<sup>89</sup>. Earlier in Tennessee University in the South, he came face to face with racial discrimination, as well as exposed to abject poverty and rejection the Blacks were subjected to. These experiences, among other factors, had remarkable influence on his adoption of his doctorate thesis titled “The Suppression of the African Slave Trade in America”. Apart from the contributions of his thesis in exposing the ideals of Pan-Africanism, he made the following contributions to the emergence of radical posture of the Movement in the twentieth century.

- i. His strong belief in developing the intellectual realm of the black Americans as the most effective weapon for fighting racism in America as opposed to Washington's principle of vocational and industrial education founded on elementary aspects of scholarship. Unlike Washington, he strongly believed that education, especially higher education, was the only viable avenue the Black Americans could explore in order to develop their full potentials to be able to attain to higher civilization to compete favorably with the Whites (Du Bois, 1968)<sup>90</sup>.
- ii. Du Bois' instrumental role in the foundation of the Niagara Movement by thirty people in Niagara Falls, Canada, in August, 1905, specifically for the advancement of the rights of the Black Race. The Movement established a Journal titled “Horizon” in which Du Bois published several articles about racial issues in

America, Europe and Africa between 1907 and 1909. Among other issues, the Movement demanded for “--- freedom of speech and criticism, manhood suffrage, the abolition of all distinctions based on race, the recognition of the basic principles of human brotherhood, and respect for the working man” (Franklin, 1969)<sup>91</sup>. Before its eventual stagnation, the Movement succeeded in awakening the Black race, particularly in America, about its fundamental human rights.

- iii. Du Bois' instrumental role in the foundation of the Negro Committee (NNC) in June, 1909, following the decline of the Niagara Movement. The Committee was more or less a successor to Niagara Movement, and as such performed similar objectives. Consequently, when in 1910 NNC became known as National Advancement for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Du Bois single-handedly co-opted the entire membership of the Niagara Movement into the NAACP. Like its predecessors, the main objectives of the NAACP were to “fight against racial segregation and discrimination, secure equal education for Blacks and Whites, put an end to lynching, ameliorate the African Americans' civil and political status” (Aziz, M., 2010)<sup>91</sup>. Du Bois played very crucial function in the NAACP as its director of research and publicity, and the editor of its monthly journal titled “Crisis”. The great success the journal achieved was largely attributed to Du Bois' intellectual and literary talents encapsulated as a novelist, poet, journalist, historian, sociologist, and teacher.
- iv. Generally, using his intellectual sagacity, Du Bois produced myriad of articles and books through which he propagated the philosophy of Pan-Africanism as well as ideas for the advancement of the Black race, in addition to organizing or taking part in several meetings, conferences and congresses on the Black race in and outside the United States. “Most notable of these were undoubtedly held between 1919 and 1945, --- which earned him the name of the 'Father of Pan-Africanism---“ (Aziz, M., 2010)<sup>92</sup>. Nothing proved his international role as one of the greatest propagators of the Pan-African ideology than his acceptance of the invitation by the then Ghanaian President, Kwame Nkrumah, to Ghana in 1961 where he died in 1963 as Ghanaian citizen at the ripe age of ninety-six years.

### **The Role of Marcus Mosiah Garvey**

Marcus Mosiah Garvey was born on the 17<sup>th</sup> August, 1887, in Saint Ann's Bay, Jamaica, to full-blooded Black slave parents. His parents lived in one of the independent communities popularly known as the Maroons found in the West Indies and Latin America. These slave communities had a common history of origin from Fort Koromanti, in Gold Coast, where they were sold into slavery. Much of what is known about them is that they violently resisted enslavement, and as such were said to have “organized some of the most violent slave revolts in the New World” (Aziz, M., 2010)<sup>93</sup>.

The following factors, in addition to Garvey's experience as a member of one of these independent slave communities, greatly influenced his life as a leader of the Blacks against racism. The first factor was his bitter experience as a foreman in a printing plant in a socially stratified society in Kingston, Jamaica. He was very allergic to the way and manner his fellow Blacks, particularly the pure Blacks, were being treated in Kingston. Secondly, his findings from his extensive tour of Central and South America where he visited Costa Rica, Ecuador, Venezuela and Columbia doing one menial job or the other (Tamba, E. M., 2001)<sup>97</sup>. In all these countries, Garvey got firsthand information about the dehumanizing exploitation, discrimination and persecution the Blacks were subjected to. Thirdly, his tour in England from 1912 to July, 1914. This was, however, the experience that shaped his Pan-African spirit the more. In London, he met with various groups of Africans: students, sailors, workers, Duse Mohammed Ali (1867-1944), a dark-skinned Egyptian journalist leader, among others, whose reports about their experience in Africa were quite different from the Blacks in Central and South America. Fourthly, his exposure in London to Booker T. Washington's book titled “Up from Slavery”. The book really exposed him to the plight of the slaves, especially of their emancipation.

Garvey's mindset after the London tour about the need to lead the campaign for the emancipation of the black race was captured by Tamba, E. M. (2001) thus: “At the time Garvey returned to Jamaica in 1914, he had resolved to seek practical ways of improving the conditions of Blacks at home and abroad”. Among the efforts made by Garvey to actualize his ambition, directly or indirectly contributed to the eventual emergence of the Pan-African Movement were the followings:

- I. Establishment of the Universal Negro Improvement and Conservation Association (UNICA) in 1914. The association was later re-launched with a new name, Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Though the new association

pursued similar objectives as its predecessor, but however focused at a wider audience. Its major objective was the improvement of conditions and status of the black race.

- ii. Establishment of a mouth-piece, a weekly newspaper, for the UNIA popularly known as “The Negro World”. The cardinal objective of the newspaper was to instill racial pride in the peoples of African descent across the World. The paper achieved great success in mobilizing the Blacks across the world, especially among the Japanese and Indian Americans and in the former colonies. The success achieved, especially in mobilizing the Blacks for wider race protests made some colonial governments to ban the paper, and with stiff punishments for those found with copies of the paper. According Vincent, B. T. (1969)99, for instance:

*The punishment in certain colonial territories for possessing “The Negro World” was five years imprisonment with hard labor; in Dahomey, formerly French West Africa, was life imprisonment.*

- iii. Concerted efforts by Garvey to bring “--- the peoples of the black race together through varied program of education, promotion of race pride, world-wide commercial and industrial intercourse, and the development of African motherhood” (Eric, 1996)100
- iv. Garvey's very revolutionarily radical approach encapsulated in his “Back-to- Africa” project. Among the objectives of the project were to transport the African Americans back to Africa where he believed their destiny lies as well as to establish socio-economic networks among the black race. One of the strategies he sought to use to achieve these objectives was the launching of “The Black Star Shipping Line”. Cronon (1973)101 states, for instance, the Shipping Line was “--- to trade between the units of the (Black) race --- in Africa, the U. S. A., the West Indies and Central America, thereby building up an independent economy”. Among the strategies he sought to use in achieving economic independence for the purpose of uplifting the socio-economic status of the Negroes included the establishment of Negro Factories and Corporations in 1919, including other Afro-based projects (Philippe, D., 1964)102.
- v. Garvey's earnest efforts in raising fund to support the activities of UNIA. It is imperative to state that due to the enormity of the

- programmes pursued by the Association, it needed much money. Minkah, M. (2019)<sup>103</sup> even states that “UNIA also entered into negotiations with the Americo-Liberian elite in Liberia to establish a UNIA 'Colony' that would facilitate repatriating western Blacks to Africa, though these plans fell through due to pressure from the U. S. A., French, and the British governments”.
- vi. Garvey's efforts through UNIA's International Conventions resulted in the “Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the world”. And as a symbol of unity of the Black race, UNIA “adopted the red, black and green flag as the 'colors of the Negro Race' and called for 'complete control of (blacks') social institutions without interference by any alien race or races” (Minkah, M., 2019)<sup>104</sup>.
  - vii. Generally, because of his global campaigns associated with his international agenda, within a short period, Garvey was able to raise the consciousness of racial pride among the Blacks in America, the Caribbean and Africa, which constrained Vincent, B. T. (1969)<sup>105</sup> to declare that Garvey “created a feeling of international solidarity among Africans and many people of African descent”.

### **The Role of the Rastafarian Movement**

Apart from the pioneer contributions by the founding fathers of the Pan-Africanist Movement in the persons of Frederick Douglas, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey, the Rastafarian Movement equally contributed enormously in publicizing the philosophy and ideology of Pan-Africanism across the world. They accomplished this very appreciably through the reggae music they evolved specifically for the purpose. Reggae music was basically the instrument the Negroes in the Caribbean, particularly in Jamaica, developed to protest specifically about the abject poverty, marginalization and racial discrimination the Negroes were subjected to by the minority White population in the New World.

It is relevant to state that Rastafarianism and reggae music have a twin history linked to the Black experience in the over four hundred years trans-Atlantic slave trade and Garveyism. This informs Ken Pryce (1981)<sup>106</sup> remark that:

*Culturally, reggae erupted out of the syncretic Afro-Christian subsoil, which has been the traditional basis of Negro culture in Jamaica --- the most direct contributions to the development of reggae music have*

*been made by the Rastafarians, who are a radical Afro-oriented cult group hostile to the official establishment in Jamaica.*

*Rastafarianism is a millenarian cult movement, based on the ideas of exile and Zionism. It flourishes because of the extreme poverty in Jamaica, the low social status and the extreme deprivation and racial humiliation of the black majority. Marcus Garvey, the high priest of Black Nationalism all over the world, is the acknowledged forerunner of the Rastafarian Movement.*

Founded on the basis of restoring the dignity of the black race, the Rastafarians looked unto Africa as the only place where their destiny lied. This was the basis for their adoption of the name Rastafarians, derived from Rasta Tafari, the original name of Haile Selassie who was crowned Ethiopian president in 1930. Their strong belief in Africa, especially Ethiopia, the acclaimed headquarters of the place where their destiny was believed to be found, made them to form Ethiopian-oriented organizations such as United Ethiopian Body, The Ethiopian Youth Faith, Men of Nyabingi, Afro-West Indian Brotherhood, etc. (Ken Pryce, 1981)<sup>107</sup>. Their strong belief in the Back-to-Africa project by Garvey gave the hope that one day they will be repatriated to Africa. Some of them were even reported to have attempted to board ships docked in Kingston harbor with the belief that the ships had come to take them back to Africa (Ken Pryce, 1981)<sup>108</sup>.

By nomenclature, the Rastafarians constitute a very radically revolutionary Negro group in the Caribbean, particularly in Kingston, Jamaica. A typical Rastafarian prefers to address himself as a “Rasta Man”, which some take to mean “Africa Man”. They comprise two main groups: the moderate and the very radical groups. While the former does not wear dreadlocks, the latter wears dreadlocks, and some even carry a staff, symbolizing the Biblical Moses who emancipated the Israelites from slavery in Egypt. They preferred to appear like that in order to intimidate and frighten the White minority, particularly in Jamaica, who are considered to be ‘common enemies’.

One of the major contributions of the Rastafarians to the development of the Pan-Africanist Movement was their strong belief in the Black race and its pride. The effective instrument they developed to propagate their agenda was the development of the Doctrine of Negritude and African Redemption founded on concerted efforts to diffuse “Upper Nigger Consciousness” (Rolling Stone, 1973)<sup>109</sup>. They

believed this could only be possible by reviving and re-living the orthodox African culture as opposed to being enmeshed in the White culture they found themselves in. This was one of the reasons why they even Africanized their music by incorporating Afro-based bits and tunes.

Another major contribution of the Rastafarians, through their reggae music, to the diffusion of the Pan-Africanist philosophy and ideology was the politicization of reggae music, especially in the slums of Kingston, Jamaica, in the 1950s and 1960s. In the case of Jamaica, the Rolling Stone (1973)110 reports:

*The politicians, fully comprehending the implication of the mass appeal of reggae, capitalized on the Rasta symbols and motifs of the life-style surrounding the music and made regular pilgrimages to the ghettos in order to exploit the vote-catching potential of the movement.*

This strategy hugely paid off to Michael Manley who contested against the incumbent Jamaican Prime Minister in 1980. The Rolling Stone Magazine (1973) extensively reports:

*Last year (1980), when Michael Manley was running for Prime minister against the incumbent Labour government, he took to the hills in his shirt-sleeves carrying a long staff—the Rod of Correction, he called it, with which he swore to drive out the demons – and the five-acre farmers and dirt poor and downtrodden turned out in throngs wherever he went, chanting Joshua! Joshua! And Manley held out the Rod and cried, 'when I look at my people, my heart bleeds!' and the people strained to touch the Rod, to feel the almighty power, and Manley wept and cried, 'It is Love!' He also made a record, a reggae thing called 'Better Must Come', pitching power for the people, with a chorus singing in the background and the bass thumping. It made the charts, Number One'. He was elected with the biggest majority in Jamaican Parliament.*

And Clancy Eccles, who produced 'Better Must Come', said: 'we knew we are more powerful than the politicians. The people hear us on the radio every day.

In doing this, much of reggae songs carried highly revolutionary ideas which had to do with freedom, unity of the Blacks for a common cause, cultural revivalism, among others. Consequently, all top reggae

musicians like Jimmy Cliff, Desmond Dekker, Bob Marley (Robert Resta Marley), Peter Tosh, U-Roy, I-Roy, etc., composed many revolutionary liberation songs. For instance, Bob Marley, the reggae music legend, composed revolutionary songs such as Buffalo Soldier, Confrontation, Zion, Rasta Man Vibration, Africa Unite, Equal Rights, 400 Years, etc. Similarly, Peter Tosh, another reggae star, produced his most radically revolutionary album titled “Equal Rights” which contained a lot of revolutionary tracks like “Get up, Stand Up (for your Rights)”, “Africa Unite”, “African”, among many others. Other revolutionary reggae tunes included Judge Dread, 007 Shanty Town, African People, Young Gifted and Black. U-Roy, in particular, chose to adopt very radically revolutionary posture to appear like a shepherd with a staff in his hand like the Biblical Moses who led the Israelites out of slavery from Egypt. Back home in Nigeria, we had the likes of Sonny Okosun who composed best selling revolutionary reggae tracks like Papa's Land and Fire in Soweto.

Generally, reggae music stretched across ideological, philosophical, political, cultural and economic dimensions of the life of the Negro in the New World, and the Pan-Africanist movement in general. Reggae was, indeed, all-embracing in its message of Pan-Africanism. Apart from the message of Afro-based cultural revivalism, its message of racial pride emphasized economic independence, which the music itself served as a major source of livelihood as well as for economic independence. By the first half of the twentieth century, reggae music had succeeded in creating much awareness and unity among peoples of African descent around the world. This contributed enormously in the nationalist movements in different parts of Africa.

### **The role of African nationalists**

There is a dialectical relationship between Pan-Africanism and nationalist movements in Africa in the twentieth century. The two reinforced one another. The involvement of African nationalists in the Pan-Africanist movement in the dawn of the twentieth century was more or less the domestication of the movement in Africa. This gave birth to what many refer to as modern Pan-Africanism. Among the early flag-bearers of the Pan-Africanist movement in Africa included Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, William Tubman of Liberia, Julius Mwalimu Nyerere of Tanzania, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, etc. The individual and collective revolutionary roles played by African military leaders like

Muammar Gaddafi of Libya, Jerry John Rawlings of Ghana, Murtala Ramat of Nigeria, Idi Amin Dada of Uganda and Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso made the Africanist movement to look like an exclusively African affair. This forms the basis for Logan's (n.d)112 assertion that, "But it was only when Pan-African ideas, in whatever guise, began to attract outstanding Africans that the movement became of real significance for Africa".

Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, being the president of one of the earliest African nations to obtain independence, played very instrumental role in the rise of what others may refer to as modern Pan-Africanism. His studies in the University of Pennsylvania, United States, did not only arouse his interest in the Pan-Africanist movement but also "fortified his own thinking on Pan-Africanism" (Logan, n.d)113. Before he could complete his studies in the University of Pennsylvania, Nkrumah played a cardinal role in spreading Pan-Africanist ideology in the University. For instance, apart from helping to organize the African Studies Section in the University, he played very instrumental role in the formation of the African Students' Association of America and Canada (Logan, n.d)114. Apart from the major functions of the Association of reviving and promoting Pan-African ideology and nationalist awakening, it established a newspaper popularly known as "The African Interpreter" as its very effective mouth-piece.

Back home, and on assumption of office as the first Ghanaian president in 1957, Nkrumah did not relent in pushing forward the Pan-Africanist project. First, he promoted the concept of West African unity as a supportive organ to the Pan-African movement which was to fight for independence for African States that were still under the yoke of colonial rule. Secondly, he "emerged as the major advocate for the unity of independent Africa", or rather championed the "quest for regional integration of the whole of the African continent" (Mkandawire, 2005)115. This project was the brain-child of the birth of the Organisation of African Unity (AOU), now African Union (AU). Fourthly, Nkrumah hosted the historic, or rather first, All-African Peoples Conference (AAPC) in Ghana in April, 1958. The Conference was the first gathering of leaders of all independent African States, namely, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia and Sudan, excluding the Apartheid South Africa (Legum, 1965)116. The crucial continental resolutions adopted at the Conference made the Forum to assume Pan-African posture as outlined below.

- I. The bringing together of both the White Islamic-Arab African States and Black African, mostly Christian States to chart a

common socio-political course for Africa.

- ii. The fashioning of a common nationalist identity among African States.
- iii. Endorsement of the use of both peaceful and armed struggle for the attainment of independence.
- iv. The resolve to directly assist fellow African States in the fight for self-rule.
- v. Adoption of a new foreign policy based on the philosophy of Africa assuming the centre stage in all foreign or diplomatic relations.
- vi. The adoption of the principle of non-alignment, that is, neither tilting to the West, particularly America, nor to the East, particularly the former USSR.
- vii. The convening of the second All-African Peoples' Conference in 1960 also attended by newly independent African States, namely, Algeria, Cameroon, Guinea, Nigeria, Somalia and United Arab Republic. Among other discussions at this Conference was the proposal by Nkrumah for the formation of political and economic union among independent African States, a proposal which however led to the emergence of two blocs – the Casablanca and the Brazaville factions.
- viii. The eventual formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), now African Union (AU), in the 1963 Summit at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to pursue the following Pan-Africanist objectives:
  - a. To raise the standard of living of member States.
  - b. To defend the sovereignty of African States.
  - c. To support freedom fighters and the decolonization process.
- vix. The formation of the African Liberation Committee at the Addis Ababa Summit in 1963 for the purpose of supporting liberation movements across Africa. President Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria made the first donation to this Committee to the tune of one hundred million francs, in addition to hosting the first Pan-African Cultural Festival from 21<sup>st</sup> to 28<sup>th</sup> July, 1968, as well as being the first African leader to boycott Portuguese and Apartheid South African goods (Adi & Sherwood, 2003; Evans, 2008)117. These contributions to the promotion of the ideas of Pan-African movement made Algeria to stand tall, for the moment, in promoting very radical Pan-Africanist and nationalist movement. This is not, however, to undermine the role played by the other African leaders and nationalists.

## **Conclusion**

Pan-Africanism as a concept and Movement originated from the slums of the Caribbean, particularly in Kingston, Jamaica, among Afro-Caribbeans. It was a consciousness and movement that developed out of the dehumanizing treatment the African slaves, later freed slaves, were subjected to in the plantations. The consciousness started even right from the experiences of the slaves in the “Middle Passage” during which some slaves revolted against their inhuman treatment associated with the way and manner they were packed, the abject poor feeding and health conditions, the torture and raping of some of the female slaves.

The second phase of the development of the Movement was in the plantations where both individual and collective violent revolts were organized against the slave masters and overseers. Among the causes for the revolts included extremely excessive long hours of work without adequate feeding and hours of rest, inhuman corporal punishments such as perforation of ears, cutting of toes or fingers, and serious flogging as lesser punishments. At times, the cutting of ears, toes and fingers was done as ways of branding the slaves for easy identification by the slave masters and overseers. From pockets of revolts in some places, the phenomenon soon became widespread in the Caribbean during which both slave masters and slaves lost their lives. No matter the experience, the phenomenon clearly drew racial line and rivalry between the Blacks and Whites in the Caribbean.

The third phase in the development of the Pan-Africanist Movement was when radical Black leaders and intellectuals emerged in the Caribbean with the strong determination to mobilize the Blacks for the purpose of not only confronting the common enemy, but also to regain the pride of the Black race and its rights for self-determination. Among the founding fathers of the organized Pan-Africanist Movement at the close of the nineteenth century and in the wake of the twentieth century were Frederick Douglas, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey. These pathfinders moved the movement from being a phenomenon confined in the Caribbean to the rest of the world.

The spread of the Pan-Africanist Movement to Africa could be said to be yet another phase and, of course, the last phase. Its spread to Africa gave it a more global identity, since it became synonymous with nationalist movements in the continent. African leaders like Kwame Nkrumah, Tubman William, Ahmed Ben Bella, Sekou Toure, Julius Nyerere, Kenneth Kaunda, Nnamdi Azikiwe, among others added momentum to the development and spread of the Pan-Africanist Movement. Unfortunately, the spirit of the early movers of the Movement seems to have dissipated, at least at present.

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