The origins and evolution of Pan-Africanism*

Mark Malisa and Thelma Quardey Missedja

Introduction

Our chapter examines the place of Pan-Africanism as an educational, political, and cultural movement that had a lasting impact on the liberation of people of African descent. We also show Pan-Africanism’s evolution, beginning with formerly enslaved Africans in the Americas, to the colonial borders of the 1884 Berlin Conference, the rise of the independence movements in Africa from 1957–1975, and the 21st century African Renaissance. Within the studies of origins, we argue that Pan-Africanism should be understood as a quest for Africa’s self-understanding and self-knowledge through historical, philosophical, and political narratives.¹

In giving a somewhat chronological development of Pan-Africanism, we acknowledge how writing about origins is also a narration about a people’s history and genealogy. Our sources include historical documents, policy statements, and proceedings from conferences. We are aware of the existence of oral history, especially within the African tradition. In oral cultures, griots preserved a people’s history through story-telling, or biographical narratives. Schulz observes that it was not uncommon for griots to recast historical narratives so that “the current situation is presented as the outcome of a never specified past.”² While griots were at times beholden to the court, ultimately, the best ones owed allegiance to truth and justice, resisting the lure of power and material rewards. At the same time, it is important to point out that narrations of origins told by different people rarely have the same story, as each gives their version.³

It is also important to note that the narration of history, even in oral cultures, was shared by both men and women. Others contend that genealogy or origins should be considered as part of history, and in the making of history, women play an important role, especially within the Pan-African Movement. Readers familiar with Roots will likely be aware of the role of griots in recounting a people’s history, their origins of how African Americans came to be in the present condition.⁴ Origin and evolution generally ends with an examination of

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the present condition based on a remembrance of the past and a future that is yet to be born.

Within the context of this chapter, Pan-Africanism refers to a philosophy (or philosophies) that sought to promote ideas of a united Africa. Over different historical periods, the philosophies evolved, but the focus on the unity or oneness of Africa stayed consistent. Partly because some of the evolution of Pan-Africanism took place in universities, we also examine Pan-Africanism’s development as an intellectual movement tied to the aspirations of people of African descent in different parts of the world. In addition to being a philosophical, economic, cultural, and intellectual movement, Pan-Africanism is also a political movement or organization whose goal was the liberation and unity of Africa, especially after slavery and the encounter with modernity. We also use Black and African interchangeably, for that is how the concept operated within Pan-Africanism.

For formerly enslaved Africans, Pan-Africanism was an idea that helped them see their commonalities as victims of racism. That is, they realized that they were enslaved because they came from the same continent and shared the same racial heritage. The early articulations and manifestations of Pan-Africanism took place outside Africa, mainly in North America and the Caribbean. Pan-Africanists associated the continent of Africa with freedom. The partitioning of Africa at the Berlin Conference (colonialism) created pseudo-nation states out of what was initially seen as an undivided continent. Pan-Africanism provided an ideology for rallying Africans at home and abroad against colonialism, and the creation of colonial nation-states did not erase the idea of a united Africa.

As different African nations gained political independence, they took it upon themselves to support those countries fighting for their independence. Many African countries drew inspiration from the nations in the Caribbean, including Cuba. The belief, then, was that as long as one African nation was not free, the continent could not be viewed as free. The existence of nation-states did not imply the negation of Pan-Africanism. The political ideas examined include those of Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. Du Bois, Kwame Nkrumah, Malcolm X, Nelson Mandela, and Thabo Mbeki. Pan-Africanism, as it were, has shaped how many people understand the history of Africa and of African people.

Throughout generations, Pan-Africanism promoted a consciousness of Africa as the ancestral home for Black people, and a desire to work for its liberation. At its core was the understanding that people of African heritage had similar experiences, regardless of their location in the world. Among such experiences included colonialism, racial oppression, and slavery. For a significant part of the 20th century, Addis Ababa was viewed as headquarters of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), indicative of the hope of a united Africa. It should be noted though, that different countries hosted the regular meetings of the OAU. However, even before the first Pan-African Congress in London, Blacks had envisioned the formation of a United States of Africa.

Days of slavery and after

Although the word Pan-Africanism came into popular use in the 1950s, there are some who argue that the philosophy of Pan-Africanism was present and manifested itself not only in the protests and resistance to slavery, but the desire to return to Africa. Formerly enslaved Africans sought to return to Africa, and even when a physical return was impossible, they kept the idea of Africa alive. In many ways, enslavement did not remove a sense of longing or belonging to a wider African community, or even a return to Africa.
In the 18th and 19th centuries, there were many efforts to repatriate formerly enslaved Africans, and some left from the US to Sierra Leone and Liberia. While some returned on a voluntary basis, others did so at the urging of European Americans with the support of the US government. While abolitionists in the United States were keen to end slavery, some were not enamored of having Blacks live among them and encouraged them to relocate to Africa. Consequently, some were shipped from Jamaica and the Caribbean so as to make those countries free and safe for Europeans.

Many of the formerly enslaved Africans returning to Africa saw their mission as that of advancing Africa through means similar to what was happening in North America and Europe. The new things they sought included new forms of commerce and new religions, including Christianity. For Crummel, it was a fusion of capitalism and Christianity, or Anglophilia that could lead to a transformation of Africa.

The return to Africa, or the promise and premise of Pan-Africanism was predicated on a vision of a triumphant or victorious Africa, one free of slavery and foreign domination. But the appearances of the abolition of slavery did not lead to a significant emancipation of Africans in the Diaspora or in Africa itself. The abolition of slavery was followed by the “dismemberment of Africa at the 1885 Berlin Conference, a process much like the butchering of a huge elephant for sharing among jubilant hunter kin.” The Berlin Conference and the subsequent partitioning of Africa laid the foundation for the colonization of Africa. To a great extent, at the Berlin Conference “European society found the principle of resource theft perfectly acceptable, indeed, inevitable … formalized this acceptance of brutality as good governance for Africa.” Africa and Africans belonged to Europeans, and Germany played a central role in the partitioning of Africa.

The Berlin conference

The partitioning of Africa at the Berlin Conference not only led to the theft of resources, but to the creation of borders where previously there had been none, and the making of pseudo-states administered by Europeans using European legal systems. According to Ngugi Wa Thiongo, the “Berlin Conference of 1884 literally fragmented and reconstituted Africa into British, French, Portuguese, German, Belgian, and Spanish Africa.” Political, cultural, and economic independence were lost in the process of colonialism. But, instead of a vacuum, Europe used the colonial experience to impose its cultural memory in ways that would radically alter the course of African history and identity, as well as the potential unification of Africa. With the partitioning of Africa, what had been previously one whole, suddenly became a landmass of several nation states and colonially imposed geographical boundaries.

As a result of the Berlin Conference, Germany had German West Africa (Namibia) and German East Africa (Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi) as well as Togo and Cameroon. France, on the other hand, took possession of over ten territories, including the Ivory Coast, Senegal, Niger, Gambia, Morocco, Gabon, Algeria, and Tunisia. To Britain went Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda, South Africa, Egypt, Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Botswana, Lesotho, and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) among others. Even Portugal colonized Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, and Guinea-Bissau. All in all, delegates from fourteen European countries convened and decided the fate of Africa and its people.

In addition to dividing Africa among themselves, European nations also divided Africans from each other. This division was mostly evident with the making of colonial borders. But the colonial borders also quickly became religious and cultural borders, as colonialism was
quickly followed by the imposition of different religious traditions, including variations of Christianity. A byproduct of the division of Africa was the creation in the European imaginary, culture, and scholarship of Egypt and parts of North Africa as separate from the rest of Africa, especially what is now called Africa South of the Sahara. European cartography defined Africa’s geographical and political identity. The Berlin Conference, in many ways, created pseudo-nation states beholden to colonial powers. The conference formed the foundation for the continued destruction of African history, culture, and unity.17

However, from Europe and North America as well as the Caribbean, people of African descent strove for maintaining the unity of Africa. Among the many platforms through which this was done included the Pan-African Congresses.

**Pan-African Congresses**

Notwithstanding the concerted effort by Europeans at disuniting Africa as a result of the Berlin Conference, leading activists and intellectuals in the Diaspora sought ways for advocating for the unity of Africa and people of African descent. Those in the Diaspora organized conferences and congresses to deliberate on the present and future of Africa. Pan-Africanism can be understood as a practical and philosophical approach to a unity of people of African heritage, especially those in North America, the Caribbean, Europe, and Africa. The Pan-African Congresses, especially those during the time of Du Bois and Padmore, became places for defining the goals and vision for Africa.18

The First Pan-African Congress was held in London in 1900. It was organized by Williams of Trinidad and explored, among other topics, the independence of Africa, and the rights of Black people in the Diaspora. In many ways, Pan-Africanism made it possible to view the future of Africa through a different lens. A generational and ideological shift was apparent, especially when compared with those of the days immediately after slavery.19 Christianity was no longer viewed as essential to the ideological and material revival of Africa.

The Second Pan-African Congress took place in 1919 and was again overwhelmingly dominated by Blacks from the Diaspora. As with the First Congress, it also took place in Europe, and among those present included W.E.B. Du Bois. Du Bois played a leading role in many of the Pan-African Congresses. What eventually came into play was the question of who was to lead Africa out of European domination, and in what political and ideological direction.

During this era, Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. Du Bois played a leading role in shaping the direction or path toward the future of Africa. For Garvey, it was important for Africans to think in terms of race first, and in this case, the Black race. Du Bois had already written and published on the contributions of Black people in world history in ways that challenged European perceptions and depictions of Africa. The fissures in European ideologies and capitalism had made it possible for Blacks in the Diaspora to study Marxism and Socialism. The rise of the Soviet Union, and the acceptance of Blacks in the Communist International persuaded Pan-Africanists to explore Socialism as central to the unification and future of Africa.20

However, within a relatively short time, some Pan-Africanists began to realize the shortcomings of Socialism and broke with the Communist International. At the early stages of his career, the younger Padmore, for example, viewed socialism and the potential solidarity between workers of the world as something that could solve the race problem. In other words, for a while he saw the problem as one of economics, while Du Bois, Marcus Garvey,
and others viewed race as central. By 1933, however, Padmore began to see the limitations of Communism within the struggle for African freedom. He had a huge influence on other Pan-Africanists, including Kwame Nkrumah.

Most students of Pan-Africanism would rarely question the dedication that those in the Diaspora had for the cause of Africa. Partly because of the proximity to Europeans as well as their experiences with European and North American education, those assembled at the First and Second Pan-African Congresses envisaged themselves playing a leadership role in Africa. Even younger DuBois saw the educated Blacks as essential to a mission of civilizing Africa. For a significant amount of time, the early Pan-Africanists saw the liberation of Africa through an Anglo-American worldview partly because they had been educated in that environment. It could be argued that “they sought to remake Africa and Africans, at home and abroad, in the image of the emerging bourgeois North Atlantic societies.” However, over time, many of the Pan-Africanists found a home in Africa and ended up advising the presidents of newly independent African countries.

By the time of the Fifth Pan-African Congress (held in 1945), the hope that the Anglo-American model could provide a transformative and emancipatory framework for Africa was being slowly abandoned. While previous congresses had advocated for a gradual emancipation for Africans, the Fifth Pan-African Congress stressed the necessity of ending colonialism. The ideological and political rationale for gaining political independence had been laid, and representatives from African countries began actively participating in congresses.

**Women and Pan-Africanism**

The vast amount of literature on Pan-Africanism gives the impression that it was a male-dominated initiative, with women being invisible, or playing marginal roles. However, a closer reading of the events and activities associated with the Pan-African Movement shows that women played a pivotal role in its history as well as the ideological directions it followed. Roy-Campbell observes that for the most part, the first Five Congresses could be described as male-centered. The women whose presence was acknowledged include Shirley Du Bois, Amy Garvey, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Annie Cooper.

In reading Pan-Africanism through a western patriarchal eye, it is possible to not see the presence of women or the leadership roles they played in Pan-Africanism. However, the 1927 Pan-African Congress held in New York witnessed a significant presence of Black women, other than just those who were wives of the leading men. The Sixth and Seventh Pan-African Congresses devoted a significant amount of their proceedings to addressing the concerns of Black women.

It would be a mistake to view the issues facing African women as radically distinct from those that confronted African men, whether in the global north or the global south. Women in the Diaspora as well as those in the motherland were cognizant of these issues. In protesting the assassination of Lumumba, women from different countries, including the United States, saw in the assassination a reminder of the lynching of African men. As Morrison observed, from a woman’s point of view, in terms of confronting the problems where the world is now, black women had to deal with post-modern problems … certain kinds of dissolution, the loss of and the need to reconstruct certain kinds of stability.

This quote from Morrison illustrates the ways African women were involved in the fight for a qualitatively better world, not just within a specific geographical location. In the period after 1945, and especially during the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, a unique
consciousness manifested itself in the lives and work of Black women: it was “a time of giving birth and of getting born into a wider concept of ourselves … and into a heightened sense of art and the Struggle as inseparable bedmates.”

Among the issues addressed at the Sixth and Seventh Pan-African Congresses included the survival of Black or African women and children, women and the environment, and women and the law. Cognizant of the prevalence of war and conflict, there were initiatives to strengthen a Pan-African Women’s Liberation Movement. Women not only played active roles in the Congresses, but their lifestyles showed commitment to Pan-Africanism, and often times they relocated (even if temporarily) to Africa. Black women were involved in trying to change conditions in Africa.

Maya Angelou is among the women who moved to Africa (Ghana) partly as a result of her commitment to Pan-Africanism, and partly because at that time she was married to an anti-apartheid activist. For Angelou, Africa and African culture were central to the liberation of Black people worldwide. Black people had to feel a sense of belonging to, of identifying with Africa. Women, to a great extent, became the mothers of the revolution, of the struggle for the liberation of Africa and its people. The conditions of Black people in one part of the world could not be seen as different from other parts of the world, for there was a kinship by virtue of racial experiences. In many ways, Africa gave Blacks from the diaspora a sense of home, of belonging, of family. However, being at home in Africa did not erase the memories of slavery and racism in the United States.

For women, the return to Africa was not without challenges. Reflecting on her experiences in Ghana, Angelou observed “I doubted if I or any black from the diaspora, could really return to Africa. We wore skeletons of old despair like necklaces, heralding our arrival, and we were branded with cynicism.” The point here is that arrival in Africa did not mean an end to the everyday challenges, but it helped with the awareness of the global significance of Pan-Africanism. When Malcolm X met with Maya Angelou in Ghana, he was able to persuade her to return to the United States to continue to work for the liberation of Black people. Her experiences in Ghana gave her a taste of living in a place where racism was not the norm, where Blacks were not subjected to violence. Independent Africa, as it were, offered hope for the rebirth of humanity, or the rebirth and healing of those who had been subjected to violence and racism, especially in the global north.

Universities, education, and Pan-Africanism

Universities, in and outside Africa, played a leading role in the development of Pan-Africanism, especially in the 20th century. After the abolition of slavery in the Americas, some universities began admitting Black students as well as students from Africa. However, it was not until the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 that universities in the United States reluctantly admitted Black students. In some cases, the admission of Black students led to riots and protests and prevailed only at the intervention of the federal government.

Granted the limited places for Black students in predominantly White universities, there emerged a number of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) and it was in these universities that Blacks from different parts of the world (Africa, North America, and the Caribbean) met and exchanged ideas. Parker argues that universities in the United States played an important role in the struggle against colonialism in Africa. Among such universities were Howard and Lincoln.

It was at Lincoln University that Nkrumah would encounter other Africans from colonized nations. It was also while at Lincoln that he gained a better and deeper
understanding of the conditions facing African Americans, or Blacks in the United States. Likewise, it was at Lincoln that Azikwe got introduced to Pan-Africanism, especially after meeting Padmore. While the students might have come from different colonies in Africa, a contemporary visitor to Tuskegee noted that “now these men have an African consciousness; their loyalty is not Liberian or Rhodesian or Gold-Coastan, but African.”

Universities were an ideal ground for nurturing Pan-Africanism. Although universities generally propagated a Eurocentric worldview, there was a growing awareness of the ways institutions of learning had participated in the deliberate falsification of knowledge about Africa and Africans.

Even with the challenges posed by a strong Western education, a significant number of those educated in Europe and North America returned to lead their nations as heads of state or in other government occupations. Under the leadership of Nkrumah, Ghana made itself available for the liberation of all African countries.

The Organization of African Union (OAU) and African Union (AU)

The creation of the Organization of African Union was a defining moment for newly independent African countries, particularly regarding the freedom of people of African descent, not only in Africa, but across the world. Established in 1963, the union also provided a model for solidarity in other nations, and in 1964, Malcolm X formed the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). For Malcolm X, the liberation of Africans in Africa was incomplete if African Americans continued suffering from racial oppression.

To a great extent, the establishment of the Organization of African Union (OAU) symbolized the movement towards the healing of Africa, an affirmation of the oneness of the continent, especially in light of the divisions brought by the Berlin Conference. The creation of the OAU, in a way, shifted the discourse about Pan-Africanism in Africa. During its existence (1963–2002), the OAU focused primarily on Africa, that is, on issues facing those on the continent. This stance is reflected in the OAU Charter as well as in the practices and policies adopted by the organization. In its 39 years of existence, there were several summits (meetings) dedicated to charting the path and work of the organization.

At the beginning of the 21st century, the OAU became the African Union (AU). The mission of the AU was closely aligned with the declarations from the 1999 Sirte Summit. In addition to addressing the challenges and opportunities posed by globalization, the AU called for the establishment of a Pan-African Parliament, the African Court of Justice, and the African Central Bank together with the African Monetary Union. The focus on Africa was not lost. However, what was unique with the AU is the way it embraced those in the diaspora as part of Africa. The AU defined its mission within the context of Pan-Africanism, seeing in it a need for uniting all people of African descent, in and outside Africa. By 2003, the AU had adopted the Diaspora as the sixth region. By so doing, it acknowledged the important role played by those outside Africa. From the 150 seats for member states, 20 were reserved for the African Diaspora. By allocating seats to the Diaspora, the AU was giving tacit approval to the role played by those in the diaspora regarding Africa’s development. The Diaspora, in the end, was viewed as having a positive role to play in Africa’s development. Those living outside the continent were ideally positioned to be bridge-builders with the international community and development agencies.
Towards an African renaissance: not yet Uhuru

At the beginning of the 21st century, there was some optimism about the present and future of Africa, especially in the idea of the African Renaissance as articulated by former South African President, Thabo Mbeki. The abolition of apartheid and the insertion of the philosophy of Ubuntu in African and global discourse gave the impression that the revolution had been accomplished and Africa was free at last. As a philosophy, Ubuntu placed importance on the humanity of Africans, a humanity that had been rejected by modernity. The rebirth of Africa was about to begin, and for a while, the fading embers of Pan-Africanism were rekindled.

Although Ubuntu is largely associated with the work of Bishop Desmond Tutu and Nelson Mandela regarding the Truth and Reconciliation Process in post-apartheid South Africa, it was also viewed as offering Africa opportunities for a continent free of conflict and civil strife. But, in addition to cultural and political reconciliation, there is an economic dimension and economic justice in the philosophy and practice of Ubuntu. The hope, then, was that with the ascension to power by the African National Congress, there would be a redistribution of wealth and resources, a movement toward eradicating poverty. Instead, it quickly became apparent that those who became rulers “easily conceive of power in personal, not social terms; that they are happy to be individually rich in a poor society.”

Even the much-anticipated abolition of apartheid or the creation of the “Rainbow Nation” had not made conditions better for Black South African. The continued existence of economic apartheid showed the extent to which the Rainbow Nation is built on the invisibility of Blacks and Blackness, or their marginalization the failures of interracial harmony without economic justice and resource redistribution.

The idea of an African Renaissance was borne of the realization that even with political independence, Africa continued to be exploited by Europe and North America. In other words, the legacy of the Berlin Conference could still be felt across Africa. The colonizing countries had left Africa, but in such a way that Africa had to export its raw materials while being marginalized. Although tethered to the global market and economy, Africa was seen as marginal. This view perpetuated in spite of the fact that Africa’s mineral resources were fueling the industrial development of Europe and North America, among other countries.

The African Renaissance also came from the realization that political freedom in Africa had not brought about economic independence, and this was evident in the international debt burden carried by Africa. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank dictated the value of different currencies in Africa in ways that favored the Global North. At surface reading, logic would lead one to conclude that through hard work and industrialization, Africa and Africans will be free. However, working under neocolonial conditions will not likely lead to a radical transformation of Africa. In his diagnosis of such work, Armah observes: “the African miner’s work is to assist the invading Western pirate in the violation of his motherland. This makes the African miner at best a zombie, at worst a culpable accomplice.”

What is unique about the African Renaissance as articulated in the work of Thabo Mbeki is the way it emphasizes the importance of grounding everyday practices (including science) in African realities and philosophies. It acknowledges the inability of modernity to work for the good of all Africans, as evidenced by Africa’s continued subjugation. Neither Capitalism nor Marxism, or their derivatives had brought freedom or unity to Africa. To a great extent, the invitation to participate in the African Renaissance is also a call for Africa’s regeneration through its languages and philosophies.
It is possible to argue that the African Renaissance comes from the realization that the dreams and promises of Pan-Africanism have not yet been fulfilled, that the logic and model of capitalist development has faltered. The relationship among Africans, globally, is no longer what it was envisioned to be. In the 21st century, there is a significant number of educated African immigrants in the United States and Europe, and sometimes statistics indicate that African immigrants rank among the most educated in the United States. However, “in the context of the new African migrations, particularly to the United States, there is no evidence whatsoever of a Pan-African movement ideology or even sensibility attempting to unite them.”42 The abundance of information in the age of globalization and the opportunities to network have not led to meaningful solidarity.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have presented Pan-Africanism as a philosophy or a way of life for Africans, as defined mainly by people of African descent worldwide.43 In many ways, it provided a structure that enabled Africans to organize their world and to work toward a world in which their humanity would be affirmed.

Within the narrative or language or discourse of origins, Pan-Africanism must be understood as a search for knowledge and truth about Africa, about what Africa is, and a future that can be created. Emerging as it did in the aftermath of slavery and colonialism, it drew attention to the ways in which the encounter with modernity led to the total colonization of Africans, including in the spheres of culture, economics, religion, and politics. Even though it rose as a response to modernity, Pan-Africanism was and is a call for the preservation of people of African descent and a reunification of Africa.44

That a history of Pan-Africanism begins with the encounter with modernity should not be taken to imply that African history and identity did not exist prior to slavery and colonialism. Instead, the encounter with slavery and colonialism destroyed and led to the disintegration of Africa.45 While early Pan-Africanists initially thought the future of Africa lay in embracing capitalism, in Christianity, or even Marxism, at the birth of the 21st century, particularly with the call for an African Renaissance, there was an implicit and explicit acknowledgement that the tools and structures of modernity had not been able to radically alter the conditions of Africans for the better.

Notes

2 See Schulz, 1997, p. 446
3 See Armah, 2000; Hale, 1994; Haley, 2002; Tunca & Ledent, 2015
4 See Hale, 1994; Fall, 2003; Armah, 2000; Williams, 1992
6 See Fergus, 2010
7 Armah, 2010; Wa Thiongo, 2009
8 See Padmore, 1956; Malcolm X, 1992; Gebrekidan, 2012
9 See, Lake, 1995; Tsomondo, 1975; Padmore, 1956, Armah, 2010
10 See Blyden, 1976; Lake, 1995; Liebenow, 1973; Walker, 1976
11 West, 2005
12 See West, 2005; Crummell, 1996,
13 See Armah, 2010, p. 15.
14 Armah, 2010, p. 15
15 Wa Thiongo, 2009, p. 3.
16 See Chamberlain, 1999
17 See Armah, 2010; Wa Thiongo, 2009; Armah, 2012; Bentahar, 2011; Emerson, 1962
18 See Mboukou, 1983; Lake, 1995; Geiss, 1967
19 See Lake, 1995; West, 2005.
20 See Padmore, 1956; Solomon, 1998; Martin, 1986
21 See Murapa, 1972.
22 See West, 2005, p. 88
23 See Padmore, 1956; Adi & Sherwood, 1995
24 See Roy-Campbell, 1996
25 See Morrison, as cited in Gilroy, 1993, p. 178
27 See Roy-Campbell, 1996.
28 See Angelou, 2009, 1986; Smithers, 2011
29 See Angelou, 1986, p. 84.
30 See Nehl, 2016; Smith, 2008.
31 See Hendrickson, 2003; Doyle, 2001; Meredith, 1966.
32 See Parker, 2009; Ahlman, 2010.
33 See Parker, 2009, p. 730; See also Franklin, 2011; Asante, 2010; Fenderson, 2010; Wilson; 1993; Shockley & Frederick, 2010; Asante, 1999; Andrews, 2014
34 See Ahlman, 2011.
37 See Ajulu, 2001; Mulemfo, 2000; Mbeki, 1999.
38 See Armah, 2010, p. 26; see also Tutu, 1999.
41 See Wa Thiongo, 2009; Armah, 2010.
42 See Chude-Sokok, 2014, p. 58; See also McCabe, 2011; Moore, 2013.
43 See Clarke, 2012
44 See Young, 2010; Mbeki, 1999; Nantambu, 1998; Mulemfo, 2000; Nkrumah, 1963; Njemanze & Pan-Africanism, 2011
45 See Armah, 2010

References

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