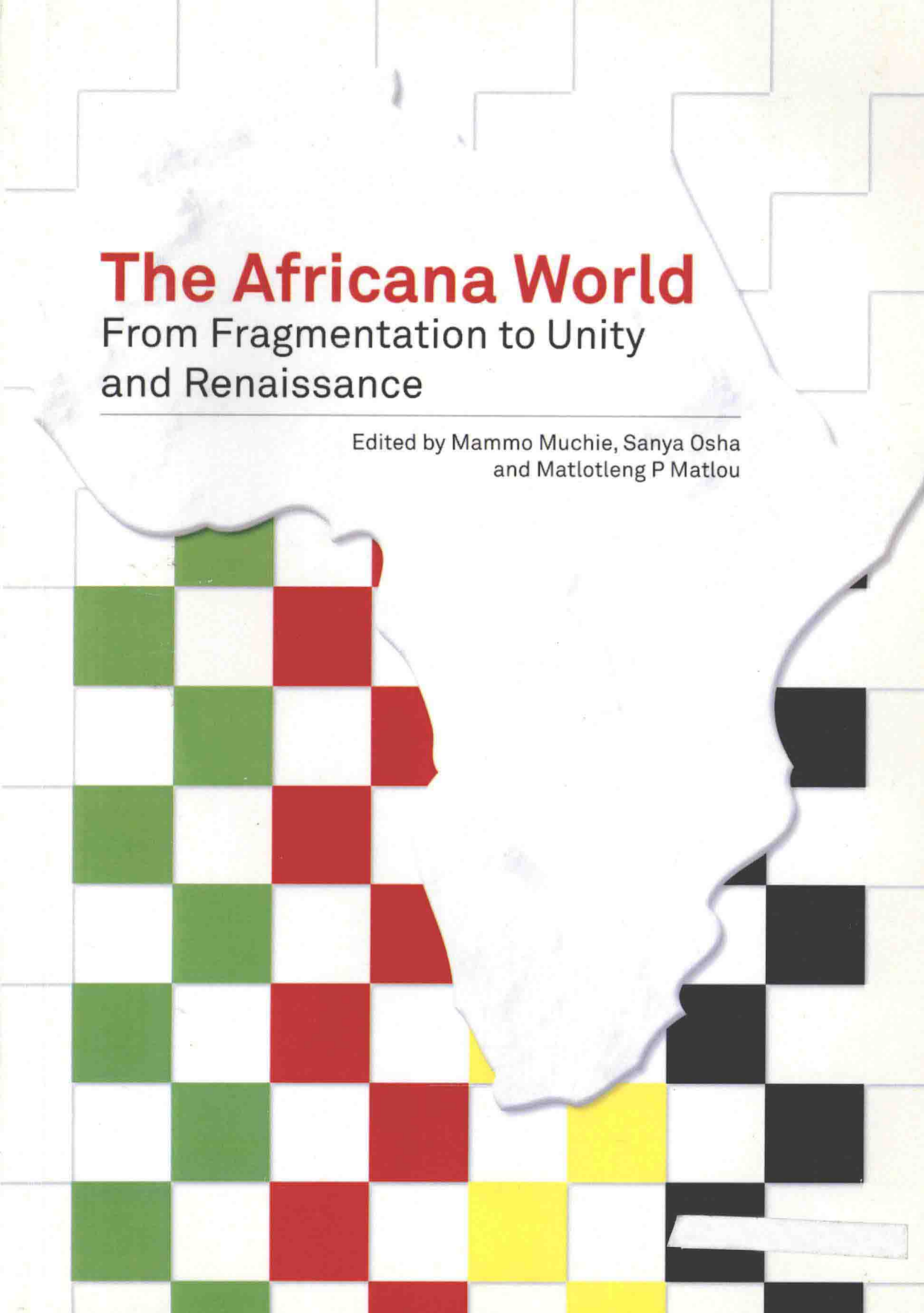


# **The Africana World**

From Fragmentation to Unity  
and Renaissance

Edited by Mammo Muchie, Sanya Osha  
and Matlotleng P Matlou



**The Africana World:  
From Fragmentation to  
Unity and Renaissance**



## **The Africana World: From Fragmentation to Unity and Renaissance**

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# **The Africana World: From Fragmentation to Unity and Renaissance**

Edited by Mammo Muchie, Sanya Osha and Matlotleng P Matlou

This book, dealing with important issues such as Africa's struggle for self-determination, freedom and liberation, and moving towards unity and renaissance, comes at a strategic time in the continent's development. It raises fundamental issues about African condition and ordeals. It links the struggle for independence through the experiences of, and challenges faced by, Africa's oldest liberation movement – the ANC. It should be interrogated and studied by all concerned about the future of Africa.

– Dr Essop Pahad, Founder and Editor, *The Thinker*

This book poses crucial questions and proposes fresh approaches to deal with the legacy of disunity in Africa. It is especially useful for African scholars, public intellectuals, activists and policy analysts who are still committed to and working towards the realisation of the 'vision of African unity'.

– Prof. Kwandi Kondlo, University of the Free State

From an academic point of view, African studies have two main problems: first, the prejudices of ethnocentric perceptions and, second, the fast changes of the continent on political, socio-economic and international dimensions. Even for the most skilled specialists it is difficult to understand the processes going on. Because of this, this book represents a very important tool for those concerned with African studies, inside and outside the continent. These authors identify different levels and tendencies, keeping an objective perspective about African developments towards integration.

– Prof. Paulo Visentini, Head of the Brazilian Centre for African Studies  
(CEBRAFRICA)

## Preface

We are pleased to share the intellectual output from the first Scramble for Africa conference that was held from 25 to 27 May 2011. The conference theme was 'Putting African Unity First to Overcome the Scramble for Africa: Africa in the Twenty-first Century after the Quasiquicentennial of the Scramble for Africa'. The papers selected after a peer review process have been grouped under the following themes:

- Postcolonial Nation Building Processes
- Governance, Democracy and Development
- The New Scramble for Africa: Brazil, Russia, India and China
- Indigenous Knowledge Systems
- Twenty-first Century pan-Africanism

The work has been edited by the organisers of the conference. The programme was initiated by the South African Research Chair Initiative (SARChI) at the Institute of Economic Research on Innovation (IERI) and the Tshwane University of Technology (TUT), together with the Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA). These partners then mobilised support locally from the National Research Foundation (NRF), the Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute (TMALI), the Department of Science and Technology (DST), Ditsong Museums and the Centre for Black Arts and African Civilizations (CBAAC) of Nigeria to implement the project. This networking approach to the production of knowledge must form part of the culture to create dynamic processes of interactive learning and to diffuse knowledge as widely as possible in order to sustain, inspire and retain, alive and uninterrupted, the African liberation imagination.

It is with both pride and humility that we launch the book, *Africana World: From Fragmentation to Unity and Renaissance*, during the second Scramble for Africa conference and whilst the African Diaspora Summit is being hosted by South Africa from 23 to 25 May 2012. Each of our conferences will culminate in the production of a peer-reviewed publication to be launched in the next year. We intend to use the conferences and book series as foundations to commemorate an African education and liberation month every May, just as February and October are Black History Months across the diaspora.

One of the central outcomes of the first Scramble for Africa conference was the Tshwane Declaration. It is strongly recommended that Africa Liberation Day should continue to be celebrated with both intellectual and popular education

and other exhibitions in order to concentrate resources, energy and spirit to make Africans learn to engage with one another, network and build trust and spread African unity for full liberation.<sup>1</sup>

We demand that all of us unite behind the cause. Just as May 25 every year has been recognised as Africa Liberation Day, the whole month of May should be dedicated by all the African states as Africa Unity for a full Liberation Month in order to spread pan-African education.<sup>2</sup>

For all of us, the cause is to demand that, ten years after the establishment of the African Union, and over 50 years since the independence of many African states, governments and the African Union (AU) dedicate, declare and enforce the whole of May across the African world as a month for the education of African unity for liberation and comprehensive and deep integration.<sup>3</sup>

Finally, Africans are varied, but they are not that diverse. They should celebrate their similarities whilst finding unity in their diversity and differences.

We trust that the books that appear in these series of annual African liberation month events will be used for education that brings Africans together and will reveal a shared unity and renaissance project to make sure that Africa's voice is heard with full recognition and no doubts.

*Mammo Muchie*

*Sanya Osha*

*Matlotleng P Matlou*

## Notes and References

- 1 See the *Tshwane Declaration on African Liberation Day and the Africa in the 21st Century and the Quasiquicentennial of the Scramble of Africa Conference*, 25–27 May 2011. Available at: <http://www.nesglobal.org/symp125/node/5> (accessed 7 May 2012).
- 2 See the *African Unity can make Africa's Free and Bright Future* cause led by Muchie, M. and Abayneh, B. Available at: <http://www.causes.com/causes/646713-african-unity-can-make-africas-free-and-bright-future> (accessed 7 May 2012).
- 3 See the *Yekatit for Unity Education Month: For the Adwa Victory of Yekatit 23, 1888* cause as led by Abayneh, B. Available at: <http://www.causes.com/causes/652641-yekatit-for-unity-education-month/about> (accessed 7 May 2012).

## Acronyms

AACC	All African Conference of Churches
ABC	All Basotho Convention Party
ACJ	African Court of Justice
ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States
AEA	Association of Evangelicals of Africa
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
AME	African Methodist Episcopal Church
AMEZ	African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
AML	anti-monopoly law
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
AU	African Union
BCP	Basutoland Congress Party
BNP	Basotho National Party
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
CACF	China–Africa Cooperation Forum
CAEMC	Central African Economic and Monetary Community
CDS	Centre for Democratic Studies
CNIS	China National Innovation System
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CPIA	Country Policy and Institutional Assessment
CRDPA	Centre for Rural Development and Poverty Alleviation
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo



DTA	Democratic Turnhalle Alliance
EAC	East African Community
EBA	Everything but Arms
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOSOCC	Economic, Social and Cultural Council of the African Union
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
ERD	European Report on Development
EU	European Union
FDI	foreign direct investment
FET	Further Education and Training
GCIS	Government Communication Information System
GDP	gross domestic product
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV/AIDS	human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immune deficiency syndrome
HPI	Human Poverty Index
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICT	information and communications technology
IDP	integrated development plan
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LCD	Lesotho Congress for Democracy
LED	local economic development
LNDC	Lesotho National Development Corporation
LWP	Lesotho Workers Party
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MFA	Managed Funds Association

MFP Marematlou Freedom Party  
 MGI McKinsey Global Institute  
 MOSOP Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People  
 NADECO National Democratic Coalition  
 NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization  
 NCIR National Council for Inter-governmental Relations  
 NDDB Niger Delta Development Board  
 NDRC National Development and Reform Commission  
 NECON National Electoral Commission of Nigeria  
 NEPAD New Partnership for Africa's Development  
 NGO non-government organisation  
 NIE newly industrialised economy  
 NRC National Republican Convention  
 NUL National University of Lesotho  
 NUDO National Unity Democratic Organisation  
 OAIC Organization of African Instituted Churches  
 OAU Organisation of African Unity  
 ODA official development assistance  
 OECD Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development  
 OMPADEC Oil-Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission  
 PAP Pan-African Parliament  
 PPP public-private partnership  
 PRC People's Republic of China  
 PTA preferential trade arrangement  
 PRI public research institutes  
 R & D research and development

- REC regional economic community
- RSIS Rivers State Internal Security Task Force
- RoO Rule of Origin
- SADC Southern African Development Community
- SAP structural adjustment programme
- SARPN Southern African Regional Poverty Network
- SASSA South African Social Security Agency
- SDP Social Democratic Party
- STI science, technology and innovation
- SWANU South West Africa National Union
- SWAPO South West Africa People's Organisation
- TIC Transition Implementation Committee
- UN United Nations
- UNCTAD United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
- UNDP United Nations Development Programme
- UNESCO United Nations Children's Emergency Fund
- UNIA Universal Negro Improvement Association
- UNICEF United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
- UNIVEN University of Venda
- WAEMU West African Economic and Monetary Union
- WTO World Trade Organization

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## **Introduction:** **African Unity: If Not Now, When?**

*Mammo Muchie, Sanya Osha and Matlotleng P Matlou*

### **Inspiration**

'Now is the accepted time, not tomorrow, not some more convenient season. It is today that our best work can be done and not some future day or future year. It is today that we fit ourselves for the greater usefulness of tomorrow. Today is the seed time, now is the hours of work, and tomorrow comes the harvest and the playtime.'

—W.E.B. du Bois

### **Introduction**

The European scramble for Africa that originated from the 1884 Berlin Conference had a double consequence for Africa. The first is that Africans were divided by pulling those that should be together apart, and blending those that had distinct variations within one territorial enclosure. This very cynical action paradoxically ensured that the only way Africans could heal this divisive scheme was by rejecting it and asserting the primacy of their African identity over all other identities such as language, ethnic affiliation, colour, race and state boundary. As Davidson Nicol perceptively recognised, Africa is not a country, but a concept:

You are not a country, Africa;  
You are a concept,  
Fashioned in our minds, each to each,  
To hide our separate fears,  
To dream our separate dreams.<sup>1</sup>

We, as Africans, can and should share a unity and renaissance project identity more than any other identity in the twenty-first century. The reason for this is that as Africans we have shared a common predicament that establishes our similarity above our differences. We have been enslaved, or were forced into it, by being divided to fall into this indignity. This came to all of us as Africans without any distinction. We have fallen into colonialism. We still suffer neocolonialism. In recent times we are threatened with possible re-colonisation, driven mainly by those powers who were involved in tearing Africa apart in the first place and for which they still show neither contrition nor apology. What we need is the collective capacity to turn this negative into a positive by coming together and manifesting

a unity and renaissance agency over the current division. For Africa, it is a necessity that we learn to unite and deal with the challenges that come to unsettle our collective spirit and imagination by treating with contempt the assumption that it is easy to divide Africans, if such things as preferential and discriminatory aid is given to them, while at the same time imposing sanctions against others that do not toe the donors' desired line. If the donors give, the prisoner dilemma in Africa increases; if the donors do not give, still Africa appears to be a loser. Whether donors give or not, Africa seems to be losing as a recipient. Increasing competition that deepens fragmentation and discourages collaborative integration, unity, liberation and renaissance is no option. This challenge of remaining in a fragmented state has to be confronted systematically and thoughtfully. The fact that Africa lacks a shared and robust unity and renaissance project identity has been its undoing to date. This has to change by reversing the disunity road into a unity direction that has not yet been traversed.

### **Constructing Unity with a Shared, African-anchored Project Identity**

The works we have put together here for the start of a new approach to the awareness of why Africans must learn to act with shared values in responding to challenges that affect all Africans, regardless of who may be the specific target at any particular time. The lack of a unity project identity was manifestly exposed when the former colonial powers, such as France and Britain, with the backing of the United States of America (US), used the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to invade Libya on the pretext of preventing Libya from becoming yet another 'failed state', and therefore undertaking the 'right to protect through humanitarian intervention'. The fact that the African Union (AU) was ignored is partly evidence of the combination of arrogance and benevolence it receives from outsiders and partly due to the division inside the AU, with member states that behave more like member states of the United Nations (UN) than the federated states of the US, or even the non-federated form prevalent in the construction of the European Union (EU). Other voices, from powers far away from Africa, were heard. The world hardly heard or cared to hear what the African voices had to say on the still unfolding Libyan saga. African statesmen who consistently spoke in opposition to the NATO invasion were leaders who espouse pan-African ideals, such as former SWAPO leader, Sam Nujoma, and the leading proponent of the African renaissance, former president Thabo Mbeki. Only a few who are still in power stood against the principle that former colonial powers can return and deal with conflicts that Africans themselves should have addressed.

The fact that the AU and the African voice can be ignored continues the humiliation that Africa has suffered in history. That this humiliation continues is a



stark reminder that Africans cannot go on happily in their separate ways. They must travel together on the freedom highway or they will continue to be ignored or even go unnoticed, no matter what each on its own is able to do, or is allowed to do.

In the Libyan episode, the voice of the AU was nowhere to be heard. We were treated to the media spectacle which showed to the world the brutal and shameful disposal of the slashed and burned body of the then Libyan leader, Colonel Gaddafi, while the US foreign minister triumphantly and gleefully saluted this sordid episode. There was no voice to be heard from Africa regarding this episode, which contravened Section IX of the Lieber code prohibiting the assassination of war prisoners, which Gaddafi turned out to be, when he flew the white flag of surrender:

The law of war does not allow proclaiming an individual belonging to the hostile army an outlaw, who may be slain without trial by any captor, any more than the modern law of peace, allows such international outlawry, on the contrary, it abhors such outrage. The sternest retaliation should follow the murder committed in consequence of such proclamation, made by whatever authority.<sup>2</sup>

African states had different policies on the Libya situation, from the start of the conflict to the demise of the Gaddafi regime. They were disunited when the episode in Benghazi exploded. They were disunited when NATO intervened. They remained disunited when the Gaddafi regime was overthrown and Gaddafi was brutally murdered. Some voted for the UN Security Resolution authorising a 'no fly zone' over Libya. It is still not clear what lessons African states have drawn from this episode and whether being totally ignored and marginalised worries them or whether they do not care at all whatever happens to any one of them. There is no united African voice demanding that justice is done. The problem of the Libya crisis is that it does not stop in Libya. It has the potential to go beyond to wider Africa. We see now that the situation in Libya is not only chaotic, but that, at present, potentially dangerous spillover effects to North Africa are also taking place. Currently, Mali is in crisis, suffering both a coup and armed insurrection. This danger may expand to other regions in North Africa, creating reasons for deeper intervention by external actors and complicating the challenges on the road for Africa to become finally free, united and strong.

The fact the AU did not have a clear and united policy in Libya has a lot to do with the current danger that the region is facing. To begin with, some members of the AU advocated regime change in Libya. However, a number, however small that number may have been, of the African states rejected regime change and opposed the NATO invasion of Libya. When member states have these differing positions, what emerges clearly is that there is no African unity to speak of. There is none of