

Nigerian Nationalist and Pan-Africanism: Paradox of an Emerging Sub-Imperial Regional Power

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It seems quite appropriate at the present conjuncture of international relations- at a period when, the post second world war system embedded in the 'cold war', albeit fragile balance of power, has crumbled and being replaced by the hegemonistic rampaging global exercise of power by the USA on the political, socio- economic and cultural life of the peoples of the world; for "African Intellectuals, Nationalists and Pan- Africanists" to revisit the 'interconnections between knowledge and identity'- a recurring theme in African social research and knowledge production. The Berlin conference partition of Africa by European powers during the last two decades of the 19th century was a major impetus to the crystallisation of the expression 'Pan-Africanism' which came into the use at beginning of the 20th century (Nkrumah, 1975:341). Pan-Africanist ideals were expatiated at several Pan-African congresses, which were held in Europe and in the USA from 1919-1945. Sylvester-Williams of Trinidad, William DuBois of the USA, spearheaded the earlier congresses, which were attended mainly by the scholars of African descent of the New World (Nkrumah, Ibid).

Further impetus was given to African Nationalism and Pan-Africanism by the 'Back to Africa' movement of Marcus Garvey. It is worthy of note that some of the defining moments for articulation of Pan-African nationalism at congresses were in 1919, and 1945; years when the European powers and the USA were engaged in re-designing the 'world order' on their own terms and interests following, respectively the end of the first and second World Wars.

The intervening period between the end of the World War I (1919) and start of World War II (1939) saw the consolidation of territorial possessions by European colonialist in Africa- West, East Central and Southern Africa. The responses and emphasis of African intellectuals, nationalists, and Pan-Africanist in this period were varied. The responses have been categorised as (Mutiso and SW Rohio, 1975:xi- xiv): -

I) Cultural Nationalism: European colonization of Africa was justified on the basis of Africa culture or its inferiority. Hence it became necessary to argue that there was African culture that must be taken account of by the colonial rulers.

II) Plaintive Nationalism: Having thought that the colonialists have been convinced of the existence of African culture, demand could be made for 'cultural rights'. Request was for assimilation into the society of the colonialist in the colonies.

III) Radical Nationalism: During the Second World War Africans who served in the colonial armies and nationalists became more conscious of racialism and colonial imperialism.

The end of the war led to increase in the African Nationalists agitation for racial equality and termination of colonialism and imperialism.

IV) Race and Colonial Imperialism: As long as the European colonialists hold to racial superiority of the whites, they could not accede to the demand of the nationalists for equal human rights with the Europeans in the colonies; for this will negate the imperialist project.

V) Pan-Africanism: Pan- Africanism was the desire of the African intellectuals and nationalists to design a co-ordinated strategy to confront racism and imperialism on the African continent. For the total liberation and freedom of Africa, Pan-Africanism gave moral, political and material assistance to freedom fighters.

VI) Neo-Colonialism: Post independence Africa brought into focus the fact that 'flag' or 'juridical' independence devoid of autonomous 'economic' system is shallow. It will only lead to re- colonization by the erstwhile colonial power who still have strong control and ownership of the commanding heights of the African economies. This development is considered to be neo- colonialism whose nature and methods to deal with the phenomenon became the pre- occupation of African nationalist and intellectuals.

VII) Ideological and Integral Nationalism: This was the attempt by scholars and Pan- Africanists to evolve a political ideology on which to mobilise Africans in order to ward off "efforts of neo- colonialist to keep Africa balkanised" this led to the emergence of thought of various strands of "African socialism, the one party state and other national ideologies".

The contributions of individuals, political and cultural associations, social movements etc to the different categories of nationalism and Pan- Africanism will be highlighted further. For it will seem the profound thinking and theoretical postulates of the first generation of African intellectuals and nationalists, as well as the selfless contributions of leaders and scholars in the post- independent Africa are not being seriously matched by their contemporaries in the post cold war era and beginning of the long heralded Pax American century that is more foreboding to the African continent and people, than to other continents outside of Europe and North America.

In the rest of the paper we shall briefly consider the post World War II global institutions and organizations in relation to Africa that were established to guarantee more stable political, economic, financial and security for a World Order to cater for the peace and welfare of all peoples in all continents. How adequate had been the response of African political leaders and thinkers, Pan-African intellectuals and civil society to the subversions by Euro-American powers of the noble objectives of a World Order painstakingly debated and adopted in 1945 and during the following immediate years by the then (probably) narrowly defined international community. Other issues to be covered are:

- The Pan- Africanist ideals, and the leading individual, institutional and organizational proponents of Pan- Africanism will be highlighted.
- The part played by Nigerian nationalist in the nationalist and Pan- African struggles especially from the post independent period (1960) period will be considered. The discussion will cover both the civilian and the military regimes that ruled Nigeria, de- facto for almost three and a half decades of just over four decades of independent Nigeria.
- As a follow up to the above discussion of Nigeria in the context of National and Pan- African objectives, the emergence of Nigeria as a regional sub- imperial power- 'a paradox', will be explained.
- In concluding, the challenges of globalization and Pax Americana to African intellectuals and Pan- Africanist will be indicated.

II

The Post World War II (1945) International Order

The United Nations, which officially came into existence on 24 October 1945, in succession to the defunct 'League of Nations' was the name coined by United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The name was first used in the "Declaration by United Nations" of 1 January 1942", when representatives of 26 Nations pledged their Governments to continue fighting together against the Axis powers during the second World War. Based on proposals worked out by representatives of China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States; the United Nations charter was drawn up by representatives of 50 countries at the United Nations conference on International Organisation, which met in San Francisco from 25 April to 26 June 1945. Four months later, the UN officially came into existence on 24 October 1945, "when the charter had been ratified by China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States and a majority of other signatories".

It is worthy of note that the 51 original member States of the UN only Egypt is from the African continent and non from Sub- Saharan Africa. It is also significant that the UN came officially into existence, only when the charter had been ratified by members of the alliance- China, France, the Soviet Union, the UK and the US who conquered the Axis Powers and whose member states could not be among the original UN member States. The mostly European States, except Japan which was admitted to the UN in December 1956, were Germany, admitted in January 1973, Italy, Spain and Portugal admitted in December 1955.

We also note some of the democratic provisions in the charter of the UN that codifies a major principle of international relations- the sovereign equality of States, which is, but, often violently violated or ignored. The lack of respect for the sovereignty of many countries in the developing world, especially by the Western powers was quite rampant during the post World War II cold war period. The violation of the sovereignty of these countries has intensified since "the collapse of the communist project of society which according to (Fukuyama 2002:139) meant that the dialect of history had come to an end with triumph of capitalism and liberal pluralist politics"

The constituting of the 1945 five conquering powers to permanent membership of the Security Council, which under the rule of "great power unanimity" confers each of them with "veto" power also cannot by any stretch of imagination be considered democratic when there were 51 original UN member states, and much less so when there are now about 185 member states. It is this in built anti-democratic features in the UN system- decision making at the Security Council level and at the General Assembly that is bringing the loss of faith and distrust in the activities of even some of the 15 agencies encompassing the United Nations system.

Further, we note that among the listed six **principles** in accordance with which United Nations acts (Basic facts about the UN,1998:5) are, apart from the sovereign equality of all the members already mentioned above are:

- They are to settle their international disputes by peaceful means and without endangering international peace and security, and justice.
- They are to refrain from the threat or use of force against any other state.

The European powers have been known to breach these principles whenever they perceive their economic and security interests as being threatened. The most recent is the invasion of Iraq by the United States against the clearly expressed opposition of majority of the permanent members of the security council, of the majority of the 15 members of the Security Council and the overwhelming majority of the members of the General Assembly. Mass demonstration by respected individuals within the civil societies and Non-Governmental Organisations in the many cities all over the globe could not dissuade the US from massive bombardment and occupation of Iraq. Neither could appeals from religious leaders- the Pope and the Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury stopped the US and British aggression against the people of Iraq.

While the "International Community" was still protesting the military occupation of Iraq, the US made more threats to attack countries in the 'axis of evil' including Iran and North Korea- a flagrant violation of the principle "to refrain from the threat of force against any other state".

Outside the purview of the UN clandestine wars and subversions have been waged by some European powers against sovereign states in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. Korea and Vietnam were to suffer prolonged wars waged on them by the US in an obvious attempt to contain the expansion of China as an economic and military power, and any visible challenge to the undisguised design of the United States to make the 21st century- the American century and the launch of Pax Americana.

Probably more than any continent, Africa in post 1945 World Order has suffered tremendously socially, and economically by the direct and indirect destabilisation of governments through application of political, economic and as the last resort military force. The countries from Algeria in North Africa, Sudan, Somalia, Kenya, Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Mozambique, Angola, Democratic Republic of the Congo (Zaire), Apartheid South Africa, Nigeria, Liberia, Sierra- Leone, Cote d'Ivoire etc have at certain periods during the post World War II years been subjected to cruel wars mostly waged or supported indirectly by western military forces against liberation

movements of some of the countries fighting colonialist and imperialist domination. Some of the internecine ethnic and racial wars in many of the countries are instigated by the imperialist powers- who want to continue to exploit the mineral and other natural resources of African countries.

Political instability, social discrimination and wars- open and clandestine have taken their tolls on the people of Africa in terms of economic retrogression or stagnation, and the impoverishment of the masses of many African countries. The immediate post independence economic growth and increase in the standard of living during the 1960s in African countries started to experience declines as a result of the crisis that also engulfed most of the industrial economies following the substantial rise in the prices of crude petroleum prices.

The crisis that has afflicted most countries in the African continent for upwards of over three decades does not seem to be abating. The neo- liberal structural adjustments programmes designed and promoted by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank had by 1990s been adopted by majority of African countries. The obvious failure of African states to sustain the modest post colonial economic gains and social provisioning established by the nationalist and Pan- Africanist who took over the reins of government from the colonialist remains a sad commentary on the calibre of political leaders now running the affair of state in many of the countries in Africa. The people of Africa have been alienated by regimes that lack any ideological commitment, unable to guarantee their political and civil rights, as well as their socio- economic and cultural rights. Indeed, many of the "African governments and political regimes, are faced with crises of legitimacy, and popular revolt have become despotic, erecting regimes of authoritarianism and repression, with little or no scope for popular democratic expression and involvement". This, clearly tantamounts to a negation of the noble objectives of the founding generation of African political leaders, intellectuals and Pan- Africanists.

The outcome of recent WTO meetings in Doha (Qatar)and Cancun (Mexico) would suggest that like the International Financial Institution- the World Bank and the IMF in particular, WTO is also an instrument of Euro- American powers to perpetuate their hegemony on the global economy.

The World intellectual property organisation (WIPO), a specialised agency of the United Nations is responsible for administering various multilateral treaties dealing with the legal and administrative aspects of intellectual property. The organisation has not been developing countries friendly on issues concerning patents rights to inventions. The Western pharmaceutical transnational corporations have particularly been favoured by the organisation to monopoly of inventions in the area of drug and vaccines. The contributions of African scientists in making drugs and vaccines available for the treatment of malaria, polio, HIV- AIDS, sickle cell etc are mostly not acknowledged.

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)- an autonomous agency under the aegis of the United Nations serves as the world's central inter governmental forum for scientific and technical cooperation in the peaceful

uses of nuclear energy. Almost half of the agency's work focuses on programmes that can be applied in areas such as food and agriculture, health, industry and environmental pollution, especially marine (See Basic Facts About the UN, 1998:63)

IAEA helps states to verify their compliance with **international treaties meant to ensure that nuclear materials are not diverted for military purposes.**

At present member states of the UN having capability to employ nuclear weapons in military conflict include the 5 permanent members of the Security Council-, the US, the Russian Federation (other former Soviet Republics are not members), the UK, France, and China. Non-permanent member states of the UN known to have military nuclear capability are India, Pakistan, (on which sanctions were imposed by the US, only to be lifted for American geopolitical interest when waging war on Afghanistan). Israel and North Korea are presumed to secretly own military nuclear capacity. It may be asked what moral grounds, and indeed for what security reasons as member states of the UN are the permanent members keeping their own nuclear arsenals? Can they be for defence of every member state of the UN that may be attacked with nuclear weapons? If the World must get rid of nuclear weapons, then all member states must either destroy all their nuclear weapons or place them under the control of the UN with the permanent members of the Security Council free to act as the custodian of the weapons, if they so desire on behalf of the member states of the UN.

Why for instance will the US and France be very free to import nuclear materials from the Republic of Niger, or any other country endowed with Uranium and other nuclear materials, while precluding Iraq from such importation? And indeed why should the IAEA stop any country from putting into optimal use its owned natural resources including nuclear material? How exact are the lines drawn during the verification by IAEA of country nuclear programme between application in areas such as food, health, industry etc and for military purposes, through production of 'enriched uranium'.

Africa is the only continent currently without any country with military nuclear capability, and will under the existing IAEA rules remain so permanently, making Africa vulnerable to attack by any nuclear power for whatever be the perception of the aggressor's global interest. The only democratic option to the International Community as represented in the General Assembly of the UN is to ascertain through the exclusive acceptable majority votes of the member states any decision on use or none use of nuclear weapons, and indeed for their total destruction.

Globalization: Is the current fad of the principal stakeholders in the present international system to establish global control on the economic activities of governments all over the world. The transnational corporations with businesses already transcending many state boundaries have been emboldened by the collapse of the communist project by early 1990 to place a firm grip on the production and financial systems in countries where the rolling back of state control-marketisation of economic enterprise had taken place or still in progress. The foundation for the realisation of the objectives

of globalization was already laid during the economic crisis of the 1980s in many African countries and the reform packaged by the IMF and the World Bank for the resolution of the crisis.

Under the burden of budget and balance of payment deficits, domestic and external debts, unemployment, inflation and social consequences of de-industrialisation and under utilisation or non-utilisation of installed capacity in many production establishments, many government in Africa after more than two decades of implementation of structural adjustment programmes have been trapped in the globalisation of production, trade and financial operations being midwived by the World Bank which has a US treasury appointed American citizen as permanent President, the IMF with European President, and WTO a UN agency with bias for facilitating the undisguised agenda of the Euro-American corporations to continue trade practices which under the guise of trade liberalisation; often block negotiations to enhance profitable participation of the developing in countries in World Trade.

Unfortunately the present declining economic fortunes of African countries seems almost impossible to halt in the foreseeable future given inept and corrupt political leaders, administrators, professionals and intellectuals devoid of a nationalists and Pan-Africanist ideology that sustained the first generation of Africans who successfully fought the colonialists, neo-colonialists and imperialists for political and economic liberalisation, and assertion of the African personality and cultural identity.

The preceding elaboration of the globalisation process and the instruments - World Bank, IMF, WTO and a number of western dominated UN agencies for the creation of a neo-liberal New World Order where free market activities predominate, and a relatively weak politically pluralistic state stripped of any substantial role in provision of economic and social needs of the people will reign supreme. The New World Order evolving in the image and hegemonic political and economic interests of the Euro-American Corporations, protected by their powerful governments forebodes a rather bleak future for African countries and people. It cannot and should not be an option for the governments and nation-states of Africa to be in a global place where " the integration of trade, finance people and ideas" will lead to the disempowerment of the nascent business enterprises capacity, not being able to competitively engage in economic activities across national boundaries; but indeed not being in a position for autonomous self-sustaining development. The only acceptable option is to pursue the strategy of strengthening the national and regional economies in Africa as a precondition for participation in a competitive global economy that will have the capacity to increase the living condition of the African people.

III

The Proponents of the Pan-Africanist Ideals

The coming into use of the expression Pan-Africanism has been attributed to scholars of African descent from Trinidad and the USA. Pan-Africanist ideals were propagated at several conferences that held in the USA; and at the later congresses held in Europe, Paris (1919), London (1921, 1923) and Manchester (1945).

At the conference of Negro Writers and Artists, Second Congress, Rome 25 March - 1 April 1959, the resolution of the commission on philosophy was

adopted. In the resolution that was preceded by a preamble "considering the dominant part played by philosophic reflection in the elaboration of culture", the commission declares (summarising):

1. That for the African Philosopher, philosophy can never consist in reducing the Africa reality to western systems;
2. That enquiries by African philosopher be on the certainty that the western philosophic approach is not the only possible one; and therefore,
 - i. Urges the African philosopher to learn from the traditions, myths and proverbs of his people, ... and to bring out the specific categories of African thought.
 - ii. Calls upon the African philosopher, faced by the totalitarian of egocentric philosophers of the west, to divest himself of a possible inferiority complex, which might prevent him from starting from his African **being** to judge the foreign contribution.

It calls upon the philosopher to transcend any attitude of withdrawal... so as to bring out, in true communication with all philosophies, the true universal values.

It is highly desirable that the modern African Philosopher should preserve the unitary vision of cosmic reality, which characterises the wisdom of traditional Africa.

The resolution succinctly represents African philosophy, devoid of any pretensions, its holistic vision of cosmic reality rather than its abstractions; and its intrinsic humanity, which it radiates universally. The resolution on philosophy also expresses the philosophical underpinning of African cultural nationalism that was provoked by the then colonial authority in individual African countries. It asserts the confidence of the African personality and its humane disposition to the universal value of all peoples.

In propagating the various strands of African nationalism and Pan-Africanism; while recognising that all Pan-Africanists had at least one thing in common, namely that Africa should be free; there were differences on the kind of Africa that will be required after independence. Some who were **radicals** wanted a politically united free Africa; others the **functionalists** wanted a free Africa, which would be functionally united. **Regionalists** wanted a piece meal approach to African political unity (Mutiso & SW Rohio, 1975: xiii). Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania were the leading, persistent and consistent advocates of total unity of Africa (see below).

We now proceed to highlight the issues raised, and the proponents of the specific strand of African nationalism and Pan-Africanism.

- 1) **Cultural Nationalism** could be considered as the starting point of modern African political thought. The Europeans who colonised countries in Africa rationalised and justified colonialism "in terms of the cultural inferiority or non-existence of African culture and civilisation. In response, the nationalists debunk the cultural argument for the justification of European colonialism in Africa. They demonstrated the undisputed tradition and culture of the people that must be taken account of in the formulation and implementation of policies that affect Africans and societies in general. (Mutiso & SW Rohio *ibid.*).

Edward Blyden in his 19th century articles defined "African cultural contributions to the civilisation of the universal". Jomo Kenyatta argues that the "Gikuyu 'Nation' " not only had a viable political system, but also democratic process. Similarly Molema spoke of blacks in South Africa, which "had viable system before coming into contact with the missionaries or any other civilizing influence". Kwame Nkrumah, Joseph Ki-Zerbo explain the cultural personality of the African. That, there is a culture that is characterically or uniquely African. The same type of explanation is provided in the writings of Alionne Diop, Alex Quaison - Sackey and Leopold Senghor.

In respects of the arts or dance, painting or sculpture as expressions and manifestations of African culture **Ben Enwonwu**, (1962) spoke of "intuitive participation" analysed earlier as the Negro knowledge by Senghor. Enwonwu's comment to an American University audience covered culturally determined approaches of the Africans to religion- Christianity and animism- a term he considers nebulous.

It does not apply and will not apply in a free African continent, because it does not conjure up religious aspirations, the fear and hopes of the people. Animism is a limited term. It connotes fear. The African god, or the keeper of sanctuary, was not afraid of the spirit. He was not afraid of his ancestors.

Oruwariye comments at the same conference, which Euwonwu addressed, spoke that many West Africans (here to) bemoan the fact that we have never had a pre- independence effort at producing a general philosophical framework such as India had. India "applied Marxism to the reinterpretation of Indian history and Indian struggle; and there was a certain amount of philosophical writing before the actual change of administration". May be if Pan-Africanists historiography has been underpinned by some rigorous philosophical principles, the course of the African anti- colonialism and imperialism would have been better structured and organised, and most probably would have provided more beneficial outcome for the African people.

Leopold Senghor during a speech at Oxford University* in October 1961 in "What is Negritude?" gave a profound insight into the historic evolution of Negroid civilisation. He revealed how his generation had come to despair with the enforced French policy of assimilation, having earlier become aware within 'themselves' that assimilation was a failure.

His generation learnt from the writers, artists, and teachers, "the early years of colonisation and especially, even before colonization, the slave trade- trade had ravaged black Africa like a bush fire, wiping out images and values in one vast carnage". And that Negroid civilization had flourished in the upper Palaeolithic Age, and that the Neolithic revolution could not be explained without them. Leopold Senghor proceeded to say:

• This is a brief summary of the excerpts from the speech on "what is Negritude?" by Leopold Senghor at Oxford University.

Negritude is the whole complex of civilized values- cultural and political- which characterise the black peoples, or, more precisely the Negroid African world.

All these values according to Senghor are essentially informed by intuitive reason-which expresses itself emotionally.

In opposition to European racialism, of which the Nazis were the symbol, the Africans set up an 'antiracial racialism'. The very excesses of Nazism and the catastrophes it endangered soon brought us to our senses. Such hatred, violence ...shedding of blood, produced a feeling of revulsion. It was so foreign to our continent's genius: our need to love.

The criticism of the European thesis of civilization is that it is monstrosly anti-humanist. For if European civilization were to be imposed, unmodified, on all peoples and continents, it could only be by force.... And it would not be humanistic, for it will cut itself from the complementary values of the greater part of humanity.

In concluding Senghor states "our revised Negritude is humanistic.... it welcomes the complementary values of Europe and the white man, and indeed, of all other races and continents".

It is quite significant that more than four decades ago Senghor warned against the imposition of Europeans' civilization unmodified on all peoples and continents, for it could only be by force. Today, Pax-Americana in the beginning of the 21st century and the third millennium is held- bent to impose it's own civilization on other peoples by force. Africa the most vulnerable militarily sadly remains an obvious candidate to suffer the casualty of the American dream and adventure.

Plaintive Nationalism: Nationalism which emerged during the inter wars years manifested the **complaints and lamentations** of African nationalist and Pan-Africanist. The nationalist complaints particularly targeted the assimilation policy of the colonizer's documented in the nature and demands of the cultural and religious association.

One of the advocates of plaintive nationalism is D.T Jabaru whose "Native Unrest" is a "plea for equitable opportunities within the South African multi- racial system". In Kenya, Harry Thuku's is also a plea for equal treatment of Africans and Europeans in colonial Kenya. Obafemi Awolowo of Nigeria addresses the 'inequality opportunities in Nigeria' and suggests ways of correcting it in colonial Nigeria. Nnamdi Azikwe, and Obafemi Awolowo indicating that colonial tutelage was accepted in the inter war years, and pleading for African political participation and expansion of economic and educational opportunities for the colonial elite.

In the Belgian Congo (Democratic Republic of Congo) Assimilation-Immatri-culation was more institutionalised than in other African countries; may be at the same level in francophone Africa.

Immatri-culation- registration of the Congolese by the Belgian Authority was promulgated by a decree of 17 may 1952. The immediate aim of the decree:-

is to grant the benefits of immatriculation only to those of the native elite who have genuinely adopted the Western form of civilisation.

In his own book "Congo, my country" Patrick Lumumba states: The Congolese are unanimous in their wish to take part more efficiently in the running of their country and to serve on all committees and councils dealing with the interest of the Belgo- Congolese community. In principle, everyone has the right to take part in the running of his country's affairs. He quotes from Aristotle's famous dictum 'that men naturally wish to lead a political life and to take part in the life of the political community'.

Unfortunately for Lumumba, an undisputed African nationalist and patriot, and indeed for Africa, the intransigence of Belgium to decolonize in the Congo led to a tragic chaotic termination of Belgian colonialism in the Congo that led to the brutal assassination of Lumumba and the death of Dag Hammarskjöld, the Swede who was the Secretary General of the UN in a plane crash in the Congo. The violence, bloodletting and death provoked by cold war rivalry between the US and USSR lasted for almost three decades; though the Western powers, especially the US continued through support for Congolese agents of neo- colonialism and imperialism to make enormous profit from uninterrupted mining of precious and real industrial minerals of the Congo by Western transnational corporations.

The hope is for the agony of the Congolese people to end, so that they can from their rich natural resources also enjoy a well-deserved socio- economic prosperity. This will mean that Patrick Lumumba's sacrifice to rid the Congolese people of Foreign domination and exploitation will not have been in vein.

Radical Nationalism: The end of the Second World War saw greater awareness by the African nationalists and intellectuals that racialists, colonialists and imperialist from Europe were still ruling Africa. The African ex- service men that fought in the British Army in Asia (Burma) and in the French army were inspired by what they saw and learnt from the Asian anti-colonialism struggle. It became clear that the demand to end colonialism must be intensified.

Kwame Nkrumah, the foremost radical African nationalist of his generation, discusses in Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah (1965) the tactics which were applied in the anti- colonialism struggles in Ghana, prescribes strategies for other African countries. Kaunda and Sithole in Central Africa, Tom Mbaya in Kenya, Sekou Toure of Guinea were contributors to this phase of nationalist and Pan-Africanist struggles.

Nnamdi Azikwe of Nigeria as Editor- in- Chief of Gold Coast (Ghana)- The African Morning Post (1934) in his response to statements of Nana Sir Ofori Atta at a session of the Gold Coast Legislative Council who raised alarm in respect of the protagonists of the New Africa spreading doctrines (among the youth) which can only tend to cause trouble in (the) country; chose to expatiate on the

Fundamental Bases of his philosophy of the New Africa* directed mostly to the youth of Africa. One of the fundamentals is **Mental Emancipation** where he states: -

The African has not been in a state of incunabular throughout his history. There is no scientific proof to sustain the idea of superiority or inferiority of any race, physically or mentally. For the Africans to cultivate an inferiority complex that he is inferior to other races, is to sign the death warrant of Africans. An emancipation is therefore essential.

Let the African know that he had a global past and that he has a glorious future. Teach the African to know his capabilities and his role in the scheme of things. Rid the African of all complexes, which could retard his growth towards manhood on the theatre of nations. Let him follow Socrates: Gnoti Seauton (know thyself), and like a sleeping giant let him awake and harness his power for his own good and for the good of mankind. This will create mental emancipation, for mental slavery is worse than physical slavery.

... attempt to emancipate the minds of Africans by telling them of their past. Did not 'Antar', my other pen name, reveal to Africans the lore of ancient Ethiopia? What about the names of Piankhi and Tirhaka who established the black man's dominion of the world in 763BC? Is it spreading false doctrines to tell the people of Africa that the grandsires were once of the rulers of the country which civilised Greece, which in turn civilised Rome, which in turn civilised Great Britain, which in turn believes it is his duty to civilize these self same Africans today? Ye gods!

Pan- African Nationalism: One of the two leading advocates of a United Africa was from West Africa, Kwame Nkrumah who after being a very active official in Pan- Africanist movement was appointed a joint Secretary to the Pan- African congress that held in Manchester 1945. The other from East Africa Julius Nyerere who led the struggle for independence of Tangayika and the creation of the United Republic of Tanzania, a Union between Tangayika and Zanzibar, an Island off the coast of Tanganyika in 1 November 1964. Nyerere tried to include independent Uganda and Kenya in a union to form the Federation in East Africa. Differences in ideology and inequality in resource endowments and standard of living among the expected federating states became serious obstacles to the realisation of the Nyerere project.

As Presidents and Heads of Governments in their respective independent countries, Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana) and Julius Nyerere (Tanzania, 1961) continued to propagate the demand for

* The excerpt is from Nnamdi Azikwe book *Renascent Africa* (1968).

continental unity of African Countries in published books, and Pan African conferences and meetings of the organization of African unity (Africa Union) that was created following the unity of the radical Casablanca (bloc) and the moderate (Monrovia) bloc (See Mutiso and SW Rohio 1975 pp 327-414).

The enthusiasm of radical Pan- Africanist for a united Africa was at the same time doused by the pessimism and sometimes ambivalence of moderate and conservative African leaders. For example, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia in his first book ' A Humanist in Africa (1966) approvingly quoted the reservation of the late Prime Minister of Nigeria on new nations being "less likely to take kindly to submerging (their) new found identity in a wider union". According to Kaunda: "The late Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa expressed a widely held view when he roundly stated in 1960, "A United States Of Africa? Surely it is premature to start talking about anything like this. Nigeria has not the slightest intention of surrendering her sovereignty, no sooner has she gained her independence to anyone else".

Africa cannot afford that the labour of earlier generation of Pan- Africanists for a united Africa to be in vain. It will be ahistorical if African leaders, politicians, professionals and activists in the civil society faced with unrelentless moves of neo- conservatives in the US White House, State Department, Pentagon, and the Treasury as well as right wing intellectuals to foist, through the use of force, subvertion and undemocratic measures, not minding their UN treaty obligations, American hegemony on global politics, economic activities and financial system.

Globalization project being pushed by Western transnational corporations backed by their governments must be seen, at this juncture in international relations, as neo- colonialist and imperialist design to subjugate hapless people of Africa politically, and exploit economically. Our predecessors who engaged colonialist and imperialist invader of Africa to concede independence and sovereignty to our countries advocated for a universal and humane civilisation as in opposition to a parochial Euro-American civilisation. The demand of the present Pan- Africanists and intellectuals should not be less.

The issue of non- alignment of African countries in international affairs has become irrelevant with the collapse of the Soviet Union and Communism in Western Europe that effectively put an end to the cold war.

IV

Nigeria, Nationalism and Pan-Africanism

Nigeria is part of the so called '**tripod**' (including Egypt and South Africa) in Africa that some Pan- African optimists hopefully believe will have the capacity to advance the project for United Africa regionally and globally. While the potential for the tripod to play such a role is recognised, the prospect, at the present conjuncture in international relations and geo-

political designs, of realising the expected objective is dismal. This is precisely because individually, the countries are enamoured in varying degrees to the current global hegemonistic agenda of the US that run counter to the project for Renascent Africa.

What then have been the role of Nigeria and likely future part in the construction of a new Africa, given the relative size of the population, vast natural resources, especially in energy and potential for scientific, technological and industrial development and acquisition of military capacity for the security of the country? The evolution of Nigeria as a multi- nation state from the colonial era has been retarded politically and development wise. The nation building process has been bedevilled by the antics of the British colonialist from it's inception. In the pre-colonial era the states and territory constituting the present Nigeria that were still "engaged actively in a process of state formation, dissolution and reformation" were rudely terminated by the intervention of the colonialists (IDEA, 2000:4). The problem of ethnic, linguistic, religious and socio- cultural diversity in the emerging multi- nation state Nigeria, were complicated by the deliberate policy of "divide and rule" between and within the ethnic nationalities by the British colonial authority. The problems created by the policy were compounded and deepened by the dominant Hausa- Fulani, Igbo and Yoruba. Ethnic blocs created largely under colonial rule (IDEA, *ibid*).

The conflicting claims of ethnic and nascent Nigeria nationalism on individual average Nigerian became quite serious as to deter he or she from nationalist, much less Pan- Africanist activities.

However, education, cultural awareness, travels and foreign contacts leading to knowledge of anti colonialist and imperialist political domination and economic exploitation in other countries ultimately aroused conscious Nigerians to engage in anti colonial rule by joining political and other associations in Nigeria.

We already alluded in the preceding sections on Nigerian participation in Pan- African cultural and radical nationalist activities through contributions at conferences and Pan- African congresses, articles in newspapers and writing books. Ben Enwonwu, a famous sculpture had presented the African perspectives on arts, music, dance, ancestral worship and sculptor. Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Dr Nnamdi Azikwe who later became regional and national leaders in pre and post independence Nigeria were in the fore front of the struggles against colonialism and for total liberation of Nigeria from the yoke of imperialism.

In the anti colonial struggle for independence, attempt to create a formidable political platform- the National Council of Nigeria and the Camerouns (NCNC) in 1944 waned mostly for ethno- religious reason. Herbert Macaulay (Yoruba) became the President, and Nnamdi

Azikwe (Igbo), Secretary. Following constitutional changes, and the appointment of a commission to make recommendations on recruitment and training of Nigerians for senior posts in the public service, the ground was clear for political parties to be created to contest for elections to the newly created regional legislative councils for the North, East and West. By this act, the Clifford (colonial Governor) constitution of 1922, which provided for elected African members of legislative council under **restricted franchise** came into abeyance.

In 1951, the Action group (AG) was founded by prominent Yoruba politicians led by Awolowo, largely by transforming Egbe Omo Oduduwa founded in London, 1945 as a cultural organisation into a party. The Northern Peoples Congress founded in 1949 as a cultural organisation also transformed into a party in October 1, 1951 was led by Ahmadu Bello of Sokoto, Sardauna and Tafawa Balewa. By the time the new constitution was to be implemented Azikwe succeeded Herbert Macaulay as the President of the NCNC, to be known from 1960 as National Council of Nigerian Citizens, following excision of Southern Cameroons from Nigeria.

The impact of the Richards (1947) and Macpherson's (1948) British colonialist constitutions was to further exacerbate ethnic suspicion and rivalry that would not make it possible to mobilize a Nigerian nationally informed and driven Pan- African programme. The Nigerian independence in October 1, 1960 was preceded by piece meal granting of internal self- government individually to the regions from 1958 to early 1960.

At the Pan- African level, Nigerian politicians through mostly their published books have made contributions that have impacted on the decolonization project. These can be found in "the Official Programme of the Nigerian Youth Movements 1938", contained in the Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo, 1960; and 'Towards Local Self Government,' and "Argument for Empire"- chapters in Awolowo's "Path to Nigerian Freedom" **1966**.

Dr Nnamdi Azikwe's "Political Blueprint of Nigeria" 1943 addressing- Two Basic Stages of Development, Administrative Service, Criteria of political Autonomy and Nigeria At the Cross Road had implications for the anti- colonialist and anti imperialist struggle in the rest of Africa. The agitation for liberation of Nigeria from British colonial rule had inspired young Nigerians in Lagos, December 1942 to propose a resolution which states.

The present Crown Colony system of government is obsolete and has no usefulness left in it. It is opposed to democracy and must be abrogated. It is the most ardent desire of our people that we must be granted internal self-government. We

are fully convinced that the country is ready and prepared for same, and is matured to have it.

In the section on radical Nationalism reference has been made to the contribution of Azikwe contained in his book **Renascent Africa**. The preface of the book was a review of the fundamental bases of his philosophy of the New Africa, addressed essentially to African youths. They are:

1. The cultivation of spiritual balance;
2. The Experience of Social Regeneration;
3. The Realization of Economic Development
4. The creation of Mental Emancipation;
5. The expectation of Resurgence.

As Nigeria was approaching independence date of October 1, 1960 the internal division politically, mostly underpinned by ethnic and religious differences, levels of educational and socio- economic development , a consensus to the Pan- Africanists. African Unity project in ferment among Africanists, intellectuals including Nigeria could not be achieved in Nigeria. The situation is illustrated by the extracts from the statement by the Nigerian Delegation four months to independence at the Second Conference of independent African States, Addis Ababa, June 1960. It states:

.... We must not be sentimental; we must be realistic. It is for this for this reason that we would like to point out that at this moment the idea of forming a Union of African States is premature. On the other hand we do not dispute the sincerity and indeed the good intentions of those people that advocate it. But we feel that such a move is too radical- perhaps too ambitious to be any of any lasting benefits.

This statement could rightly be considered as the prelude to joining the conservative Monrovia bloc of states, which preferred the step-by-step approach to African Unity. The Nigerian stance could be seen as an attempt to block Nkrumah's leadership of the Pan-African movement, which will be in tune with the position of Western powers. Nigeria's foreign policy, including in respect of Africa remained 'moderate' for most of the post independence years until the military staged a coup d'etat in 1966 to remove the Tafawa Balewa's government at the centre and the other four regional governments of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

- 2) **The Military Regimes: 1966-1979, 1983-1999:** The crisis that led to the coup in 1966 did not abate, despite attempts by influential politically neutral Nigerians. The intervention of the neighbouring military government to resolve the crisis at a meeting in Aburi, Ghana January 1967 of the Nigerian military leaders who headed the Federal and four regional governments failed.

The follow up meetings to Aburi in Nigeria and Accra, could not find a solution to the 'disagreement' over Aburi's decisions and their

implementation". On the 30th of May 1967 the then Lt Colonel Ojukwu, Military Governor of East Central State declared former Eastern region a sovereign State to be known as Republic of Biafra. This signalled the start of the civil war to stop succession of Biafra that lasted almost 30 months, when on January, Ojukwu fled to Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire) and the surrender of Biafra army and end of succession.

The Nigeria civil war jolted the OAU, especially the progressive Pan-Africanist member states of the organisation. Julius Nyerere's effort at intervening was not acceptable to the Nigerian military government and this probably created problems in diplomatic relation. During the 1970's the liberation struggles in the former Portuguese colonies of, Mozambique, Angola, Equatorial Guinea and in apartheid South Africa were being intensified. The Nigerian oil boom had started and the resources to aid the liberation struggles became available. The support from an essentially conservative pro western regime was clandestine and very limited, if at all in respect of armed struggle. The Nigerian contribution was publicly acknowledged at the OAU and the United Nations and became a permanent member of the UN committee of 'front line states' on Liberation of Southern Africa.

The worsening economic crisis in the country from the late 1970's and the 1980's became a constraint to Nigeria in pursuing aggressive Pan- African policy. The inevitable, from the perspective of the Babangida regime, to resort to IMF/World Bank facility finally led to the imposition of neo-liberal Structural adjustments programme in the management of the Nigeria economy. The General Babangida coup of August 1985, that removed General Buhari's regime which earlier, had toppled the civilian administrator of President Shagari in December, 1983 had been aptly tagged an (IMF) inspired coup. The colonial and post independence mixed- economy system involving the private and public sector participation in ownership of the real sector of the economy with preponderant capitalist ownership and control of industrial, commercial enterprise and banking and financial institutions in the private domain, was dismantled by successive military regimes. The welfare programme of state social provision in education, health, housing, public transportation, cultural centres, etc being implemented by public institutions are being commercialised and privatised. The crisis persists with the deficit budget and balance of payments deficits, unemployment, inflation and decreasing income remaining permanent features of the economy.

Under the military regimes, apart from the regimes that were in place from 1966- 1979, the concern of the Pan- African project for continental political freedom, economic development and African Unity was not paramount.

However, by the end of the civil war the pressure to hand over governance to the civilian was mounting. A transition programme for election to the national and states assemblies, and elections of President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, as well as governors of the constituent states of the Federation under the American Presidential constitution was not adhered

to, General Gowon was consequently overthrown in a bloodless coup in July 29, 1975. He contributed to the promotion of the Pan-African project through the establishment of ECOWAS- a regional phase in the African Unity project. The adopted constitution was a major departure from the Westminster parliamentary system and the political culture that it has engendered among Nigerian politicians. The upshot of the Presidential system in Nigeria, is the sidelining of political parties in policy formulation and implementation. Thus, the role political parties in Nigeria used to play in mass mobilisation and demonstration in support of African liberation movements and anti- imperialism activities have become minimal. The industrial unions, and more especially the youths, students, professional associations, academic staff unions are still active in propagating Pan- Africanist ideals; but their impact remains limited because they are not taken seriously by the ruling political parties.

Generally, military rule had resulted in demobilising Nigerians politically- becoming passive and disinterested in domestic issues; and almost oblivious to the events outside Nigerian boundaries. Nigerian industrial unions, students and activists in the political parties during colonial era, and before military seizure of power are often out in the streets, campuses and squares to protest imperialist and political repression in any part of Africa and in the developing World. Examples of such protests in the colonial and post independence era, include: support for Jomo Kenyatta during his trial and Gikuyu struggle in Kenya, Algeria against French colonialists, Cuba against American attempt to reverse Fidel Castro's revolution, break up of the Central African Federation, and the Universal Declaration of Independence (UDI) by Smith in S. Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Sharpeville massacre and other anti-apartheid activities etc.

It will seem the anti-people economic policies of the military regimes from 1985/1986 when the country requested to debate taking the IMF loan facility, which was rejected over overwhelmingly by Nigerians, and the subsequent acceptance on notorious conditions of the loan by General Babangida junta in July, 1986 became more biting. The unending economic crisis, aggravated by the policy measures of the structural adjustment programme has resulted in impoverishment of the generality of the people whose main pre-occupation is to keep up with survival strategy. This was the environment that made it impossible to organise any demonstration to protest the Abacha's regime execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and the Ogoni 8, November 1995. The World Wide demonstration against Shell oil company that operates in Ogoni-Niger Delta did not hold in Nigeria.

The economic liberalisation in Nigeria with focus on rolling back the state involvement in economic activities for a regime of free market; is more paramount for a Western economic and financial corporations and their governments than having a dictatorial regime. The stage has been set for Nigeria's entry into the neo-colonial imperialist designed global economic network and geo-political interests. The Pan African project no longer calls for much attention. The neo-colonialist project to dominate the economic and political space in a part of Africa that is of interest to Western imperialist power seems to control much more the attention of

Nigerian military regimes and the present civilian regime of General O. Obasanjo.

- 3) **Nigeria, Emerging Sub- Imperial Power:** Sub- imperialism has been defined as "the form which dependent capitalism assumes upon reaching the stage of monopoly and finance capital" (Bienefeld and Godfrey, 1982: 2). The immediate question that arises is whether Nigerian economy is capitalist, and if so, is it dependent?

At the current level and structure of the Nigerian economy that has been managed during over the past sixteen (16) years under the IMF/World Bank structural adjustment regime which has continued to bring about de-industrialisation of an economy, with initial low industrial capacity cannot qualify as a capitalist economy. Except, in the sense that there exists private ownership of the means of production, and the presence of market transactions, though without machine technology, it would then qualify to be described as a '**primitive**' or '**feudal**' rather than capitalist (Dalton, 1974: 56). Because of the absence in the Nigerian economy of machine technology that permeates "market transactions of Labour, resources and products and also intimately linked to each other and integrated with all the production processes and sectors", Nigerian economy is not capitalist in contemporary usage of capitalism.

The current Nigerian capitalism (primitive) can only be 'dependent' in as much as it's development is not, 'autonomous and self- sustained' being heavily dependent on international finance capital and capitalist world market (Fadahunsi, 1992: 35). Specifically, Nigerian capitalism is dependent mostly on western capitalism, particularly the US. Nigeria, still at the stage of primitive capitalism, yet she is emerging as sub- imperial state, operating as a proxy for American imperialism in the immediate West Africa region, and more secretly in other regions of Africa. The Babangida regime in Nigeria was probably attracted to the US because of her reputation of backing dictators to remain in power for many years like Mobutu in the Congo (Zaire) and Pinochet in Chile. It has also been convenient for the US to avoid Somali type embarrassing incident, and at any rate she will prefer proxies.

The most apparent role of a sub- imperial state is military, though the other instruments of coercion, diplomatic political, and economic can be employed.

In 1990- 1991 when ECOMOG (ECOWAS monitoring Group) forces in which Nigeria had a dominant role attempted to impose peace on Liberian warring factions it was at the behest of US imperialism, Sergeant Doe, the then military President of Liberia was a close friend and ally of the then Nigerian President Babangida. The peace settlement that recently brought Charles Taylor, former Liberian President to asylum in Nigeria was also at the behest of the US which provided the military hardwaves to support the West African states interventions where Nigeria was dominant. Peace missions that involve Nigeria's military forces have covered Sierra- Leone,

Cote d'Ivoire, Sao Tome, Equitorial Guinea where US economic interest (Oil & Gas) is becoming substantial.

The US oil companies are not only actively prospecting and producing Oil and Gas in Nigeria, in recent years their operations have extended to off-shore Coast of Nigeria and the Gulf of Guinea along the West African Coast.

Chad, Cameroon, Sao Tome, Angola etc are additional sources for western insatiable demand for oil and gas and other industrial raw materials in Africa. It is indeed a paradox that Nigeria place in the Pan-African project- Africa Renaissance is being jeopardised by imperialist design.

The World imperialist Globalisation project objectively cannot be harmonized with the Pan- African project that requires to consolidate sub-regional and regional developments as prerequisite for participation in a competitive global market economy. A sub- imperial role should not be an attractive option.

V

Challenges of Globalization, Intellectuals and Pan-Africanists.

In the preceding sections of the paper the challenges posed to Africans as intellectuals and Pan- Africanists have kept cropping up. We shall only be attempting to highlight some of the salient issues in a summary form.

Globalization as presented in the literature and the vehemence in which the Western institutions have engaged it's advocacy makes it quite apparent to discerning observers that globalization is the latest and "current ideology of Western dominance. A counter ideology from Africans must formulate and insulate globalization from the Euro- American centric abstractions from the existing reality of civilizations that have to be harmonized to achieve the civilization of the 'universal' rather than ' a civilization' of Euro- American hegemonists.

The ambition of the US for the realisation of her dream for Pax- America in the 21st century should not be taken lightly. Over the years, especially since the end of the World War II, and more since the end of the cold war, the US has arrogantly undermined and subverted the United Nations and the agencies, suggesting that the ultimate decisions and resolutions of international issues must conform with US desire or interests, otherwise they will be of no effect. The right wing politicians who are at the realm of government activities under the President Bush administration are determined to reverse the more acceptable to the International Community previous American administrations, to obviously an undemocratic and backward policy. The aggression on Afghanistan and Iraq and threats to the States in her self-defined Axis of evil is a clear signal that US wants to foist her political, economic and security systems on the rest of the world. The UN and the agencies are no longer relevant to US interest.

Africa presently the least able, lacking the scientific, technological and military capabilities to resist the US must urgently map a strategy to ward off the US menace to Africa and the World. The UN must be.

The Western cultural supremacists believe the development of the other regions of the World scientifically, technologically, industrially and therefore economically and militarily given the projected population of the regions will overwhelm that of the Euro-American World and are therefore strategising for the "clash of civilization", possibly psychologically or militarily which they must win. The African intellectuals must counter the clash of civilization doctrine by engaging the West in a dialogue of culture that will fulfill the aspirations of humanity as a whole.

The African nationalists and Pan-Africanists must not relent in propagating the noble objectives for Renaissance of earlier generation to be re-appraised by the present generation to make the future generation live in bliss and peace with humanity.