

**THE AFRICAN CULTURAL HERITAGE:
DECULTURATION, TRANSFORMATION AND
DEVELOPMENT**

BY

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THE AFRICAN CULTURAL HERITAGE: DECULTURATION, TRANSFORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT

By

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degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of
Humanities, School of Religion and Culture, at the
University of KwaZulu-Natal**

Promoter: Professor J.A Smit

The problem is not the existence of the culture but the need to acknowledge it, examine it and change aspects of it that prevent its members from realising their full potential.

Mamphela Ramphele (1995)

DECLARATION


THE REGISTRAR (ACADEMIC)
UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL, WESTVILLE
CAMPUS

Dear Sir,

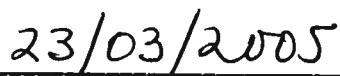
I, Tsoabisi Pakiso Ensley Tondi, hereby declare that the
dissertation entitled

**“THE CULTURAL HERITAGE: DECULTURATION,
TRANSFORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT”**

is the result of my own investigation and research and that it
has not been submitted in part or full for any other degree or
to any other university.



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ABSTRACT

This study begins by highlighting the fact that after identifying the causes of defects in the socio-economic development of Africa and its populace African scholars argue for the re-centering of African cultural heritage as a strategy for (re)-construction and socio-economic development. In fact, the alienation and marginalization of African cultural values and traditions by the designs of colonialism and apartheid have resulted in the distortion and disorientation of some of the most fundamental aspects of the culture of the colonized. Undeniably, this phenomenon contributed immensely to the situation of 'underdevelopment' in Africa.

Culturally, people were prevented from engaging the European culture(s) on their own terms. Economically – because the African cultural heritage was degraded to the level of the 'savage', the 'primitive', 'uncivilized' and even the level of the 'superstitious' or 'mystical' compared to the 'logical' found in the Western cultural thought and behaviour – African people(s) were mostly prevented from participating in the development of the continent.

More importantly, given the present unfolding scenario of the African leaders' dream for an African century - manifested in the transformation of the Organization of African Union into the African Union (AU) (during the week of the 9 to 12 July 2001) and the vision and mission of New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) - juxtaposing this ideal to the pressures globalisation process exerts on the African continent, this study

seeks to identify essential elements of African Cultural Heritage that (if reclaimed and redefined) can contribute towards the transformation and development of (South) Africa and its people. The two critical questions here are: (a) Against the backdrop of Africa's economic disposition, what is the way forward for the continent to extricate itself from the quagmire of poverty, disease and instability? (b) Is Pan-Africanism the solution to the African crisis in the 21st century and the globalizing world?

The African Renaissance discourse (as a new Pan-Africanism vision in the 21st century and a philosophical framework for (re)-construction and development) is central to this study, precisely because no nation that was uprooted from its soul can be able to recover wholly and progress without basing its socio-economic development plans on its own cultural identity and self-knowledge.

It is hoped that this study will form part of existing critical resource material concerning the legacy of underdevelopment, and the constructive proposals and strategies critical in the socio-economic (re)-construction and development of Africa in the context of globalisation and its marginalising tendencies and practices against the countries of the South.

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I also want to thank all the people who gave freely of their time when I interviewed them for this study.

Finally, I thank everybody who participated in this study and those who contributed in their special way.

DEDICATION

This piece of intellectual and emotional endeavour is dedicated to:

My wife, Mokidi “Ma-Nonkululeko,” and our two daughters, Nonkululeko Mamphela and Tawonga. “Bo-Ausi, you have no reason not to be Towers in your life.”

AND

My brothers and their families, Lehlohonolo (Andy), Tsietsi, Sedika (Charles), Madala and Khathatso (Greenie). My sisters, Ntsoaki, Dieketseng and Mamokete.

GOD IS GOOD!

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CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND THE DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

1.1 Introduction

It is an undisputable fact that, in an effort to create the world that reflected European imperialism, the processes of alienation and marginalization linked to colonization and the apartheid hegemony prevented the African people(s) from developing their own culture(s) in terms of the new culture(s) they came into contact with. As it shall be later shown in this study, enough evidence from the works of Third World scholars such as Ani (1994), Achebe (1958), Asante (1980; 1988), Biko (1978), Cabral (1973), Chinweizu (1978), Fanon (1963; 1986), Kaarsholm (1991), Keto (2001), Makgoba (1997), Manganyi (1973; 1977), Masolo (1994), Ngugi wa Thiongo (1986), Ntuli (1999), Outlaw (Jr) (1996), to mention a few, demonstrate how culture as a phenomenological concept has been distorted and disorganized with the purpose of de-centering the African personality and its programmes of self-determination and self-reliance.

A common factor in the writings of the above-mentioned scholars is the fact that after identifying the causes of defects in the socio-economic development of Africa and its populace they argue for the re-centering of the African Cultural Heritage as a strategy for (re)-construction and socio-economic development. In fact, the alienation and marginalization of African cultural values and traditions by the designs and practices of colonialism and apartheid have resulted in the distortion and disorientation of some of the

most fundamental aspects of the culture of the colonized. This resulted in 'underdevelopment' in Africa (Rodney 1972). Culturally, people were prevented from engaging the European culture(s) on their own terms, and in this relation Ngugu wa Thiongo (1986: 16) points out that "to control a people's culture is to control their tools of self-definition in relationship to others." Economically – because the African Cultural Heritage was degraded to the level of the 'savage', the 'primitive', 'uncivilized' and even the level of 'superstition' or 'mystical' compared to the 'logical' found in Western cultural thought and behaviour – African people(s) were mostly prevented from participating in the development of the continent.

More importantly, given the present unfolding scenario of the African leaders' dream for an African century (Owusu-Ampomah 2004: 28) - manifested in the transformation of the Organization of African Unity into the African Union (during the week of the 9 to 12 July 2001) and the vision and mission of NEPAD - juxtaposing this ideal to the pressures globalisation process exerts on the African continent, this research seeks to identify essential elements of the African Cultural Heritage, that can contribute towards the transformation and development of (South) Africa and its people. The two critical questions here are: (a) Against the backdrop of Africa's economic disposition, what is the way forward for the continent to extricate itself from the quagmire of poverty, disease and instability? (b) Is Pan-Africanism the solution to the African crisis in the 21st century and the globalising world?

The African Renaissance discourse (as a new Pan-Africanism vision in the 21st century and a philosophical framework for (re)-construction and development) is central to this study, precisely because no nation that was uprooted from its soul can be able to recover wholly and progress without basing its socio-economic development plans on its own cultural identity and self-knowledge (Motshekga 2004: 10).

1.2 The motivation for this research

With current socio-cultural transformation processes underway in (post) apartheid South Africa, the reclaiming of South Africa as an African country and the resurfacing of debates and discussions on the African Renaissance within the country and continentally, it has become more important than ever to undertake inter-disciplinary study of Africa's past achievements.

The study is centrally concerned with questions of culture, dominance and development. The main aim is to argue for the use of African people's various knowledges and practices as a springboard for future development strategies in the global village. Such exposure is invaluable for the transforming of the self-doubt prevalent in the African communities to that of self-assertion and confidence. Data that validates African achievements should indicate future possibilities for the African people(s). Derived from African-centered development strategies, the affirming of African identities as well as collective and individual abilities, African communities may match the challenges of the global village of the 21st century.

Therefore, the greatest value of the study lies in the fact that it will bring together critical perspectives on existing material concerning the legacy of underdevelopment, but also constructive proposals and strategies, as these are present in Pan-Africanity, post-independent, recent African Renaissance discourse, and the idea of socio-political and economic process. The empirical data and its interpretation will provide a practical perspective on these discourses, leading to concrete proposals concerning the interface of deculturation, transformation, and development.

1.3 The aims of the study

The researcher has formulated the aims of the study as follows:

- i. To thoroughly analyse the processes and strategies of deculturation and underdevelopment.
- ii. To trace the legacy of Pan-Africanity.
- iii. To trace critical and constructive arguments and strategies since the late 1950s.
- iv. To analyse recent African Renaissance Discourse.
- v. To trace the meaning and implications of the idea of socio-political and economic transformation process in the situation of South Africa.
- vi. To gather contemporary data on socio-cultural reconstruction and development, and interpret the data in terms of development possibilities.
- vii. To highlight some practical proposals on how the African Cultural Heritage could be made central to transformation and development.

1.4 Previous research undertaken in this area

The study addresses issues and concerns related to European cultural domination, in as far as it impacts on transformation and development in (post apartheid South) Africa, as it is articulated by and grappled with by African intellectuals such as Makgoba (1997), Mugambi (1992), Maluleka (1992), Ntuli (1999), Seepe (1998) Raphesu (1999), and Zindi (1994/95), to mention a few. This is within the episteme of African intellectual resistance to European cultural alienation and domination of the African personality.

Makgoba highlights the problem of the imbalances between African and Western cultural values that exist within the (post) apartheid South African society when he writes that:

the single biggest failure of colonial powers, civilisation and education has been the failure to capture the essence of Africa and its indigenous people, the failure to adapt and integrate Western culture into African culture (Makgoba 1997: 182).

As it is demonstrated by people such as Mugambi (1992) and Maluleka (1992), with the use of the Western Christian missionary enterprise as a powerful tool, the aim of colonialism and apartheid was to alienate and dominate African cultural creativity in so far as it related to self-determination and development. Seepe (1998: 1) concurs with Makgoba when he observes that

...fitting with the ideological designs of apartheid and colonialism, the African majority was not only denied to vote, but were systematically subjected to total economic, cultural, and by extension spiritual subordination.

The process of deculturation of the African persona led to the underdevelopment of Africa precisely because as Zindi (1994/95: 8) observes “at any stage of civilisation, if a

society must have its own identity and pride, it must have a system which encourages the continuation and propagation of its own excellence in arts, music, manners, scholarly pursuits, language, food, beliefs, traditional values and religion.” The scenario that is presented here calls for a holistic approach to transformation and development that will not only deal with concepts and indigenous institution but also with the individual within a communal society.

1.5 Hypothesis

The significance of a hypothesis in research is that it is a means through which “... the researcher indicates what he or she is aiming at,” and as such it can be said to be “... a brief summary of what the researcher is trying to prove” (Mouton and Marais 1990: 10). Therefore, the hypothesis of this study is that, since the alienation and marginalization processes of African Cultural Heritage by the ideological practices of colonialism and apartheid have left behind devastating social and psychological legacies that have greatly negated the creativity and identity of the African personality, Africa needs counter-hegemony. In the 21st century the call for Africa’s renewal (which argues for the re-centering of the African Cultural Heritage) is a socio-cultural and economic strategy that can contribute towards the (re)-construction and development of (South) Africa in the era of intense globalization.

1.6 Procedure and design of investigation

The following is the procedure and the design that will determine the shape of this study:

1.6.1 Kind of study

This is a qualitative interpretative study informed by the phenomenological views, positions and perceptions of African scholars and respondents (Creswell 1998; Geertz 1993; Newman 1997). The phenomenological approach is important in this study because it creates space for the 'voice' of African respondents in their various social arenas, with the aim of basing their future orientated projections on their Cultural Heritage.

1.6.2 Selection of the sample

The study seeks to sample African respondents from the following categories:

- i. Academics involved in the African Renaissance discourse; and
- ii. Cultural activists.

1.6.3 Research tools

In addition to literature study, data gathering will be through structured and unstructured interviews, depending on the availability of the person interviewed. The questionnaire will be drawn up in terms of the following key critical questions:

- i. What were the processes and strategies of deculturation and underdevelopment, and what did they result in, in cultural terms, and to what extent do they still determine African identity?
- ii. Which critical, but also pro-African heritage strategies can be identified from existing Pan-Africanity literature (since the late nineteenth century)?
- iii. What are the critical and reconstructive arguments and strategies concerning the African cultural heritage since the 1950s?
- iv. What are the critical and reconstructive arguments and strategies concerning the African cultural heritage in recent African Renaissance Discourse?
- v. What is the meaning and implications of the idea of socio-political and economic transformation for the post-1994 South Africa?
- vi. What are the views of leaders in fields of academia and culture concerning the development potential that African culture(s) have for modernization?
- vii. How can this data be interpreted?
- viii. Which practical proposals for implementation can be developed from this research?

1.7 Limitations of the study

Due to the limitations of time, finance and other related resources that this study required, the study only focussed on the views and opinions of a few African scholars and cultural activists who are not directly involved with policy making in South Africa, more especially during this period of socio-political and economic transformation in the country. Therefore, given this scenario and the fact that debates on the relevance of the Pan-African thought and practice, the African Renaissance discourse and the assumptions of NEPAD and its related socio-economic developments in Africa have just started in this country, this study may manifest various risks associated with a pioneer study.

1.8 Definition of key concepts

The following are definitions of key concepts that are central in this study:

1.8.1 African Cultural Heritage

It encompasses the material aspects or physical objects such as artefacts (crafts, sculpture, pottery) and implements (iron tools such as axe and hoe which were an improvement of wooden and stone tools), and other non-material aspects which are often reflected through elements such as religious institutions, values, and traditions, produced over time, and utilised by Africans in their relationship on the one hand with their material

environment, and on the other hand among individuals, and other selves in the universe (Mthembu 1999).

Some of the shared values that are fundamental features entrenched in African cultural values and traditions include elements such as "... hospitality, friendliness, the consensus and common framework seeking principle, ubuntu, and the emphasis on community rather than on the individual" (Makgoba 1997: 198).

1.8.2 Deculturation

It is a socio-cultural process of alienation and marginalization of the African personality that forms the core of the ideological designs and practices of apartheid and colonialism. The deculturation process has as its ultimate aim the devalorization and depreciation of the African cultural thought and behaviour in the world (Ani 1994; More 1999).

1.8.3 Transformation process

As Makgoba (1997: 191) rightly explains, understood from the background of the post-1994 South Africa's situation in all its spheres of life, the idea of socio-political and economic transformation (from an apartheid system to democracy) "... implies a fundamental process, in which all the stakeholders participate. It is a holistic process ... informed by different backgrounds, cultures, values and visions."

Considering South Africa's past political history of control by a minority government, transformation process can also be explained as "a movement away from elitist control of the society to a dispensation that depends on the acceptance by a broad mass of people of the role of new governmental process" (Togni 1996: 109).

1.8.4 Development

Independent of the corruptive corruption pressures of the 21st century globalisation "the word implies a favourable change, a step from the simple to the complex, from the inferior to the superior, from the worse to better. The word indicates that one is doing well because one is advancing in the sense of necessary, ineluctable, universal law and toward a desirable goal" (Esteva 1992:10).

According to Rodney (1972: 102) "development means a capacity for self-sustaining growth," a phenomenon which can be said to be common and natural to the countries on the North (Europe and America). In agreement with Rodney, Soni (2004: 9) points out that "nations develop when they direct their own development and are accountable to their own citizens, not to external funders [and marginalizing economic paradigms]."

1.8.5 Underdevelopment

As noted by Rodney (1972: 13) the phenomenon "...underdevelopment is not absence of development, because every people have developed in one way or another and to a

greater or lesser extent.” Therefore, the status can be said to be determined by means of comparison of levels of development among the nations of the world (especially those of the two geo-economically positions, namely, the North and South). This means the phenomenon “is very much tied to the fact that human social development has been uneven and from a strictly economic viewpoint some human groups have advanced further by producing more and becoming more wealthy” (Rodney 1972: 13).

1.8.6 African Renaissance

As a philosophical and conceptual framework for transformation in South Africa it embodies the determination of a people to reclaim its great past achievements, before colonialism and apartheid. It is “... the manifestation of the dialectic of what is and what can be; a manifestation of the perennial struggle of peoples everywhere to transcend the material and spiritual conditions of their existence. Today in Africa, the Renaissance seeks to assert new value systems, to fashion new institutions, to reaffirm the positive ... [the African]... knowledge system” (Ohiorhenuan 2001: 40).

1.8.7 Globalisation

Globalisation as the latest manifestation of European imperialism is explained by Evans as a process “about a borderless world especially in terms of trade, commerce and finance; it is about internationalization, interdependence, universalization; it’s about the Internet, the communications revolution, the wired world, and the collapse of the time-

space distinction” (2002:2). The concept has its supporters both in the global South and the North, the former are generally found amongst those who are moneyed, and the latter group consist of the poor and the marginalised, the “religious revivalists and reactionary nationalists who grieve at the damage inflicted on their traditional cultures and beliefs by the deluge of images, ideas, music and artefacts that capture their young and erode their sense of group identity” (Evans 2002: 2).

1.9 Conclusion

In this chapter the objective of the study has been clearly stated. As indicated the study is centrally concerned with the questions of culture, dominance and development in the context of globalization. The summary of the purpose of the study is to address the following question: Is the Pan-Africanism of W.E.B Du Bois and Kwame Nkrumah which envisioned Africa free and self-reliant still a relevant concept in the 21st century? Obviously, the African Renaissance discourse is central to this study.

The next chapter focuses on the alienation and marginalization processes of the African Cultural Heritage by the ideological practices of colonialism and apartheid which have left behind devastating social and psychological legacies.

CHAPTER TWO

DECULTURATION AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT PROCESSES OF THE AFRICAN PERSONALITY

2.1 Introduction

The single biggest failure of colonial powers, civilization and education in Africa has been the failure to capture the essence of Africa and its indigenous people, the failure to adapt and integrate Western culture into African culture. (Makgoba 1997: 182)

This chapter mainly focuses on the deculturation processes the African personality was subjected to by the European cultural imperialism and the related factors that ultimately contributed to dependence and underdevelopment conditions of the greater part of the African continent and its people. It should be noted that an interrogation of the subject such as this is crucial in the (post?) apartheid South Africa in that it addresses negative aspects of European cultural domination, which hinders processes of social and economic transformation and development.

As demonstrated by scholars such as Davidson (1992), Chinweizu (1987), Pheko (1998), Ngcokovane (1989), Rodney (1972), and countless others, it is historically evident that the first encounter between Africa and Europe has been an episode characterized by processes which effected the alienation and marginalisation of the African cultural heritage – “...the reorganization of space and ... the myriad contestations over language

and identity” (Crais 1992: 2). According to Chinweizu (1987: 76) in his work titled, *Decolonising the African mind*, central to the European desire for control and domination laid the concept of what he refers to as, “three dogmas”:

1. that Africans have contributed nothing to civilisation in Africa;
2. that Africans have contributed nothing to non-African civilisations; and
3. that anything found in Africa which was worthy of European respect had to have been put there by white invaders of an earlier period.

These processes of distortion, devaluation and violent suppression of African history; traditions, beliefs and knowledge systems have left behind devastating social and psychological legacies that have greatly negated the creativity of the African personality. As it shall be demonstrated in this study the processes marked the beginning of “the relentless journey to an active theoretical justification of human oppression through historical distortion” (Keto 2001: 56).

The attitude that prevailed was such that culture(s) and traditions of the indigenous people had nothing valuable in them worth considering. Thus they were labelled “pagan”, “heathen” and “primitive”. As Mudimbe (1988: 9) rightly points out, in order clearly to understand processes of power relations and otherness that entangled the contact between Africa and Europe, one needs to look at “the general anti-African bias of the philosophical and scientific literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.” It emphasises the “idea that European existence is qualitatively superior to other forms of human life” (Serequeberhan 1997: 142). In this regard, Masolo (1994) in fact concludes

that the contact between the two paradigms was in the main characterized by the struggle and the great divide between the civilized and the uncivilized, the logical and the mystical, and this contributed to the decentering of an African centered paradigm of knowledge.

2.2 The meaning and content of the concept of the African personality and the Western conception of being

The purpose of this section - which in the main deals with the introduction of the meaning of the concept of African personality in relation to the Western conception of being - is to identify the philosophical framework upon which colonialism and European cultural imperialism's processes of domination and dehumanisation of Africa and its people were constructed and operationalised.

Fanon (1967: 18) clearly captures the implications of the negative and marginalizing European conceptualisation of being, particularly in relation to the African personality, when he aptly observes that:

Every colonized people – in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local originality – finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country. The colonized is elevated above this jungle status in proportion to this adoption of the mother country's cultural standards.

The aforementioned means that central to colonialism and apartheid's processes of alienation and marginalization of the African personality was, and still is, the negating Western philosophical conception of being in relation to otherselves in the world – an

idea which antithetically stands opposed to the African philosophical conception of *motho/batho*. According to the Western conception of being (in pursuit of power and self-realization) the individual is alienated from the otherselves in the world (Shutte 1993), meaning there is no sense of community. This contradicts the Western Christian teachings of the oneness of God and human family, which Mazrui (1974: 9), describes as the “the principle of monogenetic descent in Christianity and Islam.” It holds that, “we are descended from one man, Adam, and this common descent on a global scale was intended by the Almighty to emphasize the oneness of the human family.”

As Makgoba (1997) observes, in the above-mentioned epigraph, the European philosophical and ideological devaluation and negation of the African personality in relation to otherselves in the world stands as one of the factors that mainly contributed to the European’s failure to capture the essence of Africa and its indigenous people.

2.2.1 The concept of the African personality and the Ubuntu/Botho philosophy

As Thompson (1969: 7) points out, in the late nineteenth and the early years of the twentieth century the person to use the concept “African personality” was Edward Wilmot Blyden. He used the concept in an endeavour “... to articulate the difference between Africans and Europeans in terms of Africans’ personality” (Outlaw 1999: 210). In his writings that were intended to vindicate the enslaved Africans in Europe and America Blyden argued that:

the Negro race did have the past achievements of which it could be proud; that it had special inherent attributes which it should strive to project in a distinctive 'African Personality'... (Lynch 1967: 54).

The concept represents "the sum [total] of values of African civilization, the body of qualities which make up the distinctiveness of the people of Africa" (Mudimbe 1988: 133). As it shall be seen later in this study the concept became clearly articulated by Kwame Nkurumah at the Accra 1958 conference.

Nevertheless, with this discourse Blyden was contesting the space for the African identity that was being eroded by the domination of European cultural traditions, and he was also responding to the European Enlightenment philosophers' framing of the African as being of a different, subhuman nature without history, culture and civilization. This was due largely to the "theses and the racial theories of the time," which Mudimbe (1988: 119) describes as "... mixtures of poor philosophy, scientific speculations, and heavy ethnocentrism." Therefore it is obvious that,

since the kind of political and cultural domination that was taking place in Africa served the particular historical perspective on which it was based and was, in return, justified by its own success. Blyden chose to revise the concept of history altogether (Mudimbe 1988: 113).

History here is understood as "the "memory" of "record," [and] information about the past that ...performs a fundamental task for society" (Keto 2001: 3). Furthermore, the phenomena can also be defined as "... a powerful social instrument with which ... [people]... carve out an identity of who ... [they] ... were in the past, who ... [they] ... are in the future" (Keto 2001: 3).

The legacy of a hegemonic perspective of European cultural thought and behaviour was such that, it portrayed Africans as objects of history and "...peripheral players who inhabit the margins of other peoples' histories" (Keto 2001: xii). This means that Africans had no history, before and after the encounter with Europe. In this relation Eze (1997: 6 – 9) notes that,

specifically within [European] philosophy, Africans became identified as a subhuman "race", and speculations about the "savage" and "inferior" nature of "the African" and the "African mind" became widespread and intertextually entrenched within the *univers du discours* of the French, British and German Enlightenment thinkers.

The inferior conceptualisation of the African personality, specifically in relation to the European, is clearly articulated in the writings of Enlightenment philosophers such as David Hume, Immanuel Kant and G.W.F. Hegel. Their writings formulated a conceptual framework upon which later most of the negating European historical perspective(s) on Africa and its people became grounded. For example, Kant (1960: 111), adding to what was said by Hume about the nature of the African Personality, in his *Observations on the Beautiful and Sublime*, concludes that:

The Negroes of Africa have by nature no feeling that rises above the trifling. Mr. Hume challenges anyone to cite a single example in which a Negro has shown talents, and asserts that among the hundreds of thousands of blacks that are transported elsewhere from their countries, although many of them have even been set free, still not a single one was ever found who presented anything great in art or science or any other praiseworthy quality, even though among the whites some continually rise aloft from the lowest rabble, and through superior gifts earn respect in the world.

With assertions such as the one mentioned above, the main objective of the European Enlightenment philosophers was to prove that the European existence was qualitatively

superior to the inferior form of life of the African personality, and this was said to be demonstrated by the mental capacities of the one over against the other (Kant 1960: 111).

Contrary to the self-centred notion of being purported by European philosophy, and fundamentally central to the African philosophical concept of being (in relation to others in the world), is the philosophy of Ubuntu/Botho. Ramose in his study, *African philosophy through Ubuntu* (1999: 49), describes Ubuntu as "... the root of African philosophy. The be-ing of an African in the universe is inseparably anchored upon ubuntu." The Ubuntu philosophy is a conception of human person that is aptly captured in the African proverb that holds that: *umuntu ngu muntu ngabantu / motho ke motho ka ba bangwe* (a person is a person through other persons). The proverb works as a guiding social ethic in relationships of all human persons. Thus there are a number of sayings in various African languages that emphasize the importance of good neighbourliness or the co-existence of all human persons regardless of race, gender and colour. For example, the following proverbs can be mentioned:

- (i) *a botho ba gago bo nne botho setshabeng*, which literally translated, means "let your welfare be the welfare of the nation." This proverb emphasizes some of the key social values of ubuntu philosophy, namely, group solidarity; awareness that one's identity is directly related to one's belonging to a family, group or community where each helps the other.
- (ii) *ntlomphe ke tle ke o hlomphe*, literally translated, means "respect me so that I can be able to respect you too." Basically the proverb emphasizes mutual

respect in the community, a practice that has as its ultimate goal to foster good relations, regardless of sex, religion, education, race and colour.

Closely linked to the Ubuntu philosophy is the notion that “the world is our common home [as human persons], the earth the property of all. Because human life only exists by being shared, all that is necessary for that life, for living and living well, is shared by the human family as a whole” (Shutte 1993: 50).

As Louw (1997: 2) rightly points out, “for the Westerner, the maxim ‘A person is a person through other persons’ has no obvious religious connotations. He/she will probably interpret it as nothing but a general appeal to treat others with respect and decency.” The religious dimension of the maxim is encapsulated in the idea that:

the person one is to become “through other persons” is, ultimately, an ancestor. And, by the same token, these other persons” include ancestors. Ancestors are extended family. Dying is an ultimate homecoming. Not only the living must therefore share with and care for each other, but the living and the dead depend on each other (Louw 1997: 2).

Shutte’s (1993) concept of *seriti* – what in the Western world-view is understood as force or energy, explains further the religious dimension of the Ubuntu philosophy within the traditional African world-view. As Shutte (1993: 52) asserts the concept of *seriti* is “... the notion that supplies the metaphysical foundation and framework for the conception of persons and community.” Crucial in the concept of *seriti* is the principle that “the origin of all force and the origin of the universe is God” (Shutte 1993: 53), and this is safely within the African world-view. As Shutte further explains, the two features of the notion that clearly brings out its metaphysical character is “... its hierarchical structure and the

fact that it is centred on humanity” (1993: 53). According to the notion of *seriti*, relationships are not only about race, colour and gender precisely because

the hierarchy of the universe is a hierarchy of strength and power. God is at the top, inanimate things are at the bottom, with humanity in the middle. It is moreover a dynamic system in that the force of everything is continuously being either strengthened. Human beings continuously influence each other, either directly or indirectly by way of sub-human forces or through ancestors (Shutte 1993: 53 – 54).

As it is clear from the above quotation the notion of *seriti*, as one of the basic elements of traditional African thought, emphasises the fact that humanity does not refer only to the living, “the dead [meaning ancestor] play a very important part in the whole universe of forces, and continue to interact causally with the living” (Shutte 1993: 54).

2.3 Colonialism, Western cultural imperialism and the deculturation of the African personality

Colonialism as an element of European cultural imperialism’s superstructure and a socio-cultural tool for subjugation and domination forms the basis upon which the processes of the deculturation strategies of the African personality were and still are based. This being the case in this study, which has as its ultimate objective the unleashing of processes of deconstructing negating conceptualisations of the African personality, an understanding of the meaning and the implications of the terms that refer to processes such as colonialism and imperialism are crucial.

Fieldhouse (1976: 1) defines colonialism as “...one of four words widely used to describe different aspects of the control exercised by one society over another ... and it can only be understood in relation to other closely related terms – imperialism, colonization and neo-colonization.” The terms are related to one another in a form of “*a historical cycle*: imperialism results either in colonization or colonialism and each in turn leads to neo-colonialism” [emphasis mine] (Fieldhouse 1976:1). In a similar vein Mudimbe (1988: 1) points out:

Although generalizations are of course dangerous, colonialism and colonization basically mean organization arrangement. The two words derive from the Latin Word *colere*, meaning to cultivate or to design. Indeed the historical colonial experience does not and obviously cannot reflect the peaceful connotations of these words. But it can be admitted that colonists (those settling a region), as well as the colonialists (those exploiting a territory by dominating a local majority) have all tended to organize and transform non-European areas into fundamentally European constructs.

Historically, the period ranging from the beginning of the fifteenth century through to the first half of the twentieth was “...a period marked by the horror and violence of the transatlantic slave trade, the imperial occupation of most of Africa and the forced administration of its peoples, and the resilient and enduring ideologies and practices of European cultural superiority (ethnocentrism) and “racial” supremacy (racism)” (Eze 1997: 4). The colonization process was based and structured upon what Mudimbe (1988: 2) refers to as the “*three complementary hypotheses and actions*” [emphasis mine]: “the domination of physical space, the reformation of native’s minds, and the integration of local economic histories into the Western perspectives.”

The urge for the domination of space is clearly seen in how Europe went about partitioning Africa as if it was her own property and thus disorganising and displacing its people. This would have not been possible without the total onslaught that was launched by the Christian Missionary enterprise on African identity and culture. The latter resulted in the psychological disorientation of the African personality. Whether Europe admits it or not the lack of development of Africa today is the result of what Europe did to the economic histories of the people and the continent while trying to forcefully assert herself in another man's house. The African society was deliberately denied an opportunity to define its own ideology and culture. As a result the people of that society never had control over their own destiny.

2.3.1 The Western Capitalist system and the erosion of the Indigenous Economy

The first encounters between the European mode of production and the distribution thereof, and indigenous Africa marked the beginning of exploitation and underdevelopment of the African continent. Given this situation of extremely unhealthy power relations that unfolded between Europe and indigenous Africa, especially from the middle of the 15th century, Rodney (1972: 75) points out that "development and underdevelopment are not only comparative terms, but ... they also have a dialectical relationship one to the other." What it means is that with a thorough investigation and a critical analysis of the original causes of poor economic conditions of most of the countries in the African continent, one of the main factors that contributed to the dependency and underdevelopment status of Africa and its people, has been the

colonisation and the suppression of the indigenous African economies (Crais 1992; Rodney 1972).

The indigenous African economic systems, which were viable according to the needs of Africa's communities, were based on the cultural heritages of the people. In practice they were deliberately interrupted and finally marginalized. On this event Presbey (1997: 168) explains that:

Prior to the setting up of a European post in the Cape Colony, South Africa was occupied by self-sufficient pastoralists, along with some hunter-gatherers. Insofar as they labored to take care of their herds, they labored under their own direction, in an occupation of their choice, and participated in furthering their own cultural community. With the encroachment of European settlers, that lifestyle changed.

From this it is clear that indigenous people had their own economic system that benefited them. They discouraged avarice and abject poverty. In theory and action, the colonisation of Africa was accompanied by economic structures that aimed at nothing but benefiting the colonizer in all respects. In this regard Mudimbe (1988: 3) concludes that:

This process can be summed up in three points: First, the capitalist world system is such that parts of the system always develop at the expense of other parts, either by trade or by the transfer of surplus. Second, the underdevelopment of dependencies is not only an absence, but also an organization structure created under colonialism by bringing non-Western territory into the capitalist world. Third, despite their economic potential, dependencies lack the structural capacity for autonomy and sustained growth, since their economic fate is largely determined by the developed countries.

Therefore, from the above it can be safely concluded that the underdevelopment and dependency of Africa and its people did not come about by accident, but was and still is in the 21st century a phenomenon that falls within a master plan based on the European desire to dominate and subjugate.

2.3.1.1 A historical and socio-economic analysis of the evolution of dependency and underdevelopment in Africa

That Africa before contact with European explorers around 1445 was on its own course of recognisable development is an unquestionable fact. As a matter of fact the interruption of the evolutionary course of development of Africa was "...brought about by contact with the industrialised societies and was the direct result of imperialism, colonialism and the transfer of Western European capitalism through the formation of [unfavourable] world markets [to Africa]" (Emmet 1983: 33). Under normal circumstances the law of nature rules that "to achieve development, one essential condition is to make the maximum use of the country's labour and natural resources" (Rodney 1972: 100). Unfortunately, from the 15th century Africa and its original inhabitants were never allowed such an opportunity.

The major factor that contributed to the socio-economic underdevelopment situation of Africa between 1445 and 1870 is the massive loss of the labour force that the continent experienced due to the European slave trade. Reflecting on the impact of the slave trade on the continent and its people Blyden (1967: 270) observed that:

It cannot have escaped the most superficial reader of African history that the savages introduced by slave-trade have had a distinctly marked effect not only on the personal or tribal character of the inhabitants, but on their organization – on the whole industrial and economic life of the country.

In the interests of European imperialism and capitalism, the European slave traders raped Africa of its able-bodied young men and women who formed a large section of their community. They were actively involved in the socio-economic activities of their various

communities (Rodney 1972; Davidson 1980). To uphold and maintain European capitalist imperialism, African captives, preferably “between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five [and] the sex ratio being about two men to one woman” (Rodney 1972: 96) were sold to European capitalists who owned plantation economies in Mauritius, Reunion, and the Seychelles and in the Americas. As Rodney (1972: 97) indicates, African labouring slaves were used in various ways and at different destinations to serve the European capitalist system that established a demand in the European markets for slave-grown products, such as the cloves grown in Zanzibar under the supervision of Arab masters.

At its height between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, slave trade disrupted the lives of many African indigenous communities (Martin and O'Meara 1995). This was due to the fact that “the opportunity presented by European slave dealers became a major stimulus for a great deal of social violence between different African communities and within any given community” (Rodney 1972: 98). Some tribes flourished due to the business of being suppliers of captives to European slave traders. The whole activity of slave trading was destructive in that it involved warfare, trickery, banditry and kidnapping. Concurring with Blyden (1967) Rodney (1972: 99) in fact concludes that:

The changeover to warlike activities and kidnapping must have affected all branches of economic activity, and agriculture in particular ...the overall consequences of slaving on agricultural activities in Western, Eastern and Central Africa were negative. Labour was drawn from agriculture and conditions became unsettled.

One of the examples that are cited in this case is that of Dahomey, which between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries was said to have been producing enough food for its

people and also exported some to Togo. However, around the eighteenth century - due to the fact that slave trade diminished its labour force – Dahomey suffered famines (Rodney 1972: 98-99).

The fact that some communities were preoccupied with activities of capturing their own people stopped them from even taking an advantage of borrowing technologically from their European counterparts, precisely because “very few of man’s major discoveries have been separately discovered by different people” (Rodney 1972: 106). This can be ascribed to the fact that the unhealthy relationship between Europe and Africa (that of the exploiter and the exploited) was in its nature “highly unfavourable to the movement of positive ideas and techniques from the European capitalist system to the African pre-capitalist system of production” (Rodney 1972: 106).

As already indicated the other major factor that also contributed immensely to the economic marginalisation of Africa was and still is the integration of the African economy into the Western European capitalist economic system. The latter was totally incompatible with the socio-cultural superstructure of indigenous people. As Rodney (1972: 33) convincingly demonstrates in his work, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, “using comparative standards, Africa today [in the 21st century under the pressures of economic globalisation] is underdeveloped in relation to Western and other parts of the world; and that the present position has been arrived at, not by the separate evolution of Africa on the one hand and Europe on the other, *but through exploitation*” [emphasis mine].

2.3.2 The European Christian missionary enterprise and the socio-cultural processes of subjugation and distortion of the African personality

As it shall be shown hereunder, African scholars such as Achebe (1958), Biko (1978), Mazrui (1974), Mugambi (1992), Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) and others - in their works that critically reflect on the impact of Christianity on the African cultural and religious heritage - convincingly demonstrate how the European Christian Missionary enterprise became the largest single factor that has contributed in influencing Africans to accept the social, economic, political and religious values of Europeans.

As Mugambi (1992: 20) rightly points out, "Christianity was presented to the Africans as the religion and culture of Europeans who at the same time thought of themselves as the perfect and highest model for the rest of humanity to copy." As a result, the determination to colonize Africa became based on "the conviction of the need to spread [European] Christian teachings to the 'pagan' world (Crais 1992: 2). The main aim was to convert the 'non-European' world, especially Africa, into the image of Europe" (Mazrui 1974: 6).

Concurring with Mugambi (1992) and Mazrui (1974), Achebe (1958: 124) makes the following radical observation:

The white man is clever. He came quietly and peaceably with his religion. We were amused at his foolishness and allowed him to stay. Now he has won our brothers, and our clan can no longer act like one. He has put a knife on the things that held us together and we have fallen apart.

In essence, Christianity was not just about new religious expression but European cultural thought and behaviour, and in this way “African converts came to understand the Christian way of life as being identical with the norms of conduct set for them by the missionaries who introduced Christianity in each particular locality” (Mugambi 1992: 1).

As their commitment to and their response to national call back in Europe, missionaries “... sought, whether consciously or unconsciously, the destruction of pre-colonial societies and their replacement by new Christian societies in the image of Europe” (Christopher 1984: 83). The process had a cultural emasculating effect and the psychological dependency of Africans on Europeans, which in the whole resulted in the African personality being disorientated. In this connection Mazrui (1974: 19) argues that:

The kind of Christianity that was taught in Africa was needed more desperately by expansionist Europe than by vulnerable Africa. The strong need the softening influence of Christianity to curb their aggressive tendencies; the weak still need a warrior tradition to support their resolve to resist.

In an effort to conquer Africa and its people, right from the beginning there was an overt collaboration between the missionary societies and the imperial powers. Obviously, the missionary’s objectives had to be co-extensive with his country’s political and cultural perspectives on colonization, as well as with the Christian view of his mission. With equal enthusiasm, he served as an agent of a political empire, a representative of a civilization, and an envoy of God. There is no essential contradiction between these roles. All of them implied the same purpose: *the domination of the African minds and space* [emphasis mine] (Mudimbe 1988: 1 - 7).

2.3.2.1 European cultural imperialism's ideological use of religion in the deculturation of the African personality

In an endeavour to totally disorientate and dominate the African personality in all its form and content, European cultural imperialism married ideology to religion as a weapon. From the outset elements central to indigenous African belief systems and practices, such as ancestry and festivities that were linked to the celebration of hard work and self-reliance, that formed the basis upon which the people related with their environment, were demonised and dismissed as illogical and superstitious. This was done with an aim of interrupting and misplacing the processes of socio-economic development in various African communities that came into contact with European cultural imperialism.

This strategy became easy to implement in that religion in the European cultural thought and behaviour is regarded as “integrally related to the development of ideology ... [precisely] because what is identified formally in the European experience as religion often has very little to do with what is understood generally as the ‘religious’ in a phenomenological sense (Ani 1994: 109).” What this means is that “religion” which exists in the European cultural thought and behaviour, as a formalized institution with all its operational appendages, does not exist independently of other European cultural expressions. Further, as a phenomenological concept, religion in the European mindset was and still is not that which in the African thought world, deals with the expression of beliefs about the supematural world, practices, values and morals.

The ultimate disorientation and the domination of the African mind and space, by the European cultural imperialism, could not have been achieved without the psychological warfare that was unleashed by the latter against all aspects of the African personality's belief system. As it became apparent that the African belief system could not be easily separated from indigenous African culture, and thus posed a problem for the coloniser, the European Christian tradition and its missionary enterprise became useful as an effective strategy in the devaluation of the African cultural heritage.

As it was propagated through the European missionary enterprise, Christianity as a religion linked to ideology, enforced cultural dependency, and in this way the African personality was subjugated to a religio-cultural structure that was characterised by intolerance (Mazrui 1974). This behaviour pattern is clearly demonstrated by the two characters in Achebe's (1973: 121-134) work, *Things Fall Apart*, who stood like north and south to one another, namely, Mr Brown and Mr Smith. The former was rather compromising and sympathetic to indigenous African religious practices; while on the other hand, the latter "saw things as black and white ... [and] ... the world as a battlefield in which the children of light were locked in mortal conflict with the sons of darkness." Everything that constituted the form and content of the indigenous religious expression of the African personality was demonised. Religious ceremonies that celebrated life and honoured the giver of that life, such as the one that marked the beginning of harvest, were regarded as pagan and heathen.

To validate the processes of the psychological devaluation of the African personality in all its forms of existential expression, Christianity became a battering ram and was projected as a religious system based on perfection. The war that was waged by the European cultural domination was explained as a holy war: by a perfect God of the European people, against the pagan gods and heathen practices of the African personality (Ntuli 1999: 191-192).

The main objective was to render the African personality in all its forms of expression invisible and peripheral. In the whole, the process of the deculturation of the African personality's beliefs and practices was "based on the strong conviction that 'African heathenism' by hook and crook was to give way to Western Christian civilization" (Maluleka 1996: 8). There was to be no way in which a link between the European God and the "African god" could be established.

2.4 Apartheid ideology, the Afrikaner's ideas of cultural purity and sovereignty

In this study apartheid ideology as part of the superstructure of the deculturation processes of the African personality is looked at and understood from within the socio-cultural framework of European cultural imperialism and ethnocentrism. This factor is important in that it clarifies the reality that is normally, consciously or unconsciously, ignored by many critics of apartheid, which is that, "racism and racial discrimination are not restricted to South Africa" (Esterhuyse 1981: Introduction). However, in South Africa the problem of racial discrimination, which is actually part of the superstructure of

European imperialist colonial domination, began in 1652 "...with the first permanent European settlement at the Cape of Good Hope" (van den Berghe 1965: 13).

In principle and practice apartheid ideology is a racial discrimination mechanism that was invented by those European descendants who were trying to make the Southern tip of Africa their home. As an ideology, racial discrimination was and still is a framework upon which European imperialist colonial domination in South Africa was/is based. In this context Esterhuyse (1981: 2) defines racial discrimination as:

a practice which, either in interpersonal relationships or on institutional and statutory levels (or both), deliberately withholds rights, privileges and responsibilities from people on the basis of their racial attributes, or even denies that those rights and privileges and responsibilities are due to them as human beings.

In short, Cecil Ngcokovane (1989: 23) in his study, *Demons of Apartheid*, defines 'apartheid' as a South African term that simply means "separation" or "apartness." As such it denotes a socio-political system that encourages the complete separation of races from birth to death. This implies that as a social mechanism, aimed at reserving certain privileges (by any means necessary) for a particular racial group within a society, apartheid ideology was used as a social tool for "... the total control of human beings through the legal structure of the state" (Ngcokovane 1989: 23).

According to Moleah (1988: 11) "at its simplest ...level, [apartheid] ideology can be described as a system of thought that attempts to explain many forms of social and individual behaviour." A close look at the ideology reveals important aspects of racial discrimination. Further, as an ideology, apartheid was constructed on the premise of the

“inherent superiority of the white race” which dominated the discourse on Africa in Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It can also rightly be described as an epitome of the colonizing structure “in its most extreme manifestations” (Mudimbe 1988: 6). The whole process was intended to falsify and depersonalise the African in relation with other-selves in the world. Consequently an important adjunct to the apartheid ideology in South Africa became cultural discrimination / chauvinism /ethnocentricity, which Esterhuyse (1981: 6) convincingly describes as:

the uncritical acceptance and egotistical glorification of the culture, values, traditions and virtues of one’s own group. One’s culture – and consequently the group sharing it – is regarded as superior to other cultures and groups which are then explicitly or implicitly stamped as inferior.

From the above it is obvious that apartheid as a social order and political system that ultimately shaped the history of South Africa was based on the Western consciousness of (racial) superiority and the purity of white civilisation. There was a “fear [especially amongst European intellectual settlers] that a hard-won cultural heritage and civilisation might be dragged down in a completely open society” (Esterhuyse 1981: 10). The over-estimation of the superiority of European cultural heritage over-against indigenous cultural values and traditions led to the view that the former “is the only gateway to civilisation, development and education” (Esterhuyse 1981: 7).

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter identified and outlined how the processes of deculturation of the African personality by the European cultural imperialism, that permeated the contact between

people of European and African origins, ultimately had devastating negative effects on the African cultural heritage. Through works of various scholars this chapter demonstrated how in the end the encounter between Africans and Europeans, which was characterised by the battle of world views and understanding of realities, produced societies that were different from both the original and from Western societies (Emmett 1983: 28).

Furthermore, it demonstrated how the deliberate destruction by Western European Capitalism of Africa's indigenous economic structures led to the dependence and underdevelopment of a large part of the African continent. The suppression and domination of the indigenous economy led to the situation whereby "the rich and powerful core societies directly or indirectly affected the direction of growth of peripheral societies, forcing them to become supplier of cheap material and agricultural products for the core societies" (Emmett 1983: 28).

The contact between people who had differing forms of life was bound to happen, but the most unfortunate part about it was that the one (European form of existence) was not only unprepared to accept the other (African form of existence) but also determined to extinguish the latter. The European ideas of superiority and acts of imperialism became an enemy to diverse people of African origin and descent that in their protest they became conscientised and then organised themselves into a force to reckon with, and thus formulated a philosophical framework upon which to base their response to the dehumanising experiences.

The next chapter will show how, the people of African origin and descent under the banner of the Pan-Africanism movement, responded to the processes of deculturation and marginalization by European cultural imperialism. It will deal with the meaning of Pan-Africanist thought and practice as a phenomenon that evolved in response to European ideas of superiority and acts of imperialism.

CHAPTER THREE

PAN-AFRICAN THOUGHT AND PRACTICE

3.1 Introduction

At any moment, depending on
internal and external factors
determining the evolution
of the society in question, cultural
resistance (indestructible) may take
on new forms (political, economic,
armed) in order to fully contest
foreign domination. (Cabral 1973: 40)

It was under the auspices of Pan-African thought and practice, which engulfed Africa and its people in the Diaspora early in the 1900s, that the situation of the socio-cultural, political and economic subjugation and domination of Africa by Europe was vehemently intellectually and politically challenged. Actually “by the end of the nineteenth century the former slaves began to understand what had happened to them and from the Caribbean the concept of Pan-Africanism was born” (Clarke 1991: 100). Furthermore, the fact that Africa, not because of its own doing, was not making progress and that its people continued to be amongst the wretched of the earth became a cause for concern amongst a nucleus of African intellectuals in Africa and the Diaspora (Pheko 1999: 10).

As it has already been clearly demonstrated in the previous chapter, for the total suppression and domination of the African personality in all its forms and content, European imperialists employed various strategies that were all intended to depersonalise and empty the former of its religious and cultural heritage. In the following definition

Cabral (1973; 40) aptly captures the significance of culture as a tool for self-definition and self-reliance when he notes that:

...culture is always in the life of a society (open or closed), the more or less conscious result of economic and political activities of that society, the more or less dynamic expression of the kinds of relationships which prevail in that society, on the one hand between man (considered individually and collectively) and nature, and, on the other hand, among individuals, groups of individuals, social strata or classes. ... [It] is simultaneously the fruit of a people's history and a determinant of history, by the positive or negative influence which it exerts on the evolution of relationships between man and his environment, among men or groups of men within a society, as well as among different societies.

What this implies is that, as part of the strategy to dominate the world-view and behaviour of the African personality, European cultural imperialism alienated and dislocated the people of African origin and descent from their own tools of self-expression as people in relation to others in the universe.

Therefore, the explicit purpose of this chapter is to record and analyse pro-African heritage strategies that can be identified from existing Pan-Africanity literature (since the late nineteenth century). The main objective here is not to deal with the detailed facts about the historical development of Pan-Africanism movement per se. Rather, it is to identify those crucial factors that actually contributed to the birth of the idea of Pan-Africanism as a socio-cultural movement, and to show how effectively the thought was utilised by the people of African origin and the Diaspora to respond to acts of slave trade, European imperialism of Africa and racism that accompanied the latter in all its forms. In the main the objective is to capture the essence of Pan-African thought and practice, meaning its philosophical implications, and thus locate it within the discourses that represent the quest for self-determination, self-expression and self-definition by African

communities. The aim is to establish how the thought provides better understanding of the concept of the African Renaissance and its significance for Africa's development in the 21st century.

What is important in this exercise, especially in the "African Century" and its complexities of the global village, is to note the fact that Pan-African thought is "...but one instance of a universal phenomenon, which takes different forms according to time, place and historical setting" (Geiss 1974: 6).

3.2 A brief survey of factors that contributed to the development of Pan-African concepts

In essence, as it is apparent from the writings of its first proponents, the idea of Pan-Africanism was intended to challenge the main activities of European imperialist domination, namely, the slave trade, European colonisation of Africa and racism (Thompson 1969: 3). These activities were at their height in the late 19th century. In actual fact, as Prah (1997: 24) indicates, one of the largest single factors that contributed to the ultimate task of the conceptualisation of the idea of Pan-Africanism by African intellectuals such as William Edward Burghardt DuBois (1940, 1963, 1964), Joseph Casely-Hayford (1911) George Padmore (1956), Alex Quasion-Sackey (1963) and others, was the Berlin Conference of 1885, at which Africa was carved up and apportioned amongst European powers without her consent.

At this stage it needs to be mentioned that it is rather interesting to note that amongst factors that provided foundations that developed the meaning and content of Pan-Africanist thought was the education that Africans gained from the countries of their colonisers and exposure to ideals of equality and civil rights that some of the first exponents of the ideology experienced in Europe and North America. In this relation Geiss (1969: 5) asserts,

Pan-Africanism is thus predominantly a modern movement. It is the reaction of the most advanced, most intensively Europeanised Africans and Afro-Americans to contact with the modern world. Its representatives have been African or Afro-Americans who in many cases have had an academic education in Europe, America or West Africa, or who were exposed for a long time to modern influences in their own country. They embraced the European and North-American principles of equality and democracy and on this basis elaborated their own ideology of emancipation from White supremacy.

From the preceding argument it can be concluded that theoretically the Pan-Africanist thought was intended to be a counterpoint to the cultural and psychological effects of colonialism and Western racism.

3.2.1 The slave trade and the experience of slavery

The idea of Pan-Africanism as a protest movement by people of African descent and the African Diaspora against European colonisation of Africa can also be understood clearly in terms of the practices of the slave trade and the abolitionist movement to which it gave rise (Giess 1974: 16).

As already indicated in the preceding chapter, the wars in Africa that emanated from slave trading due to the demand by European and American capitalists led to a state of instability. "As the trade gathered momentum the instability grew." As a result "the West African scene down to Congo ...became a theatre of war for capturing slaves" (Thompson 1969: 4). The reality of this barbaric and selfish activity was such that "...the slaves produced wealth for the European and American world – wealth which laid foundations of European economic prosperity," and "Africa in turn received nothing that contributed to growth either economically, politically or culturally" (Thompson 1969: 4). This marked the beginning of the exploitation and underdevelopment of Africa, which are still being felt today in the 21st century and its globalisation processes.

From the very beginning of the operations of slave trade, resistance and protest against the degradation of Africa and its people took various forms. "Africans transported across the Atlantic to Western plantations were unwilling victims of circumstances beyond their control" (Thompson 1969: 4). Alluding to the same factor Geiss (1974: 8-9) points out,

along the same routes taken by 'goods' which made the slave trade profitable – in particular the slaves themselves, who were treated as chattels – there travelled ideas which from the late eighteenth century onwards were to make Pan-Africanism a political force – at first unconsciously, but later knowingly.

This denotes that the three points of transatlantic slave trade [Western Europe, (specifically England), Africa (specifically West Africa) and the New World [meaning West Indies and USA)] became the centres for the resistance and the intellectual development of the Pan-Africanism ideology. What Geiss (1974: 8-9) implies here is that from the earliest struggles against slave trade and the experience of slavery itself

traditions developed that led to the Pan-Africanism ideology. The language of the abolitionist movements also formed the background to Pan-Africanism in its broader sense.

3.2.2 European colonisation of Africa

The forcible and dehumanising acts that characterised the occupation of Africa by Western European powers was not a walkover as it appears in some of the literature on the subject. As a matter of fact “having partitioned Africa [at the Berlin Conference in 1885], the Western European powers found themselves confronted with the problem of pacifying the people whom they had brought, or attempted to bring, under control” (Thompson 1969: 12). Here it needs to be mentioned that, “before the period of colonial expansion ... Europeans were not concerned with territorial annexation.” Instead “they only wanted cheap labour for their New World colonies, and as Africa provided a vast reservoir of slaves, the whites bought blacks and transported them to the Western Hemisphere” (Padmore 1956: 76). What actually led to the interest in Africa, especially in the latter part of the nineteenth century, was the stiff economic competition among the Western powers, which in turn gave rise to imperialistic expansion (Padmore 1956: 76).

The process of occupying Africa, which was formalised at the Berlin Conference, was humiliating to the people of Africa in that the continent was turned into “... a mere pawn in European diplomacy, and her people, the defenceless victims of unregulated exploitation” (Padmore 1956: 76). This became unacceptable to people of Africa and the

Diaspora, and resistance to European colonisation of Africa manifested itself "...in various forms: political, cultural, religious and even economic, including opposition to forced labour" (Thompson 1969: 12). One of the examples of these acts of resistance against European colonisation of Africa became the rise of Ethiopianism in Southern Africa, which represented a religious resistance. In this relation Geiss (1974: 134) notes that:

around 1900 an ecclesiastical emancipation movement termed "Ethiopianism", got under way in Africa, in partial liaison with Afro-American churches in the USA and based upon psalm 68: xxxii. Religious pathos reinforced the claim to political equality; for this reason Ethiopianism and the African churches form part of the historical background of Pan-Africanism and also comprise of its substance.

Quoting Psalm 68 verse 32 ('Ethiopia shall soon stretch her hand unto God') and regarding Ethiopia as synonymous with Africa, Afro-American intellectuals and theologians, such as James W.C. Pennington and Henry Highland Garnet, argued that the passage is a biblical prophecy that Africa would ultimately be redeemed (Geiss 1974: 132). The concept of Ethiopia had a liberating element in that amongst Pan-African exponents it was used as a symbol for the demand for equality.

3.2.3 Western racism

In an endeavour to address the demons of racialism and the destructive behaviour patterns (namely, inferiority complex for the victims and superiority complex for the perpetrators) that became its manifestation, Africans and persons of African descent developed a race consciousness which leaders of the Pan-Africanism movement

employed to unite people together (Thompson 1969: 18). A clear understanding of the meaning and the implications of racism in this context is necessary. Prah (1997: 82) describes racism as:

A power relationship; a social and ideological construction which raises superficial biological attributes to objects and markers for social and economic domination or subordination.

The above-mentioned situation predetermined the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised. A closer look at the processes of European imperialist colonial domination of Africa and its people in general reveals that colour has always been conveniently used as an instrument of subjugation and exploitation. In this regard Prah (1997: 2) observes that,

while this exploitation and oppression has been primarily economic, the myth of race and colour has been the language for defining and justifying this practice.

3.3 The meaning and content of Pan-African thought and practice

As a phenomenon that evolved out of a situation of anomaly – whereby African people were expected to derive their identity from being a negative image of others - “it is difficult, perhaps even impossible, to provide a clear and precise definition of Pan-Africanism” (Geiss 1974: 3). This can be ascribed to the fact that the Pan-Africanism movement as a vehicle of protest that accommodated diverse dehumanising experiences of people of African origin and descent it has no single founder or particular tenets that can be used as a definition (Ackah 1999: 13).

However, from the notions that were advocated by the first proponents of the thought and from ideas that floated around in the late 18th and 19th centuries, in an attempt to capture what constituted the form and content of what represented the core of the meaning of the Pan-Africanism ideology, Geiss (1974: 3) explains the thought as a complex phenomenon that was at that time understood as:

1. "Intellectual and political movements among Africans and Afro-Americans who regard or have regarded Africans and people of Africa as homogenous. This outlook leads to a feeling of racial solidarity and a new self-awareness and causes Afro-Americans to look upon Africa as their real 'homeland', without necessarily thinking of a physical return to Africa"
2. "All ideas which have stressed or sought the cultural unity and political independence of Africa, including the desire to modernize Africa on a basis of equality of rights. The key concepts here have been respectively the 'redemption of Africa' and 'Africa for Africans'."
3. "Ideas or political movements which have advocated, or advocate, the political unity of Africa or at least close political collaboration in one form or another."

According to Thompson (1969: 38), considering the factors that led to its birth as a socio-cultural movement of a people who were fighting to assert themselves in a world that was hostile to their existence, Pan-Africanism may be seen as an idea that:

... was concerned not only with protest but also with fashioning of a coherent philosophy which would enable the African as well as 'Negro' man not only to enhance his material welfare but to elevate him from the centuries of humiliation which has been his lot and thus enable him to re-establish his dignity in a world this has hitherto conceded him none.

From the quotation above it can be safely concluded that as an alternative vision to dominant European vision the aim of Pan-Africanism thought and practice was and still is "... to exalt African history and rediscover the African personality that had been subjugated under European domination" (Ackah 1999: 12). From a radical position, which is identified with people such as Dr Motsoko Pheko in the South African context, Pan-Africanism thought can be understood as a "...movement by Africans for Africans in response to European ideas of superiority and acts of imperialism" (Ackah 1999: 12).

Similarly, gleaned from the literature that evolved from the first conference in London in 1900 and the ones that followed, Prah (1997: 81) describes Pan-African thought and practice as,

...an ideology for the emancipation of African people or people of African descent, on the continent and in the Diaspora. It has never been espoused as a credo for the domination or political exclusion of non-African peoples. In this respect, it differs radically from the *Herrenvolk* ideas of Hitlerian Germany, the Baaskap Philosophy of Apartheid, or sentiments which inform the myth "Britannia Rules the Waves".

In his analysis and description of the evolution of Pan-African thought and practice, Ackah (1999: 13 – 14) asserts that "the experience which is understood as black and its political manifestation, in a broad sense ...is better understood in terms of a thematic approach." He argues that these themes are what "...encapsulate the social and cultural aspects of black experiences over time as well as more widely known economic and political aspects of Pan-Africanism" (Ackah 1994: 14). The four themes that can also be said to have contributed in the conceptualisation of Pan African thought and practice are:

- i. *Pan-Africanism: A Universal Expression of Black Pride and Achievement:* In a process to subjugate and dominate people of African origin and descent European imperialism alienated and marginalized African cultural heritage. As a result, specifically during the epoch of transatlantic enslavement, people of African descent deemed it right to "...defend black culture and propagate the notion of a distinct black contribution to humanity and civilisation" (Ackah 1999: 14). Two of the chief exponents of the notion of black pride are the Negritude poets, Aime Cesaire and Leopold S. Senghor. Around 1934 Cesaire and Senghor found a journal of their own, named *L'Etudiant Noir*, which they used as a vehicle to propagate their literary conception of Negritude – "the stress on all African elements, especially the cult of Black womanhood, the rejection of modern civilization of the wild African landscape" (Geiss 1974: 319). Senghor (1970: 179) argued that, "Negritude is nothing more or less than what some English-speaking Africans have called the African personality." In South Africa the notion of Negritude was expressed through the Black Consciousness Movement that was led by Steven Bantu Biko (Ackah 1994: 14). Biko (1978: 91-92) explained the Black Consciousness ideology as "...an attitude of mind and a way of life, the most positive call to emanate from the black world for a long time," which in essence is about the "...realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers, around the cause of their oppression – the blackness of their skin - as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude."

- ii. *Pan-Africanism: A Return to Africa by people of African Descent Living in the Diaspora*: As a way of protest against the merciless shipment of people of Africa to Europe and the Americas Martin R. Delaney, who was "... no mulatto but the first full-blooded Negro among the Afro-American leaders in the USA," (Geiss 1974: 87), started a movement that encouraged people of African descent in the Diaspora to return to Africa. What set Delaney apart was the fact that, "in contrast to most of his coloured fellow-countrymen he was proud of his black complexion and for this reason he always rejected vehemently the doctrine of the inferiority of the coloured people" (Geiss 1974: 87). Between 1831 and 1832 he visited Africa, which he referred to as "the land of my ancestry," and "two years later he published his call for Afro-Americans to emigrate from the USA" (Geiss 1974: 88). Though the National Emigration's re-emigration project was not a success it was of historical significance in that amongst other things, "it also produced the clearest and politically best-founded statement of Pan-African ideas to be made during the nineteenth century."

- iii. *Pan-Africanism: A Harbinger of Liberation*: The brutal occupation of Africa by European powers, especially after the Berlin Conference in 1885 became totally unacceptable to the people of African descent and a host of their intelligentsia. This epoch was characterised by activities of physical exploitation of Africa accompanied by the ideological torture of racism. "It is no small wonder therefore that given a history of such awful treatment that the

clarion cries of freedom and liberation have echoed throughout the recent history of black experience” (Ackah 1999: 16). One of the chief exponents of this expression was Frantz Fanon whom Ackah (1999: 16) describes as “the revolutionary Pan-Africanist, from Martinique”- who took the liberation call personally to heart and to show his commitment he became physically involved in the struggle to end colonial rule by the French in Algeria just after the Second World War.

- iv. *Pan-Africanism: The Political Unification of the Continent*: Closely linked to the theme of the liberation of the African continent is the clarion call for the “...unity [of Africa] in the form of political and economic unification, [which] became the theme of Pan-Africanism” (Ackah 1999: 17). Kwame Nkrumah became the chief exponent of this expression, “he believed that the only way to resolve the problems of imperialism and neo-colonialism in Africa was the form of unitary socialist government’ (Ackah 1999: 17). This expression gave birth to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Ackah’s (1999) thematic description of the Pan-African thought and practice shows that the meaning and content of the concept was shaped mostly by historical events that confronted the people of African origin and the Diaspora. This means the fight against European imperialism and racism was the propelling force in the evolution of the Pan-African movement.

Due to its complexity as a thought that emerged as an emotional, political and intellectual response of the African to the European colonisation of Africa and racism that accompanied it, Pan-Africanism is/can be defined in both a narrower and broader sense. In the narrower sense the definition of the ideology is limited to a political movement for the unification of the African continent, and “the broader definition includes cultural and intellectual movements, even those that aim at a wider solidarity, i.e. anti-colonialism or Afro-Asianism” (Geiss 1974: 7). “In essence Pan-Africanism is a movement by Africans in response to European ideas of superiority and acts of imperialism” (Ackah 1999: 12).

3.3.1 The broader meaning of Pan-African thought and practice

In its broader sense the Pan-Africanism ideology can be traced as far back as the close of the 18th century - a period that is regarded as the pre-history of the movement. With the founding of the church that became known as the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1816, an African-American by the name of Richard Allen and his followers in the city of Philadelphia, planted the first seeds that laid the foundations for Pan-Africanism thought (Geiss 1974: 34). “The name ‘Africa’ expressed the need to emphasise solidarity with Africa. It was an expression of Africanism” (Thompson 1969: 8). The founding of the church represented an attempt at self-assertion by people of African descent in the Diaspora. Later the church spread as far as Africa. The preachers and bishops of churches that followed the African Methodist Episcopal church’s example became the first Afro-American intellectuals who wrote polemical treatises against the defence arguments of racial inequalities that were purported by slave masters (Geiss 1974: 34)

The idea was intended to eradicate negative notions about the African personality that existed and as such formed the foundations upon which strategies of socio-cultural and economic underdevelopment of Africa and European racism were and still continue to be based. European racism as an ideology was used as an excuse for the dehumanisation of the African people and the socio-economic underdevelopment of Africa as a continent. The following is an example of one of the depersonalising caricatures of the African personality that prompted African intellectuals to respond:

The European was described as "light, lively, and inventive" while Africans were considered to be "cunning, slow, and negligent [emphasis mine] (Prah 1997: 77).

Notions such as this, which are basically about socio-cultural power-relationships, were employed by some of the distinguished European philosophers as a means to perpetuate and rationalise the practice of slavery and colonial subjugation of Africa and its entire people in the world.

As an idea that "stands for the economic, technological, social and political ... [development] ... of a whole continent" (Geiss 1974: 5) the broader meaning of the Pan-Africanism ideology is crucial in this study in that it helps in the understanding of the meaning of the concept of the African Renaissance as another counter-hegemonic idea within the context of the continuing struggle against European colonial domination even in its new guises in the 21st century.

3.3.2 The narrower meaning of Pan-African thought and practice

Pan-Africanism thought in the narrower sense can be specifically identified with both the first Pan-Africanism conference in 1900 and the two distinct conferences which were held both in Accra in 1958 (Thompson 1969: 24; Pheko 1999: 10). The latter were distinct in that they were the first conferences to be held on African soil and as such signified the Pan-Africanism movement's second phase in its historical and intellectual development. The meaning of this is that Pan-Africanism in the narrow sense can be categorized into two epochs: the period of the Western 'Negro' contribution that was marked by the London conference, and the period of African involvement that can be identified with the Accra conferences (Thompson 1969: 27).

3.4 The first Pan-African conference of 1900 and its significance in the ideological development of Pan-African thought and practice

The sitting of the Pan-African conference in London, from the 23 to 25 July 1900, was the first ever held to propagate these ideas, and it was attended by a small group of men and women who were "... Africans and Afro-Americans from the New World, who met to discuss the position of their respective groups and the defence of their interest" (Geiss 1974: 176). The idea of such a meeting was the brainchild of Henry Sylvester-Williams, who was a West Indian barrister. "As a barrister in London he represented the interests of African tribal chiefs, mainly over land disputes" (Geiss 1974: 176).

“This conference was the beginning of a structural, ideological concept of Pan-Africanism,” precisely because “at this conference [the people of African origin and descent] did not ask for freedom”. They actually “... asked for a means of preparing African people to enter the modern world” (Clarke 1991: 105). Thus it is maintained that this conference marked the launching of the first phase of the Pan-Africanism movement in the broader sense – “...a period of nationalist gestation in Africa when ideas were being evolved by African, Afro-American and Afro-West Indian intellectuals” (Thompson 1969: 27).

As Thompson (1969: 24 – 25) points out, amongst other things this conference aimed at the following:

1. to act as a forum of protest against the aggression of white colonisers;
2. to appeal to the ‘missionary and abolitionist tradition of the British people to ‘protect Africans from the depredations of Empire Builders’;
3. to bring people of African descent throughout the world into closer touch with each other and to establish more friendly relations between the Caucasian and African races;
4. to start a movement looking forward to the securing of all African races living in civilized countries, their full rights and to promote their business interests.

It is clear from the above that the conference represented the first organised efforts outside of Africa to protest against Western European domination and degradation of the African people. The desire for the unity of Africans and peoples of African descent was

clearly expressed. In essence “the meeting put the term ‘Pan-African’ into circulation and stressed the need for equity between the races” (Gann and Duignan 1967: 91).

In an attempt to bring the situation of the people of African origin and descent to the attention of the whole Western European world, Pan-Africanism ideologists, such as the then President of the Pan-African Association, Bishop Alexander Walters, General Secretary, Henry Sylvester-Williams, and Chairperson of Resolutions Committee, W.E.B. Du Bois formulated a statement which stressed that:

In the metropolis of the modern world, in this the closing year of the nineteenth century, there has been assembled a congress of men and women of African blood, to deliberate solemnly upon the present situation and outlook of the darker races of mankind. *The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line, the question as to how far differences of race – which show themselves chiefly in the colour of the skin and texture of the hair – will hereafter be made the basis of denying to over half the world the right of sharing to their utmost ability the opportunities and privileges of modern civilisation* (emphasis mine) (Thompson 1969: 26)

Though this appeal is said to have not had any effect on European imperialists at the time (Thompson 1969: 26) it is still echoing today, precisely because it addressed a practise and behaviour that continues to polarise the human world-view and relations along race and colour, rich and poor. From the above-mentioned statement it is clear why most of the problems of Africa that are related with underdevelopment are always linked to European advancement and prosperity.

3.5 The role that W.E.B Du Bois played in shaping Pan-African thought and practice after 1900

In the list of names of African-American intellectuals who attended the first Pan-African conference in London in 1900 was that of Dr W.E.B du Bois, who was known and recognised as “an Afro-American leader, journalist, historian and sociologist” (Geiss 1974: 233). Earlier on, in 1897, he is reported to have made a statement to the effect that, “if the Negro were to be a factor in the world’s history it would be through a Pan-African movement” (Legum 1962: 24),

Considering this pronouncement it will be right to conclude that for Du Bois the first Pan-African conference meeting was a dream come true and a step-forward by people of African origin and descent in their struggle against European colonialism and racism. Like a prophet of old, at the first Pan-African conference he declared that:

The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line – the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea (Legum 1962: 25).

This statement has been echoing throughout the decades until today, in the 21st century. Personally, for Du Bois the conference had an immense influence on him to an extent that “three years after attending the London conference, in 1903 he broke [ties] with the then hero of Negroes and of white Americans, Booker T. Washington” (Legum 1962: 25). Du Bois is said to have differed fundamentally with Washington in that he had a problem with the leadership of the latter which in his eyes “...was based on counsels of moderation, patience, education and hard work which he offered as the recipe for Negro

advancement” (Legum 1962: 25 - 26). As a person whose thinking was most of the time dominated by his colour, contrary to Washington’s ‘moderate’ ideas, Du Bois “...preached the need for an open and vigorous struggle to win equality of rights” (Legum 1962: 26). In this connection, Geiss (1974: 211) writes that:

The modern civil rights movement in the USA developed out of this conflict between the moderate conservative wing [represented by Washington], which was ready to accept the long-term subjugation of Afro-Americans, and a militant wing [represented by Du Bois] which revolted against this prospect.

However, the difference in ideas and strategies between Washington and the Afro-American Du Bois was nothing compared to the strong and fierce opposition between the latter and the Afro-Jamaican Marcus Aurelius Garvey. Concerning the opposing personalities of these two leaders Thompson (1969: 42) explains that:

The differences in their upbringing coloured their outlook. The one was a scholar and university don, the other a mass leader, largely self-taught; the one a retiring figure, the other a showman and great orator; the one diplomatic in his approach to his people’s problems, the other a vociferous and daring character.

The two leaders did not only differ in their personalities, they also radically stood opposed to one another in their objectives on how the colonised and oppressed should deal with their situation of suppression and domination by their colonisers and oppressors. On the one hand Du Bois:

limited his aim to securing for Africans the right of participation in the governments of their respective countries or the application of the mandatory or trusteeship system where the people were deemed unready for self-rule, he also advocated eventual self-rule (Thompson 1969: 42).

On the other hand, standing radically opposed to Du Bois, Garvey in his objectives and programme of action is reported to have:

sought to unite all Africans the world over, to establish a bridgehead on the continent of Africa from which to fight colonialism and weld the whole of Africa into a united nation (Thompson 1969: 42).

Among other things in his strategies Du Bois "...aimed, through appeals to the colonial powers and the nations of the world (represented in the League of Nations), to bring the plight of black folk everywhere under serious consideration" (Thompson 1969: 44).

3.5.1 The Du Boisan Congresses between 1919 and 1927

Following the first Pan-African conference in 1900, between 1919 and 1927, Du Bois organised four Pan-African Congresses that became known as the Du Boisan Congresses, and as such marked the First Phase of Pan-Africanism. The congresses are:

- i. The First Pan-African Congress: Paris (1919);
- ii. The Second Pan-African Congress: London, Brussels and Paris (1921);
- iii. The Third Pan-African Congress: London and Lisbon (1923); and
- iv. The Fourth Pan-African Congress: New York (1927).

Thompson (1969: 55) indicates that, the first and the second congresses showed promise for "the growth of the Pan-African idea," but the following last two are reported to have been "...disappointing and revealed a diminution of its forces." These congresses characterised the first Phase of the Pan-African thought and practice which had its shortcomings in as far as the chief objective of Pan-Africanism is concerned.

The first congress was held from the 19 to 21 February 1919, and on its conclusion it adopted a lengthy resolution which nowhere addressed itself to Africans' right to independence (Legum 1962: 29). In addition, its notable shortcoming is that it failed to address the crucial question of holding subsequent congress as an aspect that was important for the life and work of the Pan-African movement as a movement that had as its programme the dismantling of colonialism (Geiss 1974: 240).

In as far as the second congress is concerned Geiss (1974: 242-243) notes that it:

...met in several sessions, first in London and then in Brussels and Paris, the composition varied accordingly. In London Anglo-American and Afro-American elements predominated; in Brussels and Paris a francophone element was added, this led to acute tensions and eventually to virtual schisms.

Generally, linked to the Pan-African idea, among other things the congresses were held for the purpose of maintaining the continuity of the Pan-African movement, the unity of the people of African origin and descent. Unfortunately the congresses could not rise to these challenges. In addition, in terms of their chief objective, namely, self-determination of the people of African origin and descent, they achieved nothing substantial until 1945 (Thompson 1969: 56). In fact, "the tangible results of the congresses were meagre and their impact slight in every respect," and looking at their outcomes one thing certain is that "they did not develop a clearly defined self-sufficient concept which might have helped to give Pan-Africanism greater intellectual discipline" (Geiss 1974: 258). One of the factors that contributed to the movement's failure to achieve its chief goal was the fact that it was mainly confined to intellectuals and this rendered its arguments rigidly rationalist (Gann and Duignan 1967: 91).

Given the fact that the four congresses, of the First Phase of the Pan-African thought and practice, became associated personally with his name and somehow represented the vision that Du Bois had on the agenda of the Pan-Africanism movement Geiss (1974: 25) writes that:

Du Bois missed his opportunity to give Pan-Africanism a rational basis... He was fond of sentimental hyperbole and was almost obsessed with the racial problem - in part, it seems, because his personal pride had been hurt ... Thus Du Bois may be regarded as a typical product of the confrontation between the old and the new, between traditional Africa and the modern world, out of which Pan-Africanism, along with other movements sprang. In this respect, for all his personal weaknesses, he is nevertheless representative of Pan-Africanism and it is no coincidence that Padmore gave him the honorary name of 'Father of Pan-Africanism'.

Nevertheless, the Du Boisan congresses had something to be proud of in that they "...outlived the Garvey redemption movement. The collapse of the latter came on his deportation from the United States of America in 1929," and this meant an end to the Back to Africa movement (Thompson 1969: 54).

3.6 The Fifth Pan-African Congress and the role that George Padmore played to resuscitate the Pan-African idea

Though the period between the last of the Du Boisan Congresses in 1927 and 1944 - regarded as the actual meetings that prepared for the Manchester Congress in 1945 - have no known activities that marked continuity of the Pan-African idea, "... several gatherings were held which, viewed historically, have the appearance of preliminary conferences prior to the congress proper" (Geiss 1974: 356). However, these gatherings

could not in anyway be linked directly to the Pan-African congresses that had been held under the leadership of Du Bois between 1919 and 1927 (Geiss 1974: 356).

Here two examples of such several gatherings mentioned above are considered. The first one is the Paris conference that was organised by Timeko Garan Kouyaute at the beginning of 1934 (Geiss 1974: 356). Kouyaute, a West African and a friend of George Padmore, “after his expulsion from the communist movement, organized a conference to work out a programme on which Africans and Afro-Americans could unite on a worldwide scale” (Geiss 1974: 356). However, in terms of its goal of organizing a congress that will act to bring all Africans together, this conference did not achieve anything of significance, precisely because “...no congress of this kind took place either in 1935 or later” (Geiss 1974: 357).

After Kouyaute’s Paris conference, “on 14 and 15 July 1934, another conference on Pan-African themes took place, this time in London” (Geiss 1974: 357). The main aim of the conference was to address the racial discrimination that confronted coloured workers and students in Britain. This conference was attended by representatives of various and differing organizations that ranged from those that were conservative Pan-Africanists and those that were radical Pan-Africanists and somehow they could be identified with the views of either Du Bois or Garvey (Geiss 1974: 357). Some of the organizations that attended were the West African Student’s Union (WASU), the League against Imperialism, the Ceylon Students’ Union, and the League of Coloured Peoples. Nothing of significance that could be linked to Pan-Africanism came forth in this gathering and in

addition speeches of speakers had nothing tangent as "...they mainly served to impart information" on the situation of racial discrimination of people of African origin and descent (Geiss 1974: 358).

After several attempts by the ageing "Father of Pan-Africanism," Du Bois and other leaders such as, Dr Harold Moody, the Jamaican leader of the League of Coloured People that was described as the conservative component of Pan-Africanism, the Fifth Pan-African Congress assembled from the 15 – 19 October 1945 at the Charlton Town Hall, Manchester, and was attended by over two hundred delegates from all over the "coloured world" (Thompson 1969: 58).

Amongst those who attended, this significant congress that was soon to change the political landscape of colonised Africa, were Africa's young leaders, who were "...a collection of unknowns, soon to win fame, notoriety and power in their own countries" (Legum 1962: 31), namely, Wallace Johnson from Sierra Leone, Obafemi Awolowo and Namdi Azikiwe both from Nigeria, Jomo Kenyatta from Kenya, Hastings Banda from Malawi, Peter Abrahams from South Africa, Ako Adjei and Kwame Nkrumah both from Ghana and lastly, Jaja Wachukwu from Nigeria (Abdul-Raheem 1996: 4).

It needs to be noted here that the meeting of the Fifth Pan-African Congress was in the main made possible by the collaboration of the Pan-African Federation (PAF), which was a federation of several groups that had emerged between 1927 and 1944, and George Padmore's International African Service Bureau (IASB). The leadership of Padmore was

outstanding. He was "...Moody's counterpart on the radical-left wing of Pan-Africanism," and was actually born as Malcolm Ivan Meredith Nurse in Trinidad, in 1902 (Geiss 1974: 350). From the look of the affairs that preceded this last congress to be held outside Africa, and as Geiss (1974: 353) asserts, Padmore as a predominant leader of the Pan-African idea at the time managed to succeed in organising the gathering in that, he

personified several of the historic elements which played an essential role in the development of Pan-Africanism. His career extended to all terminal points of the classical 'triangle' of Pan-Africanism – the West Indies, the USA, Europe and Africa ... With his dynamism and his insistence on intellectual precision and political action he exerted a strong influence upon the young African and Afro-West intelligentsia between 1935 and 1958 – by the strength of his personality, and by means of articles and several books, lectures, contributions to discussions and a wide circle of personal contacts.

It is possible that it was through the advice of Padmore that the organisers of the congress were strategic in that "with due deference to his earlier contribution to the Pan-African movement Du Bois was confirmed as Chairman during the rest of the conference" (Thompson 1969: 58). In a nutshell, the deliberations of the congress,

centred on the grievances of the delegates which they regarded as the direct result of slavery and the colonial system, with their concomitant racism and social insecurity (Thompson 1969).

3.6.1 The results of the Fifth Pan-African Congress and their implications for the continental African's quest

A careful study of the discussions of the Fifth Pan-African Congress reveals that, from the radical resolutions that emerged from the congress floor, for the first time since the First Pan-African Congress in 1927, the distinction became clear between, on the one hand, "African Diaspora's quest for identity", and on the other hand "the continental

African's quest for a sustainable lifestyle" (Ackah 1999: 61). A new breed of African nationalists who attended the congress made it their business to clarify issues. "They rejected assimilation, demanded independence outright, and tried to organize mass movements to secure these ends" (Gann and Duignan 1967: 97). As a result, the aspirations of the continental African became clearly articulated in Kwame Nkrumah's *Declaration to the Colonial Workers, Farmers and Intellectuals*, which in brief emphatically declared that:

against imperialist exploitation the colonial peoples should concentrate upon winning political power, and for this an effective organization was essential. The tactics recommended were strikes and boycotts – non-violent methods of the struggle. The intellectuals in the colonies and the educated elite generally had to play their part in organizing the masses (Geiss 1974: 407).

In terms of the main objective of the Pan-African idea, namely the combating of colonialism, one contributing factor that made the Fifth Pan-African Congress to be successful and a historical landmark was that,

in order that detailed discussion might be facilitated and adequate resolutions framed, the continent of Africa was divided into regions, and apart from broadly general resolutions on the conditions of 'coloured people', local resolutions, which emerged, reflected the peculiar problems of the various regions (Thompson 1969: 58).

The above is an aspect that has been missing in previous congresses that were held between 1919 and 1927. The latter has always been clouded by the 'African Diaspora's quest for identity'. The congress was unique in that when it finally concluded on the fifth day delegates had a feeling that they had participated in a historical event that was a landmark in the history of the Pan-Africanism movement. As Geiss (1974: 408) notes,

it was the first evidence of vigorous self-assertion after an interval of almost two decades; at the same time it gave an impetus to efforts to achieve the immediate goal of national independence (Geiss 1974: 408).

For the first time delegates from Africa went back home with a basic idea of both the philosophical and political framework for their programmes of struggle against continued European colonialism and racism in their various countries.

3.7 The Second Phase of the Pan-African idea and the first two Accra

Conferences of 1958

In addition to the resolutions of the Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester, which had a far-reaching political-will to tackle European racism and colonialism, a number of advantageous factors contributed to the launching of the Second Phase of the Pan-Africanism idea. Amongst these factors was the change in the world climate on the colonial question. As indicated by Thompson (1969: 119),

... change in attitude generally, and especially, within the territories of the colonial powers, gave and added weight to the plea of the colonial peoples in Asia. A curious combination of factors emerged of this attitude. It marked a reversion from the attitude in the preceding era before the [Second World] war when colonialism was more defensible. The Atlantic Charter, by asserting the rights of all peoples to choose the governments under which they would live, prepared the ground for a more vehement anti-colonialism.

The attitude that is described above bore some fruits in that it was accompanied by granting of independence to colonies such as India, Pakistan and Burma in the years 1947 and 1948, and these events became encouraging to African organizations that fought for nationhood and the unity of Africa (Thompson 1969: 120).

The other favourable factor that became a bonus to the launching of the Second Phase of Pan-Africanism became the independence of Ghana in 1957 (Thompson 1969: 119).

With the attainment of sovereign status by this West African country, a message was sent throughout Africa that, “what some had thought impossible had happened; a Negro-African government had come to being determined to assert that Africans could govern themselves” (Thompson 1969: 124).

3.7.1 The transplantation of the Pan-Africanism movement in Africa

After the Manchester Pan-African Congress of 1945 with its powerful resolutions that were intended to totally uproot European colonialism and its racist practices, Pan-Africanism remained in the realm of ideas (Thompson 1969: 126). It was only thirteen years later that the Pan-African political movement landed in Africa in 1958 after Ghana’s independence. The event of the independence of Ghana was of historical significance in that it

removed one of the disabilities under which the [Pan-African] movement had operated in the first phase, namely, the absence of a base from which propaganda and ideas could be disseminated (Thompson 1969: 126).

Legum (1962: 38-39) points out at the time of its transplantation the movement had in its possession a programme of ideas and action, which he summarises into nine points, namely:

1. Africa for the Africans: complete independence of the whole of Africa. Total rejection of colonialism in all its forms, including white domination.
2. United States of Africa: the ideal of a wholly unified continent through a series of inter-linking regional federations within which there would be a limitation on national sovereignty.

3. African renaissance of morale and culture: a quest for the 'African personality'; a determination to recast African society into its own forms, drawing from its own past what is valuable and desirable, and marrying it to modern ideas. Modernism is heavily accentuated.
4. African nationalism to replace the tribalism of the past: a concept of African loyalty wider than 'the nation' to transcend tribal and territorial affiliations.
5. African regeneration of economic enterprise to replace colonial economic methods: belief in non-exploiting socialist or communalistic types of socialism; International Communism is rejected outright.
6. Belief in democracy as the most desirable method of government based on the principle of 'one man one vote'.
7. Rejection of violence as a method of struggle, unless peaceful methods of struggle – Positive Action – are met with military repression.
8. Solidarity of black peoples everywhere, and a fraternal alliance of coloured peoples based on a mutual history of struggle against white domination and colonialism.
9. Positive neutrality (as it was then called): non-involvement as partisan in power politics, but neutral in nothing that affects African interests.

These nine points focused on the situation of colonial Africa and the strategies that could be utilised to dismantle European colonialism and the racism tendencies that accompanied the practice. In addition, the ideas that were expressed became the principles that later were used as ideological framework, by people such as Nkrumah in

his concept of *African Personality* and *Consciencess* (a philosophy and ideology for decolonization), in their struggles against colonialism, and their endeavours to build their nations.

As it shall be demonstrated in the next section of this study the idea of the African personality became one of the main pillars in the process of the revitalization of African cultural values that were eroded by European cultural domination. The first two Pan-African conferences to be held on the African soil were held in Ghana, Accra, in April and December 1958 (Thompson 1969: 126). Eight African governments that were independent at that time, namely, Ethiopia, Liberia, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Sudan and Ghana, attended the April conference. (Geiss 1974: 420). These governments on behalf of Africa as a whole issued joint declarations condemning colonialism and the apartheid system in South Africa (Geiss 1974: 420).

In December of the same year, 1958, the first All-African Peoples' Conference was held. It purposefully linked itself with the Pan-African tradition and as Geiss (1974: 420) points out it was nearly declared the sixth Pan-African Congress.

"The wider implications of the first two Accra Conferences of 1958 ushered Pan-Africanism into the realm of Realpolitik" (Thompson 1969: 126).

3.8 The meaning of the notion of the African Personality or Negritude conception

As already mentioned in the preceding chapter, in the late nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century, Edward W. Blyden was the first to use the term “African Personality” (Thompson 1969: 7). In its modern connotation Dr Kwame Nkrumah, at the first Conference of Independent African States, first used the term in April 1958 (Quaison-Sackey 1975: 75).

In his speech that was intended to prepare the Ghanaian nation for their country’s hosting of the above-mentioned conference Dr Nkrumah declared that:

For too long in our history, Africa has spoken through the voices of others. Now what I have called an African Personality in international affairs will have a chance of making its proper impact and will let the world know it through the voices of Africa’s own sons (Quaison-Sackey 1975: 75).

In this relation the concept represented “the cultural expression of what is common to all peoples whose home is on the continent of Africa” (Quison-Sackey 1975: 75). From the statement that was made by Nkrumah, Quaison-Sackey (1975: 75) maintains that the term African Personality may be understood as both “a concept and a force,”

not as a simple reaction to the colonial past, but as a complex and positive reaction to – indeed, a re-creation of – the distant past, too. For in attempting to rid his continent of foreign and colonial domination, the African is attempting nothing less than the ultimate recapture and reassertion of the dignity of the individual – a dignity which the colonial system attempted to reduce and, in some cases, to exterminate altogether.

What is obvious from the above-mentioned definition is the fact that the concept of the African Personality had as its main objective the decolonization of the mind of the new African in the era of the eradication of the European colonisation of Africa. In addition the concept challenged the practices of racism that accompanied colonisation.

3.9 Conclusion

In this chapter a brief account was given of factors that led to the emergence and evolvement of Pan-African thought and practices, namely, the slave trade, European colonisation of Africa and the racism that accompanied the latter. The people of African origin and descent developed and used the Pan-African idea as a means to confront their situation of socio-cultural, political and economic subjugation and domination by European imperialism. Given the effects of European colonisation of Africa and racism, Pan-African thought and practice are understood here as a vehicle that was used to reclaim African history and rediscover the African Personality that had been subjugated under European cultural domination.

Furthermore, in this chapter the role that was played by African and Afro-American intellectuals such as Sylvester-Williams, Du Bois, Garvey and Padmore is noted. The Fifth Pan-African Congress that was held at Manchester in 1945 has been identified as a historical landmark on the road to decolonization. Kwame Nkrumah played a major role in the transplantation processes of the Pan-Africanism movement in Africa, by making Ghana a home for the movement.

The next chapter will discuss the post-colonial discourse that emanated from the Fifth Pan-African Congress and the first two Accra Conferences of 1958. The latter ushered Pan-Africanism into the realm of *Realpolitik* and provided an ideological framework for the decolonization process of Africa and its people.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE POST-INDEPENDENCE IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE IN AFRICA

4.1 Introduction

For Africa to be politically, formally, independent in a world, built along Western lines and Western philosophical and economic options, that world must be remodelled, reconstructed, so that the interests of diverse communities are in equilibrium (Alione Diop 1967).

This chapter identifies and analyses ideologies that as a result of the impact of the Pan-African thought and practice came to characterise the desire for self-determination, self-expression and self-definition by the people of African origin and the Diaspora. The main aim here is to identify critical and (re)-constructive arguments and strategies that emanated from the Pan-African idea since the late 1950s and were thus used for the process of decolonization in postcolonial Africa. As seen in the preceding chapter, central to Pan-African thinking after the Fifth Pan-African congress in 1945 was the demand for independence and majority rule throughout Africa, and the desire for political unity and co-operation among African countries once they have achieved their right to govern themselves.

As Ajala (1973) asserts “all efforts made between the two world wars failed to arouse significant African participation in Pan-Africanism”, and “this was due mainly to the

political, economic, and social situation, which resulted from the colonization of the continent and its repressive impact on the Africans themselves.” With the aftermath of the Second World War the whole situation changed, and “it was under these changed conditions that the Pan-African Congress of 1945 was held” (Ajala 1973: 105). In this relation, Gann and Duignan (1967: 97) points out that, the Manchester Fifth Pan-African Congress of 1945, which was dominated by young Africans and West Indians, marked the beginning of the road to the decolonisation of Africa and its people.

At the Manchester congress the young African leaders said what was much more radical than anything that was voiced at earlier congresses, namely, 1919, 1921, 1923 and 1927: “all colonies must be free from foreign imperialist control whether political or economic” (Rathbone 1995: 2). From what unfolded after 1945 it is apparent that “the Second World War marked the beginning of the end of the colonial era and its autocratic rule,” in that the act of it on its own “discredited the racist ideologies which had served as the original rationale for the colonization” (Gellar 1995: 154). In a whole the space that was created by the activities of the war helped to heighten “African aspirations for self-government, and seriously weakened the capacity and the will of the major colonial powers to maintain their overseas empires, thereby setting the stage for the era of political decolonization which was to follow” (Gellar 1995: 154).

However, it was only thirteen years later after Manchester, that the first two Accra Conferences of 1958 became a catalyst for the development of ideas that later formed the socio-political framework for the decolonization and economic development processes in

Africa. At the Accra Conference that was held from the 15 to 22 April 1958, in attendance were representatives of eight independent states, namely, Ghana (host), Libya, Ethiopia, Liberia, Morocco, Tunisia, Sudan, United Arab Republic (which consisted of Egypt and Syria). There everyone agreed on the basic principles of the conference, anti-colonialism, anti-racialism and the respect for the personality of the African (Panikkar 1961: 116).

This first Conference of Independent African States was of significance in that “it marked the formal launching of the Pan-African movement on the African soil” (Ajala 1973: 14). Later in the same year, in December, Ghana acted as a host to another conference that met again in the town of Accra, and this one became known as the African Peoples Conference. However, it was different from the April meeting in that it was organised by parties, trade unions and other cultural bodies. As a result it was able to play a much more important role in the awakening of Africa for the simple reason that, as a conference of organisations it was able to issue radical communiqués without being hindered by diplomatic conventions (Panikkar 1961: 115). Once more at this meeting the Pan-Africanists reinforced their desire to see all Africa free and independent. In addition they agreed on the urgent need for the economic development of the continent (Thompson 1969: 129).

Ajala (1973: 18) notes that, opening the conference on the 4 December 1958, Kwame Nkrumah as a life time chairman of the Convention of Peoples’ Party of Ghana (CPP) urged on the delegates that gathered at Accra to remember that before the final objective

of Pan-Africanism could be achieved, four stages had to occur: (a) the attainment of freedom and independence by all colonies, (b) the consolidation of that freedom and independence, (c) the creation of unity and community between the African states, and lastly (d) the economic and social reconstruction of Africa. It became obvious during the various sessions that these stages will need a political framework to guide the young African leaders in their endeavour to decolonize Africa.

A careful examination of the historical background of the evolvement of the Pan-African movement reveals that ideas occupied a prominent place in the hearts of young African leaders (Thompson 1969: 249) as they forged ahead to reconstruct postcolonial Africa and its people. Some of these ideas were held in a rigid manner while others were expounded in a rather flexible approach. The main aim here is to identify and analyse the ideas that were held and used by some of the young African leaders in the late 1950s in the advancement of the Pan-African thought and practice, and the decolonization and (re)-construction processes of their individual countries.

4.2 Some crucial leaders in the Pan-African movement who emerged in the late 1950s and their Ideologies

There are a number of young African leaders who emerged after 1945 and thus became prominent in the Pan-African movement; in fact this concurs with Panikkar's (1961: 44) observation that in the newly emergent states or nation's postcolonial epoch the question of leadership played an important role. Here, in brief, post-independence ideas of five of

those who belonged to a group of exceptional charismatic forces are briefly considered, namely, Leopold Sedar Senghor, Sekou Toure, Kwame Nkrumah, Kenneth Kaunda, and Julius Nyerere. To understand their meaning and implication it is imperative that in the ideas that shall be considered here-under, one should hear the indigenous echoes in postcolonial Africa with its burden of underdevelopment.

Obviously, after the 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress some of the young African leaders who had attended the congress realised the urgency of the need to go back home to lead their people in the struggle to decolonize Africa. For example, in December 1947, returning to his country after spending twelve years in the United Kingdom and the United States of America, while his ship was passing the Statue of Liberty, Kwame Nkrumah through misty eyes is said to have vowed:

“I shall never rest until I have carried your message to Africa” (Kohn and Sokolsky 1956: 31).

Nkrumah was not the only one who had as his mission the demise of colonialism, and was as such determined to use all the knowledge he gained abroad to free Africa and its people from the grip of the socio-cultural and economic grip of European imperialism. Having studied in the metropolitan centres of Europe and the United States of America, the young African leaders such as Leopold Sedar Senghor, Jomo Kenyatta, Julius Nyerere and others had

absorbed some of their ideas, from Greek and Roman philosophers, Bodin, Descartes Voltaire, and Rousseau, Milton, Locke, Hobbes, Burke, and Mill; Marx; Jefferson, and Lincoln (Logan 1962: 48).

In addition to the ideas of the abovementioned European philosophers African nationalists based their Pan-African thoughts upon the first part of the third clause of the Atlantic Charter of 24 August 1941, which among other things emphasised the need for European powers to "... respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they live" (Logan 1962: 48).

Indeed, amongst the many that have been mentioned above, the following four intellectual currents became the main ones that ended up having a great influence on the socio-political ideas of the young African leaders (Apter and Coleman 1962: 86-88):

- i. *Marxist Socialism*: With regard to this trend of intellectual expression three elements attracted the young African leaders in their endeavour to decolonise Africa, (a) the "Leninist identification of the proletarian dimension of socialist thought with the struggle for independence in Africa," (b) "the argument that traditional African culture was basically communal – and therefore socialist – in character" and (c) "the conviction that socialism provided the best ethical basis for a political order combining democratic ideas with strong government" (Apter and Coleman 1962: 87).
- ii. *Ghandian principle of Passive Resistance*: At the Fifth Pan-African Congress that was held in Manchester in 1945 the young African leaders who were in attendance together with others adopted Ghandi's method of Passive Resistance (Geiss 1974: 407). The method of non-violence was appealing to the young African leaders in that, it fortified their moral position and also proved that they were conscious of "...the ever-present reality that any other

type of political action could and would be smashed by the superior power of both colonial and metropolitan governments” (Apter and Coleman 1962: 87).

- iii. *Traditional African Culture*: In spite of the fact that most of them had a European education, which could have alienated them from their African Personality, the young African leaders showed a great appreciation and a respect for traditional African culture. Some of them, like Sekou Toure and Leopold Sedar Senghor, devoted their time making sure that Cultural Pan-Africanism was kept alive and utilised to strengthen the shared symbols and heritage of Africa (Apter and Coleman 1962: 87).
- iv. *Tolerant eclecticism a Character of the Pan-Africanist approach*: As it shall be seen later in this study, though some of the young African leaders differed enormously both ideologically, culturally, and generational, “they also showed an amazing capacity to absorb one another’s ideas and [were] tolerant of one another’s doctrines” (Apter and Coleman 1962: 88).

After independence the principal challenge that confronted the leaders of the new states was that of creating stable political communities capable of achieving its goals (Apter and Coleman 1962: 96). Related to this task the young Pan-Africanists saw as a priority the process of equipping themselves more effectively to be able to defend their independence efficiently. They actually saw as their responsibility the mammoth task of, first, returning Africans to indigenous forms of expression, and second, returning the socio-political and economic control of colonized Africa to Africans (Fontaine 1962: 234). To rise to the challenges that faced them, from the European thought of mainly the

ideas of Rousseau, Marx and Lenin, the young African leaders formulated and developed ideologies through which to launch a programme of the decolonisation of Africa and of African assertion. In all their endeavours they were driven by a strong conviction that “colonialism has not only been a tremendous embezzlement of material wealth but also a tragic sidetracking of African personality toward ideals and roles that have adulterated it” (Ki-Zerbo 1962: 271).

4.2.1 The main features of the young African leaders’ ideas on the concept of Socialism

As already mentioned in the preceding section, in their task to decolonize Africa and their attempts to formulate relevant strategies for the socio-economic development of its nations, the young African leaders chose socialism as an ideology. In socialism as an ideology the young leaders were trying to find an ideology that they could use as an instrument for the socio-cultural and economic reconstruction of postcolonial Africa.

Evidently, the reason for choosing socialism lay in the fact that in this ideology, the leaders identified a characteristic that was going to enable them to repudiate prevailing hierarchies of power and prestige that were associated with colonialism (Apter 1964: 23), and thus reaffirm the values of traditional African culture. In addition, as Apter (1964: 23) points out, among other things, socialism was found to be attractive in that it helped “to define as ‘temporary’ (as a phase in economic growth) the commercial ‘market place’

or 'bazaar' economy," which was prevalent in pre-colonial Africa. Further, explaining their reasons for choosing socialism most of the young leaders argued that,

traditional African life was "socialistic". The individual lived in close interrelationship with other members of his group; he felt a collective concern for his family, extended family, and tribe. In the economic sphere, there were no classes based on capital accumulation, although there were social categories based on functional differentiation – masons, blacksmiths, and warriors, for example. All property was held in communion by the village [emphasis mine] (Adrian 1964: 156).

The emphasis on the reclamation and revitalization of indigenous culture and its institutions was the result of what the young African leaders had experienced. From childhood, they saw how colonialism through its primary vehicles, namely, Western Christian religion, culture and education, undermined and suppressed the cultural development and self-expression of the colonised. For example, the processes of the alienation and marginalization of the African cultural heritage had "resulted in the introduction of new expectations and value systems which diminished the significance of local ties," meaning, contrary to the African traditional culture, European cultural imperialism "emphasized the importance of the individual over the group, encouraged the development of universal norms, and led to an increased emphasis on status resulting from achievement rather than birth" (Martin and O'Meara 1995: 8).

In essence socialism was found to be relevant and of significance in postcolonial Africa in that it provided

a set of unified developmental goals that stress roles functional to the achievement of workmanlike [meaning *an Ubuntu orientated*], rational society in which people extend helping hands to one another because they value highly the processes of industrialization through community effort [emphasis mine] (Apter 1964: 23).

From the foregoing ideas, and probably others that are not mentioned here, evolved a new doctrine that was to be regarded as the only relevant economic system to the situation of postcolonial Africa with its burden of underdevelopment, namely, African socialism. The latter was explained as an ideology and economic system adaptable to African realities and not an imported theory like bourgeois capitalism or Marxist-Leninism (Andrain 1964: 155). In actual fact the young African leaders strongly believed that “neither bourgeois capitalism nor proletarian communism [was] appropriate for Africa” (Andrain 1964: 172). As a result, in their approach they were not concerned with metaphysics as was the case with their European socialists. However, they concentrated on concrete realities that confronted them in postcolonial Africa and developed flexible plans for socio-economic development. What is more, instead of complete nationalization, the young African leaders opted for a mixed economy in their countries (Andrain 1964: 172).

As shall be seen later in this section, in the process of developing a form of socialism relevant to the situation of postcolonial Africa, most of the young leaders focused on the ethical-humanistic principles of Marxist-Leninist socialism, and in this way their theoretical goals placed more emphasis on the satisfaction of simple needs and the welfare of the community more than rapid industrialization (Andrain 1964: 172). One element that distinguished African socialism from European socialism is that

in accordance with [the] more humanistic, less doctrinaire bent, African leaders [dismissed] the relevance to the African situation of the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. For them the real struggle lies between the exploiting colonialists and the exploited Africans (Andrain 1964: 172).

As it is demonstrated in the above-mentioned statement the young African leaders held that contrary to the European capitalist orientated society instead of having social behaviour that is characterised by a conflict of interests, the traditional African communities showed a tendency to evolve together (Panikkar 1961: 62). In actuality, the African in postcolonial Africa showed more interest in racial than economic problems that faced the society, and this means the basic problem in postcolonial Africa is not the domination of class, but to get rid of the cultural, political and economic alienation of the African which had evolved from the activities of colonialism and European racism.

Some of the leaders, like Madou Dia of Senegal, who was President Leopold Senghor's Prime Minister, held that instead of concentrating on how to increase the prosperity of a particular nation, African socialists should make an effort to search for the means of how to secure a more equitable sharing of wealth so that all humanity may benefit (Andrain 1964: 179). In this way the young African socialists were trying to find a compromising position in as far as the Western capitalist economic system (which encourages the accumulation of wealth by individuals for their own benefit) and the African traditional practice (or Ubuntu social ethic, which encourages sharing in the African society) are concerned.

Related to this notion the young leaders had,

hope that socialist intervention will raise the African societies to the level obtained by Western Europe while ensuring the flowering of African culture (Adrain 1964: 179).

As Andrain (1964: 179) notes, for the African socialist the situation mentioned above was a possibility, in that for them economics was not supposed to be treated as an end in itself, rather, as “merely an instrument for building a new African and universal humanism”. As it shall also be seen hereunder, although the young African leaders, through a form of socialism relevant and in harmony with their cultural experience(s) attempted to formulate development programmes, their hopes were doomed to disappointment in the long run, precisely because what they envisaged for the disinherited peoples of Africa “...did not serve the financial interests and the implicit agenda of the socio-economic power structures that had ruled Africa from the onset of the colonial era” (Raphesu 1999: 7).

4.2.2 Leopold Sedar Senghor and his ideas about Negritude, Socialism and Culture

In April 1957 Leopold Sedar Senghor's political activities shifted from Paris to Dakar, where on his arrival he became the President of the first Mali Federation, which through his influence became the vehicle for the political emancipation of Senegal. In 1960 France broke the federation, Senegal became independent and Senghor became its first President (Thompson 1969: 50).

In spite of the fact that he was philosophically grounded in humanism, which blended very well with his Africanism, Senghor viewed the idea of Negritude as a critical instrument of political action. Consistent with this view he held that “cultural liberation is

an essential condition of political liberation” (Thompson 1969: 251). In this way he explained the notion of Negritude as “...an attempt to overcome the double alienation – the cultural and the politico-economic – which [constituted] the African problem” (Panikkar 1961: 42). Further, he used the term Negritude to refer to the distinctive African indigenous culture, which he believed was something shared by people of African origin and the Diaspora, and as such crucial in the decolonisation process. For him the idea of Negritude was something that Africans should uphold, develop, express and offer to the world dominated by European cultural imperialism as part of the universal human heritage (<http://encarta.msn.com>).

More than anything, in an attempt to develop a model of socialism relevant to postcolonial Africa, the socialist humanism that was articulated by Senghor emphasised the need to reconcile the ethical-spiritual, communitarian values of African life and thought with the humanistic appeals of Karl Marx (Andrain 1964: 177). In this relation Thompson (1969: 257) describes Senghor as an African leader who was Negro, French-African and Internationalist, who always stressed the significance of culture as a tool for the emancipation of a people.

Andrain (1964: 177) writes that, in his attempt to explain his ideas of socialist humanism Senghor held that, a close look at the African society,

revealed a communal solidarity, with man at the center of the universe. In comparison with European collectivism, African socialism focuses on the group [rather] than on the individual, more on the communion of persons than on their autonomy, more on the person than on the individual. [Further], while in European societies the individual demands autonomy from the group in order to

affirm his identity, in an African communitarian society the person feels that he [or she] can develop his original virtues only in and through society.

From the above it is clear that in his articulation of an idea of socialist humanism, Senghor, like Toure, focused more on the early humanistic views of Karl Marx, who emphasised ethical, as well as economic redemption in a society riddled and polluted with socio-economic inequalities. Equally important, in agreement with Toure, Senghor regarded the theory of class struggle that was characteristic of the European situation as not relevant to postcolonial Africa in that, “whereas European workers experienced class subjugation, the mass of African peoples [were subjected] under racial domination (Adrain 1964: 178).

Furthermore, articulating his theory of socialist humanism Senghor had as his point of departure the concept of human alienation, and as Andrian (1964: 178) notes he held that

capitalism brought economic, political, and cultural alienation to Africa. In the economic sphere, capitalism alienated man from his work and the products of his labour, it also dehumanised workers. In the political arena, the result was the domination of one country by a foreign power. In the social and cultural realms, one racial group became subject to another; the system of economic and political alienation was thus coloured by racism.

This means the European economic capitalist system and the culture upon which is based was found to be in conflict with the African indigenous practices and its cultural milieu. Consistent with his socialist humanism views, which are clearly captured in the aforementioned observations by Andrain (1964), Senghor’s criticism of capitalism in Africa was based on the fact that being economic system that relied on greed and exploitation, it “neglected human needs and African values,” including “the artistic,

religious, literary, and philosophical values of Negro Africa (Adrain 1964: 180). By linking Africa's economy to European capitalist system of production and distribution colonialism deliberately created a relationship of dependency on the side of Africa. This was allowed to happen in that "the capitalist philosophy of assimilation assumed that only the European incarnated human values" (Adrain 1964: 180).]

4.2.3 Ahmed Sekou Toure and his ideas about African Socialism and the African Personality

Ahmed Sekou Toure born in 1922, at Famah, in Guinea, was one of the young African leaders who were nurtured in the hard school of African Trade Unionism, of which, during his time, acted as the vanguard of anti-colonialism (web.uflib.ufl.edu/cmafrican/sekou.htm). According to Panikkar (1961: 139) after completing his primary education, Toure worked for the company that was known as the 'Miger Francais', which was a subsidiary of the Lever Brothers. It was the experience that he had from this capitalist enterprise that later had an influence on the development of his political thought and practice.

In 1945 at the age of 26 he was elected the Secretary General of the Post and Telecommunications Workers' Union. While active in the organization he devoted his energies to the struggle for the emancipation of Guinea, "and for the creation of an Africa capable of rehabilitating its cultural values and assuming a distinctive personality which could impinge favourably on the world" (Thompson 1969: 263). "As one who has sprung

from the masses his philosophy [was] dedicated to their enhancement,” and this is demonstrated by the fact that after a short stay in Europe he returned to Guinea, where on his arrival he founded the first trade union (Thompson 1969: 254).

With the support of Guinea’s labour movement Toure went to France and Guinea for leadership training, and it was while in these countries that he was introduced to the Marxist theory and communist organisation (Panikkar 1961: 140). In this relation Andrain (1964: 173) asserts that, even though, of all the young African leaders who assumed leadership in postcolonial Africa, Sekou Toure was the most strongly influenced by Marxian socialism and Leninist principles of organization, his political thought did not religiously follow the Marxist-Leninist theories.

Accordingly, Toure was attracted to Marxism because for him it provided a framework for a critique of African economic realities in the postcolonial era (Panikkar 1961: 140). He actually held that “whether an ideology is suitable or not would be judged by Africans on the basis of conditions in Africa,” and as Panikkar (1961: 142) maintains that, Toure wanted to show that he was only interested in Marxism as “a worldview and as a methodology than as a theological doctrine expounded by the initiated” . Thus in his political thought, he emphasized the need to combine Marxism with what he referred to as unique *communaucratic* socialism indigenous to Africa, a social-ethic that encouraged collective living and social solidarity in the postcolonial Africa that was contaminated by European cultural values that supported personal egoism.

Without a doubt, this social-ethic was taken to be in line with the teaching in Africa that “an individual cannot conceive of the organization of his [or her] life outside that of the family, village or clan ([www. revolutionary-history.co.uk](http://www.revolutionary-history.co.uk)). The idea of the combination of the Marxist principle and African indigenous socio-economic practices is what was common amongst the young African leaders. As a matter of fact, as in the case of other young leaders, for Toure, African socialism became a model of socialism that emphasised the integration of the humanistic values of traditional African society and pre-1848 Marxism, and more importantly, the subordination of economics and politics to culture (Andrain 1964: 177).

Like other young African leaders, such as Kaunda and Nkrumah, Toure was eclectic in his approach; as a result, the form of socialism that he professed was a combination of Marxism (identified as scientific socialism) and the traditional pattern. Obviously, most of the African leaders preferred this kind of combination in that it was found feasible. Among other things, it provided a pragmatic form of socialism that was regarded suitable for postcolonial Africa and the needs of its people (Thompson 1969: 265).

In addition, Toure is said to have been a leader in the mould of Nehru rather than of any African leader. Like the latter, he saw a “particular measure, not merely as a piece a of legislation, but as a means of educating the people.” This is due to the fact that in their endeavours both leaders were conscious that they had to deal with the illiterate masses of their fellow country men and women, who had to be treated with respect and with some amount of patience (Panikkar 1961: 141). This is an element that lacked (and still lacks)

in some of the African leaders. Related to measures that impinged on the reconstruction of African communities they were confident that if they took trouble to explain ways and methods of dealing with it, the ordinary people would understand and approve (Panikkar 1961: 141). This is an element that lacked (and still lacks) in some if not most of African political leaders. "The problem according to Toure is one of educating the people". Hence he had "the habit of talking at great length in simple language to the people" (Pannikar 1961: 141).

One of the features of Toure's African Socialism was that central to his development policy was planning that allowed State intervention in everything that affected the life of the nation. In fact, the intervention was regarded as necessary for the creation of a climate in which the population of town and villages can develop normally (Thompson 1969: 266). In contrast, European capitalist economic systems benefited from the tension and inequality that it perpetuated between the two groupings in the social strata. In addition, in his articulation of the concept of African socialism Toure concentrated much on the general political interest, "rather than on a more particular class or economic interest", and this marked his main departure from orthodox Marxian theory (Andrian 1946: 175). Ideas related to this stand were deliberate in that they discouraged any relevance of the class struggle scenario of the European situation to Africa.

Thus it is said that, Toure argued that, "since the instruments of production belonged to society, Africa experienced no class antagonism until the coming of the foreign occupation" (Andrain 1964: 175). Whereas Marx had shown a lack of consideration of

the situation of the peasants and women, who are the most exploited in the social strata, Toure urged the Guinean socialism to be primarily concerned with the peasants, “who comprise 90% of the population” (Andrian 1964: 175).

In 1957 Sekou Toure became Guinea’s first Prime Minister and in the following year he fought for Guinea’s complete autonomy from the French Government of General de Gaulle. Subsequent to this, after the elections of 1961 he became the President (Thompson 1969: 265). Furthermore, Thompson (1969: 265) notes that one element that was clear in Toure’s thinking was that whereas he

advocated [for] African dignity, he did not make anti-Europeanism the pivot of his struggle. Anti-colonialism was not anti-Europeanism except in that the colonialists were Europeans while the subjected people were Africans.

Toure’s stress on the idea of communaucracry showed that he belonged to the school of thought of young Pan-Africanists and African socialists who believed that an economic policy independent of European capitalism and communism was a necessary complement to political independence (Andrain 1964: 175). It was through his persuasion that “in March 1960 Guinea left the French Zone and established its own currency, attempting to guarantee it by natural resources and the human energy of the Guinea people” (Thompson 1969: 265).

For Toure as was the case with Nkrumah, decolonisation meant “...the destruction of habits, conceptions, and ways of conduct of colonialism” (Thompson 1969: 267). Central to his pronouncements on Africa stood the concept of the African Personality, and like the exponents of the concept of Negritude Toure expected African culture to do much

more than inspire Africans. Therefore, he insisted that it should determine the future path of Africa in the process of decolonisation and socio-economic development (Thompson 1969: 268).

4.2.4 Kwame Nkrumah and his ideas about African Socialism and the African Personality

Kwame Nkrumah was born on the 21st September 1909 in Nkroful, in the area of Nzima, at the extreme south-western part of the then Gold Coast, and as Geiss (1974: 368) observes in contrast to some of the most renowned leaders in the history of the Pan-African movement he came directly from the village. As a result “from his childhood onwards, he maintained strong links with traditional society.” The fact that his *village experience* had an impact on him is evident in his later career, especially in his work, *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization*, which elaborately and convincingly explains the significance of African history and culture in the reconstruction of African society [emphasis mine].

Furthermore, Geiss notes that, while a student at the University of Lincoln in the United States of America, Nkrumah studied socialist writings of German political philosopher Karl Marx, German political economist Friederich Engels, and Russian revolutionary leaders Vladimir Lenin (Geiss 1974: 370). Within that context he was also greatly influenced by the ideas of Marcus Garvey who had as one of his goals the unity of all people of African descent in the African homeland, and this was seen later in his use of

Garvey's slogan of 'Africa for Africans' in his campaigns for the political emancipation of the Gold Coast from Great Britain between the years 1948 and 1960 (Thompson 1969: 277).

What is remarkable about this young leader is that, even though the philosophy of Marx and of Lenin impressed him as being best adaptable to the solution of colonialism (Logan 1962: 46), Nkrumah never divorced himself from his traditional cultural experience, and like Toure this is an element that distinguished him having been fundamentally eclectic. As Panikkar (1961: 48) shows, as a result of all these influences in his entire political career Nkrumah portrayed characteristics of a "moderate politician, an African nationalist ... but not a social revolutionary," and this helped him to have an influence on a number of leaders of Africa during his time.

In his articulation of his idea of 'philosophical consciencism', Nkrumah identified three segments in postcolonial African society, which was for him clearly an embodiment of competing ideologies that had negative impact on the socio-economic development processes necessary for the decolonisation agenda (Nkrumah 1964: 68). He identified the first segment as the one comprised of the traditional way of life of African society, the second as the Islamic tradition found in African society, followed by the Western Christian tradition and culture which was known for using colonialism as its primary vehicle in the penetration of African society (Nkrumah 1964: 68). Arguing for a need for a socialist society in postcolonial Africa Nkrumah pointed out that

since society implies a certain dynamic unity there needs to emerge an ideology which, genuinely catering for the needs of all, will take the place of competing

ideologies, and so reflect the dynamic unity of society, and be the guide to society's continual progress (Nkrumah 1964: 68).

In as far as the conflict between African cultural experience(s) and European Christian tradition is concerned, to further make his point Nkrumah argued that the fundamental difference between the two lay in the fact that,

the traditional face of Africa includes an attitude towards man which can only be described, in its social manifestation, as being socialist. This arises from the fact that man is regarded in Africa as primarily a spiritual being, a being endowed originally with a certain inward value (Nkrumah 1964: 68).

Obviously, as Nkrumah argues in the notion above, traditional African culture and tradition stands radically opposed to the Western Christian tradition's idea of the original sin and degradation of man, which was employed in the alienation of the African personality. Moreover, in the idea of the original value of man Nkrumah identified an element which he found crucial in the socio-economic reconstruction of postcolonial African society, in that it imposed duties of a socialist kind, that naturally formed the theoretical basis of African socialism. "This theoretical basis expressed itself on the social level in terms of institutions such as the clan, underlining the initial equality of all and the responsibility of many for one" (Nkrumah 1964: 69).

In line with the process he proposed here-above, in his endeavour to create a new society, different from the one that had evolved out of the competing ideologies underlying the three segments Nkrumah went on to conclude that

with true independence regained ... a new harmony needs to be forged, a harmony that will allow the combined presence of traditional Africa, Islamic Africa and Euro-Christian Africa, so that this presence is in tune with the original humanist principles underlying African society (Nkrumah 1964: 70).

He believed that for the harmonisation of the three segments a new ideology, formulated out of the African conscience confronted with the three segments was required, which was going to solidify a philosophical statement, and that philosophical statement Nkrumah termed philosophical *consciencism* (Nkrumah 1964: 70). In brief, he explained *consciencism* as:

the map in intellectual terms of the disposition of forces which will enable African society to digest the Western and the Islamic and the Euro-Christian elements in Africa, and develop them in such a way that they fit into the African personality (Nkrumah 1964: 79).

In this relation he further explained that the African personality is a phenomenon which in itself is defined by the cluster of humanist principles which underlie the traditional African society (Nkrumah 1964: 79).

Effected by his leadership and his ideology, the Ghanaian nation became “...enthusiastically and earnestly engaged in Nkrumah who sponsored and supported self-help schemes; building schools, clinics, village and town centers, drains and irrigation systems” (www.greatepicbpoks.com).

4.2.5 Kenneth Kaunda and his philosophy of *Zambian Humanism*

Dr Kenneth David Kaunda, the founding father and the first head of state of the Republic of Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia) was born on the 28 April 1924, at Lubwa. In 1953 at the age of 25, he became agitated by the arrogance of the British imperialism that became apparent with the formation of the hated Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

On a bicycle he toured the hinterlands of his country on a mission to mobilise his people. This resulted in the formation of the African National Congress (www.greatepicbooks.com).

After Zambia became independent in 1964, Kaunda saw what he regarded as an intrinsic weakness in the nationalistic ideologies of post-independent Zambia, which was a common element in post-colonial Africa. He argued that there was in Zambia a need for a national philosophy through which development could be directed (van der Merwe 1983: 88). As a result Kaunda formulated and developed a philosophy that became known as *Zambian Humanism* – “an expression of faith in the common men and women and a belief in the non-violent attainment of all goals” (www.greatepicbooks.com).

In a speech delivered at the opening of the University of Zambia, on the 18 March 1966, titled, “African Development and Foreign Aid,” in line with his ideology of *Zambian Humanism* Kaunda declared that,

To my fellow leaders on the continent I would venture to send this message: that our task and challenge is to try and help establish a Government of the people, by the people on the basis of “do unto others as you would have them do unto you” – all the time bearing in mind the application of this to the common man (<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod>).

There is enough historical evidence to demonstrate that the above-mentioned notion was well expressed by someone who was committed to the process of the decolonization of postcolonial Africa and its political stability, but who unfortunately at the end failed to affirm what he set as goal.

4.2.6 Julius Nyerere and his ideas about Ujamaa as a form of African Socialism

Julius Kambarage Nyerere was born in March 1922, in Butiama village, on the east shores of Lake Victoria, to a small “traditional Zanaki tribe of which his father was the chief”. It is this social background that is said to be a factor that later contributed enormously to his social and political thought. In fact, this is clearly seen in his social and political writings which emphasise the significance of the ‘traditional’ African values and the centrality of the ‘traditional’ African family (Stoger-Eising 2000: Online). “At the age of 12, Nyerere started primary education at Mwisenge School, a missionary boarding school that excelled in enforcing Judea-Christian morality” (Mulenga 2001: 448). It is here that for the first time he came into contact with the arrogance of European cultural imperialism.

According to Stoger-Eising (2000: Online) the Zanaki people were a tribal society that practiced a mixed economy, cultivated the soil, kept cattle, goats and donkeys, and lived in homesteads spread over the countryside. Furthermore, amongst them “the right to use land as well as access to resources was determined by the lineage,” meaning the land was communally owned. Essentially, this tribe into which Nyerere was born and socialised was egalitarian and non-authoritarian. This had a lasting influence on his views. As a result he held that “the Tanzania peasantry were natural socialists who had been corrupted by the colonial [capitalist economic] system.” As such “they needed to relearn their natural cooperative patterns, and be taught how to upgrade their skills and

technology so they could take advantage of economics of scale to create more wealth, which would make them better off” (Spalding 1996: Online).

After being elected the first President of independent Tanzania, in an attempt to (re)-construct the postcolonial nation, Nyerere formulated a social philosophy that he called Ujamaa (a Kiswahili term which has no precise European equivalent, closest being ‘familyhood’). It became an idea through which his

aim was to transform the colonial value system that had alienated the African from his past into one group of attitudes based on the African past values and attitudes of self-esteem, co-operation and family or communal wealth. Familyhood is the most fundamental element in the traditional African society (Mulenga 2001: 450).

As it can be seen from this statement, through the Ujamaa philosophy Nyerere was trying to find a socio-economic ideology that was going to be instrumental in the building of what he envisaged as an egalitarian, socialist society. Basically, Nyerere argued that while on the one hand, “...liberal capitalism was efficient at facilitating the creation of wealth,” on the other hand, “it was not good in promoting civilization understood as the growth of every person and the whole person” (Magesa 1999: Online). In his endeavour to formulate and develop the Ujamaa socialism as the socio-political and economic policy that was to be carried out in Tanzania, Nyerere (1964: 67) described African socialism as

the socialist attitude of mind, and not the rigid adherence to a standard political pattern, which is needed to ensure that the people care for each other’s welfare.

This means for Nyerere, that socialism had to do with principles that formed a socio-cultural framework which could be used as a guideline to inform the individuals’ consciousness to aspire for economic fairness in a situation of inequalities that has been

created by European capitalism and its social values. Furthermore, Nyerere explained the idea of socialism as a phenomenon that,

in the individual, as in the society, it is an attitude of mind which distinguishes the socialist from non-socialist. It has nothing to do with possession or non-possession of wealth (Nyerere 1964: 67).

As noted above, as an African rooted in African cultural tradition and values, Nyerere had a problem with the use and value of wealth by an individual within a society, especially in a situation where wealth was used as a means to dominate others in a society. It was for this reason that he described the practice of “acquisitiveness for the purpose of gaining power and prestige [as] unsocialist” (Nyerere 1964: 68). Nyerere’s criticism of the use of wealth as a means for power stemmed from the traditional Zanaki society into which he was socialised until adolescence, in which an individual was not a sole owner but a mere guardian. He argued that “there is something wrong in a society where one man, however hard-working or clever he may be, can acquire as great a ‘reward’ as a thousand of his fellows can acquire between them” (Nyerere 1964: 68). In African tradition the welfare of society more than that of the individual comes first.

Developing his argument for African Socialism or a socialist Ujamaa ideology further, Nyerere (1964: 75) pointed out that

European socialism was born of the *agrarian* revolution and the *industrial* revolution which followed it. The former created the ‘landed’ and the ‘landless’ classes in society; the latter produced the modern capitalist and the industrial proletariat. [emphasis mine].

In this relation, according to Nyerere the main problem with the two revolutions is that they planted the seeds of conflict within a society, and out of that conflict European

socialism was founded. What is more, the apostles of the latter sanctified the conflict into a philosophy. Vis-à-vis tribal socialism he regarded the conflict as a contradiction quite intolerable, precisely because “it gives capitalism a philosophical status which capitalism neither claims nor deserve” (Nyerere 1964: 75). Accordingly, he maintained that, “African socialism, on the other hand, did not have the benefit of the agrarian revolution or the industrial revolution,” nor did it start from the existence of conflicting ‘classes’ on society (Nyerere 1964: 76).

The Ujamaa as a basis for African socialism was the first defining proclamation through which Nyerere attempted to merge the major influences of his life as a Pan Africanist:

The cooperative forces he had observed in tribal life, with their emphasis on a constant search for consensus; the ideal of a Christian brotherhood, to which he had been exposed at school, and the goals of the welfare-state socialism that he had absorbed from British Labour Party teachings while he lived in an Edinburgh housing project (Kaufman 1999: Online).

From the above it is obvious that for Nyerere Ujamaa philosophy was not an exclusively political and economic system dealing with production and wealth, but was also an ideology, “concerned with attitudes in human relationships and social psycho-spiritual growth” (Magesa 1999: Online).

To reinforce and translate into reality the principles that resonated in the Ujamaa philosophy, Nyerere introduced the Arusha Declaration that was delivered on the 5 February 1967, and in fact became his second proclamation (Magesa 1999: Online). As Stoger-Eising (2000: Online) notes, the declaration was “first and foremost a political programme against the accumulation of capital and resources in the hands of a few that,

is, against the development of a class society”, and as such in its goals it “marked the transition from Tanzania’s nation-building-period to its socialist period.”

Mulenga (2001: 452) notes that, the first major objective of the Arusha Declaration was an attempt by Nyerere to demonstrate the importance of the need to understand the connection between the three principles, namely, freedom, development and discipline, in the creation of an egalitarian and socialist society. With regard to the principle of freedom Nyerere is cited as having argued that it “...should be accepted as the foundational principle for synthesizing individual and common interests.” In this way he was discouraging a situation whereby development will be understood as a process of “... providing things to people without a clear ideology to act as an integrating force,” thus “he saw socialist education as a means through which people in society would learn the important values of service for others” (Mulenga 2001: 452).

The second main objective of the Arusha Declaration “... was to provide a framework for the equal sharing of economic wealth and thus promoting economic justice.” To achieve this “Nyerere called for a social organization of economic activities that were conducive to the greater production of goods and services using efficient and effective production techniques and methods” (Mulenga 2001: 452). It was for this reason that through the Arusha Declaration Nyerere nationalised the major means of production of Tanzania, precisely because he “wanted to guarantee basic needs for Tanzanian citizens and to bring material wealth to the masses” (Mulenga 2001: 452).

The third major objective of the declaration was the inculcation of the spirit of self-reliance. Thus it maintained that the two main conditions of development are, (i) hard work, and (ii) the use of intelligence. In this relation “Nyerere argued that it was impossible for people to succeed in building a socialist society without using their own creative abilities” (Mulenga 2001: 452). As Mulenga (2001: 253) further notes, for Nyerere “self-reliance implied the ability to intelligently question the status quo. It meant originality in thought and choosing the correct action.” This meant that in line with the principles that are central to the Arusha Declaration, “if Tanzania wished to build an independent socialist society, she could not rely on foreign loans or ‘international’ aid.”

As can be seen in some of the above-mentioned statements and principles in his effort to (re)-construct Tanzania Nyerere “...selectively chose those African ideas he felt were worth honouring, those values upon which a healthy Tanzania should be based.” He excluded those that could have had unwelcome effects (Stoger-Eising 2000: Online). Conscious of the fact that language is an effective tool for the mobilisation and organisation of a people, for their socio-economic development and unity, Nyerere succeeded in the promotion of Swahili so that it superseded dozens of other tribal tongues to become a true national language (Kaufman 1999: Online). In this connection, as Spalding (1996: Online) notes, the Swahili “language began as a coastal language and became a lingua franca, lowering barriers to travel, interaction and trade, and eventually facilitating nationalist organisation.” The land and the people were regarded as an important resource in the process of the (re)-construction of Tanzania.

4.3 The significance of the idea of political unity in postcolonial Africa

Among other things, in their endeavour to decolonize postcolonial Africa, the young African leaders emphasised the need for unity amongst the former colonies after attaining their independence. With the attainment of independence by many states, followed the desire for the achievement of genuine unity, which was regarded as the precondition for the much needed economic development of the African continent as well as for making the African voice in world politics both respected and effective.

The Second All African People's Conference that took place at Tunis from 25 to 30 January 1960 contributed to the desire for African unity in that, though like the Accra meeting of 1958 it was attended by political parties and trade unions, "...it differed from its predecessor in that it not only paid attention to the political, economic and cultural aspects of Pan-Africanism, but also laid rather more emphasis on African unity" (Ajala 1973: 24).

"With the establishment of the Organization of African Unity, a new era in the course of Pan-Africanism began" (Ajala 1973: 133).

4.4 Conclusion

The main aim of the Pan-African movement was to end the cultural alienation of the African, a process without which the ending of political alienation was regarded as

meaningless and impossible. Related to this notion, the object of the movement was (and continued to be) to form a movement of black people at continental level (Panikkar 1961: 112). This chapter presented a brief overview of the ideas of some of the Pan-Africanist leaders from Africa who emerged after the 1945 Manchester Fifth Pan-African congress and thence went on to mobilize their people in campaigns for independence. Some of these individuals became heads of state of their countries in postcolonial Africa, and as such became confronted with the mammoth task of reconstructing their communities and reclaiming traditional African culture and traditions that had been alienated and marginalized by European cultural imperialism. It was not an easy task, precisely because, in the process of decolonizing post colonial Africa, they needed an ideology that was going to form the socio-economic framework for the reconstruction process.

While studying overseas, some of them came across the writings of Karl Marx, Friederich Engels and Vladimir Lenin who are some of the founding fathers of European socialism. In the ideas of the concept of socialism they found an ideology that was appealing to the situation of postcolonial Africa with its burden of underdevelopment. However, they decided not to import the ideology as it is but to contextualise it to the situation of their experience as African people. Thus the ideas of African socialism evolved. In their articulation of the concept of African socialism, Nkrumah referred to it as philosophical consciencism; Nyerere called it Ujamaa, and in Zambia Kaunda termed it *Zambian Humanism*.

CHAPTER FIVE

AFRICAN RENAISSANCE DISCOURSE

5.1 Introduction

Pan-Africanists' solutions are the only responses capable of offering Africa a way out of the deepening crisis. Such solutions transcend the afflictions of the colonial experience and treat Westernism as an innovational fund, from which is selected institutional inputs adapted to African historical and cultural conditions (Prah 1997: 10-11).

This chapter focuses on the notion of the African Renaissance as a new Pan-Africanism vision in the 21st century, and its meaning and content as a philosophical framework for (re)-construction and development processes, not only in South Africa but in the rest of the African continent. Indeed, the challenge that faces Africa in the new millennium is that of finding strategies of ending poverty and underdevelopment while at the same time contesting the marginalising processes of the globalisation paradigm.

As noted in the previous chapter, Pan-Africanism has been briefly explained as an ideology for the socio-cultural emancipation of the African people, and the expression for the desire for political unity and the economic advancement of the African continent. In fact, the exponents of the Pan-African idea had as their objective the notion that the emancipation, socio-economic development and prosperity of Africa and its people can be achieved through the political unity of the people of the African continent.

Driven by a common aspiration towards decolonisation and liberation, equality and prosperity, African leaders embarked on a mission to establish an inter-African organisation of independent African states. Without a doubt, the creation of the Organisation for African Unity in 1963 became a direct result of the attempt by the then African leaders to find an institutional form for their wish for political unity of Africans within their continent (Prah 1999: 57-58).

However, “the turn of the century and the new millennium presents a timely moment to raise issues which have implication for the longer-term economic and social prospects of Africa” (Prah 1999: 37). This is so precisely because many challenges remain, including poverty, underdevelopment, disease and conflicts in some of the countries of the continent. This then means that, for Pan-Africanism to meet the evolving challenges of the 21st century with its global socio-cultural and economic paradigm, “it needs to go beyond crass reproduction of former views, some of which are today contextually and sociologically irrelevant” (Prah 1999: 700).

What is more, faced with the threat of forced and structurally dependent integration into global markets which are ruled by the law of unequal exchange (Diop 1995: 5), the African continent in particular has the challenge to contest the dominant cultural values and negotiate space for its economic advancement. Globalisation can be explained as a phenomenon that is obviously linked to the European cultural imperialism and the continuing economic marginalisation of countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and as such it can be said to be “...basically the ideology of the international financial

institutions whose interests are fundamentally at odds with national and local interests across Africa" (Moyo 1998: 11).

As predetermined by practices of the European capitalist economic system "the force that drives globalisation is the free market." In as far as this economic system in its modern version is concerned with "the world is a global village," it determines economies in the same way that, in all the villages, the market is the centre of most of the economic activity of the community (Evans 2002: 1). As it is commonly known, one thing about the market place is that in all its core business and its activities "...there are winners, losers, buyers, sellers, and inevitably, beggars who are the downside of all economic systems of production and distribution" (Evans 2002: 1). In the global village's market place, countries of Africa, East Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean and the Pacific constitute the latter group.

To survive from this mesh it is imperative for Africa to strategically retreat into its glorious past with the aim to extricate some of the knowledge systems relevant to the needs of the African people in the 21st century. Essentially, what the notion of the African Renaissance as a new Pan-African vision in the 21st century encapsulates is the opportunity to reframe the Pan-African idea so that it can provide feasible alternatives to make the idea work in the era of the global socio-economic paradigm. As noted by Muchie (2000: 298) "Africa's crises have intellectual, political and economic reasons much of which have been a relic from the incomplete decolonisation of the continent."

Intrinsic to the process proposed by the African renaissance is the fact that Africa's socio-economic development cannot be premised on unbridled cultural borrowings from alienating and marginalizing cultural values and traditions belonging to European imperialism. Most importantly this means "development in a sustainable and meaningful way can only be achieved on the basis of Africa's own cultural usages in consonance with the history and cultures of the people of Africa" (Prah 1999: 60).

Therefore, the main task in this chapter is to critically and practically examine the ways in which the notion of the African Renaissance as a new Pan-Africanism vision could be used to provide the necessary capacity and conditions for sustainable socio-economic development of Africa and its people in the 21st century with its globalisation discourse.

5.2 The meaning and content of the notion of African Renaissance

In this study, which among other things is aimed at identifying the challenges of (re)-construction and development that face not only South Africa, but the rest of Africa in the 21st century, a clear articulation of the content and meaning of the concept of the African Renaissance is imperative.

The term '*Renaissance*' which literally means a rebirth, revival or renewal, was first used to refer to the period in European civilization which took place between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In general, the term *renaissance* identifies "a phenomenon that reflects newness of life, after what may be seen as symbolic death or a state of inactivity;

it is a phenomenon which brings freshness in the political, economic, social, cultural and spiritual realms of human development” (Ojwang 1999: 149).

Also, what is referred to as the European Renaissance was “primarily a time of the revival of classical learning and wisdom after a long period of cultural decline and stagnation” (Britannica Micropaedia 1986: 1019). Another element that distinguished the period that marked the European Renaissance is that it was also an age of adventure and discovery, which led to the discovery and exploration of new continents such as Africa and Asia.

In addition, as has been noted earlier in this study, the activities associated with the discovery and exploration of Africa were later accompanied by the trans-Atlantic slave trade, European racism and the colonisation of Africa. This means the three factors which were the results of European Renaissance contributed to the underdevelopment condition of Africa, precisely because the phenomenon produced the human and technological resources that were later used by the architects of imperialism to enslave and colonise African peoples. Actually, “the institutions established as a consequence of slavery laid the basis for the industrialisation of Europe and the colonial enterprise, which in turn secured the dismantling of African institutions and impoverishment of Africa” (<http://web10.epnet.com/citation.asp?>). In this way Africa as a continent was systematically cast into the margins of the history and the place of the African Personality at the bottom of European intellectual culture and creativity (Magubane 1999: 25).

Considering the situation of subjugation and domination that evolved from the early interaction between Africa and the West, which continues to determine the relationship, between the socio-cultural and economic relations of the dominated and dominant cultures, the notion of the African renaissance as a counter-hegemonic vehicle can be explained as a process that seeks to reclaim and revitalize the African cultural heritage. In this way

it represents the determination of a people to take ownership of its destiny. It is at once rejection and an embrace of the past. It is a rejection of relations of subjugation. It is an affirmation of the dignity of the African in the face of untold hardships (Ohiorhenuan 2001: 40).

What is apparent in the above statement is that in spite of its rejection of relations of subjugation the new notion of the African renaissance is more inclusive in its definition of 'Africa' as a political space, and of 'Africans' as a people who all owe their allegiance to the continent. In other words the African Renaissance call as a tool for socio-cultural change has as one of its objectives the desire to remove "...the lens of cultural hyphenation from all those who are settled in Africa" (Muchie 2000: 303).

From the preceding it is clear that the challenge that faces the exponents of the African Renaissance movement in the 21st century is the

task of designing a renaissance that truly addresses the recovery and renewal of not just her people and their destroyed heritages, but space in which all human beings find themselves in celebration of fulfilled lives (Mugo 1999: 210).

In actuality, this means that while contesting space for a fair existential expression of all human races in the era of post colonialism with its multiple discourses, the notion of the African Renaissance emphasises the need for the African continent to be allowed a

chance to lay claim to its past achievements, which formed part of its identity and history before the trans-Atlantic slave trade, European colonisation and apartheid.

In addition, in his attempt to clearly articulate the meaning and the content of the concept of the African Renaissance, Ntuli (1998: Online), concurring with Ohiorhenuan (2001), points out that the African Renaissance is a process that is aimed at

... the rebirth of the African continent after centuries of subjugation. It is about the redress of knowledge, of correcting negative images inculcated into its people; a people made to believe by systematic Eurocentric education that they had no history (Hegel), or at best they were noble savages (Rousseau).

Linked to this description Ntuli (1998: Online) argues that for the Renaissance project to succeed, in the era in which Africa is faced with the challenges “of postcolonialism with its multiple discourses”, it must introduce a three-dimensional programme of action,

- i. To excavate Africa’s past.
- ii. To examine Africa’s position, and the valiant efforts made by many African and non-African people in reversing the debilitating slide into perpetual chaos.
- iii. To make plans for Africa’s future.

In essence, among other things, Ntuli’s three-dimensional programme of action emphasises the fact that, for the new Renaissance to have an impact on the lives of the ordinary people who belong to the marginalised African communities, it must aim at finding ways and means of capacitating (from their glorious past) Africans to formulate strategies of ending chaos in their continent and eradicating poverty in the 21st century.

At the top of the list that represent a directory of the 'multiple discourses' that dominates the 21st century is the globalisation discourse. As already noted, it is a process that grows out of a situation of asymmetrical power relations in which "the regimes and elites, which possess it, suggest to the powerless that their best and indeed their only choice is to accede to its construct and to the power sustaining it" (Seiler 2001: 40).

Therefore, the central issue of the challenge posed by the African Renaissance movement as a new vision of Pan-African thought and a socio-cultural tool for (re)-construction and development, include the process of "re-centering the history of the African people on themselves on the one hand, and on the other, relating the experience of Africans to the history of humanity as a whole" (Keto 2001: 5). This is of significance in that "when the history of Africans becomes centered, it becomes an unambiguous integral part of world history at the same time" (Keto 2001: 5). In this way the constant negative perceptions of Africa and African people, and the complex historical, political and economic circumstances that account for Africa's current situation of dependency and underdevelopment will be dealt with, precisely because the European ideas of superiority and acts of imperialism will be addressed.

Perhaps the best attempt at explaining the meaning and content of the concept of the African Renaissance is the one that denotes it as a process that entails "...a search for a sustainable guide to Africa's intellectual recovery from its interpellation into discourses that positioned and framed Africa as incapable of formulating its own knowledge systems" (Ntuli 1999: 187). In this way education and training will enable and empower

the majority of African communities to participate in decision aiming processes that are aimed at improving their lives in general and specifically.

As it is demonstrated by the foregoing statements, here the call of the African renaissance as a positive dynamic process, in a century that is characterised by the global socio-economic paradigm of the 21st century, can be interpreted as the African peoples', own reassessment of their own institutions, the revitalization of their cultural heritage with the view of the establishment of total African hegemony over the African continent. As a socio-economic strategy for (re)-construction and development, the African Renaissance call has as its objective to ensure "Africa's participation and competitiveness in the global arena, validating Africa's progress and development in economic, cultural, technological, spiritual, communications and socio-cultural spheres" (Dalamba 2000: 40).

Here it should be mentioned that, whereas the exponents of the call of the African Renaissance regard the process as an important socio-economic tool for the total emancipation and development of Africa, they are also conscious of the fact that "...unbridled and uncritical allegiance to the African past can be an insurmountable obstacle to recognizing and acknowledging those structural and behavioural adjustments necessary for modern times" (Owomoyela 1996: Preface). In the light of all that has been raised here, what can be said is that the African Renaissance project has as its main aim to reclaim and revitalize traditional African cultural experience(s) and practices that are functional and viable in the modern times.

5.3 The burden of Africa's poverty and underdevelopment and the objectives of the African Renaissance in the 21st century

As clearly demonstrated by Rodney (1972), who is cited earlier in this study, it is an undisputed fact that one of the spin-offs of the European Renaissance was the exploitation of Africa as a provider of raw material for the industrialization of European society. From the onset the enrichment of the West was predicated on the impoverishment of Africa and its people. In addition, mechanisms that kept the latter economically dependent on the former were put in place. This means Africa is no stranger to globalization and its dehumanizing effects.

Concurring with Rodney (1972), Cheru (2002: 2) in his impressive work, *African Renaissance: Roadmaps to the Challenge of Globalization*, points out that

Africa has paid a high price for the globalizing policies of rival capitalist powers as they have striven to expand the geographic bounds of capital. Starting with the slave trade in 1650, and continuing under colonial rule after the Berlin Conference of 1885, the continent was heavily drawn into the centres of capitalist accumulation, but always as a subordinate partner whose primary role was to contribute to the development of the metropolitan powers.

Without a doubt, the 21st century with its globalization discourse represents for the African continent and most of the countries of the South (East Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean and the Pacific) an epoch of rapidly rising inequalities (Sutcliffe 2001: 7).

To rectify their “manufactured” situation of poverty and underdevelopment it is imperative for Africans, especially in the 21st century, to have a clear understanding of

factors that contribute directly and indirectly to their predicament. In this relation Brett (1973: 18) explains the term ‘underdevelopment’ as denoting

... a condition of dependence – one in which the [socio-cultural and economic] activities of a given society are subjected to the overriding control of an external power over which it can exert little direct influence.

Furthermore, Brett points out that considering the asymmetrical power relations that is characteristic of the interaction between the strong European and weak African economies one cannot help but conclude that “...underdevelopment is not the original condition of [Africa], but is the product of its [exploitative] relationship with the West” (1973: 18).

In agreement with Brett, Esteva (1992: 7) notes that, in the 21st century, “for two-thirds of the peoples of the world, underdevelopment is a threat that has already been carried out.” Given the implications of globalisation, it means “a life experience of subordination of being led astray, of discrimination and subjugation.”

In the 1960’s, in an attempt to understand the meaning and implication of the concept of underdevelopment amongst countries of the South, Busia (1962: 121), identified the presence of one or more of the following characteristics:

- i. low productivity of human labour, accompanied by low national per capita income;
- ii. the instruments of production which mostly consist of tools rather than machines;

- iii. the majority of the people that engage mainly in agriculture rather than industry;
- iv. the greater portion of the population is found in the rural areas and thus live in villages and small towns rather than cities;
- v. a general high rate of illiteracy;
- vi. both birth and death rates which are comparatively high;
- vii. social structures which tend to be stable and rigid; and
- viii. a little social mobility.

For the same reason, addressing the Third African Renaissance Festival in Durban, on the 31st March 2002, the President of the Republic of South Africa, Mr Thabo Mbeki said the following:

As Africans, we are faced with the urgent challenge of ending poverty and underdevelopment on our Continent. This is a massive task that will take us some time to accomplish (Mbeki 2002: Online).

Having said this Mbeki went on to challenge the people of the continent (especially the poor themselves) to take it upon themselves to answer the question: *what should be done so that Africa's situation of poverty and underdevelopment can be ended permanently?* [Emphasise mine]. However, whilst raising this question Mbeki indicated that he was also aware of the constraints imposed on Africa by “the contemporary global reality,” (Mbeki 2002: Online).

One of the best attempts to explain the meaning of the concept of sustainable development, in the context of, on the one hand, the burden of Africa's poverty and

underdevelopment, and on the other hand, the global socio-economic paradigm of the 21st century, is the one provided by Ohiorhenuan (2001: 41) when he describes the process as

development that not only generates economic growth but distributes its benefits equitably; that generates the environment rather than destroying it; that empowers people rather than marginalise them. It gives priority to the poor, enlarging their choices and opportunities and providing for their participation in decisions affecting them.

In this relation, Prah (1999: 60) indicates that, the notion of the African Renaissance as a new vision of the Pan-African idea in the 21st century presupposes that among other things the desired sustainable development in Africa should be “based on a respect for cultural usages indigenous to the African mind.” However, “this does not mean a wholesale return to the cultural practices of the past, or an atavistic revivalism which has no place in the contemporary world. What [Africa] need is *a judicious Afrocentric approach* which selectively builds on [Africa’s] cultural and historical blessings” [emphasis mine] (Prah 1999: 60).

5.3.1 The African Renaissance process and the significance of Culture and Indigenous Languages for socio-economic development

The fact that the use of the mother tongue in education (especially in the subjects of science and technology) is a missing link in efforts geared towards Africa’s socio-economic development, more especially in the 21st century, is a matter of Pan-African linguists such as Kwesi Kwaa Prah (1995; 1998), Ngugi wa Thiongo’ (1986) and Kole Omotose (1994), to mention a few. They elaborately and convincingly demonstrate the importance of language in some of their works on the subject.

In his attempt to demonstrate the significance of language as a carrier of culture and its centrality in the socio-economic development of a people in time and space, Prah explains language as

...the door into a people's culture and mind. [It] lies at the heart of culture, and it is intra-relationally its most central element in as far as it measures and reflects the thought-world of its user-community. It is language which bears the record of the history, traditions, beliefs and knowledge of any people (Prah 1998: 2).

As a carrier of culture language is a means through which a culture survives and preserves tools of the self-definition of a people in relation to others in the world. Prah's explanation of the significance of language bears testimony to the fact that in the process of alienating and marginalizing the African cultural heritage, colonialism and apartheid devalued indigenous languages.

In support of Prah (1998) and in an attempt to explain the significance of language in all the spheres of life of a people, Owomoyela (1996: 5) writes that

if speech separates humans from other animals, language (which is more specialized than speech) distinguishes one culture from another. Language is not primarily or exclusively a means of communication. On the contrary, it is a system of representation, a means of sorting and manipulating the plethora of information that deluges us throughout life.

The above provides us with a clear understanding of the meaning and role of language in the life of a society in time and space. This explains the close link between language, the process of self-definition and social construction. It is through language that the ways of being and of living of a people are clearly expressed.

Colonial cultural imperialism in Africa alienated indigenous languages and replaced their primacy with European ones. This was done with a motive. The imposition of foreign languages on the African masses was used as an ideological strategy that was aimed at disorganising and disorientating the cultural creativity of the colonised. This was done for the simple reason that “the domination of a people’s language by the language of the colonising nations was crucial to the domination of the mental universe of the colonised” (Ngugi wa Thiongo 1986: 16). For example, in the South African context the myth that English is the royal route to knowledge was created and then used as an ideological strategy that was intended to mis-educate the African masses so that domination and subjugation could be easy. The fact that “it is [the] mother tongue which affords room for the creative application of human ingenuity” (Prah 1995: 46) was purposefully ignored by colonialism and apartheid.

Furthermore, in his research work titled, *Mother Tongue for Scientific and Technological Development in Africa*, Prah (1995: 17-18) notes that

if modern science and technology is to reach (as it must) African society at the grassroots level, it must not subvert the cultural order of the indigenous knowledge base. Rather it must wed, melt and integrate into the indigenous systems and become wholly part of the local culture.

Contrary to the abovementioned statement the colonial languages were not geared towards the empowering of the colonised for scientific and technological advancement. Instead they were intended to prepare the colonised Africans to serve the needs of the colonial power and administration.

The fact that language is a strong tool for a nation's development is clearly evident in the Japanese and the Chinese experience. As a matter of fact the two nations were able to reach the stage of the socio-economic development that they are today precisely because, by any means necessary, they guarded their languages and developed them into languages of science and technology (Omotose 1994: 114). This means from the onset it was clear for the Japanese and Chinese that, "one learns better in one's own language because there is incontrovertible agreement between the genius of a language and the mentality of its own speaker" (Diop 1996: 35).

In both cases Western technology and ideas were translated into the Japanese and Chinese languages, thereby making them accessible to the local people. As a result Prah (1998: 6) asserts that

none of the 'Asian economic dragons' of today are developing on the basis of colonial languages, and yet we know too well that only four to five decades ago some of them were colonies like their then African counterparts.

In this regard the objective of the African Renaissance call as a strategy for the socio-economic (re)-construction has to deal head-on with all the economic, political and social hindrances that make it impossible to use indigenous languages for African development. It has to dismiss the attitudes that exist which hold that indigenous languages are inherently incapable of incorporating modern science and technology, precisely because without the use of the indigenous languages, sustainable development in Africa cannot be realised.

In fact, at the African Renaissance conference that was held in Johannesburg, in September 1998, Dialo Diop, an academic from Senegal, noted that under normal circumstances “no country in the world ever undertook its development through a foreign language.” On the contrary, “Africa is the only continent out of the three that experienced the yoke of colonial oppression that is still divided on the grounds of European languages” (Diop 1999: 6).

As seen from the example of the ‘Asian economic tigers’ and other developed societies, science and technological development of a nation can be achieved to a maximum when undertaken with the use of indigenous languages. In this relation Prah (1995: 47) maintains that,

the whole effort and discussion on African development through scientific and technological advancement must be seen to have a possibility of take-off only if and when development on the basis of African culture is placed at the centre.

As has been noted earlier in this section, language is the carrier of culture. Recentering culture into all spheres of African life in the 21st century will lead automatically to the total reclamation of the indigenous languages. In this way the mother tongue will assume a vehicular position in African developmental endeavours, and as demonstrated by Prah, Ngugi wa Thiongo and Omotose, this is the only route through which sustainable development can be successful. This is so precisely because all development efforts in Africa “have the greatest chance of success if innovative ideas and their communication are couched in indigenous African languages which reach the rural masses more immediately and more directly” (Prah 1995: 9).

What comes out of all what have been said here-above is the fact that Africa can only be saved from the heavy yoke of poverty and underdevelopment if solutions to the problems that affect her marginalised communities can be grounded in the culture (encompassing languages, values and traditions) as practiced and experienced by the overwhelming majority of the people within the continent.

5.3.2 The African Renaissance process and the significance of Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) for Africa's socio-economic development

In a world that is predicated on knowledge systems and cultural values that are alien and marginalizing to the majority of people of the African continent - a world in which peoples of the countries of the South are under pressure to divorce themselves from their cultural experience(s) and convert to Westernism (Owomoyela 1996: 104) - Africa has to make efforts to reclaim and revitalize its traditional knowledge systems that have sustained its masses from time immemorial.

The reality is that,

the creative and innovative traditions in various developing countries have been masked by historical misrepresentations by outsiders as well as by pedagogic and policy-induced blinders domestically. From an early age students learn the major inventions made by Europeans, and rightly so, but seldom do they learn about grassroots or higher level inventions and innovations developed by local individuals, institutions or communities with their respective countries (<http://www.cid.harvard.edu/cidbiotech>)

The above demonstrates how Western imperialism interrupted and disorganised scientific and technological development of the colonised, precisely because with its sophisticated

philosophies and structures it made it impossible for the colonised to build upon indigenous traditions of invention and innovation existing within its communities. As a matter of fact, it is an undisputable fact that knowledge systems of a people stand central with respect to their socio-economic development in time and space (P' Bitek 1973: 4).

Explaining the relationship between the African Renaissance process and Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS), Ohiorhenuan (2001: 40) defines the latter by pointing out that

a society's knowledge system embodies the collective wisdom of its past. It is embedded in its cultural practices, and its norms and values. It is manifest[ed] in the skills and expertise of managing and maintaining a dynamic equilibrium with nature.

What this description implies is that the relationship between the two lies in the fact that, "Indigenous Knowledge Systems are critical to the Renaissance imperative of reconfiguring knowledge, economy and politics," meaning "it is a matter of starting from the known, to chart the way forward to an envisaged future" (Ohiorhenuan 2001: 40).

More precisely, Indigenous Knowledge Systems can also be explained as

the complex set of knowledge and technologies existing and developed around specific conditions of populations and communities indigenous to a particular geographic area (www.nrf.ac.za/focusareas/iks)

Connected to the need for the recentering of IKS in Africa's developmental endeavours, one of the objectives of the African Renaissance concept as a new vision for Pan-Africanism in the 21st century, is to highlight the fact that, faced with the challenges of globalization, Africa needs time and space to reconstruct the nearly destroyed African village, meaning the shell within which are contained the essence of values, the morality,

the philosophy, the wisdom, the culture, and the political philosophy of African civilization (Vilakazi 2001: 56-67).

The Indigenous Knowledge Systems encompass the African thought systems, beliefs and institutions, technology and medicine. Thus, linked to the African Renaissance process the role of IKS is to provide Africans with both the intellectual and raw material through which the task of reconstructing African societies along African ways of thought and practice can be made possible and attainable. Considering the politics of relations of the dominated and dominant cultures that are central in the global village the challenge for the African continent and its rural communities is to critically look at it's "... [Indigenous knowledge] systems and see how they had transformed the past into different forms and how they could be used for addressing the 'now' of African problems" (Masoga 2003: 7).

As observed by Emeagwali (2003: Online), considering the factors of human inventions and innovations, especially in areas such as technology and medicine, it is obvious that there are intersections between mainstream science and IKS, and with the scourge of the HIV-AIDS pandemic the need to re-centre IKS into the core of mainstream science is imperative. Further, Emeagwali points out that IKS "...whether institutionalized or not, structured or unstructured, has specific implications for democratization, community empowerment and nation building." In addition, "...it also has implications for sustainable development, capacity building and intellectual development in Africa in the 21st century" (2003: Online).

Undeniably, as Vilakazi asserts the continent of Africa in its current condition needs what he refers to as an African Development Paradigm. A socio-economic strategy “which is formulated by Africans themselves, on the basis of the unique cultural foundations, traditions, and histories, of the masses of African people” (2001: 2). The African Development Paradigm will be modelled along the lines of improved indigenous economic practices such as *letsema*.

The concept of *letsema* can be explained as a traditional African concept for economic empowerment that encouraged collective work and responsibility. As Raphesu (1999: 16) explains,

Letsema is a group of people who are collectively organised for specific tasks in the community. In traditional society such a task is carried out by men and women who work together, for an example, to plough the land, hoe, harvest, or build a house for a member of the community. In each case participants bring their own tools.

As a traditionally corporate idea and practice it emphasised group solidarity rather than individualism.

In the context of the global economy with its marginalizing tendencies the main goal of the African Development paradigm is to ensure that social and economic development, in most of Africa’s villages and small towns, is to uplift individuals (not only as islands but as part of the group) and improve human relations and the quality of social life. This

means “the economic anthropology and indigenous economics should be built on the basis of local economic behaviour, customs and institutions” (Raphesu 1999: 201).

5.4 The African Renaissance call and its implications for post-1994 South Africa’s process of transformation and development

The African Renaissance call in South Africa has become associated with Thabo Mbeki, the man who assumed the reigns of presidency of the country in 1998. Already, between 1994 and 1998, while serving as the Deputy President to Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, who was the first president of democratic South Africa, Mbeki started his call for Africa’s renaissance. However, Mbeki’s critics like Jonathan Moyo (1998) are critical of the role of post-1994 South Africa in the call for Africa’s renaissance.

Among other things Mbeki’s critics argue that, there has to be a distinction between a vision of the new South Africa as it emerges from the apartheid legacy and the renaissance of the rest of the continent as it battles to find its place in the global village with its marginalising tendencies. In this connection Moyo (1998: 10) argues that “a vision of the new South Africa is necessary to correct historical imbalances, but that vision cannot also be the vision of the new Africa” that is envisaged by the majority of men and women within the continent.

Supporting Moyo, Jacobs and Calland (2002: 15) points out that, in 2002 there are still grave socio-economic problems in South Africa, with indicators showing that the

inequalities under apartheid have survived, and have worsened in some respects. As a result the country "...is ranked as the third most unequal society in the world, surpassed only by Brazil and Guatemala."

As a matter of fact, the Black Consciousness philosophy of the late 1970's served as the first wave of the African Renaissance call in the South African context. In essence Black Consciousness is a philosophy and political orientation of self-determination. Given the situation of alienation and domination of the African Personality, Black Consciousness in the early 1970's was used as a deconstructive tool which symbolized many aspects of the struggle of the oppressed to control their own identity. The philosophy had as its chief objective to instil a sense of self-pride and confidence in the oppressed, encouraging them to be true to their history, culture and identity (Moalusi 2003: 14).

5.4.1 Thabo Mbeki's ideas on the call of the African Renaissance

Despite the criticism that it evokes, Mbeki's idea of the African Renaissance call needs to be understood from both his position, where he stands as an African statesman, and from the perspective of the evolving political and socio-economic factors of the post-1994 apartheid South Africa and its relationship with the rest of the world. His idea is both local and continental, in that while addressing the socio-economic inequalities of South Africa he at the same time tackles continental problems associated with neo-colonialism, poverty and underdevelopment within the continent. The latter somehow infuriates his

critics who argue that he should confine himself to the problems of his country which are described as worse compared to those of some of the countries within the continent.

Nevertheless, on the 7th March 1996, addressing the University Forum of the University of Natal, Howard College, in his speech titled, *Breaking with the Past*, Mbeki asserted that,

Surely none can contest the vision that we stand at the threshold of the evolution of a new and beautiful South Africa, which should see [South Africans] advance a step towards the creation of the material and spiritual conditions which should gradually free all [South Africans] from poverty, ignorance and human degradation, from fear and needless violence, progressing towards the true emancipation of the human being (Mbeki 1998: 40).

Obviously here, Mbeki who was by then the Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa was referring to the challenges of the economic and social transformation process of post-1994 South Africa, which faced the nation after the first democratic elections of 27 April 1994. In this relation Dalamba (2000: 43) notes that "...a renaissance implies along-term commitment to a multi-pronged process of transformation."

This brief description that gives the implications of the term renaissance helps to illuminate the fact that for Mbeki the idea of the African Renaissance, in the context of post-1994 South Africa, is strategically and tactically linked to the transformation process that has as its goal to create empowering alternative points of reference and alternative discourse. This is important for South Africa, precisely because the inferior/superior terms of reference are in actual fact the workings of a binary ideology, itself a

psychological technique that has been used for socio-cultural domination purposes (<http://web10.epnet.com/citation.asp?>).

Without a doubt, for Mbeki (1998: 29), “the transition to ‘a better life for all’ is unavoidable and impossible to postpone,” but time will tell how, through the African Renaissance call in the South African context, he hopes to address the socio-economic disparities inherent among the majority of the people found in the periphery of the country’s society.

As seen from Mbeki’s further arguments in the above-mentioned speech, to break with its dehumanizing past, post-1994 South Africa has as its challenge to deconstruct, decenter, deideologize and dehegemonize the colonial cultural imperialism and apartheid hegemony. All these, Mbeki (1998: 42) points out, can be achieved by creating processes that will assist in terminating conflict, that exist in the South African society, which is inherent to the relationship of domination on the one hand and subservience on the other.

Furthermore, for Mbeki as an exponent of the notion of the African Renaissance as a new Pan-African vision in the 21st century, the respect for the language, culture and identity of each one of South Africa’s national groups on the basis of equality forms the most important part of the objective of South Africa’s renaissance call. To make his point, in the same speech, Mbeki strongly argues for the recognition and respect of the eleven (11) spoken and written languages of the people of South Africa, and the deconstruction of the apartheid hierarchy of cultures, which can be phased out with deliberate advancement of

a patriotic national cultural identity (1998: 43). With the call of the African Renaissance in the South African context Mbeki's aim is to enhance the cultural, social and economic development of the whole society.

More importantly, according to Vale and Maseko (2002: 126-130) Mbeki's or the South African notion of the African Renaissance can be summarised and examined under two streams. First, there is an interpretation (grounded in the line of the modernist tradition) that sees as its objective to make Africa competitive globally and part of the processes of globalisation discourse. This globalist framing of the African Renaissance "...posits Africa as an expanding and prosperous market alongside Asia, Europe, and North America, one in which South Africa is destined to play a special role via trade, strategic partnerships, and the like" (Vale and Maseko 2002: 127). In his speech, at the African Renaissance conference in 1998, Mbeki argued that, "...we must recognise the fact that [Africans] cannot win the struggle for Africa's development outside the context and framework of the world economy" (<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mbeki/1998>). However this rendition is popular and acceptable among the business community in South Africa, but is looked at with a great deal of suspicion in other African countries, especially those that are increasingly fearful of a South African economic dominance (Ahluwalia 2002: 274).

Second, is the Africanist interpretation (grounded in line with the post-structural tradition), which in essence seeks to reconstruct African identity in order to give it its rightful place in the global village. As Vale and Maseko (2002: 128) points out, the

primary aim of this rendition is "... to lay to rest the image of the perpetually dancing, skin-clad, African who is always smiling through ridicule and pain"; and as a counter-hegemonic strategy it is to be used for "... developing a condition that would help Africans to contribute meaningfully to rescuing the world from barbarism that masquerades as civilisation."

On the 5th October 2002, in his address on the African Renaissance to the Ghana-South Africa Friendship Association, Mbeki asserted that

...in this rapidly globalising world of today, [Africans] are facing the danger of succumbing to the pervasive dominant culture, the Coca-Cola culture at the expense of [Africa's] cultures, identities, and national heritage. This culture seeks to deny the validity of [the African peoples'] knowledge systems, [their] morals and ethics and denies that there are other solutions to [Africa's] challenges other than those imposed by the dominant cultures (<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mbeki/2000>).

What the above means is that the Africanist interpretation of the notion of African Renaissance rejects Western liberal values and its tendencies of marginalizing African cultural experience(s). This rendition is a strategy by Mbeki to reconnect South Africa with the rest of the continent.

5.5 Conclusion

Once again, the fact that the processes of alienation and marginalization of the African cultural heritage by the ideological practices of colonialism and apartheid have left behind devastating social and psychological legacies, that have greatly negated the creativity of the African Personality, has been clearly demonstrated in this chapter. In

brief, an attempt has been made to identify the complex socio-cultural and economic circumstances that account for (South) Africa's situation of poverty, dependency and underdevelopment.

In this relation the notion of the African Renaissance as a new Pan-African vision in the 21st century has been explained as socio-economic tool indispensable for the development of African communities, especially the majority that is found in the villages and small towns. The call of Africa's renaissance in the 21st century can be said to represent the determination of a people to take ownership of its destiny.

As clearly demonstrated by some of the African scholars whose works have been consulted for this chapter, every community has its own unique culture geared towards survival which can be mobilized for the socio-economic transformation process. Given the experience(s) of China and Japan, what the African Renaissance call is saying is that viable economies in the world are built on a peoples' culture, language and traditional knowledge systems.

The whole discussion on the significance of the Indigenous Knowledge Systems in the process of the socio-economic development in Africa alludes to the fact that Africa needs its own cultural technology for sustainable development, and this can only be possible if space can be created which will encourage local traditions of invention and innovation that are functional and viable. Actually, IKS has a potential to contribute to the processes of democratization, community empowerment and nation building in the 21st century.

From Mbeki's globalist interpretation of the African Renaissance call it is clear that Africa still has to learn the fact that economic power is superior to political power. Self-reliance is a prerequisite for Africa's survival in the global village, precisely because, in the global market, profits, not people, are the sole motivation of business. This means for the African Renaissance project to make an impact it must evolve a strategy that will empower the majority of the African people to be able to cope with the marginalizing tendencies of the global economy, using their cultural experience(s) as their base.

Gueye (1999: 243) observes that "by definition, '*renaissance*' [also] implies positive transformation in all spheres of [human] existence: culture (which includes mentalities and patterns of thought and behaviour), economic, social and political structures, and so forth" [emphasise mine]. The next chapter will investigate the meaning and implications of the idea of transformation as a socio-political and economic tool to redress the situation of alienation and domination by a minority in South Africa.

CHAPTER SIX

THE IDEA OF TRANSFORMATION

6.1 Introduction

In South Africa the challenge of transformation has always been pre-eminently a moral struggle. Rooted in the fight against racial divisions institutionalised by apartheid, this struggle represented a profound moral quest, a larger vision of how [South Africans] should live together and treat one another (Johnson-Hill 1998: 2)

In this chapter the meaning and implications of the idea of transformation are investigated and interrogated. Equally important, to have a clear understanding of the idea of transformation as a socio-political and economic strategy aimed at redressing the complex consequences of a system that propagated injustice of the worst kind, the situation of South Africa is treated as a case in point.

Undeniably, South Africa's apartheid system was intended to create and perpetuate a situation of racial division, racial oppression, human degradation and economic depravation (Mbeki 1998: 41). In contrast, post-1994 South Africa is a country in the process of fundamental change from an apartheid hierarchy of cultures, an authoritative and unjust society to a democratic society grounded in a patriotic national cultural identity.

According to Makgoba (1997) and Seepe (1998), in the process of alienating and marginalizing the African cultural heritage, the ideological designs of colonialism and the apartheid hegemony, distorted culture as a phenomenological concept. The objective of this whole exercise was to disorientate and disorganized the African personality and the programmes of self-identification, self-determination and self-reliance. Therefore, as a strategy to redress the consequences of the apartheid legacy in post-1994 South Africa, the task of the socio-political and economic transformation project and nation building is to deconstruct, decenter, deideologize and dehegemonize colonial cultural imperialism and the apartheid hegemony by unapologetically creating an empowering alternative point of reference and an alternative discourse.

In fact, “the challenge that the socio-political and economic transformation process and nation building presents to all South Africans, *especially those who use their intellectual prowess to defend and further the interest of Africa and its people*” [emphasis mine] (Mthembu 1999: 2), is to seek to redefine themselves as a new society, and to map a new future. As Mzamane (1998: 11) explains, this is expected to be pursued in a manner that will advance a patriotic national cultural identity of South Africa as an African country, and also to enhance the cultural, social and economic development of the whole society.

6.2 The meaning and implications of the idea of transformation

Makgoba (1997: 181) defines transformation as “an act or process whereby the form, shape or nature of something is completely changed or altered, a blueprint change.” In

support of Makgoba, with the post-1994 South Africa's situation vividly in mind, Mbeki (1998: 43) explains the idea of transformation as a process that involves "...the termination of the conflict which is inherent to the relationship of domination on the one hand and subservience on the other."

To add, Makgoba (1997: 182) maintains that the transformation process, as a strategy that has as its objective to deprogram and reconstruct a society that has had its socio-political and economic relations based on the processes of alienation and marginalization, is

...overarching and embraces a series of related, interlinked and interdependent themes. They are equity, governance, access, affirmative action, curricula change, effectiveness and development. These themes are complicated by race, gender and the cultural dimensions.

Related to Makgoba's assertion, Ramphela (1995: 200) points out that,

an important part of any process of transformation has to be transgression of social boundaries which made sense in the past but which stand in the way of creative response to a changing environment.

In this way, as demonstrated by Ramphela, the transformation process as a socio-political and economic tool for change has as its objective the breaking of practices and experiences that in a society impinges on the harmonious socio-political relations and interaction, between individuals and communities. Specifically, it is also about ridding South Africa of practices of the apartheid system of white minority domination that have inhibited the economic development of South Africa to its full potential.

Furthermore, against the backdrop of South Africa's past history of colonialism, apartheid legacy and control by a minority government the idea of transformation can also be explained as "a movement away from elitist control of the society to a dispensation that depends on the acceptance by a broad mass of people of the role of new governmental processes" (Togni 1996: 109). In this connection transformation can be said to be about "... progressing towards a better society – a non-racial society" (Comment 2004: 10).

6.3 South Africa's past history of colonialism and the apartheid legacy, and the challenges of the socio-political and economic transformation processes

In brief, Luhabe (1999: 290) describes South Africa's colonialism and the apartheid legacy as a long catalogue of mismanagement of the country's economy, the under-utilisation of human resources, concentration of ownership of the means of production in the hands of a few, vast unemployment and poverty, accompanied by marginalization of the majority from economic activity, as well as massive income and social inequalities. In fact, "for many decades forces within the white minority used their exclusive access to political and economic power to promote their own interests at the expense of black people" (Dlali 2004: 9). This means, the economy that was inherited by the democratic government in 1994 was in serious structural crisis and as such it needed fundamental restructuring.

Concurring with Luhabe, in one of his many able attempts to vividly describe the consequences of colonialism and the apartheid legacy, Mbeki (1997: 2004) explains:

We are emerging, but only emerging slowly and painfully, out of a deeply fractured society. This is a society which continues to be characterised by deep fissures which separate the black people from the white, the hungry from the prosperous, the urban from the rural, the male from the female, the disabled from the rest. *Running like fault lines through it all, and weaving it together into a frightening bundle of imbalance and inequality, is the question of race and colour* – the fundamental consideration on which was built South African society for 300 years [emphasis mine].

From another perspective, Ramphela (1995: 204) also reflecting on South Africa's apartheid system of white minority domination and the prospects of the future that face for the country in the 21st century, notes that

unlike many post-colonial societies in Africa, South Africa has a viable and extensive infrastructure: transport and communications, finance and banking, tertiary education, science and technology, and so forth. *The major problem area is the development of human resources, which have been sacrificed on the altar of racial bigotry* [emphasis mine].

From the above it is clear that the problem of racial segregation has impacted horribly negative on the socio-political and economic life of South African society. As a result it has hampered the growth and development of the country. In this relation, Togni (1996: 109) maintains that “each society is subject to its unique conditions and the process of change takes place according to a number of variables prevailing in the society.” This means, for real transformation processes to unfold in South Africa the people need to acknowledge the legacy of apartheid, precisely because this will enable them to deliberately and consciously deal with the legacy as it continues to divide the country and affect its future in the global economy (Macozyoma 2000: 17).

Ten years later, in 2004, reflecting on the catalyst moment that marked the beginning of the transformation process Mbeki (2004: Online) asserts,

Since time immemorial, the overwhelming majority of ... [South Africans] ... had known nothing but despair. They knew this as an incontestable matter of fact that tomorrow would not be better than yesterday; it was also fixed and given that the following day would be worse. But then, April 27, 1994 came and things changed radically and irrevocably for all South Africans.

Definitely, the historic moment that Mbeki refers to marked the beginning of the process of ending white minority rule and domination. Given this picture South Africa in the process of socio-political and economic transformation can be said to be a nation that seeks to free itself from the stranglehold of its repressive pasts. More importantly, South Africa is a country that in the 21st century aspires to forge ahead in a manner that it will be able to realise its full potential as a nation, both continentally and internationally.

6.3.1 The moral implications of post-1994 South Africa's transformation process

In his work, titled, *Seeds of Transformation: Discerning the Ethics of a New Generation*, in which he used the University of Durban-Westville as a case study, Johnson-Hill (1998) interrogates the moral implications of the transformation process in South Africa. Looking at his findings it is obvious that the same factors that impact on the transformation processes in higher education also have a bearing on other points of social contact between individuals and communities in post-1994 South Africa.

Considering the overarching objectives of the RDP project Johnson-Hill (1998: 197) argues that the citizenry of the post-1994 South Africa "cannot be expected automatically to relate to each other openly and fairly if they lack an understanding of who the other is, where the other has come from and where she or he is headed." In this regard, Johnson-

Hill maintains that for the true transformation process to unfold in post-1994 South Africa there is a need for what he calls an 'Other-centred' orientation, a process which is about "... *self-critical, inclusive, emphatic reaching out to others in a spirit of compassion*" [emphasis mine] (Johnson-Hill 1998: 197). This process has as its main aim to change the negative perceptions of one group about the other. In this connection he proposes what he calls the Three Steps Toward [True] Transformation:

- i. *Learning African Languages*: Taking into cognisance the fact that language is a carrier of culture, Johnson-Hill (1998: 197) maintains that it is through the knowledge of the language of the other that one can "... be able to appreciate how the other thinks about and relates to time, space and other persons." In addition, knowledge of the language of the other enables one to "... be able to experience how others apprehend themselves, their societies and their views of the good" (Johnson-Hill 1998: 197). Given these factors and with reference to some of the principles of the RDP Policy Framework "it would be virtually impossible to 'mobilise' others without knowledge [and understanding] of their basic moral disposition" (Johnson-Hill 1998: 197). As Johnson-Hill further observes, it is crucial to take cognisance of the fact that, "the strong intrinsic link between culture and language necessitates that, in order to reach out to the other in facts of alterity ... some effort must be made to communicate in the other's native tongue" (Johnson-Hill 1998: 198).

ii. *Prioritising Ethico-Religious Experience* – The second step relates to the issue of religion which forms part of culture in the African thought pattern (Mbiti 1969: 2). Here Johnson-Hill (1998: 200) refers to a broader, more inclusive sense of African religiosity, “which pertains to a uniting of all things, beings and spheres (a relationality) by virtue of a life force (a power), and it is integrally linked to notions of right and wrong (a dimension of alterity).” Given this description and considering the meaning and the implications of transformation processes in post-1994 South Africa, as Johnson-Hill (1998: 200) asserts, “to attempt to separate the religious factor from any policy document in Africa, imbued as it is with such an all-encompassing religious impulse, is to embark on a course of action which is divorced from the nexus of spiritual power, *Ntu*.”

iii. *Engendering Basic Sensitivities and Commitments* – The third step stipulates that, “if one strives to reach out to the other in an inclusive and empathetic way, then it is important not only to take the other’s language seriously, but also to become more aware of the other’s fears and frustrations” (Johnson-Hill 1998: 202). In apartheid South Africa there were always false assumptions about the others’ fears and frustration, and this was based on ignorance and a superiority complex. As a result even critical decisions were made on behalf of the other without proper consultation and consideration of the others’ culture.

In agreement with Johnson-Hill’s idea of the Three Steps Toward (True) transformation, Macozoma (2000: 17) asserts that “if we are going to find a common [post-1994] SA dream we need better social contact.” This means a space must be created through which

there will be an open and fair social contact between different racial groups and religious expressions, and this will consequentially lead to a clearer understanding of the other.

6.3.2 Post-1994 South Africa's possibilities and limits of the socio-political and economic transformation process

In his Inaugural Address to a Joint Sitting of Parliament, on the 24 May 1994, the then President of the Republic of South Africa, Mr Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, declared:

My Government's commitment to create a people-centred society of liberty binds us to the pursuit of the goals of freedom from want, freedom from hunger, freedom from deprivation, freedom from ignorance, freedom from suppression and freedom from fear. These freedoms are fundamental to the guarantee of human dignity. They will therefore constitute part of what this Government will seek to achieve, the focal point on which our attention will be continuously focused. The things we have said constitute the true meaning, the justification and the purpose of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, without which it would lose all legitimacy (South Africa. White Paper on RDP 1994: 1).

Mandela's statement represents a desire by the leaders of the first new democratically elected government to decisively break with the tendencies and practices of the apartheid system and thus work towards establishing a new society, characterised by the equality of the national groups (Mbeki 1998: 286).

From the outset it was clear that the new nation could not be created on the basis of the extraordinary imbalances that were inherited from the apartheid legacy. This meant that, basically the main objective of South Africa's transformation project and nation building was/is to "fundamentally change the country's political, economic and social landscape"

(O'Brian: 2004: 4). This became clearly articulated in the Reconstruction and Development document, which was mainly inspired by the transformation policy of the African National Congress, especially some tenets of the Freedom Charter (Hudson 1997: 8).

The South African Reconstruction and Development Programme's (RDP) White Paper, as it was adopted by the Government of National Unity (GNU), after its inauguration in May 1994, was/is explained as:

an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework. [Which} seeks to mobilise all people and ... [the] ... country's resources toward the final eradication of the results of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future. It represents a vision for the fundamental transformation of South Africa (South Africa. White Paper on RDP 1994: 4).

As further explicitly explained in the RDP document the main objectives of South Africa's integrated process of transformation was/is to ensure that the country,

- [i] develops strong and stable democratic institutions and practices characterised by representativeness and participation;
- [ii] becomes a fully democratic and non-racial society;
- [iii] becomes a prosperous society, having embarked upon a sustainable and environmentally friendly growth and development path; and
- [iv] address the moral and ethical development of society (South Africa White Paper on RDP 1994: 4).

From the perspective of the South African Chamber of Business (SACOB), O'Brien (2003: 4) notes, that with the above-mentioned overriding objectives the architects of the RDP's aim was to firmly entrench "... the values of equality and freedom, laying the

foundations for the country to chart a new path to economic development, which other developing nations could follow.”

Furthermore, in his explanation of the moral implications of the transformation process in post-1994 South Africa Johnson-Hill (1998: 196) points out that,

where the apartheid state was predicated on rigid racial, cultural, class and gender divisions, the post-apartheid ANC-led government strives for racial harmony, gender sensitivity and greater economic opportunities for all, especially the poorest members of society.

In agreement with Johnson-Hill, Meyer (2004: 11) describes South Africa’s socio-political and economic transformation instituted by the post-1994 experiences and practices as “... a transition, from a constitution safeguarding white minority rights to one protecting equal individual rights.” Undoubtedly, though much of the blemishes of colonialism and the apartheid past still have to be shed by post-1994 South Africa, through the transformation project (not as such in a form of the RDP of 1994 that was later abandoned by the government), enough has been achieved. It is a pity that, as it succumbed to the policy dictates and ideological pressures of the international financial institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the African National Congress dropped the RDP project (Saul 2002:38).

In his 2004 State of the Nation Address, the President of the Republic of South Africa, Mr Thabo Mbeki, aptly captures the changes required in post-1994 South Africa (Mbeki 2004: Online). According to Mbeki (2004: Online), to cite a few examples, before 1994 the following was the reality in South Africa:

- Estimates of the housing backlog ranged from 1,4 million to 3 million units and people living in shacks were between 5 million to 7,7 million;
- 60% of the population of South Africa had no access to electricity;
- 16 million people had no access to clean water;
- 22 million people did not have access to adequate sanitation;
- There were 17 fragmented departments of education with a disproportionate allocation of resources to white schools;
- There was 70% secondary school enrolment.

Ten years later in 2004, as Mbeki (2004: Online) asserts, in an attempt to create the people-centred society as envisaged in Mandela's 1994 Inaugural Address to a Joint Sitting of Parliament, the following are the results:

- About 1,9 million housing subsidies have been provided and 1,6 million houses built for the poor of ... [South Africa];
- More than 70% of households have been electrified;
- 9 million additional people now have access to clean water;
- 63% of households now have access to sanitation;
- There has been a successful formation on an integrated education system, even though there is a clear need for more resource allocation and capacity building in poor areas;
- Nutrition and early childhood interventions have been established to improve better results for children from poor backgrounds;
- By 2002 secondary school enrolment had reached 85%.

Here, very much in brief, the overriding objectives of the socio-political and economic transformation process in post-1994 South Africa have been identified and interrogated. In his 2004 State of the Nation address Mbeki's aim was to point out what has been possible to achieve especially through the socio-political transformation processes up to the year 2004. Unfortunately, these changes that have come with the 27 April 1994, South Africa's first democratic elections, are appreciated by a few who are actually benefit from them materially. In this relation, Tim Modise (2004: 24) the chairman of the

Proudly South African Foundation, an organisation that promotes the country's products and services, announces:

We live in an era where we have witnessed and experienced history unfolding before our eyes. We also have the spirit to make things happen and I am proud of that spirit. I am proud of the fact that we are a new nation, based on a new model for a new country.

Nevertheless, what Modise observes can be said to be in line with the socio-political elements that form the core of the transformation process as envisaged in the post-1994 RDP agenda. The main aim has been to create a people centred society that will have a total break with the tendencies and the practices of the apartheid system of minority rule and domination. Unfortunately, up to so far economic transformation has not begun to benefit the majority of those who even in the pre-1994 South Africa have always been poor and hungry.

6.3.2.1 The transformation agenda and the problem of the persistence of poverty and the economic inequalities

Here, it also needs to be pointed out that, ten years later in 2004, "South Africa still has one of the most unequal distributions of income in the world – a clear reflection of the extremely low levels of black participation in the economy and the continuation of this situation threatens to undermine the stability of [the country's] young democracy" (O' Brian 2003: 4).

Analysing the current economic situation in South Africa (which is dictated to by the global economy with its marginalizing tendencies and foreign investment) and its inability to uproot poverty, Legum (2004: 15) points out that “enviably democracy cannot survive a situation in which almost half of ... [the nation] ... is not contributing to the economy either as producers or as effective consumers.” Indeed, in 2004 South Africa’s political and civil freedoms are flourishing; unfortunately the same cannot be said of the country’s economic freedoms, in that a great majority of the people still have no access to the country’s economic resources and they continue to be poor. To redress the economic distortions and injustices of the past requires a political will from South Africa’s post-1994 leaders from different sectors of the society.

In fact, “... a select few have access to First-World opulence, luxuries, prime real estate, efficient and modern infrastructure, and cheap labour, all at Third-World prices” (McClain-Nhlapo 2004: 13). Related to this matter, Trevor Manuel (2004: Online), Minister of Finance, addressing an Association for the Advancement of Black Accountants of South Africa’s (ABASA) annual convention, sent a warning signal to all those who love their country, when he said:

In building a post-Apartheid South Africa, we have set ourselves two objectives: to get rid of the racial inequalities that were imposed on our people, and to reduce the massive amounts of poverty in our country. Only when we are making progress on both of these fronts, can we say we are defeating Apartheid.

Considering the above-mentioned facts, there is no doubt that the persistence of poverty and economic inequality poses a threat to the country’s young democracy. However, “it

is crucial to note that the South African democracy arrived precisely at the moment when globalisation emerged as the driving force in world politics, with far-reaching consequences for the Third World” (Jacobs and Calland 2002: 15).

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, very much in brief, the meaning and the implications of the idea of transformation as a socio-political and economic strategy to redress a situation of social and economic injustice has been investigated and unpacked. The situation of South Africa as a nation in a transformation process has been analysed, and what the country has been able to achieve in the past ten years of democracy has been identified.

However, in this chapter it has also been demonstrated that post-1994 South Africa still has to seriously address the economic situation of the majority of its people. Actually, the condition of poverty and underdevelopment is part of the blemish of colonialism and the apartheid legacy, and it is a factor that confronts most of the countries of the geopolitical South in the 21st century.

The next chapter will focus on the presentation and interpretation of empirical data on the African cultural heritage and its implication for the socio-cultural and economic reconstruction and development processes in (South) Africa in the 21st century.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DATA PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

7.1 Introduction

No nation that was uprooted from its soul has flourished and can flourish as speedily as nations which based their moral and social development plans on their own cultural identity and self-knowledge (Motshekga 2004: 10)

In the preceding five chapters, namely, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6, literature on the alienation and marginalization processes of the African Cultural Heritage and in response the efforts of the African intelligentsia in constructing Pan-African thought and practice as a socio-cultural tool for self-definition and self determination of the African Personality are identified and examined. In addition, the meaning and the implications of the idea of transformation as a socio-political and economic strategy to redress a situation of alienation and domination is analysed and unpacked. However, in this chapter related to literature discussed in the above mentioned chapters, the phenomenological views, positions and perceptions of African respondents with regard to the processes of the interface of deculturation, transformation and development are presented.

The phenomenological approach is important in this study precisely because it creates space for the voice of African respondents in their various social arenas, with their aim of basing their future orientated projections on their culture. In this connection Creswell

(1998: 51) explains that “a phenomenological study describes the meaning of the lived experiences for several individuals about a concept or the phenomenon.” Furthermore, a purposive sampling is used in that it is a type of sampling strategy that has some purpose or focus in mind (Punch 1998: 193).

As an instrument for data collection, interviews with mailed or self-administered questionnaires have been conducted, and in support of this method Punch explains interviewing as “...a very good way of accessing people’s perceptions, meanings, [and] definitions of situations and constructions of reality” (1998: 174).

7.2 About the respondents

A Questionnaire with open-ended questions was developed to enlist the views of six (6) African scholars who some of them are also cultural activists involved in Pan-African thought and the African Renaissance discourse. The following is the profile of the six respondents:

7.2.1 Dr. Gomolemo Mokae

Medical doctor, author, cultural activist and political commentator, Dr Mokae writes in English and Setswana. His published works include *Masego*, *Short not tall stories*, *Kaine le Abele*, *The Secret in my bosom* and *Nnete ke serunya*. The TV dramas *Gaabo Motho*, *Lisenethini – It's a goal!* and *The secret in my bosom* were broadcast by the South

African Broadcasting Corporation. Mokae has received numerous honours for his literary works and social activism. In 2003, Vista University awarded him an honorary doctorate for his literary works, social and cultural activism. The following year, the institution conferred a scholastic PhD on him for his biographical study of former ANC guerrilla Robert McBride.

7.2.2 Dr. Mokete Pherudi

He is a black historian and a Mosotho cultural activist. As a historian his main interest and focus is on Africa's socio-political history. Dr Pherudi was both the Senior Lecturer and the Head of School of Historical Sciences, at the then University of the North – Qwaqwa Campus, from 2000 - 2004. He is currently a Senior Analyst for the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria. Except numerous articles he has had published in various journals. He has also published a book titled, *Storm in the Mountain*, which is about the socio-political history of Lesotho.

7.2.3 Dr. Mamabolo Radifadi Raphesu

He is a minister in the Uniting Presbyterian Church in Southern Africa, an academic, a trade unionist and an independent political analyst. Dr Raphesu is a PhD graduate of the University of Pretoria, and in his whole academic life he has taken a keen interest in adding value to African thought. His greatest thesis in the entire discipline is that people can realise their full humanity without being carbon-copies of anyone else, and his

opinion on topical issues such as the African Renaissance are of significance precisely because they can be used to recreate and resuscitate the spirit of self-reliance and self-determination.

His writings are always directed towards the African Weltanschauung, and his major work in this area is embodied and enshrined succinctly in his doctoral dissertation titled: *Rethinking Failed Development: In Search for a Paradigm Consonant with Bapedi and Batswana Traditions: Towards a Missio-Ethical Approach*. The following are some of his published and unpublished papers that he presented at local and overseas conferences:

- *Some Imperialist Aspects of Sustainable Development*, A Paper presented at the Sheffield Hallam University – United Kingdom, in July 2002.
- *Affirmative Action: A Weapon of Death*, A paper presented at the Spring Lecture at the University of the North, in 1996.
- *African Renaissance: A False Sentiment*, a paper presented at the SACC Free State Provincial Council, in 1999.
- *Witchcraft Accusations in the Northern Province: The Subjecting of a Cultural Belief to a Narrow Political Pursuit*, Research undertaken under the auspices of the SANPAD-UNIN Partnership and the University of Utrecht, between 1998 and 1999.
- *The True Meaning of Africanism*, article published in the Sowetan, 7 October 1996.
- *Whose Morality should be the Signpost in Moral Reconstruction: A Moral Dilemma Facing the Moral Regeneration Movement in South Africa*, A paper presented at a Conference organised by Mogale City, in March 2003.

From 1995 to 2001 he worked as a Senior Lecturer at the University of the North, teaching Ethics and African Theology, and since 2001 he has been working as an Executive Director for the Industrial Ministry of South Africa based in Johannesburg.

7.2.4 Mr. George Samiselo

Born and bred in Zambia, Mr Samiselo is a Rhodes Scholar. He has a longstanding interest in the following fields of study: arts, especially literature, social and political developments in Africa. This position has led him to work on a PhD degree in African Literature at the University of Cape Town. The title of his thesis is *Narrative Technique and Readerships in Select African Novels by Chinua Achebe, Ama Ata Aidoo, Ayi Kwei Armah, Ngugi wa Thiongo and Onuora Nzekwu – Towards Reception Theory*. He currently teaches English and African Literature in the Department of English and Classical Studies at the University of the Free State, Qwaqwa Campus.

7.2.5 Prof. Sechaba Mahlomaholo

Prof. Mahlomaholo is a Mathematician, an excellent academic, and an intellectual who use his intellectual prowess to defend and further the interests of Africa and its peoples. In 1981 he started as an assistant-teacher at Maraleng High School, at Ficksburg, Free State. He holds a PhD degree which he obtained from the University of Western Cape, and the title of his thesis is, *Signification of African Identity, Individual African Identity and Performance in Mathematics among some African pupils in Mangaung Schools*. He

is a critical thinker and respected researcher, and as such he has interest in the development of nationally and internationally competitive research geared towards health, economic and community development, especially of the rural and previously disadvantaged communities.

Between 2001 and 2003 Prof. Mahlomaholo worked as head of Research Management at the Medical University of South Africa, and currently works as Director: Curriculum Development at the Central University of Technology, Free State.

He has published a volume of articles in refereed journals and non-refereed journals, and the following are some of his publications which are chapters in books:

*Khotseng MB, Matlou MD and Mahlomaholo Mg (1994). *The Pedagogical Character of the Struggle*. In Muller J (Editor), Vintage Kenton, Cape Town.

*Daems F, De Corte E, Ellen J, Hay D, Masithela NJ, Mahlomaholo MG, Messerschmidt, H, Moleleki M, Reymenans R, Steyn PDG, Van Zyl E (1999): *Learning History: Language, Instructional and Assessment Issues*. Leuven: Centre for Instructional Psychology Publication.

*Mahlomaholo MG and Moleleki MM (in press 2001): Chapter 5. Development of Research Instruments for the International Phaphamang Language Research Project. In Daems, F & De Corte, E. *Empirical Investigation on Learning History, Language, Instructional, and Assessment Issues*. Leuven: Centre for Instructional Psychology Publication.

*Mahlomaholo MG and Moleleki MM (in press 2001): Chapter 8. Analysis and Interpretation of Qualitative Data for the International Phaphamang Language Research Project. *Empirical Investigation on Learning History, Language, Instructional, and Assessment issues*. Leuven: Centre for Instructional Psychology Publication.

7.2.6 Dr. Morewane Sedibe

Dr Sedibe is an academic of long standing and has a passion for community involvement. He holds a PhD degree in Vocational orientation Pedagogic obtained from the University of Pretoria. The title of his thesis is, *The Black Adolescent from the Single Parent Family: A Guidance Perspective*. Having served as a teacher and School Principal for many years he ended up being Dean of the Faculty of Human Sciences at the Central University of Technology, Free State. His love and passion for students led to him being appointed as the Dean of Students, the position he is currently holding at CUT, FS.

Dr Sedibe published a number of articles in journals and delivered papers at both national and international conferences. His publications include:

- *A Model for Assisting Disadvantaged Students to Cope with University Tuition.*
- *Reflections on Language and Student Learning at the University of Pretoria.*
- *Distance Education through the Medium of Television.*
- *Multicultural Guidance and Counselling in Post-Apartheid South Africa Education.*
- *Satellite TV Education in Rural Areas.*
- *Guidelines for Educators Teaching Culturally Diverse Learners.*

His involvement in the community clearly indicates that he loves his culture. At his village of birth he is a member of “Diphiri” (which means local grave diggers during funerals). He is also an active member of his “kgoro” (a clan to which his family belong). During his spare time he never misses attending “Lekgotla” (meeting normally called by the Local Tribal Chief) and is also a member of an executive committee that advises the Local Chief on educational issues. On the National level politics, Dr Sedibe served as a member of the Hammanskraal local government as well as assistant Secretary of Pretoria Central Branch of the ANC. He is currently a member of the executive committee of the Greater Montana Branch of the ANC. During his teaching career he served as a chairman of Principals Council as well as the local Teachers Association.

7.3 The Respondents’ discourse

In their responses the respondents also refer to the following elements, which form part of the conceptual framework upon which the discourses on the reclamation of the African cultural heritage, the socio-political and economic transformation process and development are based.

7.3.1 The uniqueness of the African cultural heritage

In his response Mokae argues that the African cultural heritage has its uniqueness compared to other religions, more specifically the European cultural heritage. What he regards as distinct in the African culture is the centrality of man (non-gender sense). This

is clearly demonstrated in the concept of Botho-Ubuntu - a social ethic that articulates a basic respect and compassion for others – enshrined in the maxim: *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu/ motho ke motho ka batho*. In Mokae's words this means, "my humanness is enhanced by my positive interaction with other human beings" (Appendix A: 2).

Undeniably, as Mokae asserts, the Botho-Ubuntu social ethic is in stark contrast to the European idea of a being in a society, whereby individual interest rule supreme and others are but a means to an individual end. "The philosophy recognises the indivisibility of human nature, and the commonness of purpose of human beings which make our interests, aspirations and objectives intertwined" (Teffo 1999: 169). According to Louw (1997: 4) "the Cartesian individual exists prior to, or separately and independently from the rest of the community or society. The rest of society is nothing but an added extra to a pre-existent and self sufficient-being."

7.3.2 Media and the revitalization process of the African cultural heritage

Pherudi indicates that one of the instruments that can be used to reclaim and revitalize the African cultural heritage in the 21st century is the media in all its main forms (namely, television, radio and newspaper, precisely because it has the potential to influence the mind of an individual and society. In this regard Pherudi emphasises the significance of the role played by the media in promoting a positive image of Africa and its people.

In this relation, reflecting on the prospects of the African Renaissance in the 21st century, Okai (1999: 360) notes that, Africans “need to be aware of the nature of the current phenomenon of modern communication facilities which are formidable forces of seduction and persuasion, manipulation and indoctrination, whose ultimate long-term effect is the control of the African – through his[/her] bank of accumulated information of negative images, and of his[/her] distorted self-awareness and depleted self-confidence – and thereby affecting the quality of his sensibilities and therefore his[/her] nerve to dare to be, much less to become.”

Given the situation of the globalisation process the competition for the control of the mind of the African personality has become more intense. Media organisation “... located outside of Africa pump into African heads and hearts, non-stop for 24 hours a day, whatever words and images they want [Africans] to see and hear and believe” (Chinweizu 1999: 366).

7.3.3 The non-essentialist character of the African Cultural Heritage

Mahlomaholo argues that, while acknowledging the fact that it was through the alienation and marginalization processes of the African cultural heritage by European cultural imperialism that the European colonialist succeeded to have control of the African continent and its people, “there is nothing essentially African different from what is essentially European” (Appendix E: 2).

He further maintains that, in fact both the African cultural heritage and the European cultural heritage, “if they were to exist [without the latter having to alienate and marginalise the former] they would have been a mere variation of the same thing made different by emphasis or social construction or the discourse of ‘other-ing’” (Appendix E: 2).

In agreement with Mahlomaholo Mugo (1999: 214) asserts that, there is nothing essential about the African cultural heritage in that like any culture in the world it “... changes all the time, registering either progress or retrogression and reflecting the socio-economic-political environment around its creators.”

7.3.4 The idea of self-reliance

In his definition of the notion of development Sedibe explains that, “development refers to a situation whereby marginalised countries of Africa are able to use their own mineral and natural resources to feed themselves and look after the needs of their people without entirely relying on outside help [with its attached strings]” (Appendix F: 4).

According to Rodney (1972), concerning the relations of production between the coloniser and the colonised, colonialism encouraged dependency in the economic dealings between Europe and Africa, and this contributed enormously to the situation of underdevelopment that continue to plague Africa today. In the 1960’s as a counter-action to the situation of economic depravation that was common throughout Africa, the post-

colonial African leaders such as Nyerere, Kaunda, and Nkrumah, each in his own way urged their people to rely upon their own forces, and in this way the concept of self-reliance entered the vocabulary of development (Rist 1999: 123).

One of the principles of self-reliance is that "...it prioritizes production within the country of goods useful to the population as a whole, instead of relying on international trade to import consumer goods (or weapons) that are of profit to a minority, ... [furthermore] ... it stimulates creativity and confidence in one's own values ... [and it also] ... involves various forms of development and rejects the situation of imported models" (Rist 1999: 134 – 135).

7.4 Some strategies for Africanisation

Responding to the question of the Pan-African identity and the processes of the repositioning of Africa in the context of globalisation discourse, some respondents identified Pan-Africanism thought and the Black Consciousness philosophy as the two outstanding critical and reconstructive pro-African strategies which were used in the 1950's and the early 1960's and are still relevant in the 21st century.

As demonstrated earlier in this study these strategies were employed by the young African political leaders and intellectuals of post-colonial Africa in their endeavour to decolonise and liberate the African continent. Among other things these leaders strongly believed that Africa as a united entity was capable of solving its political and economic

problems, and also highlighted the significance of the need to rescue the African personality from the onslaught of European cultural imperialism.

7.4.1 The Pan-Africanism thought as a significant strategy for asserting the Pan-African identity

According to Raphesu and Mahlomaholo Pan-Africanism thought is one of the pro-African strategies of the 1950's that can be employed in the 21st century to assert a Pan-African identity in order to counter the marginalising practices of the globalisation process. As also stated earlier in this study the idea of Pan-Africanism developed as a reaction to the impact of European domination and alienation of the African personality, and this process is clearly articulated in Senghor's *Negritude*, Nkrumah's *Consciencism*, Nyerere's *Ujamaa* and Kaunda's *African Humanism*.

Pan-Africanism as a significant strategy for the repositioning of the African continent in the context of globalisation discourse and is relevant in the 21st century in that, as it was the case in the 1950's, the "peoples of black African descent around the world [still] face a number of similar socio-economic and political challenges as they strive to create better futures for their descendents" ([http:// encarta.msn.com](http://encarta.msn.com)). In this relation Prah (1997: 70) points out that "...the most potent idea for African emancipation is the Pan-African position." However, if the idea has "to meet the evolving challenges of our times, it needs to go beyond the crass reproduction of former views, some of which are today contextually and sociologically irrelevant."

In agreement with Prah, Muchie (2000: 304) maintains that, in the context of the globalisation process and its marginalising tendencies, “a shared conception of an African identity should be a universal value which is not detained by partial interests, cultural particularisms, state-nationalisms, ethnic primordial loyalties, racial classifications and other desultory practices, capable of commanding moral and political authority.”

In support of Prah and Muchie, Makgoba (1997: 177 – 178) explains that “what Africanisation challenges is the superiority mentality of racism and the imitative philosophy that in the long term lead to the perpetual albeit sophisticated enslavement of Africans into the future, ...[it] ...also challenges the imposition of foreign and often alienating behavioural patterns, ...[and in addition, it] ... seeks to provide a basis for originality and uniqueness that can contribute meaningfully to global knowledge and civilization.”

7.4.2 Black Consciousness as a significant strategy for asserting the Pan-African identity

In their respective responses Mokae and Mahlomaholo identified the Black Consciousness philosophy, which emerged in the 1960's in South Africa, as the other significant strategy critical in asserting a Pan-African identity in the context of the globalisation process and post-1994 South Africa and its challenges of a socio-political and economic transformation project.

Like Pan-Africanism thought, the Black Consciousness philosophy emerged as a result of the 1950's and early 1960's African political life that was pervaded by a "...strangling silence [that] was due to the overt and blatant use of oppression by the apartheid state through the suppression of the African Nationalist movements and the imprisonment, banning or exile of prominent anti-Apartheid leaders

(<http://www.history.und.ac.za/sowetobikothe.htm>). In that vacuum the emergence of the Black Consciousness philosophy marked the beginning of an alternative political awareness.

In brief, Biko (1978: 91 – 92) defined Black Consciousness as “an attitude of mind and a way of life, the most positive call to emanate from the black world for a long time. Its essence [is] the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the course of their oppression – the blackness of their skin – and to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude.” In a nutshell, as it was further explained by Biko, who was its chief exponent, the Black Consciousness philosophy's objective is “...to express group pride and the determination of the black to rise and attain the envisaged self. Freedom [is] the ability to define oneself with one's possibilities held back not by the power of other people over one but only by one's relationship to God and to natural surroundings” (1978: 92).

In agreement with Mokae and Mahlomaholo, Nefolovhodwe (2000: 4) asserts that, the relevance of the Black Consciousness philosophy in the context of globalisation discourse and post-1994 South Africa, lies in the fact that “black people are still faced

with poverty and starvation, ... [and that, they] ... still need to eradicate racism, capitalist exploitation and their lives still needs to be qualitatively enhanced.”

7.5 Views, positions and perceptions of Academics and Cultural Activists involved in the Pan-African thought and the African Renaissance discourse

The following are summaries of the opinions and views which were conveyed by the respondents to the various thematic headings in the questionnaire, and where appropriate, they shall be supplemented with related literature, documents or statements:

7.5.1 The meaning of the concept of the African Cultural Heritage

In his response Mokae (Appendix A: p 2), describes the African Cultural Heritage as a “set of ideas, beliefs, and ways of behaving, living and amusement belonging to the African people.” In support of Mokae, Pherudi (Appendix B: p 2) asserts that these aspects of the African Cultural Heritage are “respected, observed and adhered to by Africans in their daily activities” [especially in the villages].

In Samiselo’s view the African Cultural Heritage can also be explained as “the practical acknowledgement of the pre-existence of a rich and diverse amalgam of a criss-crossing in Africa of social, cultural, economic and scientific aspects of life” (Appendix D: p 2). In agreement with Samiselo, Cabral notes that culture as a phenomenological concept “is simultaneously the fruit of a people’s history and determinant of history, by the positive

or negative influences which it exerts on the evolution of relationships between man and his environment, among men or groups of men within a society as well as among different societies” (1973: 41).

In this relation, Mokae citing Ngugi wa Thiong’o (1998: 2) adds that “language is the carrier of culture,” meaning it is through language that a culture of a people is preserved and conveyed. This is in line with Prah’s assertion that language “bears the record of history, traditions, beliefs and knowledge of any people. It is in language that people learn, relate to each other as social animals in a material world of production, reproduction, distribution and exchange.”

Concurring with Mokae, and writing on the observations he made at a typical traditional African funeral that he attended at a place called Motlhabe, a rural village in North West Province, Themba Molefe (2004: 6), in his column, *Slice of life*, comments that “they cherish their heritage, traditions and norms. They speak Setswana and respect their language and culture. When they speak, they select words and idioms with great diligence and care. Every word has a meaning.”

7.5.2 Elements that make the African Cultural Heritage distinct and different when compared with other world cultures

According to Raphesu (Appendix C: p 2) “there is very little distinction between the African Cultural Heritage from other world cultures, save the fact that the African

Cultural Heritage expresses the earliest forms of human development which has been struggling to find its place in the world cultural heritage.” Concurring with Raphesu, Mahlomahlo points out that “... Africa should not be seen as distinct from the human cultural heritage, [precisely] because scientific evidence attest to the fact that Africa is the cradle of humanity, therefore everything that is human is African” (Appendix E: p 2).

Actually, as Mahlomaholo further notes “the idea of making Africa or that which is African different is flawed and is bound to fail because that is just the imagination of a discourse that has been attempting to “*other*” [emphasise mine] the African and make him/her different and therefore prone to colonisation and /or dehumanisation” (Appendix E: p 2).

In line with Mahlomaholo, Masolo (1994: 4) explains that the process of sabotaging and derogating the African personality in the world started as early as the 18th century, which was described as “a period of cultural revitalization and power consolidation in Europe,” and it was characterised by the dichotomy between the European race (described as civilized and logical) and the African race (defined as uncivilized and mystical). Undeniably, by distorting the African personality the colonial cultural hegemony managed to empty the natives of all form and content, meaning how African people perceived themselves in time and space, and in relation to “*other*” selves in the world (Fanon 1963: 169).

7.5.3 Elements similar in the African Cultural Heritage when compared to other world cultures

Responding to this theme Mahlomaholo's view is that "everything is similar because [all human beings] have similar blood, bones etc," he further contests that, "dark complexion is a mere result of exposure to the elements and not to an intrinsic difference" (Appendix E: p 2). In this connection Appiah notes that, in an attempt to assert the white supremacy complex, the European doctrines on race "have often placed a central emphasis on physical appearance in defining the *"Other,"* and on common ancestry in explaining why groups of people display differences in their attitudes and aptitudes" (1992: 10-11).

However, in Mokae's opinion "what is similar in the African Cultural Heritage compared to other cultures is the fact that, like other people in the world Africans have material (i.e. artefacts, implements, etc.) and non-material elements (i.e. institutions, values, etc.) of human creativity, all of which they have produced over time and utilised in their interaction, on the one hand with their material environment, and on the other hand with one another as individuals and groups and the other selves in the world" (Appendix A: p 2).

In his response Raphesu maintains that "the African Cultural Heritage is similar to other world cultures, [in that] like others, it contains an element of dynamism" (Appendix C: p 2). Concurring with Raphesu, Makgoba (Introduction 1999: x) maintains that "cultures are not fixed or stagnant entities ... [in fact] all cultures are dynamic, evolve and develop

over time. More important, all cultures are creolising as part of and as a consequence of globalisation.”

7.5.4 The meaning and implications of Deculturation as a socio-cultural process through which people are alienated from some of their core cultural values and practices.

In Mokae’s view deculturation in the African context can be described as a situation of “... a loss by African people of the essence of their Africanness as embodied in their languages, music, how they behave, how they view other human beings in space and time” (Appendix A: p 2).

Concurring with Mokae, Raphesu (Appendix C: p 2) maintains that deculturation in the African context can be seen as “...an alienation process that at the end of the day leaves the African persona with nothing that makes him/her an entity in his/her own right. In this way the African persona becomes susceptible to any form of identity to which he/she does not belong, precisely because he/she is made in the image of the colonizer.”

As Seepe (1998: 1) observes, in the South African context, it was through the ideological designs of colonialism and apartheid that African communities became alienated from their tools of self-definition, meaning the mechanisms which maintained the alienated and marginalised communities’ “belief in their names, in their languages, in their

environment ...in their capacities and ultimately in themselves” (Ngugi wa Thiong’o 1986: 3).

7.5.5 Strategies that can be used by people, who have been deculturised in an attempt to, again appreciate, valorise, practice and live their culture

Sedibe indicates that, the deculturised African people can only reclaim who they are “by organising cultural activities and festivities through which the African Cultural Heritage can be displayed and celebrated” (Appendix F: p 2). On the other hand Mahlomaholo maintains that “[Africans] just have to realise that there is *NOTHING* intrinsically different about them. They are just like anybody else. That they are seen to be different is just a mere ploy to exploit and dehumanise them so that they could [easily] be exploited without conscience as they are seen not to be exactly like others. The fact of the matter is that [they should be encouraged] to be African and to be African is to be human, and therefore Africans should strive towards re-claiming their human status like everybody else” (Appendix E: p 1-2).

In Pherudi’s view (Appendix B: p 2) decolonisation of the mind is the only strategy that can help those who suffered from the processes of alienation and marginalisation by European cultural imperialism to reclaim and assert their cultural identity. In support Mokae maintains that “generally, in virtually all cultures role modelling is an important phenomenon of influence in a process to change behaviour, [and in this way] ... more and more young Africans will appreciate, valorise African cultural practices and

experience(s) and thus begin to live their culture when they see those who are ‘successful’ in their life doing likewise” (Appendix A: pp 2-3). What is more, Mokae likewise points out that “media like television, radio, and newspaper can play a positive role by providing avenues for the different cultures to be ‘show cased’.”

7.5.6 Pro-African heritage strategies that can be used to address the situation of alienation and marginalisation

In Mahlomaholo’s opinion Black Consciousness is one of the best pro-African strategies that was/can be employed to address the situation of the alienation and marginalisation of the African persona by Western cultural imperialism, precisely because the philosophy defines blackness as “... just a marker and not an intrinsic characteristic making [Africans] different. Africans need to use that as a platform of demonstrating their full and equal humanity to all. Africanness just refers to some geographic location, just like Gauteng does not make people there to be different from people in Shannon” (Appendix E: p 3).

On the other hand Samiselo points out that “the assumptions of the African Renaissance are a useful case in point, however, they can only be supported and sustained through political will” (Appendix D: p 3). Mokae maintains that “practical pro-African strategies that can be employed to re-center the African Cultural Heritage into the life stream of the [transforming] South African society [from an apartheid hierarchy of cultures to democratic society with a patriotic national cultural identity] would include, increasing

the quota of TV programmes in African languages [remember, language has been identified as the carrier of culture], supporting initiatives like the “Miss Malaika” beauty pageant and so on.” He also says, “politicians [should] be encouraged to speak African languages in their rallies and interactions with the media” (Appendix A: p 3).

7.5.7 Critical and reconstructive pro-African heritage strategies that people employed since the 1950s in addressing the situation of European cultural domination

In his response Raphesu indicates that “the period after the 1950’s in African history is characterised by the emergence of Independent African states with an African agenda especially typified by African socialism. And African socialism manifested itself in ideas such as Senghor’s Negritude, Nkrumah’s Consciencism, and Nyerere’s Ujamaa” (Appendix C: p 3). As demonstrated earlier in this study, with these ideologies the young African leaders of post-colonial Africa developed socio-political and economic strategies that were aimed at rescuing the African continent and all its people from the grip of European cultural imperialism in all its forms (Prah 1997: 11 – 12).

For example, as observed by Mulenga (2001: 450), with the philosophy of Ujamaa “Nyerere’s aim was to transform the colonial value system that had alienated the African from his past into one group of attitudes based on the African past values and attitudes of self-esteem, co-operation and family or communal wealth.”

According to Sedibe one the critical and constructive strategies that have been effective in addressing the situation of European cultural domination and the alienation of the African personality was the “Pan-Africanism Movement as it was initiated by the likes of Du Bois, Kwame Nkrumah and others” (Appendix F: p 3). In his view Samiselo points out that “the tenets of PAFMECSA [Pan-African Freedom Movement for East, Central, and South Africa – a regional organisation] and the OAU [Organisation of African Unity] were the beginnings of this process [which had as its objective to politically unite Africa]” (Appendix D: p 3).

7.5.8 The impact that the critical and constructive pro-African strategies of the 1950s had on the marginalised communities of the post-colonial Africa

Sedibe maintains that the pro-active Pan-African heritage strategies mentioned above were effective, precisely “because many African people (including those in Diaspora) began to reclaim their identity and dignity in the world that was dominated by the views and values of the coloniser” (Appendix F: p 3).

In his response Mokaie explains that the Black consciousness philosophy “... as a tool for socio-cultural and psychological emancipation was effective, in that long after the 1960’s, the reverberations of Black Consciousness are still being felt as Sam Shilowa becomes Mbhazima Shilowa, Shepherd Mdladlana becomes Membathisi Mdladlana” (Appendix A: p 3). In this relation Nefolovhodwe (2000: 4) points out that “central to the philosophy of Black Consciousness is the struggle for total emancipation both

psychologically and physically. [The philosophy] posited that every society strives to create a political, social and economic framework around which the development and self actualisation of human beings are achieved both individually and collectively.”

Furthermore, Mokae points out that “on the overt political front, President Thabo Mbeki’s call for the African Renaissance and the ‘I am an African’ speech, and the NEPAD project attest to the effectiveness of the Black Consciousness strategy of the 1960’s, whether these conditions [or those involved] will accept it or not” (Appendix A: p 3).

7.5.9 South Africa’s most important positive changes in the past 10 years – ‘Celebrating the first decade of democracy’

In Raphesu’s (Appendix C: p 3) view the following are “the most positive changes that have taken place since 1994:

- i. the recognition of the significance of the African Cultural Heritage, although in a distorted and corrupt way;
- ii. the naming of places in some areas [as a socio-cultural strategy of reclaiming African identity] has been positive although in others this process is severely regarded as partisan;
- iii. the bloodless transition; and
- iv. the emergence of assertiveness exuded by a number of Africans in various spheres of life.

In support of Raphesu, Mokae notes that the most important positive changes “include the enfranchisement of every citizen of South Africa irrespective of creed or colour, the assumption of office by the country’s first black president (Mr Nelson Mandela) and the removal of apartheid (racial discrimination) from the statute books” (Appendix A: p 3). In addition, Manga (2004: 12) points out that, the African Union’s decision, at Addis Ababa, to award the country the opportunity to host the Pan-African Parliament “...underlines the recognition that South Africa [after 1994] remains an important political reference point in Africa.”

Samiselo’s opinion is that “like any society coming out of a particular bondage, freedom for the formerly oppressed to do/to have access to many things is one obvious and laudable change in South Africa” (Appendix D: p 3). In support of Samiselo, Robinson (2004: 36) observes that “there’s plenty to celebrate, [in that] Black South Africans now sit on the country’s corporate boards, play on its international sporting teams, edit its most important newspaper, and own some of its restaurants. Parts of old black townships have been reborn – with new roads, new houses and supermarkets where once there were muddy fields.”

7.5.10 South Africa’s negative changes a decade after its first free elections slammed a door on apartheid

Responding to this theme Samiselo indicates that “corruption; the pull of money is a cancer to any emerging society. When a formerly oppressed people suddenly want to

'enjoy' life, morality goes down, [this means] the moral fabric of South Africa is gradually decaying" (Appendix D: p 3). In his response Raphesu, further notes that, the "negative changes that have taken place since 1993 are largely embedded in the constitution such as the recognition of homosexuality." Raphesu argues that "while the argument may be that this practice has been there in the past; the fact is that it is a deviant behaviour" (Appendix C: p 3).

From a socio-cultural point of view Sedibe maintains that due to the political change "many people have become [more] attracted to modernization (Westernism) and have thus become disconnected from the African village life and practices" (Appendix F: p 3).

In line with Samiselo, and from an economic perspective, Mokae observes that "one of the negative implications of post-1993 South Africa is the emergence of the African capitalist class, a black bourgeoisie - a phenomenon that has the President Mr Thabo Mbeki's strong support. The problem with this group is that in a transforming society the group is not grounded in the African cultural practices(s) and experience(s) and as a result the lot is not different from their creators or their mentors because they also place profits before human beings" (Appendix A: p 4).

In this connection, commenting on the benefits and the misfortunes associated with *South Africa's 10 years of Democracy*, Dan Habedi (2004: 14), Secretary General of the Azanian Peoples Organisation, notes that "more that 30 years ago, Steve Biko decried the fact that black people had to travel long distances to and from work for money that was

just enough to make them go to work again. Not much has changed since then.” Similarly, Robinson (2004: 36) observes that, in April 1994, through their votes at the polling stations, the people of South Africa ushered in a new political dispensation, “yet huge divisions remain: between white and black, rich and poor, urban and rural.” Furthermore, the situation is such that “up to 20% of blacks now count themselves as among the middle class, but an estimated 40% of households still fall below the official poverty line of \$53 per month, and the black townships remain among the worst of the country’s slums” (Robinson 2004: 36).

7.5.11 The current challenges that face South Africa in the next decade

In Mahlomaholo’s view (Appendix E: p 4) the challenges that face South Africa in the next decade include among others, “poverty, illiteracy, diseases be they HIV/AIDS, malaria etc., unemployment, marginalisation of the dispossessed, oppression of the landless, the poor and etc.” In agreement with Mahlomaholo, Mokae (Appendix A: p 4) identifies HIV/AIDS as the greatest challenge facing South Africa.

Elinor Sisulu (2004: 13) underlines the seriousness of the challenge of HIV/AIDS in Africa when she points out that “Africa is the epicentre of the greatest catastrophe of modern times – the HIV-AIDS pandemic. Like termites boring through a wooden frame, HIV-AIDS has quietly and steadily ravaged southern African societies, causing incalculable harm to communities and households by removing their most productive members.” To add, Mnyanda (2004: 3) reports that, as far as the International Monetary

Fund (IMF) is concerned, one of the main social factors that deter foreign investment is the spread of HIV/AIDS.

In as far as Raphesu (Appendix C: pp 3-4) is concerned the following are the challenges that face South Africa in the next ten years:

- i. the lack of creativity to create jobs by Africans; and
- ii. [the fact that] most of the production means are still in the hands of the minority of whites, including farms and companies.

In this relation, reflecting on the situation of unemployment, in the daily Newspaper *ThisDay*, Mbeki (2004: 18) notes that the great challenges that faces South Africa includes among others "...high levels of unemployment with continuing job losses in the formal sector and rising joblessness, especially among the youth, low growth, low savings and low levels of investment; continued mass poverty and deep inequalities based on class, race and religion."

7.5.12 The meaning and the implications of the African Renaissance as one of the most important concepts through which the revitalisation of Africa can take place

Pherudi (Appendix B: p 3) explains the notion of the African Renaissance as [a process of] "introspection on which one focuses on who you are, where you are going, what you want others to see in you, [also about] community identity and other aspects of African ubuntu." On the other hand, according to Mokae (Appendix A: 4) "the call for a re-

awakening of Africa and its people to their rich cultural heritage is not a novelty. The Kwame Nkrumahs, Pixley ka Seme, and Du Bois were preaching it before Presidents Mbeki and Obasanjo.”

On the contrary, Mahlomaholo (Appendix E: 4) argues that the notion of the African Renaissance is “a European phenomenon which can never be African. Africa perhaps could be thinking about Ujamaa or other such home brewed concept that has nothing to do with the coloniser. Europe is not the yard stick for Africa, unless we want to perpetuate ‘other-ing and marginalisation.’”

In agreement with Pherudi and Mokae, Sisulu describes the notion of the African Renaissance as a new paradigm for Africa’s development and a process through which Africans can rediscover and define who they are within the context of globalisation and its alienating and marginalising practices (2004: 13).

7.5.13 The most important challenges for the African Renaissance in the 21st century

Mokae (Appendix A: 4) maintains that the most important challenge for the African Renaissance call is “to help Africa’s organic intellectuals to produce community capable of rehabilitating and repositioning its progressive traditional socio-economic structures, values and practices which can be used as a base for the continent’s socio-economic development in the context of globalisation.”

In line with Mokae, Pherudi (Appendix B: 4) points out that one of the challenges of the African Renaissance call is to restore Africa's REAL identity, and "to know who are the REAL Africans, lest others are coerced." In support of Mokae and Pherudi, Sedibe adds that, "the re-centering of African languages into the life and work of the nation is of significance and thus needs to be taken seriously by the African intelligentsia."

According to Raphesu (Appendix C: 4) the challenge of the African Renaissance call is its ability to make "the economy [of the continent] work for the good of the majority of the marginalised African communities, the reclaiming of African cultural values and religious beliefs." On the other hand Samiselo (Appendix D: 3) says the challenge that "stands between the call and its success is *Political Will*" [emphasise mine].

Mahlomaholo's (Appendix E: 3) view is that the African Renaissance calls "most important challenge is for it to be indigenised into the African ethos, heart and soul ... [precisely because] as it is now, it is a boot-licking way of trying to be European in the context of globalisation which is authored by big Western capital."

7.5.14 The meaning and the content of the concept of development in the situation of the African continent and its problems

Mokae defines development as "a process that among other things involves the political mobilization of a people to aspire to attain their objectives and to be at the state of being where they are self-reliant and confident to compete with others without fear of

exploitation” (Appendix A: p 4). In as far as Raphesu is concerned development can also be described as “[a phenomenon that has impact on] a number of areas of life, from human resources, economic, political and technological including education. All these have to with a means to maximize quality in human life and enrich the human world so as to avoid poverty, diseases and wars in the long run” (Appendix C: p 4).

In defining the term Mahlomaholo is more critical and thus cautions that the term “development should not be defined about, say, the value of the Rand in comparison to the dollar etc., but it should be measured/defined by the extent to which the poor become less poor or even rich” (Appendix E: p 5). Concurring with Mahlomaholo, Schurmann (1996: 6) argues that, “the word ‘*development*’ has become shorthand for ‘*modernization and industrialization*.’ For many people these three words telescope into a single word – ‘Westernization’. Thus development = Westernization. Westernization means creating political-economic-social complexes essentially similar to those that exist in ‘developed’ regions like Western Europe, East Asia and the United States.”

In addition, Sedibe points out that “development refers to a situation whereby the marginalised countries of Africa are able to use their own mineral and natural resources to feed themselves and look after the needs of their people without entirely relying on outside help” (Appendix F: p 4).

7.5.15 The implications of the globalisation process for Africa

Mokae describes globalisation as “a process of increasing interdependence and global co-operation of nations and this occurs as money, people and ideas flow freely across national boundaries” (Appendix A: p 5). However, in Raphesu’s view “globalisation is nothing but a process of the integration of the struggling countries into the world economy; the process undermines the national way in which countries can be self-reliant, especially the countries of the South” (Appendix C: p 4). Adding his voice to that of Mokae and Raphesu, Samiselo describes globalisation as “Western myth/ploy to swallow up Third World countries/economies, [and] unfortunately, the African mind, because it is already severely impaired/deracinated by colonialism, and has bought into the idea of globalisation” (Appendix D: p 4). In Malomaholo’s view globalisation is nothing else but “... a neo-colonial concept of undermining other fledgling economies and practices authored outside Europe” (Appendix E: p 4).

In line with Mokae, Raphesu and Samiselo, Mikhail Gorbachev, the former president of the Soviet Union, as president of Green Cross International, observes that, “market-driven globalisation tends to enforce the notion, derived from neo-liberal theory, that gross domestic product indicator are the only measure of national wealth and progress” (2004: 16)

7.5.16 The negative and the positive implications of globalisation on Africa

Mokae notes that “given the fact that, in the whole the globalization process is all about the triumph of the ideas and values of the countries of the [geo-political] North. The negative implications of the phenomenon are that Africa will always be marginal in the socio-cultural and economic interaction of the North and South [geo-political countries]. As a result of this Africa will continue to be subjected to the whims of Western-orientated bureaucrats and development specialists” (Appendix A: p 5).

In Pherudi’s view the negative implications of globalisation is that “Africa has [and is continually] been reduced to [the status] of a beggar – always seeking help from the G-8 countries, European Union and the World Bank, [this] has actually resulted into dependency syndrome” (Appendix B: p 4). In line with Pherudi, in his article titled, *The lie of aid-dependent Africa*, Soni (2004: 9), observes that “the patterns of management of ‘donor aid’ have been refined over several decades. The language may have got smoother and the behaviour personally kinder, but the story line remains the same: Africa, that pathetic continent, requiring charitable assistance, on terms set in Brussels or Washington, monitored and evaluated by ‘donor’ representatives.”

Raphesu adds that “the negative impact of globalization is to destroy local initiative and create more dependency” (Appendix C: p 4). In as far as Mahlomaholo is concerned the negative implications of the phenomenon is that at the end it creates a situation whereby the “... local and indigenous loos[e] control, initiative and prominence ... [this means] ...

that which is not global is considered queer and meriting intervention for ‘normalisation’.” (Appendix E: pp 4-5).

Concurring with Mahlomaholo, Sedibe asserts that the negative impact of globalisation is that “Africans [in the margin] are persuaded to throw away their cultural heritage and adopt an alienating and marginalising culture of the [dominating and] powerful communities in the global village” (Appendix F: p 4).

In Pherudi (Appendix B: p 4) and Sedibe’s views the positive implications of globalisation on Africa is that though “... the rules are rather unfavourable to Africa and its people, the latter is given an opportunity in various spheres of life to also compete with other nations of the world” (Appendix F: 4). Mokae indicates that through the globalisation process the African “... continent will be afforded an opportunity to entrench its right to represent itself and contest the space, and challenge, among other things, existing unfair trade policies imposed by some of the countries of the North” (Appendix A: p 5).

Related to this theme Mbembe and Posel (2004: 2) observes that “to inhabit a world which is globally connected presents new opportunities, as well as new risks. In the midst of unprecedented global mobility, there are new opportunities to redistribute social power and access to the sorts of capital necessary to make a decent and dignified life. But this also produces new risks associated with a more globally connected world – such as more pernicious forms of crime, corruption and violence.”

In addition, at its XXII Congress, at Sao Paolo, 27-29 October 2003, in its Declaration Sao Paolo, the Socialist International, points out that, “the intense globalisation process of markets and economies as well as technology, communication and cultural exchange, has accelerated for some the creation of wealth and increases in productivity and trade – but at an unacceptable cost: the widening of the gap between rich people and poor people in countries of both the North and the South”(www.socialistinternational.org/5Congress).

7.5.17 The description of the condition of underdevelopment in Africa in the 21st century

Mokae’s opinion is that “the condition of underdevelopment in Africa is such that in the 21st century (with its emphasis on advancement in science and technology) the continent is still confronted by the hard realities of poverty and hunger, death from curable diseases, illiteracy and international marginalisation. More importantly, the one gigantic problem that confronts Africa, is the fact that political decolonisation has not triggered socio-economic and technological decolonization” (Appendix A: p 5).

Raphesu’s view is that “the condition of underdevelopment in Africa is attributable to colonial history; where the African resources were plundered by colonizers in order to develop their own countries. This coupled with political instability after decolonisation condemned Africa to a state of underdevelopment” (Appendix C: 5). In addition, Mahlomaholo points out that the “siphoning dimension” is one of the causes of Africa’s

condition of underdevelopment in that “produce were taken out of Africa at no cost and sold back at exorbitant price” (Appendix E: p 5).

7.5.18 The question of the relevance of Kwame Nkrumah’s idea of the economic and political unification of Africa of the 1960’s in the 21st century

Mokae notes that “more than before the economic and political unification of Africa is important in that it will give the continent more leverage to tackle the issues of marginalisation and neo-colonialism. Africa will gain better results if it challenges unfair trade policies in forums such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO) as a single unit than as individual countries pursuing own national interests” (Appendix A: p 5).

In support of Mokae, Obijiofor (2001: 131) points out that “it is easier for Africa to tackle its socio-economic and political problems as a united front rather than as a loose entity. To achieve remarkable results on economic, political and social fronts, the disparate peoples of Africa must identify themselves as people with common interests, agree to work together toward a common goal, adopt common approaches, and enact common laws and policies to achieve their objectives.”

According to Pherudi the economic and political unity of Africa will contribute towards the process of doing away with the scenario of two continents in one: one with imperial values and the other with indigenous outlook (Appendix B: p 5). In agreement with Pherudi, president Thabo Mbeki, in his ANC weekly newsletter of Friday, 31 October

2003, published on the African National Congress' website, writes that "a defining feature of South Africa was it had two economies, belonging to the developed world, and the other to the underdeveloped" (2003: 2). Sedibe adds that it is through continental economic and political cooperation that "Africa can [be able to] retain its own wealth and thus develop its own local markets so that it can have the capacity to feed and look after the needs of its [own] people" (Appendix F: p 5).

On the 16th June 2004, at Union Buildings, Tswane, receiving the award of Order of the Companions of OR Tambo in Gold, on behalf of his late father Kwame Nkrumah, Njarumah Nkrumah, is reported to have pointed out that "Nkhrumah's message of uniting the continent to fight its problems and challenges was as relevant today as it was in the 1950s," and that "it is through unity that Africa can realise the aspirations of the African masses and improve their living conditions" (2004: 19).

7.5.19 The meaning and the implications of the idea of NEPAD in the context of globalisation process

Sedibe explains as NEPAD a socio-economic strategy that entails "an initiative by the Africans to convince African governments and communities that using their own human, material and natural resources they too like the Asian Tigers can experience socio-cultural and economic advancement without entirely relying on American and European communities" (Appendix F: 5). Concurring with Sedibe, Dlamini (2004: 9) describes NEPAD as a socio-political and economic plan and a watershed "expected to unleash

Africa's industrial revolution by making the continent attractive to huge inflows of foreign direct investment."

On the other hand Mokae maintains that "NEPAD is a good idea precisely because it is Africa's home-grown economic rescue strategy in the 21st century, but like other socio-economic strategies [for Africa's development] that preceded it (i.e. the OAU's 1980 Lagos Plan of Action for the economic Development of Africa, 1980-2000 - LPA) requires political will and a number of practical social and economic actions to confront the marginalization of Africa in the world dominated by Western ideas and values" (Appendix A: 5-6).

Raphesu's view is that "NEPAD while espousing an African economic revival, draws its point of departure from the capitalist approach and stands accused as an economic movement by African leaders driving activities within the continent in the Western Economic mode" (Appendix C: p5).

According to Firmino Mucavelle (2004: 15), Member of the NEPAD Steering Committee and Professor at Eduardo Mondlane University, "NEPAD is the programme of the African Union geared towards promoting dynamic and sustainable development in Africa. The long term objectives of NEPAD are to eradicate poverty in Africa and to place African countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development. Under the NEPAD framework, African countries will strive to create a conducive environment for peace, security, democracy and good governance."

7.5.20 The three most important strategies for fostering of a Pan-African identity and unity

In Mokae's (Appendix A: 6) view the following are the three most important strategies for fostering a Pan-African identity and reality, especially in the 21st century:

- i. the rehabilitation and repositioning of progressive African cultural values and practices, [precisely] because the overall development of Africa cannot be completely divorced from Africa's traditional systems;
- ii. the domestication of alien knowledge systems [for the benefit of all marginalised communities]; and
- iii. the political and moral commitment of African leaders in making the call for Africa's rebirth a reality.

According to Pherudi the three strategies that can assist in fostering Pan-Africanism are: (a) having a subject that will have Pan-Africanism as a theme as part of the Curriculum in schools, (b) unearthing more works on the Pan-African identity, and (c) producing more films that will promote Pan-Africanism thought and practice" (Appendix B: 1). Raphesu identifies the following three strategies as also of significance in promoting Pan-Africanism: a political (i.e. African leader's involvement), academic and intellectual guidance to forestall misdirection and distortion, and economic growth that continue to instil stability (Appendix C: 5).

According to Mahlomaholo “the first of the three most important strategies for the fostering of a Pan-African identity and unity is; the cultivation of typical human and humane values of respect for human dignity and sanctity. The second is the erection of the need and willingness to cooperate with others. All the above need to be grounded on the concern for the plight of others” (Appendix E: p 5).

Connected to this theme Mazrui (2004: 18) identifies the following elements as crucial in asserting a Pan-African identity or Afro-centricity: “firstly, it is the perception of Africa as subject rather than object. Related to this, secondly, is taking Africa as an active rather than a passive actor. Thirdly, Africa as cause rather than as effect. Fourthly, Africa as centre rather than as periphery, and then Africa as maker of history rather than an incident to history.”

7.6 Conclusion

In this Chapter the phenomenological views, positions and perceptions of African respondents have been captured under various thematic headings. Where appropriate they have been supplemented with literature, documents or statements by other organic African intellectuals.

The next chapter will summarise and conclude the discourses in this study, and in addition recommendations will be presented

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

While it is in the interests of Africa to move forward rather than look backward, it must be stated that looking backwards is not entirely problematic, as doing so would enable Africa to draw on lessons of history. History itself is full of accounts of countries, societies and peoples that were virtually on the brink of collapse but were able to pick up the pieces and prosper (Obijiofor 2001: 132)

In support of Obijiofor (2001) in the above-mentioned epigraph, as president of Green Cross International, the former president of the Soviet Union, Mikhael Gorbachev, proposing an alternative to market-driven globalisation, asserts that, “history is not predetermined,” meaning “there is a room for an alternative in any situation” (2004: 16). Certainly, this study supports the proposal for an alternative paradigm to the globalisation process, which has marginalizing tendencies and practices aimed at the countries of the South (Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean and the Pacific).

Given the situation of the unbalanced structure and unequal distribution of the world's economy the globalisation process have without doubt proven to be more inclined to the socio-political and economic dominance of the rich, industrialised countries of the North (North America, Japan, Western Europe and Australia). Countries of the South, not by their own choice, are not contributing to the world economy either as producers or as

effective consumers. Related to this situation, among other things, the main objective of this study has been to propose other variables that would facilitate the realization of the objectives that lie at the centre of the socio-economic renaissance of Africa in the 21st century and the globalizing world.

Most importantly, the main purpose of this chapter is to present a summary and conclusions drawn from this study. In addition, in the context of the African Renaissance and the continental goals of reconstruction and development, at the end a few recommendations emanating from the discourses in this study are presented.

8.2 Summary

In the whole this study concerned itself with the question of culture, dominance, reconstruction and development in the African context. The practices and tendencies of colonialism and the apartheid legacy, which have created and are continuing to foster the alienation and marginalization of the African Cultural Heritage, have been identified.

It is an undisputed fact that the deculturation processes the African personality have been subjected to right from the beginning, by the European cultural imperialism and the related factors, has contributed to the situation of dependency and underdevelopment of Africa. In an effort to create the world that reflected nothing else but the European imperialism and image, the processes of alienation and marginalization linked to European colonization and apartheid hegemony were utilized to prevent the African

people(s) from developing their own culture(s) in terms of the new culture(s) they came into contact with. Actually, the European philosophical and ideological devaluation and negation of the African personality stands in the world as one of the factors that mainly contributed to the European's failure to capture the essence of Africa and its indigenous people.

With the above-mentioned mind-set as a point of reference, the first encounter between the European mode of production and the distribution thereof, and indigenous Africa marked the beginning of exploitation and underdevelopment of the African continent and its people. As noted earlier in this study, the capitalist world system is structured in such a way that parts of the system always develop at the expense of the other parts, either by trade or by the transfer of surplus. This unhealthy situation of extremely unhealthy power relations that unfolded between Europe and indigenous Africa, especially from the middle of the 15th century, led to the situation in which development and underdevelopment became not only comparative terms, but also have a dialectical relationship one to the other. Meaning, the two help produce each other by interaction. From this it is clear that one of the main factors that contributed to the dependency and underdevelopment status of Africa and its people, has been the colonisation and the suppression of the indigenous African economies.

As counter-hegemony to colonialism and the apartheid ideology the legacy of Pan-Africanism as a socio-political strategy emerged. In other words, it was under the aegis of Pan-African thought and practice, which engulfed Africa and its people in Diaspora early

in the 1900s, that the situation of the socio-cultural, political and economic subjugation of Africa by Europe was vehemently intellectually and politically challenged. Right from the beginning, the idea of Pan-Africanism was intended to challenge the main activities of European imperialist domination. As such it can be said to be a phenomenon that evolved out of a situation of anomaly – a situation in which the African people were expected to derive their identity and self-determination from being a negative image of others.

Naturally, the post-colonial ideologies that emerged during the 1950s, as a result of the impact of Pan-African thought and practice, came to characterise the desire for self-determination, self-expression and self-definition by the people of African origin and the Diaspora. The main aim was and still is to argue for the reclamation and (re)-centering of African people's various knowledges and practices as a springboard for futuristic development strategies in the globalizing world.

As demonstrated (in chapters 4, 5,6 and 7) through the works of African scholars, and their views, positions and perceptions as respondents in this study, there is a certain consensus that, the project of the re-centering of the African Cultural Heritage is invaluable for the transforming of the self-doubt prevalent in the African communities to that of self-assertion and confidence. Without a doubt, indigenous solutions to Africa's problems are the only reliable and realistic way forward. For Africa to assert itself and survive, more especially in the context of globalisation, every crucial aspect of African

life, culture, image, personality, language, economy and technology that has been distorted in the past has to be reclaimed and revitalized.

As early as the 1950's a number of African leaders, such as Nkrumah, Nyerere, Kaunda and Toure, to mention a few, came up with proposals for a new political and economic order in post-colonial Africa. Influenced by *Marxist Socialism, the Ghandian principle of Passive Resistance, the Traditional African Culture and the Tolerant eclecticism Character of the Pan-Africanist approach*, the young African leaders of the 1950's formulated ideologies that were intended to decolonize Africa and mobilise their people towards self-reliance. They went further and tried to implement these strategies which were grounded in African culture(s); unfortunately the historical forces (hostile to Africa) from the West overtook them on the way, and made it impossible for them to take their own countries through a path of economic development.

The main goal of the post-colonial ideologies such as *Nkrumah's Consciencism, Nyerere's Ujamaa and Kaunda's Zambian Humanism*, was to transform the colonial value system that had alienated the African from his past into one group of attitudes based on African past values and attitudes of self-esteem, co-operation and communal wealth. With Pan-African thought and practice as a force, what was important for the African leaders was to eradicate the negative notions about the African personality that existed right from the beginning when Africa met Europe. In fact, these notions were and are still destructive and counter-productive in that they form the foundations upon which

strategies of socio-cultural and economic dependency and underdevelopment of Africa were and still continue to be based

More importantly, as illustrated in this study, still in the 21st century the argument still remains: if Africa is to be saved from the precarious situation in which it finds itself the fact that socio-political decolonization has not even in the 21st century triggered economic decolonization must be addressed earnestly. Undeniably, Africa in the new century remains confronted by issues which have implication for the longer-term socio-economic prospects of the continent and its people. These challenges include poverty, underdevelopment, disease and conflicts in some of the countries of the continent. Obviously, for Pan-Africanism to meet these evolving challenges in the 21st century it needs to go beyond the crass reproduction of former views, some of which are today contextually and sociologically irrelevant and counter-productive. To escape this mesh it is imperative for Africa to strategically retreat into its glorious past with the aim to extricate some of the Knowledge Systems and practices relevant to the needs of the African people in the 21st century and the globalising world.

The idea of an African Renaissance is a new Pan-Africanism vision in the 21st century. Essentially, what the notion of the African Renaissance as a new Pan-African vision in the 21st century encapsulates is the opportunity to reframe the (old) Pan-African idea so that it can provide the envisaged feasible alternatives to make the idea work in the era of the global socio-economic paradigm. As noted above, intrinsic to the process proposed by the African renaissance call is the fact that Africa's socio-economic development cannot

be premised on unbridled cultural borrowings from alienating and marginalizing cultural values and traditions belonging to European imperialism in its new form as globalization.

As some of the African scholars and leaders argue in this study, Self-reliance and self-definition are a prerequisite for a united Africa's survival in the globalizing world, precisely because in the global market, profits, not people, are the sole motivation of business. Therefore, for the African Renaissance project to make an impact it must evolve a strategy that will empower the majority of the communities of the African continent, to be able to cope with the marginalizing and alienating tendencies and practices of the global economy. Obviously, those who will be called upon to lead this process would have, together with the communities, consider utilizing their cultural experience(s) and practice(s) as a foundation as a matter of urgency.

In South Africa, colonialism and the apartheid hegemony used the processes of racial division, racial oppression, human degradation and economic depravation to entrench European imperialism and racism. In reverse, post-1994 South Africa is a country on the path of fundamental change from an apartheid hierarchy of cultures, an authoritative and unjust society, to a democratic society grounded in a patriotic national cultural identity. In many ways, as a strategy to redress the consequences on colonialism and the apartheid legacy in post-1994 South Africa, the task of the transformation process is to deconstruct, decenter and dehegemonize colonial cultural imperialism and the apartheid hegemony. Again, as shown by the views, opinions and positions of African scholars who are the

respondents in this study, this can be achieved by unapologetically creating an empowering alternative reference and alternative discourse within South African society.

8.3 Conclusion

In this study the processes and strategies of deculturation and underdevelopment have been analysed. Further, the study traced the legacy of Pan-Africanism, and the critical and constructive arguments and strategies that emerged in the late 1950s, as counter-hegemony. Actually, what the study has attempted to highlight is the fact that at the centre of the African crisis in the 21st century is the question of modernity which has been imposed on the African cultural experience(s) through alienation and marginalization processes by European colonialism and cultural imperialism. The African cultural heritage was degraded to the level of the 'savage', the 'primitive', 'uncivilized' and even the level of the 'superstition' or 'mystical' compared to the 'logical' said to be central in Western cultural thought and behaviour. This impacted negatively on the socio-cultural and economic development of the colonised communities of the African continent.

Equally important, this study has also tried to illustrate the fact that, for Africa and its people to understand where they are going in the 21st century, they must first take stock of the past and present. In essence, the two fundamental questions that this study attempted to address are: (a) *Against the backdrop of Africa's economic disposition, what is the way forward for the continent to extricate itself from the quagmire of poverty, disease, and instability?* (b) *Can Pan-Africanism be regarded as one of the solutions to*

the African crisis in the context of globalization? What the respondents highlighted is the fact that, it is important for Africans to define their future based on their own cultural heritage, existence and their independence. What is obvious too in this study is the fact that, unless the vision of Africa as one community and the resulting program of transformation is hatched, cultures there will be no real development within the continent. It is these solutions that will rescue Africa from the quagmire of poverty and underdevelopment. As a matter of fact, Africa can learn from the experiences of Asia, which through the experience(s) of their booming economies, are becoming home-grown socio-cultural and economic ideas as a worthier beacon. America and Europe have to offer.

8.4 Recommendations

Unquestionably, the problem of Africa's situation of underdevelopment is too complex to elicit simplistic solutions. This study sought to identify directions and offer practical suggestions that might be useful for Africa's political and economic renewal and success.

In an attempt to map out the future of Africa within the globalization era, the study should consider the following few proposals (which are apparent in the study) as strategies that may also be utilized to rescue the continent from the quagmire of diseases, underdevelopment and political instability in some parts of the continent.

- The reclamation and revitalization of progressive traditional socio-economic structures and values which if appropriated can be used as a base for Africa's rebirth in the 21st century and the context of globalization. Actually, *Africa needs a socio-economic system that is not only responsive to its social and economic problems but also takes into account its traditional values and ideas*. The significance of this strategy can be seen in the fact that, in the context of globalization, the Far East countries hold that domestically designed socio-economic and economical ideas are the best compared to those that America and Europe are trying to impose on the rest of the world.
- As a matter of urgency, the continent's mineral resources, strategic resources should be used to forge ahead – these are the same material base that in the process of exploitation resulted in Africa becoming marginalised continent. Certainly, the African continent in the 21st century still remains an indispensable resource base that serves all humanity as it has done for many centuries. Through organisations and structures such as the African Union (AU) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Africa can assert itself and negotiate its space within the globalization economy. As a matter of fact, the implementation of NEPAD like other socio-economic development strategies that preceded it requires a strong political will and actions aimed at confronting the continuing processes of the marginalization of Africa.

- Given the situation of political instability in some countries of the continent, it should be understood that political renewal on the continent, which is a process of rebuilding collapsed systems of governance, administration and public conduct, should not be seen as an event. But as a process of recreating disciplined and optimal leaders who are anchored in the African tradition. This form of attitude and practice is clearly captured in the Sesotho/Tswana idiom that says: “Kgosi ke Kgosi ka Sechaba” (literally translated, “a ruler is a ruler through its subjects”). Closely linked to, is the need to have critical subjects (the organic intellectuals) and responsible citizens. These are necessary elements for peace and prosperity to reign supreme within the African continent.

Finally, this study supports the notion that, it is only through the political will and commitment of Africa’s credible leaders that the goals of the African Renaissance Paradigm and NEPAD can be realised. In addition, given the situation of globalisation the issue of the political unity and the economic cooperation of the people of the African continent have become crucial. Obviously, to overcome the challenges of underdevelopment and globalisation in the 21st century Africans must have a common purpose and speak in one voice.

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APPENDIX A

Questionnaire: **The African Cultural Heritage:** **Deculturation, Transformation and Development**

I am Pakiso Tondi and currently busy with my D.Phil thesis in the School of Religion and Culture at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

My research includes an empirical component of which this questionnaire is one of the research instruments used for data gathering.

The questionnaires have been developed for the following perspectives: (1) Academic perspectives; and 2) Cultural Activists' perspectives.

I shall appreciate it if you assist the project by providing your scholarly views or opinions in the questionnaire.

- Please note:

- * This is an anonymous qualitative research questionnaire, but you may provide your personal details. If you do, I shall refer to and acknowledge your views.

- * If there is not enough space for your responses, please write or type out your responses more fully and attach them to the questionnaire.

Please complete and resubmit the questionnaire by **31 MAY 2004**

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Academics and Cultural Activists involved in the Pan-African thought and the African Renaissance discourse

1. How would you describe the African cultural heritage?

African cultural heritage can be explained as set of ideas, beliefs, ways of behaving, living and amusement belonging to African people, and in addition as Ngugi wa Thiongo asserts; "Language is a carrier of culture".

2. What would you describe as distinct and different in the African cultural heritage when compared with other world cultures?

To start with not all African cultures are exactly the same. Different tribes and nations have different practices and different "carriers of culture" (languages). However, what is common and distinct in the African culture cultural heritage is the centrality of the idea of man (non-gender sense) – the whole concept of Botho-Ubuntu loosely defined as humanism and embodied in the saying "motho ke motho ka batho" or "umuntu u muntu nga bantu", in other words my humanness is enhanced by my positive interaction with other human beings.

3. What would you describe as similar in the African cultural heritage when compared to other world cultures?

What is similar in the African cultural heritage compared to other cultures is the fact that, like other people in the world Africans have material (i.e. artefacts, implements etc) and non-material elements (i.e. institutions, values, etc) of human creativity, all of which they have produced over time and utilised in their interaction, on the one hand with their material environment, and on the other hand with one another as individuals and groups and the other selves in the world.

4. Deculturation is a socio-cultural process through which people are alienated from some of their core cultural values and practices. This obviously impact on the identity of people. How would you describe deculturation in African context?

"Deculturation" in the African context is the loss by African people of the essence of their Africanness as embodied in their languages, music, how they behave, how they view other human beings in space and time.

5. What do you think is necessary to get African people who suffered from deculturation, again appreciate, valorise, practice and live their culture?

Generally, in virtually all cultures role modelling is an important phenomenon of influence in a process to change behaviour. I think more and more young

Africans will appreciate, valorise African cultural practices and experience(s) and thus begin to live their culture when they see those of their own who are "successful" in their life doing like wise. A good example is how the people of Shangaan and Venda extraction are now proud of their cultures; one of the contributing factors to this change of attitude is the fact that artists such as Paul Ndlovu, Sello "Chico" Twala and others have embraced their cultures. Here media like television, radio and newspaper can play a positive role by providing avenues for the different cultures to be "show cased".

6. Which pro-African heritage strategies could we employ?

Practical pro-African strategies that can be employed to re-center African cultural heritage into the life stream of the South African society would include, increasing the quota of TV programmes in African languages, supporting initiatives like "Miss Malaika" beauty pageant and so on. Politicians will also be encouraged to speak African languages in their rallies and interactions with the media.

7. Which critical and reconstructive pro-African heritage strategies do you know of that people employed since the 1950s?

The Black Consciousness Movement's idea "I am Black and Beautiful" is one such strategy in that after the advent of the Black Consciousness philosophy in the 1960's, fewer and fewer Africans continued to look to the West for inspiration in so far as political thought, arts, ways of dress, music etc. were concerned. Around this time, we also saw more Africans dropping their European names and telling the world that they wished to be called by their African names: Harrison Motlana became Nthato Motlana, Ernest Moseneke became Dikgang Moseneke etc.

8. Were these strategies effective? Please explain why you say "Yes" or "No".

Indeed, the strategy as a tool for socio-cultural and psychological emancipation was effective, in that long after the 1960's, the reverberations of Black Consciousness are still being felt as Sam Shilowa becomes Mbhazima Shilowa, Shephard Mdladlana becomes Membathisi Mdladlana. On the overt political front, President Thabo Mbeki's call for the African Renaissance and the "I am an African" speech, and the NEPAD project attest to the effectiveness of the Black Consciousness strategy of the 1960's – whether these conditions will accept it or not.

9. South Africa will soon celebrate its tenth year of independence and democracy. What do you think are the most important positive changes which have taken place since 1994?

The most important positive changes I would identify include the enfranchisement of every citizen of South Africa irrespective of creed or colour,

the assumption of office by the country's first black president (Dr Nelson Mandela) and the removal of apartheid (racial discrimination) from the statute book.

10. How would you describe the negative changes which have taken place since 1993?

One of the negative implications of the post-1993 South Africa is the emergence of the African capitalist class, a black bourgeoisie (a phenomenon that has the President Mr Thabo Mbeki's support). The problem with this group is that in a transforming society the group is not grounded in the African cultural practice(s) and experience(s) and as a result the lot is not different from their creators or their mentors because they also place profits before human beings.

11. What are the current challenges that South Africans face for the next ten years, and which they need to address for the improvement of the quality of life of people?

The greatest challenge facing South Africa I would say is the HIV/AIDS threat. The earlier dilly dallying by President Mbeki's government over the provision of anti-retroviral to eligible patients and Mbeki's alliance with the HIV/AIDS denialists has damaged the country immeasurably. The unofficial figures of unemployment in the country stand at staggering 40% and more than 70% of the country's people (unofficial figure) live in abject poverty.

12. The African Renaissance has been mooted as one of the most important concepts through which the revitalisation of Africa can take place. In your view, how would you describe the notion of the African Renaissance?

Renaissance is the "re-awakening". The call for a re-awakening of Africa and its people to their rich cultural heritage is not a novelty. The Kwame Nkrumahs, Pixley ka Seme, and the Du Bois were preaching it long before Presidents Mbeki and Obasanjo.

13. What do you regard as the most important challenges for the African Renaissance?

The most important challenge for the African Renaissance call is to help Africa's organic intellectuals to produce community capable of rehabilitating and repositioning its progressive traditional socio-economic structures, values and practices which can be used as a base for the continent's socio-economic development in the context of globalisation.

14. Development is something which everybody in Africa has been speaking about for some decades now. How would you define or describe development?

Development is a process that among other things involves the political mobilization of a people to aspire to attain their objectives, and to be at the state of being self-reliant and confident to compete with others without fear of exploitation.

15. One cannot think of development in Africa without also thinking of globalisation and how its forces impact on Africa. How would you describe globalisation?

Globalisation is a process of increasing interdependence and global co-operation of nations and this which occurs as money, people and ideas flow freely across national boundaries.

16. How would you describe both the negative and the positive impact of globalisation on Africa?

i. Given the fact that, in the whole globalization process is all about the triumph of the ideas and values of the countries of the North, the negative implications of the phenomenon is that Africa always be marginal in the socio-cultural and economic interaction of the North and South, as a result of this Africa will continue to be subjected to the whims of Western-orientated bureaucrats and development specialists.

ii. The positive impact of globalisation process on Africa is that the continent will be afforded an opportunity to entrench its right to represent itself and contest the space, and challenge, among other things, existing unfair trade policies imposed by some countries of the North.

17. One of the most significant definitions of underdevelopment is that it came about because colonial and apartheid governments (in Southern Africa) prevented people from engaging world trends in culture and technology on their own terms. How would you describe the condition of underdevelopment in Africa?

The condition of underdevelopment in Africa is such that in the 21st century (with it's emphasise on advancement in science and technology) the continent is still confronted by the hard realities of poverty and hunger, death from curable diseases, illiteracy and international marginalisation. More importantly, the one gigantic problem that confronts Africa, is the fact that political decolonisation has not triggered socio-economic and technological decolonization.

18. Kwame Nkrumah already espoused the idea of the economic and political unification of Africa in the 1960's. Do you think this is a realistic expectation for socio-economic development in Africa? ("YES or NO") Please motivate your answer.

More than before the economic and political unification of Africa is important in that it will give the continent more leverage to tackle the issues of marginalisation and neo-colonialism. Africa will gain better results if it challenges unfair trade policies in forums such as World Trade Organisations (WTO) as a single unit than as individual countries pursuing its own national interest.

19. What is your opinion on the issue of NEPAD?

NEPAD is a good idea precisely because it is Africa's home-grown economic rescue strategy in the 21st century, but like other socio-economic strategies that preceded it [i.e. the OAU's 1980 Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa, 1980 – 2000 (LPA)] requires political will and a number of practical social and economic actions to confront marginalization of Africa in the world dominated by Western ideas and values.

20. What do you regard as the three most important strategies for the fostering of a Pan-African identity and unity?

- i. *The rehabilitation and repositioning of progressive African cultural values and practices, because the overall development of Africa cannot be completely divorced from Africa's traditional systems.*
- ii. *Domestication of alien knowledge systems*
- iii. *The political and moral commitment of African leaders in making the call for Africa's rebirth a reality.*

Thank you for taking time to complete this questionnaire

APPENDIX B

Questionnaire: **The African Cultural Heritage:** **Deculturation, Transformation and Development**

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Academics and Cultural Activists involved in the Pan-African thought and the African Renaissance discourse

1. How would you describe the African cultural heritage?

The African way of life in which values, norms, culture and the African religion one respects, observes and adheres to in daily activities.

2. What would you describe as distinct and different in the African cultural heritage when compared with other world cultures?

The African culture is unique to Africans themselves, in a sense that what is valued in an African way may not be in other world cultures.

3. What would you describe as similar in the African cultural heritage when compared to other world cultures?

Every culture has its own ancestral religion and use oral tradition from one generation to the other.

4. Deculturation is a socio-cultural process through which people are alienated from some of their core cultural values and practices. This obviously impacts on the identity of people. How would you describe deculturation in African context?

It's a process of divorcing thyself from the community and the nation as a whole. One also tends to become a hermit through deculturation.

5. What do you think is necessary to get African people who suffered from deculturation, again appreciate, valorise, practice and live their culture?

Decolonise their minds by re-introspecting themselves, who they really are. How do they want history to judge them? We should get back to the basics and re-start, "re shebe moo re welang".

6. Which pro-African heritage strategies could we employ?

- *Taking one through passes*
- *Using the correct language*
- *Using acceptable pictures/posters which do not create inferiority of African Cultural Heritage*
- *Encourage African clothing*
- *Make an emphasis on African superiority and importance.*

7. Which critical and reconstructive pro-African heritage strategies do you know of that people employed since the 1950s?

- *Clothing*
- *fashion*

8. Were these strategies effective? Please explain why you say "Yes" or "No".

To a great extent NO, because Africans feel inferior in their African apparel.

9. South Africa will soon celebrate its tenth year of independence and democracy. What do you think are the most important positive changes which have taken place since 1994?

- *Everybody calling themselves African*
- *People are more comfortable in their indigenous names*
- *There is an inter – cultural change*
- *The willingness to learn from each other's culture*
- *Elements of the rainbow nation, a parallel development of cultures*

10. How would you describe the negative changes which have taken place since 1993?

- *Some people still perceive Afrikaans as a dominant language in the government sectors, thus sending the wrong impression that it is THE language in South Africa*
- *The need for a Volkstad – an alienation from the broader rainbow nation*
- *Undermining of democracy by right-wingers, because they are culturally incorrigible*

11. What are the current challenges that South Africans faces for the next ten years, and which they need to address for the improvement of the quality of life of our people?

- *Providing quality housing*
- *Quality education with a great emphasis on culture*
- *Cultural tolerance*
- *The importance of cultural languages must be greatly emphasised*
- *Appreciation of all, not a few African cultural scholars.*

12. The African Renaissance has been mooted as one of the most important concepts through which the revitalisation of Africa can take place. In your view, how would you describe the notion of the African Renaissance?

The re-introspection on which one focuses on who you are, where are you going, what do you want others to see in you, community identity and other aspects of African ubuntu.

13. What do you regard as the most important challenges for the African Renaissance?

- *To restore our **REAL** African identity*
- *To know who are the **REAL** Africans, lest others are coerced.*

14. Development is something which everybody in Africa has been speaking about for some decades now. How would you define or describe development?

It's a progressive outgoing process which brings changes in Africa as a whole.

15. One cannot think of development in Africa without also thinking of globalisation and how its forces impact on Africa. How would you describe globalisation?

Globalisation is the breaking down of a cocoon which makes Africa be a part of the greater world and competes equally with its partners.

16. How would you describe both the negative and the positive impacts of globalisation in Africa?

Negative:

- *Africa has been reduced to be a beggar – always seeking help from the G8-countries, European Union and the World Bank, it has actually resulted in the dependency syndrome*
- *Africa has been held hostage/ransom, e.g. they're told to remove Mugabe from power, and then only will they be assisted.*

Positive:

- *Africa is now an equal partner in world affairs*
- *Africa can now present its plight without being misrepresented by pseudo-Africans*
- *Africa brewing its own home-grown conflict resolution strategies*

17. One of the most significant definitions of underdevelopment is that it came about because colonial and apartheid governments (in Southern Africa) prevented people from engaging world trends in culture and technology on their own terms. How would you describe the condition of underdevelopment in Africa?

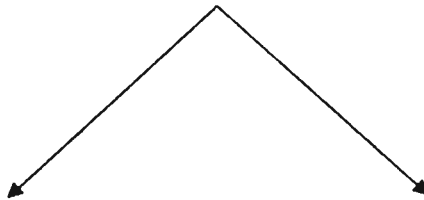
By making Africans rely more on imported products than producing for themselves.

18. Kwame Nkrumah already espouses the idea of the economic and political unification of Africa in the 1960's. Do you think that this is a realistic expectation for developments in Africa? ("Yes" or "No")? Please motivate your answer.

YES:

It was realistic because that would enable Africa to:

- *Compete with the world as one continent*
- *Promote unity (economic & political), within the continent*
- *End what is termed genocide, political coups and refugees*
- *Do away with 2 continents in one:*



- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| • <i>Imperial values</i> | * <i>Indigenous Continent – African values, guidelines</i> |
| • <i>Imported food/clothing</i> | * <i>African markets</i> |
| | * <i>African foods</i> |

19. What is your opinion on the issue of NEPAD?

- *It's helpful, only if it is dictated to by Africans themselves and not to be dictated to by developed countries.*

20. What do you regard as the three most important strategies for the fostering of a Pan-African identity and unity?

- *Having in the school curriculum a subject that have Pan-Africanism as a theme*
- *Unearth more works on Pan African identity*
- *Producing more films that will promote Pan Africanism*

Thank you for taking time to complete this questionnaire

APPENDIX C

Questionnaire: **The African Cultural Heritage:** **Deculturation, Transformation and Development**

I am Pakiso Tondi and currently busy with my D.Phil thesis in the School of Religion and Culture at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

My research includes an empirical component of which this questionnaire is one of the research instruments used for data gathering.

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Please complete and resubmit the questionnaire by **31 MAY 2004**

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Academics and Cultural Activists Involved in the Pan-African Renaissance discourse

1. How would you describe the African cultural heritage?

An African Cultural Heritage will cover a vast area in the past, antiques, arts, folklore and more other practices, which the past and are seen as still valuable forms of social adjustments.

2. What would you describe as distinct and different in the heritage when compared with other world cultures?

There is very little distinction between African Cultural Heritage cultures, save the fact that African Cultural Heritage expresses of human development which has been struggling to find its cultural heritage.

3. What would you describe as similar in the African culture compared to other world cultures?

African Cultural Heritage is similar to other world culture because it contains an element of dynamism.

4. Deculturation is a socio-cultural process through which people lose from some of their core cultural values and practices. This obviously affects the identity of people. How would you describe deculturation in Africa?

Deculturation in African context is an alienation process that at times leaves the African persona with nothing that makes him/her a person of his own right. In this way the African persona becomes susceptible to a foreign identity to which he/she do not actually belong, precisely because it is made in the image of the colonizer. This means the person is left with no through which to be defined or define self in relation to others in his own culture.

5. What do you think is necessary to get African people who have undergone deculturation, again appreciate, valorise, practice and live their culture?

Deculturised African people can again appreciate, valorize, practice and live their culture through participation in any activity that is geared towards the promotion of African Culture including economic production.

6. Which pro-African heritage strategies could we employ?

Pro-African Heritage strategies to be employed could include arranging a series of events such as appreciating the good things that Africa has to offer.

bringing some of the African arts into action and economic ownership of productive forces by Africans themselves.

7. Which critical and reconstructive pro-African heritage strategies do you know of that people employed since the 1950s?

The period after 1950's in African history is characterized by the emergence of Independent African states with African agenda especially typified by African socialism. And African socialism manifested itself in ideas such as Senghor's Negritude, Nkrumah's Consciencism, and Nyerere's Ujamaa.

8. Were these strategies effective? Please explain why you say "Yes" or "No".

No, the strategies were not effective. The reason being that Western influence was strongly entrenched in many of the African intellectuals who were supposed to support the course of transformation, as a result there was sabotage of the ideas of leaders such as Nyerere from within and without.

9. South Africa will soon celebrate its 10th year of independence and democracy. What do you think are the most important positive changes which have taken place since 1994?

Most important positive changes that have taken place since 1994 are:

- i. The recognition of the significance of African Heritage although in a distorted and corrupt way.*
- ii. The naming of places in some areas has been positive although in others this process is severely regarded as partisan.*
- iii. The bloodless transition.*
- iv. Emergence of assertiveness exuded by a number of Africans in various spheres of life.*

10. How would you describe the negative changes which have taken place since 1993?

Negative changes that have taken place since 1993 are largely embedded in the constitution such as the recognition of homosexuality. While the argument may be that this practice has been there in the past, the fact is it is a deviant behavior. The increase in crimes foreign to the South African society, such as international drug trafficking, and human abuses in all their manifestations, are also causes for concern.

11. What are the current challenges that South Africans face for the next ten years, and which they need to address for the improvement of the quality of life of people?

Current challenges South Africa is faced with for the next ten years are:

- I. The lack creativity to create jobs by Africans
- II. Most of the production means are still in the hands of minority whites, including farms and companies.

12. The African Renaissance has been mooted as one of the most important concepts through which the revitalisation of Africa can take place. In your view, how would you describe the notion of the African Renaissance?

The notion of African Renaissance has not as yet affected positively the majority of the poor people in this country, it is however innocent. Therefore there is a need for a rigorous driving force in order for it to have a revitalized effect.

13. What do you regard as the most important challenges for the African Renaissance?

Most important challenges of African Renaissance rest in making the economy work for the good of the majority of the marginalized African communities, and the reclaiming of African cultural values and religious beliefs.

14. Development is something which everybody in Africa has been speaking about for some decades now. How would you define or describe development?

Development envisages a number of areas of life, from human resource, economic, political and technological including education. All these have to do with a means to maximize quality in human life and enrich the human world so as to avoid poverty, diseases and wars in the long run.

15. One cannot think of development in Africa without also thinking of globalisation and how its forces impact on Africa. How would you describe globalisation?

Globalization is nothing but a process of integration of struggling countries into the world economy; the process undermines the national way in which countries can be self-reliant, especially the countries of the South. The phenomenon has increased the ability of the strong western economies to advance their interests to the detriment of the weak, especially in the areas of trade, finance and technology. Finally, developing countries have limited space to control their own development, as the system has no provision for compensating the weak.

16. How would you describe both the negative and the positive impact of globalisation on Africa?

- *The negative impact of globalization is to destroy local initiative and create more dependency.*

- The positive implications of globalization are that the strongest remain uncontrollably strong.

17. One of the most significant definitions of underdevelopment is that it came about because colonial and apartheid governments (in Southern Africa) prevented people from engaging world trends in culture and technology on their own terms. How would you describe the condition of underdevelopment in Africa?

The condition of underdevelopment in Africa is attributable to colonial history; where the African resources were plundered by colonizers in order develop their own countries. This coupled with political instability after decolonization condemned Africa to a state of underdevelopment.

18. Kwame Nkrumah already espoused the idea of the economic and political unification of Africa in the 1960's. Do you think that this is a realistic expectation for developments in Africa? ("Yes" or "No")? Please motivate your answer.

Yes. The political will and mood of African states during that was ready because most of them were still under colonial rulers.

19. What is your opinion on the issue of NEPAD?

Nepad, while espousing African economic revival, draws its point of departure from the capitalist approach and stands accused as an economic movement by African leaders driving activities in within the continent in the Western Economic mode. Hardly does it place emphasis on the type of economic that is linked to African worldview. It instead accepts uncritically neo-liberalism. This type of approach may impoverish the community both economically and culturally.

20. What do you regard as the three most important strategies for the fostering of a Pan-African identity and unity?

Pan African identity and unity needs the following strategies:

- I. A political will i.e. African leaders involvement
- II. Academic and Intellectual guidance to forestall misdirection and distortion.
- III. Economic growth that will continue to instill stability.

Thank you for taking time to complete this questionnaire

APPENDIX D

Questionnaire: **The African Cultural Heritage:** **Deculturation, Transformation and Development**

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Academics and Cultural Activists involved in the Pan-African thought and the African Renaissance discourse

1. How would you describe the African cultural heritage?

It is the practical acknowledgement of the pre-existence of a rich and diverse amalgam of a criss-crossing in Africa of social/ cultural/ economic/ political and scientific aspects of life in Africa. I say a practical acknowledgement because this means a contemporary re-working/ harnessing/ adapting of these aspects of African life to suit modern global trends.

2. What would you describe as distinct and different In the African cultural heritage when compared with other world cultures?

There has always been in Africa the emphasis on the person. By this I mean the respect for human life, respect for others and accommodating/ meeting the other person's needs whenever the African is/ was required to do so. There is much emphasis on technology in, say Western/ European cultural heritages. The tendency to think that technology is the best of all possible aspects of a culture is a myth. Life is too big for one of its aspects to assume precedence over the other aspects of life.

3. What would you describe as similar in the African cultural heritage when compared to other world cultures?

This is a difficult question, for it requires familiarity with the many other world cultures. In the case of Western/ European cultures, I would say that there are no similarities between them and African culture(s).

4. Deculturation is a socio-cultural process through which people are alienated from some of their core cultural values and practices. This obviously impact on the Identity of people. How would you describe deculturation in African context?

There was no deculturation in Africa before the advent of colonialism. The very fact that there are many similar patterns of behaviour among Africans is a clear testimony to the fact.

5. What do you think is necessary to get African people who suffered from deculturation, again appreciate, valorise, practice and live their culture?

This is a myth; even ardent Africanists such as Achebe will tell you that social change is a health aspect of our very big life. We can only adapt our past to suit

the present. This needs very imaginative minds indeed. Very few African minds, in my view, can pioneer this process.

6. Which pro-African heritage strategies could we employ?

The assumptions of the African Renaissance are useful cases in point; however, they need to be supported and sustained through political will. I am saying that we need to start from the top. African governments need to work in partnership with parastatal institutions.

7. Which critical and reconstructive pro-African heritage strategies do you know of that people employed since the 1950s?

The tenets of PAFMECSA and the OAU were the beginnings of this process.

8. Were these strategies effective? Please explain why you say "Yes" or "No".

The intentions were good; the pioneers, nevertheless, underestimated the power of neo-colonialism/ imperialism. Neo-colonialism/ imperialism is more powerful than most African/ Third World efforts of any kind.

9. South Africa will soon celebrate its tenth year of independence and democracy. What do you think are the most important positive changes which have taken place since 1994?

Like any society coming out of a particular bondage, freedom for the formerly oppressed to do/ to have access to many things is one obvious and laudable change in South Africa.

10. How would you describe the negative changes which have taken place since 1993?

Corruption; the pull of money is a cancer to any emerging society. When a formerly oppressed people suddenly want to "enjoy" life, morality goes down. I am saying that the moral fabric of South Africa is gradually decaying. The concerns of the Heifer (spelling) Commission now sitting in Bloemfontein and the quarrels over the Arms Deal are good illustrations of the point I am making.

11. What are the current challenges that South Africans face for the next ten years, and which they need to address for the improvement of the quality of life of people?

Education is crucial. South Africans should take a leaf from what happened in most sub-Saharan African countries immediately after independence. Most of the countries put in place a serious education drive.

12. The African Renaissance has been mooted as one of the most important concepts through which the revitalisation of Africa can take place. In your view, how would you describe the notion of the African Renaissance?

I have already said that it is a good idea. It needs to be supported.

13. What do you regard as the most important challenges for the African Renaissance?

Political will.

14. Development is something which everybody in Africa has been speaking about for some decades now. How would you define or describe development?

It depends on what you are talking about. Walter Rodney's book "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa" is crucial. You could also consult Paul A. Baran's book "The Political Economy of Growth" and Gunder A. Frank's "Dependent Accumulation and Underdevelopment".

15. One cannot think of development in Africa without also thinking of globalisation and how its forces impact on Africa. How would you describe globalisation?

This is a Western myth/ ploy to swallow up Third World countries/ economies. Unfortunately, the poor African mind, because it is already severely impaired/ deracinated by colonialism, has bought into the idea of globalisation. I suggest you familiarise yourself with the books I recommend in 14.

16. How would you describe both the negative and the positive impact of globalisation on Africa?

Consider my answers to 14 and 15.

17. One of the most significant definitions of underdevelopment is that it came about because colonial and apartheid governments (in Southern Africa) prevented people from engaging world trends in culture and technology on their own terms. How would you describe the condition of underdevelopment in Africa?

The assumption of your question is correct. It is a good idea to have "culture" in our curriculum; but the expectations of OBE cannot properly allow for such ideas.

18. Kwame Nkrumah already espoused the idea of the economic and political unification of Africa in the 1960's. Do you think that this is a realistic expectation for developments in Africa? ("Yes" or "No")? Please motivate your answer.

Yes. Money/Economy of any society is one strong aspect of a society's development.

19. What is your opinion on the issue of NEPAD?

It is a good intention.

20. What do you regard as the three most important strategies for the fostering of a Pan-African identity and unity?

I have already implied elsewhere that the dynamics of social change can never allow for a Pan-Africanist identity. Wole Soyinka has rightly remarked that Africa has over hundreds of years interacted with other cultures that it is now difficult "to define culture using salt waters." Meaning, even Western cultures should also now be problematised.

Thank you for taking time to complete this questionnaire

APPENDIX E

Questionnaire: **The African Cultural Heritage:** **Deculturation, Transformation and Development**

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Academics and Cultural Activists involved in the Pan-African thought and the African Renaissance discourse

1. How would you describe the African cultural heritage?

In my view this refers to ALL that Africa has been involved in creating, be it in the economic, social, scientific or whatever domain which then is available for posterity.

2. What would you describe as distinct and different in the African cultural heritage when compared with other world cultures?

In my view Africa should not be seen as distinct from human cultural heritage because scientific evidence attest to the fact that Africa is the cradle of humanity, therefore everything that is human is African. The idea of making Africa or that which is African different is flawed and is bound to fail because that is just the imagination of a discourse that has been attempting to 'other' the African and make him/her different and therefore prone to colonisation and/or dehumanisation.

3. What would you describe as similar in the African cultural heritage when compared to other world cultures?

Everything African is human. I mean it is like asking: what is similar between the anatomy of the African and that of other human beings in the world. The answer is that, everything is similar because we have similar blood, bones etc. Dark complexion is a mere result of exposure to the elements and not an intrinsic difference.

4. Deculturation is a socio-cultural process through which people are alienated from some of their core cultural values and practices. This obviously impact on the identity of people. How would you describe deculturation in African context?

The concept does not exist in my vocabulary because culture is none essentialist meaning it is a mere construction of habit and it can be anything. It is actually arbitrary. What it seems to be like at any given time is a mere social construction. Therefore to talk about deculturation is similar to acculturation as the two processes actually do the same thing. In my view there is nothing essentially African different from what is essentially European. Both these if they were to exist would have been mere variation of the same thing made different by emphasis or social construction or the discourse of 'other-ing'.

5. What do you think is necessary to get African people who suffered from deculturation, again appreciate, valorise, practice and live their culture?

They just have to realise that there is NOTHING intrinsically different about them. They are just like anybody else. That they are seen to be different is just a mere ploy to exploit and dehumanise them so that they could be exploited without conscience as they are seen not to be exactly like others. The fact of the matter is that to be human is to be African and to be African is to be human and therefore Africans should strive towards re-claiming their human status and dignity like everybody else.

6. Which pro-African heritage strategies could we employ?

I think Black Consciousness is the best way of addressing this because Blackness is just a marker and not an intrinsic characteristic making us different. Africans need to use that as a platform of demonstrating their full and equal humanity to all. Africans-ness just refers to some geographic location, just like Gauteng does not make people there to be different from people in Shannon. In fact even the word African is Graeco-Roman; it is authored outside the continent just like lesolanka to the Basotho people is a design by the British only taken on by the Basotho because of the cold in their geographic location. There is nothing typically Basotho about it. It is a mere garment which used to have practical use and which now to some extent, has assumed museum and/or 'cultural' significance.

7. Which critical and reconstructive pro-African heritage strategies do you know of that people employed since the 1950s?

Many have been used, for example pan-Africanism (Marcus Garvey, etc.), communalism (Patrice Lumumba, Samora Machel, etc.), Black Consciousness (Steve Bantu Biko), African Humanism (Nkrumah, etc.), Ujamaa (Nyerere etc.)

8. Were these strategies effective? Please explain why you say "Yes" or "No".

Not effective because of (i) competition from colonialism and greed of capitalism and because (ii) they emphasised differánce (French word) and therefore not natural to human universality.

9. South Africa will soon celebrate its tenth year of independence and democracy. What do you think are the most important positive changes which have taken place since 1994?

Nothing. The whole euphoria is a lie. Privilege and hegemonic interests of capital on the one hand and poverty and marginalisation of the poor on the other have deepened.

10. How would you describe the negative changes which have taken place since 1993?

These negative changes are natural to and symptomatic of a lie. There has been no miracle in 1994 because miracles no longer happen in the modern/post-modern times. Any conception of such is erroneous and misleading.

11. What are the current challenges that South Africans face for the next ten years, and which they need to address for the improvement of the quality of life of people?

Poverty, illiteracy, diseases be they HIV-AIDS , malaria etc., unemployment, marginalisation of the dispossessed, oppression of the landless and poor unemployed, etc. The list is long and inexhaustible because all these are universal human challenges.

12. The African Renaissance has been mooted as one of the most important concepts through which the revitalisation of Africa can take place. In your view, how would you describe the notion of the African Renaissance?

Africa does not have to copy-cat Europe/European Union. Africa needs own strategies because Africa is not one thing it is heterogeneous. In fact, I find it self-deprecating to call Chaka or Dingaan the Black Napoleon. Why should we attempt to do that if not advancing the agenda of the dominant discourse of colonisation? Why cannot Chaka/Dingane be themselves and not a black version of some European? The same malady afflicts African Renaissance. This is a European phenomenon which can never be Africa. Africa perhaps could be thinking about Ujamaa or other such home brewed concept that has nothing to do with the coloniser. Europe is not the yard stick for Africa, unless we want to perpetuate 'other-ing' and marginalisation.

13. What do you regard as the most important challenges for the African Renaissance?

Its most important challenge is for it to be indigenised into the African ethos, heart and soul. African Renaissance as it is now is a boot-licking way of trying to be European in the context of globalisation which is authored by big Western capital. It is not birthed out of the African experiences; it is artificial and concocted as a strategy to access European funds because Africa is creating institutions like those of Europe.

14. Development is something which everybody in Africa has been speaking about for some decades now. How would you define or describe development?

Development should not be defined about, say, the value of the Rand in comparison to the dollar etc., but it should be measured/defined by the extent to which the poor have become less poor or even rich.

15. One cannot think of development in Africa without also thinking of globalisation and how its forces impact on Africa. How would you describe globalisation?

A neo-colonial concept of undermining other fledgling economies and practices authored outside Europe. All have to 'compete' in the terms of Europe!!

16. How would you describe both the negative and the positive impact of globalisation on Africa?

There are no positive impacts of globalisation This question is similar to asking as to what is the positive impact of apartheid. In fact as a victim, I cannot think of any. But the negatives are many including local and indigenous losing control, initiative and prominence. That which is not global is considered queer and meriting intervention for 'normalisation'. One has only to read Foucault's normalisation technologies in order to understand what globalisation in real terms means. Globalisation is one of such technologies. A false sense of being free and independent is created while one's resources are siphoned out of the country in the name of globalisation. Local people do not matter much; they can be poor as long as the monetary currency looks 'good' on the western markets.

17. One of the most significant definitions of underdevelopment is that it came about because colonial and apartheid governments (in Southern Africa) prevented people from engaging world trends in culture and technology on their own terms. How would you describe the condition of underdevelopment in Africa?

I would agree, though I would also add the 'siphoning dimension' as well. Produce were taken out of Africa at no cost and sold back at exorbitant price. This is the real cause of underdevelopment.

18. Kwame Nkrumah already espoused the idea of the economic and political unification of Africa in the 1960's. Do you think this is a realistic expectation for socio-economic development in Africa? ("YES or NO") Please motivate your answer.

No, it is not. Africa is too diverse to can adhere to one centralised way of doing things. This was another instance of attempting to ape Europe which was bound to fail. Maybe Africa needs multi-pronged strategies recognising its diverse and tumultuous pasts.

19. What is your opinion on the issue of NEPAD?

NEPAD is some hegemonic concoction to preserve the dominance of the west and its ways of doing things. Maybe Saddam's and Gaddafi's (now abandoned) approaches would have been better. The latter implied finding non-western

solutions to non-western problems, perhaps in competition with the ways of the west.

20. What do you regard as the three most important strategies for the fostering of a Pan-African identity and unity?

The first of the three most important strategies for the fostering of a Pan-Africanist identity and unity is; the cultivation of typical human and humane values of respect for human dignity and sanctity. The second is the creation of the need and willingness to cooperate with others. All the above need to be grounded on the concern for the plight of others.

Thank you for taking time to complete this questionnaire

APPENDIX F

Questionnaire **The African Cultural Heritage:** **Deculturation, Transformation and Development**

I am Pakiso Tondi and currently busy with my D.Phil thesis in the School of Religion and Culture at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

My research includes an empirical component of which this questionnaire is one of the research instruments used for data gathering.

The questionnaires have been developed for the following perspectives: (1) Academic perspectives; and 2) Cultural Activists' perspectives.

I shall appreciate it if you assist the project by providing your scholarly views or opinions in the questionnaire.

- **Please note:**

- * This is an anonymous qualitative research questionnaire, but you may provide your personal details. If you do, I shall refer to and acknowledge your views.

- * If there is not enough space for your responses, please write or type out your responses more fully and attach them to the questionnaire.

Please complete and resubmit the questionnaire by **31 MAY 2004**

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Academics and Cultural Activists involved in the Pan-African thought and the African Renaissance discourse

1. How would you describe the African cultural heritage?

Restoration of the African culture so that it can be transmitted to the next generations.

2. What would you describe as distinct and different in the African cultural heritage when compared with other world cultures?

It is rich and it has not and it will never be eroded by the influence of other cultures.

3. What would you describe as similar in the African cultural heritage when compared to other world cultures?

What is similar in the African cultural heritage and other cultures is that they all maintain that their languages should not disappear, precisely because as Ngugi wa Thiongo rightly asserts "language is a carrier of culture," and a means through which the is transferred from one generation to the other.

4. Deculturation is a socio-cultural process through which people are alienated from some of their core cultural values and practices. This obviously impact on the identity of people. How would you describe deculturation in African context?

In the dominantly African communities many people are under the influence and grip of Western culture. This can clearly be seen in the way some of them dress and speak - aspiring to be acceptable in the world that is dominated by an alien and marginalising culture to the African worldview.

5. What do you think is necessary to get African people who suffered from deculturation, again appreciate, valorise, practice and live their culture?

By organising cultural activities and festivities through which African cultural heritage can be displayed and celebrated.

6. Which pro-African heritage strategies could we employ?

Those that are of socio-cultural and economic significance, which at the end will contribute towards the development of marginalised communities, such as koma (un-commercialised initiation school) for the socialisation of the young and letsema for fighting abject poverty that is prevalent in South Africa even post-1994.

7. Which critical and reconstructive pro-African heritage strategies do you know of that people employed since the 1950s?

Pan-Africanism Movement as it was initiated by the likes of Du Bois, Kwame Nkrumah and others.

8. Were these strategies effective? Please explain why you say "Yes" or "No".

Yes, because many African people (especially those in Diaspora) began to reclaim their identity and dignity in the world that was dominated by the views and values of the coloniser.

9. South Africa will soon celebrate its tenth year of independence and democracy. What do you think are the most important positive changes which have taken place since 1994?

At least through the initiatives of the democratic government's Department of Arts and Culture some of the essential aspects of African cultural heritage are beginning to occupy the centre stage in the nation's life, for example, the processes that were observed (ritual that was performed by dingaka/izangoma) on Monday 8 March 2004, in the consecration of the Garden of Remembrance in Freedom Park.

10. How would you describe the negative changes which have taken place since 1993?

Many people have become attracted to modernization (Westernism) and have thus become disconnected from the African village life and its practices.

11. What are the current challenges that South Africans face for the next ten years, and which they need to address for the improvement of the quality of life of people?

Teaching the young generation certain essential elements of African cultural heritage, such

- *as respect for elders,*

- *how when they occupy high public office they should conduct themselves*
- *the significance of upholding certain cultural rituals, like "go phasa badimo"*

12. The African Renaissance has been mooted as one of the most important concepts through which the revitalisation of Africa can take place. In your view, how would you describe the notion of the African Renaissance?

It is about African awakening, meaning the reclaiming of the past African glory, knowing our roots, where we come from and so that we can have a clear direction as to where we want to be in the future as a people in the era of intense globalisation.

13. What do you regard as the most important challenges for the African Renaissance?

Some people (especially in South Africa) claim to be Africans while they can hardly identify with the struggles and the shortcomings of the continent. The re-centering of African languages into the life and work of the nation is of significance and thus needs to be taken seriously by the African intelligentsia. Like in the situation of the Asian Tigers indigenous languages must be developed so that they can be used to for Science and Technology.

14. Development is something which everybody in Africa has been speaking about for some decades now. How would you define or describe development?

Development refers to a situation whereby marginalised countries of Africa are able to use their own mineral and natural resources to feed themselves and look after the needs of their people without entirely relying on outside help.

15. One cannot think of development in Africa without also thinking of globalisation and how its forces impact on Africa. How would you describe globalisation?

Globalisation can be both negative and positive; in a nutshell it means we cannot exist in isolation without other nations of the world. But what is problematic in that inter-dependence relationship is when one party wants to dictate the terms at the all the way.

16. How would you describe both the negative and the positive impact of globalisation on Africa?

The negative impact of globalisation is that Africans are persuaded to throw away their cultural heritage and adopt alienating and marginalising culture of the powerful communities in the global village. The positive impact of globalisation is that even though the rules are rather unfavourable to Africa and its people, the latter is given an opportunity in various spheres of life to also compete with other nations of the world.

17. One of the most significant definitions of underdevelopment is that it came about because colonial and apartheid governments (in Southern Africa) prevented people from engaging world trends in culture and technology on their own terms. How would you describe the condition of underdevelopment in Africa?

Undermining African Indigenous Knowledge Systems.

18. Kwame Nkrumah already espoused the idea of the economic and political unification of Africa in the 1960's. Do you think this is a realistic expectation for socio-economic development in Africa? ("YES or NO") Please motivate your answer.

YES, because Africa can retain its own wealth and thus develop its own local industries, so that it can have the capacity to feed and look after the needs of its people.

19. What is your opinion on the issue of NEPAD?

NEPAD entails an initiative by the Africans to convince African governments and communities that using their own human, material and natural resource they too like the Asian Tigers can experience a socio-cultural and economic advancement without entirely relying on American and European communities. It is a strategy for rescuing Africa from poverty and underdevelopment, and moving it along the path of accelerated growth and sustainable socio-economic development.

20. What do you regard as the three most important strategies for the fostering of a Pan-African identity and unity?

- *reclaim African culture, values and religious practices*
- *re-centering indigenous languages*
- *developing and making viable the economies of African countries.*

Thank you for taking time to complete this questionnaire