




Chapter 4

Reconstruction and Reparative Justice for Global African Peoples in the 21st Century

Horace G Campbell 

Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York 
hgcampbe@syr.edu

“Today each group of people, armed with its rediscovered or reinforced cultural identity, has arrived at the threshold of the post-industrial era. The atavistic but vigilant African optimism inclines us to wish that all nations would join hands in order to build a planetary civilization instead of sinking down to barbarism” (Diop 1986:1).

“One of the cardinal principles of Pan-Africanism is that the people of one part of Africa are responsible for the freedom of their brothers in other parts of Africa; and, indeed, black people everywhere were to accept the same responsibility” (Rodney 1975).

Introduction

The vigilant African optimism that was invoked by Cheikh Anta Diop is being deployed in the face of the challenges to humanity accentuated by the crises of global capital. From the period of the Atlantic slave trade, through Jim Crow, the colonial period, and apartheid, the organisational capabilities of African peoples for emancipation and the humanisation of the planet Earth had prevented humanity from slipping into total barbarism. The resistance to enslavement, whether in Africa or the Western world, created the basis and momentum that led to the formation of organisations and the birth of the idea of Pan Africanism.



Vincent B Thompson, Walter Rodney, and CLR James were Pan-African thinkers who elaborated on the genius of those early resisters who paved the way for a global movement. Micere Githae Mugo strengthened the understanding by focusing on the lived experiences of the ordinary African person at the grassroots level. Martin (1993) observes that the genius of the movement was to bring coherence to the scattered Africans. At every turn, when the ideological organs of the empire attempted to place the stamp of dispersal, dysfunction, and disaster on Global Africa, the Pan-African movement responded with robust ideas about reparative justice and reconstruction. The latest response of the Pan-African movement has been most forthright in the Global Africa reparations movement for healing and restorative justice.

That vigilant optimism girded the will of Africans to reverse the trends of global apartheid (Mullings 2009; Bond 2003). Global apartheid amplifies the array of threats to the future of humans on planet Earth, with wars, pandemics, artificial intelligence, cyberwarfare, and global warming heading the list of threats to African survival. With each passing day, there are reports on the catastrophic results of global warming, with scientists stating explicitly that human-caused climate change is a threat to the continued existence of our species. If humans do nothing to slow climate change, then global temperatures may increase by 4 degrees Celsius or more by the year 2100. Scientists term these dangers 'existential threats' so far as there is a genuine possibility that within the next century, contemporary societies will hit temperatures that are deeply incompatible with the continued existence of human life. Militarism, occupation, warfare, and geo-economic competition further compound the challenges facing humanity. On a similar note, a robust reconstruction plan for saving Lake Chad has been on the table for three decades, with stern opposition from France, the European Union (EU), and the United States (US).

Planning for the reconstruction of Africa to confront the threats of global warming has, up to now, not dominated the front pages of the African press. This does not mean that Pan-Africanists within the environmental justice movement internationally have been inactive. The pedantic work to save

Lake Chad has maintained the Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC) as a premier Pan-African organisation for nearly 60 years. Wangari Maathai, one of the leading Pan-Africanist, peace, and environmental justice activists, introduced the Green Belt Movement to the entire planet. African environmental justice activists have been sounding this alarm for over 30 years with the deep displays of global warming manifesting in massive dislocations in Africa. Nnimmo Bassey, in *To Cook a Continent: Destructive Extraction and Climate Crisis in Africa*, has gone beyond the alarmist statements to link the struggles for the rights of mine workers to the struggles for environmental justice with the struggles for reclaiming mother earth and for reparative justice (Bassey 2012). Simply stated, reparations and repairing the environment are not about money but about reversing the forms of economic relations that hasten warming. It is in the context of the reparative claims of the global Pan-African movement that inspires this contribution to the edited volume.

Most meetings and discussions of Pan-Africanism reflect the range of intellectual and ideological orientations on Pan-African thought and action. The keynote speaker¹ at the conference in November 2022 represented a variant of Pan-Africanism that has for decades stressed the differences between “Black Africa and Arab Africa”. Such differences had simmered in the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and now act as a lag to properly mobilise Africans to oppose the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation’s (NATO) destruction and plunder of Libya. Similarly, the intellectual output about Sudan hinders an appreciation of the fundamental shift that has taken place in that society (Campbell 2023; Berridge *et al*, 2022). South Africa has produced a political leadership that turned its back on global African solidarity and embraced the ideas of the European Enlightenment to propose an African Renaissance. It is within that Newtonian discourse that confusion prevailed with the South African leadership joining with Europe on the question of reparative justice at the

1 Prof Kwesi Prah, Emeritus Professor, Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society, Cape Town, South Africa. The lecture was titled, “Pan-Africanism, African Renaissance and the Africa We Want”.

World Conference Against Racism in Durban in September 2001 (Beckles 2013).

Hilary Beckles, chair of the Caribbean Reparations Commission, in a pique, penned an article 'End of Pan-Africanism: Reparations and Global Africa'. This was not the first time that erudite scholars had heralded the death of Pan-Africanism. In the early 70s, before the overthrow of fascism in Portugal and the straitjacket of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) leaders, many commentators had written about the death of Pan-Africanism before the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) joined a robust Pan-African campaign to push the planet into opposing apartheid. Beckles's intervention challenged the version of Pan-Africanism that was emanating from some academic circles in Africa that allied with Western Europe at Durban and proposed the establishment of the New Partnership for Africa Development (NEPAD) (Adedeji 2002). This chapter agrees with the need to embrace the formulation of Global Africa to retreat from the ideas of the African diaspora that were promoted within the African Union (AU). The AU designation of the scattered African children in the diaspora as the sixth region of Africa will be analysed against the contribution of scholars such as Michael O West, who has given a robust critique of the vindicationist traditions within the Pan-African movement (West 2005).

This intervention starts with the global context of the global Pan-African reparations struggles, highlighting the twists and turns within the Pan-African world since the founding of the AU right after the World Conference Against Racism. The interrogation of the Afro-pessimism generated by the push to discredit Pan-African thought and action is examined within the context of the intellectual energy to deny the agency of Africans in reversing colonialism and apartheid. By presenting the reversals of apartheid as a gift from Western diplomacy, this same academic ecosystem is deployed to render the military activities of the US and France as fighting terror. The Sudanese revolution of 2019 and the booting out of France in parts of West Africa with the new alliance of Sahel states opened new possibilities for the realisation of full unification of Africa and Agenda 2063. This

intervention highlights the push to rejuvenate Lake Chad with the canal and water transfer system proposed by the Lake Chad Basin Commission. The conclusion presents the quantum leap that can emanate from new thinking and a renewed push for Pan-African dignity.

The Context of the Celebration of the African Union @20: Pan-Africanism and the Aspirations of Agenda 2063

In many ways, “The Africa We Want” was spelled out in Aspiration 7 of Agenda 2063 and my contribution focuses on the conjuncture which is forcing the agenda for a full unification. It is the conjuncture of pandemics, artificial intelligence, wars, and hunger, where humanity is pleading for reparative justice, healing, and reconstruction. Reparative justice is a way of thinking about justice (a mindset) that centres on those who have been harmed and focuses on repairing past harms, stopping present harm, and preventing the reproduction of harm. Every generation of Pan-African resisters proclaimed an agenda for reparative and restorative justice.

Fifty years after Kwame Nkrumah spoke at the founding of the OAU, at the same event when Pan-Africanists were commemorating the contribution of Tajudeen Abdul Raheem, strategists of the AU wrote a document called Agenda 2063. That document built on the Constitutive Act of the AU (CAAU) to advance an agenda declaring that we want:

1. a prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development;
2. an integrated continent, politically united and based on the ideals of Pan-Africanism and the vision of Africa’s Renaissance;
3. an Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law;
4. a peaceful and secure Africa;
5. an Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, values and ethics;

6. an Africa where development is people-driven, unleashing the potential of its women and youth; and
7. Africa as a strong, united, and influential global player and partner.

This document was itself an effort to rescue the AU from the NEPAD agenda that had been imposed on the Pan-African project after the United Nations Third World Conference Against Racism (WCAR) in Durban in 2001. That episodic Durban meeting had channelled a generation of resistance to systemic racism and laid a clear path in the Durban Declaration Programme of Action. The First World Conference Against Racism was held in 1978, and the second in 1983. Apartheid was designated as a crime against humanity at the second WCAR. Twenty years after the removal of Kwame Nkrumah, there was another effort to derail Pan-African initiatives when the West came out with the Berg Report to divert energies from the Lagos Plan of Action. Susan Williams, in *White Malice: The CIA and the Recolonisation of Africa*, spells out the destructive techniques that were unleashed to save White supremacy.

Twenty years after that the removal of Kwame Nkrumah, there was another effort to derail Pan-African initiatives when the West produced the Berg Report to divert energies from the Lagos Plan of Action. In *White Supremacy Confronted: US Imperialism and Anti-communism vs the Liberation of Southern Africa, From Rhodes to Mandela*, Gerald Horne outlines the historical forms of struggle by the international forces of peace and social justice to defeat apartheid (Horne 2019).

In tracing the long battles against White supremacy, it became clear that it was the clarity of the global Pan-African movement that inspired the nonaligned movement and the international anti-racist forces. The Pan-African project had been rejuvenated by four important sequences:

1. the military defeat of the apartheid army in Angola at Cuito Cuanavale;
2. the coming to power of the liberation forces in South Africa and Namibia;
3. the birth of the African Union; and

4. the World Conference Against Racism, calling for reparations and reparative justice.

Many younger scholars remain unaware of the major sacrifices that were made by Africans in all parts of the world to beat back apartheid, with the strong efforts of the OAU Liberation Committee under the leadership of Tanzania and Julius Nyerere (Mbugnuni 2006). In South Africa, the intellectuals from the former apartheid state continued to produce theses and texts that argued that apartheid ended because of the diplomatic skills of the US and South African diplomats (Crocker 1992; Cohen 2000 & 2020; Baines 2014; and Scholtz 2013). This brand of scholarship coincided with intellectual work from within the African National Congress (ANC) that diminished the significance of Cuito Cuanavale with the military and diplomatic defeat of the South African forces (Campbell 1990; Gleijeses 2013). In the pursuit of the conception of the authentic liberation movement, some intellectuals within the academy in South Africa had turned their backs on the solidarity work that had been growing within the Southern Africa region in the era of the anti-apartheid struggle.

Western think tanks, foundations, and governments intervened to diminish the importance of Pan-African solidarity by first seeking to dismiss the strength of the Pan-African process that had anchored the OAU Liberation Committee. Western foundations and governments then expended more than 1 billion US dollars to promote the ideas of neoliberal economic reforms, good governance and the tropes that had been associated with World Bank conditionalities (Stacey & Aksartoya 2001; Hearn 2000). Intellectuals from the former think tanks and consultancies of the apartheid war machine mobilised energies against structural transformation away from apartheid and spread into the Southern African region with the assistance of Western governments. The Institute for Security Studies (ISS) in Pretoria and the Brenthurst Foundation in Johannesburg are some of the entities in Southern Africa that seek to drive the intellectual debates on Pan-Africanism and Africa's economic future. It would then not be surprising that an edited collection on the African Union @20 anchored within the intellectual horizons of the ISS

would exclude the defeat of the apartheid military (Okuma & Atta-Asamoah 2023).

Unlike the neoliberal outlook on Pan-African thought and practices that are advanced by Western institutions, scholars such as Tim Muruthi and Carlos Lopez have been drawing from the richness of Pan-African ideas and how these ideas set the scene for the new union. In my scholarship on the unification of Africa, I have drawn liberally from Cheikh Anta Diop, Wangari Mathai, Kwame Nkrumah, Walter Rodney, and Thomas Sankara to spell out a brand of Pan-Africanism that is inscribed in an emancipatory framework. Walter Rodney is explicit in his writings on Pan-Africanism, maintaining that Pan-Africanism should be centered around the working people. This message was communicated quite clearly when, in the early 70s, many 'Marxists' in the Southern African liberation movements heralded the death of Pan-Africanism. In my other writings, I spelled out the emancipatory framework for Pan-African scholarship, drawing out the four other dominant approaches to the study of Pan-Africanism, which are positivism, constructivism, Marxism, and feminism (Campbell 2018).

The positivist approach has been the most dominant approach to Pan-Africanism, with the traditions being laid very early by the great Pan-African leaders (Geiss 1967). Pan-African feminists such as Micere Githae Mugo, Ama Ata Aidoo, Graca Machel, and Winnie Mandela made their contributions to the understanding of Pan-Africanism that challenged sexism and patriarchy. *In Search of Mr. McKenzie*, a book written by two Black, England-born Caribbean women about their quest for their father, draws from years of investigation by the sisters who were raised in children's homes, and reveals that Ernest McKenzie Mavinga was a dedicated activist of the Pan-Africanist movement who travelled from his home island, Trinidad, to Britain and perhaps Africa (Harris 1996; Mugo 2002). This clear message was that Pan-Africanists cannot proclaim to be fighting for African dignity while neglecting their families. Similarly, in the current period of energetic conservatism, conservative leaders seek to take leadership in the AU with assertive homophobia that promises to kill same-gender-loving persons.

The Emancipatory Approach to Pan-African Thinking

The conjunctural crises of global capital have pressured the Global African intelligentsia and researchers to elevate the aspirations of the AU and formulate approaches to these objectives that are emancipatory. The approach of this scholar to Pan-African liberation is that it must be undergirded by an emancipatory framework. One reads as many definitions and understandings of Pan-Africanism as there are writers and pundits. I started with two thinkers, Cheikh Anta Diop and Walter Rodney, whose lives, writing and examples continue to inspire those who want to break from Eurocentric and Newtonian approaches to Africa's transformation. In numerous publications, I elaborate on the qualitative differences between the Pan-Africanism of great men and that which is grounded in the lived experiences of those who always resisted oppression. As a scholar, it becomes important to spell out the emancipatory framework based on fractal thinking and fractal optimism.

Fractal thinking incorporates quantum realities that are very different from the linearity of stages of growth. These Newtonian approaches have brought the allure of progress and that humans must embark on human development. In Africa, the UN mobilised Africans into the unsuccessful Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which was later replaced with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). African Universities and governments were then lured into extensive work to fulfil the goals of the SDGs. That development approach had been rejected by Pan-African scholars such as AM Babu and Samir Amin.

The Newtonian approach to 'development' was given a new lease of life in the discourses and papers on Pan-Africanism and the African Renaissance. Eurocentrism in Pan-African scholarship had been strengthened by the ideas of Immanuel Kant and Frederich Hegel, who sought to write Africa out of the central path of human transformations. That brand of Pan-African scholarship has been termed vindicationist Pan-Africanism by Michael West. If Europe had great civilisations, then Africa must celebrate its civilisations, too. Hence, if Europe went from communalism to

slavery, from feudalism to capitalism, and from capitalism to socialism, this is the path for humanity. Africa must emulate the same path as Europe. This rendition of human development had been reformulated by liberals of the modernisation school to highlight the stages of economic growth: 1) traditional society, 2) preconditions to take-off, 3) take-off, 4) drive to maturity, and 5) age of high mass consumption (Rostow 1971).

Walter Rodney, in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, critiques European conceptions of modernisation, enlightenment, and Renaissance. The anti-imperialist Pan-African scholarship that originated from the University of Dar es Salaam is consistent with the Pan-African thinking in a society that supports liberation. Rodney and the scholars of the Dar es Salaam School of Political Economy argue that the ideas of modernisation legitimised the doctrines of discovery, genocide, colonialism, and the plunder of humans and nature. Rodney notes in *The Groundings with my Brothers* that there were three ways to break with Eurocentric thinking in order to start a new process of reconstruction. Rodney (1969) notes:

I would suggest first that the intellectual, the academic, within his own discipline, has to attack those distortions which white imperialism, white cultural imperialism have produced in all branches of scholarship... My second point is that the black intellectual has to move beyond his own discipline to challenge the social myth, which exists in society as a whole. In other words, the myth about multi-racial society. This is the sort of thing which we have a duty to perform to the black people from whom we came. Thirdly, the black intellectual, the black academic, must attach himself to the activity of the black masses.

Not only did Walter Rodney attach himself to the activity of the masses wherever he lived, but he dedicated his life to rediscovering the threads of the ancestral past to liberate for humanity the ideas and practices of 'modernity and progress'. That formulation of modernity had been promoted by some Marxists under the guise of 'developing the productive forces'. Walter Rodney's contribution to understanding global capital is to elaborate on the

dialectical relationships between underdevelopment in Africa and technological advances in Europe and North America.

Examining the meaning of Pan-Africanism in the current context of massive technological change requires a new language and orientation – an orientation that breaks away from the stultifying concepts embraced by a class of leaders and intellectuals who have no loyalty to Africa, and who seek to turn citizens into tribal nanobots without a spiritual core. In this era of artificial intelligence (AI), the future of humanity is the struggle between humans that control machines and machines that control humans. Stephen Hawkins observed that artificial intelligence can be the worst event in the history of civilisation. He remarked that, “unless we learn how to prepare for, and avoid, the potential risks, AI could be the worst event in the history of our civilisation. It brings dangers, like powerful autonomous weapons, or new ways for the few to oppress the many. It could bring great disruption to our economy” (Kharpal 2017).

The new digital technologies have offered great possibilities for humans and, at the same time, great dangers for dehumanisation. Two Black feminist scholars, Ruha Benjamin in *Race after Technology: Abolitionist Tools for the New Jim Code* and Safiya Umoja Noble and in *Algorithms of Oppression: How Search Engines Reinforce Racism*, warn of the bigoted assumptions and ideas that inform the mindset of the mainstream technicians who are programming the systems for machine learning and artificial intelligence. As Campbell (2018) argues elsewhere:

African languages hold some of the key signposts of the refinement of cognitive technologies that are part of the assemblage of converting technologies (nanotechnology, information technology, biotechnology and robotics). For a short moment, the National Science Foundation of the USA and its scientists in California had mooted a project called the Human Cognome project to harness the understanding of cognitive psychology. According to the scientists who were promoting this enterprise, the Human Cognome Project had planned to span various scientific fields, including neuroscience, cognitive science, artificial

intelligence and psychology. Africa as the fountain of homo sapiens was a key area of interest, as were the early African languages...

A better understanding of the cognome can illuminate how the brain perceives and responds to the environment, thereby augmenting artificial intelligence technology. It also has many important implications for the study of disease progression by observing changes in cognition to localised damage. A map of the cognome promises to increase mechanistic understandings of the brain. To further this research, bioanthropologists have tapped into the cell lines of the Hadza, the Iraqw, the Maasai, the Samburu, Sand

we, Shilook, Nuer, Turkana Dinka and San Peoples. These peoples are being studied to learn how to maximise AI capabilities to programme robots.”

Ngugi Wa Thiongo wrote extensively on the decolonisation of the mind and the urgency of using African languages as the language of instruction at every level of education in Africa. Creative writers and linguists in Africa have pointed to one direction of what is possible when African languages and African knowledge systems, along with the principles of social collectivism, are unleashed for the good of society. One could see that throughout Global Africa, people’s understanding of their links to their ancestors and their totems prevented the complete robotisation of their societies. Bob Marley, a cultural leader in Global Africa, had exhorted African peoples to emancipate themselves from mental slavery. It is this emancipation from mental slavery that informs the emancipatory framework.

This epistemological approach is the interconnectivity of humans and the natural environment. One cannot have a peaceful Africa without Africa building on the capacity of women and youth. You cannot have a prosperous Africa without an African at peace; thus, the necessity of Silencing the Guns. In other words, our conceptual framework begins with thinking of African interconnectivity with the universe. African mathematicians such as Paulos Gerdes researched African mathematics, and the

richness of that body of scholarship has now been enhanced by Ron Eglash in *African Fractals: Modern Computing and Indigenous Design*. It is now well established in scientific research that African mathematics made modern computing possible. Ironically, the social sciences taught in Global Africa have not yet caught up with the knowledge of the African countryside in the villages which have been here for about 8 000 years. Instead, in African universities, we teach Euclid and these institutions in the main, as well as the geometry of closed spaces without understanding the great possibility that arises from going back to African knowledge systems.

According to the AU, Pan-Africanists should work for the five transformative outcomes. These outcomes are:

1. the improvement of the living standards of the people;
2. transformed, inclusive, and sustainable economies;
3. integrating Africa;
4. empowering women and youth; and
5. well-governed, peaceful, and cultural-centric Africa in a Global Context.

This author has been writing and advocating for the youth to embrace the technological future in the same ways as those freedom fighters of the Pan-African revolts of the previous generations. Earlier in 2022, I edited a special issue of the *CODESRIA Bulletin*, where the reparative framework for Global Africa was spelled out. Drawing from the expertise of African youths in the digital era, that missive seconded this call:

A revolutionary future is taking place that is transforming almost every aspect of society on a global level. Africa has been engulfed by this revolutionary transformation as well as the entire African Diaspora. Of course, this means that Pan-Africanism, the discourse and action that links together Africa and the African Diaspora, is being transformed in the digital age (Alkalimat & Williams 2021:49).

One component of this transformation has been the new demand for algorithmic reparation. This new field of reparative justice emanates from the clear inequalities embedded in machine learning systems. Rooted in theories of intersectionality and movements for reparation, the new discussions on algorithms for emancipation seek to mobilise the creative and scientific skills of scientists for the deployment of artificial intelligence for human needs. It is in the context of the dire challenges of the new technologies and the changed international system that this essay leans on the extended linkages between the African peoples internationally. The election results in Brazil in 2022 and the coming to power of President Lula da Silva expanded the possibilities for co-operation between the AU, the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), and African descendants in North America and Europe. The struggles over the sanctity of Black life and reparative justice behove the Pan-Africanists to be clear on the constitutive makeup of Global Africa to tap into the tremendous energies of the Global African youth.

Global Africa and Pan-Africanism Beyond the So-called Sixth Region and a Union of States

Pan-Africanists celebrated, along with progressive peoples everywhere, the victory of the Workers Party of Brazil in 2022. The victory of candidate Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva cemented the broad alliance of workers, poor farmers, cultural workers, landless persons, African descendants, indigenous persons, anti-fascists, and environmental justice activists. During the global capitalist crisis, with the heightened racism of elements such as Donald Trump and Jair Bolsonaro, the attacks on Black lives imposed a certain urgency in the approaches of the AU to Global Africa.

The assassination of Marielle Franco in Brazil sent a major blow to progressives in all parts of Global Africa:

Born and raised in the *favela* in Rio de Janeiro, Marielle had first-hand experience with poverty, disenfranchisement, alienation and systemic oppression. Her ability to rise above all these challenges and hold a political position, while championing justice and equality for marginalized,

working-class people in the community, served as an inspiration, particularly to black women, LGBTQ and others who felt excluded. Marielle made our fight visible on the global stage and served as a reminder that Black Lives Matter” (Modestin *et al*, 2020).

The Brazilian change, of course, in 2022 strengthened the BRICS organisation (drawn from the acronym of the members: Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) and the anti-racist forces in Latin America.

This change emerged after the victories of the progressive forces in Columbia which was also anchored in a new electoral alliance of African descendants and indigenous peoples. The victory in Brazil strengthened forces in the Permanent Forum for African Descendants in the United Nations along with the resolve of progressive forces who have come to power recently in Peru, Chile, Bolivia, Barbados, and Honduras. This victory meant that the conservative elements in Latin America and the Caribbean were isolated. Six of Latin America’s seven largest countries have now elected progressive leaders since 2018.

These political changes point to the urgency of clarity of the relationships between Africans residing at home and those dispersed outside Africa. In July 2007, during the Union Government debate in Accra, Ghana, the Assembly of the Union acknowledged: “the importance of involving the African peoples (as well as the African Diaspora) to ensure that the AU is a Union of peoples and not just a ‘Union of states and governments’ in the processes of economic and political integration of our continent” (AU 2007). The Peace and Security Council (PSC) Protocol also acknowledges and encourages “non-governmental organisations, community-based organisations and other civil society organisations, particularly women’s organisations, to participate actively in the efforts aimed at promoting peace, security, and stability in Africa.”

The chroniclers of the aspirations of the AU write about the global context, yet turn back on the realities of Global Africa and the Global African family. The president of the African Development Bank (AfDB), Akinwumi A Adesina, notes that “the

African diaspora has become the largest financier of Africa”. It is now accepted that the African diaspora is the biggest funder of change on the continent, where Africans who live outside of the continent sent home more than \$95 billion in remittances in 2022. Yet, even with the initiative in the hands of Africans overseas, the African bureaucrats from the AfDB and the AU are committed to the World Bank’s strategies to trap these remittances into the international financial system under the US dollar.

Thus far, there is little reciprocity between the African leadership in the AU and the struggles against racism and police killings in Global Africa. The Global Africa idea advocates for the recognition that Africans and peoples of African descent share common historical and geographical experiences. Africa is more than geography; it is based on history and people. It is here important to restate the clarity of Walter Rodney on Global Africa: “One of the cardinal principles of Pan-Africanism is that the people of one part of Africa are responsible for the freedom of their brothers in other parts of Africa; and, indeed, Black people everywhere were to accept the same responsibility.”

The concept of Global Africa is a call for recognition of unity in the diversity of all peoples of Africa and African descent. It contends that Africa and its dispersed offspring constitute one family on the planet Earth. According to the AU, the dispersed offspring constitute one region, yet the need for rigorous intellectual and policy planning may revise this concept of a sixth region and instead offer the idea of 11 regions.² The geographical worlds that Black people inhabit, with their peculiar social systems, together constitute Global Africa and comprise 11 regions. This position of designating 11 regions was outlined at the seventh Pan-African Congress in Kampala in 1994 (Abdul-Raheem 1996). Five of these regions are in Africa; that is, the five African sub-regions of West Africa, East Africa, North Africa, Southern Africa, and Central Africa. The worlds of the African family outside of the

2 Rebuilding The Pan African Movement, A Report on the 7th Pan-African Congress. (1996). *African Journal of Political Science / Revue Africaine de Science Politique*, 1(1), 1–8. [Why is this highlighted? Also, why is it not in the reference list? And who are the authors? Please follow correct referencing format.]

homeland constitute the remaining six of the Global Africa idea. These are North America, South America, Central America (the Caribbean), East Asia, West Asia, and Europe. It is posited here that rather than constructing the African diaspora as inhabiting one region, members of the Global African family are dispersed geographically in these six regions but united ideologically and historically to the peoples on the African continent.

Hilary Beckles, in his submission “From Pan Africanism to Global Africa” intensifies the need for the intellectual break with the concept of the diaspora to strengthen the intellectual and social bonds of all parts of Global Africa. In reprising what he termed the betrayal in Durban in 2001, Beckles notes that:

President Thabo Mbeki presided over the delivery of the diaspora to the UN machine. The diaspora woke up in Africa and realised that it was far away from home. In the waking moment there was a stark understanding that it cannot count on Africa to reciprocate or to return in kind that which was given in blood. African leaders joined with the West to tear down the agenda of reparatory justice for Africans. In so doing, they allowed those who had committed this crime against humanity to walk free...

Pan-Africanism was blunted and buried in the post-apartheid politics of African states. Diaspora political and academic services, no longer required by African states, led to the expiration of Pan-African politics. African leaders at Durban saw their future responsibility for the continent through a different lens and did not see eye to eye with the diaspora. The latter had hoped that the reparatory justice movement would create for Pan-Africanism a new frame of reference, an adjusted, relevant agenda that could create for the 21st century the same passion and purpose that had characterized the 20th-century project...

This was not the thinking of African leaders who proposed to the UN a different vision. They rolled out and tabled the ‘African Renaissance Manifesto’ as the alternative to the ‘reparatory justice agenda,’ and they actively sought to

delegitimise the latter by winning Western support for their strategy” (Beckles 2018).

Despite the call to retreat from Pan-Africanism, the highly charged call of Beckles linked the sacrifices at Cuito Cuanavale to the call to retreat from the European ideas of enlightenment, renaissance, and modernity. In his formulation, the very ideas of political collectivism, African identification, and idealisation of Africanness were in themselves revolutionary. The notion that Africa should be freed from colonial rule required military and intellectual actions. Pan-Africanism must be restored to its prior historical trajectory, which was intended to turn modernity upside down.

Beckles was distancing himself from the postmodern fads of decoloniality that wrote about postcolonialism and decoloniality without advocating decolonisation of the remaining colonial outposts on planet Earth. The military and intellectual action that Beckles drew from was alive at the grassroots level all over Global Africa. Tony Martin used the experiences of the Garvey movement to highlight the majesty of Pan-Africanism, the mass mobilisation of the grassroots movements, and the positive results of building a movement from below. Martin requested processive Pan-Africanists to delete the formulation, ‘diaspora’ from our vocabulary. He argued that the deployment of the concept of diaspora reinforced a “tendency among those writing our history to see the history of African peoples always in terms of parallels with European history” (Grant 2021).

The tendency in question here is the experience of the Jewish people, who had developed a robust intellectual arsenal to argue for a homeland for the Jewish Diaspora. That conceptualisation of the diaspora had morphed into an embrace of a concept of a homeland that became associated with wars of occupation and settler colonialism. The distance that is being placed by Pan-Africanists from the concept of the African diaspora is to reinforce the understanding that the Global African family has no plans for occupation and displacement of people in any part of the planet. The Global African family and the concept of Pan-African activity is to reinforce this understanding of emancipation. What makes

the activity Pan-African is the conceptualisation on the part of the participants in their local struggles of their being a part of a larger worldwide activity, including Black people everywhere, with the various segments having obligations and responsibilities to each other.

Black Lives Matter and Global Reparations Campaign as the foremost Pan-African activity

The assassination of Marielle Franco and the lynching of George Floyd on African Liberation Day in 2020 brought new international attention to the rejuvenation of Global Africa that was coming from the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement. Within one month, the *New York Times* wrote: “Black Lives Matter May Be the Largest Movement in US History” (Buchanan 2020). Throughout Africa and in all parts of the world, the BLM movement has become the leading edge of the Pan-African movement mobilising, educating, and struggling for Black humanity in all parts of Global Africa. That the four Black women from South America had termed their intervention on Marielle Franco as part of the BLM mobilisation was one indication of the global reach of this movement.

Formed as a broad front in the aftermath of the killing of Trayvon Martin, this front exploded on the world stage after the killing of George Floyd in 2020. Back in 2014, BLM came out with its platform on six points of how to carry the struggles for liberation forward. These points are valid for Black lives, whether in Brazil, Sudan, Germany, Nigeria, or Minnesota in the United States. The literature on BLM is now quite robust, with the scholarship pointing to the fact that BLM is the latest iteration in a centuries-long forging of the Black international. The internationalisation of Pan-Africanism had been projected the by the Anglo-American media because of the dynamism of Pan-Africanists in the US such as Martin Luther King Jr, Malcolm X, Maya Angelou, and Stokely Carmichael (aka Kwame Ture). Christopher Strickland argued that:

the Modern Civil Rights Movement (CRM) of the '60s and the current Movement for Black Lives (M4BL), should not be viewed as separate movements but rather as a

different iterations of liberation activism born in different geopolitical times. The strategy and tactics of the two movements are strikingly similar and the goals are almost identical: to achieve new systems for Black social support and wellness (Strickland 2022).

This is a movement that has taken the revitalisation of the consciousness of African peoples to new levels. Barbary Ransby drew from the ideas of self-organisation and self-confidence of Ella Baker to render her grasp of the intervention of BLM (Ransby 2018). In the reimagination of freedom, this new social movement was led in the main by women and distilled their message in North America into six clear points:

1. to end the war on, criminalisation of, and dehumanisation of black people;
2. to pursue reparations for past and present crimes, including red-lining and the reformulation of cultural and educational institutions;
3. to invest in housing, divest from the military, and establish universal healthcare, and decriminalisation;
4. to ensure economic justice and reconstruction;
5. to guarantee democratic community control; and
6. to attain political power, including independent Black political power and Black self-determination.

The six points are very well elaborated, and it is the second point that has accelerated the new pace of the progressive Pan-African movement. It focuses on reparations: past and present crimes, including red-lining and the reformulation of cultural and educational institutions. The global reparations movement is now the most dynamic aspect of global Pan-Africanism, yet the current leadership in Africa has retreated from establishing a reparations commission within the AU. It is very important that all progressive forces study and understand these points, because they have an important influence on the future of Pan-African politics in the 21st century.

The Global Africa Reparations Campaign.

The global claims for reparative justice by the global Pan-African movement provide the second leg of the contemporary rejuvenation of Pan-Africanism in the 21st century. This movement has been alive since the dawn of racial capitalism and has become internationalised with force since the Durban conference in 2001. More than 30 years ago, the OAU established the Group of Eminent Persons to promote reparative claims.³ Influential scholars F Ade Ajay, Ali Mazrui, Samir Amin, and Dudley Thompson took the mandate of the OAU Eminent Persons seriously and left a clear trail that linked educational transformation to reparative justice. In all corners of the 11 regions of Global Africa, the reparative claims for enslavement, colonialism, genocide, indentureship, and stolen artifacts drive the political agenda. As a grassroots movement for centuries, in the past decade, governments have attached themselves to this reparations movement and this has been best manifest in the 10-point programme of the Caribbean Reparations Commission. So strong and deep is this movement in four of the five regions outside of Africa, that no government dared to retreat from the 10-point agenda. The engagement of the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM) with the AU has seen concerted efforts for the revival of the Reparations Commission that had been active in the Group of Eminent Persons.

Since the passing of Queen Mother Moore, Ali Mazrui, Dudley Thompson, and Ade Ajayi, the Caribbean reparations movement joined forces with the North American Reparations front to take the lead in Global Africa for Pan-African reparative

3 The original chair of the group was the Nigerian businessman Chief Bashorun MKO Abiola, who was later elected president of Nigeria, although never permitted to take office. Other members were the Nigerian historian JF Ade Ajayi, Professor Samir Amin of Egypt, US Congressman R Dellums, Professor Josef Ki-Zerbo of Burkina Faso, Graca Machel (formerly the first lady of Mozambique and later the wife of Nelson Mandela), and a political activist in her own right), South African singer Miriam Makeba, Kenyan social scientist Ali Mazrui (based in the United States), former Director-General of UNESCO Professor M M'Bow, former president A Pereira of Cape Verde, former foreign minister in the government of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana ambassador Alex Quaison-Sackey, and Jamaican lawyer and diplomat Dudley S Thompson.

claims. The vice chancellor of the University of the West Indies, Hilary Beckles, has been the most energetic in pushing these reparative claims in all corners of the globe. He has spoken on platforms from the British House of Commons to Harvard University, pushing the reparative claims of CARICOM. He was one of the eminent participants at the 2022 Global Reparations Summit in Accra in August 2022. For this assembly, it is essential to reiterate the Accra Declaration resulting from the Reparations Summit in Accra, Ghana. This summit again called on the AU to strengthen the support for reparative claims by establishing a Commission on Reparations. Below are texts from the Declaration of the Accra Summit on Reparations:⁴

On August 1–August 4 2022, Black activists, artists and scholars from Africa, the Caribbean, North America, Europe, Central and South America convened to discuss a global agenda for reparations and healing. Recognising the importance of reparations and healing as a global imperative, we are charging the Global African Reparations Movement to build upon the legacies established by social movements that produced outcomes such as the 1993 Abuja Proclamation and the 2001 Durban Declaration and Program of Action. While we are opposed to past colonialism, apartheid and slavery, we are also opposed to all current and contemporary forms of colonialism, apartheid, xenophobia and exploitation. We condemn the outright use of violence and terror designed to extract, exploit and advance the system of plunder. There is an evolution of economic systems that have come to naturalise poverty and inequality and casts it as the result of deficient people rather than resource deprivation and exploitation.

We call for the adoption of a clear, comprehensive definition of reparations, and forming criteria for reparatory justice initiatives based on the Durban Declaration and Program of Action. An important goal is to distinguish reparations from

4 See https://au.int/sites/default/files/decisions/43383-Declaration_-_CIDO_.pdf.

Chapter 4

equitable, inclusive and ordinary public policy, and the narrow Black nativist lineage proposition...

We charge that Global Africans work for the development of prosperous economies based on values of African humanism with principles of inclusive economic rights, including Dr Martin Luther King's call for an Economic Bill of Rights to create independent, self-reliant African-centered knowledge systems. We recognize that reparations are a necessary, critical step to propel us to create these systems with the intentionality that ensures a guarantee of non-repetition of harms against Black people, or any groups of people.

We commit to supporting existing efforts for the return of artifacts, monuments, human remains connected to our memory as African people.

What was striking about the Global Summit was the absence of university researchers. The declarative statements of the Accra Summit were taken by the president of Ghana to the General Assembly of the UN in 2023. But here was an example of Pan-Africanism from above, where leaders embraced fashionable Pan-African ideas on the world stage but denied the elaboration of transformative and reparative education in their societies. Ghana is a good example of a society that promotes Pan-African tourism without reciprocal actions to oppose systemic racism in North America and Europe. As an activist and scholar within the Global Pan-African movement, it is possible to alert brothers and sisters in all parts of Africa that the reparations push has placed the imperial forces on the defensive. At the international diplomatic level, the establishment of the United Nations Permanent Forum on People of African Descent has placed the US government on the defensive. After two decades of opposing the Durban Programme of Action, the political class in the US has now resorted to threatening Africans militarily (via the US Africa Command – AFRICOM) economically (via the weaponisation of finance and trade), and diplomatically through hostile legislation.

Imperial Opposition to Pan African Initiatives

Space does not allow for an elaboration of the US military activities to derail the revitalisation of Pan-African thought and action in the 21st century. The destruction of Libya by NATO forces was one of the boldest and most brutal efforts to forestall plans for the African currency and the establishment of the African Central Bank, (Campbell 2013). The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) worked with institutions in Africa to document capital flight. Other scholars have established how the US AFRICOM served as a front for the weaponisation of the dollar (Hudson 2016). In the face of the expansion of the Black Lives Matter movement, imperialism changed tack by unleashing foundations to invest in steering the direction of the BLM and the reparations movements. Throughout Global Africa, foundations intervened to promote the NGO-isation of resistance (Rodgers 2019). At the level of the US government, there was the diplomatic tact of bullying and convening the US-Africa Leaders' Summit in 2022.

The White supremacist's approach to Africa and disrespect for the AU was again underlined when in 2022 the US rolled out a policy for 'sub-Saharan Africa'. The contradictory nature of the US policy was manifest in the hosting of a summit for the leaders of the AU where the US entreated the leaders to the idea of great power rivalry with China in Africa. The summit invoked the Pan-African mantra that "Africa will shape the future – not just the future of the African people, but of the world" (US Department of State n.d.).

The policymakers within the US national security apparatus sought a new rationale for global warfare in Africa while registering crucial African minerals as being 'strategic' for the computer chip industry. The Minerals Security Partnership Act that was passed by the US Congress focused on African mineral resources. Two states in Africa, Nigeria and Rwanda, signed the Artemis Accord, which was the blueprint for fighting China in space. US digital companies whose focus is on technology, infrastructure, finance, manufacturing, insurance, and energy are now treating data as a form of capital. Pan-African scholars who engaged the role of these digital companies have warned about

how the US companies are arrayed to undermine data sovereignty in Africa. According to Monyae (2022):

Data sovereignty denotes a widespread phenomenon characterised by a conscious engagement in institutional innovation by nation-states through regulations, laws, and policies designed to subject the generation, flow, and use of personal and non-personal data that occurs within their territories to national jurisdiction usually for reasons of national security, economic and strategic interests...

Data is at the centre of military and economic competition amongst major world powers. The exploitation of data has led to acceleration of knowledge production in such fields as climatology, medical sciences, epidemiology, physics and social sciences...the effective use and control of data yields knowledge which in turn yields more power. It is not surprising that many states around the world are fast spreading their sovereign tentacles in the digital sphere to take advantage of the data generated and stored in their territories.

Monyae brings to the attention of Pan-Africanists the centrality of the US military, financial, and industrial complex in the new push to control human and data resources in Africa. There are two pieces of legislation from the US that are worth noting in a discussion on Pan-African reconstruction: the Global Fragility Act, passed in Congress in 2019, and the Countering Malign Russian Activities in Africa Act, 2022. The first is a hostile bid to deepen the militarisation of Africa through the double-speak of over five years to support peacebuilding efforts that take place in collaboration with designated countries and regions. In April 2022, the White House announced that the priority countries under the Global Fragility Act are Haiti, Libya, Mozambique, Papua New Guinea, and a grouping of Coastal West African countries comprised of Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, and Togo.

The US and France have been responsible for the destabilisation and destruction in Haiti and are currently

seeking to manipulate the Security Council of the UN for military intervention in Haiti. The Global Pan-African movement has joined with the brothers and sisters in Haiti in opposing this planned intervention. It should be pushed in this meeting that Haiti should be considered for membership in the AU. It is puzzling that Israel has been accredited observer status in the AU, but Haiti has not been accorded membership or observer status.

One can penetrate the hypocrisy of the Global Fragility Act for the destruction of Libya. The US was one of the states that invaded Libya in 2011, killed the president, and destabilised the Sahel region. The AU has been comatose on the challenges unleashed by the aftermath of this invasion. This is one of the many battlefronts of Global Africa where there must be a sustained push to demilitarise Libya and to place the country on a road to elections, peace, and reconstruction. The reverberations from the instability in the Sahel region are still being felt, with strenuous efforts by Africans to expel the French military, who are seen as the authors of the instability in that region.

The second insult of the US to Pan-Africanists everywhere is in the 'Countering Malign Russian Activities in Africa Act.' Even before this Act has become law, the White House has begun to implement bullying of Africans to prevent them from having an independent position on international issues such as the current war in Ukraine, sanctions against Cuba, or the Israeli occupation of Palestine. The law would oblige the US administration to punish some Russian companies which do business in Africa, and African entities that transact business with the Russians could also be punished. One can see the same principles in the new US Strategy towards sub-Saharan Africa. As one Pan-African diplomat stated, this Act is unprecedented since it entails punitive actions against nations reluctant to synchronise their stance with Washington regarding the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. The South African Minister of International Affairs and Co-operation, Naledi Pandor, took the principled position of opposing this bullying when the US secretary of state visited South Africa in August 2022. She stated that this is "another remarkable example of modern American so-called diplomacy, based on coercion, blackmail and total disregard for partners' interests."

Pandor, in a joint press conference with the US Secretary of State Antony Blinken in August 2022, stated: “In terms of our interaction with some of our partners in Europe and elsewhere, there has been a sense of patronising bullying toward ‘you choose this or else’...One thing I definitely dislike is being told ‘either you choose this or else’. When a minister speaks to me like that... I definitely will not be bullied in that way, nor would I expect any other African country worth its salt to agree to be treated” (Van Wyk 2022).

The bullying approach of the US was forcing the South African government to take a more independent stand internationally. In 2023, the US government accused the South African government of selling weapons to Russia. The stern and dignified response of the South African leadership pushed the diplomacy of South Africa to be closer to the BRICS formation. At the BRICS summit in 2023 in South Africa, the organisation extended memberships to Saudi Arabia, Iran, Ethiopia, Egypt, Argentina, and the United Arab Emirates. The independent foreign policy of South Africa was also manifest in the struggles over getting access to vaccines in the era of COVID-19. South Africa has refused to follow the US position on Ukraine and Israel.

From these wars, we are witnessing a break from the neoliberal dominance with new realignments in the multipolar economy. The combined opposition of the BRICS societies, Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), Gulf Co-operation Council, and Germany (supporters of the Euro) point to the increased isolation of the US. As the weaponisation of the dollar deepens, there is an alternative demand for a new international monetary system. All over the world, with the economic disruptions unleashed by rising energy prices and disease pandemics, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) calls for devaluation, the downward push of wages and benefits, and militarism have generated new energies for progressive forces.

African Canal Systems for Unification

The very existence of the existential crisis of global warming opens opportunities for new directions in reconstruction and transformation in Africa. Carlos Lopes, formerly of the Economic Commission for Africa, has urged African policymakers to consider the vast possibilities of the golden opportunity for Africa. He maintains: “The cost of producing energy from renewable sources is now equal in cost to production from fossil fuels. Africa has the opportunity that has never been achieved in any other economy in the world, which is to grow in a clean way” (Yaïche, 2024). The existential threats presented by global warming have placed concrete plans, such as the Great Green Wall of Africa, back at the centre of the agenda. Pan-Africanists like Wangari Mathai focus their activities around the issues of environmental repair and renewal.

The AU has established the Program for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA), with the overall goal of promoting socio-economic development and poverty reduction in Africa through improved access to integrated regional and continental infrastructure networks and services. The PIDA Sector Studies assisted in developing a vision for Africa’s infrastructure based on strategic objectives. PIDA’s policies prioritised regional and continental infrastructure investment programmes (energy, transport, information and communication technologies, and trans-boundary water resources), over the short, medium, and long term.. In addition, existing studies recommended the required institutional arrangements, legal frameworks, and financing mechanisms for the implementation and monitoring of the programs(African Development Bank 2023). PIDA was hamstrung by the idea of RECs that had been proposed by those opposing the union government plans of the Accra summit of 2007.

Despite the written claims for infrastructure development, when states such as Egypt seek to militarise the question of the shared waters of the Nile, as in the building of the Renaissance Dam in Ethiopia, the AU should have intervened appropriately. This author has written extensively on the importance of

transcending transboundary concepts when it comes to water in Africa. One area of Africa where this renewal is urgent is in the Lake Chad basin. The lake has lost 95% of its groundwater since 1992. The planning for the refilling of Lake Chad has been ongoing for decades, and in the past four years, the Lake Chad Basin Commission, based in Chad, has beseeched the AU to be more directly involved in the Transaqua project. This is a project to build a Pan-African waterway, from the east bank of the Congo River, through the Central African Republic, to the Chari River, to Lake Chad.

The Lake Chad replenishment project is a proposed major water diversion scheme that has been discussed for decades. This project would involve damming the Ubangi River at Palambo in the Central African Republic and channelling some of the water to Lake Chad through a navigable canal. According to engineers who have been dreaming of this massive reconstruction project to transform the heart of Africa:

In addition to transporting this considerable mass of water to Chad, the artificial canal would perform another important, not marginal, function: It would represent a means of water transport for freight, that, as is known, is the most convenient form of transport that exists. This “river highway” of 2 400 km in the heart of Africa would cover approximately 800 km in the territory of the Central African Republic and 1 600 km in the territory of Congo. On the sides of the waterway there would be two service roads for the clearing of the wooded areas and the construction of the canal, as well as for maintenance once it is completed (African Development Bank 2023).

This Transaqua project would link roads, canals, and an artificial Lake to create the ‘Inter-African Polyfunctional Exchange Area’. Such bold plans for transformation require a new breed of scientists and hydrologists so that African scholars and researchers can be in the lead for these ambitious projects. This is the most ambitious Pan-African infrastructure project before the AU, but the French laboured to oppose this water transfer system by deploying the Institut de Recherche pour le Développement

(IRD – the French National Research Institute for Sustainable Development) to mount propaganda against the water transfer plans. This author participated in the Conference of Heads of State of the Lake Chad Basin Commission in Abuja in 2018, and followed the deliberations of scientists, hydrologists, and planners from West Africa, China, and Italy who have been working to make these plans a reality. It is estimated by geologists and hydrologists that reserves of groundwater across the continent are 100 times the amount found on its surface or 0.66 million cubic kilometres. (MacDonald *et al* 2012).

It is based on these considerations that we draw the principal thesis of this reflection on the unification of Africa. The unification of the water resources of Africa is one of the primary bases for African unity, with a system of canals linking rivers and lakes in the kind of infrastructure planning that ensures that all will have water.

In my work on Pan-Africanism, I have drawn from Kwame Nkrumah's vision of planning for unification drawing on the history and potentialities of canal systems for the reconstruction of Africa in the era of the bio-economy. This will attract the required interest in canals, including mixed grid electrification for all, transportation, irrigation, and reforestation of Africa. The transition from the combustion engine to electric automobiles and from the fossil fuel economy to the solar economy offers new paths for reconstruction in Africa. In a short article on transition, Walter Rodney argued that it was possible to leapfrog the underdevelopment of Africa.

Unification and Quantum Leap

Rodney maintains that:

The necessity for social change in the Third World arises out of a conjuncture of contradictions in the system of capitalist/imperialist production. But the appreciation of this necessity and its historical implementation requires the political organisation of those social classes with the objective interest in the overthrow of capitalism and the

creation of a society freed from the exploitation of labour. The leap from evolution within capitalism to evolution within socialism is no mere spontaneous process. It involves changing levels of consciousness, building working class organisation and self-discipline, and above all the revolutionising of the state and hence of the character of all subsequent social and political intervention (Campbell 1980).

How do we achieve that quantum leap in our consciousness, so that the Pan-African traditions of inspiration and creativity, based on self-determined politics and self-determined social activities, become the reference point for the people and reparative justice?

At the opening of the OAU, Nkrumah stated, “We must unite for economic viability, first of all, and then to recover our mineral wealth in Southern Africa, so that our vast resources and capacity for development will bring prosperity for us and additional benefits for the rest of the world. That is why I have written elsewhere that the emancipation of Africa will be the emancipation of man” (Kah 2012). The struggles for the unity of Africa must now be advanced with the knowledge of what humans can accomplish. Julius Nyerere worked hard towards the United States of Africa. This was to be a new system based on the unity of the peoples of Africa and not on the Berlinist states.

Every Pan-Africanist lives in multi-racial, multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, and multi-religious societies. Progressive Pan-Africanists are against all forms of racial determinism. So, while the task is to build African unity, it must not be at the cost of stifling cultural, regional, and linguistic diversity. Amartya Sen cautions against perceiving unity as a mere illusion of uniformity. Unity instead must be expressed through the multiplicities of diversities. Universality then becomes the “unitary significance of our diverse diversities” (Eisenstein 2008). Cultural unity is not then a simplistic concept of unity akin to the uniformity and unity that emanated from the concept of the ‘nation’. It is the multiplicity of diversity that assists us in understanding African peoples and cultures in South Africa, Sudan, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Haiti, the Caribbean, the North American mainland, Europe,

and Africa (in essence, the contemporary pan-African World). There are many examples of this diversity and unity. These examples are to be found in diversities of spiritual reflections, gods, goddesses, rituals, and accompanying musical forms. These diversities include the diverse languages of Africa and the African world. These include the diverse ethnic groups, races, and peoples of Africa at home and abroad. It is this diversity that elevates Pan-Africanism beyond the simple universalism and universal claims of Eurocentric modes of thought and classifications of races.

Rising above the European classification of races is a crucial element of Pan-Africanism today and the challenge is nowhere more evident than in Sudan, where ideas of race and racial classifications are being challenged in a revolutionary process. Over the past few decades, Sudan has struggled for peace, transformation, and healing. When Karl Marx wrote about the civil war in France, he celebrated the Paris Commune, for the brave stand against militarism in the quest to build a new society. Pan-Africanists must support the Sudanese revolution and build on the ideas of Amartya Sen. The grassroots resistance committees held the line against the militarists for four years before the militarists started a bloody war among themselves. The AU has proven ineffective in implementing its stand against military actions in African politics.

During the struggles for the removal of the apartheid regime, Walter Rodney wrote that Africa was on the move. Africa is now on the move again, with the twin push of the Black Lives Matter movement and the reparative justice movement. African scholars will have to push for the resolution of several outstanding issues of peace and demilitarisation more seriously.

Conclusion

In the era of the consumer culture of the West and the debased values of greed and corruption, African religious practices and other forms of spirituality are now important forms of self-expression. Africans and other oppressed people want to identify with spiritual values, which can provide a base for emancipation and redemption. African customs, values, and traditions are

being interpreted in a way that could oppose the Western cultural domination. However, in many cases, some exploit spiritual values to promote organised forms of religious expression, which are also oppressive. African fundamentalism exists and is manipulated by some forces; however, these forces do not have the material resources to create havoc as other religious fundamentalists have. Bob Marley placed Pan-African sentiments in his song, 'Africans must unite'. I capture the centrality of the African voice in the book *Rasta and Resistance*. Paul Zeleza also reflects on the power of Pan-African music when he writes:

Music has been one of the primary media of communication in the Pan-African world through which cultural influences, ideas, images, instruments, institutions and identities have continuously circulated in the process creating new modes of cultural expression both within Africa itself and in the diaspora. This traffic in expressive culture is multidimensional and dynamic, affecting and transforming all it touches. Rooted in the dispersals and displacements of African peoples, it is facilitated by persistent demographic flows and ever-changing communication technologies and involves exchanges—that are simultaneously transcontinental, transnational, and translational—of artistic products, aesthetic codes, and conceptual matrixes (Zeleza 2010).

The spiritual values of self-reliance, love, redemption, and deliverance are values which can unleash the creativity of the Africans to develop new forms of organising and conceptualising society. The task is to find new ways to harmonise the relations between human beings and between humans and nature. Africa is a rich continent. Thus far, the conception of the African leaders has been to mobilise resources and raw materials based on the vision and demands of Europe.

In this contribution, I drew from the reparative framework that started from the position of healing Africans from the sickness of racial capitalism. After outlining the rejuvenation of Global Africa since the defeat of apartheid, this chapter focused on the two new signposts for rejuvenation, the BLM movement

and the Global Africa reparations movement. The concept of reparative justice deployed in this chapter aims to harness the push for environmental repair, the return of cultural artifacts, transformative education, peace, and algorithmic reparations. Drawing from Ngugi's call for the *Decolonization of the Mind*, this intervention restated the call for the teaching and research on African languages to harness the cognitive skills of Africans. Algorithmic reparation is also linked to data sovereignty in Africa. Big tech corporations now understand that the 'most valuable resource is no longer oil, but data'. All the documents relating to the imperial think tanks gush about the youth population of Africa and their engagement in digital spaces.

Breaking out of global apartheid by linking with the forces of the Global Pan-African movement will strengthen the resolve of those who want to confront White supremacy and imperialism across Africa. It is now evident that the drip-drip contradictory conceptions of sustainable development cannot break the stranglehold of the imperial forces over Africa. The rejuvenation now requires boldness and audacity. All the great scholars and important figures of Pan-Africanism, such as Samir Amin, Amilcar Cabral, Walter Rodney, Ngugi Wa Thiongo, Micere Mugo, Wangari Mathai, Winnie Mandela, and Thomas Sankara called for boldness and imagination. We end where we started to draw from the vigilant African optimism.

References

- Abdul-Raheem, T. (ed). (1996). *Pan-Africanism: Politics, Economy, and Social Change in the Twenty-first century*. New York: New York University Press.
- Adedeji, A. (2002). "From the Lagos Plan of Action to the New Partnership for African Development and from the Final Act of Lagos to the Constitutive Act: Whiter Africa?". Keynote address prepared for presentation at the African Forum for Envisioning Africa, Nairobi, Kenya.

Chapter 4

- AfDB. (2023). "Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA)". Available at <https://www.afdb.org/en/topics-and-sectors/initiatives-partnerships/programme-for-infrastructure-development-in-africa-pida#:~:text=PIDA%20was%20designed%20to%20address,integration%20into%20the%20global%20economy>.
- Alkalimat, A. & Williams, K. (2021). "Cyberpower and Pan-Africanism". *CODESRIA Bulletin*, (2&3), 49. <https://doi.org/10.57054/cb02-03202156>
- AU. (2007). "Decisions and Declarations, Assembly of the African Union, (Assembly/AU/Dec.166 - 167 (IX) Assembly/AU/Decl.1(IX))". Ninth Ordinary Council 1-3 July, Accra, Ghana. Available at https://au.int/sites/default/files/decisions/9557-assembly_en_01_july_03_july_2007_auc_ninth_ordinary_session_decisions_declarations_o.pdf.
- Baines, G. (2014). *South Africa's 'Border War': Contested Narratives and Conflicting Memories*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Bassey, N. (2012). *To Cook a Continent: Destructive Extraction and the Climate Crisis in Africa*. Oxford: Pambazuka Books.
- Beckles, H. (2013). *Britain's Black Debt: Reparations for Caribbean Slavery and Native Genocide*. University of the West Indies Press.
- Beckles, H.M. (2018). "End of Pan-Africanism: Reparations and Global Africa". *The Journal of African American History*, 103(12), 179-196. <https://doi.org/10.1086/696336>
- Berridge, W., Lynch, J., Makawi, R. & De Waal, A. (2022). *Sudan's Unfinished Democracy: The Promise and Betrayal of a People's Revolution*. Hurst Publishers. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197657546.001.0001>
- Bond, P. (2003). *Against Global Apartheid: South Africa meets the World Bank, IMF and International Finance*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Buchanan, L., Bui, Q., Jugal K. & Patel, J.K. (2020). "Black Lives Matter May Be the Largest Movement in U.S. History". *New York Times*, 3 July. Available at <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/07/03/us/george-floyd-protests-crowd-size.html>.
- Campbell, H. (1980). "Walter Rodney: A Biography and Bibliography". *Review of African Political Economy*, 18, 132-137. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03056248008703433>

- Campbell, H. (1990). *The Siege of Cuito Cuanavale*. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Campbell, H. (2013). *Global NATO and the catastrophic failure in Libya*. New York University Press.
- Campbell, H. (2017). "Ali Mazrui: Transformative Education and Reparative Justice". In Njogu, K. *Critical Perspectives on Culture and Globalisation: The Intellectual Legacy of Ali Mazrui*. pp. 64-100. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvh8r1n5.8>
- Campbell, H. (2018). "Lessons from Wakanda: Pan Africanism as the Antidote to Robotization". Available at <https://www.theelephant.info/features/2018/05/24/lessons-from-wakanda-pan-africanism-as-the-antidote-to-robotisation>.
- Campbell, H.G. & Serekberhan M.H. (2023). "Sudanese Revolution Enters a Pivotal Stage". *Counterpunch*, 21 April.
- Campbell, H.G. (2018). "The Pan-African Experience: From the Organization of African Unity to the African Union". In Shanguhya, M.S. & Falola, T. (eds). *The Palgrave Handbook of African Colonial and Postcolonial History*. pp. 1031-1088. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-59426-6_41
- Cohen, H. (2000). *Intervening in Africa: Superpower Peace-making in a troubled Continent*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cohen, H.J. (2020). *US Policy Toward Africa: Four Decades of Realpolitik*. Lynne Reiner Publishers. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781685850951>
- Crocker, C.A. (1992). *High Noon in Southern Africa: Making Peace in a Rough Neighborhood*. New York: WW Norton & Co Inc
- Diop, C.A. (1986). "Civilization or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology". *Great African Thinkers*, 1.
- Eisenstein, Z. (2008). *Against empire: feminisms, racism and the West*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Geiss, I. (1967). "Notes on the Development of Pan-Africanism". *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 3(4), 719-740.
- Gleijeses, P. (2013). *Visions of Freedom: Havana, Washington, Pretoria, and the Struggle for Southern Africa, 1976-1991*. UNC Press Books. https://doi.org/10.5149/9781469609690_Gleijeses

Chapter 4

- Grant, C. (2021). "Marcus Garvey: 'Africa for the Africans'". In Adebajo, A. (ed). *The Pan-African Pantheon*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. pp. 104-117. <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526156839.00011>
- Harris, B. (1996). "Caribbean Women & Pan Africanism". *African Journal of Political Science/Revue Africaine De Science Politique*, 1(1), 21-33.
- Hearn, J. (2000). "Aiding Democracy? Donors and Civil Society in South Africa". *Third World Quarterly*, 21(5), 815-830. <https://doi.org/10.1080/713701079>
- Horne, G. (2019). *White Supremacy Confronted: US Imperialism and Anti-communism vs The Liberation of Southern Africa, from Rhodes to Mandela*. International Publishers.
- Hudson, M. (2016). *Finance as Warfare*. London: College Publications.
- Kah, H.K. (2012). "'Africa must unite:' vindicating Kwame Nkrumah and uniting Africa against global destruction". *Journal of Pan African Studies*, Vol. 4(9): 1-26.
- Kharpal, A. (2017). Stephen Hawking says A.I. could be 'worst event in the history of our civilization', 6 November. Available at <https://www.cnbc.com/2017/11/06/stephen-hawking-ai-could-be-worst-event-in-civilization.html>
- MacDonald, A.M., Bonsor, H.C., Dochartaigh, B.É.Ó. & Taylor, R.G. (2012). "Quantitative maps of groundwater resources in Africa". *Environmental Research Letters*, 7(2), 024009. <https://doi.org/10.1088/1748-9326/7/2/024009>
- Martin, T. (1993). "Garvey and Scattered Africa". In Harris, J. (ed). *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora*. Howard University Press.
- Mbughuni, A. (2006). *Tanzania and the liberation struggle in southern Africa, 1958-1975*. Washington, DC: Howard University.
- Modestin, Y., Nascimento, V., Inofuentes, P.Y. & Gammie, L.C. (2020). "Presente! We are all Marielle Franco!". *Transition*, 129(1), 231-245. <https://doi.org/10.2979/transition.129.1.19>
- Monyae, D. (2022). "Data Sovereignty in South Africa: The Time is Now". *The African*. Available at <https://bit.ly/44wpmNV>.
- Mugo, M. (2002). "Re-envisioning Pan Africanism: What is the Role of Gender, Youth and the Masses?". In *Pan-Africanism and Integration in Africa*. Harare: SAPES Books.

African Union and Agenda 2063

- Mullings, L. (ed). (2009). *New Social Movements in the African Diaspora: Challenging Global Apartheid*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 821-837. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230104570>
- Okuma, W. & Atta-Asamoah, A. (2023). *African Perspectives and Assessments of the AU at 20: Progress, Challenges and Prospects*. Institute for Security Studies.
- Ransby, B. (2018). *Making All Black Lives matter: Reimagining Freedom in the Twenty-first century* (Vol. 6). University of California Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvq4c011>
- Rodgers, C. (2019). "The NGOization of Pro-Black Mobilization in Rio de Janeiro: An Investigation of Agency Between Pro-Black Activists and 'Anistia Internacional Brasil'". In *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*. The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. pp. 73-93.
- Rodney, W. (1969). *The Groundings with My Brothers*. London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications.
- Rodney, W. (1975). "Towards the Sixth Pan-African Congress: Aspects of the International Class Struggle in Africa". In *Pan-Africanism: Struggle against Neo-colonialism and Imperialism: Documents of the Sixth Pan-Africa Congress*. Toronto: Afro-Carib Publications. pp. 18-41.
- Rostow, W.W. (1971). *Politics and the Stages of Growth*. Cambridge Books. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511562778>
- Scholtz, L. (2013). *The SADF in the Border War, 1966-1989*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Stacey, S. & Aksartova, S. (2001). "The Foundations of Democracy: US Foundation Support for Civil Society in South Africa, 1988-96". *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 12, 373-397. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1013922716105>
- Strickland, C. (2022). "The Fight for Equality Continues: A New Social Movement Analysis of The Black Lives Matter Movement and the 1960's Civil Rights Movement". *Phylon* (1960-), 59(1), 71-90.
- US Department of State. (n.d.). "U.S.-Africa Leaders Summit". Available at <https://www.state.gov/africasummit/#:~:text=Africa%20will%20shape%20the%20future,the%20U.S.%2DAfrica%20Leaders%20Summit>.

Chapter 4

- Van Wyk, A. (2022). "Africa: Foreign Influence Leading Cause of Conflict in Africa, Says Minister Pandor During Blinken Visit". *AllAfrica*, 10 August. Available at <https://allafrica.com/stories/202208100375.html>.
- West, M.O. (2005). "Global Africa: The Emergence and Evolution of an Idea". *Review, Fernand Braudel Center*, 28(1), 85–108.
- Yaïche, H.B. (2024). "Carlos Lopes: Africa's Energy Transition must be the Number one Priority". *African Business*, 6 February. Available at <https://african.business/2024/02/energy-resources/carlos-lopes-africas-energy-transition-must-be-the-number-one-priority>.
- Zezeza, P.T. (2010). "Dancing to the beat of the diaspora: musical exchanges between Africa and its diasporas". *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal*, 3(2), 211–236. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17528631.2010.481976>