

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY**

**THE CONTRIBUTION OF PAN-AFRICANISM FOR THE
DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN PHILOSOPHY**

**BY
TSEGAYE GASHAW**

**ADVISOR
DR. BEKELE GUTEMA**

**JUNE, 2016
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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF
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Lists of Acronyms

[nd.]	un specified date of Publication
[np.]	un specified place of publication
[sl.]	un specified publisher
APA	American Psychological Association
AU	African Union
CODESRIA	Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
OAU	Organization of African Unity
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNO	United Nations Organization
USA	United States of America
WANS	West African National Secretariat
WASU	West African Students Union
WWI	World War First
WWII	World War Second

Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to critically examine the contributions of Pan-Africanism for the development of African philosophy. Due to European contacts since the time of slavery, Africa had been losing its human, material, spiritual and historical resources. Following this Europeans denied the contributions and humanity of blacks. Accordingly, Pan-Africanism emerged as a means of searching for black identity and emancipation from the veils of colonial oppression. In the course of this movement, many conferences were held. But, the Manchester congress opened a new chapter in the history of Pan-Africanism. It laid a foundation for political independence and the emergence of the OAU. Moreover, this thesis has discussed the Pan-African philosophy of outstanding black scholars from Western world and Africa. They have been discussing the problems of blacks. While doing so, they made critical reflections on the history, culture and philosophy of ancient Africans in response to western offences. In this antagonism, I think a new approach in the study of African philosophy was opened. This shift towards self as I believe is in the making. Lastly, despite the challenges in the course of Pan-Africanism and in the study of African philosophy, African philosophers shall begin doing their philosophy by considering indigenous knowledge and current African contexts in relation with the global realities.

Key words: Philosophy, African philosophy, Afro centrism, Euro-centrism, Negritude, Pan-Africanism

Introduction

Due to the destructive effects of prolonged slave trade followed by colonialism and imperialism the continent of Africa, its resources and the people both inside and abroad were exploited for centuries by Western nations. Because of “explorations” and “discoveries” Europeans reached to the land of Africans around the 15th century followed by Christian missionaries. They reported about Africans as savages and uncivilized by denying the indigenous cultures and wisdom. They later returned to the continent in the name of civilizing mission (Beckles, 2002). Parallel to this, Kant affirmed:

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 who 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 praise-worthy quality, even though among the whites some continually rise aloft from the lowest rabble, and through superior gifts earn respect in the world. So fundamental is the difference between these two races of man, and it appears to be as great in regard to mental capacities as in color (my emphasis added Kant, 1960, quoted in Coetzee and Roux, 2002: 81).

Other Western philosophers, theologians, anthropologists discussed the irrational, unhistorical, non-scientific and un-philosophical nature of Africans. This enabled them to give legitimacy for slavery and European colonialism in Africa (Coetzee and Roux, 2002).

Therefore, because of the increasing burden of Africans inside and abroad, blacks started asking who they are, from where they originated. Gradually, this strong aspiration for independence grew to new consciousness that gave birth to the ideology of pan-Africanism.

The meaning, scope and exact period in which this concept has come in to existence is not certainly known. But, it has been believed that the African Diaspora launched the movement (Legum, 1965: 14). Hence, various actors have participated to declare political, social, economic, racial, artistic independence of the blacks. Legum defined pan-Africanism as an expression of a sense of unity and solidarity among the displaced Africans in the Diaspora for they felt homeless and was subjected to alien cultures (Legum, 1965).

Expressed in a more general way, Pan-Africanism represents the aggregation and promotion of philosophical, scientific, cultural, and artistic legacies of Africans since antiquity in order to struggle against slavery, racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism (Adi and Sherwood, 2003). However, the following definition provided by Esedebe is relatively more comprehensive.

First, is the conception of Africa as the home of Africans and persons of African origin. Second is reflective and organic solidarity among all peoples of African descent. Third, is collective and individual pride in African culture. Fourth and associated with the pride is belief in a distinct African personality. Fifth, is rehabilitation of African's past six is the Africanization of church and state, thus preserving Africa for Africans at political and religious planes. Seven is the hope of emergence of a united and glorious federation of African states (Esedebe, 1980: 4).

It was after independence that African philosophy as an academic discipline has begun in universities. Like Pan-Africanism, African philosophy has been inclining to show that Africans have philosophy of their own, for the western philosophers had denied philosophy to Africans. During the colonial period, the study of philosophy in Africa was under the control of foreign anthropologists and theologians. As a result, local knowledge was not well articulated and carefully examined (Wiredu, 2004: 11). Hence, from such time onwards many African scholars have attempted their best to portray the existence of indigenous philosophy since antiquity.

In a nutshell, in spite of the fact that the concept of pan-Africanism is fluid as situations alter; my aim in this thesis is to make explicit how far pan-Africanism has contributed for the development of African philosophy. The perspective of actors in rehabilitating and re-building African past will also be examined in relation with global contexts.

As I have mentioned so far from the works of many scholars, Pan-Africanism is intended to be a reaction against slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism as well as rehabilitation of the African past. The basic rationale which triggers me to conduct this study was to explore and critically inquire whether Pan-Africanism has brought an insight in the development of African philosophy in general. Specifically, this thesis would focus on the following issues: to examine philosophical ideas behind the notion of Pan-Africanism; to make critical reflection on the significances of such ideas in rebuilding the African past and to discuss the challenges posed.

Therefore, the central focus of my thesis would be discussing the aforementioned points by taking into consideration that pan Africanism has come across via the different paths. So, this thesis would discuss the following issue under four chapters. In chapter one, I would discuss the historical roots, meaning and evolution of pan-Africanism; chapter two would focus on pan-Africanism from the actors' point of view. For this case, I would examine the philosophy of some notable pan-Africanists such as E. W. Blyden, Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Frantz Fanon, Kwame Nkrumah, and Léopold Senghor. In chapter three, I would come up with the general debates on African philosophy from Euro-centric and Afrocentric perspectives with reflections. Finally, the last chapter would be general reflections and conclusion.

I used sources, such as books, journal articles, and the internet to conduct this study.

CHAPTER ONE

The Origin, Meaning and Evolution of Pan-Africanism

1.1. Historical Background

We are not able to deal with pan-Africanism as a progressive movement against Western domination, unless we do have the proper knowledge and understanding of how it was connected to the triangular slave trade and abolition of slavery, Christian missionary, imperialism and colonialism. Since the late 15th century onwards, Europeans, primarily, Portugal began contact with “West Africa in search of Wangara, the legendary land of Gold and the sea root to India” (Geiss, 1974: 16).

In the early 16th century, “Portugal had constructed trading posts in the Gold Coast at Accra, Shama, Elmina and Axim” (Beckles, 2002: 28), which enabled her to dominate the early transatlantic slave trade by effectively excluding the Spanish. In order to accelerate commerce and conversion to Christianity, local kings and nobles were invited to visit the Portuguese capital, Lisbon in the mid 15th century based on the calculation that after they came back, they would promote the interest of Portuguese in trading “palm oil and gold.” Later, this commerce developed into slave trade, as the Europeans came to understand its profitability. Following the Portuguese model, other European nations such as France, England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Germany, were also involved in the transatlantic trade (Beckles, 2002: 28- 48).

While crossing the middle passage of the transatlantic trade route, “many Africans died as a result of punishment, hunger, disease, or suffering,” (ibid: 17) and yet those who became ill and a threat to other slaves health were also avoided. Besides the Europeans, local African elites aggravated the case by selling their people in exchange for textiles, firearms and other commodities (ibid: 17).

Children, male or female endured the worst sexual abuse, often leaving them bleeding to death or in a state of permanent shock. European diseases such as syphilis and gonorrhoea were passed on to the victims. Captured and bound with ropes, nets, wood, iron, leather or other bindings, the Africans would then set upon a torturous march to the coast where seven out of ten died along the way (Clarke, 1997, quoted in Bankie and Mchombu, 2008: 22).

This quotation clearly shows us that the worst human rights abuse had been committed against Africans. They were relegated below the status of simple commodities. This difference of blacks

from the whites in physical appearance and cultures enabled the whites to arrive at a naïve conclusion that Africans were lower races. So, they took ill treatment, escalated racism as legitimate means for slavery that brought psycho-social as well as economic failures (Beckles, 2002: 26).

By virtue of their being non-European, it was thought that the black African peoples could be legitimately enslaved, an idea that went with the Europeans' belief that in trading in Africa they were actually also discovering, and where possible claiming, new lands and their inhabitants. Such views, articulated at the time by leading European theologians, philosophers and scientists, were shared by the Catholic Church, which supported the ill treatment meted out to the African communities by sanctioning both European wars of conquest and the transatlantic slave trade itself. The Vatican pronounced that the enslavement of black Africans was allowed under the canon law of just war, because such peoples were pagans and should therefore be converted to Christianity, if necessary by force (ibid: 26).

From the above quotation there is one thing clear, i.e. the strong support given to slavery even by religious institutions. Therefore, from its very inception we can understand that slavery dehumanized black Africans, which necessitated them to fight against it as long as their matter of survival was concerned.

My basic intention here is not just to narrate the history of Trans-Atlantic slave trade, rather to look at how it was connected with the historical development of Pan-Africanism. The triangular slave trade linked Western Europe (especially England), Africa (West Africa) and the new world (typically USA and West Indies). The movements of slaves along with the ideas traveled with them from “the 18thc onwards were to make pan-Africanism a political force at first unconsciously and later knowingly” (Geiss, 1974: 8-9). In other words, the three triangles had been becoming the focus for the development of pan-Africanism. In Africa, it was primarily West Africa which provided the first and most of the slaves for the new world. In West Africa, Ghana was the focal point of the traffic mainly because there were large trading forts and stations there. Accordingly, despite disaccords, Gold Coast at the early stage was believed to have the robust hold of Proto-Pan-Africanism. The first African critics of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and precursor of proto-pan-Africanism, were Ottobah Cugoano, a Fanti from a Gold Coast and the Jamaican Marcus Garvey's ancestral origin was from Ghana (ibid: 9).

Next to Ghana, the southern part of Nigeria could be worth mentioning as the most important pan-African center. Here, Equino, an Ibo tribe, the contemporary of Cugoano, wrote his narrative on racism and slavery. The so-called Sierra Leoneans in particular produced the first generation of African intellectuals and proto nationalists in Nigeria during the later period (ibid: 9-10).

The abolition of slavery in the British empire between 1834-8 led to the emergence in the British West Indies of a free African population, the most advanced elements of which were in surprisingly close contacts with West Africa, with liberal humanitarian groups in England and with Afro-Americans in the USA (ibid: 10). Following emancipation, the West Indians played an active part in the coast of West Africa as Christian missionaries, having multiple professions, there by boosted contacts between Africa and the New World. They acted as facilitators of modernization in African society and promoted “radical ideas” in the USA – to some extent also among Africans in England and France after WWI. Moreover West Indies produced pan-Africanists like E. W. Blyden, Sylvester Williams, Marcus Garvey, George Padmore and MacKay, to name a few among English speakers. In a similar fashion, Du Bois from Haitian family, Aime Cesaire, Rene Maran and Franz Fanon took part in the development of nationalism in Francophone Africa and the Negritude movement after WWI (ibid: 11).

In spite of efforts to abolish slavery, due to the growing demand of slave labor in the American plantations in the 19th c, the practice of slavery had made the life of Negroes even worse than ever seen before. But, the highest wrong committed on the Negro race in the 19thc was the successful building up of a myth that the Negro was inherently inferior to other races which had been initially elaborated in an effort to justify Negro slavery, and later European imperialism in Africa. Then, slavery was perceived as an uplifting process from savagery and backwardness. The intensification of social Darwinism in the later part of the 19thc with its motto “survival of the fittest,” justified European imperialism in Africa that helped to further and “preserve the myth of Negro inferiority” (Lynch, 1967: 1-3).

The building of trading stations in the Gold Coast paved the way for the creation of modernized middle class so far as Africans on the coast joined directly into the service of Europeans as soldiers, clerks, cooks along with the mulattos who had had modern education and professional skills. Gradually, members of the educated class came to assume the position of traditional

rulers. This modernized middle class, though few in numbers, were of great importance in social and political representation of African proto-nationalism which provided a foundation up on which Pan-Africanism developed (Geiss, 1974). Besides, Africans had begun going overseas to study in foreign universities. They became aware of the existence of people of African descent who lived abroad, and they had made contacts with them (ibid).

In the new world, mulattos played a key role in the process of modernization. They gained modern education in the USA and West Indies in relative terms despite their impoverished conditions, which later enabled them to lead the “first Afro-American Organization” (ibid: 21-3). Nonetheless, lightness of the skin became the determining factor to hold position in America and other areas where slavery was practiced (ibid).

Therefore, such pseudo arrangements might readily bear inherent tensions which in one way or another influenced the move to freedom and Pan-Africanism. The 1920’s conflict between Marcus Garvey, the full colored Negro, and Du Bois, the light skinned mulatto, with other Afro-American intellectuals and political leaders strengthened the above argument (ibid).

Meanwhile, apart from the physical and psychological catastrophes those African slaves had encountered from the departure to the destination, they were not allowed to make organization in order not to allow them develop a “lingua-franca European language” and to isolate them from their cultural backgrounds (Geiss, 1974: 23-4). Besides doing so, the “Anglo-American slave system was opposed to giving the slaves any intellectual, religious or practical instructions which went beyond enabling them to fulfill their immediate utilitarian purpose” (ibid: 23) where in fact variation existed here and there in time and space. “To give slaves religious instruction would have implied recognition that they had human souls” (ibid: 23).

What sort of contradiction was it? On the one hand Europeans justified slavery and colonialism as Christians’ civilizing mission. But on the contrary, slave masters intended to preclude slaves from acquiring substantive learning and studying religious doctrines. I do claim that had Europeans been interested in civilizing Africans, they would not have expropriated and condemned our inherent natural rights so that we might have enjoyed the fruits of science and technology.

Consequently, Pan-Africanism as an “ideology of emancipation maintained the principle that all humans and all races are equal and therefore should enjoy equal rights –a position of anti-racists who made use of various arguments with the rejection of the doctrine that races were unequal” (ibid:96-7).

Immanuel Gesis in his book entitled the *Pan-African Movement*, attempted to put 1787 as an “epoch making year”, for many outstanding events took place within which the triangular slave trade was carried on and within which Pan-Africanism developed. These are: I. The beginning of American Abolitionism, chaired by Benjamin Franklin, and the establishment of Afro-American organization in Philadelphia. The newly organized abolitionist submitted their first petition to the congress requesting it to abolish slavery throughout the USA. II. The inauguration of independent Afro-American organizations: churches, free masonry and, education. On 12 May 1787 a group of free Americans, under the leadership of Richard Allen, Absolem Johns, founded the free African society in a Methodist church in Philadelphia to fight against racial discrimination which in turn contributed for the foundation of Betel church in Philadelphia. Later, they formed the African Methodist Episcopal church, the “first Afro-American denomination” (ibid: 33-4).

The independent Negro churches made greater contribution to the growth of political consciousness among Afro-Americans, above all in their protest against a compulsory return to Liberia. In later times, the church started missionary work in Africa thereby opened schools, colleges and universities that produced intellectuals enabling pan-Africanism to develop (ibid).

The formal establishment of the first Africans Masonic lodge in Boston under Prince Hall in 1787 with the ideology of equality for all races was the other one. Prince Hall, a very light “skinned mulatto from Barbados,” was possibly the first to promote educational equality-an impetus for opening of school for Negroes in Prince Hall house in 1798 (ibid: 34-5).

Other abolitionist movements also took place in Britain in 1787 led by Wilberforce and his colleagues. During this time the first settlers landed in Sierra Leone, the first in tropical Africa. Till this time, Sierra Leone became the second most important center in the modernization of African society next to Ghana and to the growth of proto-pan-Africanism (ibid: 37).

Another happening of 1787 was connected to Cugoano, a Fanti, who had been kidnapped as a child while visiting relatives and then taken to Grenada, published a book, criticizing slavery and slave trade. "Around 1800, British abolitionism and Christian missionary passion led to the first permanent commitments which went further than commercial relations and the conservation of coastal forts" (Geiss, 1974: 41). This laid a foundation for imperialism which after 1870's, built the European colonial system that reached its climax in 1900. "The defense of African interest against European imperialism and racism in Africa, and of Afro-American interests against racial discrimination in the USA, gradually led to a new racial consciousness among the most modernized groups both in west Africa and in the new world" (ibid : 41 -2).

The beginning of modern education via Christian missionary society in Freetown of Sierra Leone had an effect up on the gradual development of Pan-African consciousness. This enabled a feeling of their common destiny to grow. Therefore, "this school provided one of the first exponents of African proto-nationalism and *Ethiopianism*, James Johnston, who taught there for some time and collaborated in a bimonthly periodical, the *Ethiopian*" (ibid : 49).

...The missionary activities together with the logic of development, made Sierra Leone a kind of laboratory for incipient modernization in west Africa including towards Nigeria and Ghana (ibid : 50).

In the Gold Coast due to the inauguration of missionary schools, level of literacy rose up, and newspapers had begun to be published like the Gold Coast times, the Gold coast news, the Gold Coast independence, etc. These newspapers raised and discussed local problems, the right to equality for Africans and the African descent (ibid: 65-73).

Afro-Americans constantly claim the land of their origin or that of their fathers and ancestors, because a severely racist society in any respects treats them badly due to their skin color. Owing to such difficulty and the desire of Negroes to be treated equals in America, they fall in two options. That is either to establish a kind of Negro sub society of their own like churches, schools and welfare institutions, or to attempt to move away from the USA (ibid: 83).

The main turning point in the development of pan-Africanism was the pan-African conference held in London in 1900. Before this time, however, there were events that took place which could be considered as a pre-history of pan-Africanism, as I have pointed out so far. For

example, in the West African coast elite classes send their sons to study in Britain, which in their turn developed a new political consciousness. Similar condition happened in South Africa and West Indies that facilitated opposition of imperialism and colonialism (Geiss, 1974: 163-9).

The extension of British colonial empire to broader parts of Africa in the late 19thc for the first time enabled a sizeable number of Africans and Afro-West Indians to have personal and intellectual contact with one another in England. Among Afro-Americans in the USA the development of an intelligentsia able to articulate pan-African ideas, had made progress since the American civil war. However, it faced threat when a new desire to imperialism grew in the USA towards the end of the century that deteriorated the social and political status of Afro-Americans. Here, two conflicting situations had taken place which triggered the Negroes to reconsider their circumstances in detail. I. At the end of 19thc the growth of imperialism and partition of Africa coupled with racism made them aware of their African descent. II. Emigration to Africa was no longer possible, for the European colonial powers would have prevented collaboration between Afro-Americans and Africans (ibid).

1.1.1. Meaning of Pan-Africanism

So far I have attempted to assess the historical roots of Pan-Africanism. In doing so, I believe that, it serves as a stepping stone to define Pan-Africanism though there may be difficulty in attaining precise definition. Numerous definitions have been put forward by scholars in striving to understand Pan-Africanism. Most agree that, as an idea and a movement Pan-Africanism got concrete shape in the 20thC. Pan-Africanism can, therefore, be seen as “collective efforts by African peoples worldwide to promote unity and solidarity of people of African origin to liberate them from various forms of European oppression” (Falola and Essien, 2014: 86).

It is the political dimension of Pan-Africanism which was the most evident; although as a complex approach it includes economic, cultural, and religious aspects in the struggle for the unification, restoration, and renewal of peoples of African descent worldwide. Its origin according to most scholars was linked with the inception of the oppressive Atlantic slave trade and the blacks’ reaction in the diaspora. “According to Du Bois, the London conference of 1900

put the word Pan-African into dictionaries for the first time” (Enoh, nd, cited in Falola and Essen, 2014: 87). Du Bois said:

One thing is for sure and that is the fact that since the fifteenth century these ancestors of mine and their other descendants have a common history; have suffered a common disaster and have one long memory. The actual ties of heritage between the individuals of this group vary with the ancestors that they have in common and many others: Europeans and Semites, perhaps Mongolians, certainly American Indians. But the physical bond is least and the badge of color relatively unimportant save as a badge; the real essence of this kinship is its social heritage of slavery; the discrimination and insult; and this heritage binds together not simply the children of Africa, but extends through yellow Asia into the South Seas. It is this unity that draws me to Africa (Demarco, 1983, quoted in Falola and Essien, 2014: 64-5).

Therefore, this understanding of common history and cultural ties or common experience of servitude of the blacks triggered Du Bois to focus on Negro historical achievements and influenced the negritude movement. Besides, his emphasis on common bondage and exploitations of non-white races enabled him to develop sociological theory on race.

Among the most noticeable and regularly cited definitions is that of Immanuel Geiss. For him: Pan-Africanism can be understood as:

1. Intellectual and political movements among Africans and Afro- Americans who regard or have regarded Africans and people of African descent as homogenous. This Outlook leads to a feeling of 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 the 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 (Geiss, 1974: 3-4).

Generally, the concept of Pan-Africanism can be summarized: “Africa as the homeland of Africans, solidarity among blacks, belief in a distinct African personality, rehabilitation of the African past, pride in African culture, African for Africans, and the hope for a united and glorious future for Africa” (Falola and Essien, 2014: 86).

1.2. Pan-Africanism from 1900-1945

Organized by a West Indian barrister in London named Henry Sylvester Williams, the first Pan-African conference “took place at West Minister town hall”, London from 23-25 July 1900. It was attended by few participants from Africa, Britain, USA, Canada and the West Indies that Africa was less represented (Ajala, 1972). Then on the eve of the conference bishop Johnson of Liberia forecasted:

The Pan-African conference is the beginning of a union I long hoped for, and would God be universal. As a people recollect this: we're destined, despite the fallacies of many, to be recognized. Already we have morality, religion and perseverance on our balance sheet. Government will come as we labour towards that end. Temper your deliberations with truth, and God will do the rest ... (The times, 24-6 July 1900 Pan-African Conference report, quoted in Geiss, 1974: 185).

On 23 July, 1900 the conference was inaugurated by Alexander Walters in his opening remark: “For the first time in the history of the world black men had gathered together from all parts of the globe with the object of discussing and improving the condition of the black race” (ibid: 185). He spoke the condition of Afro-Americans in the USA: “It was their misfortune to live among a people whose laws, traditions, and prejudices had been against them for centuries” (The Times, 24 July 1900, quoted in Geiss, 1974: 185).

Benito Sylvain presented a paper entitled, *the necessary concord to be established between Native races and European colonists*; whom he asserted that blacks everywhere demanded freedom (Geiss, 1974: 186). He made Britain as responsible for the “anti-liberal reaction.” He said, before much time had run out the rights of the natives must be recognized. “Natives must be no more considered like serfs, taxable and workable at their master’s discretion... The question now was whether Europe would have the improvement for or against her interest” (ibid: 187).

In a more readily way the conference was generally aimed:

To act as a forum of protest against the aggressiveness of white colonialists; to bring peoples of African descent throughout the world into closer touch with one another, and to start a movement which would secure to all African races living in civilized countries their full rights and would promote their business interests (Ajala, 1972: 4).

Mentioning the grievances in South Africa and Rhodesia, the conference addressed a petition to queen Victoria via the British government which nonetheless didn't bring any meaningful influences in these areas (Ajala, 1972: 4).

In the document named the "Appeal to the Nations of the world" Du Bois spoke: *The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line*, in that due to differences in skin color and texture of the hair, half of the world populations were denied to enjoy their basic rights and privileges (Du Bois in 1900 Conference, cited in Geiss, 1974: 190). This is the most important notion that Du Bois emphasized in his work the problem of "double consciousness" and his development of the theory of race.

Nationalist movements grew in West and South Africa, USA and West Indies because in these areas developments like "sociological processes" had contributed fertile conditions for the development of pan-Africanism. Because of the spread of democratic ideas intellectuals were aware of colonialism and racism thereby demanded the removal of socio-political challenges. The growing number of atrocities in the USA motivated the young Afro-American intelligentsia for political activities (Geiss, 1974: 199-232).

Due to the continued discrimination, injustice and degradation experienced on Afro-Americans, the "Niagara movement" was formed in 1905. By 1910, an international organization was formed under the leadership of white American liberals to fight for Negro rights by peaceful means under Du Bois' directorate and publicity of research whose primary function was editing the monthly magazine, "Crisis". Despite the efforts made in exposing the abusing American race relations, nothing of significance was achieved "before WWI" (Cronon, 1955 cited in Ajala, 1972: 4-5).

1.2.1. The First Pan-African Congress: Paris, 1919

Du Bois played a significant role in the organization of this conference and he proposed ideas. Initially, not open to US government; he received an order from the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) to go to Paris holding the mission of investigating the situation of Black-American troops placed in France and to preserve African interest at the "peace conference." This gave him a fertile condition to have contacts with Mohammed Ali

Duse, Blaise Diagne and others (Broadhurst to Du Bois, 4 January 1919 cited in Geiss, 1974: 235).

After having made contacts, he suggested how the congress could be organized, when did it hold, invitations to be sent for representatives of Negroes across the world. The agenda outlined by Du Bois was more ambitious which consisted of analysis of the existing situation and the formation of Negro demands, including “economic development based on natives interest, general modern education; full recognition of the independent governments of Abyssinia, Haiti and Liberia; the development of the former German colonies under the guarantee and oversight of the League of Nations” (Crisis, March 1919 cited in Geiss, 1974: 236). Notwithstanding the then political and administrative challenges from the US and British governments and financial difficulties, the congress was opened on February, 1919 (Geiss, 1974: 235-9).

1.2.2. The Second Pan-African Congress: London, Brussels, Paris, 1921

Before the congress took place in London, Du Bois had expressed his interest that “Africa should be better represented,” (Du Bois, 1947 cited in Geiss, 1974: 240) and his desire seem to have been successful since more than one-third of them came from Africa. Meanwhile, he “held talks with leading representatives of the anti-slavery and Aborigines protection society and labor party...” (ibid: 242). The conference ended by recognizing the equality of races despite differences in the level of development.

The absolute equality of races, physical, political and social is the founding stone of the world and human advancement and attainment among individuals of all races, but the voice of science, religion and practical politics is one in denying the God appointed existence of supper races or of races naturally and inevitably and eternally inferior. That in the vast range of time, one group should in its industrial technique, social organization, or forge fitfully a head, or come to differ decidedly in thought, deed and ideal is proof of the essential richness and variety of human nature, rather than proof of the co-existence of demi-gods and apes in human form ... And of all the various criteria of which masses of men have in the past been pre- judged and classified, that of the color of the skin and texture of the hair, is surely the most adventitious and idiotic...(Du Bois,1947 quoted in Geiss,1974: 244).

The declaration then passed the following resolutions: the development of local self-government; skin color should not be the criteria of achievement instead of the level of civilization; access to education in the broadest sense; freedom of religion; return of Negroes to their own countries;

establishment of institutions under the League of Nations to study the Negro problems ... (Le Temps, September 1921 cited in Geiss, 1974: 247-8).

“In Brussels and Paris the principal delegates to the congress, and finally the majority protested Garvey and his Slogan Africa for the Africans” (Challaye, 1921 cited in Geiss, 1974: 246) although he had some supporters. In the session, “Du Bois presented the Pan-African program of Afro-Americans from the USA” (ibid: 247). He called for absolute racial equality; the development of the masses; self –government for the Africans in Africa; and the return of expropriated land. Finally, a petition adopted for submission to the League of Nations was prepared (ibid: 247).

The Third and fourth Pan-African Congress was held in 1923 (London and Lisbon) and 1927 New York respectively, which were less organized and less participatory despite the passing of resolutions (Geiss, 1974: 257-8).

1.2.2. The Fifth Pan-African Congress, Manchester, 1945

Preliminary meetings were held before this congress took place, though informal they might be, to decide the when, where, and how the congress would be organized and more than Du Bois, George Padmore played a key role in the preparation of this congress (Padmore, 1963: 12).

The more immediate inspiration of the Fifth Pan-African Congress arose after the “World Trade Union Conference in London” in February, 1945. The Colonial agents to the World Trade Union Conference were invited to Manchester, where the British section of the Pan-African Federation was just in the process of emerging. An informal meeting was held and representatives discussed their problems (Legum, 1965).

The Fifth Pan-African Congress was held in the Charlton Town Hall, Manchester, from October 13—21, 1945. In the congress some two hundred delegates holding mandates from political, social, trade union organizations, students union like WASU¹, attended. Afro-American Negroes, the three traditional symbolic states of pan-Africanism² (Haiti, Ethiopia and Liberia), Christian

¹ WASU stands for West African students Union.

² Actually Ethiopia, Haiti and Liberia were absent but the hall of the congress was decorated by their flags.

missionaries and representatives of the white abolitionist and philanthropic elements were not represented (Geiss, 1974: 393-400). Du Bois was elected "International President of the Congress". This Congress, therefore, was the most representative yet assembled by African and peoples of African descent to plan and work for the removal of imperialism. The background of the Congress was discussed by Du Bois, and he can simply be called the "Father" of the Pan-African movement, for he had made highly inspirational contacts with Negroes of different origins and nationalities. He had contributed intellectual works, historical, psychological, and sociological.

My plans, he writes in *Dusk of Dawn*, had in them nothing, neither spectacular nor revolutionary. If in decades or a century they resulted in such world organization of black men as would oppose a united front to European aggression, which certainly would not have been beyond my dream. . . . Out of this there might come, not race war and opposition, but broader cooperation with the white rulers of the world, and a chance for peaceful and accelerated development of black folk (Du Bois quoted in Padmore, 1963:11).

In the proceedings of the congress, the papers delivered and the contributions to discussions served basically to exchange information. Accordingly, with their own chairman and rapporteur, the following themes were presented as an issue which reflected what was actually going on in each geographic region: The Colour Problem in Britain, Imperialism in North and West Africa, the Situation of Francophone Africa-South of the Sahara, Oppression in South Africa, Ethiopia and the Black Republics, and The Problem in the Caribbean (Geiss, 1974: 405-7). Initiated and endorsed by the participants of the fifth pan-African congress, a resolution was prepared and submitted to the UNO secretariat in order to achieve adequate representation of the black people of the world which states:

The great need of the world today is intelligent citizenship capable of controlling the actions of men by democratic methods of government; One of the greatest obstacles to this accomplishment is the poverty, ignorance and disease in colonies, especially those in Africa; In spite of all efforts to overcome these conditions by the colonial powers, by philanthropy and missions, and by the efforts of the Negroes themselves, progress is hindered by the difficulties which these Negroes have in making known their needs and wants and the opposition that confronts them. In addition, there is the widespread assumption that Negroes lack the intelligence to express their views and can only be represented by imperial governments or by other spokesmen not of their own choosing; It is just, proper, and necessary that provision be made for the participation of designated representatives of the African colonial peoples in such business of the United Nations as concerns them. The truth of this principle cannot be denied. Provision should be made for such

participation to the maximum extent possible under the present charter of the United Nations, so that the grievances and demands of the Africans can be freely expressed (Declaration of the Fifth Pan-African Congress, 1945 quoted in Padmore, 1963: 9).

In the congress, resolutions had passed on the aforementioned topics. “The delegates to the fifth pan-African congress believed in peace.....Yet provided the Western world is still determined to rule man-kind by force, then Africans, as a last resort act, may have to appeal to force in the effort to achieve freedom, even if force destroys them and the world” (Composition of the Commissions in History (nd.), quoted in Geiss, 1974: 407). The declaration ended with a slogan: “Colonial and subject people of the World –Unite” (ibid).

The Manchester Pan-African Congress was the most peculiar in many ways and was the highest assembly of the Pan-African Movements. The movement now placed its emphasis on terminating colonialism in the continent as the first step towards the achievement of the Pan-African goal, and it was becoming a “mass movement of Africa for the Africans” (Ajala, 1972:11). For the first time, it applied the concept of Pan-Africanism to “decolonization of Africa” which united Africans under one umbrella for common struggle (Falola & Essen, 2014: 155).

1.3. Pan-Africanism after the Manchester Congress

After the end of WWII, particularly after the fifth Pan-African congress put to an end, the issue of pan-Africanism, however, shifted to continental Africa so that emphasis was given to political independence from colonialism. Parallel to this idea, Kwame Nkrumah pointed out:

There are those who maintain that Africa cannot unite because we lack the three necessary ingredients for unity, a common race, culture, and language... The territorial boundaries dividing us were fixed long ago, often quite arbitrarily, by the colonial powers. Some of us speak French, some English, and some Portuguese, not to mention the millions who speak only one of the hundreds of different African languages. We have acquired cultural differences which affect our outlook and condition political development. All this is inevitable because of our political background. Yet in spite of this I am convinced that the forces making for Unity far outweigh those which divide us (Nkrumah in Mutiso and Rohio, 1975 quoted in Falola and Essien, 2014: 98)

This might have connection with his philosophy of consciencism. However, he faced challenges while claiming African unity which has been still continuing debatable whether his dreams can

be realized or not. In fact, there were no better options for Africans than unity and independence. But, the kind of unity that Nkrumah hoped for as I think had been becoming difficult to achieve on the ground that colonial legacies, poverty and bad governance, ethnic conflicts and the inability of African states to compete in the global system are still apparent. However, it's impossible to argue that continental unity will never and ever be achieved.

Nkrumah was invited to become the General Secretary of the united Gold Coast Convention party in 1947. Until 1957, the pan-African movement had been blurred mainly because in the Manchester congress decisions had passed to organize political parties, which took time, to speed-up independence and due to Nkrumah's return to Gold Coast (Ajala, 1972: 12).

With Nkrumah's return to the African continent, along with other educated Africans who spent credible time in the diaspora, the idea of Pan- Africanism from the diaspora to the homeland was initiated. The first congress took place in Ghana in April, 1958 with the purpose of creating independent African states to discuss problems of common interest, to maintain independence; and the conference demonstrated the formal inauguration of pan-Africanism on African soil (ibid: 14). Nkrumah in the opening address of the conference declared:

This is a memorable gathering. It's for the first time in history that representatives of independent African states are meeting together with the aim of forging closer links of friendship, brotherhood and solidarity between them; reminded the delegates that Africa had for too long been a victim of foreign domination If we independent African states show by our own efforts that we can settle our own problems in Africa, then we should be setting examples to others. In conclusion, he said: Today we are oneAn injury to one is an injury to all of us. From this conference must go out a new message: Hands of Africa must be free! Africa must be free! (Ghana Daily Graphic, 16 April 1958 Quoted in Ajala, 1972: 16).

Participants of the conference recommended that "all the independent African states should make direct involvement in the emancipation of the continent, declared war on colonialism and on South African apartheid policy, and to support for the Algerian struggle for independence" (Ajala, 1972: 16-17).

On 15, June 1960, Addis Ababa hosted the second conference of independent African states. In the opening, "Emperor Haile Selassie emphasized the importance of inspiring greater cooperation, typically, in the spheres of trade and transport" (ibid: 26). "He advocated the

establishment of African development Bank, ... and participants agreed on the liberation of the remaining dependencies in Africa, the war in Algeria and the apartheid policy in South Africa” (ibid: 26).

With regard to the issue of how unity was to be achieved, two blocks known as Casablanca-Monrovia groups emerged. “Although the two blocs had a common goal of unification, they had divergent approaches. The Casablanca Group had a more radical approach while the Monrovia Group adopted a more moderate, gradualist, regional-oriented approach” (Orwa, and Utete, (nd.) cited in Falola and Essien, 2014: 155). In order to bring these groups together efforts were made especially by Ethiopia. Accordingly, Emperor Haile Selassie spoke in Lagos conference the following:

We are told that Africa has been split into competing groups and that this is inhibiting co-operation among the African states and severely retarding African progress. One hears of the Casablanca-Monrovia group, of the Conakry and Dakar declarations ... Ethiopia considers herself a member of one group only-the African group ... No wide and unbridgeable gulf exists between the various groupings which have been created ... We urge that this conference use this as its starting point, that we emphasize and lay stress on the areas of similarity and agreements rather than up on whatever disagreements may exist among us (Nkrumah, 1963: 147).

Since unity is not a matter of choice for Africans, I also believe that politicians and scholars should not too much emphasize on African diversity as impassable to justify the impossibility of actualizing unity. If there is common dialogue and consensus, problems will be resolved.

Hence, the two blocs came together in May 1963 when the “heads of state and governments” from thirty-one newly independent African states met in Addis Ababa, and there by established the Organization of African Unity (Falola and Essen, 2014: 155). The objectives and principles of the OAU were, to mention a few, “to promote unity and solidarity among African states, to coordinate their various efforts to improve the condition of Africans, to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence of member states, and to eradicate colonialism” (ibid: 155).

The OAU was not able to mitigate civil wars, ethnic conflicts, military coups, dictatorial regimes, deep rooted poverty and hunger. However, it took measures on the apartheid regime by precluding it from joining global institutions like “the Economic Commission for Africa and the United Nations Commission for Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as

well as its peacekeeping role in several parts of Africa” (ibid: 155). Hence, due to the aforementioned challenges the OAU had faced, leaders decided to brand it the AU in 2002 with new institutions and targets. With the election of Gadhafi as chairman of the AU in 2009, he promised and propagated in the international media that he labored towards achieving “united states of Africa with single government, single military force, single currency and passport” (ibid: 155).

While the AU planned to achieve unity and integrity by 2015, it promised to extend its program of unity towards the Caribbean states and the diaspora. “Interestingly enough, not all the African states seemed to be so enthused about the federation. While Ghana, Senegal, and Zimbabwe seem ready to go with Libya, others, such as Nigeria, South Africa, and Kenya, have not been enthusiastic” (ibid: 156).

Generally, in this chapter I have tried to explore the historical development of pan-Africanism beginning from the Atlantic slave trade. Particularly developments in the three geographic regions: West Africa, Western Europe, West Indies and America, were pivotal because these places were the focal points in the history of slave trade and pan-Africanism. Moreover, attempts were also made to look at the struggle for liberation individually and collectively by the African diaspora and Africans that through longer way gave birth to Pan-Africanism. Despite continued controversies to put exact demarcation of where, when, and by whom it began, most scholars agree about the comprehensive and concrete inauguration of the movement in the 20thc. Therefore, beginning from 1900 with the efforts of the Diaspora, conferences and congress were held to achieve their long term vision; liberation, unity, pride on their personality by tackling racial discrimination, etc. The 1945 Manchester congress was memorable, for it laid fertile grounds to end colonialism in Africa. Then, continental pan-Africanism got momentum after Nkrumah’s return to Gold Coast, who called on conference a year after his country’s independence in 1958 followed by subsequent conferences in other places. In the course of these conferences division emerged on how unity should be achieved, bore Monrovia-Casablanca group. Nonetheless, Ethiopia did success to bring them together in 1963 which as a compromise forming the OAU. So, from then on, Africans have been able to discuss common interests which are regional, continental and global affairs affecting the continent directly or indirectly.

CHAPTER TWO

The Philosophy of Some Influential Figures in the Course of Pan-Africanism

In chapter one I have already discussed the historical roots and development of pan-Africanism since the period of slavery. But in this chapter, emphasis is given to the actors involved in the process of the movement with particular reference to their philosophical positions, which shaped the very movement itself and the course of African philosophy³ at large. In this regard we can mention a number of notable Pan-Africanists such as Peter Abraham, Julius Nyrere, Leopold S. Senghor, Frederick Douglass, George Padmore, Jomo Kenyatta, and the Rastafarian and King of the Reggae music, Bob Marley, to list a few. But, due to the limited scope of this thesis and the inadequacy of materials to address all Pan-Africanists, I would confine myself in discussing Blyden, Du Bois, Fanon from the diaspora, and Kwame Nkrumah and Senghor from Africa in order to show that Pan-Africanism had been attempting to add values to African philosophy. I believe their ideas have had vital significances in liberating the continent from colonialism, and have still an influence in the building of African Unity and regeneration of philosophical ideas which can serve as basis for building African consciousness. Therefore, the first part of my discussion will be Pan-Africanists from the Diaspora along with their philosophy. After that African scholars from within the continent and their influence in giving shape to African philosophy will be presented.

2.1. Edward Willmot Blyden

To begin with, born and grown in West Indies, visited Venezuela, North America⁴ in his youth and later emigrated to Liberia, Blyden was aware of the awkward situations of Negroes both in Africa and abroad. He later planned the reconstruction of a great Negro nation in Liberia. To do

³ Both philosophy and African Philosophy have not a precise, universal meaning. But, we often use their workable definitions. For more clarity about the debate and meaning of both concepts, refer to chapter three on page 42-3 of this thesis.

⁴ It was his obstruction from studying theology in America due to his skin color that Blyden emigrated to Liberia. He was initially advocating Pan-Negroism and Christian abolitionism. However, he changed his mind when he had witnessed personally that African cultures are valuable as opposed to Western claims (Source: Hensbroek, P. B. V. (2004). *Some Nineteenth-Century African Political Thinkers*. In K. Wiredu (Ed.), *A Companion to African Philosophy* (78-88). Carlton, Maldon and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

so, he found valuable the exodus of Westernized Negroes towards Africa in consideration of the acquired skills and knowledge. However, his vision had not been materialized as he hoped; lead him to the controversial position that only pure Negroes, not the mulattos of mixed blood, should be part of the emigration program towards Africa. He did so, because the mulattos like their white masters experienced exploitation against the native blacks in regard that mulattoes felt superior over pure Negroes (Lynch, 1967: 5). Surprisingly, he would rather prefer the effectiveness of British imperialism for African modernization instead of the former (ibid). So, the point is how far Blyden had extended his efforts in order to build great Negro nation and to vindicate the Negro race. To make my discussion of Blyden clear I shall concentrate on the following points that Blyden had emphasized. Viz, excavation of African glorious history and culture; building negro psychology based on African personality; his theory of race; his admission of Positive Western influences to improve the Negroes, and his views on the influence of Christianity and Islam on Negroes (Allen, 1996). His major views were:

That the Negro race did have 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'; that African culture—its customs and institutions—were basically wholesome and should be preserved; and finally, that Christianity had a retarding influence upon the Negro, while that of Islam had been salutary ... (Sierra Leone Times, 27 May 1893 quoted in Lynch, 1967: 54-5).

Accordingly, he was able to read black history written by Homer and Herodotus, typically, the glorious history of ancient Ethiopians as “symbols of highest knowledge and civilization.” His ideas provided the foundation of worldwide pan-Africanism, the OAU and ECOWAS and influenced prominent figures like Marcus Garvey, George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah (Lynch, 1967).

This, thought I, was the work of my African progenitors. . . . Feelings came over me far different from those I have ever felt when looking at the mighty works of European genius. I felt that I had a peculiar heritage in the Great Pyramid built ... by the enterprising sons of Ham, from which I descended. I seemed to hear the echo of those illustrious Africans. I seemed to feel the impulse from those stirring characters that sent civilization to Greece . . . I felt lifted out of the commonplace grandeur of modern times; and, could my voice have reached every African in the world, I would have earnestly addressed him . . . : Retake your Fame (Blyden, 1873 quoted in Lynch, 1967:55).

Therefore, Blyden recommended that Africans everywhere should recognize the culture and history they belong in the past. The “African at home, he claimed, needs to be surrounded by influences from abroad, not that he may change his nature, but that he may improve his capacity ...” (Blyden christianity.. quoted in Vilhanova, 1998: 169). Does it make sense to argue that the historically oppressive Western influences would have the hope of improving the condition of Negroes? Or can the blacks neutralize all the defects of colonialism to be re-born with a pure Negro soul? I don’t think either the colonial nations could uplift us from the lowest position, or the blacks whose identity amalgamated can fully liberate themselves. But, taking current realities into account Africans have the chance to narrow down the gap between the pre-colonial, the colonial and the post-colonial situations. So, I support his claim that we have to accept the positive Western influences to improve our condition but not to lose our identity.

In order to overcome the legacy of colonial inferiority, he developed a theory of race via African personality and proposed that “the essence of black unity is love of race-self and ancestors.” He made responsible “the Western educational system for Negro mental colonization and racial misidentification” (cited in Allen, 1996:172). The solution, then, according to him seems, unless we do more on praising our historical and cultural past in the form of intellectual self-defense, we can’t go further in achieving freedom.

For every one of you—for every one of us—there is a special work to be done—a work of tremendous necessity and tremendous importance— a work for the race to which we belong . There is a responsibility which our personality, which our membership in the race involves . . . Be yourself . . . If you are not yourself, if you surrender your personality, you have nothing left to give the world. You have no pleasure, no use, nothing which will attract and charm men, for by the suppression of your individuality; you lose your distinctive character . . . You will see, then, that to give up our personality would be to give up the peculiar work and glory to which we are called. It would really be to give up the divine idea— to give up God—to sacrifice the divine individuality; and this is the worst of suicides (Sierra Leone Times, 27 May 1893 quoted in Lynch, 1967: 61).

Then it’s rational to raise the question, what were the special attributes of the Negro race? Besides claiming the pyramids of Egypt as black contribution to the world, he employed antagonistic approach to the Western disposition which is characterized by “harshness, individuality, competitiveness, and highly materialistic: the worship of science and industry was replacing that of God” (lynch, 1967: 61). This implies the very symptom of moral decadence

where as we find “the softer aspects of human nature in Africa such as cheerfulness, sympathy, willingness to serve,” (Lynch, 1967: 62) portrayed the fact that Africa has had spiritual contribution (ibid: 62).

We can't deny the fact that science has been improving people's lives for many centuries. It empowers those who possess it and weakens those who haven't. For example, doubtlessly, I can argue that slavery and colonialism would not have collapsed Africa provided the imperialist nations had not empowered themselves through scientific products. The same logic holds true if Africans had at least empowered themselves as equal as the West. Why, the cold War between Soviet Union and USA was limited itself in ideological war rather than armaments? The simple answer to me is equal balance of power. Unlike its tremendous significances, science brought many problems: global warming, drought, flood, and excessive exploitations. I confirm Blyden's view that science should be supported by moral nature and spiritual ideas in order to minimize risks up on humanity. But, it seems ego defense if we are becoming over critical on Western science by simply celebrating our “so-called” collective values. In saying so, I am not denying the existence of African science. Rather, to inform its inadequacy to tackle our current problems.

Blyden advocated that “all human beings are equal and have the same right to enjoy life, freedom, and peace without domination” (cited in Allen, 1996: 177). Because he strongly believes in the significance of education for regeneration of blacks, he stated the following:

The object of all education is to secure growth and efficiency, to make a man all that his natural gifts will allow him to become, to produce self-respect, a proper appreciation of our own powers and of the powers of other people; to beget a fitness for one's sphere of life and action and an ability to discharge the duties it imposes (Blyden, 1888 quoted in Allen, 1996: 180).

The world we now live in, the world of science, information, and ideas continuously takes its shape through education. Today's most advanced nations in North America, Europe and Asia have attained their remarkable positions through their proper utilization of scientific knowledge. I believe that Blyden understood how Western education had expropriated the mental and material wealth of Africa. In response he claimed, in order to bring political union, Africa needed education based on its own universities, personnel's, and African curriculum that should inculcate African values (Allen, 1996 :186). Blyden explained African collective values in such:

We, and not I, is the law of African life... as the root of all ethical thoughts. African spirituality trains the mind and body to become harmonized with nature. African spirituality is a living religion that brings the psyche outside through rituals and symbols to reduce spiritual problems and uncertainty. It is not based on theologies and doctrines but is a public display of morality (Blyden, 1908 quoted in Allen, 1996: 187).

However, regrettable to Blyden was the fact that African collective spirit was destroyed by Western materialism. Accordingly, he hoped African musical⁵ inventions as instruments of restoring and dispersing African spiritual consciousness worldwide. Yet, he reminded his fear that modernization would increasingly detach Africans from the past collective souls (Allen, 1996: 197).

Generally, notwithstanding the inconsistency of Blyden in his position, I found his philosophical contribution in the early Pan-Africanism discourse very interesting in the following way. From the very inception he underscored the fact that blacks should have to renovate, disseminate and acknowledge their ancestors' history and culture. This idea of cultural re-discovery had also been witnessed in the literature of Negritude. So, we can acknowledge that his ideas influenced the negritude movement. Besides, his idea "Africa for the Africans" influenced later pan-African movements like the declaration of the Manchester congress-self-governance and total independence from colonial rule. Moreover, apart from subscribing concepts like African personality, the collective character of African humanity which was propelled by later pan-Africanists, his belief in the equality of races and their unique endowments is very much convincing in African rehabilitation. Because I believe that in the same way that we have different physical appearances, we have difference capacities too. So, his view challenges the universalistic, abolitionist and Eurocentric view by advocating pluralism. However, it might not seem fair to argue that Western disposition is interpreted negatively-harsh, selfish, and competitive, etc. And it seems romanticism to claim that African culture and the way individuals are being treated in the society is based on egalitarianism, cheerfulness, sympathy and love. My point here is despite the fact that Europeans did harm against blacks and our values, we couldn't categorize them and their culture as irrelevant. Therefore, I conclude that despite there might appear differences in European and African personality due to variations of factors, we can find

⁵ By African music Blyden refers to the influences of Afro-American Musics such as, the Blues, spiritual, Jazz, soul, Reggae and Hip-Hop, worldwide.

the weaker and stronger aspects in both cases, and perhaps it's often claimed that due to modernization and science Europeans are more individualistic than Africans.

2.2. W. E. B. Du Bois

He was the most notable Afro-American intellectual, historian, sociologist, writer and political activist who laid the foundation for modern pan-Africanism (Adi and Sherwood 2003: 48). He took part in many pan-African conferences especially in the Manchester congress. He had the strong conviction that blacks should win self-government and independence. In this thesis, I have to underscore the notion that his philosophy of race consciousness in his book edited by Edwards (2007) entitled *The Souls of the Black folk* has contributed to pan-African philosophy and the implication behind it. The very intention behind the souls of the black folk is that Du Bois wanted to show that blacks, "by virtue of being black, have unique experience of understanding the world in many respects, emotionally, socially, politically" and to repair the paralyzed black consciousness (Edwards, 2007: 1).

The Negro is gifted with second sight in this American world—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him to see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is always looking at one self through the eyes of others, of measuring ones soul by the tap of the world that looks on in amused contempt and pity (Edwards, 2007: 1).

He developed the theory of double consciousness⁶ based on history. That is, he wanted to portray the effects of colonialism on the minds of blacks and then in order to avert such double claims- i.e. being an American and black at the same time, he emphasized on exploring the history and glory of African past. He argued:

The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife,--this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white

⁶ In an article entitled "African American Philosophy," Lewis, R. Gordon summarizes the implications of Du Bois's double consciousness in to "psychological"- how blacks were seen by others as exclusive and their negative self-understanding; political- "the existence of double standards of citizenship"- i.e. one is born an American but his being American was not fully realized; epistemic dimension- the mainstream white norm as universal knowledge yet the blacks being particular. These double standards made Negroes mere "imitators of the mainstream culture." (Source: Retrieved from, www.Lewisgorden.com/selected-articles/Africana-philosophy/lewis2.pdf).

Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American ... (Edwards, 2007: 5).

In this sense blackness is measured in white norms that made blacks inferior copies. His philosophy of race consciousness begins with his explicit discrimination and other blacks by the whites only because they were different races whom a "student in his class refused to exchange greeting cards with him simply because he was black" (ibid: 4). "What does it mean to be a problem" (Du Bois, 1903 quoted in Gordon, 2000: 62) Du Bois asks in "the souls of the black folk." If blacks are really a problem people, a problem in their nature then questions raise about divine justice. Who made blacks to be problems? If God is doing so, then they're causally determined to be inferiors without their free will. If this is so, then it contradicts the nature of God: omniscient, omnipotent and perfect.

So, the philosophy of black consciousness that Du Bois had developed was based on the existential problems that blacks in their everyday lives faced. Then, his philosophy raises identity issues like the question of who am I? White norms made the blacks not simply "others" but also invisible, non-being and non-existent as Du Bois and Fanon asserted. Du Bois, then asked, provided white folks permit themselves valuable, "why can't I the child of Ethiopia also say, I am black and great, I am a being, a person with a history and definitive contribution to the world" (Du Bois, 1903; Edwards, 2007: 4). I think his view is acceptable. We cannot realize ourselves by seeking others. We have to accept our humanity, our dark color. But, since the real problem as many argued lies in the impoverished Negro situations, the real struggle should also concentrate on the cause-finding Negro self by making oneself worthwhile materially and spiritually.

I appreciate his views because he was struggling to his race, to humanity and autonomy. Basically, his emphasis on Negro-history which he mentioned the impact of Negro music in America, in order to enable them to get rid of the problem of double self, fitted with the idea of negritude. Besides, his approach of the race problem was not from a superficial way because he emphasized on the real problem of Negros. These are poverty, ignorance and inaccessibility of good education.

...To be a poor man is hard, but to be a poor race in a land of dollars is the very bottom of hardships. He felt the weight of his ignorance,--not simply of letters, but of life, of business, of the humanities ... A people thus handicapped ought not to be asked to race with the world, but rather allowed to give all its time and thought to its own social problems (Du Bois, 1903; Edwards, 2007: 7).

What solution then Du Bois brought for the blacks as a race? Negroes should realize their existence by being Negro or by reclaiming the Negro self. Moreover, they have to be organized as a group, as a race. "For the development of Negro genius of Negro literature and art, of Negro spirit, only Negroes bound and welded together" (Du Bois, 1897, Bell, 2002: 50).

Unlike Booker T. Washington who claimed that "industrial education alone lead to equality," Du Bois had the strong conviction that Negroes should educate themselves beyond money making (Edwards, 2007:26-9).

Education and work are the levers to uplift people. Work will not do it unless inspired by the right ideals and guided by intelligence. Education must not simply teach work .It must teach life. The talented tenth of the Negro race must be leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among their people. No others can do this; the Negro colleges must train men for it. The Negro race, like all other races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men (ibid: 27).

I think his view on education seems meaningful life, genuine freedom and freedom to think can be fully realized only when there is an adequate support of good education.

What implication does have his theory of race? He conceived race not simply biological but sociological. Race is a social construction. It is white construction to meet their material interests against blacks. Race is simply "skin color to him." I think this understanding of race accommodates the racist views like Hegel and Hume who demarcated inherent line that separates races. Generally, his philosophy attempted to resolve the problem of Negroes by recognizing their humanity. He portrayed the fact that economic oppression was the primary means which escalated the identity crisis. So, he preferred "democratic socialism" to ensure equality. I think his philosophy influenced later Pan Africanists in their emphasis on anti-colonial nationalism, self-rule, African personality and African socialism based on African humanism. Moreover, I believe that his theory of double consciousness have meaning in our contemporary world of

black and white so long as problems causing consciousness difficult appear here and there. Besides, we have to contextualize his claim in man's unbalanced relations with others and even with their asymmetrical interests and the double inclinations following thereby.

2.3. Frantz Fanon

Fanon was among the robust proponents of Pan-Africanism who challenged the evils of colonialism, typically, in his involvement of the bloody revolutionary struggle in Algeria. So, his principle was that independence could only be achieved through violence. He developed an anti-colonial theory of being and liberation based on psychoanalysis, dialectics and analysis of the existing colonizer-colonized asymmetry. His conviction was that Negro's self-alienation was resulted from "double process: -- primarily economic; subsequently, the internalization – or, better the epidermalization of this inferiority" (Fanon, 2008: 4).

For this purpose let me discuss his conception of false recognition from his book *Black skin White Masks*. By recognition he meant- to be a human is to be a white and nothing else. The relationship between the white master and the black slave is like subject- object interaction. That is the white master proves his humanity on the existence of the slave. In this relationship the blacks finds humanity in the whites, which it can't be realized except via violence. This violence or the desire to subjectivity looms the "master life." So, his firm belief was that "human reality in itself for itself can be achieved only through conflict and through the risk that conflict implies" (Fanon, 2008: 170). He believed Self-consciousness must proof its existence by risking itself (ibid: 169). Does it really bring the necessary outcomes to be actualized? For more precision, let me explore his psychoanalytic experiments in Martinique and France, typically, his observation of black's desire of recognition in martial relations and recognition through mastery of white languages (Fanon, 2008: 43-75). Accordingly, Fanon said, the black woman aspires to marry the white man, for she finds a "piece of whiteness that proves her humanity," (ibid: 29) his economic advantage, his intelligence and having blue eyes with white skin (ibid). Similarly, the black man also had the same aspiration to be recognized as expressed below:

I marry a white culture, white beauty, and white whiteness. When my restless hands caress those white breasts, they grasp white civilization and dignity and make them mine. Her love takes me on to the noble road that leads to a total realization (ibid: 84).

What Fanon affirmed here is the fact blacks denied themselves at the expense of white norms. He was discussing the then colonial situation. But, my question is what about the present condition of the Negroes in relation with the white man? Perhaps, it may be difficult to give clear cut answers, but so long as economic asymmetry perpetuates itself, the above problems endure among races and individuals. In the same token, Fanon examined recognition in terms of the Mastery of foreign languages in this manner:

The problem that we confront in this chapter is this: The Negro in the Antilles will be proportionally whiter - that is, he will come closer to being a real human being - in direct ratio to his mastery of the French language ... The middle class in Antilles never speak Creole except to their servants. In school the children of Martinique are taught to reject the dialect ... some families completely forbid the use of Creole ... (Fanon, 2008: 8-9).

Does change of language implies change of blackness? Fanon replied no! Because he firmly believed that every attempt to “escape blackness is in itself a failure” (Gorden, (nd.): 28). It is through language that we know the past, understand the present and transmit our messages and deeds to the next generation. In so far as speaking foreign languages is being considered as prestige by overlooking our local idioms and dialects, we are still contributing for our inferiority complex. During the time of slavery Negro slaves were obliged to convert their names formerly assigned in local languages by Christian names. But now people are wrongly deceiving themselves by converting local names with foreign names. Does it make sense to convert one’s name from Abebe to Jhovani, Kuma to Christopher or Melkamu to Jemal? People usually consider going abroad as a good luck, as blessing. Though we have remarkable traditional cultures and music, people are proud of dressing in the Western styles, listening English music so that they considered themselves as reaching to modernity. As Fanon also feared, this alienation has been vivid in intellectuals, urban dwellers, and generally those who are nearest to the media. Yet, my intention is to show how seeking false recognition is still apparent in our society.

So, what were the possible solutions according to Fanon to escape from alienation? He believed everyone should make himself or herself “actional⁷”. He called for epistemic decolonization or

⁷ “Actional,”for Fanon, means man should have a function in the society-“to find a world of meaning.” Mans’ revolutionary struggle should be based on authentic African thinking, engaged with the people and “to invent the

decolonization of methods and concepts coupled with change in material conditions in order to “set afoot to new humanity” and to rebuild a reciprocal self-other dialect. He argues the blacks couldn’t simply left the white home, for this prolongs their problem of homelessness. But, they have to make their master’s home irrelevant by building their own new home. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he had no romantic reliance on past history. He says, “I am not a prisoner of history; the body of history doesn’t determine a single one of my actions” (Fanon, 2008: 218-9). However, his belief in restructuring of the world via social revolution didn’t detach itself from searching black history and culture that are sources of some values. There is nothing to be done overnight. Today depends on yesterday and will serve as a stepping stone for tomorrow. In the past our ancestors did history, science, and philosophy. But, the problem began when there is a loser association among the past, the present and the future. In other words, historical continuity and progress really matters. This is I think the major problem in the study of African historicity- the remote distance and the chronological detachment of events. So, my claim is that provided the bondage between the remote past and the recent past were lost our present is not shaped well. In this case, Fanon’s claim might be acceptable. Unless, it’s highly unlikely to say the past doesn’t affect my current action.

For Fanon, the anticipated resurgence of black people cannot come through a “mere cultural redefinition” (cited in Kebede, 2004: 99). Rather, it is only when a new national culture⁸ is born which can give birth to national consciousness. He said, “insofar as race signifies economic exclusion, the only remedy is social revolution, the complete transformation of the economic order” (Fanon, 2008: 43). Paul Sartre affirmed, for Fanon, “violence is neither sound and fury, nor the resurrection of savage instincts, nor even the effect of resentment: it is man recreating himself” (Sartre in Fanon, 2004:21; quoted in Kebede, 2004: 100).

souls of men” to use Blyden’s term. This is through action that “nihilism”- being impiety in spirit, alternatives, meaning in life and faith-could be avoided. He understood nihilism as a mechanism of colonizers to nullify the colonized mind. For further reading, see: Gorden, 2000: 84-5.

⁸ “National culture is no folklore where an abstract populism is convinced [;] it has uncovered the popular truth. It is not some congealed mass of noble gestures, in other words less and less connected with the reality of the people” (Fanon, 2004: 168). “National culture is the collective thought process of a people to describe, justify, and extol the actions whereby they have joined forces and remained strong” (ibid).

Critics suggested that Fanon overlooked “cultural rehabilitation” at the cost of violence. But, Fanon believed that “rehabilitation derived from the past is an illusory wealth, which hinders the colonized from fully identifying their wretchedness” (cited in Kebede, 2004: 101).

I also doubt how it was possible to make effective revolution against the most advanced and highly mechanized western imperialists through active violence if he took it in terms of military might. But while claiming so, I am not saying that Africans could remain silent, rather in the situation where there were and still unbalanced power relations between the West and Africa, the feasibility of being winner via violence is akin to making a miracle. Another point which I want to claim against his view is that how national consciousness which is new and unique from the past and alien from the colonial influences would be born. Put differently, Fanon was over ambitious on the creation of the new man. What about the feasibility of creating a new African consciousness that is free from pre-colonial and colonial influences by taking African reality in to account? I believe that such an action may purify Negro souls, and it would give an inherent worth for negro-self thereby subscribes to cross-cultural consciousness. His philosophy is the philosophy of decolonization, and I think it has an influence on African philosophy.

2.4. Kwame Nkrumah

Among the most outstanding 20th century scholars in Africa was Nkrumah who had made tremendous contributions in the fight against colonialism, neo-colonialism and more about striving to achieve continental unity as a remedy from European colonial encroachments. Akin to many pan-Africanist scholars, he shared the view that before colonialism Africa had made glorious achievements in civilization. He mentioned some references like the civilization of Egypt, the ancient kingdom of Ghana such as, the Ashanti Empire, the kingdom of Mali known for the possession of intellectual kingdoms such as “Djenne and Timbuktu” that made contact with the Muslim world, and the kingdom of Songhai, to mention a few. However, according to Nkrumah all these civilizations, due to Europeans constant penetrations to exploit the human and material resources of Africa during the slave trade and colonialism, had been suffered serious destructions (Nkrumah, 1963: 1-6). It follows then that for the development of pan-Africanism ideology in the diaspora and the continent, Nkrumah argued, “that a thorough knowledge of Negro history is indispensable in the training of a future African leadership, for a country or race

without the knowledge of its past is tantamount to a ship without a pilot” (Nkrumah, nd. quoted in Biney, 2011: 21).

What I want to add on the argument of and Nkrumah is that we are so problematic in keeping our values and knowledge systems in written form. We more often are reluctant to believe and make aware of our glory even as equal as we regard the history or success of the whites. How many of us are ready to know the ancient history of the states of Punt, Damat and Aksum? How many of us have attempted to know and glorify the ancient architectures of the obelisks of Aksum, the different rock hewn churches like Lalibela and the Castile of Gondar? How many of us know and speak confidently that we have skillful musician (singers) like kidus Yared long before the advent of Mozart and Beethoven? We are often reluctant to trust the Oromo “Gada” democracy as an essential democratic system based on rule of law and moral values like “sefu” any less than echoing and trusting Western democracy. Some of us attempted to attach a given history to specific religion, ethnic group and the like. My point here is that if we trivialize everything and then ignore, we can’t step forward towards progress as a nation, as a continent and as a race. So, I also claim that we have to give and praise our unique values at least as equal as we admire and respect Western values.

Therefore, having understood the exploitative nature of Western monopoly in every respect on the one hand and its hidden social effects (too deeply held to eradicate easily) in particular, Nkrumah called for as a pre-condition, political independence with an African Union government so as to meet economic independence (Nkrumah, 1963 cited in Biney, 2011: 32). The history of Africa was written corruptly to fit the colonial mission by relegating African cultures as primitive and rudimentary. Hence, Nkrumah believed that our history must be re-written to “be a mirror of our society and European contact with us should be judged from the point of view of the principles animating African society and from the point of view of the harmony and progress of this society” (Nkrumah, 1970a: 63). As a result, African history should be a pioneering ideology to guide “African reconstruction” (ibid: 63-4). Nkrumah claimed, “A political union would secure economic and technical transformation of the African continent, which was necessary to support Africa’s increasing population to acquire standards of living

comparable with those in the most advanced countries” (Nkrumah, 1963 quoted in Biney, 2011: 123). His argument goes on:

What is needed as a first step is a body of connected thought which will determine the general nature of our action in unifying the society and our Social revolution must therefore be a revolution in which our thinking and philosophy are directed towards the redemption of our society. Our philosophy must find its weapons in the environment and living conditions of the African people (Nkrumah, 1970a: 78).

His philosophy is something like looking back to the past in order to have basis for the present, to the collective and inter-dependent African humanism. Therefore, as a solution, he had, like Blyden, a firm belief that there should exist an African education based on African curriculum which must retake the position of Western education-an education that made Africans “inferior copies” by rejecting their past, present and future knowledge (Nkrumah, 1963: 49).

Therefore, Nkrumah preferred a replacement of the exploitative features of colonial capitalism by scientific socialism. And by scientific socialism he means not simply an African socialism or “Ujamaa socialism” of Nyreere which demanded a “return to a village mode of production,” even not a promotion of classless pre-colonial traditional African society, but a socialism that is in defense of the principle of “communalism” via the methods of rationality, technology, industrialization, and modern Agriculture (Nkrumah, 1973 cited in Biney, 2011: 128-9).

The evil of capitalism consists in its alienation of the fruits of labour from those who with the toil of their body and sweat of their brow produce this fruit. This aspect of capitalism makes it irreconcilable with those basic principles, which animate the traditional African society ... Under socialism, however the study and mastery of nature has a humanist impulse, and is directed not towards a profiteering accomplishment, but the affording of ever- increasing satisfaction for the material and spiritual needs of the greatest numbers (Nkrumah, 1970a: 76).

If this is so, then what is unique in Nkrumah’s socialism that identifies itself from Marxism? The kind of materialism Nkrumah advocated for was not pure Marxist, but it was based on the African notion of spirituality. Moreover, instead of class consciousness in Marxism, his philosophy of African personality admitted “continental wide African nationalism.” This is because according to Poe (2005), Nkrumah learned from European socialism which didn’t

necessarily crumble away exploitation of the proletariat. To Nkrumah, all “peoples of African descent” were African and “belonged to the African nation”. Nkrumah advanced the Pan-African ideal beyond skin color. In other words, his notion of Pan-Africanism gave primacy to continental unity than restricted black brotherhood (Nkrumah, 1970b: 87). And that is why he conceptualized an African personality in such a way:

When I speak of the African genius, I mean something different from negritude, something not apologetical, but dynamic. Negritude consists in a more literary affectation and style which piles up word upon word and image upon image with occasional reference to Africa and things African. I do not mean a vague brotherhood based on a criterion of colour, or on the idea that Africans have no reasoning but only sensitivity. By the African genius I mean something positive, our socialist conception of society, the efficiency and validity of our traditional statecraft, our highly developed code of morals, our hospitality and our purposeful energy (Nkrumah, 1967: 4-5).

I think his philosophy underlies the radical restructuring of the African society in such a way that the traditional humanistic values would give breath to the new system. Besides, I found his concept of African unity all-embracing for it went beyond a race concept.

The question here is how much visible enough and realistic to have such a synthesis and in what ways does his philosophy be practiced? When I raise this question I am not denying the fact that Africa did require a new philosophy nor his philosophy is wrong. But, I do claim that taking in to account the severe mental colonization of the blacks, the confused personality they held and the poor technological, scientific and economic realities of Africans during decolonization made his philosophy impractical. The failure of his government to fulfill its promises was one witness for his removal from power.

What kind of Pan-Africanism Nkrumah advocated for is the question which matters. The first point he focused on is the problematic “triple consciousness” of Africans due to clash of the indigenous and external cultures. Then, his claim was that African socialism should be built by the positive synthesis of the traditional values as a foundation and Euro-Christian and Muslim impacts instead of biological parameters (Poe, 2003: 10; Nkrumah, 1970a). This new synthesis

of Euro-Christian, Islamic and traditional values is called ‘Nkrumah’s philosophical consciencism’. He stated:

Such a philosophical statement will be born out of the crisis of the African conscience confronted with the three strands of present African society. Such a philosophical statement I propose to name philosophical consciencism, for it will give the theoretical basis for an ideology whose aim shall be to contain the African experience of Islamic and Euro-Christian presence as well as the experience of the traditional African society, and, by gestation, employ them for the harmonious growth and development of that society (Nkrumah, 1970a: 70).

Theoretically speaking, I think his philosophy of consciencism transcends time which can be taken as a role model. It by and large accords with Nelson Mandela’s struggle against apartheid and Gandhi’s “non-violent struggle.” Because, he firmly propagated continental union regardless of being racist, he introduced the notion of positive action in his philosophy of consciencism. However, he latter supported armed revolution when he had witnessed the overthrow of his regime by military coup and the existence of patrimonial linkages between local bourgeoisie with neo-colonialists (Nkrumah, cited in Bell, 2002: 40-1). In fact, we had been suffering the destructive influences of foreign powers. But, it doesn’t mean all things which are non-African are irrelevant for Africa. However, our capacity to filter the pros and cons of these values is really a very challenging issue that has still prevalent in African reality. While claiming so, I have the following justifications: one, Western influences are still apparent in many affairs. The problem is when their influence goes beyond a certain limit, i.e. the psychological, political, economic and other impacts they imply on the new generation. Two, neither the Western helped us to learn scientific inventions any less than they compelled to impose Christian values, nor we have labored towards imitating technologies in relative comparison with our simulation of foreign cultures.

For his philosophy of consciencism is based on the ethical principles that treat humans as an end and not merely as a means, he is an egalitarian and a deontologist (Bell, 2002 : 95). And one may ask about how in his philosophy, individuals could be treated? His philosophy attempted to accommodate individual interest with collective values. In other words, as far as an individual empowers the self by giving due concern for the egalitarian ethos, and not led to destruction, it

doesn't contradict communalism. He wanted to look this ethos in the socio political life of the community.

In spite of the efforts Nkrumah put forward, his philosophy was not immune from criticism. As cited in Bell (2002), Scholars like Hountondji argue that the philosophy of African humanism, African personality, etc. overlooked the diverse nature of African society. Hountondji continued, in philosophical consciencism Nkrumah introduced a new synthesis which will be "the philosophy of Africa." Hountondji's claim is that in the first place Africa is not a "closed system" (ibid: 41). Therefore, since doing philosophy is dynamic, there is no single philosophy (Bell, 2002: 41).

2.5. Senghor's Notion of Negritude

Cesaire and Senghor with their fellows in Paris in the 1930's advocated the idea of negritude in order to refute Western cultural domination by promoting and defending traditional cultural values of Africa. It was devoted to defining and expressing the special, distinctive, cultural characteristics of black people and then to assert the worth of those distinctive values (Howell, 2012: 5-6). Senghor said:

Let us consider first the European as he faces an object... He first distinguishes the object from himself. He keeps it at a distance. .. The Africans doesn't begin by distinguishing himself from an object, the tree or stone, the man, animal or social event. He doesn't keep it at a distance ... (Senghor, 1964 quoted in English and Kalumba, 1996: 46).

In fact his idea here is that not only the humanism of Africans is confined to men's relation to one another, but we don't also see our surrounding environment alien from us. But, I have the belief that we have to exploit the environment as long as our action and philosophy don't jeopardize the global eco-system or at least if we are doing compensation. Besides, I think the reason for western development may perhaps be they do more experiments on the objects any more than blacks do.

According to Kebede (2004), "Senghor correlates the physical traits and the mental orientation of the black essence with environmental influences on the grounds that the environment causes those physical and psychic alterations which become genetic" (: 54). This causes

sensitivity to the blacks. Similarly, due to varied climatic conditions in the West whites distance themselves with the object (ibid). I don't accept his claim that environment determines the skin color; in fact, it's sometimes claimed that the warmth or coldness of the environment affects human emotionality. Or, in other words, if Senghor was true, those black people who reside in the West may change their emotional and physical features, in the absence of hybridity of races. But, it seems difficult to look for such changes even though environment has its own influence on human life. Senghor contended:

Negritude is the sum total of the values of the universal ... The civilization of the universal will be brought about by the fusion of differing civilizations ... But all these people and races must rediscover the profundity of life; they must not only know it but be re-born with it ... Negritude is the whole complex of civilized values –cultural, economic, social and political that characterize the black people, or more precisely, the Negro African world. All these values are essentially informed by intuitive reason ... (Senghor, 1964 quoted in English and Kalumba, 1996: 50).

He expressed negritude as the contribution of “sub-Saharan Africa” to the building of the civilization of the universal (ibid). In this case I have two claims. First, his negritude excludes, at least not expressly, the Saharan Africa. If he understood the Saharan Africa as others, or not Negroes, then his argument climatic condition determines color and emotion failed. I think he must consider logical consistency. Second, in my view Senghor repeated the Western discourse on African mind, i.e., primitive, emotive and non-discursive. So, he committed the fallacy of unwarranted assertion, because I believe that reasoning is determined by the capacity of the individual, the knowledge he or she has on a certain issue, the manner and time, level of mental development.

Another philosophy which is related with the philosophy of negritude that Senghor and his contemporaries had been advocating for was the notion of African socialism-which is rooted in the communal traditional African cultures and values. Hence, Senghor's socialism borrowed scientific and technological values from the West. However, he rejected classical Marxism, for it undermined the Negro-African heritage at the cost of a Europeanized materialism-an “inhuman metaphysics, an atheistic metaphysics in which mind is sacrificed to matter, freedom to the determined, man to things” (Cook, 2013:303).

His position of objecting capitalism is very promising, because now the majority of the people in the world have suffered the burdens of capitalism. He tried to explain the African society as communalistic based on spiritual and democratic values (English and Kalumba, 1996: 43-53). “The family in Africa is the clan and not as in Europe, mum, dad and the baby. It’s not the household but the sum of all persons living and dead who acknowledge common ancestors” (ibid: 44). Senghor expressed:

We have our own conception of democracy, the African conception in no way inferior to that of Europe. We do well to go back to it. It is founded, at least among the Negroes and Berbers, on the ‘palaver’-a dialogue or a discussion, where everyone speaks, taking his turn, expressing his opinion. Under the capitalist system, the political, cultural and spiritual liberties are enjoyed in theory: on the surface they are not lived ... there can be no concrete freedoms of the many without economic freedom (Senghor, 1964 quoted in English and Kalumba, 1996: 52).

I think as far as the philosophical contribution of Pan-Africanism is concerned, such an understanding of our native’s traditional democratic governance should be nurtured in the current socio-political and economic scenarios in order to build better future. But, in arguing so, I am neither discrediting Western democratic values as irrelevant, nor the African traditional democratic values are without deficiencies. Instead, we have to give credit for those which are vital for African prosperity. Consequently, to Senghor the values of negritude coupled with African socialism would enable Africans to challenge external assimilation:

To return to the distinction between Negro-African and collectivist European society, I would say that the latter is an assembly of individuals. Negro-African society puts more stress on the group than on the individual, more on solidarity than on the activity and needs of the individual, more on the communion of persons than on autonomy. Ours is a community society (Senghor, 1964 quoted in Berkday, 2010: 210).

What about individual interests in the society? The collective will not always be correct and should serve as parameters for individuals. In so far as self-autonomy brings new ideas that will nurture collective values, we have not to block it altogether. For example, Socrates in ancient Athens criticized the then Athenian collective values. But, it doesn’t mean that his individual criticism was outweighed by the existing communal values. The same logic holds true in the

critical analysis of Zera Yaqob (cited in Wredu, 2004) concerning the existing controversy among different religions of his time. Hence, communal interests should be commensurable with individual interests.

In what ways did Senghor understand the relation between the mechanical world of the West with the spiritual world of Africa? Senghor's philosophy of Negritude was based on the claim that there should be an association of the discursive reason of the West with the Africa's gift of emotion to contribute for the universal humanism. Accordingly, for the weakness of the one is corrected and complemented by the other, there would be complementarity between the modern technologies of the west with the spirituality of Africa; between capitalism and African socialism (Kebede, 2004: 68-9). Then, "no race can identify with this new universality, for it implies the advent of super or complete human being" (ibid: 71).

I too share the view that science without moral ethos, without humanistic values is void. If it doesn't contain such values our personality will become "pig" like personality- always striving to fill our stomach but with destitute personality. Nonetheless, I am not clear with Senghor's view of the civilization of the universal- "complete or super human being." I think it seems utopian to reach in this level of perfection. But, I believe that the risk of science will be reduced when humanistic values are nurtured in the minds of the people pragmatically.

In a more general way there are common areas of convergence in the philosophy of the aforementioned Pan-Africanists. Almost all of them begin with the Negro problems since the time of slavery up to colonialism and neo-colonialism. They are also Afro-centrists in the sense that they ascribed some kind of quality for the black race. In other words, these Pan-Africanists tried their best to expose Africans as actors of things and initiators of ideas in human history in contrast to the Western understanding of blacks as passive onlookers. In their philosophy they attempted to examine the existing African realities in relation with the past, the present and the future such as the color problem, exploitation in economy, alienation from African personality, and there by problem of consciousness in Negro manhood. Therefore, having understood the reality of the race, these Afro-centrist scholars had been emphasizing on the glorious history of Africans in ancient times, the collective humanist values, the African personality and African

socialism in order to remedy the evils of Western domination. In doing so, I believe that they have opened a new approach in the study of African philosophy.

However, there is a great question whether or not the collective African values would have the chance to regain their former positions. Correspondingly, I believe that these humanistic African values if properly identified and used efficiently, have vital significances to rebuild African personality. Yet, we have to consider the fact that pre-colonial and current African reality is too much different. In the past people's life was somehow natural. Private property was not their central focus. So, they share resources to satisfy their basic necessities. But, in our current times, the situation is altered. The Euro-Asian Christian and Islamic influences have deeply entrenched at the cost of our ancestor's values. Private property has been becoming the ruling ideology of daily life due perhaps to resource scarcity, the need for wealth accumulation and the complication of life derived from science. The following quotation also justified this claim:

The population of a typical big city neighborhood today is heterogeneous. People come from different places, have different backgrounds, do not necessarily have blood ties and are less concerned with the affairs of one another than people used to be. The security of the traditional setting is disappearing. African traditional communalism worked because of the feelings of familyhood that sustained it. This was not a feeling of the human race, but a feeling of closeness among those who could claim a common ancestry (Elejo, 2013: 140).

Perhaps, it may not be as such adequate to deal with the philosophical significance of Pan-Africanism in the development of African Philosophy by mentioning a few Pan-Africanist scholars. However, as per the limited scope of this thesis to discuss in detail too many Pan-Africanists, I have already delimited and discussed some of the many who have been influencing the evolution of Pan-Africanist discourse thereby African philosophy. Their philosophy could be taken as a correction of the wrong outlook of colonized Africans and Western discourse on Africa, and at the same time it was an attempt in rehabilitating the African glorious past. In other words, they were striving to de-construct the views of Western racist scholars.

Afro-centric scholars underscore the fact that Africa is the origin of civilization, having its own history, communitarian and humanistic cultures and ways of life, architecture, literature, medicine and political administration. Especially, Diop in his book, *The African Origin of Civilization*, discussed in detail that civilization first originated in ancient Egypt, and they were the Greeks who learned, borrowed and dispersed these civilizations from Africa to the West.

CHAPTER THREE

Western and Pan-Africanists' Discourse on African Philosophy

This chapter gives emphasis in making linkages among European enslavement of Africans, the motives to Pan-Africanists and its effect on African philosophy. Accordingly, I will discuss how the writing and philosophy of Western intellectuals aggravated the dehumanization of blacks and widen the perception that Africans could not undergo rigorous philosophical analysis and critical thinking, for it had been believed that Africans naturally lack the capacity to higher forms of thinking. Therefore, I would come up with discussing how Western exploitation of Africa had been supported by intellectuals and the reactions of Pan-Africanists to challenge Western claims. Because I firmly believe that when Pan-Africanists tried to re-discover the history and philosophy of Africa by deconstructing the pessimist Western claims, they were at same time striving to exercise African philosophy.

As an issue of pan-Africanism, there have been contentions whether Africans have genuine philosophy in the Western context or not. Therefore, parallel to this there is a Western discourse on Africa which had presented unenthusiastic approach to justify the claim that Africa as a continent and the Blacks as a race have contributed nothing to do with civilization. In other words, there is nothing of value, scientific, artistic, cultural, or philosophical to be worth mentioning that Africans since antiquity have contributed to the human race. Correspondingly, I will discuss the position of some Western scholars who claimed so and the responses of African scholars who have been attempting to disprove the Euro-centric approach to Africa.

To begin with, in order to examine the nature of the existence of African philosophy, we have first to define what is philosophy? In fact, as many scholars claimed, it is difficult to find a precise definition for what philosophy is in general and African philosophy in particular, and my attempt here is not in the hope of bringing that precision but to forward how African scholars approached the subject matter and make proper reflections. According to Oyshile (2008:57) instead of what philosophy is, “many seem to agree on the description of philosophy,” or “what it encompasses which will provide the basis for the definition.” And he said the same logic holds true to African philosophy. For Azenabor (2000), philosophy is “a rational, critical and systematic reflection or study of the nature of the world, of man, his position, and goal in the world” (:321). It also refers to “the study of the principles underlying conduct, thought and

knowledge” (ibid: 321). For him, African philosophy is the philosophy which is nurtured “within an African cultural experience, tradition and history” (ibid). So, his point is that there is a “metaphysical, epistemological and moral spirit of African philosophy which is more of collectivism, holism, synthesis, relational rather than individualism, atomism, analysis and separation” (ibid: 322).

Let me first discuss the influences of the renaissance and enlightenment thinkers in Europe that changed man’s understanding of him-self and nature. The “power of reason” dominated philosophical, social, political and scientific investigations. There was a mechanistic understanding of man whose value is measured on his or her achievements (Bell, 2002: 39), and that is why Western scholars easily attacked the black race for we lacked such achievements. Fortunately, most scientific discoveries and inventors belonged to their race. But, is it plausible to say that technical achievements measured true humanity? And if we accept this as true, those who made discoveries in the west were few in number and what about the remaining crowd who were innocent of any tangible achievements? So, such standard excludes the majority of the whites as well. I believe that philosophy should be done in a way which gives meaning to life; that is life which balances humans harmonious relation to themselves, the community and the natural environment as much as possible both in spiritual and material aspects.

Then, let me mention and discuss some Western scholars whose ideas and positions have seriously jeopardized the material and spiritual resources of Africans by rendering support to slave trade and slavery, mental expropriation through Christianization, colonialism and imperialism. Hume said:

... There never was civilized nation of any other complexion than white, nor even any individual eminent in action or speculation. No ingenious manufacturer among them, no arts, no sciences... Such a uniform and constant difference could not happen, in so many countries and ages, if nature had not made an original distinction between these breeds of men (Hume, in Eze, 1997 quoted in Bell, 2002: 43-4).

This quotation from Hume explicitly affirmed that the superiority of whites over blacks is natural. First, he’s mistaken in denying the existence of philosophical speculations, science, art and wisdom otherwise than in the whites. His conclusion even became worse in saying that

across time and space civilization has not yet attained in non-white races. Hence, the superiority of whites over others is natural. I think he committed the fallacy of Weak induction. However, regrettable for Hume is the fact that he would not have seen the recently advanced nations in the Far East Asia, Latin America and South Africa, to name a few. Had nature made such differences among races, we might not have been witnessed civilizations outside Europe.

A scholar like Levy Bruhl excludes blacks from making abstract reasoning and according to him the blacks know nothing about “objective validity.” He claimed:

The collective representations of primitives, therefore, differ very profoundly from our ideas or concepts, nor are their equivalents either..., as we shall presently discover, they have not their logical character... The participation mystique and pre-logical mentality makes primitive reasoning ‘essentially synthetic’, ‘little given to analysis’, and ‘concrete’. Thus, memory plays a much more important role in primitive mental life than in that of the civilized, European mind (Bruhl, quoted in Littleton, 1985: 37).

Difference is natural, because people haven’t identical gifts, perceptions, knowledge, understanding and context, to list a few. However, it’s not proper to claim that blacks are devoid of abstract reasoning and logical character. And I believe that there is no logical connection between man’s reasoning and skin color because in so far as reasoning is a mental activity, color will not guarantee or shed it. On top of this, Bruhl’s colour prejudice, according to Hountondji, is that he personally disliked “communalities” (cited in Ndaba, 1999: 175).

Hegel claims:

... The most careful researches have, as yet, failed to discover a history or any knowledge of ancient times among the Negro races. They have invented no writing; not even the rude picture-writing of the lowest tribes. They have no gods and no heroes; no epic poem and no legend, not even simple traditions. There never existed among them an organized government; there never ruled a hierarchy or an established church. Might alone is right. ... The few evidences of splendor or civilization are all borrowed from Europe; where there is a religion or creed, it is that of the foreigners; all knowledge, all custom, all progress has come to them from abroad. The Negro has no history—he makes no history (Hegel in Putnam’s Monthly 1856 quoted in Walker, 2001: 14).

These speeches would have been regrettable for Hegel if he had personally witnessed black wisdoms in West Africa, Egypt and Ethiopia. As far as my knowledge and historical understanding of Africa is concerned, Hegel had made a blind assertion and the information he gained and supposedly called “careful researches,” were works of the prejudiced and unreliable sources. How can we readily accept the supposition that Africa has no history, no religion, no literature and no arts? But without hesitation we can mention the ancient Egyptian writing system, “Hieroglyphics”, the writings of Ethiopia in “Sabian” and “Geez” languages, the different artistic pyramids of Egypt, and the monuments of Aksum, and the different dynastic rules in ancient Egypt and ancient Ethiopian ruling dynasties, to mention a few. History has taught us that Judaism had been practiced in Ethiopia long before the birth of Christ (American Jewish Committee: Foreign Affairs Department, 1980:1); Islamic religion also expanded in Africa before a millennium if he understood religion in the Biblical and Koranic sense and worshiping of one God. If he understood religion in terms of where it began and by whom, neither the Middle East which gave birth to some monotheistic religions nor preachers like, Moses, Jesus and Mohammed, were Europeans. Besides, as far as Christianity is traditional religion of the West, Africans have the choice of practicing their own religions. Hence, it’s highly unlikely to object them as pagans only because their way of worshiping of gods or God is different from others.

In order to exclude Africa from the realm of world history, he labeled four civilizations putting Germanic civilization at the top, Roman, Greek and oriental world history in their subsequent decreasing order. He divided Africa in to three parts. “Africa Proper (South of the Sahara desert); European Africa (North of the desert) and last the river region of the Nile” (Hegel, 1956: 91-9). The first part according to his classification has little contact with the rest of the world and man finds himself in dark and “childhood mentality” where as in the river region of the Nile, he put Egypt at the foci of civilization but in relation with constant connections with Europe and Asia. Egyptian civilization, to him, was the result of the influence of “Cartage” while conquering Egypt (ibid). He continued:

The peculiarly African character is difficult to comprehend, for the very reason that in reference to it, we must quite give up the principle which naturally accompanies all our ideas—the category of Universality. In Negro life the characteristic point is the fact that consciousness has not yet

attained to the realization of any substantial objective existence—as for example, God, or Law—in which the interest of man’s volition is involved and in which he realizes his own being ... The Negro, as already observed, exhibits the natural man in his completely wild and untamed state. We must lay aside all thought of reverence and morality—all that we call feeling—if we would rightly comprehend him; there is nothing harmonious with humanity to be found in this type of character...(Hegel, 1956: 98).

Hegel was mistaken from the very inception. On what parameters can we accept Western principles as universal maxims to comprehend objective reality? Does objective reality mean the same for everyone everywhere and at any time? Or if we say objective reality is eternal, does it mean that everyone has the same way of understanding it? The objectivity of the evidences of Western scholars, missionaries, and anthropologists has to be questioned and seriously examined. We have to take into account the purposes why they came to Africa. Do they have the proper awareness, knowledge and understanding of local languages and dialects, the lived reality of the community and the like? What Hegel presented as evidences to assure the existence of blacks in “their natural state,” were derived from his fellows having similar interests and missions. In other words, the truthfulness and reliability of the evidences should be considered. And, I believe and want to claim that science and technology gave them legitimacy and perpetuate their hidden claims, so the solution to me lies on itself. It is due to the invention of printing machines that painting and writing advanced in the West. Whatever philosophical (metaphysical, epistemological and moral) ideas we have, unless it is supported by technologies it can’t give effective remedies for our economic, political, artistic, astronomical and medical problems. If not, all the prejudices and exploitations will be continuing with some alterations in manner and justifications in the same way that Greece has not been saved from its recent economic depression by the philosophy of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, etc.

A Scottish traveler James Bruce had made expedition in Ethiopia and some other African countries in the last quarter of the 18th century. He was able to study “Geez” and examined many documents typically from monasteries so that he had collected and looted books while he returned to his country. Though, initially, the purpose of his expedition was to explore the “sources of Blue Nile,” he “came up with new proofs” that portrayed “African inferiority”. Bruce deduced that “since Africans produce nothing of value; the technique of Yoruba statutory

must have come from Egyptians; Benin art must be a Portuguese creation; the architectural achievement of Zimbabwe was due to Arab technicians; and Hausa and Buganda state craft were inventions of white invaders” (cited in Mudembe, 1988: 13). Imagine how far Western scholars were sensitive to negligently falsify, even explicit African values. Why was Bruce unwillingly to mention at least what he had witnessed, the arts and wisdoms of Ethiopia and Egypt while exploring the different historical sites? Was “Geez” a language of European literature that he studied and took different scriptures? I think had he been open minded he would have at least recognized the wisdom he was observing. In other words, he locked his mind to preserve the illusive pre-conception that blacks could not have anything worthwhile.

Other scholars like Hume and Kant also elaborated the natural inferiority of blacks and the natural superiority of whites by linking rationality, development and creativity with skin color. In fact these enlightenment scholars based their philosophy on rationality; they were unable to use it in a more comprehensive and realistic way to understand the varying circumstances of human existence across the globe. They were Euro-centrists in the sense that their philosophy of racism and deliberate exclusion of non-western people (typically the blacks) from intellectual horizon, gave due legitimacy to slave trade and colonial ambition in different parts of the globe at different times.

It is not surprising then that many African scholars developed an Afro-centric school of thought not just to disprove the argument of Western scholars but also to find out their worthy historical past as well. And, that is why I have mentioned some black scholars in chapter two whose philosophical ideas not only challenged colonial supremacy but also laid foundation for the development of African philosophy in the post-independence period. Hence, I have to forward African reactions first and then the various debates on African Philosophy, in relation with Pan-Africanism.

The fact that Afro-centrism has diverse definitions, these ideas converge in so far as they come up with an “alternative worldview grounded on the African experience” (Dei, 1994: 5). Chiekh Anta Diop, who was among the foremost Afrocentric scholars believed that a “correlations of history give Africans a genuine foundation of self-knowledge” (Chimuka, 2012: 232), so that they would be subjects of history than objects of European study (ibid). However, scholars like

Fanon didn't accept such a romantic reliance on the past human civilizations. He instead argued “the discovery of the existence of a Negro civilization in the fifteenth century confers no patent of humanity on me, the past can in no way guide me in the present moment” (Fanon, 1967: 225). Does it mean that Fanon discredited history? His idea here is that humans have primarily to be creative on the existing reality than celebrating the past (Verharen, 2002: 203).

In order to bring proper responses for Eurocentric racist scholars who totally discredited Black contributions to civilization and excluded from being part of world history, African scholars developed their own approach to philosophy and history which is commonly called “Afro-centrism.” It claims that ancient Egypt (Kemet) is the origin of civilization instead of Greece. There is common agreement among Afro-centric scholars that civilization first originated in Egypt. But they knew that many Western scholars falsely gave the role of pioneer to Greece in order to perpetuate their claim that Africa has nothing to do with civilization. Accordingly, scholars like; G. James Published his book, *Stolen Legacy* and he further explained, since “Egypt was the genuine author of philosophy,” the wrong prestige unjustly given to Greece should belong to Egypt (cited in Walker, 2001: xvii-xix). Besides, as cited in Walker (2001), Molefi K. Asante suggested, ancient Egyptians had thought and practiced philosophical ideas such as “the nature of the universe, the condition of good and evil, human relations, beauty and the nature of the divine” (: 74). He also added, the word “Sophia-wisdom in Greek, is derived from the ancient African word *seba*, wisdom” (ibid: 73). And he called the blacks inability to accept their cultural achievements as “Suicide of the minds” (Walker, 2001: xxvi). If this is so, we can roughly infer that ancient “Kemet’s” philosophy contained metaphysical, aesthetic, Moral, and theological ideas.

All these evidences are attempts to prove the blacks were pioneers in philosophy and civilization. In addition, Imhotep (2700 BC) was mentioned as “the first ethical philosopher and the first to understand volume and space, because he was the architect of the first pyramid, the Sakkara pyramid” (Ama, 2007: 74).

Apart from African scholars, a British abolitionist, W. Armistead contended in support of Afro-Americans in the following way:

With regard to the intellectual capabilities of the African race, it may be observed that Africa was once the nursery of science and literature, and it was from thence that they were disseminated among the Greeks and Romans. Solon, Plato, Pythagoras, and others of the master spirits of ancient Greece, performed pilgrimages into Africa in search of knowledge; there they set at the feet of ebon philosophers to drink in wisdom (quoted in Walker, 2001: 13).

But, in doing so I am not arguing that every statement which supports Africa must be taken as true and valid. In the same way the Western betrayal of Africa should be examined and questioned, the evidences of Afro-centrists also, too, in order to arrive at a relatively acceptable truth.

I have tried to pinpoint in the introduction that African philosophy as a subject matter inaugurated in the post-colonial period. In this juncture, as cited in Oruka (1990), the work of Placide Tempele “Bantu Philosophy” can be taken as a hall mark for further philosophical debates in African philosophy. According to Oruka (1990), until 1970’s, African philosophy was dominated by “recording of communal wisdoms.” But, from this time onwards new approaches to African philosophy were introduced to the extent that philosophy proper should employ in “its methodology rigorous, sustained and independent thoughts.” Scholars of this new approach labeled earlier works in African philosophy as anthropological and religious in method which didn’t include critical examination and were not thoughts of individual philosophers (ibid: 1-5).

The issue of what procedures the study of African philosophy should follow is debatable. In relation with this, Bodunrin identified “two” philosophical camps: viz., the “traditional” and the “Analytical.” The first group holds an idea that in order to discover genuine ideas and thought systems and to regain the lost past, we have to employ as instruments of philosophizing, our myth, folks, social institutions, cultures and oral literatures (Bodunrin 1981 cited in Oyshile, 2008: 57). While for the latter group, doing philosophy should follow similar methods to the West such as “freedom of inquiry, openness to criticism, skepticism” (Bodunrin 1981 cited in Oyshile, 2008: 60). Their central theme is that since “African culture is dominated by intense religiosity, spiritualism, authoritarianism and superstitions,” (ibid: 60) the study of African philosophy should employ “philosophical and scientific principles of the West” (ibid: 60).

Similar to the latter view, Hountondji believes that instead of retaining “mythological roots,” philosophy should be “based on science, one which has shed its mythological roots and has made

way for a progressive, methodologically rigorous and self-critical intellectual practice” (Janz, 2010: 121) while criticizing the method of ethno-philosophy for lacking these qualities. He is skeptical of ethno philosophy, for he believed that it is the deliberate and intentional agenda of Western anthropologists and theologians to overlook blacks and to “search for a radically different world in traditional Africa” (Ndaba, 1999: 175). It is a fact that anthropologists and theologians have missions, i. e, material and spiritual. For an evangelist to meet his mission of Christianizing the blacks, who have their own understanding of Spirit, he doesn’t want to acknowledge the existence of African spirit, or at least he has to win by relegating it as low or bad spirit.

According to Agada (2013: 46), it is due to the absence of original philosophers that African philosophy becomes debatable, philosophical analysis become non-substantive and ethno-philosophy dominant. Therefore, doing philosophy in Africa, to him, became “without intellectual compass” (ibid: 64). In fact, his claims may be somehow true. But, I claim that it is lack of writing that shadowed the works of African philosophers. Hallen (2002) also affirmed such view by saying African philosophy and African philosophers lost recognition due to the fact that their ideas were oral though we can find written documents of philosophers like Ptah-hotep, an Egyptian moral philosopher and the philosophy of Zara Yacobe as “Sumner (1975) wrote.” There is another saying that the death of an African wise elder is like the burning of big library to affirm the above view.

Accordingly, Odera Oruka introduced and summarized African philosophy in four trends. These are: *Ethno-Philosophy*, *nationalist-ideological philosophy*, *philosophic sagacity and professional philosophy*. In the first category, philosophy is a communal description of folks, tales and proverbs of the community and is usually the works of anthropologists and theologians that simply narrates the “traditional world views and thoughts of a specific community or the whole” (Oruka, 1990:14). The second school of thought aimed its ideology to emancipate the colonized mind by reviving the “egalitarian and traditional humanist” African ethos. In *philosophic sagacity*- logic and critical thinking is not confined to Western philosophy nor does it advocate African philosophy as emotive, folk wisdom and etc. But, according to Oruka, there are individual African philosophers or sages whose philosophical ideas are not as such affected

by foreign education, yet these sages pass their own independent judgments through reason and “rigorous philosophical analysis” and can therefore accept or deny collective values. “Their thoughts and ideas if properly exposed and written down would form an interesting aspect of current African philosophical thought and literature” (ibid: 16-17). The last trend, *Professional philosophy* is the work of academically trained philosophers who objected ethno-philosophy, for they thought that philosophy should not be confined to specific race and geographic region. They understood philosophy in the strict Western sense of logical investigation, being self-critical and reflective by considering cultural differences. They’ve been criticized because they copy Western philosophical method. But, they defended their method, Oruka said, by seeking “historical proof that Western philosophy has origins in Egypt” and in the other glance, “knowledge and intellectual principles are not a monopoly of any race or culture” (ibid: 18-19).

On top of the above trends I have the following remarks. To begin with, there is a tendency among professional philosophers with ethno-philosophy; for its communalist character, it lacks critical analysis and reflection. This may be some how true, but it’s too dogmatic to say that philosophy must be done individually and close the door to collective philosophy. We can find collective wisdoms at any given time and the individual philosopher could not free himself from collective influences, yet he or she makes reflection for or against the existing paradigm. In *Sage philosophy*, the wise men or women are believed to have original ideas not influenced by foreign education. My doubt here is that time will constrain Oruka’s view, because it seems difficult to find in the future to have wise men in Oruka’s sense in this rapidly globalized world. In other words, modern education is believed to be distributed for all and its curriculum couldn’t free itself from outside influences; exchange of ideas and cultures is becoming fast due to advanced information technology. In the other case, in what ways do the sages’ ideas collected and translated to meaningful work? For example, Plato wrote the philosophy of Socrates because as his pupil, Plato persistently followed, knew and understood the ideas of his teacher. This may be true. But, as far as philosophizing is not a once for all activity, it needs careful follow-up and study with philosophical sages. Rather, the one who records on behalf of the sage must constantly follow how sages think about issues of universals and particulars in relative persistency. But, remember that I am not closing the door for wise thinkers not to come. Besides, I fear for professional philosophers, not to commit the problem of What Fanon (2008) called

seeking false recognition via others while basing their philosophical analysis in the Western parameters.

Hountondji, said “To exist an African philosophy, there must be an African science, and it is science that Africa needs first” (Hountondji, 1996 cited in Bell, 2002:30). Philosophy is often taken as the master of all sciences. If this is so how can the particular give birth to the universal? I don’t accept his view as logically proper. In fact, I also believe that it’s not simply because we are irrational, pre-logical, less historical and immoral that Western scholars blamed us. But, I believe that we Africans lack scientific innovations to remedy internal problems and to challenge foreign dominations. For me they are irrational and immoral so long as they had been suppressing our humanity merely because they situated themselves with the support of the most up to date sciences. And, I claim that until and unless we have philosophy of any sort which liberates us economically, politically, technologically, psychologically by proving our independence or at least inter-dependence from the West, we are still obliged to carry the burden of Western irrationality. So, I would like to claim that it is not abstract philosophy alone that proves African capacity of philosophizing in the eyes of the West. I believe that our inability to address practical problems hide our moral and spiritual values thereby opened the way for European to make bitter objection unreservedly. In short, my position here is I don’t give primacy either to science or philosophy, but I value both equally so long as they aspire for the cultivation of genuine humanity and real progress by tackling mechanical and spiritual hindrances.

To reflect on what impact does pan-Africanism have on African philosophy, I do claim that it is pan-Africanism that has given impetus to African philosophy. While claiming so, I am not saying that there was no philosophy in Africa before colonial or post-colonial periods. In order to refute colonial discourse, almost all pan-Africanists engaged themselves to rediscover pre-colonial values native to Africa. In doing so, they provided philosophical notions that served as basis for later debates in African philosophy.

Africa has been a continent which still carried the hardest burden of poverty, drought, and tropical disease like (malaria and Ebola), HIV AIDS, bad governance and the worst burden of migration. And, it is legitimate to raise the question, if nationalist ideological thinkers believed

African personality and African humanism would save the continent from the hail of colonialism, why post-colonial governments failed to do so? As many scholars suggested, I also believe that; one, colonialism implicitly perpetuates it-self by projecting neo-colonial agendas (Nkrumah, 1963) and next, the so-called African socialist governments were unable to address socio-political and economic deficiencies. They instead formed patrimony with former colonial powers. Even, those who challenged the Western interests faced coercive removal from power and imposition of serious sanctions. We can mention the case of Libya under Mohammed Gaddafi, Co'tet d'Ivoire under president Bagbo, and the sanction imposed on Zimbabwe while making land reform programs by the regime of Robert Mugabe, to mention a few. In short, the conclusion seems, Africa remained backward because of colonial effects and still backward because there are neo-colonial influences, which is vicious circle.

I have another claim against Western moral philosophy. In Kant's moral philosophy, his maxim says, treat humans as an end and not as a means Missionaries were also supposed to come to Africa to civilize the "savage," and Christianity preaches "love one another," even "love your enemies." So, why did Europeans hate and torture the innocent Negros in contradiction with their moral principles and the canons of Christianity?

Another important contribution in the course of pan-Africanism is the literature of African and African Diaspora whose works contain philosophical ideas in the form of poetry, songs, novels, essays and music (Okolo, 2007). I find them interesting in so far as they contain philosophical ideas portraying African reality: pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial situations. The works of Langston Hughes, Aime cesaire, Senghor and the music of Bob Marley, all spoke about the alienation of blacks from personhood, their mother continent and culture, freedom, justice and unity. The point I need to show here is that though we may not completely consider literal works as philosophical, they had been serving the pan-African discourse in motivating the struggle for independence, solidarity and there by served as a background in the making of African philosophy.

If this is so, what about the current African situation? We can't understand our past unless guided by literatures of our own (ideas of our ancestors as written by them). But, on the other dimension African states dominantly employed colonial languages as lingua-franca of their

nations. Therefore, how is it possible for the coming generations to know the historical past that is being alienated from the native languages? Accordingly, Azenabor (2000: 322) suggested, it's challenging to use foreign languages for doing philosophy in Africa, for they cannot represent the true context of the community and language concerned. Like wise Masolo suggested:

The problem becomes more complex when foreign languages with markedly different world views are imposed on a people in place of their own language. In that case they are forced to perceive themselves through an alien cultural screen, which is bound to distort their own image. Such a people will suffer an identity crisis, for they will really neither be like themselves nor exactly the culture they are imitating (Masolo, 1994: 139).

This is what most pan-Africanists like Blyden, Du Bois, Garvey, Fanon, Nkrumah and others argued concerning confused consciousness. This implies that African indigenous knowledge which should find nourishment in African languages and contexts losses expression. So it makes the task of attaining self- consciousness more difficult. A key advocate of African renaissance Diop said, “the development of our indigenous languages is the prerequisite for a real African Renaissance” (AU Social Affairs Department, 2013:2). This is because, language played a vital role to pursue African renaissance in architecture, sculpture and music.

Let's look at our Ethiopian case which is somehow different colonial history from the rest, but located in the other line of alienation. In the ancient and medieval periods in Ethiopian history the art of writing was dominated by “Geez” language. It is also believed that resources written in this language contain historical, political, scientific, medical, architectural and other artistic wisdoms. But, in our case, Geez is now considered as the property of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church alone. Neither the government nor the people are willing to explore the historical past using this language. So my fear here is that we are waiting for the destruction of our glorious past without critically scrutinizing them well.

So, the general focus of this chapter has been a sort of making a synthesis due to the contentions that existed between the prejudiced Western discourse on Africa and African reactions to such oppositions. In other words, there is a collusion of ideas between the views of Western scholars on Africa and the responses of Pan-Africanists. Hence, this, thesis- antithesis interactions give birth to a new synthesis, i.e., African philosophy. So, African philosophy is a new way of

approaching African reality, contextualizing it and affirming one's existence through self-consciousness instead of being inclined to be recognized via others.

In a nut shell, Pan-Africanism together with its constituent philosophical ideas such as African humanism, African personality and the notion of negritude opened new approach for the development of African philosophy. Pan-Africanism is based on the notion of humanism and collective African values. It's a search for a new humanism-a humanism whose existence was intentionally ignored by imperialist powers for their own sake. As far as Western philosophy is concerned issues which are Western by negating the African lived reality, it is pan-Africanism and African philosophy which would properly discuss issues that are African. It is a way in which we redefine our formerly ignored self. It is a way of transforming Africans to consciousness, freedom and justice. So, we can deduce that Pan-Africanism has contributions to African philosophy by providing essential ideas which could serve as basis for philosophizing.

CHAPTER FOUR

General Reflections and Conclusion

4.1. General Reflections

It was disunity and powerlessness that exposed Africans to slavery and colonialism. It seems due to this reason that pan-Africanism as an ideology has been emphasizing on the causes of balkanization and the ways in which unity has to be achieved. In my discussion of the Western philosophers, Pan-Africanism and African philosophy I have to reflect on the following points. First, from the very inception Pan-Africanism is the movement of intellectuals having ideas or philosophy-ideas that have had direct or indirect influences to defend African values, to inquire the knowledge of the past in order to have basis for present and to forecast the future Africa. Second, as an idea and a movement of liberation Pan-Africanism has not been just struggling against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism but it also deals with the forces behind the mechanisms of western domination. Therefore, the role of my discussion of Bruhl, Hegel, Hume, and other racist Western scholars should not be discredited in relation with Pan-Africanism and the development of African philosophy. The mere fact that these scholars didn't discuss African philosophy explicitly doesn't prove the irrelevance of our discussion of Western intellectuals in relation with African philosophy and Pan-Africanism. For example, Hegel claims "... all knowledge, all custom, all progress has come to Africa from abroad. The Negro has no history- he makes no history" (quoted in this thesis: 44). Philosophy is all about ideas, which examines the political, moral, social, epistemic and aesthetic values of humans in general. Therefore, I argue that as far as his philosophy discredited African values in plural, he was implicitly undermined African philosophy. The same is true in the case of Levy Bruhl and others. While relegating the thinking and reasoning ability of Africans to pre-logical, unscientific, primitive and less analytical, he was in other words discussing philosophy. Hence, my position here is that for the racist theorists developed a position that supported colonialism and slavery by degrading Africans, Pan-Africanism has stressed on offending and challenging such claims. Put differently, in a way Pan-Africanists challenge Western discourse on Africa, they have been coming up with new ideas that triggers the process of redemption or reconstruction. However, it's not my target to blame Western scholars alone as responsible for African digression. I don't want to hide our

own inner weaknesses. In case, I've been discussing Pan-Africanists like, Haile Selassie, Nkrumah, Mugabe and so on, I'm not denying the fact that they were undemocratic. But, as far as they came up with ideas which might help blacks to maintain our wellbeing (though still unfulfilled), they at least in principle added values to Africa. In other words, if we cease to discuss Pan-Africanists who were dictators in their country, we might not have seen the foundation and realization of the OAU in 1963. Aside from this, my discussion of Blyden, Fanon, Nkrumah and Senghor is not without philosophical worth. When they discussed the African past contribution, they informed their generations to know and value the past. This in turn may enable the new generations to reduce inferiority complex. So, the philosophy of Fanon based on psychoanalysis that attempted to portray inferiority complex; Blyden's love of the race based on African personality; Nkrumah's philosophical consciencism, and Senghor's negritude, all have significances in African philosophy so long as they had been trying to liberate the colonized mind. Accordingly, since philosophy needs a mind that is relatively free to contemplate, it's by no means fair to overlook our Pan-Africanists. Corresponding to this view, we have not to forget Odera Oruka's discussion of the four approaches in African philosophy-to which the trend of nationalistic-ideological philosophy is the contribution of political Pan-Africanists in relative sense. All in all, my view here is that roughly speaking Pan-Africanism by bringing new understanding of African reality, helped post-colonial African philosophers to investigate and do African philosophy. Nonetheless, bear in your mind that I'm not rendering Pan-Africanism as the sole contributor for the development of African Philosophy, nor delimited the whole discussion of the merit of Pan-Africanism to the aforementioned points. So, our understandings of Pan-Africanism in relation with African philosophy should be based on the conception that both are in the process of making, never finished projects.

I believe that Pan-Africanism has moral implications- African humanism as an alternative approach to human dignity. According to Gyekye (1997) "African humanism is a philosophy that sees human needs, interests and dignity as of fundamental importance and concern" (cited in Bell, 2002: 39-40). I argue that White scholars are excellent architect of universal human values. They wrote too many about human dignity, justice, kindness, equality, benevolence, etc. But, in practice they are Machiavellians and Nietzscheans. In arguing so, I am not putting all Western scholars in a basket to label them as inhumane. Rather, to refer to scholars that I have been

mentioning in this thesis and those who share similar ideas who betrayed African humanity. However, we have not to forget the fact that there were and still African authoritarians and dictators who suppressed African humanism and liberty. By delivering an alternative approach-African humanism, Pan-Africanism has attempted to deconstruct the vogue Euro-centric universalism. As a philosophy, it recognizes the fact that each race, each nation has unique ability and understanding of the world. This in turn strengthens cross-cultural consciousness, tolerance and mutual cooperation.

To further my argument let me proceed to political Pan-Africanism which is an umbrella concept. Among the most effective successes of pan-Africanism is the foundation of a continental union, the AU. It is the leading pan-African institution and the “mouth piece” of Pan-Africanism in African affairs worldwide. From its inauguration, the OAU/AU has been operating numerous functions such as attempting to struggle colonialism, adjudicating conflicts among member states; plan, organize and implement policies, including representing continental interests in the global system. However, the continent faces many challenges. Does Pan-Africanism really make sense in the situation where Africa is still remained poor, divorced herself from science and technology, harmed by alarming migration, debt burden, and the influence of globalization? Does AU can bring meaningful policy out comes to enhance continent wide development in which situation its annual budget is covered by external donors?

In order to provide appropriate answers for these questions let me say the following. It is difficult, if not, impossible to find a pan-Africanist scholar who didn't advocate African humanism, African personality, and the egalitarian spirit of pre-colonial African people, etc. Like wise, almost all Pan-Africanists underscored the effect of education in order to arrive at genuine independence. I want to examine the effect of education from two perspectives. One, missionaries as instruments of colonialism employed Western education to divorce Africans from their inherent humanities, from their worthy past. And next, Pan-Africanists have given weight to education- an education which liberates itself from Western ideas, based on African values, curriculum, institutions and personnel's as Blyden had advocated. So, from this we can deduce that education is the means of exploitation and the mechanism for liberation as well. All the fruits of civilization which we have witnessed in advanced countries like science and

technology, art, literature, gigantic media, and philosophies that influenced day to day global affairs are products of education- an education which is innovative, critical and problem solving. All these fruits of education are still inadequate in Africa.

Accordingly, it is hardly possible to imagine Pan-Africanism or African Union can accomplish its mission unless supported by education and able to raise budgets of its own to boost continental development. Moreover, to further the effect of education let me discuss the 2008 first session of the AU Conference of ministers in charge of social development which were held in Windhoek. According to the report, over the last four decades “due to the deteriorating socio-economic and environmental conditions, and armed conflicts in many African countries coupled with international conditions, the pattern of migration in the continent is dynamic and complex” (ibid: 22). According to the International Organization for Migration the continent had lost one-third of her human capital, yet she spends a lot to employ foreign experts or technicians (ibid: 22-4).

The above discussion is about brain drain. However, the situation becomes worse if we look at labor migration towards the Middle East and European countries. In the past we were forced to slavery by foreigners. But, now we are reinforced to migration and slavery. My point here is that humanism can't be realized by mere wishing. Pan-Africanism still demands full realization.

Moreover, there are pessimisms against Pan-Africanism. One critic is, Pan-Africanism is the movement of Western educated intellectuals and doesn't represent the whole Africans (Ajala, 1972: 319). In response to this I have the following claims. Who played the central role in the renaissance and enlightenment periods? Were such movements included all from young to old, from workers to intellectuals and bourgeoisies? What about the Marxist-Leninist ideology? Who propagated the 1974 Ethiopian revolution?

In any case, it is those who are intellectuals that bring new ideology, try to inculcate their ideas to be disseminated to the masses, shape a given historical movement and finally to reach to a workable ground that a specific view point or ideology becomes a ruling ideology. My point here is that intellectuals any more than ordinary people have the primary responsibility to be catalysts and principal actors in Pan-Africanism.

Another critic against pan-Africanism is that it overlooked the diversified nature of Africa. In other words, in a manner where diversity is prevalent in Africa such as ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious and geographic identities, unity is less likely to be achieved. Besides, the argument goes on there is nothing common to Africans, except color (Moyo, 2004). My reaction here is, in fact Africa is endowed with plurality. But, I strongly believe that there is communality with diversity. The collective values inherent in the pre-colonial tribes, the common bondage of slavery and colonialism and their black race were common elements. Or, if we find unity in singularity, it is even impossible to unite nation states in Ethiopia or Nigeria. Let's take the Somalian case; they are people of one ethnic group with Muslim religion. But, Somalia as a state is still fractured and achieving strong unity becomes difficult. It is better to be united with diversity than dismiss plurality in the name of colonial assimilationist policy. Therefore, I can conclude that diversity should not necessarily be taken as an obstacle for African unity.

The third critique suggests, even if political independence was gained after the culmination of apartheid, Africans as individual and social group have not yet enjoyed the fruits of freedom or democratic values (Moyo, 2004: 9). Perhaps, Africans should have to enjoy liberty after colonialism. However, the situation has not happened as many hoped. For this case we can argue that one, Pan-Africanism is a process- not an overnight achievement. Two, genuine freedom calls for dedicated intellectuals and politicians who prioritize the life of citizens than the duration of their political office. Third, the end of colonialism and apartheid doesn't mean the culmination of Western influences. There are still colonial legacies and neo-colonial influences that hindered Africans not to be champions of global justice.

Another critic on Pan-Africanism or Afro-Centrism is that it delimited the "origin of civilization to ancient Egypt." Put differently, this "historical monism" disregards the fact that "civilization has multiple origins" (Walker, 1996: 79-82). Perhaps, it is historical fact that civilization also existed in West Africa like Ghana, Mali, and Songhai; in eastern Africa like ancient Ethiopian civilization and the civilization of Great Zimbabwe in southern Africa to mention a few. Beyond that we can mention the river valley civilizations in Mesopotamia, Persia, China and India. So, I don't also believe that civilizations have single origin.

Notwithstanding the above arguments against Pan-Africanism, there are some merits for the development of African philosophy. I think Pan-Africanism, by exposing the evils of servitude, the race problem and many aspects of exploitation; it adds a new implication in the need for global justice and human rights. Concepts related to humanism are dominantly Western terminologies. They deal more about liberty, freedom, justice, equality and humanity. The problem is however, they denied their practicality for the Africans. Does it make sense to talk about universal humanism and justice in which situation a species of humans were excluded? I believe that Pan-Africanism is the quest for the practicality of human dignity which was confined in definition by Western scholars.

Accordingly, African scholars like Gyekye (1997) advocated moderate communitarianism. His view point is that Africans have their unique understanding of humanism rooted in the traditional values. It is based on mutual respect and recognition for the others in a community. In other words, it's expressed in a sense "I am because we are." However, his communitarian position is in the golden mean between radical communitarians (the individual as subordinate to the collective) and the atomistic understanding of self. In other words, he recognizes individual autonomy for thought and action, in harmony with collective values. We observed the most dedicated humanist scholars like Frederic Douglass, Martin Luther King Junior, Malcolm X, and Nelson Mandela who sacrificed all their energy and life to humanity, liberty, justice and equality for oppressed races.

Moreover, I argue that while crossing chains of events such as explorations and discoveries, the slave trade, renaissance and enlightenment, Christian missionary movements and colonialism, Pan-Africanism had brought new insights in the liberation of the black race. Different scholars tried to rediscover the philosophy, history, science and arts of the black heritage. In doing so, they attempted to rebuild the Negro consciousness based on African personality and the collectivist human values. In this regard, we have to consider the role of ethno-philosophers because they at least attempted to recognize the fact that Africans have collective philosophy. I take it essential because it paved the way for professional philosophers to come up with counter arguments.

Besides, I have the strong conviction that the so-called Western rationality-reason as central to philosophical arguments had employed against its nature and humanity. To further the argument, according to “A thing is said to be rational if and only if it satisfies basic human demand that this thing or proposition should be good or satisfy the condition that warrants its being approved of. The act should meet the demand of goodness” (Agada, 2013: 18). So, did Kant, Hume, Hegel, and Bruhl notions of rationality satisfy the above conception? I don’t think so. In fact the acceptability of the aforementioned definition is also questionable. But, my view here is that both rationality and humanism should not be interpreted biasedly merely to affirm a specific interest in this case the European against the African. Rationality should not be mere rationalization. So, I conclude that it will not be legitimate by any ground, morally, religiously and legally to penalize blacks in the mere calculation that they have no reason, science and art etc.

Finally, I would like to make reflection on the current realities of Pan-Africanism. To make the discussion clear let me taxonomize colonization in to physical and mental. From the glance of physical colonization Africa has already possessed sovereign territories. In this sense, roughly speaking political independence is achieved. However, the critical question to be answered is the current socio-cultural and economic realities of Africa in relation with the new global order. The other one is mental colonization is still apparent. As cited in Bankie and Mchombu (2008), Andrew Nikando suggested that the young generation show little concern for the ideology of Pan-Africanism. The possible reasons for this reluctance are: the relative advantage of this generation in attaining freedom as compared to the past; the noninvolvement of Pan-Africanism from curriculum development; lack of commitment among states to make Pan-Africanism part of public policy; the backward looking attitude of African diaspora to the African continent due to the prevalence of poverty, civil wars, xenophobia, low level of science and technology; and the great “concern of the youth to entertainments and sports” (Bankie and Mchombu, 2008: 34-6). Hence, Pan-Africanism and African philosophy should base their ideology in order to alleviate challenges facing Africans.

4.2. Conclusion

It is hardly possible to find a continent like Africa and a people as the blacks in the world which had been suffering the worst external domination. Many evidences have proved that our continent is endowed with rich natural and historical resources. It is also believed that ancient Africans were good in science, medicine, architecture, art, governance, philosophy and the like. But, due to the inception of external contacts first with the Arab world and later with, Europeans, typically, from the turn of 1400's onwards, slave trade flourished. This trade combined with Christian civilizing mission and colonialism brutalized, raped and dehumanized the people of Africa. Many racist scholars had discussed unreservedly about the backwardness, pre-logical mentality, and the irrationality, non-historical, unscientific and un-philosophical nature of Africans. Accordingly, they deduced that blacks were inferior and could not be compared to the whites in any respect. This led them to argue that slavery, Christian missionary and colonialism were vital instruments to uplift blacks. In fact, questions may rise concerning whether we Africans have similar attitude like the West on our backwardness. And there is another fact that we are lagging behind scientific inventions and philosophical, social and political discoveries. But, my claim is that besides Europeans developed extreme digression on Africa, their influence escalated the case by making blacks to internalize inferiority complex.

Notwithstanding the exploitative nature of Christian abolitionism, Missionary schools were opened in West Africa. Though missionaries provided Western education by negating indigenous knowledge, students acquired new insight to develop nationalism. We can mention the narratives' of Cuguano, who was kidnapped during the slave trade but forwarded robust criticism on slavery. Apart from this, students were sent to Western universities to study. In such a manner, Africans made contact with the Diasporas, shared and discussed their common disadvantages. So, the prolonged exploitation, alienation and dehumanization of blacks inside and abroad, forced them to find their identity, their mother land and to declare total independence. This new spirit united Africans and brought a new philosophy called "Pan-Africanism." Despite the existing controversy to define what Pan-Africanism precisely connotes, it refers to a web of social, economic, political, literary and philosophical ideas that demanded black unity. More generally, it is an attempt to liberate Africans by exploring the glorious

historical achievements of the black heritage on the one hand and an attempt to offend Western discourses on Africa.

This thesis has tried to uncover the significance of Pan-Africanism in the development of African philosophy and African rehabilitation. Pan-Africanism which obtained birth in the effort of Western educated diaspora intellectuals around 1900 initiated black scholars to discuss common problems. Therefore, in the effort of intellectuals like Sylvester Williams, organizer of the first pan-African conference in London, Du Bois, Padmore, and Garvey with other fellows, many conferences had taken place in different European cities. But, the 1945 Manchester congress was the most historical, for it passed resolution to end colonialism and demanded to reclaim self-governance for Africans.

Accordingly, my thesis tries to explore how much Pan-Africanism has contributed for the development of African philosophy. Hence, I have tried to discuss the philosophical stand points of scholars like Blyden, Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Frantz Fanon from the diaspora, and Kwame Nkrumah, and Leopold Senghor from within the continent. Almost all of these pan-Africanists began their philosophy by emphasizing African culture and civilization as a stepping stone to build a new black consciousness and to transform Africa in to a radically new society.

The common standing point of these scholars is that European enslavement of blacks, Christian missionary activities and colonialism were all instruments of Western capitalism. Western science and technology coupled with renaissance thought alienated humanistic values. This led to a mechanical understanding of humans. So, their position was that European personality which is harsh, selfish, materialistic and competitive should be replaced by the harmonious, communalist, spiritual and cooperative nature of African personality. Besides, I found very interesting the emphasis they gave to education in order to build blacks, psychologically and cognitively. This is because today's most advanced nations have retained such position, for they have labored a lot on education which can support creativity and innovations.

Moreover, in order to realize the Pan-African goals the blacks should have to discuss their common problems, respect their African self, resist the negative effects of colonialism through action, narrow down the causes of xenophobia, ethnic and boundary conflicts, and must avoid

what Fanon called seeking false “recognition.” We have to believe and accept Garvey’s idea that our independence could be realized only when we have a strong nation, government, industries and philosophy. We have also to recognize his view that slavery is not confined to Africans alone (Jacques, 1923: 10-11). Because slavery appears here and there so long as there are strong versus weak races, nations and groups. He mentioned, British citizens were slaves during the Roman Empire, but now they are free citizens. I can also say that we have to learn from history that the now powerful nation of the world-USA was under British colonialism.

By and large the establishment of the OAU/AU on the one hand and the end of colonialism in African soil can be mentioned among the fruits of Pan-Africanism. Notwithstanding its weaknesses OAU/AU has given Pan-Africanism institutional existence. Everyone should work hard to ensure Nkrumah’s dream of continental union. I believe that Africa strongly needs committed personalities like Nelson Mandela in every affair.

Furthermore, we have seen that African philosophy as a discipline was born out of tension between western discourse on Africa and African responses to them. We have also not forgotten the role of ethno-philosophers in introducing the collective nature of African thought though their works were not comprehensive and reliable. It paved the way for later professional philosophers to open dialogue and discussion. Besides, the philosophy of nationalistic ideology has also added new insights in African philosophy because it was the demand to reconcile the evils of colonial scientific capitalism with African humanistic socialism. Their common philosophy was that by introducing the collectivist moral ethos of Africa with science, new humanism would be born. I think now is the time the world needs to be saved from moral decadence. Many people have been striving, but resources are monopolized by few billionaires. International media usually give coverage to crimes like terrorism, genocide, suicide, migration and homosexuality even in most advanced countries.

Finally, I would like to recommend that the philosophy of Africa will flourish if philosophers are capable of valuing and excavating African wisdoms, relate it with current reality and emphasize on the philosophical significance of local languages. We have also to remember the fact that there were African philosophers in the past like Ptah-hotep, Zara Yacobe and Wolde Hewot.

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