

PAN AFRICANISM: THE PHILOSOPHY OF IGWEBUIKE:

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Abstract

Pan-Africanism presented itself as the sure way to uplift the black man to assert his place in the society, both home and abroad. In other words, it was meant to be a gateway to future African greatness. This focused at explaining why the concept of Igwebuiké (fighting together in solidarity) has been an important feature of the Pan-African tradition. Hence, Pan-Africanism was born out of struggle for black dignity, self-reliance, progress and unity of Africa and world against racial exploitation, mass poverty, powerlessness, Neo-colonialism and imperialism. It is an idea, a social movement and a philosophy of Igwebuiké. Thus this paper first of all traced Africa from its scramble, colonization, Neo-colonization, imperialism, and how they put African in a very bad shape; and consequent Pan- African concept (Igwebuiké), a philosophy that tried to bring Africa to a dignified position. Although Pan- Africanism has immensely given Africa sense of direction, unity and progress; a source of pride, dignity and power, this paper submits that, in order to completely alleviate the human condition in Africa and bring her to the same level with other continents we must fortify and sustain the philosophy of Igwebuiké to place Africa in its rightful position on the world scenario. For the purpose of this research, the Igwebuiké method of research was employed

Keywords: Igwebuiké, Philosophy, Kanu Ikechukwu Anthony, African, Igbo, Pan-Africanism, Colonialism

Introduction

Following the abolishment of the slave trade, Africans in the Diaspora were faced with racial discrimination, segregation and violation of human rights. Colonialism was to replace the slave trade; an indication of the White man's unwillingness to discontinue his exploitation agenda fuelled by his selfish capitalist desires. This culminated in the struggle by blacks or Africans to demand respect, equal treatment, the absence of violence against them, and the fight for the independence of the African continent from colonial rule. However, the problem of Africa particularly at the end of the last century and early this century was lack of meaningful organization and unity among the blacks.

Pan-Africanism presented itself as the sure way to uplift the black man to assert his place in the society, both home and abroad. In other words, it was meant to be a gateway to future African greatness. This essay seeks to explain why the concept of Igwebuiké (fighting together in solidarity) has been an important feature of the Pan-African tradition. Hence, Pan-Africanism was born out of struggle for black dignity, self-reliance, progress and unity of Africa and world against racial exploitation, mass poverty, powerlessness, Neo-colonialism and imperialism. It is an idea, a social movement and a philosophy of Igwebike.

Thus this paper will first of all trace Africa from its scramble, colonization, Neo-colonization, imperialism, and how they put African in a very bad shape; and consequent Pan- African concept (Igwebuiké), a philosophy that tried to bring Africa to a dignified position.

The Scramble for Africa

The idea of scrambling suggests haste, hectic and confused struggle; a rat race, greed to have one's way before it is compromised by other interested parties. In this context, the scramble for Africa is a term used to refer to the hectic struggle of European powers to partition Africa in the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century. It is true that historians differ on the exact dating of the scramble. But any meaningful discussion on the scramble cannot ignore the Berlin West African conference convened between November 1884 and February 1885 by Otto Van Bismarck who was the chancellor of Germany from 1871 to 1890.

Actually the economic and political factors were at the basis of the scramble. The European powers involved in the scramble were looking for a regular supply of raw-materials together with a flourishing market for the disposal of their finished products. Secondly, the acquisition of colony was at that time, seen as a sign of super power. The major powers involved in the scramble were Britain, France and Germany. Other lesser powers like Portugal, Spain and Belgium and they were able to acquire colonies in Africa because of the existence of divergent interest among the major powers. The essence of the Berlin conference was to prevent or avoid clash and conflict among the European powers taking part in the partition of Africa. The conference achieved this by adopting resolutions by which the European powers were to regulate their conduct in scrambling for African territories. They declared the principle of 'effective occupation' and 'sphere of influence'. By the principle of sphere of influence, any power possessing a coast is entitled to its hinterland. Among the rival imperialists, while it could be admitted that European powers shared Africa in peace and harmony themselves,

evidence abound that on many occasions, they found themselves on the precipice of military confrontation with each other. For example, in 1884 the warship of England and Germany were on the verge of starting a battle for the Cameroons on the West Coast of Africa.

Between the imperialists and Africans, the occupation of African territories were accomplished either by brute force against the local population or by false treaty with African Chiefs. For instance: The British used force to conquer Eastern Sudan in 1898, the Italian, Libya in 1911 and the French Morocco in 1912. The Berlin conference recognized British possession of the Lower Niger Basin and the king of Belgium's right over the Congo State. By 1884, Germany had already occupied areas that became Togo land, Cameroon and German South West Africa. In West Africa, the struggle was a straight forward battle between the British and the French who had colonies in West Africa by 1850. To make sure that they acquired as many colonies as possible, the imperialists made use of Chartered Companies in addition to the official government agencies.

By 1914, the partition of Africa was virtually complete. From the historical viewpoint, the Scramble for the partition of Africa formed a bridge between pre-colonial and colonial era. The way and manner in which Africa was shared among European powers without consulting the wishes of Africans was nothing short of a political tragedy. Actually, the scramble for the partition of Africa is over but the telling effects of its consequence are still with us. Africa is yet to overcome the endless border disputes raging in the continent together with its attendant evils. Having discussed the scramble, we are now in a better position to discuss the colonial era.

The colonial Era

The colonial era stands for the period of foreign rule. We hold it with Abraham Lincoln that: "when the white man governs himself, that is self-government but when he governs himself, and also governs another man, that is more than self government, that is despotism...Those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves and under a just God cannot long retain it"⁷⁷. The great philosopher of colonialism Albert Memmi depicts classical colonization as total oppression of another. A state which

⁷⁷ Richard Hofstadter ed, Platform of Anti-Imperialist League, October 17, 1899, reprinted in Great Issues in America (New York, Vintage books, 1961), Vol. III, 205.

affects the Human being in all aspects of his existence , in the way he sees himself and in the way others see him in his various entrees in society and his future history”⁷⁸.

In this epoch, colonialism was the overriding policy of Europe in her relationship with Africa. It is not easy to delineate the exact period of colonization; for even before the scramble for Africa, some major European powers have already had colonies in Africa. However, let us date the period of colonization from sometime after the Berlin Conference to 1957. One of the most lamentable and unmistakable features of colonialism in Africa is slave trade. Ferkiss asserts that “the history of the relationship of Europe and Africa until well into the nineteenth century is almost exclusively the history of slave trade”⁷⁹.

Slave trade was started by the Portuguese in the middle of the 15th Century. They were followed closely by Spaniards (1562), British then the Dutch (about 1620), and the French (about 1640). Others were the Swedes, Danes and Russians. This came to a climax in the 18th century. The demand for slaves increased with the discovery of the new world. Politically and economically, slave trade was all the more destructive. The labour force of the continent was exported without compensation. Whatever development that would have taken place during all those centuries was permanently stalled. The spirit of enterprise and initiative was stifled and sacrificed at the altar of slavery, slave raid and slave trade. There were slave-induced inter-tribal conflicts.

However, by the end of eighteenth century, the change from mercantile economy to industrial economy and this rendered slave trade obsolete and comparatively unprofitable. On January 1st 1808, an act making British involvement in slave trade illegal was passed. Denmark legislated to end slave trade in 1804, United States 1808, Sweden 1813, Netherlands 1814 and France 1818.²⁴

In colonial Africa as a whole, outward signs of development were permitted only when they facilitated exploitation. Roads and railways were constructed to tap the resources of the inaccessible interiors. Banks and other financial institutions openly discriminated against the indigenous population.

Since shareholders in companies were foreigners, most of profits were expatriated to the impoverishment of Africa. Albert Memmi describes the aim of colonialism as “to subdue and exploit the colonized out of historical and social culture and technical

⁷⁸ Morui A., *Dominated Man* (Boston Press, 1981),32.

⁷⁹ Ferkiss V. C., *Afrika's Search for Identity* (New York: George Beaziller, 1995)120-126.

current. What to us real and veritable is that the colonized's culture, society and technology are seriously damaged"⁸⁰. In the same line of thought, Jack Waddis sees the motive behind colonialism as pre-eminently economic. He asserts that he has always believed that the basis of colonialism is economic. That, "there is abundant proof that the primary motives underlying the quest for colonies and the administrative and economic policies of colonial power are rooted in economic exploitation and not humanism"⁸¹.

Neo-colonialism

Simply put, the term "Neo-colonialism" stands for a new Colonialism. Kwame Nkruma defines it "as the policy by which foreign power binds territories to herself by political ties with the primary object of promoting her own economic advantage"⁸². Between the 16th and 19th centuries, Europe funded colonies in Africa; they wanted regular supply of raw materials and cheap labour for their industries. They also needed viable markets for their finished products. In the name of colonies, Africa was converted into dumping ground of manufactured goods which were usually sold at exorbitant prices. For many centuries, Africa was ruthlessly exploited. It is this policy of foreign and unwarranted domination that came to be identified with colonialism. When the independence of African states became inevitable, the erstwhile colonial masters did their best to continue their exploitation of post-independent Africa. This systematic, disguised and unabated exploitation of Africa even after independence is known as Neo— colonialism. In this case, "the essence of neo-colonialism is that the state which is subject to it is in theory independent and has all the outward trappings of sovereignty. In reality, its economic system and thus its political system is directed from outside"⁸³.

The neo-colonialist or client state is independent only in name but in point of fact, it is nothing short of a territorial extension of the colonizer country. Its independence is merely flag independence. In the words of Nkrumah, "a state can be said to be a neo- colonialist or client state if it is independent de jure Law and dependent de facto ruling/ sophistry as a fact not recklessly"⁸⁴.

⁸⁰ Memi A., *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), 114.

⁸¹ Nkruma K., at Conference of Independent African states, Accra, 15 April, in *Axions of Kwame Nkruma* (London: Panaf Books, 1967), 36.

⁸² Nkruma K., *Autobiography* (London: Nelson, 1957), Vii.

⁸³ Bennet, N. R., *African and Europe from Roman Times to the Present* (New York: Africana Pub. 1975)3.

⁸⁴ Chinweizu, *The West and the Rest of Us* (Lagos: Nok Pub. 1978)207.

Neo-colonialism is an off-shoot of decolonization. It is an organized act of political hypocrisy. Neo-colonialism is colonization in a new and different form. It differs from colonialism not in kind but in degree and method. As a matter of fact, "Neo-colonialism is also the worst form of imperialism. For those who practice it, means power without responsibility and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress"⁸⁵.

Any country which is within the grip of neo-colonialism remains economically poor and perpetually underdeveloped. The economic miss-hap inherent in neo-colonialism is that it, emerges not only to rob Africans of their wealth but prevented them from acquiring capital for their own development.

The economy of such client state is reduced to mere appendage of the foreign masters. However the economic activities which take place in the neo-colonialist state are carefully tailored to suit the economic convenience of the Neo-colonizers.

From political perspective, neo-colonialism is much more insidious than colonialism. Colonialism is transparent and as such can easily be recognized and liquidated with maintained national effort. In neo-colonialism however, the people are divided from their leaders. In this situation, the "leaders come to neglect the very people who put them in power and incautiously become instruments of suppression on behalf of the neo-colonialists"⁸⁶.

As a foreign policy, no matter whichever way it is disguised, neo-colonialism is a case of willful interference in the internal affairs of an independent country. As Obi Egbuna noted that under this system, "we do not control our land, our lives and our direction. We do not command the means of distribution or production. We do not even earn reasonable living wage but we were born here and our fore fathers claim ownership of the Land"⁸⁷.

It uses various mechanisms in the attainment of its expansionist objective. Benjamin Franklin would describe the situation as, the strong do what they can, the weak suffer what they must. So in Neo-colonialism we witness exploitative relationship which exists between Africa and Western Capitalism. As it stands, the obstacle to African development has its nest principally on Neo-colonialism but its solution lies in Africans themselves. If African does not stand up and fight for herself, she should be rest

⁸⁵ Sik E., "The Scramble as a Necessary Phase in European Capitalist Exploitation" *The Scramble for Africa, Causes and Dimensions of Empire*, Raymond F. Betts ed. (London: D.C. Heath and co. 1966), 6.

⁸⁶ Ferkiss V. C., *Africa's Search for Identity*, 126.

⁸⁷ Obi B Egbuna, *The ABC of Black Power Thought* (Lagos: Third world First Publication, 1979)

assured that nobody is prepared to fight for her and liberate her from the shackles of abject poverty, free her from economic exploitation and collective humiliation.

The African predicament

The African predicament is the predicaments of being black in a world dominated by being white. David Hume an empiricist philosopher has the worst perception of Africa. In his opinion, there has not been any invention or any sign of civilization among the blacks and none of them has shown any sign of ingenuity. Therefore blacks are inferior to white race. When he was challenged by James Beallie and contradicted by a Jamaican who was man of letters, he retorted that the little evidence of ingenuity among the blacks is like that of a parrot which is praised for uttering a few words clearly. But we must know that the time Hume was writing very little could be said to have been known about African blacks. In fact, the only blacks from whom his informants got their knowledge were those taken into slavery. So such a general statement from Hume about the blacks without having observed them (all blacks) is highly unwarranted and opposed the principle of empiricism which Hume championed and regarded knowledge gotten from induction as the outcome of the belief in the principle of the Uniformity of Nature, which is for him inadequate. The "principle of the uniformity of nature is also known as the principle of induction for it is assumed whenever we make generalization about the world on the bases of our experience of particulars"⁸⁸. In fact, consistent empiricism cannot subscribe to nature the superiority or inferiority of one person or group over the other for essential superiority or inferiority is not given to the senses.

One of the first philosophers to lend academic expression to the cultural prejudice of the West against Africa was Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). In his *Groundwork for the Metaphysics of Morals* Kant formulated what is called "Categorical Imperative and demands that maxims should be chosen as though they should hold as universal laws of nature"⁸⁹.

The basic formulation of this is "Act only according to that maxim whereby you can at the same time will that it should be a universal law"⁹⁰. There is no doubt that this is a good moral and social principle which can make the world a better place. But Kant made a division of races where he put Negroes under the other races. He maintained

⁸⁸ Anowai, E., *Dynamics of Philosophy of Science*, (Awka, Fab Anieh, 2017), 94.

⁸⁹ Anowai, E., *Philosophy: A More Historical Approach*, (Awka, Fab Anieh, 2015), 150.

⁹⁰ Kant I., *Groundwork for the Metaphysics of Morals*, trans. by J. W. Ellington, (

that laziness, and jealousy is permanent characteristic of the Negroes. He concludes that the Negroes should be flogged heavily in order to put them into action.

Again in his work *Von den verschiedenen Rassen der Menschen – from the different races of mankind (Anthropology from A Pragmatic Point of View)* published in 1775, he held that mankind consisted of only one race and the original human species was white, appearing as dark brown. The black race came as result of humid weather conditions that bore upon the original white species. He went on to maintain that the indigenous Americans and the blacks are spiritually inferior in human species. He “discerns four races: white, yellow, Negro, and American (Red), with a decreasing mental and general ability in that order”⁹¹. The derogatory things Kant says about black people leave a lot to be desired of a man of his critical intellectual depth, more importantly as a philosopher who ought to be a disinterested thinker.

Hegel, the successor of Kant in his work *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* excludes Africa from the movement of history. This effectively excludes Africa from the realm of rationality because history, as Hegel understood it, was none other than the manifestation of the spirit (Reason). His absolute spirit is not yet manifest in Africa. According to him, “the only thought, which philosophy brings with it to the contemplation of history, is the simple connection of Reason; that Reason is the Sovereign of the world; that the history of the world, therefore, presents us with a rational process”⁹² For him, Africa does not belong to this historical rational process. He was convinced that in Negro’s life consciousness has not yet attained to the realization of any substantial objective existence. His sources were largely circumstantial reports and copious accounts provided by missionaries who were not unbiased against black peoples. Reflecting on such intellectual contributions, one notes that Hegel’s philosophy of history provided a powerful philosophical base to the chorus of denigration of the non-white races which accompanied and buoyed up the European colonization.

Be it has it may, he was never in Africa but wrote very extensively about Africa based on what he called “the copious and circumstantial accounts of missionaries. That of Rev. Benly influenced him much and he wrote “An Africa whether Negro or Bantu does not think or reflect or it is enveloped in the reason, if he can help it He went ahead to divide Africa and arrived to what he called

⁹¹ Maurice Makumba, *Introduction to African Philosophy* (Nairobi: Paulines Publications, 2007),

⁹² Georg W.F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History* Sibire (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1956), 8-9

Africa proper. This, he said is shut up from the rest of the world, it is enveloped in the dark mantle of night and is not historically part of the world. Development for him belongs to Asian and European worlds. So the underdevelopment and unhistorical becomes the Africans. For him, the absolute has not unfolded itself to the Negroes. Tyrannies, cannibalism, Slavery are the general principles of Negro life. Hegel's philosophy was a kind of backbone to the murderous and racists nationalistic movement which Adolf Hitler perfected in his crusade of superior race. It led to Africa being called the 'hopeless continent', 'a scar on the conscience of humanity' and many other Hegelian fallacies.

With the above denigration, malicious and bias rating the humanity and dignity of Africa with other races, one sees straight why tribute should be given to the courage and the efforts of the African-American and African-Caribbean Diaspora who took the initiative and the audacity to fight and liberate themselves from the shackles of slavery.

Some Africans in their own way carried the torch of inspiration and resilience to save and reconstruct the Free Humanity of Africa. The struggle was aimed at making African to rise from the shackles of slavery and poverty to the summit of Victors of their Renaissance Identity and Self-Determination as a People. The Pan-African project is simply the refusal of African to accept victimhood.

The treatment meted to Africa is evil for it is a political, social, economic oppression and exploitation of another, the domination of the weak by the strong, the poor by the rich, the developing by the developed nations. It is the total invasion of alien consciousness for the sake of subjugating and exploiting weaker peoples and nations and establishing radical inequality between the colonizer and colonized.. The essence is the direct and overall subjugation of one country to another on the basis of state power being in the hands of dominating nation.

What is Pan-Africanism

Pan-Africanism was born from a bond of solidarity among Africans and their descendants who shared a common condition imposed by the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and its aftermath. Ali A. Mazrui "recalls three historical evils which have anguished his spirit immensely as cross-Atlantic slavery, white or European colonialism and Neo-colonialism or imperialism"⁹³. Consequently, Pan-Africanism grew as a result of colonialism and its racist ideology and was

⁹³ONIGU Otilie (ed.), *Emergency of Pan-Africanism* (Fourth Dimension, Enugu, 1978), 105

further developed with the advent of African countries' independence in the mid-twentieth century. It is a loosely knit and sometimes contradictory constellation of ideas, organizations, and movements that transcend national borders. On the whole it came into being out of the struggle for black dignity, self reliance, progress and unity in Africa and in the world; against racial exploitation, mass poverty, powerlessness, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

As a philosophy, Pan-Africanism represents the aggregation of the historical, cultural, spiritual, artistic, scientific, and philosophical legacies of Africans from past times to the present. "Pan-Africanism as an ethical system traces its origins from ancient times, and promotes values that are the product of the African civilizations and the struggles against [slavery](#), [racism](#), [colonialism](#), and [neo-colonialism](#)"⁹⁴. Nnamdi Azikiwe describes it as the "Manumission of mother Africa from the foreign yoke"⁹⁵.

The ideals that distinguish Pan-Africanism include the need for Africa to unify for the greater economic, political, and social good of all Africans; the existence of an African personality; the vital connections between continental Africans and Africans in the Diaspora; the necessity to protest racism and to assert the contributions of African civilizations; the need to remove all vestiges of colonialism; and the desire for human dignity. Each of these ideas was developed at different times for a variety of political ends.

Pan-Africanism's roots are to be found in the experiences of Africans enslaved in the New World. Olaudah Equiano was among the first to assert an identity that was continental in scope. His autobiography, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa the African* (1789), described the horrors of slavery and was used by abolitionists. He became a spokesman for the enslaved and urged European powers to develop Africa without exploiting its human resources.

⁹⁴ Falola, Toyin; Essien, Kwame (2013). *Pan-Africanism, and the Politics of African Citizenship and Identity*. London: Routledge. pp. 71–72. ISBN 1135005192. Retrieved September 26, 2015.

⁹⁵ A phrase from Zik's message to President Nkruma on the Ghana fifth Anniversary as an Independent State; the Times London, March 7, 1962.

Other early Pan-Africanist leaders promoted emigration to West Africa as a solution to the racism they endured. Paul Cuffee of the United States, whose father was African and mother Native American, founded a settlement in Sierra Leone, a colony established by British authorities for the formerly enslaved. In 1868, Sierra Leonean James Horton proposed the development of modern independent African nations based on the traditional ethnic communities. Emigration to Liberia was supported by organizations such as the American Colonization Society. Edward Blyden became a citizen of the newly independent Liberia when he moved there from his birthplace in the Caribbean island of St. Thomas, and he is considered to be one of the greatest explicators of Pan-African concepts. His disciple, J. E. Casely Hayford of the Gold Coast, spoke of an international feeling among all black people and established a National Congress of British West Africa. Both Blyden and Hayford were cultural nationalists who supported the movement of independent churches in West Africa and believed in the glorious past and future of the continent.

Other advocates of back-to-Africa emigration included Henry McNeal Turner, a bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and Marcus Garvey. Garvey, originally from Jamaica, moved to the United States and founded the United Negro Improvement Association, a mass movement in the twentieth century that promoted racial pride and economic advancement. Garveyism was to influence a number of continental Africans, most notably Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana who used Garvey's Black Star symbol on Ghana's national flag. Other theorists included historian C. L. R. James of Trinidad, who focused on the exploitation of labor in Africa and the Diaspora, and Walter Rodney of Guyana, who documented Europe's underdevelopment of Africa. As founding father of Pan-Africanism, W. E. B. Du Bois organized many Pan-African congresses to bring together Africans, African Americans, and West Indians to discuss mutual problems and to pressure colonial governments to relinquish power. For him "the movement aimed at an intellectual understanding or cooperation among all groups of Negro descent in order to bring about the earliest possible time the industrial and spiritual emancipation of the Negro people"⁹⁶.

As a matter of importance, Pan-Africanism reflected Africa's conscious need for not only political independence, regional integration and the improvements of its living standards, but also the throwing of the shackles of economic bondage and democratic

⁹⁶ ONIGU Otilie (ed.), 75.

stagnation that had seen it reverse the short lived prosperity of the independence era. This meant devising a new economic positioning and new forms of partnership in which Africa, as an equal partner, would negotiate with the rest of the world, with fierce defense of its own defined priorities.

Pan Africanism founding fathers and promoters of Pan- African movement saw power as basic to all living beings as did Nietzsche. He said that “most people fail to liberate themselves and live according to the truth of their radical uniqueness is not because this truth is esoteric and therefore, only accessible to the elite, but rather, due to the fact that knowledge alone cannot motivate action”⁹⁷.

So Nietzsche is arguing that the knowledge of one’s uniqueness cannot motivate one to act according to it. For once, individuals go beyond simply knowing, but also embrace how radically unique they are – that in no other time or place is there anyone exactly like themselves, they will be motivated “to live according to [their] own laws and standards.” To do so, according to Nietzsche, is to be responsible for oneself and “to be the true helmsman of [one’s] existence”⁹⁸. So, they needed to act from weakness, ignorance, poverty, oppressed condition etc but black people like their white oppressors have to be strong politically. Based on Nietzsche’s opinion it can be said that four millions of black people then could through ‘Igwebuiké’ - organization, unity and solidarity shake the pillars of the universe and change their powerlessness and general human condition in the continent. Thus, Igwebuiké philosophy is called to action.

Pan- Africanism: An Igwebuiké Philosophy

Philosophy is the instrument of ideology for a desired social, economic and political order. According to Nkrumah, it “performs ideological function when it takes shape as political philosophy”, laying “down certain ideals for our pursuit and fortification”, and becoming “an instrument of unity by laying down the same ideals for all the members of a given society”. Hence Pan Africanism is not mere a theory or rhetoric but a philosophy of action. It is a philosophy that is based on the belief that Africans share common bonds and objectives and advocates unity of all as the power to achieve challenging objectives.

⁹⁷ Schopenhauer as Educator, trans. R.J. Hollingdale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 128.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

Hence, the 'Igwebuiké' wisdom of united we stand, divided we fall which emphasizes African solidarity cannot be eloquently expressed in any ideology than in Pan-African movement with its clarion call of the African to realize his identity and personality not to be eternally lost by courtesy of slavery, Colonialism, Neo-colonialism . Imperialism. Thus, it aims at encouraging and strengthening bonds of solidarity between all indigenous and Diaspora ethnic groups of African descent.. It is based on the belief that unity of all Africans is vital to economic, social, and political progress and aims to "unify and uplift" people of African descent. The ideology asserts that the fate of all African people and countries are intertwined. As an ideology, it is national, unified struggle and resistance of African peoples against all forms of foreign aggression and invasion. The primary goal of Pan-African Nationalism is the total liberation and unification of all Africans and people of African descent under African communalism. Moreover, it is the pursuit to forge synergy of African people's struggles against colonialism as was institutionalized. It is a socio-political worldview. As an ideology, it represents integrative intent directed at fundamental change in society. In Nkrumah's words, Pan-Africanism guides and seeks to connect the actions of millions of persons towards specific and definite goals.

The Igwebuiké ideology recognizes that Africans have certain things in common. They were persons of one race of a common historical background and common identity. Their culture, wealth and personality had been abused. Hence, it was anti-imperialistic in character, demanding the right of Africans to choose their own governments and urging Africans to struggle unity to this end or other aims. Based on this point of view, Immanuel Geis commenting on Pan-African Conference of 1945 remarked that "it was a landmark both in the history of Pan-Africanism and that of decolonization. It was the first evidence of vigorous self assertion after an interval of almost two decades"⁹⁹.

Therefore, it embodies a world-view and philosophy as well as a vision of a people, their role and prospects in the world. They formulated for themselves the principles firmly rooted in their collective will. We note the initial suffering of degradation, racial exploitation, and oppression and the like which gave rise to philosophy of Pan-Africanism. It was an Algerian born philosopher who regards man as essentially a 'no' and 'yes' being. A 'no' to death and what begets death and 'yes' to life.

The suffering of self-humiliation and degradation was what brought about the united efforts to revolt to state serfdom and degraded humanity and consciousness of a new –

⁹⁹ Geis I., *The Pan-African Movement*(London Methu & Co Ltd, 1974)408.

to-live as dignified, free Africans and people of African descent. Here we refer to a statement credited to a French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre that “suffering carries within itself its own refusal. It is in essence refusal to suffer. It opens itself towards revolt and towards liberty”¹⁰⁰.

In its main thrust, the philosophy of Pan-Africanism was dialectical in its aims and overall strategy. It was a strategy against imperialism, colonialism, Balkanisation, Neo-colonialism, racism etc.as well as a dynamic means for promoting black dignity, freedom, social, economic and political progress in Africa; a means of building new African society. Hence it brings to African new lease of life, the overcoming of helplessness, poverty, race disregard and unity for all Africans.

The philosophy of Igwebuiké can be clearly understood with an analogy of broom and broom stick whereby the broom stick realizes itself and becomes stronger when united when united together. But the broom stick while alone is unaware of the beautiful contribution it could have made to the whole and gets easily broken, burnt and thrown away. The philosophy of Igwebuiké has to be direct towards the problem of the new wave of Pan-Africanism and what strategies that can be proposed for a more participatory in the affairs of the recent trend of globalization. That is why African unity and political independence is the most dominant factor in Nkrumah’s political philosophy.”Seek you first the political Kingdom and all things shall be added unto you”¹⁰¹. Pan African unity is not just only one of the most effective ways of handling the heat generated by neo-colonialism. It is a necessary condition for the development of Africa. As Nkrumah neatly puts it.

Therefore unity is of critical and decisive importance in the survival and development of Africa. For Nkrumah, African unity implies:

1. That imperialism and foreign oppression should be eradicated in all its forms.
2. That neo-colonialism should be recognised and eliminated.
3. That the new African nation must develop within a continental framework

1. It affirmed the worth of black people and therefore rejected the inferiority ascribed by racist thought in the late 19th and 20th Cs.

¹⁰⁰ Sartre J.P, *Black Orphans* Tr, Samuel W. Allen(ParisPrescelt Africaine, 1963) 55, 152.

¹⁰¹ Nkrumah K., *Neo-colonialism: The last Stage of imperialism*, (London: Panaf Books, 1965), 259.

2. It helped to launch the struggle for rights and equality for black people in the Diaspora; although there were advocates of a return migration to Africa, eventually and especially after 1945, black people in the Diaspora focused on rights and justice where they lived.

3. In Africa, the movement asserted the right of independence for Africans – “Africa for the Africans”.

Conclusion

In this Age of globalization, African is still fighting for the same aims and ideals which gave birth to the formation of Pan-Africanism. Till today, savagery, poverty, disease, racial discrimination, oppression and violence is the bane of African development. And getting rid of these was among the basic aims and objectives of the movement, but unfortunately, the same struggle is very much with us today. Africa is still totally a subdued continent. However, Pan-Africanism has immensely given Africa sense of direction, unity and progress; a source of pride, dignity and power. Hence, in order to completely alleviate the human condition in Africa and bring her to the same level with other continents we must fortify and sustain the philosophy of Igwebuiké to place Africa in its rightful position on the world scenario. This period more than any other before it, is, the time for Africans to recognize and embrace the importance of viewing issues from the standpoint of the African perspective in order to reap the full benefits of the ideology of Igwebuiké. Unless the political liberty for which Africans have for long struggled is complemented and bolstered by a corresponding economic and social growth, the breath of life which sustains our freedom may flicker out. *This statement still rings true looking at the present situation in Africa. Hence, we must join in Igwebuiké ideology to win complete freedom for Africa from the shackles and chains that constitute her predicament.*

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