

Educational Transformation and Pan Africanism in the 21st Century: Matters Arising

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Abstract

Africa can be said to be a noble and ancient continent. This is largely because of its natural endowment and longevity. Apart from being the spring of humanity, unarguably it is the repository of precious materials essential for human existence and technological breakthrough. With a population that is highly energetic and sprawling to all corners of the globe, humanity can be said to be of African descent. All these have made the continent a haven for explorers, adventurers and imperial powers to explore and conquer. Unfortunately, these positive attributes have not been able to lay a foundation for the turn-around of the continent. Right from the fifteenth to the 21st centuries the continent has been dominated by imperial invaders whose interest is to unceasingly tap the resources of the continent without redress. With their internal collaborators, they have succeeded in inhibiting and limiting the trajectory and horizon of African development. The aftermath is social confusion, disrespect of democratic norms and rising frustration. This is the paradox confronting the continent. It was against this backdrop that the first Pan African conference was organized in 1900 to assert the dignity of the black race and eradicate all forms of exploitation. This paper, therefore, seeks to examine how the ideals of Pan Africanism can be enhanced through educational transformation in the 21st Century. This is a qualitative study, and we rely on primary and secondary sources for data collection. These will include group discussions, personal interviews, desk research, and review of existing literature, official reports, magazines and Gazettes. It was discovered that the activity and spark of Pan Africanism witnessed a twilight in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This was mainly because of the development disasters occasioned by a drastic decline in economic condition. By the 21st century, the concept lost its popularity even among students, African leaders and policy makers. We, therefore, recommend that Pan African ideals and values must be vigorously pursued through an aggressive pedagogy to reinforce and strengthen our cord of unity, black consciousness and development.

Keywords: *Pan Africanism, Black Consciousness, Development, Education, Humanity.*

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Background to the Study

Africa is one of the amazing flashpoints of the globe. This is predicated on its rich natural resources. These endowments have the potential to place the continent on the pinnacle of global influence. It is estimated that Africa has 9.49% of the world's proven reserve of oil and 8.22% of world's gas reserve. This is in addition to 38% Uranium, 42% of gold, 73% of platinum and 88% of diamonds (Ayoade, 2011:118). Sadly, the continent has become part of the global weaklings and commons, as its precious resources are unmindfully exploited without the people feeling its positive impact. Reflecting on this exploiter-exploited nexus, Nkrumah (2004:1) averred that Africa is a paradox which illustrates and highlights neo-colonialism. Her earth is rich yet the products that come from above and below her soil continue to enrich, not Africans predominantly, but groups and individuals who operate to Africa's impoverishment. The historical process of this impoverishment can be classified into two. Slave trade and colonialism. Slave trade was part of the processes of primitive accumulation of capital which involved the painful carting away of millions of Africans to the 'New World'. They were made to work in the plantations. Marx (1986:703) noted that,

The discovery of gold and silver in America the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in minds of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial haunting of black-skins, signaled the rosy - dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief moments of primitive accumulation.

These Africans were psychologically humiliated and treated as sub-humans right from the point of embarkation to the plantations. What was paramount for the emerging bourgeois class was not their welfare and length of life, but solely their maximum of labour-power, that can be rendered in a working day (Marx, 1986:253). The surplus value produced by these enslaved Africans marked a turning point in the development of western capitalist economy. DuBois (1996), Williams (1994), James (2012) and Inikori (2002) pointed out that western industrialization during the epoch of slave trade cannot be distinguished from the immense contribution of Africans. The profits provided one of the streams of that capital which financed industrial revolution (DuBois, 1986:68). In fact, from 1561 to 1850, share of export commodities produced by Africans in the Americas rose from £1,286 to £89,204 representing a percentage of 54.0% in 1501 to 82% in 1701-80 and declined to 68.8%, increased in 1848 to 80% (Inikori, 2002:197). James (2012:58) stated that yet the Negro slavery seemed the very basis of American capitalism. Slavery made cotton king, became the very life blood of British industries, it built up New England factories.

Industrial revolution made the Atlantic slave trade moribund and commercially unprofitable. There was the urgent need for raw materials to facilitate industrial production, market to sell the industrial products and employment for the unemployed dispossessed from their means of production. Cecil Rhodes had advised the British government to save the 40,000,000 inhabitants of the United Kingdom from a bloody civil war because the Empire, as I have always said is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become 'imperialist' (Lenin,1975:93-4). These factors created the objective conditions for

the emergence of colonialism in the early twentieth century. Colonialism was not a benign process, but directed with force which disjointed, and disarticulated pre-colonial social formations. Babwale, Alao, Onwumah (2011:9) pointed out that:

The colonizer did not stop at the conquest of the pre-capitalist relations of production. The colonial superstructure was also a major target of assault in order to bring out a new collective consciousness and individual psychological habits favourable to the advance of the violent installation of the capitalist economy.

These hostile processes ravaged the continent, eroded all vestiges of communal relationship, created an African Diaspora and exposed the economy to the vicissitudes of world capitalist economy. Africans were stigmatized as the tail end of humanity (Legum, 1976:17) and susceptible to manipulation. It was these collective sufferings and exploitation that ignited the spirit for common feeling of solidarity and unreserved rejection of inhuman stereotypes, and demand for self-governance. This awakening crystallized into what became the Pan African movement in the early twentieth century. This paper, therefore, seeks to examine how education can be used to transform the ideals of Pan Africanism in the 21st century, and the matters arising therefrom.

Clarification of Concepts

This section will be concerned with a brief clarification of the main concepts involved in this study. These are Education and Pan Africanism.

Education

Education is a potent tool for human development. As part of the cultural heritage, its method, type and mode may differ from society to society, but ultimately it is geared towards building human capacity and sustainable development. Ivowi (2009:121) noted that:

Education is the most singular powerful instrument of life, charged with the responsibility of shaping and refining all the other challenges of life. Plato holds that 'a good education consists of giving the body and soul all the beauty and all the perfection of which they are capable.

Plato (1987) located the proximate cause of Athenian democratic decline in the 5th century B.C. within education. He noted that those who condemned Socrates to death were in an opaque world. They would have discovered that the man they condemned was the perfection of education. He decided to design a rigorous educational system that would produce only men of steady and disciplined character (Plato, 1987:292). These are the Philosopher kings. Barker (2009:125) stated that since the whole mind must be developed, all the practical trainings and experiences which we can acquire is a part of our education. With education, we can appreciate justice, develop some core values and acquire virtue. It is not farfetched that Plato's *Republic* (1987) is often seen as the finest treaty on education that ever was written (Barker, 2009:120). This was because of its emphasis on virtue, philosophical disposition and justice. Education has a Latin origin 'Educare'. Educare means to bring up a child physically and mentally. It is not just an instrument to draw out the innate potentialities, but assist in the

cognition of the environment, social regeneration and self-actualization. Ivowi, Orubite and Wodi (2002:68) posited that education means rearing, upbringing and fostering (and) training. Perhaps, this was why Socrates described education as a midwife, to aid the students bring forth that which he/she is already pregnant with. It is not surprising that the philosophy of Nigerian education is hinged on the invaluable maxim that continuous education would be the fulcrum of the country's educational policies. Among other things, the Philosophy would accomplish the following:

- i. The development of individual into a sound and effective man.
- ii. The full integration of the individual into the community.
- iii. The provision of equal access to educational opportunities for all citizens of the country at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels both inside and outside the formal school system (National Policy on Education, 2004:7).

Education is a purpose-directed venture. It sharpens the human faculties and equips the recipients with core values and competences necessary to surmount emerging social challenges. More important is the fact that society is uprooted from its pre-rural and vegetating stage and placed on a trajectory of dialectical transformation. Eke and Olarinoye (2007:125) opined that education opens the door for all citizens to participate in developmental activities within their nation. It improves the productive capacity of societies, and their political, economic and scientific institutions. According to Oderinde and Ekpo (2005:14), education means etymologically to draw out of a person something potential and latent; it means to develop a person morally and naturally so that he is sensitive to and make social choices and able to act on them. Education emboldens the recipients, builds a creative personality, enhances equality of human race and guarantees their wellbeing. Therefore, to deprive a people the right of education is to consign them to primitive existence. It is an injustice of monumental dimension. From our discourse thus far, we can deduce that education is:

- i. A catalyst of social change and human development.
- ii. A trigger of social renaissance.
- iii. A vital tool for creativity and criticality.
- iv. It is value-laden.

Socrates was emphasizing the regenerative and critical role of education to mankind when he declared that 'Man know thyself', an unexamined life is not worth living'. The Italian Humanists in the 15th century, saw education as an essential prerequisite for good-governance. Skinner (1979:213) stated that:

They continued to accept the well established humanist belief that the links between sound learning and sound government are extremely close. So they continued to produce systematic educational treaties, outlining in minute detail the type of training in the studies humanitatis to be given to those who might subsequently be expected to play a leading part in the business of government.

Indeed, broadening education, such as making it affordable to many people, correspondingly values which people place on various aspects of their experience (Ivowi, 2009:1), are strengthened and refined for human progress and happiness. Education

humanizes our feelings, perceptions, thoughts, dispositions, beliefs and attributes to tolerate and accommodate the views and background of others. It is not for nothing that the Preamble of the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) constitution states that: since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace should be consummated. With all the hallowed benefits of education, the colonial people were consciously deprived of it. Under colonialism, education became a tool for psychological humiliation and introduction into the values and mores of capitalist domination. Ekekwe (1986:35) pointed out that colonial education was the ideological apparatus of the colonial State, even though western education started in Nigeria several decades before the formal establishment of the colonial State. Indeed, it was an education for disempowerment and consolidation of the myth of inferiority of the Black. Collins (2007:209) stated that:

Colonial education corrupted the thinking and sensibilities of the African and filled him with abnormal complexes. It followed that those who were Europeanized were to that extent de-Africanized, as a consequence of the colonial education and the general atmosphere of colonial life.

The Concept of Africanism?

Pan Africanism is the aftermath of the rising consciousness of Africans in the Diaspora, mainly due to the Atlantic slave trade. Campbell (2007:11) noted that the atrocities of the Atlantic trade in human cargoes formed an indelible part of that consciousness of the African people of the New World as they daily toiled to produce wealth for Europe. The pestilential misery which these Africans passed through was justified based on pseudo-scientific assumptions and spurious anthropological theories about people of African descent. These preposterous assumptions condemned the African as an irremediable cannibal, with less cognitive ability and inferior among humans in the 'Great Chain of Being'. Wilhelm Frederick Hegel and other western philosophers did not disguise their contempt for the Black race when they declared that:

It (Africa) is no historical part of the world, it is no movement, or development to exhibit. Historical movement in it, that is in its northern part belong to the Asiatic or European world. Egypt does not belong to African spirit. What we properly understand by Africa is the unhistorical, undeveloped spirit still on the threshold of World History (Okpewho, Davies and Mazrui, 2001:30).

Commodities produced include, sugar, cotton and tobacco as they worked like beasts of burden in the various plantations. Tindall and Shi (2004:124) stated that the famous 'triangular trade' in which New Englanders ship ran to the west coast of Africa, and battered the slaves, took the slaves on the 'Middle Passage' to the West Indies and returned home with various commodities including Molasses, from which they manufactured rum. This was the fate of more than 11 million Africans taken to the America. It was the miserable and detestable condition of the African slaves both inside the slave ship and the plantations that sparked the consciousness for protest against their de-programmed status and made subjects to prolonged lack of self-knowledge (Bankie and Mchombu, 2008:77). DuBois (1996:61-2) noted that from 1522 to 1895, there were more than fifty-three slave revolts protesting against their

humiliation and demand for equal treatment. One of the protests in 1803 was led by Toussaint L'Overture seen as one of the great epics of revolutionary struggle and achievement (James, 1989:ix) in Haiti. It was the feeling of common suffering and need for solidarity that Pan Africanism emerged. It was a Diasporan phenomenon, a gift of the New World of America to the old world of Africa. According to Legum (1962:15),

The emotional impetus for its concepts flowed from the equities of a widely-dispersed people those of African stock who felt themselves either physically through dispossession or slavery, or socially, economically, politically and mentally through colonialism, to have lost their homeland, with this loss came enslavement, persecution, inferiority, discrimination and dependency.

Pan Africanism was a platform to fight against all mythical stereotypes, create a sense of pride and identity for Africa. It was a vision for the unification of all people of Black ancestry so that they can collectively confront the challenges facing them. Abdul-Raheem (1996:1999) opined that it is a form of global consciousness – the realization that no Black person will be free until, all Black people are free. It was a spiritual awakening aimed at upholding the personhood of the African, and as a spark of God that must be treated equally within the fold of humanity. Bankie and Mchombu (2008:194) defined it as:

A worldview that purports the oneness of black people by virtue of their common ancestry in Africa, and which stresses the need for Africans who live in the Diaspora and on the continent to form social, economic and political links in order to improve their standing in the world. Indeed, it was a process of self-actualization and recovery born out of a common bond of systematic denigration and dehumanization within the global division of labour. From the foregoing, we can point out some of the salient facts about Pan Africanism. These include, the unity of the African people, belief in a common ancestry, rejection of racial humiliation and the need to build Africa that would be the envy of the world. This is because it is wise for the Africans to govern themselves at home, and thereby bring peace and satisfaction to the entire human family (Garvey, 2014:72). These essentials were the motive force that fired the imagination of the forerunners such as Henry Sylvester Williams, W. E. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, C. L. R. James, George Padmore, Kwame Nkrumah and others. Nkrumah had warned on the essentiality of unity so that the dreams of Pan Africanism could be realized. He stated that:

If we do not formulate plans for unity and take active steps to form a political union, we will soon be fighting and warring among ourselves with imperialists and colonialists standing behind the screen pulling various wires, to make us cut each other's throat for the sake of their diabolical purposes in Africa (Bankie and Mchombu, 2008:212).

It was within this milieu that the first Pan African congress was convened in London in 1900 by Henry Sylvester Williams. Its avowed aim included, to act as a forum to protest against the aggressiveness of White colonialists, to bring people 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 interest

(Ajala, 1974:4). These aims formed the basis of the themes of subsequent conferences right from 1919 to the momentous 1945 Manchester Conference and even up to the 1960s.

Education and PanAfricansim

We noted earlier that education is the pivot of social engineering and catalyst for human development. This fact was highlighted in all the congresses. The Pan Africanists demurred and rejected colonial education because of its inherent inadequacy to carry on the mission and vision of PanAfricanism. Collins (2007:198) pointed out that:

The beginnings of education in Africa were laid in an age which assumed and without question the intrinsic value of European civilization. African institutions were judged purely in terms of their resemblance to those already known, and concern for improvement of African condition manifested itself in the effort to make them approximate as closely as possible to those of Europe.

Colonial education was purely dogmatic and geared towards the production of subservient and 'upright characters' that would be pliable and amenable to imperial manipulation. Therefore, to transcend this scenario, and achieve the goal of Diasporic unity, inspire a collective effort over global capitalism, ensure an exercise in self-identity and place Africa in the mainstream of human history (Rodney, 2001:39), educational transformation has become an imperative. It will question dogmatic internalizations and equip Africans with skills, competences and capacities. This involves a pedagogical renewal whose centre piece would be to place the continent on the pinnacle of global attention. The highpoint of this transformation is that Africa would not play a second fiddle to exogenous forces or become the underdogs and pliant of western capitalism. This was aptly encapsulated in the Garvey's (2014) slogan of African for Africans and the philosophy of African personality. Nkrumah (1961:125) posited that this transformative awakening must be in thoughts and praxis. As he put it, For too long in our history, Africa has spoken through the voices of others. Now what I have called African personality in international affairs will have a chance of making its proper impact and will let the world know it through the voices of Africa's own sons.

African personality represents a transformed African whose psychology is reflective of the regenerative and renascent Africa that has come of age. It should no longer take orders (Wilmot, 1980:186), forced advice from 'experts' whose sole aims is economic subjugation. According to Quaison-Sackey (1963:35),

In asserting our African personality, we shall be free to act in our individual and collective interests at any particular time. We shall also be able to exert our influence on the side of peace and uphold the rights of all peoples to decide for themselves their own forms of government as well as the rights of peoples, regardless of races, colour, or creed, to lead their own lives in freedom and without fear.

This transformative pedagogy is the hallmark of Nkrumah's (2009:79) philosophical consciencism, which is that philosophical standpoint which taking its start from the present content of the African conscience, indicates the way in which progress is forged out of conflict

in that conscience. A careful reading of most of the Resolutions and Declarations of the congresses, will notice the vital role placed on education. The 1919 congress in Paris – France unambiguously stated that:

It shall be the right of every native child to learn to read and write his own language, and the language of the trustee nation, at public expense, and to be given technical instruction in some branch of industry. The state shall also educate as large a number of natives as possible in higher technical and cultural training and maintain a corps of native teachers.

The 1945 congress in Manchester had a radical undertone and apparently made Pan Africanism a mass ideology. It breached imperialism's wall and ushered the era of positive action (Olaniyan, 1982:133). In a tune of militancy, it declared that if the western world is still determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans, as a last resort, many have to appeal to force in the effort to achieve freedom, even if force destroys them and the world (Legum, 1962:137). Section 111(7) of its Resolution advocated for a compulsory free and uniform education for all children up to the age of sixteen, with free meals, free books and school equipment. The Ghana – Guinea Union which was envisaged to be the nucleus of the United States of Africa stated in its Declaration of Basic Principles of the Union of May 1, 1959 that to bring Africa closer together, the Union will take the necessary measures to co-ordinate historical research, the teaching of languages and cultural activities designed to promote the harmonious development of African civilization. The conference of Negro Writers and Artists in September 19-22, 1956 in Paris, France did not lose sight of the regenerative power of education. In its Resolution, it stated that:

We affirm that all peoples should be placed in a position where they can learn their natural cultural values (history, language, literature, etc) and enjoy the benefit of education within the framework of their own culture (Legum, 1962:212).

The most powerful demonstration of the importance of education to African transformation was epitomized in the first conference of Independent African States in Accra, Ghana from April 15-22 1959. Among other things, the conference recommended that all participating members should:

- (i) Promote and facilitate the exchange of teachers and Professors;
- (ii) Encourage the establishment of cultural centers in each other's country on the approval of the country in which such a centre may be established and in conformity with its laws, regulations and practices;
- (iii) Encourage and facilitate the exchange of their students, each providing a certain number of scholarships for students from each other African countries;
- (iv) Facilitate the exchange of exhibitions, educational, scientific and cultural materials including books, periodicals, bulletin, audio-visual aids and other cultural and educational materials;
- (v) Spare no efforts to revise the historical and geography text books and syllabi used in their schools with the view to removing any incorrect information due to colonial and other foreign influences (Mutiso and Rohio, 1987:359).

There is no better time to maximize the inherent values and potentials of these Resolutions and Declarations than now. This is because the challenges of neo-colonialism and liberal market orthodoxy have made it a necessity that the content and focus of African education must be adjusted to profoundly explore the fullest benefit of Pan African ideology and most importantly, place the continent on the transformative trajectory. It is against this backdrop that Akubue and Enyi (2001:130) declared that African development depends to a large extent on the level of education of its population, its technical qualifications and its ability to apply science and technology. This type of transformative education will create an innate awakening and renewal in all ramifications. Its enduring slogan will be anchored on self-reliance and equal cooperation with all countries. It will inspire Africans to assiduously work for a better future for the continent, jettison the reliance on 'imaginary others', execution of externally-manipulated programmes most often seen as an irrelevant metaphysical utopia (Babwale et al, 2011:134), and rise beyond the present never-ending macabre dance of misery and poverty. This is simply a re-launch of the continent into the global orbit with a rejuvenated vigour and determination that Africa will no more play a subservient role to the current western-dictated geopolitical order. According to Campbell,

The first is to make an impact on the people in the process of transforming the national consciousness of the 20th century. Pan African liberation is not only linked to the quest for a new social system, but also one in which the development of productive force is not simply linked to the production of goods but also to the creation of new human beings. This perspective of the transformation of gender relations, free men, free women, and children of cultural freedom of harnessing the positive knowledge of the African past now forms part of the conception of the struggle for Pan African liberation in the 21st century.

The Pan Africanism of the 21st century will be mass-oriented, having emancipated the people from mental slavery, deepen inter-African intellectual cooperation and engender men and women whose all-out mobilization prowess and creative potentials would reshape African political economy to be responsive to the African poor. This far-reaching social change cannot be successful without a leadership that has internalized the values of educational transformation. It is a leadership that must think Africa, develop a pragmatic and resourceful mind and endeavour to wipe out all vestiges of domestic exploitation, neo-patrimonial ethic and politics of exclusion. Friedman (2007) asserted that the 21st century would be flat. Therefore, you need the ability to foster adaptability and adoptability to reap its advantages through education. The right educational system to get more of your people innovating and collaborating on the flat-world platform (Friedman, 2007:48). Africa cannot afford to miss this rare opportunity because to do otherwise is to deepen the global insignificance of the continent in the 21st century.

Matters Arising

In expanding the ideas of Pan Africanism in the 21st century through educational transformation, we are confronted with three matters:

- (i) Perennial crises in the continent
- (ii) Leadership deficit.
- (iii) Neo-colonial manipulation.

These matters arising from the continent have greatly constituted an encumbrance to the realization of the ideals of Pan Africanism in the 21st century. Let us briefly examine them. We have stated the mission of educational transformation which is to make Pan Africanism an emancipator concept and agenda for African development . An agenda that would check the New Scramble for Africa which sees its resources as a magnificent cake to be exploited leaving its people impoverished. This can only be actualized in a peaceful environment. But the reality seems to be a threat to this agenda. Africa entered the 21st century with a basket of achievements full of despair, extreme poverty, bloody wars, with States that have assumed the despicable status of corrupt primordial organization. In its 2000 report, the World Bank (WB) noted that Africa entered the 21st century with many of the world's poorest countries. In fact, by the late twentieth century uncontrollable fratricidal wars had ravaged the continent and caused the needless death of millions of Africans. Between 1956 and 2007, 48 States of sub-Saharan Africa experienced 80 successful and 108 failed coups (Williams, 2011:152).

The fierce pursuit for the spoils of politics has ignited endless and devastating conflicts which made The Economist in 2000 to declare Africa as a hopeless continent. The State was not only criminalized, education became a dream to millions of children, some of them conscripted into insurgent groups as child soldiers. Adebayo and Rashid (2004:195) noted that the persistence of wars in certain parts of Africa has made pseudo-academic Afro-pessimism fashionable and acceptable in some parts of the West. This gloomy fate of Africa was also highlighted in the 2003 Human development Report of the United Nations Development Programme. The report described the 1990s as a decade of despair for Africa, and well over \$700 billion were lost in damages since 2000 alone (Williams, 2011:1). In this cantankerous and hostile environment, it becomes a dream for Pan Africanism to manifest itself in the daily life and cultural activities of the people.

The instability that has engulfed the political landscape of the continent is largely traceable to its leadership laxity and myopia. For the past sixty years or so, the African leadership that inherited political power from colonialism has not disentangled itself from the seamless relationship with neo-colonial forces, such that what is paramount is the satisfaction of the interest of its external allies. According to Babwale et al (2011:163), The indigenous bourgeoisie which took over government at independence lacked a secure material base and used its political power for accumulation. In this preoccupation, they found allies in the retreating European colonialists. The alliance of the African leadership with the west ensured that Europe remained the centre of policy formulation for African states with the attendant consequences that African states gained the interests of the amalgamated classes than those of the masses.

The result of this neo-colonial nexus is the unalloyed deification of market fundamentalism, and the defense of possessive individualism. The personalization and personification of political power have created an ambit of crisis of personal ambitions anchored on politics of exclusivity whose murderous intent has created an atmosphere of intolerance and despondency. All these cracks are able to subsist because of the acceptance and incubation of neo-colonialism. Nkrumah (2004:ix) emphatically stated that:

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 policy is directed from above.

Neo-colonial forces in spite of African independence have made it possible for African leaders to kowtow before western values and interests. Most of the time, these are detrimental to African development vision. Neo-colonialism does not recognize other interest except its own. This is why it portends the greatest danger and challenge to Africa reawakening. It is against this backdrop that a continental union has become timely. This will consolidate African interests, make it impossible for some African leaders to be pliant and spokesmen of imperialism in Africa. Perhaps, this was why the idea of unity became one of President Kwame Nkrumah's cherished concern. A continent merging of our areas, our populations and our resources, will alone give full substance to our aspirations to advance from our pre-industrial state to that stage of development that can provide for all the people the high standard of living and welfare amenities of the most advanced industrial states (Nkrumah, 1974:168). It is this neo-colonial factor that has weakened the Pan African spark and assessment in the Congo (DR Congo) crisis, which led to the horrible torture and death of President Patrice Lumumba and two of his ministers by Belgium soldiers.

Conclusion and Recommendations

It is a historical truism that education is a spark of enlightenment and broadens the horizon of the individual to his/her maximum capacity. In whatever form it is conducted, its goal is the transmission of yesteryears achievements and challenges to the present generation, and builds competences and skills to surmount future challenges. It is emancipator in nature, and abhors mental slavery, promotes, and protects human freedom. It is within this prism that it is seen as an essential condition for human development and empowerment.

Therefore, to deprive a people the right and benefit of education is to consign them to Plato's cave. Such a people will be groping in the dark alley of backwardness, and susceptible to foreign manipulation. The pioneers of Pan Africanism were not unaware of this objective fact. This was why at every Declaration and Resolution, education was unmistakably seen as a tool to perpetuate the Pan African consciousness. Unfortunately, by the 1960s to the first decade of the twenty-first century, Pan Africanism has lost its appeal, vibrancy, frustrated and almost on a twilight path. These have made the idea strange and irrelevant to the younger generation, especially students. Others see it within the tradition of what Mazrui (2000:27) calls romantic gloriana that does not offer any strategic importance to the present epoch.

Although, the ideal of Pan Africanism can be reawakened through educational transformation, but such matters like leadership deficit, insecurity and neo-colonial forces continue to rise up. This is because most African leaders have almost become enemies of the governed, and within the political noose of global capital. For such leaders, neo-patrimonial practices becomes a norm, with an exclusive governance which rebuts all democratic tenets, justifies the 'fallacy of electoralism', and pushes its policies through the logic of force rather than the force of logic. This type of leadership does not see anything abnormal in neo-liberal practices, and cannot motivate and mobilize the people to imbibe the Pan African ideology.

In spite of these drawbacks, we cannot be despondent and engage in an unending agony. We must make a commitment at whatever level to rejuvenate our common heritage and mass unity. We must consciously rededicate ourselves to the African values which galvanized our brothers and sisters in the Diaspora to reject subservient and ascribed status. Educational transformation through research, exchange of intellectual programmes, regular conferences and seminars should be the bedrock of this transformation. These cannot materialize without a leadership that is conscious of its consciousness. It is against this backdrop that Maimela (2013:38) noted that:

The combination of questionable leadership and the struggle for a return to a just and fair battle of ideas (the struggle) for the reconstruction of Africa as a knowledge speed, makes the Pan African agenda a worthy and yet challenging struggles to wage in the 21st century.

With a leadership imbued with Pan African ideology, it would garner the political muscle to push the continent out of Afro-Pessimism to Afro-Optimism, and ensure the practice of critical geo-politics for rejection of the State-centric formulations of politics and the ethno-centric traits in classical political writings and their current reiterations (Babawale et al, 2011:279). This will mark the genesis of a world order where Africa would play a dominant and prominent role.

Recommendations

It is based on the foregoing that we make the following recommendations:

- (i) Pan Africanism should be mainstreamed in the syllabi of African students from the kindergarten to the tertiary level.
- (ii) African leaders must be responsive to their people and expand the political space for popular participation in line with sections 2 and 7 of the African Charter on Popular participation in Development.
- (iii) There should be established in all tertiary institutions in Africa, a Department of African Studies that would be engaged in the study of African past, present and make preparations for the future.
- (iv) There should be a biennial forum for evaluation of African achievements and challenges involving civil society groups intellectuals, students and the government.
- (v) Efforts should also be made to facilitate inter-African visits and cultural exchanges through the removal of visa barriers and other travel restrictions.

It is our cherished desire that these recommendations will flip the needed spark that would turn around Africa in the twenty-first century. As Rodney (1996) advised, we must continue the groundings with our brothers.

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