

A PHILOSOPHICAL APPRAISAL OF PAN-AFRICANISM AS A REMEDY TO XENOPHOBIA IN AFRICA

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Abstract

In the world economy, globalization flourishes and thrives on migration. Migration is vital in the growth of the economy of any nation because it has the promise of enhancing the conditions of living. Migration and migrants is not a foreign concepts in Africa. Thus, here is a tendency for a hiked competition in both economic and social opportunities. If 'Ubuntu' fused into communalism and communal survival summarizes the African existence, how then can we explain the cases of xenophobia in Africa? How do we interpret the identity of the African in the light of Western individualism and African communalism? If xenophobia presupposes a feeling of insecurity by natives and indigenes against foreigners, what is the cause of such in Africa? Is it scarcity of economic opportunities associated with migration or as a result of crisis of identity in the African or both? What could promote the crisis of personhood in African? Pan-Africanism throughout history has served as a connection between African states to smoothen their differences. Since conflict is largely an inevitable aspect of the healthy functioning of societies; it is evident that xenophobia is one of such conflicts. The research aims to underscore how xenophobia springs from the crisis of personhood and how it affects the unity of African states. As a remedy to xenophobia in African, the research looks into what is indigenous to Africa and her people. Thus, the research proposes Pan-Africanism. The research shall interpret how xenophobia springs from crises in identity which is a threat to the unity that bounds nations and this can be remedied through proper understanding of Pan-Africanism. At the end of the day, pan-Africanism shall be interpreted properly without nostalgia as against its current lukewarm-nature of today.

Keywords: Pan-Africanism, Xenophobia, Colonialism, African unity

Introduction

Migration is vital as long as nations are united by economies; migrants moving from one place to another for a greener pasture and better living opportunity. Colonialism ended in Africa through nationalist movements but it left lots of negative effects on many African societies. The African suffered all forms of slavery including physical and mental slavery which affected the way he views himself. The African as an individual have been reduced to a second-class citizen where he sees himself as inferior and the whites (colonial masters) as superior. As Daryl Zizwe Poe (2003) stated, "The enslavers would forbid: (1) speech in African languages, (2) worshipping of previously adopted or created religions, and (3) maintenance of prior family structures when attempting to "break" enslaved Africans... the cultural practices of the enslaved populations mutated to new forms allowing the continuation of many cultural values." The white race dominated the black race until the breakthrough came starting from the fight for independence. However, after a successful story in the fight against colonialism, the inferiority experience remained. This inferiority nature has remained and was passed down to generations despite gaining and attaining both economic and political independence. Colonialism robbed the African societies of their old ways of existence which were traditional but it promoted unity amongst and across boundaries. Colonialism introduced a lot in Africa; religion, education, economy, politics, and culture which all sums up the clash of personality the African individual is experiencing.

The African is arguably, a victim of colonialism. The advent of Western culture in Africa through the colonial masters resulted in a struggle for identity in Africa. The imposition of a foreign culture led to the introduction of a new form of education, religion, politics, and economy by the colonial masters. Colonialism which thrives evidently on the divide and rule principle was applied in Africa, where it recorded huge successes. Traditional Africa was divided into different ethnic groups rather, and they had their differences but lived by the principle of Ubuntu- ‘live and let us live’. Africa was united, free, independent, originally traditional and, one in the pre-colonial era. However, in postcolonial societies, cases of violence, quarrels, and black-on-black racism have been reported and are on the rise. Arguably, ethnicity is a product of colonialism and it has resulted in a lot of damages in many African states. The emergence of xenophobia which is both fear and hatred of foreigners by natives is a result of the personality crisis the African suffers as a result of colonialism. For example, a new economy was introduced and birthed from colonialism. This new economy has been crucial in the crisis of personhood of the African as it led to the apartheid violence which gave rise to the anti-migration violence that prompted xenophobia. African societies became violent and retained violence when the colonial and imperialist masters tried to subject them to slavery.

Africans were living in unity and peacefully with contentment guided by the communal living of Ubuntu in the pre-colonial era. However, the advent of the colonial masters was the beginning of the crisis of identity suffered by most Africans. Slavery and colonialism ushered the awakening spirit of the African who begins his search for his personality. The experiences from both the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras shaped the events that surround the life of most Africans. The quest for identity dates as far back to the eighteenth and nineteenth century; the era of colonization in Africa by the Europeans. The Europeans did not only carry out economic exploitations, they imposed their culture on the Africans. The mixture and interaction of local culture and a foreign culture lead to an internal personality crisis on the African. The aftermath on post-colonial States was felt but more damage was on the African individual; converting a simply individual into a complicated individual. His decisions have been influenced by lots of external factors which borrow from both an existential and historical origin. However, an irony would be, a continent that is still a victim of racism against them simply because of their skin color is guilty of the same crime. It begs an imaginative - how a united black race would turn racist against one another leading to violent attacks. Why xenophobia in Africa? From observation of the two scenarios below, where can we really place the blame of Xenophobia on?

A man from the Congo was attacked and he cried but no-one helped him. And after the thief had gone, the people on the sides said that 'because you are crying in English, we didn't help you. If you are crying in Zulu, we will help you'. Then he went to the police and was told that 'you are not our brother, we can't help you.'

And,

In 1998, a Mozambican immigrant was thrown from a moving train and two Senegalese were electrocuted in an attempt to escape the violence unleashed on them by a group of South Africans returning from an ‘Unemployed Masses of South Africa’ rally in Pretoria. (Vale, P., 2002)

From the above scenarios, the following can be observed; language, culture, tribe and ethnicity is a strong tie amongst Africans; it is evident that xenophobia cannot be separated from violence and physical abuse and there is no patriotic value amongst Africans. Xenophobia has raised intra-black tension which has resulted in a divided frontier in African unity. After the fight for independence and freedom from the shackles of slavery and colonialism, the post-nationalist adopted Pan-Africanism as an umbrella to reestablish the pre-colonial unity that existed before colonialism. These freedom fighters saw the division which was inevitable because of the advent of colonialism which was built on divide and rule. Xenophobia in all that it entertains is not African, rather, it is a form of racism that centers on tribalism and greed for economic opportunities. Today, the fight is not against colonialism but to be free from its shackles; it is against xenophobia; it is for the protection of a developing Africa – without

unity, Africa cannot be developed. Thus, the research exposes the ill dangers xenophobia possess to Pan-African unity.

Injustice includes when a crime is committed and zero or little action is taken to ensure that the perpetrator(s) are brought to book. This also goes a long way to encourage the perpetrator that he/she is free to act against another and would not be held accountable. Xenophobic attacks occur almost every year in Africa with South Africa recording the most disaster on foreigners (migrants) from nationals. There is little or no policing, prosecution nor arrest of nationals, and this lack of zero accountability, injustice not only serves as a recipe but also feeds the cycle of xenophobic attacks. Xenophobia is another form of tribalism in which what is happening at the international frontier is also happening in domestic nations. For example, we experience in Nigeria incidents of such practices as ethnicism and tribalism as well as general mistrust which instigates conflicts within the pauperized masses in Nigeria. For a nation that promotes peace and unity, how do we remedy the ideology of 'tribe first' and 'others' are foreigners?

The post-colonial quest for African nations is to achieve a frontier for a united Africa. How can we achieve a solid African Union when most Africans suffer a personality crisis of both self-hating and also hates one that looks like himself? How can we explain black racism on blacks; inclusion of violent attacks on innocent foreigners? Could the cause of xenophobia be as a result of a crisis in identity which results in a misplaced priority? What is the fate of foreign nationals in other nations whose native attack, injure, destroy the livelihood and even kill other foreign nationals? Is xenophobia rising as a result of bad governance or as a result of the crisis in identity or both? How can we remedy xenophobia and restore the African Union? Finally, the research questions what happened to Pan-Africanism in the time of the nationalist leaders and how different will it serve as a remedy to xenophobia which is also caused by the crisis of identity in most Africans? What is the lacuna between the Pan-Africanism today and xenophobia? Pan-Africanism is not a new theorem, why has it failed to capture the essence of African unity?

The researchers aim to interpret the effects of colonialism, how these effects have led the African individual into a crisis in personality. Xenophobia emanates from this crisis of personhood which has led to the loss of both lives and properties amongst African states who are supposed to be one and united. The popular saying goes that it is difficult and almost impossible to break a bunch of broom because they are united. However, xenophobia has disrupted African unity and thus, introduced ethnic differences amongst blacks. A house that is not united and fights against itself will fall. There is indeed the need for a united Africa but no longer that of the precolonial era. In other words, this research proposes pan-Africanism as a remedy to both xenophobia and the crisis of personhood. Pan-Africanism in this research will serve as a remedy and thus, integrate properly the unity that bounds Africa in the spirit of Ubuntu. This is in line with the view of Hashi Kenneth (2018) who regarded xenophobia 'to be thoroughbred tribalism, behaves and acts contrary to the humane precepts which African humanism profess'. Many have advocated for the United State of Africa through which African unity can be revived. However, this cannot be achieved if there is no liberal movement and this research is proposing Pan-Africanism. The Pan-Africanism articulated by Nkrumahism did not opt for nostalgia but for a new African society, enriched with the latest technological options yet based on what he considered traditional African principles (D. Zizwe Poe, 2002). The fight against racism, colonialism, tribalism, ethnicity, imperialism, and xenophobia will be a success through a united Africa and a united Africa can be achieved through Pan-Africanism – notwithstanding that it may have its shortcomings.

Conceptualization of Pan-Africanism

Historically, pan-Africanism is rooted in the era of slave trade and survived actively till the 1960s. Pan-Africanism was originated by African descents in the diaspora, primarily from the Caribbean and United States of America. Some boldly say that Pan-Africanism is a gift of black diasporans in the Northern Hemisphere to African brothers and sisters. The "Pan-African Movement" started with the Afro-American black Diasporas as a response against the oppression and exploitation of the black men by a racist white people. Racial injustice in the land of USA and the Caribbean has pushed and motivated black political activities and elites to address the structured and organized way of marginalization over

the black people. This shared struggle gave birth to a Pan-African movement and ideology. Many scholars argue without hesitating that Pan-Africanism was not African in its origin and leadership however, it can be argued that ownership of Pan-African Movement and practice was not passed to Africans until the 5th pan-African conference. Micah S. Tsomondo (2006) portrays;

The concept of Pan-Africanism has been around for a long time in spite of great historical events. Beginning as the nationalist thought of more or less detribalized Africans in the New World during the era of slavery, Pan-Africanism has survived the impact of such developments as the U.S. civil war and reconstruction, the post-reconstruction era, the rise and fall of the Garvey Movement, European colonialism in Africa, the Russian and other socialist revolutions of the twentieth century, and the black freedom movement in Africa, the United States, and the Caribbean since 1945.

The first pan-African conference was organized by Henry Sylvester. Henry Sylvester Williams was a Trinidadian who was working in London as a barrister. The conference lasted for three days and participants from British Colonies, the UK, and the USA addressed a number of issues regarding racial oppression and discrimination. Marika Sherwood (2002) identified the major agendas of the 1900 Pan-African Conference as;

To secure civil and political rights for Africans and their descendants throughout the world; to encourage friendly relations between the Caucasian and African races; to encourage African people everywhere in educational, industrial, and commercial enterprise; to approach governments and influence legislation in the interest of black races; and to ameliorate the condition of the oppressed negro in all parts of the world.

Consequently, five other pan-African conferences (from the 2nd-5th) were organized and led by an Afro-American scholar-W.E.B DuBois. Pan-Africanism today has gained reputation having come a long way from eight (8) conferences. Chronologically, the 1st pan-African congress took place in Paris in 1919 which focused on racial segregation and marginalization. The 2nd congress took place in 1921 (with three separate sessions- in London, Brussels, and Paris), the 3rd pan-African conference held in 1923 (with two separate sessions- in London and Lisbon), the 4th pan-African conference gathered in 1927 in New York, the 5th conference took place in 1945 (Manchester), in 1974, the 6th conference held in (Dar es Salaam), the 7th conference held in 1994 (Kampala), and in 2014, the 8th was hosted in Johannesburg with the intention to address issues facing Africa as a result of European colonization.³ These pan-African conferences (from 2nd - 8th) aimed the fight for racial discrimination, dignity of black people, and again intended to generate solutions for multidimensional problems of African descent.

What Truly Is The Pan-Africanist Movement?

The African Union (AU) defined Pan-Africanism as “an ideology and movement that encourages the solidarity of Africans worldwide.” Oyewole and Joash (2006), viewed Pan-Africanism from two main standpoints. First, they viewed it as an ideology that recognizes the African and Afro-American intellectuals and political activists as identical, and thus, it strengthens racial solidarity based on a new self-consciousness. Secondly, they saw it as a movement that promotes political independence, racial equality, and continental unity.

From the above standpoints, one can deduce that the success of African states in all affairs depend on continental unity and proper recognition of Africa’s shared values, cultures, and beliefs. The earliest concept of Pan-Africanism emphasizes political and cultural unification among the people of Africa. Ofuately Kodjoe (1998), in support, defines Pan-Africanism as; “the acceptance of oneness of all people of African descent and the commitment to the betterment of all people of African descent.” From the above, one can conclude that Pan-Africanism is an instrument which mobilizes people of African hereditary across the world in order to build a common cultural, political and economic community.

Pan-Africanism aims to achieve this by capitalizing and paying attention to the issue of racial discrimination, social segregation, economic exploitation, and denigration of self-rule.

Notwithstanding, contemporary situations of Pan-Africanism since the early 1970s till today continues to record nothing or the barest minimum progress when it comes to African unity. The emotion and commitment of African political leaders and activists towards the home grown ideology of Pan-Africanism has been deteriorating. The post-independent African leaders have immediately forgotten the role of Pan-Africanism by failing to build on what is indigenous. Rather, they started looking at external (foreign) resources, ideologies, and policies for socio-economic development of their respective countries. Majority of African countries despite the entitlement of relative political independence, still suffer and are battling with corruption, mass poverty, devastating war, identity conflict, bad governance and the like. As a result of this, Ibraheem B. Sanusi (2003), summarizes the importance of a new wave of Pan-Africanism as;

Pan-African leaders have made conscious efforts to unite African people, in order to collectively deal with the multiple economic, social, and political challenges on the regional, national and global fronts facing the continent. Widespread poverty, devastating conflicts with attendant socio-economic ramifications, and numerous health issues, such as HIV/AIDS, malnutrition, malaria, high rate of infant mortality, and tuberculosis are to mention but a few some of the pressing contemporary challenges. That is why I firmly argue for the revisiting of a recently forgotten Pan-African ideology in a way that eradicates our chronic contemporary glitches mentioned above.

Walters .R. (2009), in his work, *Pan-Africanism in the African Diaspora: An analysis of modern Afrocentric Political Movement* stated that the term 'Pan-Africanism is used throughout when referring to aspects of the formal movement analyzed. Thus for him, it refers to the phenomenon itself in the generic sense of its usage. Pan-Africanism is a dynamic and creative strategic response of African culture to a challenging environment.

Pan-African nationalism as philosophy and ideology incorporates the political, historical, cultural, spiritual, and scientific legacies of African people and the 'diaspora'. Pan-Africanism is a cultural and political movement which promotes moral values, social norms, traditional principles, and customary laws that are the product of the ancient African civilizations. Evidently, Pan-Africanism as a system has struggled against slavery, racism, colonialism, imperialism, and neocolonialism but it remains an indigenous concept that encompasses the theories of African unity. Major actors of the Pan-African movement believed that the African people had brought peace and survived long until the coming of European colonizers by the help of these traditional moral values and customary laws.

Furthermore, we can deduce that Pan-Africanism has two major goals. The first is to abolish slavery and colonialism by using Africanized ideology. The second one is to realize the Pan-Africanist dream of "United States of Africa". With the same spirit, Pan-Africanism has carried a mission of correcting the historical injustices of slavery, colonialism and racism. At the same time, Pan-Africanism also shouldered the goal of building a "Supra-State Authority" by eliminating colonial and artificial borders. To strengthen this assertion, Abdalla Bujra (2004), has proposed the following claim:

The Pan-African congress held in Manchester, in 1945, brought together African nationalist leaders from the diaspora and expressed Africa's vision in the following terms: (a) to achieve independence from colonial rule throughout the continent, so that Africans can rule themselves democratically, (b) to achieve continental unity so that Africa can (i) experience faster economic growth and catch up with the industrial countries, and (ii) assume strong position within the international system.

After a thorough examination and assessment, it is only obvious that with the current situation of Africa and from what is happening today especially the xenophobic violence, Pan-Africanism has achieved only its first goal which is, political independence. Pan-African ideology has failed in achieving continental unity and economic development which is the second and most important mission of Pan-Africanism. Since the 1960s, the level and extent of poverty in Africa has been continuing; territorial conflicts among independent African states and economic crisis have been increasing in alarming pace. Africa today is synonymous with poverty, conflict, human trafficking, corruption, unemployment, xenophobia and the like. These worst situations of the continent have proved the fact that the earlier Pan-African movement did not go further in fulfilling its second objective i.e. unity and development in particular and in resolving the contemporary complications of the continent in general. Where can we find the right and positive return to the early pan-Africanist movement?

The Spirit of Ubuntu and the Pan-Africanist Movement

The spirit of Ubuntu is the essence of the Ubuntu philosophy not as an ideology but as a living principle which unites all African existence. Ubuntu is a life philosophy because it connects both the individual and the community. In Africa, the community comprises not only the living but the dead whom are referred to as ancestors. The dead and the living are both spirits who exist in different dimensions.

The South African constitutional court regarded the ‘spirit of Ubuntu’ as something that is part of the deep cultural heritage of the majority of the population.⁶¹ Ubuntu in Nelson Mandela’s philosophy has peace as its core value. Like him, other South African leaders such as Desmond Tutu, Thabo Mbeki (2004) and other few view Ubuntu as an African philosophy which engages and encompasses all aspect of the African values. “Ubuntu is the gift that Africa will give world” Tutu agrees.

Dr. Richard Bolden (1997) in his article “Ubuntu” identifies the importance of Ubuntu as;

African concept of Ubuntu articulates a rational and compassionate worldview that resonates with many of the principles of action research. It offers a means for expressing the inter-dependent and inter-subjective dimensions of human experience and calls for an inclusive approach that embraces diversity, collaboration and co-construction of knowledge.

It is evident that Dr. Richard Bolden is aware that Ubuntu is alive but domicile in Africa. Taking into consideration, he identified the rich benefits that the African could gain if they channel all aspect of existence into Ubuntu. This is because Ubuntu covers the individual and the society (community) especially one that involves diverse cultures. Therefore, it would not be out of place to subject leadership into the spirit of Ubuntu.

It is very much evident that the most distinct and striking feature of the African society is her non-individualistic existence. The communal life supersedes that of the individual. The individual is not placed above the community rather; he finds existence and personhood in the community. The saying that ‘a tree does not make a forest’ elaborates the communal living of the Africans. Clearly from this, John Mbiti (2021), summarizes the spirit of Ubuntu as it relates to African communion to “I am because we are; and since we are, therefore I am.” Narrowly, there is a similar notion from Yusuf Turaki when he stated that “people are not individuals, living in a state of independence but part of a community, living in relationship and inter-dependence.”

The spirit of Ubuntu is the binding force that keeps the community as one. It is evident not only in the Bantu community but in all African communities. It is the backbone of many indigenous African communities. It covers the individual under the umbrella of the community. For example, in the Igbo settings, the individual is not lost in the community wholeness rather he is identified in the hierarchy; first is the individual – The ‘umu’ in ‘umu-ntu’ which provides being-ness of an individual. Secondly is the family – The makeup of various individuals under the leadership of father, mother, children, extended and nuclear members of the family. Thirdly, the kindred – This comprise of a small family which has grown into a large number of extended members. The Kindred is made of units of different families who share the same bloodline of a longer generation. Lastly, the village/community – The community is a group of families who share the same ideologies, bonded by culture and traditions.

From the above, the society is a place which gives being-ness and existence to the individual. Ubuntu elaborates our humaneness as well as ensures equity in the society. The Ubuntu spirit is a persuasive spirit of caring and community, harmony and hospitality, respect and responsiveness that individuals display to one another. It is able to promote genuine harmony and continuity throughout the wider human system but I could also be abused.

The abuse of Ubuntu by African leaders especially Nigerian leaders is rooted in many wrong doings which may seem right but are not. The idea upholds that these leaders believe that they are living out the spirit of Ubuntu without knowing they are actually responsible for the ill nature of our society. Most times, we see leaders making statements such as 'this project is my little way of giving back to the society' or 'this community belongs to you and I and so, other communities do not deserve my attention'. In our society today, many leaders move around with the misconception that Ubuntu is all about giving to their immediate community without regards to the general whole. Nigeria for example, is a nation of about 300 tribes with a leadership system that is configured in a manner where power is centralized and built around the leaders against the people.

An individual naturally promotes, protects and advances his community before looking outside. It is paramount in African communities that nepotism and favoritism upholds a high stake of actuality when it comes to living out Ubuntu. Many leaders promote the interest of their families, relatives, ethnic and even social groups to the detriment of the society at large. Philosophically, it would seem a movement from a 'particular' to the 'general'. Naturally, it would be unethical to give concern and resources meant for the general to particular. Naturally, humanity presupposes that the universal is more important against the subjective. That is to say, when a leader who is mandated with the responsibility to lead and promote the interest of the universal (community) turns around to uphold his subjective view as against the universal is equally placing a knife of division in the unity of that State.

In Nigeria for instance, a leader who is elected to represent the nation and also protect the interest of his community, will occasionally, place his community first before the nation. A typical Nigerian leader cherish his community more than his nation. The idea that an ethnic group will always protect their leaders is because most of them gave to the community what is meant for the nation. When the nation comes for them, they run to their ethnic communities to seek refuge. Contracts, infrastructures, job opportunities and other benefits would be distributed based on nepotism and favoritism. These leaders may think they are promoting their community but they are doing so to the detriment of the whole nation.

David W. Lutz (2021), views that nepotism has to do with tribalism which he expresses deep concern on how it affects the ethical of community existence. He states;

...tribalism is ethically equivalent to racism; both involve denying others their due because they differ from us in some morally irrelevant respect. It is in the true interest of each of the members of a true community to recruit and promote on the basis of merit.

Pan-Africanism is the cooperative movement among peoples of African origin to unite their efforts in the struggle to liberate Africa and its scattered and suffering people; to liberate them from the oppression and exploitation associated with Western hegemony and the international expansionism of the capitalist system. Given this status, this sense of exceptionalism sharply contradicts the notion of the African Renaissance popularized by former President Thabo Mbeki. Rather than a sense of national consciousness, the African Renaissance stresses Pan-Africanism and African political, economic, and cultural integration. In a bid to advance his ideas, Mbeki made his 'I am an African' speech at the adoption of South Africa's Constitution Bill in Cape Town on 8 May 1996. The speech emphasized the Africaness of both Mbeki and South Africans in general. From that speech, South Africa's rhetorical support for Pan-Africanism was manifested in its commitment to the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) and the Organization of African Unity's (OAU) transition to the African Union (AU).

Julius Nyerere (1971), summarized the traditional African society using African socialism. African socialism for him is distributive as its concern is to give to those who sow to reap a fair share of what they have sown. Everybody in the African socialist community is a worker. He states;

One of the most socialistic achievements of our society was the sense of security it gave to its members and the universal hospitality on which they could rely. But it is too often forgotten nowadays that the basis of this great socialistic achievement was this... but we did not have that other form of modern parasite- the loiterer, or idler, who accepts the hospitality of society as his "right" but gives nothing in return.

Julius Nyerere in his work, *African Socialism and Pan-Africanism* equated Pan-Africanism with socialism. For him, everybody in traditional Africa was a worker, and livelihood was centered on the community. Nyerere kicks hard against capitalism which he felt promoted individualism. In his view, capitalism was introduced by the advent of the colonial masters and thus, is foreign to Africans. Capitalism created in Africans the greed to acquire wealth at the detriment of their neighbors.

Christelle Terreblanche (2002), argues that some post-colonial statehood projects did not outline their founders by stating;

We may be tempted to apply this view to Nyerere's African socialism. However, John Saul (2013) and Daryl Chaser (2013) gave exception to include the socialist and Ubuntu principle of Nyerere's *Ujamaa* (family socialism) in Tanzania and Senghor's Negritude in Senegal.

In attempts to narrow the African society down to Ubuntu, Christelle Terreblanche (2002), in her work affirmed Ubuntu to be an active archaic and patriarchal relic in the contemporary debate on the African society. According to her, "Ubuntu brings about a shared world; promotes the experience of building, enhancing and at times, repairing the moral fabric of an aspirational community; it is a reparation of broken relationships."

Okoro Kingsley (2006), agrees with Christelle Terreblanche that Ubuntu summarizes African socio-religious and political philosophy. According to him, 'Ubuntu' defines human relationships in terms of universal brotherhood to all persons. It abhors discrimination of any sort. One is tempted to ask if Africa is the home of brotherhood as explained in Ubuntu – communalism. Why then the paradigm shift from love to hate in today's post-colonial era? The question is between having an ideology and practicing it. How do we explain Ubuntu in relation to pan-Africanism as an African ideology on the one hand and xenophobia on the other hand?

The patriarchs of Pan-Africanism may be gone but the fire they ignited is still burning. The issue here is that Pan-Africanism has generated more rhetoric and literature and dominated political discourse perhaps more than any other issue. Though the achievements of the movement can be said to be modest, this has not killed the spirit, desire and belief in getting strength out of unity. It is generally recognized, and therefore need not be overemphasized that, unity remains an objective worth pursuing if Africa is to benefit from economies of scale in her industrialization process.

Appraising Pan-Africanism as a Remedy To Xenophobia

The outcome of our socio-historical survey in this research shows xenophobia as a defining paradigm of human relation and it is an alien custom in Africa. Xenophobia as a socio-political and psychological phenomenon entered African through various arteries and networks of interactions. It came to destroy the last cord that bound Africans together and defines Africans as people without a historical past, socio-political philosophy and contributions to make within the global village arrangements. Therefore the urgent need to eliminate this insidious phenomenon from African mental construct and the only viable armament is the Pan-Africanism. While xenophobia highlights on hatred of the stranger (the other person other than oneself), African traditional socio-political unity hinges on Pan-Africanism.

Notably, Pan-Africanism is the sum of African socio-political and economic philosophy and it defines the African humane and community living. Pan-Africanism for this research, is a holy grail that binds

all persons of African community and in fact all humanity, regardless of social status, faith, clan, race, etc, together in an inseparable manner. Pan-Africanism is summarized in Ubuntu which is a Bantu word and can be found in other African communities, including the likes of the Igbo people of Eastern Nigeria, described in compound words such as 'Umunna', Igwe bu ike, nye aghana nwanne ya, Ibu anyi ndanda' (Okoro, 2021). In East African, the technical equivalence is 'Ujamaa' which in all the various taxonomies has its underlying ideology as 'Humanness' - humanity towards one another, social living and social responsibility. Thus, Pan-Africanism dwells on 'Being human'. It is an inbuilt African ideology which is perpetual and constant to demonstrate 'African humanness' (humane, respectful and polite attitude towards others (Okoro, 2021).

In other words, Pan-Africanism is a socio-political philosophy that stimulates the idea of a life force that sustains social equilibrium within the cosmic and natural fields of existence, hence it constrains from discriminations of other human beings on the basis of race and thus, serve as a remedy to Xenophobia. Xenophobia is emphasized today in Africa at the expense of the African community ideation thus, there is need for a defining paradigm of African social philosophy through Pan-Africanism. Steve Biko (1978), a South African Socialist and politician explicates on Pan-Africanism in the following lines:

We regard our living together not as an unfortunate mishap warranting endless competition among us but as a deliberate act of God to make us a corporate answer to the varied problems of life, hence in all we do, we always place man first and hence all our actions is usually joint community oriented actions rather than the individualism of the West.

No one is considered a stranger when the social solidarity principle of Pan-Africanism becomes real and manifest. For instance, it is worthy to note that the solidarity of relationship in African traditional society is found and sustained in their personhood and philosophy of living. The belief in community and harmonious living gave birth to the African democratic principle which state that, 'what concerns all, all should be duly consulted and participated' (Kaunda, 2021). The principle respects and values members in the community as premium in their considerations. Notably, the privilege enjoyed by community members in African traditional society is also extended to strangers and visitors to the community. Pan-Africanism ideality inspires us to open ourselves to other people, to learn more about ourselves through knowing other people. Thus a person who for instance can really cultivate the spirit of Ubuntu situated in pan-Africanism, is always open and available to other people. Such an individual affirms and respects other people and does not feel threatened by the strength and abilities of the other person. Okoro (2021) goes on to enunciate further on the benefits of a stranger in African traditional society in his summary of Ubuntu as;

Through Ubuntu norms, Africans consider humanity as belonging to one single family and as such there is no discrimination in relationship and in the practice of Ubuntu. Thus in African traditional society travelers were not required to carry provision on their journey. What they must necessary do was to dress properly and be the road. The spirit of Ubuntu demonstrate through African hospitality mandates Africans to provide for and protect the stranger in every home he/she enters. Africans are mandated by the spirit of Ubuntu to make their guests comfortable without any material cost, while the guest are required to display humanity and candour to his/her host.

Campbell who is an African cultural historian, a traveler and a British anthropologist, gave a personal testimony of his experience of this African hospitality practice as he states, 'Hospitality is one of the most sacred and ancient customs of Bantu-land and it is found everywhere in Africa. A native will give his/her best house and evening meal to a guest, without the slightest thought that he/she is doing anything extraordinary'(Okoro, 2021). Thus, it is this concept of common humanity which is deeply rooted in African ontology that remains the fulcrum of African hospitality practice.

The implication of all these considerations in summary is that Africans recognize, emphasize and respect the humanity of all people and this is conveyed intently and consciously in their expression of humanity and love. Africans imbibe this humanness principle very early in life through their traditional education, which Okoro (2021), describes as pragmatic, productive, and functional, providing a gate way to the life in the community as it inculcate a sense of social responsibility. Therefore, xenophobia is an alien to African culture and must be eliminated before it eliminates Africans from global history and relevance.

Conclusion

This research took a survey of the traditional African moral values as embedded in Pan-Africanism and this was done in relation to the current xenophobic practice in Africa among Africans in Africa. The outcome of the survey is that xenophobia is an alien culture that has been smuggled into African through various networks and highways. It also appraised the African moral culture of intense humanness, conviviality and propriety. Furthermore, the research accepted Pan-Africanism as the fulcrum (uniting force) of African compassionate and humane living. It is like a holy grail that binds all African community in an interlock web of social relationship. Therefore, Pan-Africanism is in grave contradistinction with current xenophobic practice in Africa especially South Africa as xenophobia defaces African moral and historical pedigree. The researchers note that if xenophobia is allowed to thrive as it is currently doing, Africa will be sidelined into the dark path of human history and reduced into socio-philosophical obscurity. Hence, this research advocated for the re-studying of and re-tooling of Pan-Africanism as a social living in Africa and as an instrument of social cohesion. It is in Pan-Africanism that Africa can be placed in socio-political map of the current global village schema and by it, make a notable contribution by healing the wounds of the global village already crisscrossed by xenophobic violence and be relevant in the comity of nations.

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