

Travel Notes: Pan Africanism (Re)Visited: From Sankofa to Afrofuturism – Summary of the “2nd Kwame Nkrumah Pan-African Intellectual & Cultural Festival”

by

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Abstract

The focus of the essay is to provide a first-hand account of the proceedings, study sessions, cultural events, cultural trends, Pan-African discussions, and findings during the “2nd Kwame Nkrumah Pan-African Intellectual & Cultural Festival” that convened June 25th–July 1st 2017, at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, in Accra. The theme of the festival was “Global Africa 2063: Education for Reconstruction and Transformation.” Delegations, students, activists, artists, and statespersons attended the conference with focus on reflecting on the historical contributions of Pan-Africanism and to provide a future projection for Pan-Africanism to assist with the goals and objectives of “Agenda 2063.” This article will provide a summary of Pan-African activities currently in African diasporic communities, among theorists and in organizations. Themes in repatriation, Pan-African literature, Walter Rodney, Kwame Nkrumah, current activist-scholars, and an Africological perspective of history, politics and culture are summarized.

Keywords: Pan-Africanism, “Agenda 2063”, Pan-African travel notes, Hiplife, Horace Campbell, Walter Rodney, Kwame Nkrumah, African Diaspora, Rastafarianism, Pan-African Conference, Hip Hop in Africa, African Studies

Dr. St. Clair Drake, an acclaimed Pan-Africanist, defined Pan-Africanism as a “worldwide Black consciousness that has a psychological reserve that can be mobilized to achieve local ends as well as to aid others as the liberation process continues on. This consciousness has not been awakened primarily by deliberate propaganda campaigns of Pan-African organizations.”¹ Drake believed that traditional Pan-Africanism was not a by-product of mass media, but a collectively shared symbol of the Black world that included Steve Biko, Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King, Jr., as well as, collective cultural movements such as the Harlem Renaissance, Negritude, and global Black popular culture. Pan-Africanism has always had a political and cultural formation that the global Black community could embrace as the quintessential elements of Black life, to including singers of jazz, gospel, blues, reggae, calypso, and high life music, to bridge the gap between the Old World and the New World.²

A global group of African-centered scholars, activists, and artists convened in Accra, Ghana for the “2nd Kwame Nkrumah Pan-African Intellectual and Cultural Festival” on June 25th to July 1st 2017 at the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana. On March 6, 1957, the Gold Coast gained independence from England and became Ghana under its first president, Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah, a Pan-Africanist, African revolutionary, and African head of state. The conference theme was “Global Africa 2063: Education for Reconstruction and Transformation,” an “Afrofuturistic” approach to Africa’s and the African Diaspora’s future direction to defeating capitalism, global white supremacy, and neocolonialism.

The African Union and the African Commission in 2015 published a statement of solidarity for African people called “Agenda 2063—The Africa We Want.”³ The introduction of the agenda, “The Voices of African People,” provides a platform of action for Pan-African activity. The call to action states:

We, the people of Africa and her Diaspora, united in diversity, young and old, men and women, girls and boys from all walks of life, deeply conscious of history, express our deep appreciation to all generations of Pan-Africanists. In particular, to the founders of the Organization of African Unity for having bequeathed us an Africa with exemplary successes in the fight against slavery, colonialism, and apartheid. Agenda 2063, rooted in Pan Africanism and African Renaissance, provides a robust framework for addressing past injustices and the realization of the 21st Century as the African Century.⁴

Within the first ten pages of “Agenda 2063” there are seven “ASPIRATIONS” with points of actions to be achieved by the year 2063. “ASPIRATION 2” calls for “An integrated continent, politically united, based on the ideals of Pan-Africanism and the vision of Africa’s Renaissance.” “ASPIRATION 5” desires to create “An African with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, values and ethics” with a Pan-African agenda that reflects a common history, destiny, identity, heritage, respect for religious diversity and consciousness of African peoples and her Diasporas entrenched in all echelons of global Black life.⁵

The historical significance of global Black freedom can be found in the life narrative of Kwame Nkrumah, other notable Pan-Africanists, and those unrecognized by their political deeds. Nkrumah occupies a special place in Africa's revolutionary accomplishments, and he also directly bridged the gap between Africa and its Diaspora. Dr. John Henrik Clarke's tome, *Notes for An African World Revolution*, states "There is NO WAY to understand the late Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, or any other man, without also understanding the country in which he was born and to what extent that country and the circumstance of his birth did influence the total of his life."⁶ Nkrumah served as the inspiration for other Pan-Africanists and African liberation movements. In the post-World War II years, Ghana served as the first liberated Black nation for continental African people south of the Sahara in the twentieth-century.

The "2nd Kwame Nkrumah Pan-African Intellectual & Cultural Festival" was a call to action to revisit the successes and failures of Kwame Nkrumah by conference organizers Professor Horace Campbell (Kwame Nkrumah Chair) and Irene Appeaning Addo (Planning Committee Chair), but it was also to revive past revolutionary political and cultural activities of the African Diaspora. This essay is a recapitulation and a summary of travel notes compiled from conference study sessions, cultural events, scholarly panels, and traveling throughout Ghana during the summer of 2017.

This essay cannot capture the full magnitude of the festival. However, central themes in Pan-Africanism, growing Black consciousness among Black youth globally, embracing self-study as a tool of empowerment, class struggle, Pan-Africanist theorists such as Walter Rodney, and repatriation as a means for connecting global African communities will be discussed. Essential to these travel notes are the exploration and the historical value of Kwame Nkrumah as a central figure to be studied for political, social, cultural, and revolutionary advancement. Many of the participants who attended the conference and visiting Ghana were born after the revolutionary years of Africa, the Caribbean, and American Jim Crow eras. Many of the scholars and activists who attended the festival were also students to the process of how a Pan-African Congress could work and the importance of learning from other delegations located in the Pan-African world.

(Neo) Pan-Africanism: *Sankofa* and African Futuristic Theory

Pan-Africanism exists within the global Black world as an imaginative return to Africa, a practical political platform, and as a futuristic theory for global Black freedom. On the dawn of the premier of the movie *Black Panther*, where the Marvel comic character T'Challa returns home to the fictional African nation Wakanda to occupy his throne as king, twenty-first century engage a plot wherein T'Challa must perform his duty as King of Wakanda and as the Black Panther while defending the nation against evil foes that threaten the livelihood of his people and the existence of Wakanda.

Throughout the global Black world Wakanda and the leadership of T'Challa represent the powerful leadership that Black people are looking for in current times. Their imaginations are seeking a world where Black nations and the Diaspora of those nations can solve internal conflicts and challenge invaders with power and force.⁷

African people must recognize Africa as a place of origins with a shared common ancestry and cultural mythology. Afrofuturistic approaches allow this to occur in Africa and its Diasporas. Afrofuturism is commonly known or read as a literary body of historical fiction, artistic production, scientific advancements, science fiction, history, and fantasy culture that embraces an Afrocentric relationship to the reader or spectator. Afrofuturism inspires Black people to use non-Western cosmologies, develop theories, critique global white supremacy, and reevaluate political and cultural events of the past.

It is important to the continuity of African nations to communicate with the African Diaspora and connect non-continental African born communities to its spiritual, cultural, and scientific heritage. Afrofuturism attempts to connect the African Diaspora by addressing common themes in a techno-culture and science fiction perspective, while embracing a multimedia range of artistic communities with shared interest in envisioning a Black past, current disposition, and a future connected by common experiences. Nnedi Okorafor's book, *Binti*, is a Hugo and Nebula award winner in Afrofuturistic books. She wrote about a fictional African character named Binti who was the first of the Himba people to leave earth and go to Oomza University in space. *Binti* is a novella that Wanuri Kahiu, award-winning Kenyan film director of *Pumzi and from a Whisper* (2009), believes that *Binti* is an "edgy Afropolitan in space! With a wondrous combination of extra-terrestrial adventure and age-old African diplomacy."⁸

Binti brings together ancient cultures of Africa colliding with the future, while exposing what makes Africans human, and directing a course to the future. Nnedi Okorafor is an example of an Afrodiasporic citizen who embraces Afrofuturism to inspire a Pan-African discourse. She is an international award-winning novelist born in the United States to Nigerian parents. Her African-based science fiction, fantasy, and magical realism weaves African cultures into creative evocative settings in her books. Okorafor's writings inspire a new discourse in Pan-African cultural agency that will spark an African Renaissance using African-centered and Pan-African modalities.

It is important to note that the "2nd Kwame Nkrumah Pan-African Intellectual & Cultural Festival" greatly emphasized the relationship between culture and Pan-Africanism. The proceedings of the conference helped to define a futuristic discourse for global African communities in the fields of: philosophy of history, music and arts, activism, metaphysics, theoretical and applied science, social sciences, and providing programmatic spaces.

This intellectual relationship to culture is one that is also inherent to old and new definitions of Afrofuturism. During the Summer of 2017, Ghana served as the holistic geopolitical space where delegations, scholars, activists, and artists from African countries and the African Diaspora convened to map a futuristic Pan-Africanism and discuss “Agenda 2063.”

Pan-Africanism occupies a metaphysical and physical space for Black people. Kofi Kissi Dompere, professor from Howard University, presented a conference paper, “The Theory of Categorical Conversion: Rational Foundations of Nkrumaism,” based on his book, *The Theory of Philosophical Consciencism: Practical Foundations of Nkrumaism in Social Systemicity* (2017). Dompere’s book and essay explain the theory and dialectics of *Sankofa*. Pan-Africanism exists within a time continuum of the past, present, and future. The underlying principles of Dompere’s logic is the “notion of actual potential polarity where each pole has a residing duality that is made up of negative and positive duals.”⁹ Each action or objective of a Pan-Africanist must recognize the social actual or social potential to understand how social polarities exist within a time continuum and its relationship to unity.¹⁰

Pan-Africanism exists within the African time continuum, and a historical analysis enables the Pan-Africanist to negate negative characteristics for potential failure. It seeks to establish a scientific positive relationship to its outcomes and goals. In this “logical framework every actual is past-present connected where the present always resides in the past. Similarity, the potential is present-future connected where the future always resides in the past as projected by the *Sankofa-Anoma*.”¹¹ The concept of *Sankofa* is associated with the Akan culture of Ghana. Pan-Africanism has a cost benefit that exposes a current present reality that is a derivative of its past reality, therefore creating a time continuum for African people from its most ancient past to the present. *Sankofa* and Afrofuturism are a derivative of an African reality that provides the modalities for the creation of new Pan-African structures and theories.

Pan African Education: In Africa and the African Diaspora

Focusing on the theme of the conference, “Global Africa 2063: Education for Reconstruction and Transformation,” several plenaries, roundtables, and panels on African-centered education with emphasis on Pan-African pedagogy were discussed.¹² The conference convened forty-six sessions grouped into twelve parallel sessions conducted over five days. Throughout the conference sessions indigenous education systems, Pan Africanism, transformative education in Africa, and institutional collaborations throughout the African world were presented in several formats. Each plenary session “explored how African-centered education and knowledge production could shape the transformation agenda in Africa.”¹³ “The Accra Declaration: 2nd Kwame Nkrumah Pan African Intellectual and Cultural Festival Summary Communique” was published after the conference proceedings. The “Accra Declaration” comprises the following core points:

- African Universities and educational institutions should get involved with research and teaching that would help fulfil the task of unifying Africa.
- African peoples should pressure their governments to support the Caribbean people in their demands for reparative justice.
- Youth across Africa should mobilize for a peaceful, strong, and prosperous continent.

Essential to fulfilling the tasks of disseminating Pan-African education throughout the world are the usage and application of hosting delegations for international African conferences focusing on Pan-Africanism. Many of the leading delegations also represented the legacies and current contributions of Pan-Africanists and former heads of states. For example, Ikaweba Bunting was a delegate for the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation established in June 1996 as a permanent tribute to Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, Tanzania's first president.

The foundation strives to improve the sustainability and the quality of human relations. "The Foundation works to promote Peace, Unity, and People Centered Development throughout the World, and particularly Africa."¹⁴ Delegate Ikaweba Bunting originally arrived in Tanzania in May 1974 after earning a master's degree in television production in America. He answered an advertisement on the radio, "where the late Father of the Nation, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere then President of Tanzania, was inviting Africans in the Diaspora, who had skills to come and work in one of three countries: Uganda, Zambia, and Tanzania."¹⁵ Bunting quickly embraced Pan-Africanism and attended the Sixth Pan-African Congress in Tanzania June 1974. In April 1994, he attended the Seventh Pan-African Congress in Kampala, Uganda to advocate for a free South Africa and to overthrow white settler superiority.

Bunting participated in the roundtable titled "Pan Africanism" that was chaired by Osam Alhasan from the University of Ghana. Bunting's presentation was the "Global Pan African Movement and Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation" as a process to create a Pan-Africanism that inspires the development of one Africa, in Africa and abroad. He wanted to see an Africa "unified beyond nationalism and ethnicity."¹⁶ Bunting's worldview was shaped by his experiences as a repatriated African. He encouraged the Ghanaian community to nurture the African American repatriated community and for African Americans to shed their American worldview.

It was apparent that Bunting's experiences in developmental community activism and global geopolitical activities merged praxis and pedagogy. Bunting worked for the Tanzania Film Company when it was a startup company producing films for the government with a "kind of Pan-African inclusion in cultural production, as well as, information and nation building."¹⁷

Bunting emphasized throughout his discussion the need for students to be engaged in developmental studies regardless of their major. He believes it is necessary to create ideological and political culture that embraces Pan-Africanism in “all elements of thought and action.” Bunting also taught a course at Marymount University called “African Perspectives and Development Studies.”

Bunting served as the Chief Executive Officer and Director of the Zanzibar International Film Festival (ZIFF), where his work received the highest praises. The outgoing CEO and Director, Professor Martin Mhando thought that Bunting was perfect for the position because Bunting brought into the “forefront an ideological approach to film quality, which falls in line with the organization’s definition, which is based on his Pan-Africanist view of the continent and its people.”¹⁸ The former director thought that being a Pan-Africanist was a valuable tool to ZIFF because Bunting had the ability of capturing the uniqueness of being Tanzanian while embracing Africa as a whole. Throughout Bunting’s presentation he expressed the real possibilities of the African Union and “Agenda 2063” to bring about a global Pan-African community.

Bunting’s presence as a Pan-Africanist is connected to the leadership of African heads of states. He encouraged scholars and activists to study Kwame Nkrumah, Nelson Mandela, and Julius Nyerere’s Pan-Africanist approach to education, politics, and culture. It was in Tanzania, where Bunting went to work with the Pan-African Skills Project, that Bunting worked directly with Mwalimu Julius Nyerere who he often called “Mwalimu” which means teacher. Bunting interviewed Nyerere, then former President of Tanzania, who was asked by the Organization of African Unity to act as facilitator between Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Bunting’s interview, “The Heart of Africa. Interview with Julius Nyerere on Anti-Colonialism,” appeared in *New Internationalist Magazine*, January-February 1999.

Bunting was instructed by Nyerere to organize a “Pan-African Working Group” to address political issues in Africa.¹⁹ Bunting lived in Tanzania for a quarter of a century and participated in Pan-African development and liberation movements. Bunting attests that the University of Dar-es-Salaam was the meeting place for guerrilla-intellectuals and activists of African liberation movements. Tanzania became a maroon community for “FRELIMO of Mozambique, the ANC and PAC of South Africa, ZANU and ZAPU of Zimbabwe, the MPLA of Angola, SWAPO of Namibia, US civil-rights activists, Black Panther party-members and Vietnam War resisters” – all had political amnesty.

Former president of Uganda Yoweri Museveni was influenced as a student at the University of Dar-es-Salaam. Museveni belonged to a study group led by Walter Rodney, who wrote his tome, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, while he was teaching at the University of Dar-es-Salaam.²⁰ Bunting’s discussion during the conference was directed at younger scholars and activists who were born after the liberation movements in and out of Africa. His Pan-African activities and politics provided in-depth intellectual merit.

There were other Pan-African delegations representing Europe, Africa and the Caribbean. Segio Mosquera, Deputy Minister of Culture in Columbia, delivered a roundtable presentation, "Colombia: Beyond Multicultural Education." Mosequera is an Afro-Colombian professor of history and the executive director of the Afro-Colombian Social Foundation "Muntu-Bantu." The Muntu Bantu Center is a memorial museum and cultural center in Quibdo, Choco, on Colombia's Pacific coastal region.

The Muntu Bantu Center seeks to promote culture and public memory "for the study, promotion and diffusion of the Afro-Colombian culture, and the advancement and improvement of the living conditions of Afro-descendant populations."²¹ Professor Mosequera emphasized the development of Black consciousness and the restoration of historical institutions to develop a Pan-African or Afrocentric perspective for Afro-Latin Americans. Afro-Colombians have applied an "Afrogenetic and Afrocentric" perspective to unify the cultural diversity amongst the various Afro-descendant communities in Colombia and Latin America. The Center serves the Chocoan population with the intent of educating the entire Colombian society on the history of the country's African diasporic communities.

Pan-African identity and education is not limited to the African continent, Europe, and the West. Sheila Bunwaree, a professor and activist from the University of Mauritius, discussed the growing awakening and development of Black consciousness in Asia and the Indian Ocean. Bunwaree believes that "Pan-Africanism recognizes a common African humanity, cultural identity, and racial solidarity among Afro-Asiatic and Indian communities." Abdul Karim Bangura's article, "Pan-Africanism: An Exploration of Afro-Asian Connections," employs new Pan-African methodologies and definitions of African people, with people of African descent referred to as Afro-Asians or Blacks/Africoids, and with a focus on the forty-five Asian countries where African populations coexist with Asian communities:

The concept Afro-Asian or Blasian or Blackenese refers to Asian-born Blacks/Africoids, African immigrants and people of mixed African and Asian ancestry. Their history on the Asian continent has been traced back to 2500 BC, allowing them to launch many civilizations in the region. Afro-Asians also exist in other parts of the world, notably in the Caribbean, Kenya, South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the United States.²²

Bangura explains that it is necessary to employ new Pan-African methodologies to create an analysis of four major aspects: "(1) descriptions of Afro-Asians, (2) a brief history of Afro-Asians as a discrete ethnic group, (3) a brief analysis of Afro-Asian movements and organizations, and (4) a *Pan-Africanism: An Exploration of Afro-Asians*."²³ Bangura also provide some insight into the reemergence of Pan-Africanism within a global contemporary socio-economic context. The development of an Afro-Asian Pan-African identity is a most recent development. Gerald Horne's book *The End of Empires: African Americans and India* attest to the modern formations of African and Asian identity at the Bandung Conference. Horne quotes Gary Okihiro:

We are a kindred people, African and Asian-American...We share a history of migration, intersection and cultural sharing and commerce and trade. We share a history of European colonization, decolonization, and independence under neocolonialism and dependency. The Bandung Conference is where people of color who had a history of oppression by European systems identified themselves as “Third World” people.²⁴

Bangura connected Pan-African methodologies with the modern concepts of Afro-Asian writings found under the terminology: Afrocentric, Africentric, African-centric, Afrocentric, Africa-centered, and African Diaspora. These terms can be found under the Library of Congress finding aides regarding Afro-Asians and Pan-African-related research topics covering various disciplines. Pan-African methodology should be applied to the history of movements connecting political formations of persons of African descent, thus, noting the history of Africa as a geographic unit and not limiting Pan-African orientation to specific nations, ethnic groups, or region. Moreover, “Methodology is the history and analysis of movements and organizations already in existence, catering to the needs of all Africans, including Africans of the Diaspora.”²⁵

Afro-Asian Pan-African communities developed Pan-African methodology by relating to the works of: W.E. B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Frantz Fanon, Malcolm X, Walter Rodney, and Kwame Ture. Pan-Africanism has redeeming and overlapping structures that includes the historiography of all people of African descent. The conference foci on education and transformation were addressed on panels, roundtables, and plenaries for five days. Both traditional and new innovative methods of developing Pan-African activities were discussed. It is important to keep all Pan-African activities centered on the conference goal of furthering the significance of “Global Africa 2063: Education for Reconstruction and Transformation.”

Cultural Resistance: New Waves of Hip Hop and Rastafarian Tradition

Apparent at the Kwame Nkrumah Conference was the presence of African college students and young adults from Africa and the Diaspora. The new generation of Pan-Africanists are noted in the “Accra Declaration” summary. “The meeting noted the strong and enthusiastic participation of the youth and their expressed commitment to progressive Pan-Africanism, and called for concrete mechanisms to bridge the information gap with respect to Pan-Africanism, and to facilitate sustained, structured, intergenerational dialogue.”²⁶ Among the youth, Pan-Africanism has a grassroots and institutional presence in the cultural streams of hip hop and Rastafarian culture.

The globalization of hip hop and Rastafarian culture provides a framework for evaluating how both cultural streams transmit Pan-African cultural identity and Black consciousness among Africana communities. Hip hop and Rastafarian music have inspired grassroots communities to shape their own experiences within a specific politico-economic epoch.

Hip hop and Rastafarian culture both provide a cultural framework that academics, activists, and educators can use to understand the political reality that Black youth and young adults live with daily. “It is a window into how the youth make sense of their own existence within a global context of inequality while projecting, through their own daily activities and performances, what that world ought to look like.”²⁷

Professor Edem Adotey from the University of Ghana presented an article on hip hop culture and rap music in Ghana titled “One Step, One Stich: Pan Africanism, Hip Life and the African World.” According to Oris Aigbokhaevbolo’s article, “Hiplife in Ghana,” the origins of the musical genre and culture is categorized by the Ghanaian musical style which fuses highlife and some elements of hip hop.²⁸ Hiplife infuses traditional local languages such as Twi, other Ghanaian dialects, English combined with hip-hop beats, highlife beats, and other African rhythms. Hip hop and reggae music are African-centered innovations of Jamaica and Black America adopted by continental African communities.

The popular music of West Africa draws inspiration from Black American musicians. Fela Kuti used American funk grooves to Africanize his music, and he created a radical counter-cultural dissident culture. Hiplife culture adopted many of the musical cultural trends previously established by highlife musicians. The organic evolution of highlife culture transcends boundaries of class, region, and ethnicity in Ghana and throughout Africa.²⁹ Hiplife developed within a growing urban African population, globalization of Black music, and within a class-conscious enclave.

Hiplife is the voice of marginalized Ghanaian youth experiencing high unemployment, economic disparities, and political stratification. Hiplife is composed of Pan-African cultural streams as well as ethnic and national identities. Moreover, the youth and young adults who embrace highlife are seeking an “authentic blackness,” and they express it as a Black militant expression of nationalism and ethnicity with ideologies against the established order. Professor Adotey questions whether or not highlife music embraces ethnic nationalism over Pan-Africanism.

Halifu Osumane states in *The Hiplife In Ghana: West African Indigenization of Hip-Hop* (2012) that highlife developed “between globalization and localization, neocolonialism in today’s “borderless” transnational capitalism, and hip hop’s youth agency that facilitates young Ghanaians finding their voice within a traditional society beyond music to many realms of sociopolitical discourse.”³⁰ Hiplife has produced cultural and positive lyrics to address the sociopolitical issues of Ghanaian life. Conscious-oriented highlife rappers such as Reggie Rockstone produced lyrics to address domestic violence with the song titled “If You Don’t Love Me (Let Me Go),” which confronts and brings the issues of domestic violence into public discourse.³¹ Hiplife culture has infused socially-conscious music with African-centered culture, Pan-African sentiments, and localized ethnic solidarity.

Ajamu Bandele is a repatriate from America and now lives in Freetown, Sierra Leone. He is also known as Foday, a Mandingo name given to him by his adopted community family (i.e., Mansaray). Moreover, among the hip hop community he is known by stage name Big JC, “JC meaning ‘Just Come’ in Krio alluding to his foreign origins and Big due to his height of 6’6.”³² Foday is a hip hop advocate who is the founder of The Black Star Action Network International (BSANI), a Pan-African community based organization that addresses issues in human and civil rights, health, and literacy.

Foday is a grassroots hip hop advocate who bridges social activism in the African Diaspora to Africa, particularly Freetown. He found it was easier to communicate with the youth of Freetown through hip hop culture. BSANI partnered with local hip hop lovers in Freetown to create the Hip Hop Power House, a collaboration between BSANI and other local rappers. The collaboration of rappers created the song titled “No Money,” which gained the attention of the top radio broadcaster in Sierra Leone. DJ Zico, a DJ working at African Young Voices Radio (AYV), invited Shak D Unstoppable and Skartel, who were Freetown’s most popular local rappers. “No Money” played on Freetown’s airways for six months, and Foday uses hip hop culture to “communicate a message of unity, peace, and freedom to the ghetto youth.”³³

Foday’s goal is to create a platform of prominent Sierra Leoneans and American artists to produce and promote a new generation of African hip hop artists. Hiplife and African hip hop culture plays a prominent role in the daily lives of Ghanaian and African youth. Technology and diasporic transnational communities have established routes of Pan-African cultural activities and use hip hop culture as an art platform for oppressed and marginalized communities. African conscious hip hop music may not be the traditional form of Pan-Africanism. However, it does continue the cultural tradition of using music for inspiring social movements and avenues for creating resistance.³⁴

Misa Kibona Clark’s monograph *Hip Hop in Africa: Prophets of the City and Dustyfoot Philosophers* (2018) states that “often when we speak of Pan-Africanism it is through the diasporic gaze, through the diaspora reflecting on African connections. We seldom consider the African gaze and the African reflections on diasporic linkages. It is crucial to consider both, and in fact to look at Pan-Africanism using multiple lenses, and in consideration of the cultural linkages that encompass a global African (race as opposed to citizenship) population.”³⁵

The musical traditions shared between continental Africans and African Diasporic communities produced musical artists such as Fela Kuti, Miriam Makeba, Lucky Dube, and Hugh Masekela. African musicians who were exiled out of Africa intersected the Civil Rights and Black Power movements. Their music also gave a voice to the anti-colonial movements of Africa, the Caribbean, and underdeveloped countries. Fela Kuti, the Afrobeat musician, “is perhaps one of the most sampled African musicians in American hip-hop.”³⁶ Fela’s music has created and continued communities of resistance against political corruption, domestic violence, aids and warfare.

Clark believes that the collaborations between African rappers and African American rappers closed the music divide between Africa and African Diasporic communities. Urban youth in Africa and African Diasporic communities identify with common elements of hip hop culture. Modern Pan-African linkages are reinforced due to hip hop being a transnational African and African Diasporic youth culture.

Pan-Africanism seeks to develop culture within the Black masses to overturn or reject the values and culture of white power structures and institutions. During the “2nd Kwame Nkrumah Pan-African Intellectual & Cultural Festival” there were photo exhibitions, film screenings, theatre in African music and dance. The most dominant cultural presence at the conference was reggae music and Rastafarian Pan-African orientation. Horace Campbell, author of *Rasta and Resistance: From Marcus Garvey to Walter Rodney*, was the Kwame Nkrumah Chair in African Studies at the University of Ghana, the host university for the conference. During the conference, Campbell emphasized learning the success and failures of a Pan-African legacy while reflecting on the activist scholarship of Walter Rodney.

Campbell presented a discussion on “Patrice Lumumba and the All African People’s Conference: Lessons for Pan Africanism Today.” During session 45, day five of the conference a roundtable discussion and book launch was conducted. Wazir Mohamed presented the life works of activist scholar Walter Rodney titled “Walter Rodney @ Pan Africanism in multicultural societies and why he was killed.” The core subject embraced the intersection of the activist scholar, cultural reconstruction, and Rastafarian Pan-African political ideologies.

Sekou Toure’s essay, “The African Elite in the Anti-Colonial Struggle,” provides a framework for evaluating cultural imperialism and implementing a revolutionary culture that would replace European cultural domination and imperialism. Toure believed that European systems and institutions used cultural, scientific, technical, and economic apparatuses to enhance their political and cultural dominance. He also believed that “oppressed peoples, on the other hand, utilized cultural values of a nature contrary to that of the imperialists, with the aims of better combating imperialism and escaping the colonial regime.”³⁷

Toure believed that history had not shown that the culture of any people remained static. He thought that culture could only develop through the internal process of a people. “The value of a culture cannot be appraised except in terms of its influence in the development of social behavior. Culture is the manner in which a given society directs and utilizes the resources of its knowledge.” The political and cultural activities of intellectuals, artists, philosophers or researchers does not have any value unless they dedicate their talents and efforts towards integrating in action, ideologies, and aspirations of the masses to revolutionary change. Rastafarian culture, reggae music, Pan-Africanism, and activist scholarship inspired the youth of the African Diaspora and Africa today. This caused them to question old ideologies, while critiquing or creating new ideologies. The political legacy of Walter Rodney and the impact of Pan-African Rastafarian culture was pivotal to Pan-African theory.

Campbell's monograph, *Rasta and Resistance from Marcus Garvey to Walter Rodney*, encourages new Pan-African advocates to learn the cultural streams that make Pan-Africanism possible. Within the title of the book it spells out the connection and origins of the Rasta culture to African resistance, enslavement, and colonial oppression. It was within Maroon societies of the African Diaspora that new identities, African transformations, points of settlement, and African preservation created new state formations, resistance, self-rule and governance.³⁸ Rasta culture implemented Africanisms or characteristics of African culture once shared in Africa by various ethnic groups enslaved in the Caribbean.

The roots of Gaveyism, anti-slavery, Nyabingi culture, and the ideologies of Ethiopianism provided the elements for global Black consciousness. Today those cultural streams are sustained because reggae music is played throughout Africa, and it has found a resurrection among Ghanaian youth. Elements that formed the Rasta experience included:³⁹

1. Crystallization of the Jamaican working class
2. Creation of a Jamaican Diaspora in Central and North America, Africa
3. Deformed racial hierarchy of whites
4. Intra-racial conflict and cooperation between mulattos and Blacks
5. Provided the background for the ideas of African redemption and deliverance, which were to be so clearly articulated by Marcus Garvey

It was the cultural, spiritual, and political formations of Maroon culture and heritage that led to the Ethiopian Movement after the Battle of Adowa in 1896. The origins of the growth of the Rastafari movement occurred during the "hardships of the 1930s, capitalism, British colonial rule, and the beginning of anti-imperialism of Ethiopia by the Italian invasion of Abyssinia."⁴⁰ This evolution in global Black consciousness emerged within a segment of the Pan-African community of the Caribbean and America.

Alhassan Shamara's presentation, "Rastafari Women's Livivity: Towards a 21st century Pan African Consciousness," and Bosco Ocansey's presentation, "Rastafari and Global Africa," attest to the living impact of Rastafarian culture within the global Black world and in Africa. Political Pan-Africanism and the merging of Rastafarian culture created an Africana-web of politics and culture spreading throughout the Caribbean, Africa, Europe, and the Americas. Inherent within the Rasta's nature is a resistance to white domination. Rastafarian culture infused within segments of Pan-Africanism its cultural, spiritual, and political elements for resistance.

Reggae music became the chief mechanism for internationalizing Rastafarian culture, Pan-Africanism, and global Black consciousness. Reggae music (and Rastafarian culture) is not just the local music of Jamaica, but it became a dominating force in unifying oppressed communities together. Jimmy Cliff and Bob Marley used reggae music to influence the poor around the world, therefore exposing disenfranchised communities to cultural Pan-Africanism. Modern technology made it easier to produce music that could be sold throughout the world. Within the elements of reggae music, it provides a framework for critiquing capitalism, anti-imperialist thinking, and African-centered cultural orientation.

Reggae music and Rastafarian culture are rooted in an African heritage and anti-colonial struggle. Rastafarian songs of defiance inspired urban youth in Africa, the Black Power movement in North America, and the Caribbean to take part in defeating colonial systems. Campbell believes that the revolutionary example of Bob Marley his inspirational reggae music, intervention on the side of the Zimbabwean guerillas, along with his Zimbabwean independence celebration appearance created a “shift on the emphasis of the movement from the preoccupation with Haile Selassie and Ethiopia to the battles for liberation in South Africa.”⁴¹ Africans throughout the globe literally reacted to the mobilization call of “Get Up, Stand Up, Stand Up for Your Rights.”

Walter Rodney: The Epitome of Pan-Africanism, Rastafarianism, and Activist Scholarship

Walter Rodney can be considered one of the most important Pan-African theorists, intellectuals, and community activists of his era. Rodney was an erudite Pan-African with ideological roots in Rastafarianism, African socialism, and Black Power ideologies. He is mostly known for his books *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* and *Groundings with my Brothers*. However, Rodney cannot be limited to his scholarship. To understand Rodney’s activism and political contributions you must understand how Caribbean culture and revolutionary intellectuals such as Eric Williams, C.L.R. James, and Marcus Garvey influenced his thinking in his native country of Guyana. The term “activist scholar” must be defined and put into historical context to understanding the underpinning of Rodney’s worldview. The conference presenters decided that Rodney was one of the best examples of a Pan-Africanist who understood: service to his people, nationhood, and building a conscious mass.⁴²

Spiritually and culturally Rastafarianism was his core belief that connected him to the proletarian class. The Rastafarian movement taught the Black masses that Africa was their spiritual homeland. Black people should use the traditions of Africa within their own Caribbean communities to build a civilization for themselves. Rodney’s use of Rastafarian culture for the working class broke with the traditions of the Black intelligentsia.

He “positively identified with Rastafarianism in the Caribbean and sought to bring a materialist understanding to their interpretation of African History.”⁴³ Rodney’s activism embraced the African heritage of Caribbean culture and fused it with a Black Caribbean socialist framework.

Rodney saw the Rastas as the saviors of humanity because they saw the importance of an African cultural heritage, but they also wanted to live their culture with no restrictions or European oppression. Rodney believed that Rasta culture in the Caribbean supported the various factions expressing Black consciousness. The youth and young adults today are revisiting the works of Walter Rodney because it is inclusive to their Black identity. Moreover, they still seek questions and solutions to neocolonialism and capitalism. Rodney’s *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* provides a framework for new Pan-African theorists and activists to develop a historical analysis of the relationship between African communities, enslavement, colonialism, and neocolonialism.

Throughout the conference the emphases on “service” and “scholarship” reflected a consensus that were the hallmark of tasks for activists and scholars. Rodney not only believed in the two, but he also epitomized them and infused service with scholarship into a revolutionary social movement. Rodney was very aware of the global dynamics of racial oppression and the impact Black consciousness had on Black social movements. The Caribbean anti-colonial movement coincided with the Black Power movement, Apartheid, as well as African and Asian liberation struggles. Rodney explains in *Grounding with my Brothers* in chapter two Black Power, A Basic Understanding” the doctrine of Black Power:

Black power is a doctrine about black people, for black people, preached by black people. I’m putting it to my black brothers and sisters that the colour of our skins is the most fundamental thing about us. I could have chosen to talk about people of the same island, or the same religion, or the same class—but instead I have chosen skin colour as essentially the most binding factor in our world. In so doing, I am not saying that is the way things ought to be. I am simply recognizing the real world—that is the way things are. Under different circumstances, it would have been nice to be colour blind, to choose My friends solely because their social interests coincided with mine—but no conscious black man can allow himself such luxuries in the contemporary world.⁴⁴

Black Power for Walter Rodney was an ethnic and cultural consciousness for all non-white people who were fighting oppression. Rodney’s definition of Black Power was inclusive to Asians, East Indians, and Native populations within Black space. In chapter six of *Grounding with my Brothers* Rodney believed that “Out of Many, One People and a harmonious multi-racial society” was demonstrated in various ways. Black power advocates and their literature were banned by Jamaica and other colonial governments. James Foreman and Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael) were not allowed into Jamaica.

Rodney also believed that mass solidarity across class and multi-racial communities was necessary to overturn an oppressive regime. Rodney believed an activist scholar should be “the Black intellectual, [and] the Black academic must attach himself to the activity of the Black masses.”⁴⁵ The activist would remove themselves from pretentious social hierarchies and commit themselves to the service of the people. On the morning of October 13, 1968, he delivered the speech “African History in the Service of Black Revolution.” *Grounding with my Brothers* is a series of Black Power and African history lectures presented at the Congress of Black Writers in Montreal.

Rodney believed the struggle of Black people should be internationalized, and Pan-African theories and practices were utilized in organizing and teaching on the global Black struggle. Rodney reminded the audience at the Congress of Black Writers that Malcolm X was a threat to white power because he began to expand his civil rights struggle into human rights struggle inclusive to African and Asian people. “He was probably the first individual who was prepared to bring the race question in the U.S. up before the U.N. as an issue of international importance.” Rodney knew that the oppression of people in Vietnam, Cuba, Tanzania, Guinea, and throughout the world provided the potential to build a power base “among the hundreds of millions of oppressed Black people.”⁴⁶

Class struggle and Pan-African activities were synonymous in nature for Rodney. His ability to organize across multi-ethnic and cultural communities was evident in his coalition building. He helped to organize several grassroots organizations that provided agency in the lives of the community. Over the course of Rodney’s activism, he established: The Black Parents Movement, the Black Youth Movement, Race Today Collective, Committee Against Repression in Guyana, and the Working People’s Alliance, which was a coalition building organization for African and Indian movements.

The documentary *In the Sky’s Wild Noise: A Documentary on Dr. Walter Rodney* attests to the importance of Rodney’s life.⁴⁷ This essay cannot provide the most comprehensive analysis of Rodney’s work. The “2nd Kwame Nkrumah Pan-African Intellectual & Cultural Festival” and the roundtable on Walter Rodney’s life was a time to reflect on the meaning of Pan-Africanism and political activities. African and the African Diasporic communities have implemented modern Pan-African strategies, ideologies, and praxis successfully for at least one-hundred years. Studying the historical significance of Walter Rodney and other Pan-Africanists’ success or failures will help the global Black world meet the goals and objectives of “Global Africa 2063.”

Kwame Nkrumah: New African Realities

The conclusion of the conference ended with a reflection on the contributions of Kwame Nkrumah to the African Diaspora and the Black freedom movement. Samia Nkrumah, the daughter of Kwame Nkrumah, discussed the last days Nkrumah held in office. Samia encouraged the audience to review and reflect on the breath of Kwame Nkrumah's Pan-African literature. *Dark Days in Ghana* (1968) was published and written by Kwame Nkrumah. It had been 50 years since the removal of Nkrumah from office by a coup d'état in February 24, 1966. Nkrumah was greatly hated by various factions of the Ghanaian elites and Western governments. During the coup d'état soldiers burned Nkrumah's research office and ideological institute, therefore, attempting to destroy his Pan-African and political legacy.

Nkrumah wrote and published twelve books that "he wrote from an unmistakably Pan-African viewpoint, admitting in the chapter titled *Repercussions* that "he had never thought of Ghana in isolation of Africa."⁴⁸ In *Africa Must Unite* (1963), Nkrumah warned Ghana and African states that economic security was the wealth of African people and that only vast pool of industrial resources created by Africans for African states could provide a strong base for the welfare of the people. Nkrumah chronicled his political life and Pan-African theories in his published literature.

Nkrumah developed his political thinking while he was student at Lincoln University, a historically Black institution in the United States of America. He participated in the African Students Association, Ethiopian World Federation, and the Edward Blyden Society in Harlem. Nkrumah developed an understanding of how colonialism worked, and he expanded his Pan-African philosophy. He attended college in 1935 when more Black Americans were becoming conscious of their African past. Marcus Garvey's book, *The Philosophy and Opinion of Marcus Garvey* and, the Italian-Ethiopian War influenced Nkrumah. It was in Harlem where he listened to Harlem's most popular soapbox orators such as Carlos Cook, founder of the Garvey-oriented African Pioneer Movement.

Nkrumah wrote about his understanding of colonialism in the pamphlet *Towards Colonial Freedom* published in 1947, two years after he attended the fifth Pan-African Congress in 1945. In the 1962 reprint of *Towards Colonial Freedom* he explains how he developed as a student:

When I was a student in the United States I was so revolted by the ruthless colonial exploitation and political oppression of the people of Africa that I knew no peace. The matter exercised my mind to such a degree that I decided to put down my thoughts in writing and to dilate on the results of some of my research concerning the subject of colonialism and imperialism.⁴⁹

Nkrumah's African diasporic consciousness was influenced by his experiences living in America and Europe, which caused him to develop a double consciousness as an African and colonial subject. He felt that the shared experiences of Black Americans and Africans would unite them in a common effort to defeat white supremacy. "In the book *Kwame Nkrumah*, Bankole Timothy writes that Nkrumah dreamed of organizing all Africans in the United States so that they might return and perform useful services for Africa."⁵⁰

Nkrumah's Pan-African ideas, organizing, and political theories were a direct product of his relationship to the African Diaspora. His autobiography, *Ghana* (1957), is a personal account of the African liberation struggle, and the book was released on the day of Ghana's independence. Nkrumah believed that the Pan-African community must develop an intellectual defense against European colonialism, but the Pan-African community must also commit themselves to service. In *Africa Must Unite* he said, "Africa needs a new type of citizen, a dedicated, modest, honest, informed man. A man who submerges self in services to his nation and mankind. A man who abhors greed and detests vanity. A new type of man whose humanity is his strength and whose integrity is his greatness."⁵¹

This short excerpt of Kwame Nkrumah's political struggles will not provide a comprehensive understanding of his significance to African independence and the global Black struggle. However, within the context of the conference Nkrumah's political work was used to reflect on his accomplishments as a Pan-Africanist and head of state. Samia believes that Kwame Nkrumah's literary contributions need to be revived and assessable to the world. Samia directly told the audience, "No Ghanaian should struggle to read Kwame Nkrumah. His writings should be in our homes, our schools, our libraries, in our colleges and universities, in every village, in every town, in every African country, and in every country of African people." If "Agenda 2063" is going to be a new African reality then African people must embrace the past and study the historical significance of Pan-Africanism. Kwame Nkrumah's legacy is also the legacy of the free Black world.

Notes

¹ St. Clair Drake, *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora*, ed. Joseph E. Harris (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1993), 451-508.

² Ibid.

³ "Agenda 2063 The Africa We Want," Final Edition (April 2015), Popular Version, <http://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/pdf/au/agenda2063.pdf> (accesses Feb 24, 2018).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid

⁶ John Henrik Clarke, *Africans at the Crossroads: Notes for An African World Revolution* (Trenton: African World Press, 2017), 101.

⁷ Per discussion with the guest editor Tracy Flemming, he asked “How does content from alternative perspectives from the one that is articulated in this section of the paper figure into your analysis?” He was referring to Maulana Karenga’s article, “Wishing for Wakanda, Marooned in America: Movies and Matters of Reflection and Resistance” (2018): <https://lasentinel.net/wishing-for-wakanda-marooned-in-america-movies-and-matters-of-reflection-and-resistance.html>. My conclusion is not based on the analysis of Maulana Karenga or his article stated in these notes. My conclusion is based on military science and principles of “force on force.” In order for Black people to combat the state and the forces that enforces the rule of law Black people may have to utilize physical force as a counter measure to achieving justice.

⁸ Nnedi Okorafor is a Nigerian American writer who writes Afrofuturistic novellas. The *Binti* series is an award-winning Africana fiction. <https://www.tor.com/author/nnedi-okorafor/> (accessed February 24, 2018).

⁹ Kofi Kissi Dompere, *The Theory of Philosophical Consciencism Practice Foundations of Nkrumaism in Social Systemicity* (London: Adonis & Abbey Publishers LTD, 2017), 89-90. Dompere is a professor of economics at Howard University. He has authored scientific and scholarly works on economics, philosophy, and decision theory. He teaches economic theory, mathematical economics, international economics and the theory of development process.

¹⁰ Ibid., 89.

¹¹ Ibid., 90.

¹² The following sessions were essential to developing Pan African pedagogy, reconstruct educational practices, and creating curriculums to decolonize European systems of education. Session 8 “Pan Africanism and Knowledge Systems,” Plenary: “Education for Transformation,” Session 9 “African Knowledge Systems for Reconstruction,” Session 10: “Pan Africanism and the Current Educational System,” Session 12: “Decolonizing Education,” Session 14 Roundtable: “Pan-Africanism and International Education,” Session 19: “Education for Transformation,”

Session 33: “Theatre and Pan African Education,” Session 34: “Strengthening African Language for Formal Education,” Session 37 Round Table: “Education and Justice,” Session 40: “Pan African Education in a Global Context.” See conference program for other sessions, http://www.iasnkrumah.com/downloads/festival_programme_brochure.pdf (accessed February 18, 2018).

¹³ “The Accra Declaration: 2nd Kwame Nkrumah Pan African Intellectual and Cultural Festival” http://www.iasnkrumah.com/downloads/Accra_Declaration%20_with_summary_communique.pdf, (accessed February 18, 2018).

¹⁴ Read, The United Republic of Tanzania “Arusha Declaration.” <http://nyererefoundation.org/> (accessed February 18, 2018).

¹⁵ Iman Mani, “IKaweba Bunting Knows How Film can bridge Gaps” <http://javedjafferjiphotography.blogspot.com/2011/08/ikaweba-bunting-knows-how-film-can.html> (accessed February 18, 2018).

¹⁶ Direct quote recorded at the roundtable and recorded in Dr. Latif A. Tarik’s travel notes.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ “The Heart of Africa. Interview with Julius Nyerere on Anti-Colonialism New Internationalist Magazine,” issue 309, January-February 1999, <http://www.hartfordhwp.com/archives/30/049.html> (accessed February 20, 2018).

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Christina Gracia Nevas, *ReVista Harvard Review of Latin America: Afro-Latin Americans*, (Winter 2018) “A Photo Essay-A View of Afro-Diasporic History from Colombia” https://revista.drclas.harvard.edu/files/revista/files/12-13-17_spreads_low_res.pdf (accessed February 15, 2018). Lisa Betty from Fordham University presented “Pragmatic Pan Africanismo: An Exploration of Abdias Do Nascimento’s Role as Transnational Mediator of Afro-Latin Pan Africanism”, Madam Zulia Maria Mena Garcia, Deputy Minister of Culture of Columbia, presented “Promotion and recognition of the Rights of the African Diaspora in Columbia”, Danilevicz P. Analucia, Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil presented “Brazil-Africa relations and the strategic importance of the South Atlantic.”

²² Abdul Karim Bangura, “Pan-Africanism: An Exploration of Afro-Asian Connections” [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265277865_Pan Africanism_An_Exploration_of_Afro-Asian_Connections](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265277865_Pan_Africanism_An_Exploration_of_Afro-Asian_Connections) (accessed February 15, 2018). The following countries have a significant population that identify as Afro-Asian: Azerbaijan, Armenia, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Brunei, Burma, Cambodia, China, East Timor, India, Indonesia, Iran, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Laos, Lebanon, Malaysia, Maldives, Mongolia, Nepal, North Korea, Oman, Pakistan, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Syria, Taiwan, Tajikistan, Thailand, Turkey, Turkmenistan, United Arab Emirates, Uzbekistan, Vietnam, and Yemen. The foundation of Bangura’s evaluation of Afro-Asian consciousness and connections are greatly attributed to the works of Runoko Rashidi. See www.drrunoko.com.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Gerald Horne, *The End of Empires African Americans and India* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), 4.

²⁵ Abdul Karim Bangura, “Pan-Africanism: An Exploration of Afro-Asian Connections” [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265277865_Pan Africanism_An_Exploration_of_Afro-Asian_Connections](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265277865_Pan_Africanism_An_Exploration_of_Afro-Asian_Connections) (accessed February 18, 2018).

²⁶ “The Accra Declaration: 2nd Kwame Nkrumah Pan African Intellectual and Cultural Festival” http://www.iasnkrumah.com/downloads/Accra_Declaration%20_with_summary_communique.pdf (accessed February 18, 2018).

²⁷ Mwenda Ntarangwi, *East African Hip Hop Youth Culture and Globalization* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009), xi.

²⁸ Oris Aigbokhavevbolo, “Hiplife in Ghana” <https://www.musicinafrica.net/magazine/hiplife-ghana> (accessed February 18, 2018).

²⁹ In Ghana, hip hop music is called Hiplife, in Nigeria hip hop is mixed with Afrobeat or Juju, in Sierra Leone it’s called Palm-wine music and the Congolese calls it rumba and soukous.

³⁰ Halifu Osumare, *The Hiplife In Ghana West African Indigenization of Hip Hop* (New York: Palgrave McMillian, 2012), 2.

³¹ CulArtblog, “21 Socially Conscious Hiplife Songs” <https://culartblog.wordpress.com/2014/04/15/20-socially-conscious-hiplife-songs/> (accessed February 18, 2018).

³² *Dunia The Reader's Magazine*, “Foday Mansaray talks grassroots organizing in Sierra Leone & Using Hip Hop to Spread Message of Unity” <http://www.duniamagazine.com/2016/05/foday-mansaray-talks-grassroots-organizing-in-sierra-leone-and-using-hip-hop-to-spread-unity-message/> (accessed February 18, 2018). Internet correspondence on hip hop between Dr. Latif A. Tarik and Foday Mansaray on repatriation and hip hop occurred between 2017-2018.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ See special issue of *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, volume 6, number 3, (2013) on “African Hip Hop” http://www.jpanafrican.org/archive_issues/vol6no3.htm (accessed May 20, 2018). Guest editor Misa Kibona Clark was Assistant Professor of Pan African Studies at California State University. She served as the 2013-2014 Fulbright Scholar at the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Her field work in hip hop studies was conducted in several African countries, which contributed to her monograph, *Hip Hop in Africa: Prophets of the City and Dustyfoot Philosophers* published by Ohio University Press (2018). Clark conducted a book talk on her new book at the Smithsonian Museum of African Art on May 20, 2018. Latif Tarik attended the book talk and participated in the book discussion.

³⁵ Misa Kibona Clark, *Hip-Hop in Africa: Prophets of the City and Dustyfoot Philosophers* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2018), 8.

³⁶ Ibid., 9.

³⁷ Sekou Toure, *Pan-Africanism*, ed. Robert Chrisman and Nathan Hare (New York: The Bobbs-Merill Company, Inc., 1974), 52-73.

³⁸ Horace Campbell, *Rasta and Resistance from Marcus Garvey to Walter Rodney* (New Jersey: African World Press, 1994), 2.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., 6.

⁴² Ibid., 130.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 16.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 63.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 21.

⁴⁷ “In the Sky Wild Noise: A documentary on Dr. Walter Rodney”
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YqfcbmncFI0> (accessed February 20, 2018).

⁴⁸ Kwame Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana* (Accra: KNAC Publishing Co. Ltd., 2017), i.

⁴⁹ Clarke, *Africans at the Crossroads*, 102.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., 103.