Introduction: Pan Africanism and the Reparative Framework for Global Africa

A revolutionary future is taking place that is transforming almost every aspect of society on a global level. Africa has been engulfed by this revolutionary transformation as well as the entire African Diaspora. Of course, this means that Pan-Africanism, the discourse and action that links together Africa and the African Diaspora, is being transformed in the digital age. (Alkalimat and Williams) (this Bulletin page 49)

Introduction

The new digital technologies have offered great possibilities for humans and at the same time great dangers for dehumanisation. In her book, *Algorithms of Oppression* (2018), Safiya Umoja Noble warns of the bigoted assumptions and ideas that inform the mindset of the mainstream technicians who are programming the systems for machine learning and artificial intelligence. The pandemics of racism, militaristic police killings and unequal health care internationally have also brought attention to the ways in which high-performance computing (HPC) has given an advantage to those countries with supercomputers to be able to understand new strains of viruses and the complex interactions of the human body. Vaccine apartheid has been the immediate outcome of this world of high-performance computing, artificial intelligence and the genetic technology that allows researchers to fast-track many stages of vaccine research and development. It is now in the era of SARS 1 and II that it is clearer that there exist solutions for particularly recalcitrant diseases, such as tuberculosis, HIV and malaria. Calls for democratising access to the research and therapies are now being echoed from all parts of the

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planet. This is the context for the new Pan-African struggles around questions of life, health, peace and environmental repair (Campbell 2016, 2017).

If the end of the Second World War had provided the conjuncture for clarity on the dead-end of the European colonial project, so the coronavirus pandemic is exposing the end of the militarised management of US imperialism. One component of this military management has been the weaponisation of rules relating to intellectual property to ensure the dominance of US corporations. It is from Africa and other parts of the global South that calls have come for a temporary waiver of certain TRIPS obligations in the World Trade Organization (WTO) in response to COVID-19. That an African woman from Nigeria, Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, has become the Director-General of the WTO reinforces to humans everywhere the idea that transforming global power relations requires far more than representation. This has been the lesson in the Pan-African

movement from the independence period to the end of apartheid. It is clear that radical Pan-African transformations involve far more than the Africanisation of imperial institutions.

Global political shifts in relation to the deployment of economic power, investment capital and the projection of telecommunications networks, artificial intelligence capabilities, cloud computing, e-commerce and mobile payment systems, surveillance technology, smart cities and other high-tech areas have demonstrated the limits of military power without harnessing human capital. Humans have reached a new conjuncture and the citizens of Global Africa represent a rich prize to be courted in the new international alliances. The Pan-African movement is catching up with this new world and African youths are voting with their feet to escape the strictures of political leaders who imprison them in neocolonial structures.

The continuing devastation unleashed by the pandemics of capital impose a certain urgency for African peoples globally to intervene to harness those aspects of the current converging technologies to serve the needs of humans rather than global capital. Abdul Alkalimat and Kate Williams sum up the future of Pan Africanism in the

digital era in their contribution to this Bulletin of CODESRIA. It is in the context of the emerging digital infrastructures for the post-COVID world that their intervention on Pan Africanism serves as a warning. Globally, African peoples must plan for the sweeping transformations that are being unleashed in the context of Third Technological Revolution. Instead of lamenting the current digital divide, these authors call on the youth to embrace the new technologies while promoting three fundamental values that are both desirable and possible. These relate to:

1. Cyberdemocracy: Everyone has to be included in the digital age;

2. Collective intelligence, digit-alising knowledge in Africa and making it available to all; and

3. Information Freedom: The new information technologies produce and distribute information in such a way that drives its exchange value down towards zero.

This special issue of CODESRIA is already part of the digital future, in seeking to reach a wider constituency, and promises to take CODESRIA surging to the forefront of the innovative transformations that are to be unleashed by joint action and collaboration in Global Africa. This is one component of the reparative aspects of Pan Africanism in the twenty-first century.

The articles

The articles of this special bulletin come from leading Pan-African scholars in all parts of Global Africa. One of these contributors, Michael West, had previously defined the notion of 'Global Africa' as:

> an idea and belief that Africans and those of African descent have shared similar experiences of oppression, exploitation,

force and coercion, which serve as the need for collective and united struggle for the emancipation and liberation of all blacks. One can argue the principal tenets of this idea are a shared experience, a collective struggle, and a black global consciousness. Blacks not only share common ancestry, but a common history in the context of the slave trade, slavery, colonialism and neocolonialism which have created a shared experience for all blacks. (West 2005)

The concept of 'Global Africa' has become more acceptable than the term 'African diaspora', in contradistinction to the diaspora of peoples who later expropriated lands from other peoples. Progressive Pan Africanists have registered their solidarity with the peoples of Palestine and now support the global Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement in order to bring attention to the occupation of Palestinian lands. Deploying the formulation 'Global Africa' in the dictionary of radical Pan Africanism is now an expression of self-identification with the base of African freedom, the unification and reconstruction of Africa.

The delicacy of the refinement of this 'diaspora' concept has become apparent in the context of the struggles for reparations in the United States. Since the era of the transatlantic slave trade, calls for reparations have been a continuous Pan-African demand. At every turn, imperial planners have worked to derail the global push for reparative justice. The contribution of Jessica Ann Mitchell Aiwuyor highlights the divisive disinformation campaigns through social media that threaten to disorient and create chaos among dispersed Africans in the US. Her

description of the activities of the organ called African Descendants of Slavery (ADOS) should remind us of the role of firms such as Bell Pottinger and Cambridge Analytica in psychographic targeting, to demobilise and confuse. It was the heritage of the culture of Pan-African intellectuals that was the first line of defence against this cognitive hacking on an international scale.

The article by Carol Boyce Davies in this collection brings together the issue of reparative knowledge and the unfinished business of decolonising knowledge. Her contribution on reparations and the future of African institutions of higher learning (the decolonial university) complements the contribution of Adom Getachew, whose focus on the work of Kwame Nkrumah is a welcome return to the ideas of revolutionary Pan Africanism. Both Davies and Getachew critique the hierarchy of knowledge in which African peoples' experiences still remain at the bottom. In my own work on Ubuntu and fractal thinking, I have highlighted the centrality of African knowledge systems to anchor the project of African liberation. Pan-African organs, such as the African Mathematical Union, have been striving to bring to the curriculum the richness of mathematics in Africa as it is expressed in everyday life.

African scientists, such as the late Professor Calestous Juma, have remarked that the extant knowledge of the village community could be a force in bypassing the destructiveness of Western industrialisation. Carol Boyce Davies. in her contribution. hammers home the point that, 'In every discipline, one is confronted with a production of knowledge that assumes European epistemologies,

ideas, timelines as the defining frameworks for intellectual work.' Progressive African scientists and biologists are holding the line against complete surrender to European frameworks and have been digging deep in the village community to harness indigenous research methodologies. Bagele Chilisa and Malidoma Somé are two scholars whose work on African knowledge systems deepens the arguments that Boyce Davies makes in a wider terrain.

Thus far, African decision-makers have been seduced by the Stages of Growth theories of Western capitalism and have eschewed planning for an era beyond the climate catastrophes unleashed by Western concepts of domination, especially domination over nature. The African Union's Specialised Technical Committee on Education, Science and Technology has not taken on board the contributions of scientists and researchers. At the African Academy of Sciences (AAS) of the African Union (located in in Kenya), the incentives for supporting African scientists in the context of the Kwame Nkrumah Award for scientific innovation remain polluted by the activism of Western foundations linked to British and US companies.

The decision of CODESRIA to mount this special bulletin on Pan-African renewal opens avenues for this organisation to mobilise the networks of African scientists beyond the geographical space of the continent of Africa. In a context where the brain-drain bleeds Africa of many of its scientific and intellectual cadres, a major step forward in the Pan-African project would be for scientific and educational networks of the AU to become truly Pan African, to include the dispersed children of Africa.

Alkalimat and Williams's contribution stresses that the most powerful manifestation of Pan-Africanism is collaboration and joint action between countries in the African continent, involving governments, institutions, movements and people in general. Cyberpower involves all of this. Zoom conferences and discussions hosted by CODESRIA in the era of COVID have opened one avenue towards future collaboration with conscious, digital, Pan-African experts.

It is now known that the transformation away from the centralised digital platforms of the Western tech giants' platforms is the wave of the future (Vergne 2020). Youths of the sunrise movement internationally, and African youths struggling against environmental racism, are clued in to the need for global networking. Activists from the Niger Delta in Nigeria who teamed up with lawyers and environmental activists in Europe have opened a new space for Pan-African organising. One of the limits of this bulletin is the absence of a robust contribution on Pan Africanism and environmental justice. Many of today's youths are not aware of the arguments made more than thirty years ago, that it was more economical to dump toxic waste in Africa because African lives were less valuable than other lives (Bassey 2012).

An emerging front for Pan-African mobilisation is the opposition to destructive mining practices, especially in the fossil fuel industry. In the new struggles to combat global warming, Africa has a huge advantage in an era when industrial production moves from the use of fossil and mineral resources (coal, petroleum and natural gas) towards living biological raw materials,

primarily 'biomass' plant matter such as woodchips, agricultural plants and algae. The bioeconomy is associated with wider application of modern biotechnologies in areas such as agriculture, medicine and industry.

It was Calestous Juma who argued that African progressive scientists hold the key to ensuring that Africa leapfrogs the old forms of industrialisation into the digital revolution. He noted that it is not necessary to build new paths of industrialisation in the bioeconomy based on the past production of primary products. In the maturation of the bioeconomy the convergence of nanotechnology, information technology, biotechnology, robotics and cognitive sciences will provide a new basis for African reconstruction and transformation.

All the contributions echo that transformative education is urgently needed in Africa. According to Joyce King:

> Transformative education ... is the production of knowledge and understanding people need to rehumanise the world by dismantling hegemonic structures that impede such knowledge. Alternately, education for submission, recapitulates knowledge which has been used as a tool of white imperialist hegemonic rule. It is a deliberate and aggressive means of perpetuating the disenfranchisement of the masses. (King 2005)

African languages hold some of the key signposts of cognitive technologies that can be a buffer against mind control and the psychological warfare against Africans. Those who are studying the transformation of human cognitive skills over the millennia of transformations have been

toying with initiatives such as the Human Cognome Project and The Genographic Project to tap into the African knowledge of the oldest people alive in East Africa. There is now an effort to reverse engineer the human brain by studying both its structure and function, in order to fully understand mental processes, also known as cognition (Kaku 2012). That Facebook, Google and Microsoft and other big tech companies are looking into the cognitive skills of the African youth in order to harness their creativity is now being demonstrated with investment plans and the location of hubs in strategic African cities. Innovative software applications such as Ushahidi and M-PESA in Kenya have awoken global capital to the digital creativity of African youths.

It has been more than twenty years since biological anthropologists traversed the African towns and the countryside on behalf of global capital to study the potentialities of Africa and Africans for this digital era. Pan-African intellectuals have been labouring to reverse the hierarchies of knowledge that inspire the investments of the big tech companies. Drawing from the ideas and teachings of African scholars, such as Walter Rodney, Kwame Nkrumah, Wangari Mathaai and Claudia Jones, the global Pan-African movement is moving from the posture of defensiveness to a clear articulation of what reparative education must look like in the twenty-first century in all disciplines. Boyce Davies uses the definitions of the Caribbean Reparations Commission and its ten-point programme to anchor her analysis within a clear political project from one corner of Global Africa.

Pan Africanism and the unification of African peoples

From the rebellions against enslavement to the current rebellions of the Black Lives Matter movement, the Pan-African currents have informed concepts of dignity and humanity that have not been present in the European conception of humans. Within the United States, the concept of the citizen was not accorded to African descendants. In that democratic state, Africans were considered three-fifths of a person. Not even the so-called democracies that rolled out the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 considered that Africans had the right to live freely on planet Earth. The apartheid government of South Africa was one of the signatories of the UDHR but it was the global anti-apartheid struggles that forced the South African state to implement the constitutional changes that gave Africans in that society full democratic rights. After the global struggles to defeat entrenched racism, international foundations and think tanks deployed more than USD 1 billion to divert the youths of that society from the emancipatory ideas of Pan Africanism. Political leaders in South Africa who once embraced the concept of an African renaissance deployed apartheid concepts of xenophobia against other Africans without grasping the important intellectual future that would be gained from moving Ubuntu from the philosophical level to the level of practical investments for human fulfillment and wellbeing.

Patricia Daley, in her contribution on Pan Africanism and migration, quotes Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem, who wrote that 'For Africa as a whole we want our peoples to have the right to move, settle, work, and live without visas or passports from Cape Town to Cairo.' This dictum of Pan-African citizenship was the call of Marcus Garvey one hundred years ago in the demand of Africa for the Africans at home and abroad. Such an understanding of the Global African would elevate the African person from being a member of a 'minority' to being part of a global community of humans. Daley is drawing from the Garvey, Tajudeen and Nkrumah position on citizenship, mobility and migration to reassert the Pan-Africanist approach to freedom of movement across borders. She begins by contextualising migration practices historically, tracing the evolution of depictions of African migration as a problem, especially the origins of this view in European modernity, and its links to African enslavement, the pseudo-science of racial hierarchies, and colonialism. She notes:

> Europe's offshoring and outsourcing of its border work make African states complicit in its racialised restrictive policies that involve criminalisation, containment and detention, perpetuating the dehumanisation of Africans. The adoption of detention in transit countries as a preventative strategy violates the human rights of Africans seeking a better life.

Daley then proposes how a Pan-Africanist understanding of migration can humanise and dignify those whose mobility is forced or voluntary, drawing inspiration from historical moments of African independent actions on emancipatory migration. Subsequently, Pan Africanists can assess critically the continuing relevance of the global North's

understandings of human mobility to explain migration in Africa and the diaspora.

Daley's work is seeking to catch up with the reality on the ground where African peoples choose freedom of movement. Since the launch of the African Union, presidents have declared their intent to create the legislative environment for free movement, but imperial hangover ensures that many African governments enforce Europe's offshoring and outsourcing of its border work. The images of the deaths of Africans in the Mediterranean Sea have been some of the most dehumanising for Africans globally.

Pan-African scholarship has reiterated the demand for Pan-African mobility and freedom of movement in a free and united Africa. This mobility and freedom should not only be continental but applied equally to the children of Africa scattered by the transatlantic slave trade, colonialism and the continued disruptions and dispersals inspired by racial capitalism and imperialism. Temporarily, the African Union has gestured towards the recognition of these dispersed children by including a sixth region of the AU, but the intellectual investment and planning for real engagement with this region has been lacking, beyond the dream of tapping into remittances.

Whether it was the Pan Africanism of the villages and streets or the Pan Africanism of major conferences, it was always clear that only the unification of the African peoples beyond the Berlinist enclaves could usher in a period of dignity and renewal. Such dignity would be unleashed in the process of transcending the injustices of enslavement, bondage, colonial plunder and neocolonial theft. Just as it is understood that enslavement did not end with formal emancipation, so it is also understood that racial capitalism can be transcended with the atonement of reparations and reparative justice.

Racism and police terror in Global Africa

This issue of the Bulletin was being prepared as the world watched the pandemic of police killings in the United States intensify with the graphic lynching of George Floyd in Minnesota. These public killings and the general dehumanisation of black bodies are painful reminders of the devaluation of black lives internationally. This writer, as a Pan Africanist, agrees with the findings of the International Commission of Inquiry that, 'the systematic killing and maiming of unarmed African Americans by police amount to crimes against humanity that should be investigated and prosecuted under international law' (International Commission of Inquiry 2021).

Pan-African co-operation and mobilisation across all continents as a result of the police killings in the US ushered in a new era of political consciousness and new tactics in an intergenerational and multinational movement against systemic racism. The re-imagination of freedom in this new mobilisation has pushed new ideas and new leaders to the forefront of the Global Pan-African struggles (Ransby 2018). But despite the massive publicity about the opposition to racism, many African academics and institutions have not taken on board the struggles against racism, xenophobia and related intolerances. The Report of the International Commission of Inquiry on Systemic Racist Police Violence Killings of Blacks in the United States has reminded us of the ideas of reparative justice that were spelt out in the third World Conference Against Racism (WCAR) in Durban in 2001.

The anti-racist agenda of reparative justice is one common thread through the contributions. In addition, they discuss the unification of the peoples of Africa, the self-emancipation of the working peoples of Africa, how Africa will respond to the new Biden-Harris Administration in the United States and two perspective of the struggles for reparative justice in the era of global warming, economic crisis, health pandemics and the pandemic of white supremacy.

Cheryl Hendricks of the Africa Institute (AI) of South Africa discusses Pan Africanism within the context of the new administration in Washington. She poses a question that is being raised in all parts of Global Africa. Does the new Biden Administration hold out the possibility that a renewed Pan Africanism could underpin the Africa–US relationship, and if so in what form?

She answers her own query by focusing on the key question for Global Africa, that of peace and reconstruction. By reminding the reader of the excessive racist direction of the Donald Trump Administration, Hendricks draws attention to the pledge of the African Union to silence guns by 2020. She argues that the search for a better life in Africa cannot be found through more militarism on the continent as manifest in the promotion of the US–Africa Command: '… extremism also results from the search for a better life—real or imagined. These conditions cannot be addressed through increased militarisation.'

From this assessment she delves into the efforts to establish the Africa Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) as one of the Pan-African goals of greater economic co-operation in Africa. There is a clear contradiction between the goals of Pan-African trading linkages across the length and breadth of Africa and the push by the US government to sign bilateral trade agreements with specific African countries to undermine Pan-African trade and economic relations. In the specific case of the secret negotiations between the US and Kenya, concerned African scholars are calling on Kenya and the wider African community to closely study and 'learn from the experience of other countries that have signed an FTA with the U.S. in order to avoid mistakes that could prove to be costly including in the arena of public health and specifically in relation to access to medicines' (Ogendi 2021).

That the political leadership in Kenya is negotiating a Free Trade Agreement with the US without regard to the implications for the future health of Africans runs counter to the goals of African economic independence. The countries of the ASEAN bloc have demonstrated that only collective and multilateral trade relations with the US can overcome the bilateral muscle that it deploys by weaponising trade and finance. It is the COVID-19 pandemic that has crushed the neoliberal ideas about individualised access to health care and hastened the new global alliances to break from the Bretton Woods institutions. For the past thirty years, CODESRIA has been at the forefront of delegitimising the ideas of structural adjustment. Following the lead of the spirit of Bandung and the calls for a New International Economic Order (NIEO), the economic imperatives of the emancipation of Africa run throughout the articles. In this sense the articles carry forth the rich intellectual traditions of scholars such as Adebayo Adedeji, Thandika Mkandawire, Eskor Toyo and Samir Amin.

In his work, *Delinking: Towards a Polycentric World* (1990), Amin argued forcefully that developing countries dealing individually with the US on questions of health, currencies or financial technologies would be in a no-win situation unless they acted collectively. More than forty years ago, in the era of Thatcher and Reagan, economists promoted the idea that 'government is the problem'. This was and continues to be the outdated mantra of neoliberal thinking and action.

> Neoliberalism promotes the market and individual responsibility as the solutions to racial inequality. Neoliberal ideology and the neoliberal state justify and guarantee capital accumulation through privatization, racialized state violence, and dismantling social protections by making public goods and public institutions synonymous with continuously racialized and demonized people of color. (Edwards 2021)

Whereas the orthodoxy of liberal capitalism frowned upon massive government expenditure, Western capitalist states are now unleashing money in unprecedented amounts. Within a period of less than five months the Biden Administration has rolled out initiatives worth more than USD 6 trillion. The same deficit spending that the US gives itself is denied to humans who are suffering under the heel of imperial domination.

The world's primary multilateral financial institutions—the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank—are taking the lead to entrench the medical apartheid that is now manifest in unequal access to medicines, protective health equipment and vaccines (Washington 2008). The societies of Cuba and Vietnam have exposed the superiority of public, well-managed, health-care systems.

Towards the united peoples and societies of Africa

Just as the realities of COVID sharpened the awareness of Asian countries that, despite their differences, there is an urgent need to collectively work for the health and security of their citizens, so in all parts of Global Africa the pandemic has reawakened the awareness of the dead-end in the ideas of possessive individualism, petty nationalism and neoliberalism. Long before the outbreak of this current pandemic, Samir Amin had warned of the destructiveness of viruses, whether intellectual ones (such as liberalism) or biological ones (such as Ebola and COVID). His study on liberalism and militarism in *The Liberal Virus* is even more salient in seeking to understand the thrust for radical Pan-African responses to imperialism and racism (Amin 2004).

Among peoples globally working for a New International Economic Order (NIEO), COVID has sharpened the understanding of the forces that drive the global political economy. The individual approaches of the mini states in Africa, in seeking to negotiate better terms with global capital, contrast sadly with the reality demonstrated by a country such as Indonesia, with over 270 million persons, which understands that it is in its best interest to be part of a larger economic arrangement, such as the ASEAN system. Similarly, an economic powerhouse such as the Federal Republic of Germany understands that its political and economic future lies in a larger union of capitalist states in Europe. These realities inform the contribution

of Adom Getachew on 'Kwame Nkrumah and the Quest for Independence'. Her intervention interrogates the question of Pan Africanism and the total independence of the African peoples at home and abroad. She underscores a key fact of the contemporary world—that no one African state can compete in the current international order. Hence, she concludes that for African independence to be consolidated it will be necessary to work towards political and economic links that would create a United States of Africa.

Refreshingly, Getachew brings her incisive analysis to bear in critiquing the recent work of scholars who are imprisoned by the Eurocentric concept of a 'nation-state for Africa'. Kwame Nkrumah was clear that the borders of Ghana had been artificially created and that the peoples and ethnic groups of Ghana had long historic linkages with all peoples of Africa. This awareness inspired his advanced Pan-African ideas, which he signalled all across Africa on the night of independence in 1957, when he insisted that Ghanaian independence 'is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent'.

Federation of states or the unification of peoples

The book by Kwame Nkrumah that came out of his plea for the Unification of Africa in 1963 is entitled *Africa Must Unite* (1970). At that historical conjuncture, Nkrumah put forth a minimalist position calling for the unification of independent states. Getachew draws from this text to remind the current generation of scholars, that:

> Organised on the continental scale, African states could forego their dependence on international markets and reorient their economic relationships towards other African states. Having broken the political and economic boundaries that separated them, African states could … collectively achieve a purchasing and bargaining power to rival other regions and international powers.

As such, 'Independence means much more than merely being free to fly our own flag and to play our own national anthem', Nkrumah argued. Independence required a 'revolutionary framework', enacted both nationally and internationally.

It is this demand for a revolutionary framework for the unification of Africa that informed the later writings of Nkrumah after the imperialist-inspired coup d'état in 1966. Notwithstanding the clarity that is embedded in his work, *Revolutionary Path* (1973), there are Pan Africanists who have sought to generate a tendency calling for a federation of the current states. This tendency has now reappeared within the discussions by Ethiopians on the need for a Confederation of the States of Eastern Africa (viz Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia and Eritrea) (Milkias 2021).

These 'federalists' have mobilised the text of Cheikh Anta Diop, *Black Africa: The Basis For A Federated State* (1987), to promote a Pan Africanism that is based on the current Berlinist states, such as Senegal, Rwanda, The Democratic Republic of the Congo, Nigeria, Egypt, etc. Without a close reading of Diop's *Cultural Unity of Africa* (2000), there are those Pan Africanists who have taken this text along with the very long interview with Carlos Moore to promote concepts of Black Africa and sub-Saharan Africa that readily promote disunity. The major theme of Diop's writings is that precolonial Africa had a cultural, economic, political, psychological and linguistic unity. His call for linguistic unification on a territorial and continental scale, with a single African cultural and governmental language, was a central aspect of his view on regaining the independence of Africa.

Getachew steers clear of the confusion that is circulating about federalism or a unitary government in so far as her objective is to draw attention to the revolutionary possibilities that await those who follow the Nkrumist path. The day-to-day experience of the youth informs them that only the progressive dismantling of the legal and coercive structures of empire can unleash the unification project. What is lacking in higher education in Africa is a research agenda guided by the ideas and practices of decolonising, patriotic, progressive, indigenous and transformative jurisprudence. Progressive African students have been in the vanguard of social change, from Soweto in the 1970s to the students of the Sudanese uprisings of 2019. It is clear now to the youth that the unification project must be part of the process of the African Revolution.

Michael West's article on the Pan-African contributions of Walter Rodney brings the question of African revolution to the centre of the Pan-African debate. Entitled 'The Prophecy of Self-Emancipation: Walter Rodney and the Scholarship and Praxis of Defiance in the African World', it describes the life and revolutionary work of Walter Rodney to highlight the reality that the Pan-African revolutionary must fight for all peoples of planet Earth. Thus, West remarks that Rodney was not only a Pan-African revolutionary, but a world revolutionary.

There is a difference, and a crucial one, between the prophet and the preacher. The preacher's task is largely one of reconciliation—reconciling congregants to current reality, to the powers that be. Soothing, encouraging, bearing good news—such is the mission of the preacher. The prophet, on the contrary, is the bearer of bad news—but with this important caveat: the news may be bad, but it needn't remain that way. A better world is possible. The prophet's is a call to repentance, reparation, reconstruction—in other language, revolution.

Revolution in the digital age

I started this introduction with the call from Alkalimat and Williams for revolutionary transformations to unleash cyberdemocracy, collective intelligence and information freedom. Imperial planners who conceive of projects such as Cambridge Analytica's cognitive hacking have inspired organs such as the African Descendants of Slavery (ADOS) in the US. Scholars whose training falls outside of liberation ideas fall prey to the machinations of imperial planners to foment division. Imperialist planners are very aware of the potentialities of global alliances that emerged within the context of the anti-apartheid struggle. The lessons of ADOS in the US are that Pan Africanists cannot rely on imperial digital platforms that emanate from the United States to promote the Pan-African agenda. In a few African states, governments are investing in smart cities, such as Konza Technopolis in Kenya, without harnessing the cognitive skills of the village community. Creative artists are already inspiring African youths with the potentialities of African freedom. The film *Black Panther*, set in the mythical village of Wakanda, opened up the imagination of what

a transformed Africa could be, with its massive resources. I conclude this introduction with extracts from my essay, Lessons From Wakanda: Pan Africanism as the antidote to robotisation (Campbell 2018).

The lessons since the end of apartheid point to the need to lay out a theoretical terrain relating to social transformations and the collateral ideas of peoples' consciousness and political actions. In this sense the transformations towards unity are linked to the conscious activities of the producers who believe that it will be possible to transform the economic relations in the process of elaborating democratic political relations in Africa.

… This author has identified key areas of transformation with the focus on the democratisation of access to water resources and the re-engineering of the African landscape to unify the African people. It is a transformation where the working people 'who have eyes and ears' will choose to look back in order to look forward. Looking back draws on the memories of transformative moments of African liberation and draws inspiration from these moments. The moment of Haiti's independence as well as the rapid decolonisation period between 1956 and 1965 were two such moments when the explosive spread of the culture of independence temporarily silenced those who wanted to colonise Africa for another one hundred years. Kwame Nkrumah was the leader of Ghana at that transformative moment. We need to clarify the differences between the project of unity as inscribed within the present political leadership and the thoroughgoing push for freedom from those who crave a new concept of citizenship. We will agree with Nkrumah

that Africa needs a new kind of citizen. Our task is to draw from the positive memories while outlining the challenges in the present period.

Notes

1. Both COVID-19 and SARS are caused by coronaviruses. The virus that causes SARS is known as SARS-CoV, while the virus that causes COVID-19 is known as SARS-CoV-2. There are also other types of human coronaviruses.

2. https://bdsmovement.net/what-is-bds.

3. ASEAN countries comprise Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.

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