

LIBERATION TIMES

The PASCF Newsletter – Issue No.1 Spring 2009

African Liberation Day – 25 May 2009
(ALD Commemoration 30 May 2009)



Afrikan Freedom means Defeating Neo-colonialism:
Nkrumah @ 100 (1909-2009)

Revolutionary greetings! Welcome to this special issue of **Liberation Times** and the first newsletter of the **Pan-African Society Community Forum (PASCf)**.

PASCf exists to: equip African people locally and globally with skills, knowledge and a common understanding to achieve self determination. Its objectives are:

- To further study and promote the ideas of Marcus Garvey and the UNIA to all African people regarding methods of organization, unity and economic self reliance
- To work toward ending universal racism / white supremacy in all areas of people activity
- To promote and work toward the unity and understanding of all African people
- To promote the teaching of African world history and its specific connections with African Liberation today and the ending of Racism (white supremacy)
- To further develop and promote African peoples' potential to create economic growth
- To realize the call for reparations
- To respect and find a unitary way of working with Africans of varying faiths and political persuasions within the objectives of the PASCf.

The newsletter will be published quarterly and aims to publicise the work and activities of the PASCf and community campaigns. We welcome your comments, ideas and suggestions as well as your contributions in the form of articles, community announcements and events for future issues. Please send your contributions to The Editor, email: pascfeditor@yahoo.co.uk.

Contents

A short history of African Liberation Day
Profiles – ALD International Speakers
Community announcements and events
Campaign news

Features

Experiences on the Campaign Trail
Southwark Black Parents' Forum
Nkrumah @100 – Lessons for African Leadership
The Spirit of Bandung

Workshops

Dates for forthcoming workshops

Put this date in your diary!
Afrikan Liberation Day 2009
Saturday 30th May
12noon - 7pm

Afrikan Liberation Day
 Afrikan Freedom means Defeating Neo-Colonialism
 Nkrumah @ 100

International Speaker DIRECT FROM GHANA!
 * **Kwesi Pratt** *

St John's Church Hall | Sat 30/May/09
Peckham, SE15 2UN | 12noon - 7pm

Contact No. 07940 005 907 - panascf@yahoo.co.uk
www.panascf.org.uk

Afrikan Liberation Day
 Afrikan Freedom means Defeating Neo-Colonialism
 Nkrumah @ 100
 *SINGING *DANCING *EDUTAINMENT *AFRIKAN MARKET *FOOD*

Keynote Speaker Direct from Ghana:
Kwesi Pratt

Sat 30th May 09 - 12noon - 7pm
 St John's Church Hall, Meeting House Lane, Peckham, London
 SE15 2UN, Nearest Rail: Peckham Queen's Road (British Rail)
 Buses: 21, 36, 53, 136, 171, 172, 436, 453, P12, P13

Friday 29th May 2009 @ 6.30pm
 Building effective links between Continental & Diasporan Afrikans
 Venue: 44-46 Offley Road, The Oval, London SW9 0LS
 Nearest Tube: Oval (Northern Line)
 Buses: 3, 36, 59, 133, 155, 159, 185, 333, 436

Afrikan Liberation Day Demonstration
 TUE 16TH JUNE 2009 @ SHELL OIL Headquarters, Waterloo,
 London SE1, 4PM - 7PM

Organised by:
 Pan-Afrikan Society Community Forum, Black Women's Priority
 All African People's Revolutionary Party & AJAMU

Sponsored by: George Jackson Socialist League, Afrikan Hebrew
 Israelites, Global Afrikan Congress & Maya Wa Yalla
 Do as we do from every nation @ 2107, Jubay Kubu 59.0m & www.abecstarz.com

A Short History of African Liberation Day

African Liberation day was founded in Accra, Ghana, at the First Conference of Independent Africa States. The conference ran from 15th to 22nd April 1958 and the first day of the conference - 15th April was declared, by the eight independent states present, Africa Freedom day. Its purpose was to mark the first occasion in modern history when independent African states met to plan the liberation process for colonised nations in Africa. It also symbolised the determination of the peoples of Africa to free themselves from foreign domination and exploitation.

The All African Peoples' Conference held on 8th to 13th December 1958, also in Accra, reaffirmed the resolution of the Conference of Independent African States by calling on All African countries (and people) and all friends of Africa throughout the world to observe Africa Freedom Day as a rallying point for the

forces of freedom. In the same year under the guidance of the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG) the Peoples Republic of Guinea achieved independence. Ghana and Guinea served as an inspiration and base for the Pan African Movement world-wide.

From 1959 to 1963 as the process of African independence intensified, Africa Freedom Day celebrations were held in Azania (South Africa), Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Britain, China, the USA and the USSR. In Africa, as a result of organised mass struggles an increasing number of states became independent. It was in the context of these world-wide and continental developments that the fourth conference of Independent Afrikan States took place from 22nd to 25th May 1963. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was founded in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on the final day of the conference - 25th May 1963. Since that date, conferences of the independent African states have been held annually as OAU conferences. The OAU inaugural conference was a continuation of the African political unification and liberation process spearheaded by independent states, not the beginning as has been interpreted by some.

PROFILE: ALD International Speakers

The PASCf is proud to present two international speakers at the African Liberation Day Event in London on Saturday 30 May.



Mawete Vo Teka Sala - Moyo wa Taifa
Born on 26 August 1957, Angola

I am a political, human and gender rights activist and organizer. My activity spans over three decades, both in Angola my country of origin and abroad.

I started my political activity within the leadership of student movement in Angola and the pro independence anti colonial movement in 1971.

Since I came to Britain I have been involved in some of the major campaigns on Asylum rights and Community advocacy. I was the Vice-Chair person of the Angolan Community Organization in the UK from 1992 to 1995, Chair of the African Liberation Support Campaign (ALISC) from 1994 to 1999 and Chair of

Moyo Wa Taifa – Pan Afrikan Women’s Solidarity Network from 1994 till now, and also Vice-Chair person for ADVAD African Diaspora Voices for Africa’s Development. Through the above organizations I have been very much involved in development and educational projects as part of the overall campaign to put Africa within the political map and agenda in Europe.



Kwesi Pratt, Jnr.

Kwesi Pratt, Jnr. is the Managing Editor of the thrice weekly newspaper, “the Insight” published in Ghana. The newspaper was established in April, 1993 as the mouth piece of the under privileged and has been the standard bearer of progressive activism in Ghana.

Mr. Pratt is currently the National co-ordinator of the Socialist Forum of Ghana, a Member of the Cuba Solidarity Campaign, Palestine Solidarity Campaign and the Venezuela Solidarity Campaign.

He served as the General Secretary of the Kwame Nkrumah Revolutionary Guards (KNRG) from 1986 to 1991. He was the Deputy National Secretary of the cross-party movement, Movement for Freedom and Justice (MFJ) which campaigned for the restoration of multi-party democracy in Ghana and has served as the Central Regional Secretary of the Ghana Journalists’ Association. In 1990, he was elected as the President of the Private Newspaper Publishers’ Association of Ghana.

Between 1982 and 1993, Kwesi was detained without charge or trial for as many as 14 times. On one occasion he spent close to one year at the Maximum Security Prison at Nsawam 18 kilometres from Accra. In 1986 and 1987, Kwesi was adopted as a prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International.

Kwesi has travelled widely in the United States of America and been to the former Soviet Union, the Democratic Republic of Korea, Cuba, Egypt, South Africa, Nigeria, Benin, Venezuela, Sierra Leone, the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Norway and Germany.

He was born on August 9, 1953 and is married to Marian Pratt, a Banker with whom he has three children.

Community Announcements & Events

Sista C to host Nyansapo programme



Sista C

PASCF member, Sista C will be hosting the Pan African Drum for a few weeks from 26 May 2009. The weekly topical community programme will broadcast live every Tuesday from 9pm – 12 midnight. If you cannot access the website then it will be available direct by clicking this link Nyansapo Radio.

www.ligali.org/nyansapo/

African Liberation Day Demonstration

The annual ALD demonstration takes place on Tuesday 16 June at the Shell Headquarters, Waterloo, London SE1, 4pm – 7pm. Bring your drums and whistles.

Marcus Garvey African Family Day

This annual event will take place on 15 August at Max Roach Park, Brixton, London SW2. Further details will be provided in the next PASCF Newsletter.

Obituary

It is with regret that we announce the sad passing of the mother of our comrade Brother Tongagara, community activist and member of PASCF and the founder of the George Jackson Socialist League. His mother, Vida Allen Wright passed into the ancestral realm on Tuesday 9 May. She was born on 7 September 1923 in the parish of St Elizabeth, Jamaica. She later emigrated to Canada and qualified as a nurse. Mama Allen Wright will be laid to rest in St Elizabeth on 30 May (ironically at the precise time that we will be commemorating ALD in London) She is survived by one son and three grandchildren.



Campaign News

Support Brother Minkah – Drop the Charges Now!

After making a simple enquiry as to why a large group of policemen were questioning a young black man, Brother Minkah was subject to a vicious, brutal assault and then arrested. We are calling for the community to come out and support our brother on

his day in court. Thursday 4 June 2009, Camberwell Green Magistrates Court, Camberwell SE5 @ 10.00am. For further information call 07940 005 907 or visit the PASCf website at www.pascf.org.uk

DNA Database – Join our campaign

Deaths in custody, stop and search and now the DNA database. The African community is under renewed attack by the state and must fight back. The taking of our youths' DNA must stop. It is yet another form of race profiling to be used against the African community. PASCf have started a campaign to put pressure on the state authorities to destroy the DNA of our innocent youth (and adults).

A community meeting will be held on Tuesday 9 June at 44-46 Offley Road, Oval London SW9 0LS. For further information call 07940 005 907 or visit the PASCf website at www.pascf.org.uk.

Hands off Offley Works! Say SMA

The Centre which houses the Starlight Music Academy (SMA) is threatened with closure unless it secures further funding. The Manager, Shanice Duffus and the young people who use the facilities at Offley Works near the Oval, took their protest to the Mayor of London, Boris Johnson at a Mayor's London Question Time event recently, and they gained a year long reprieve and the promise of a meeting with the Mayor, as a result. Thereafter, the Evening Standard sent their star reporter Andrew Gillian (yes that's right, the same one who contributed to the downfall of Ken Livingston and Lee Jasper during the Mayoral election campaign last year through his scurrilous reporting) to Offley Road to essentially dig up some dirt on the Centre. He went away disappointed. Read what happened here.

<http://torytroll.blogspot.com/2009/03/visit-from-andrew-gilligan.html>



Some of the young people from SMA

SMA, which offers music and dance training to young people, have held a series of fundraising events, the most recent one on Saturday 25 April 2009, where the young people showcased their talents to the community.

John Loughborough School - Update

The fight continues to reinstate the former Head teacher, Dr June Alexis, who was dismissed from the faith based Seventh Day Adventist School last year. Two members of the PTA, Chair, Sister Njeri and Brother Mbandaka (Alkebulan Revivalist Movement) were reinstated earlier this year after being banned from the school last March, following a school protest they organised. Haringey Council had taken out an injunction against them but after almost a year of fighting the PTA through the courts, the Council decided to drop its injunction proceedings. Having failed to silence the PTA, with an ill-fated court injunction, the LA and its IEB, is now trying to eliminate the PTA, for daring to challenge its inappropriate, disruptive interventions, in the school. A document entitled, 'Summary of PTA Campaign' has been issued which highlights the successes of the campaign and the legitimacy of the issues which have been raised. For further information go to: www.friendsofjohnloughborough.org.uk

See article on p.10

Racist Supreme Court denies Mumia's Appeal – Death sentence still looms – Free Mumia Now!



On 6 April the U.S. Supreme Court summarily turned down Mumia Abu Jamal's appeal to overturn the conviction that led to his death sentence. While it took

less than one business day for the Court to reject Mumia's petition, which was based on the exclusion of 11 of 15 prospective black jurors from his 1982 trial, the courts have been considering for weeks the Philadelphia district attorney's appeal to reinstate the death sentence, which was overturned by U.S. District Court Judge William Yohn in 2001. The scene is set once again for a judicial lynching.

A former Black Panther Party spokesman, supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE organization and award-winning journalist, Mumia was convicted on a framed up murder charges for the killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner on 9 December 1981. For 27 years, the state authorities have wanted his execution because they see in Mumia a defiant voice of opposition to all forms of racist discrimination. Mountains of evidence, not least the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner, have proven Mumia's innocence. But court after court has refused to even consider the evidence. As Mumia put it in an April 6 interview, the Court's decision shows that "law is politics by other means and that the Constitution means nothing, that a fair jury means nothing." Mumia's case demonstrates that there is no justice in the racist capitalist courts.

It is important now more than ever that ordinary people mobilise and join in the fight to free our innocent brother, Mumia Abu Jamal.



Durban Review Conference
World Conference Against Racism (WCAR)
Geneva: 20th to 24th April 2009

The Global Afrikan Congress UK (GAC UK) delegation report back from The World Conference Against Racism held recently in Geneva

Despite considerable effort in the months leading up to the Conference, GAC UK was unable to find out from the UK Government who would be representing the UK, and what the UK planned to report. GAC UK were disappointed to find that despite racism being a serious issue, diplomats from the UK's Geneva embassy appeared to be representing the UK Government. GAC UK delegates met with HE Peter Booderham (British Ambassador from the embassy in Geneva who appeared to be leading the British contingent) during the conference. The position of GAC UK with regard to the demand for Reparations was made explicit. Peter Booderham acknowledged that he received the very clear message from us that we expected much more from the UK Government with regard to fighting racism. He said that the Government will liaise with us on the new Equality Bill.

GAC UK demand Reparations for the crimes against humanity that have been, and continue to be committed against Afrikan people in the UK. Our children are failed in the UK's education system and are more likely to be excluded from school. Black people are 6 times more likely to be stopped and searched. 23% of the prison population in the UK is of Afrikan descent, yet we make up fewer than 2% of the total UK population. More of our youth are in the prison system than in higher education. Black people are much more likely to have their DNA profiles on the UK database than other ethnic groups, even though they are less likely to commit crimes than White people (Home Office information). One in five mental health in-patients come from a Black or ethnic minority background compared to 1 in 10 of the UK population.

GAC UK will hold the UK Government to account for the agreements that were made at Durban 2001 which they have yet to accomplish. We also plan to liaise with our communities so they are aware of what is happening.

GAC is an international network of Pan-Afrikanist and Afrikan-centred organizations and individuals who are committed to building linkages and genuine, permanent relationships across the Afrikan world. We aim to mobilize the human, economic, political, spiritual and cultural resources of Afrika and the Afrikan Diaspora in the interest and to the benefit of Afrika and her people.

Contact: General Secretary - Glenroy Watson - 07956 133 450

Email: secretaryGACuk@aol.com

Website: www.globalafrikancongress.org

PASCF member, Mawasi Kaddy Bojang, writes about her experiences as an active supporter of the John Loughborough campaign

I first heard about the John Loughborough campaign and the plight of its head teacher Dr Alexis through the PASCF meetings. I had been brought up as a Seventh-Day-Adventist myself before I found my true place in this world and reclaimed my Afrikan name. I was pleased to hear that Dr Alexis had made a difference to the school and the children that attended it, but was saddened though not surprised that she had been ousted just as it was becoming clear just how bright and talented our children are and that with the right schooling they will not only achieve but excel. I volunteered to go to the planning meetings and see what I could do to highlight the situation to members of the unsuspecting public, and support the mission to reinstate Dr Alexis and her methodology for running the school. It was good to see the room full of people that were committed to doing better for the youth and it reinforced my belief that we can do things. Saving and protecting the next generation, being the much needed change in our community instead of waiting for someone else to do it and being the responsible adults that are needed to guide and defend the young. It was warming like summer sun.

The meetings went well and things began to take shape. The next stage was the protest outside Haringey Children's Social Services and as karma would have it as we were planning the protest, the story of baby P broke and I knew the Gods had smiled on us. With the popular press calling for the rolling of the same heads that we wanted, it was nothing but our duty to ensure that justice in that respect was done.



Campaigners protest outside John Loughborough school

Outside the Children's Social Service we gathered early in the morning it was the 27th of November 2008 and cold, very cold but we had a mission and a cause and that kept us warm. We were there all day and the media came down to film us and passers by took leaflets and cars tooted their horns in support. It was a good day and it was hours after the protest that day that we heard that Sharon Shoemith had been sacked. I strongly believe that protest was the making of that decision.

The next stage was to get the head teacher reinstated and our children learning and excelling. This meant protests at the Civic Centre in Wood Green which were held in the evenings on the 9th and 19th of January, and one in April. I went to two of the three held this year. We gathered outside at 6pm. The weather was freezing. Gloves and hats were the order of the day but our voices were loud and we had drums and people chanted and we kept ourselves warm with the knowledge that we were making a difference. We weren't going to sit around and wait for things to be done to us, we were going to be about the business of gaining control of what happened to us and our children and our community. We were about the business of controlling our destiny. I say get up, get out and do something about the situation. All evil needs is for good men and women to do nothing.



The Southwark Black Parents' Forum is a voluntary sector organisation that was established by parents two years ago. Chair, Sheila Simpson describes its work.

It is now called The Black Parent Forum Limited, a registered company charity working in partnership with Southwark Council. The aim is to reach parents from the African/Caribbean communities to raise their awareness of the importance for their active involvement in their children's education and schooling.

The purpose of the forum is to give Black parent/carers in the community the chance to have their say on how services are provided by public bodies and organisation locally and to raise other matters of local concerns.

We are currently working on two major projects a 100 questionnaire for our African community endorsed by Southwark Council; this will enable us to define our needs based on our results influencing public sector bodies in Southwark to change how the community is served. The next project is a set of learning materials commissioned by Black parent forum written by our African authors for our African Children link to the national curriculum which will be used in schools and in the home. We are working closing with Southwark Education Dept.

We exist also to enlighten parents about their human rights and empower parents through workshops and advice surgeries.

We support the Parent Empowerment Conference place and any development towards our children.

The Forum has regular speakers such as:

Glenor Roberts (mapenzi), King Lion, Stephen Sallie, Paul Obina, Clarence Thompson, Steve Martin, Toyin Agbetu, Andrew Muhammad, Adi Hakim, Dr Kimani Nehose, Trevor Hakim, Agnes Remice, Kwame Oclou, Dr Lez Henry.

These speakers cover a wide variety of topics to uplift and empower young people. Come along to the forum meetings and partake in the development our children. We meet monthly on the last Thursday of each month at Southwark Town Hall from 6-8pm. Unity is Strength.

FEATURES SECTION

Nkrumah @ 100 – Lessons for African Leadership

While many African leaders have aspired to inherit Nkrumah's mantle as the visionary and driver of Pan-Africanism and continental unity, writes Yao Graham, a gaping political leadership vacuum remains at the heart of the continent's collective expression.



In February Ghana's new President John Atta-Mills announced that Nkrumah's birthday in September will be observed as Founder's Day and a national holiday. The long and tortuous national rehabilitation of the man who led the country to independence and remains an inspiration to Africans all over the world had taken yet another important step in the centenary year of his birth.

In the years after Ghana gained independence, Nkrumah's life and work was dominated by two primary concerns, one international, the other domestic. Internationally, Pan-Africanism as a project of political and economic freedom, unity and structural transformation linked to the issue of Africa's place and voice on the world stage was dominant. Inside Ghana the main issue was the structural transformation of the mono-crop dependent colonial economy bequeathed by the British into a balanced and internally linked one that offered improved and secure livelihoods to Ghanaians. The domestic and international concerns were of course closely linked in Nkrumah's pronouncements and practice. He hoped that any achievements in Ghana would serve as a model as well as a unit in the economy of a united Africa. Nkrumah was ready to incur the wrath of the major imperialist powers of the day in pursuit of what he believed was in the interest of the African people.

David Rooney concluded his critical biography of Nkrumah with the acknowledgement that 'His hopes were encapsulated in his ultimate goal of a United Africa in which its rich natural resources would be used for the benefit of all its people and would not be filched from them by foreign financiers and other exploiters. It may take centuries for Nkrumah's goal to be achieved, but when it is, he will be revered as the leader with the dynamism and intelligent imagination to take the first brave steps'.

From an age when there were a number of outstanding African leaders, among whom Nkrumah was preeminent, the continent currently confronts the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression and a host of other challenges such as the situation in and international political play around Darfur without a rallying figure.

Nkrumah's leadership and rallying role in African affairs went well beyond his vision and theorising. Importantly it included support for national liberation movements. This support embodied a unity of his Pan-Africanism and commitment to anti-colonial independence as a necessary precondition for the continent's unity and progress. The activities of the Bureau of African Affairs which oversaw support for national liberation movements and the training of their cadre in Ghana with support from the Soviet bloc and China led to Cold War accusation that Ghana was a base for communist subversion in Africa. Two events however stand out in Nkrumah's readiness to support the national liberation struggle as well as defend its unity with the Pan-African cause, even when face to face with much more powerful countries. These are the financial aid Ghana gave to newly independent Guinea in 1958 and Ghana's stance and action in support of Patrice Lumumba's government during the Congo (DRC) crisis of the early sixties. Developments in the two countries soon after independence offer credence to Cabral's argument that 'so long as imperialism is in existence an independent African state must be a liberation movement in power, or it will not be independent'.

As France stared defeat in the face in Algeria at the hands of the National Liberation Front (FLN) - a prospect made all the more difficult to countenance because of the humiliation inflicted by the Vietnamese in 1954 - it sought to re-package its colonial control by offering its African colonies membership of a French community. All French African colonies, except Guinea under Sekou Toure, agreed to the new colonial package. In an unforgettable act of vindictiveness, the departing French stripped Guinea of anything they could carry, leaving the country on the brink of collapse. Nkrumah stepped in with a £10m loan to help the newly independent country avoid collapse. This was a considerable sum in those days and big sacrifice by a small country like Ghana.

Nkrumah's brave and sustained but ultimately doomed support for Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, the unity of Congo and his faith in the UN in the face Western plotting and intrigue marked a high point of his willingness to assume international leadership on African causes. The outcome was also a stark statement of what could not be achieved without a concerted African engagement in the face of powerful external forces. Nkrumah maintained a consistent line during the Congo crisis. He insisted that the country should solve its problems with the support of other African countries within the framework of the UN without the meddling of global powers, especially the NATO bloc. He assumed that the UN framework would give international legitimacy to the African led process. Nkrumah sent troops to support Lumumba using Soviet planes much to the anger of the USA. On 23 September 1960 Nkrumah used the

platform of the UN General Assembly to make the case for Congo's unity, Lumumba's leadership and for an African solution under UN auspices to the crisis in the Congo. The appeal failed to gain traction, mainly because the UN auspices also provided perfect cover for the US and its NATO allies to carry out their plans in the Congo.

It is now a public fact that even before Congo's independence on 1 July 1960, the American CIA was getting ready to put its puppets in power. President Dwight Eisenhower issued a national security order for the killing of Prime Minister Lumumba within six weeks of Congo becoming independent. Congo's fate as a Western plaything in the Cold War was sealed and its long and tragic descent into what it has become today had begun. The gulf between Nkrumah's intentions and his weakness in the situation was tragically highlighted by how Ghana's contingent in the UN military force became detached from Nkrumah's political objectives and acted as accessories to actions against Lumumba. Nkrumah's lonely and heroic, but ultimately futile, stance on the Congo crisis contrasts sharply with the flabby collective African approach on Somalia and Darfur. The former process has lurched from crisis to crisis with ever diminishing credibility and capacity of the transitional government. The situation was further compounded by the readiness of Ethiopia, the host country of the African Union, to act in concert with the Bush administration in pursuit of their particular national interests that converged in Somalia. Old Ethiopian imperial pretensions meshed with Bush's war on terror. All these fuelled the discrediting, resistance to and de-legitimation of the AU's role in that country.

The Darfur crisis and its escalation around the indictment of Sudan's President Bashir by the International Criminal Court has provided a grave test for Africa's collective ability to deal with African issues which are heavily intermeshed with international dimensions and interests. The UN/AU hybrid peacekeeping operation in Darfur (UNAMID) continues to face various difficulties. Joint UN/AU as well as Arab League mediation and peace initiatives do not appear to be making much progress. The indictment of Bashir and the issuing of a warrant for his arrest has further complicated the situation. Having failed to exert a decisive influence on the course of events in Darfur, including on the behaviour of the Sudanese government and the evolution of the ICC's pursuit of Bashir, the African Union has taken a critical stance towards the implementation of the arrest warrant. As the internationalisation of the Darfur conflict widens, the purchase of the African Union on how it is likely to be resolved shrinks.

Earlier this year the AU elected Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi as chair of the Union. In recent years, he has emerged as the most forthright spokesman for the urgency of creating a United States of Africa. How best and how quickly to move forward to a union of African states was the main item on the agenda of the 2007 AU summit, fittingly held in Accra during Ghana's 50th year of independence. The debate was inconclusive but the exercise underlined Gaddafi's stature as a leader of the Unity Now! camp.

The African Union's election of the unpredictable Gaddafi at this grave moment in history is more a negative than a positive. It is a statement of a collective

failure of leadership and underlines the crisis in which the Pan-African project is mired at the inter-state level. His seemingly radical stance on African Unity notwithstanding, the sad truth is that Gaddafi is not the successor to Nkrumah that the continent currently and urgently needs. He does not offer a coherent vision or leadership practice of pan-Africanism in keeping with the needs of the age. These shortcomings are compounded by his unpredictability and histrionics. Some of his views and pronouncements show him up as a man deeply marked by his years as an authoritarian leader. Among his many bizarre acts is his current self-designation as king of Africa's kings, a reactionary assertion out of tune with the democratic logic on the continent's national liberation struggles.

The African people want democracy not monarchs. If there is one element of Africa's post-colonial history that the masses want behind them it is the years of despotism. In *Black Star*, his deeply sympathetic study of Nkrumah's life and times, Basil Davidson, who devoted his life to supporting Africa's national liberation struggles, pointed to the decay of internal party democracy and the gradual ascent of authoritarian use of power in Nkrumah's Ghana as a key contributor to the erosion of mass support for Nkrumah's efforts to transform the economy for the benefit of ordinary people. 'The view for tomorrow is that Nkrumah's aims were the right ones and their realisation will become increasingly possible as conditions ripen and as other strategists take up further struggles for liberation. These strategists will succeed... in the measure that they undertake and carry through the work of building democratic organisations which become the vehicles of mass participation as well as mass support: movements in which the mass of ordinary people really make, enshrine and uphold the fundamental law of the land'.

The African delegation to the London G20 summit was led not by Gaddafi the chair of the AU but by Ethiopia's Meles Zenawi, who is chair of NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development) and a good friend of the West. NEPAD is at best a substructure of the AU and Zenawi's presence is illustrative of the ease with which many outside Africa are able to pick and choose how to deal with the continent. During the Beijing China Africa Forum the Chinese were able to deal with African countries as individuals while the AU was treated as observer.

Processes of restructuring of global leadership are underway in the international level responses to the unfolding economic crisis. One strand of these is the emergence of the G20 as a key site of global economic leadership, the effective downgrading of the G8. This process mirrors the way in which the old wholly Western quartet of leading powers in the World Trade Organisation (WTO) has been replaced by a new quad of the US, EU, Brazil and India. The seating around the G20 table reflects the power of individual Asian and Latin American economies with South Africa the only African country there as an individual member country. Realistically the most effective way African countries could have optimised their voice would have been through effective prior preparation and definition of positions and South-South diplomacy ahead of the meeting, as well as having a collective representative of their own choosing.

The continent's response to the global crisis has so far lacked urgency and the sense that this is an opportunity to make a break with some of the discredited policies which have failed to deliver transformative growth over the past couple of decades. The main line in the global fora has been to plead for Africa to be remembered and for the security of aid budgets. As African leaders traipse around international fora, the glaring absence of leaders who see opportunities for change in the current crisis stands in sharp relief.

The current global crisis has validated what critics of neoliberalism have been saying for years. In the last few years the annual Economic Report on Africa (ERA) published by the UN Economic Commission for Africa has been gently putting out its critique of the experience of the neoliberal agenda in Africa. Years of growth had failed to effect either transformation or the much touted poverty reduction. The current crisis had again brought to the fore the fundamental structural problems of Africa's economies which the recent years of growth had masked, especially in countries exporting oil or benefiting from the commodities boom.

Nkrumah reportedly broke down in tears when confronted with the news that the collapse of cocoa prices had cut the ground from under his plans for the economic transformation of Ghana. In the years since Nkrumah's overthrow, the cyclical movement of cocoa and gold prices has been the determinant factors in the health of the Ghanaian economy tempered in recent years by the substantial aid that the country receives. For some years now Ghana has been a model of the type of economy and economic policy that has been proclaimed as the way forward for Africa but which has failed to deliver over a generation and has been exposed as bankrupt by the global crisis.

During the last six or so years of his rule Nkrumah attempted to transform the colonial economy he inherited. Many leaders of his generation - Nyerere in Tanzania, Kaunda in Zambia, and many others - recognised this to be a primary task of post-colonial economic policy. Despite the claims that Nkrumah's difficulties were because of his socialist policies, the truth is that for a long time he was a good pupil of the dominant economic theories and ideas of his day as purveyed by leading thinkers in the West. His later attempt to learn from the development strategies of the Soviet Union as well as China and Yugoslavia showed a readiness to take risks and try uncharted paths. In retrospect it is clear that many mistakes were made and offer rich lessons for today, but he dared.

In the 15 years Nkrumah was in power a leading role for the state in the economy was the norm in both communist countries and the West where Keynesian economics prevailed. The experience of the Soviet Union offered lessons in rapid industrialisation, which India had started learning before Ghana came along. The relative success of import substituting industrialisation in Latin America had made that strategy a respectable one by the time of Ghana's independence. The Labour party was undertaking extensive nationalisations in Britain when Nkrumah first came to power. Nkrumah's Pan-Africanism was powered by a grander vision and ambition than the modest European Coal and

Steel community, which has flowered into the European Union, but they were united by a recognition of the benefits of regional integration.

Using existing resources, Nkrumah rapidly expanded education, health and infrastructure and aided other newly independent countries such as Guinea. With additional borrowing, industrial and agricultural investments were made. Many of the agro-industrial projects, not all well conceived, were in their infancy when he was overthrown. He inaugurated the Akosombo hydroelectricity dam, the centre piece of the Volta River project, which he saw as powering Ghana's industrialisation a month before his overthrow. The creation of a local raw material base was not properly scheduled with the new factories that were built in the period before the 1966 coup. By that time the crisis in the international price of cocoa had wrought considerable damage to revenue and growth projections, putting pressure on imports and consumption.

The turn towards the Soviet Union and China was an economic as well as political act. Nkrumah's anti-imperialism meant that he did not believe he could rely on the West for full support for his transformational project especially given the centrality of African unity with its implication for existing colonial spheres of influence as well as US intrusions into the continent.

One of the key lessons from Ghana's development experience under Nkrumah is linked directly to his commitment to a pan-African solution to the challenges of under development. Nkrumah's works are replete with warnings about the limits of what small 'balkanised' African countries can do on their own. Faced with the absence of a larger political economic unit he sought to transform the small economy and market of Ghana into an industrialised economy at a fast pace. The post-Cold War global economic framework has made the regional and continental even more key in any serious African project of economic transformation.

Sadly even in the face of the global crisis many African governments are looking only outwards towards their 'development partners' rather than exploring the opportunities for deepening regional and continental cooperation and integration. The IMF is offering its pernicious advice that not much needs to change and there seem to be many in African leadership ready to listen. Meantime in the global North, pages are being torn from the rulebooks by which African economies have been run from Washington. The norms which have driven the negotiating positions of the West in fora such as the WTO have been called into question by domestic policies in those countries.

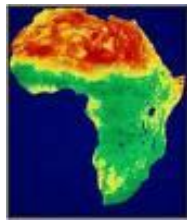
All these offer important opportunities for a new agenda for economic transformation in Africa. Where are the African leaders ready to dare and look beyond guaranteeing the sanctity of aid flows? Wanted: an African 'leader with the dynamism and intelligent imagination to take the first brave steps'.

** Yao Graham, an activist and writer, is the head of Third World Network Africa, a pan-African research and advocacy organisation based in Accra, Ghana.*

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Bandung: The spirit of co-operation between Afrikan people and Arabs. PASC member, Brother Omowale analyses the significance of Bandung to ALD and Malcolm X's promotion of international anti-imperialist co-operation

The Bandung conference which took place from 17th to 24th April 1955, helps to explain some of the international context surrounding the development of Afrikan liberation Day. It was hosted by Indonesia and co-sponsored by the governments of Burma, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. They brought together an additional twenty-four nations from Asia and Africa including: Afghanistan, Cambodia, China, Egypt, Ethiopia, the Gold Coast (Ghana), Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, the Vietnam Democratic Republic, South Vietnam (later reunified with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam) and Yemen (Republic of Yemen) - in total 29 countries; The Afrikan National Congress (ANC) of Azania (South Afrika) was also represented.



The tone for the conference was set by the opening address entitled 'Let a New Asia and a New Africa be Born'. Since the decolonization process was still ongoing, the delegates at the conference also discussed the plights of other colonized peoples (especially in Africa) that had not yet established independent governments. They discussed issues such as national sovereignty, racism, nationalism and struggles against colonialism, world peace and economic and cultural cooperation among the participating countries. Their efforts contributed to the anti-imperialist spirit of co-operation between Afrikan people, Arabs and Asians that enabled Afrikan people and Arabs in North Afrika to work co-operatively towards Afrikan continental independence. Malcolm X explained how:

"Back in '55 in Indonesia – Bandung – they had a conference of dark skinned people. The people of Afrika and Asia came together for the first time in centuries. They had no nuclear weapons, they had no air fleets, no navy. But they discussed their plight and they found that there was one thing that we all

had in common – oppression, exploitation and suffering. And we had a common oppressor, a common exploiter ... we had differences. Some were Buddhists, some were Hindus, some were Christians, some were Moslems, some didn't have any religion at all. But with all the differences that existed, they agreed on one thing, the spirit of Bandung was, from there on in, to de-emphasise the areas of difference and emphasise the areas that we had in common ... it was the spirit of Bandung that fed the flames of nationalism and freedom, not only in Asia, but especially on the Afrikan continent ... and that spirit didn't stay on the Afrikan continent. Somehow or other, it slipped into the Western Hemisphere and got into the heart and mind and the soul of the Black man in the Western Hemisphere who supposedly had been separate from the Afrikan continent for almost 400 years." (Clark, 2003, p. 163).

Malcolm X's support for positive Afrikan relations with Arabs and Asians



Malcolm X argued that the darker skinned people of the world should coordinate their struggles against the system that was responsible for racial oppression. He was in favour of continental and Diasporan Afrikan people building international and local anti-imperialist alliances with Arabs, Asians and even Europeans. His main pre-condition for the building of effective alliances was that Afrikan people should first organise effectively amongst themselves. Time and time again he pointed to the Bandung conference as the critically important milestone that empowered the world's oppressed darker skinned people. Among the newly empowered were continental Afrikan people who after centuries of oppression, reclaimed their lands and re-establish their nations. Malcolm X's support for alliances between Afrikan people, Arabs and Asians is self-evident:

"At the Bandung Conference in 1955, one of the first and best steps towards independence for non-white people took place. The people of Africa and Asia and Latin America were able to get together. They sat down, they realised that they had differences. They agreed not to place any emphasis any longer on these differences, but to submerge their areas of differences and place emphasis upon areas where they had something in common ... [This] produced the spirit of Bandung. So that the people who were oppressed, who had no jet planes, no nuclear weapons, no armies, no navies – and despite the fact that they did not have this, their unity alone was sufficient to enable them, over a period of years to manoeuvre and make it possible for other nations in Asia to become independent, and many more nations in Afrika to become independent ... by 1959, many of you will recall how colonialism on the Afrikan

continent had already begun to collapse. It began to collapse because the spirit of Afrikan nationalism had been fanned from a spark to a roaring flame. And it made it impossible for the colonial powers to stay there by force. Formerly

when the Afrikans were fearful, the colonial power could come up with a battle ship, or threaten to land an army, or something like that and the oppressed people would submit and go ahead being colonised for a while longer ... by 1959, all of the fear had left the Afrikan continent and the Asian continent. And because this fear was gone, especially in regards to the colonial powers of Europe, it made it impossible for them to continue to stay in there by the same methods that they had employed up to that time."

There are consistent themes that flow from Malcolm X's analysis. At Bandung, Afrikan people, Asians, Arabs and South Americans came together to create a multi-lateral network of anti-imperialist internationalist alliances. They submerged their differences and emphasised their common agenda. They developed working unity aimed at fighting racist oppression and reclaiming their land from their common enemy, the imperialist oppressors. There were many benefits that flowed from their anti-imperialist internationalist inter-racial co-operation. Firstly, their internationalist co-operation 'fed the flames' of each of their nationalist struggles against imperialism making it possible for them to politically out manoeuvre US Satan and other capitalist nations despite their lack of military might. Secondly, it stimulated local and nationalist liberation struggles in Afrika, Asia and Arabia, triggering the process of national independence in each of those parts of the world.

In Afrika, there was the historic problem of Arabs invading and occupying the north of the continent. However, 'the spirit of Bandung' fostered co-operation between Afrikan people and Arabs living on the Afrikan continent. Its legacy contributed to the success of the First Conference of Independent Afrikan States and the First All-Afrikan People's Conference, both held in Accra, Ghana in 1958. These conferences, both of which were attended by Afrikan and North Afrikan Arab delegates, spearheaded the wave of independence that swept across Afrika in the early 1960's.

Workshops

Pan Afrikan Society Community Forum
Presents the 2009 annual theme and series of
workshops

Afrikan Freedom means Defeating Neo-colonialism:
Nkrumah @ 100 (1909-2009)

Afrikan Liberation Day (May)

Youths are specially welcome – All free of charge

Friday 1st May 2009 @ 6.30pm

The revolutionary significance of May Day

Friday 8th May 2009 @ 6.30pm

International class analysis, European workers
& anti-Afrikan racism

Friday 15th May 2009 @ 6.30pm

Contrasting the approaches of
Presidents Nkrumah and Obama

Friday 22nd May 2009 @ 6.30pm

The 1966 anti-Nkrumah coup
& US Satan in Ghana today

Friday 29th May 2009 @ 6.30pm

Building effective links between
Continental & Diasporan Afrikans

Venue for Workshops: 44-46 Offley Road, The Oval, London SW9 0LS

Nearest Tube: Oval (Northern Line); Buses: 3, 36, 59, 133, 155, 159, 185, 333, 436

For more information: Ring 07940 005 907; email – Panascf@yahoo.co.uk; Website –

www.pascf.org.uk

Afrikan Liberation Day 2009 Theme

Day 1

Friday 29th May 2009 @ 6.30pm

Building effective links between
Continental & Diasporan Afrikans

Venue for Day 1: 44-46 Offley Road, The Oval, London SW9 0LS

Nearest Tube: Oval (Northern Line); Buses: 3, 36, 59, 133, 155, 159, 185, 333, 436

Day 2 (Main Event)

Saturday 30th May 2009 @ 1pm – 7pm

Afrikan Freedom Means Defeating Neo-colonialism
Nkrumah@100 (1909 – 2009)

Venue for Day 2: St John's Church Hall,
Meeting House Lane, Peckham, London SE15 2UN

Nearest Rail: Peckham Queen's Road (British Rail)

Buses: 21, 36, 53, 136, 172, 171, 436, 453, P12, P13

Keynote Speaker Direct from Ghana – Kwesi Pratt

Plus Panel Speakers & Solidarity Messages

Libation, dancing, singing, drumming, poetry, children's activities, dynamic performers.

Afrikan Liberation Day planning meetings – Offley Road every Monday @ 6.30pm.

For more information: Ring 07940 005 907; email – Panascf@yahoo.co.uk; Website – www.pascf.org.uk

Workshops – June, July & August

Youths are especially welcome – All free of charge

Friday 5th June 2009 @ 6.30pm

Afrikan Reparations
Feedback from the UN Geneva Anti-Racism Review

Friday 12th June 2009 @ 6.30pm

An update on the Niger Delta
Justice for the Ogoni Martyrs

Friday 19th June 2009 @ 6.30pm

The Life and Times of
Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah

Friday 26th June 2009 @ 6.30pm

An Afrikan Military Victory over Imperialism
The Glorious Battle of Cuito Cuanavale

Friday 3th July 2009 @ 6.30pm

US Satan's Execution of Afrikan People
State Murder by another Name

Friday 10th July 2009 @ 6.30pm

The Plight of our People in Haiti
How Can We Help?

Friday 17th July 2009 @ 6.30pm

An Update on Zimbabwe
Who Really Controls the Land?

Friday 24th July 2009 @ 6.30pm

Connections Between
Marcus Garvey and Haile Selassie

Friday 31st July 2009 @ 6.30pm

Connections Between
Marcus Garvey and Kwame Nkrumah

Friday 7th August 2009 @ 6.30pm

Marcus Garvey
The Writer & Publisher

Friday 14th August 2009 @ 6.30pm

How Garvey Responded During
Capitalism's Economic Crisis in His Time

Friday 21st August 2009 @ 6.30pm
Remembering the Haitian Revolution
Our Role in the Abolition of Slavery

Friday 28th August 2009 @ 6.30pm
Afrikan People's Declaration of Rights
& Their Relevance Today

Venue for Workshops: 44-46 Offley Road, The Oval, London SW9 0LS
Nearest Tube: Oval (Northern Line); Buses: 3, 36, 59, 133, 155, 159, 185, 333, 436
Afrikan Liberation Day planning meetings – Same venue alternate Mondays @ 6.30pm.
For more information: Ring 07940 005 907; email – Panascf@yahoo.co.uk; Website
– www.pascf.org.uk

All African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP)
African Liberation Day (ALD)
Honour Nkrumah:
*Global Economic Crisis calls for Pan-African
Unity: Build one united socialist Africa*

Speakers:

Kwame Nkrumah CPP (Ghana)
PANAFU (Sierra Leone)
All African Peoples Revolutionary Party (AAPRP)
African Peoples Liberation Organisation / Pan-Africa Society
Community Forum (APLO / PASCF)
Global Women's Strike

Invited speakers:

Cuban Ambassador
Venezuelan Ambassador

Saturday 23rd May 2009

@ 5pm - 10pm

Entrance: £5 donation requested (children free)

Chestnuts Community Centre
St Ann's Road, Tottenham, N15
(nearest tube: Seven Sisters - Victoria Line)

Cultural stalls; cultural artists; raffle; light refreshments & snacks
Sorry - no childcare programme!

We are going to have great evening commemoration of the 51st observance of ALD. We have a great line-up of speakers. We will identify the causes of the economic crisis, the collapse of 'old style' capitalism and its impact. We will debate the impact in England and what we can do about it.

We will also demonstrate the alternative examples in socialist countries, with a particular focus on what Africans can learn from the various struggles around the world.

You will have the opportunity to express your views and debate with the panel.
Contact: AJAMU on 07852.937.981 or panafrica@which.net

100 Years of Kwame Nkrumah (born 1909)
2009 - A year dedicated to promoting his ideas & practice
(Look out for the info, events and activities this year
organised by the AAPRP & AJAMU)

Next AJAMU sessions @ Chestnuts Community Centre:

Saturday 20th June 2009 (6pm - 9.30pm)

African Youth Day - Celebrate our African Youth

Speakers: Whitney Iles - Equanomics / AJAMU
plus film footage

Saturday 18th July 2009 (6pm - 9.30pm)

50 years of the Cuban Revolution

Why Africans should love Cuba?

Speakers: Cuba Solidarity Campaign / AJAMU / Rock Around the Blockade
Invited: Cuban Ambassador; PASC
plus film footage of Cuba
