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**The Crisis of Unity in the 21st Century: The Unrealized Dream
of pan-Africanism in Cameroon**

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Abstract

The following is an analysis of how the sentiments of pan-Africanism, a notion formulated in the early 20th century, have failed to proliferate in Cameroonian society. As a concept based in the social, economic, and political solidarity of the African continent, the pan-African movement has often been a point of reference for intellectuals searching for a solution to the problems Africa currently faces, some of which include lack of political agency and stagnating economic growth. The beliefs promoted by pan-Africanists is that by joining together the collective potentials of all African people, the continent can become a global force, leaving behind its past of enslavement and colonialism. The findings of this study reveal, however that though Cameroonian informants agree with the sentiments advocated by the pan-African movement, aspects of their society have not been conducive to the success of this concept. In looking at the social institutions of Cameroon's education system, regional differences and political leadership, this study aims to discover why pan-Africanism has failed and what Cameroonians, and Africans in general, can do to weave its teachings back into their society.

Résumé

Cette étude est une analyse des sentiments panafricaniste et comment les Africains, et les Camerounais spécifiquement, avaient échoué d'utiliser ce concept dans sa vie. Le concept, qui est née pendant le 20eme siècle, est fondé sur la solidarité sociale, économique et politique du continent africain. D'habitude, les intellectuels croient que le concept est une solution pour les problèmes le continent doit lutter. Les problèmes inclure les manques de pouvoir des gouvernements africains et une économie pauvre. Les panafricanistes croient que si les Africains travaillent ensemble, le continent peut devenir plus fort. Ceux que l'étude découvre sont même si les Camerounais aiment le concept, les aspects de la société comme le système éducatif, les différences régionales, et les politiques, ne soutiennent pas le concept. Cette étude discute pourquoi le panafricanisme avait échoué et quoi les Camerounais, et les Africains en générale, peut faire d'utiliser le concept dans leur société.

Contacts

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To the SIT crew: As a part of my very last cheesy toast to you all, I would like to say thank you for giving me the semester of a lifetime and for always being there for a good laugh, a good cry, a good story that I probably already told you three times, or simply just a good hug. From those first awkward moment in an airport in Zurich to the very last moments we will share together, every moment of this journey has been memorable thanks to you lovely ladies and gentlemen.

To all of my Cameroonian families from Yaoundé, Dschang and Ngaoundéré: Thank you for the kindness, patience and joy that you have shown me over the semester. Though our time together was short, the impact you have had on me will last forever. To Carole, Serge, Kanbel, Manu and little Gabriel...I will never forget the piment, kpom or blasting Michael Jackson on Saturday mornings, but most importantly, I will never forget you. There are not enough words to express my gratitude for everything you have done for me. I am so happy to have started and finished this process in your company. *On est ensemble.*

And finally, to my beautiful family: Your love, your support, your belief in me and most importantly, your 8-12 minute phone calls, have meant so much during this, my very first adventure. It is often said that traveling puts things into perspective and I can honestly say that I now realize that you have and will always be the loves of my life. There will never be a family quite like ours and there will never be any experience that can replace the laughter we always share. Due to your constant encouragement, I now know there is no mountain I can't climb and even when I get weary, you'll be there to push me further than I ever believed I could go (and then try to tell me what happened last week on Saturday Night Live). I love you with every fiber of my being and am prouder than ever to say that I am a Sapara-Grant.

In Loving Memory of Augustina Boateng
Grandma, my love for Africa begins with you.

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On the Eve of Independence

At long last, the battle has ended! And thus, Ghana, your beloved country is free forever! And yet again, I want to take the opportunity to thank the people for this country; the youth, the farmers, the women who have so nobly fought and won the battle.

Also, I want to thank the valiant ex-service men who have so cooperated with me in this mighty task of freeing our country from foreign rule and imperialism. And, as I pointed out... From now on, today, we must change our attitudes and our minds. We must realise that from now on we are no longer a colonial, but free and independent people.

But also, as I pointed out, that also entails hard work. That new Africa is ready to fight his own battles and show that after all the black man is capable of managing his own affairs. We are going to demonstrate to the world, to the other nations, that we are prepared to lay our foundation - our own African personality.

As I said to the Assembly a few minutes ago, I made a point that we are going to create our own Africa personality and identity. It is the only way we can show the world that we are ready for our own battles.

But today, may I call upon you all, that on this great day let us all remember that nothing can be done unless it has the purport and support of God. We have won the battle and again rededicate ourselves ... our independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa.

Let us now, fellow Ghanaians, let us now ask for God's blessing for only two seconds, and in your thousands and millions. I want to ask you to pause for only one minute and give thanks to Almighty God for having led us through our difficulties, imprisonments, hardships and sufferings, to have brought us to our end of troubles today...

...Reshaping Ghana's destiny, I am depending on the millions of the country, and the chiefs and the people, to help me to reshape the destiny of this country. We are prepared to pick it up and make it a nation that will be respected by every nation in the world. We know we're going to have difficult beginnings, but again, I am relying on your support.... I am relying upon your hard work.

Seeing you in this... It doesn't matter how far my eyes go, I can see that you are here in your millions. And my last warning to you is that you are to stand firm behind us so that we can prove to the world that when the African is given a chance, he can show the world that he is somebody!

We have awakened. We will not sleep anymore. Today, from now on, there is a new African in the world!

Kwame Nkrumah, 6 March 1957

I. Introduction

Preface - A Dream Unrealized

It was the night of March 6th, 1957 when liberation leader Kwame Nkrumah would address his fellow Ghanaians to mark the beginning of a celebration. For Africans, the day had brought forth the dawning of a new chapter in a collective history that had been stained with pain and degradation. After years of brutal enslavement followed swiftly by the horrors and exploitation of colonialism, Nkrumah and his fellow Ghanaians emerged as the first sub-Saharan peoples to win independence as a sovereign state. As Nkrumah addressed his people, he reminded them that though Ghana stood victorious against the evils of imperialism that had kept the people in a state of mental and physical submission for centuries, the fight was by no means over. According to the man who would later go on to become the president of the newly born state, Ghana's freedom and independence "would be meaningless if it was not linked with the total liberation of the entire continent of Africa"¹

Nkrumah was a strong and fervent believer in the ideas of a pan-African spirit, as were several of his contemporaries at the time of the African independence movements. Along with Julius Nyerere of Kenya and Leopold Senghor of Senegal, some of the notable freedom fighters of the era, Nkrumah held a vision that went beyond the scope of the individual victory his country had won. In his opinion, the people of the African continent had to grow and develop in cooperation with one another, to ensure they would never again fall under the control of outside influences that did not have the true interests and goals of Africa at heart. As he said that night, "Stand firm... so that we can prove to the world that when the *African* is given a chance, he can show the world that he is somebody!"²

There is no way to know what Nkrumah believed the future of his home continent would hold the night he addressed the Ghanaian people, but in the decades following his historic speech, the fate of the continent has taken a turn very different from the picture of strength and unity he described that night. In the fifty years following Nkrumah's proclamations, the world watched as internal conflict ravaged nations, as in the case of Nigeria in the late 1960s³, Rwanda in the 1990's⁴, Sudan as recently as 2002⁵, and Cote d'Ivoire in 2011⁶. In the political arena, faulty elections and intimidation have given rise to a generation of democratically elected leaders

¹ Mazuri, Ali. *Towards a Pax Africana: A Study of Ideology and Ambition*. The University of Chicago Press. Wakenfield and Nicolson Limited. Great Britain: 1967, 42

² Ghanadot.com, 6 March 2010

³ Biafran War 1967-1970, 3 million estimated casualties

⁴ Rwandan Genocide 1994, 80,000 - 1 million victims

⁵ Sudanese Civil Wars, 1955-1972, 1983. Peace Agreement signed in 2002, 2 million casualties

⁶ Civil War threatened the West African country in early 2011, when alleged voting fraud held two presidential candidates in a stale mate, both accusing the other of an attempted corruption of the election.

characterized by their political terms spanning multiple decades, the example in Cameroon being the head of state, Paul Biya, who has retained his position of president for 29 years.⁷ Meanwhile, the economic strength of the continent's states has stagnated due to the survival of accords such as the Colonial Pact⁸ and pegged currencies such as the *Franc Communauté Financière de l'Afrique* (FCFA). The existence of these institutions continues to remove major percentages of African states' revenue from their rightful place in the pockets of its citizens⁹.

Keeping all of these matters in mind, one must ask oneself where the vision of Kwame Nkrumah faltered. Have the external forces he so desperately fought against managed to once again undermine African agency and solidarity? In an alternative view, have the people themselves failed to upkeep the sentiments of a movement that attempts to prove to the world that the African is a free and independent being, capable of managing his or her own resources and internal affairs? Why is it that after the era of independence the trail of the pan-African movement seems to have gone cold? With the help of informants from Cameroon's capital, Yaoundé, each of whom revealed to me an area in which the movement has faltered, I hope what follows will be the beginning of an honest reflection on where Cameroon, as a representative of the greater African continent, has come fifty years after the expression of pan-Africanist ideals, and consequently, what can be expected in the years to come.

Pan-Africanism: Definition and Topic Introduction

As a concept, pan-Africanism is generally understood as the belief in the solidarity of all peoples of African descent, both on the continent and in the Diaspora, to achieve the economic, social and political status needed for growth and development.¹⁰ Pan-Africanists believe this solidarity is necessary to combat the influence and intervention that imperialist, or simply, foreign forces have used to undermine the success of the continent. Formed by an identity based on the common experience of humiliation and marginalization of black individuals, pan-Africanism started in North America as a purely philosophical movement, but, upon arriving to the African continent, turned into the basis through which African nationalism and independence were sought¹¹. As Crawford Young writes, “The transcendent unifying principle of the pan-African

⁷ Dze-Ngwa, Willibroad. Informal Interview, Yaoundé. 2 May 2011

⁸ "Accord behind the CFA franc, which demands that each of the 14 CFA member countries...deposit 65% (plus another 20% for financial liabilities) of their foreign exchange reserves in an "Operations Account" at the French Treasury in Paris" Countries must ask to borrow these reserves at commercial rates. Mbakwe, Tom. "Cote d'Ivoire: The Story Behind the Story" *New African*. February 2011, 13.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ “The African Diaspora consists of peoples of African origin living outside the continent [of Africa], irrespective of their citizenship and nationality...” -African Union Executive Council Definition of the African Diaspora. (info.gov.za)

¹¹ Rothschild, Donald. *Africa in World Politics* 4th edition. Westview Press: 2009. Boulder, 23

movement from its inception has been opposition to both colonialism and racism, evils that were joined on the African continent”¹². For the purpose of this research project, the definition provided by Young must be updated to convey that pan-Africanism in the 21st century still denounces the evils of racism and colonialism that festered within the continent in the previous century, but also stands in opposition to the more timely issues of unlawful political, social or economic intervention by foreign entities, promoting cooperation among African states, regions and citizens to obtain development goals.

In an attempt to facilitate open discussion about where the continent of Africa has come roughly fifty years after its liberation and the respective creation of sovereign states, this study concentrates on the very concept that strives to bring African peoples to realize their worth, agency and responsibility: pan-Africanism. Using the milestone of a half century of independence observed by several African countries in 2010 and 2011 as inspiration, the curiosities for this project rest with a desire to know what role pan-Africanism presently plays as these states continue their march towards justice and sovereignty. In full recognition of the many conflicts that have taken place on the continent within the last year, in both North and West Africa, the goal is to discover how Cameroonians understand, interpret and internalize the sentiments of the movement in relation to the larger battle for true African liberation. However, the opportunity to speak with Cameroonians on the topic has allowed the subject of this paper to grow and concentrate rather on the elements they believe have caused the pan-African movement, despite a sweeping belief in its sentiments¹³, to fail.

Justification

Within a period of only a few years, Africa has become an environment where social, economic and political growth have come to a head, leaving the possibility for a rebirth of belief in the continent’s potential¹⁴. Whereas within the last decade, celebrated economists such as the late Donald Rothschild have expressed their lack of enthusiasm for the future of Africa’s importance in the global political economy, the last few pivotal years have proven otherwise. The pessimistic view of a continent that could only be saved by the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund (IMF)¹⁵ has recently shattered with the growth of burgeoning industries in Colton and the ever lucrative resources of timber and oil. With several “commercial discoveries“ of oil

¹² Young, Crawford “Struggle to Eliminate Colonial Influence” *Africa in World Politics* 3rd edition, Westview Press: 2000. Boulder, 34

¹³ Based on survey results.

¹⁴ Corey, Charles. "Africa Is New Frontier of Global Economy". America.gov Archive, 10 October 2008.

¹⁵ Callaghy, Thomas. “Africa and the World Political Economy: More Stuck Between a Rock and a Hard Place” Shraeder, Peter. *Africa in World Politics*, 2nd edition. Wadsworth, Press, Toronto: 2004. 46

reserves in countries such as Liberia, Kenya, Ethiopia, Ghana, Chad, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea and Tanzania, hope has increased in the continent's trading potentials¹⁶. Socially, 2011 has been a year of watershed events, with revolutionary actions taking place in the form of uprisings in North African states like Tunisia, Egypt, Algeria and Libya, referendum leading to the creation of a new African state in Southern Sudan and the struggle for sovereign democracy in Cote d'Ivoire.

As economic, social, and political changes converge on the continent, the justification in completing this study on the supposed failure of pan-African sentiment on the continent is the belief that if Africans wish to take advantage of this crucial time in the continent's history, the spirit of revolution, along with a reinstated sense of solidarity and identity will allow the continent to break free from the remnants of foreign intervention that have stunted the social and economic growth of the continent for decades. Using Keyan Tomaselli's definition of 'renaissance' which, "...implies growth, development and innovation" and "assumes plurality, intellectual expansion and humanism"¹⁷ it can be contested that the African continent is facing a new age of renewal. As Rothschild writes in the fourth edition of *Africa in World Politics*, "... Africa has shown clear signs that it may emerge from its long night of chronic marginalization"¹⁸ Rothschild continues, stating:

Indications of the beginnings of real domestic economic and political progress combined with new sub-Saharan African prominence on the world stage have cast in sharp relief both the potential benefits and the costs of the continent's possibly diminished marginalization and the profound long-term challenges to sustainable and significant progress that continue to confront it"¹⁹

If this statement is in fact true, it will be up to the agency of *all* Africans to join together their common knowledge and resources to ensure this rebirth does not fall short.

The objective of this study is to analyze the internal and external elements that Cameroonians feel have hindered the proliferation of pan-Africanism and discuss what can be done to change the damage caused by these same factors. The reason for bringing into question the failure of the pan-African movement, is primarily to open dialogue on where the movement has faltered, using this work to serve as a medium through which average citizens can express their understandings, frustrations and hopes not only for their own country, but for their home continent. By taking the opinions and grievances of my informants into account, while incorporating statistical data collected over the research period, it is the mission of this study to create steps towards honest and open discussion about pan-Africanism's place in African society.

¹⁶ Nwawudu, Bekuochi. "Africa emerging as an oil and gas superpower" *Jeune Afrique*, February 2011

¹⁷ Tomaselli, Keyan G. "Dialectical Intellectuals, Essentialism and the African Renaissance" *Journal of Cultural Studies* 5.1 (2003), 1-34,

¹⁸ Rothschild, 4.

It is my hope that through these discussions, Cameroonians and Africans in general will realign to harness their power as a united African people to reach the goals they perceive to be the most pressing. As in the opinion of Manning Marable, “The future of pan-Africanism as a strategy for liberation depends upon our ability to bring together young people, workers, political organizers, trade unionists, women activists and intellectuals behind a common vision of black empowerment at a global level”²⁰. If this projected new wave or renaissance of African success is going to be fully realized, all Africans need to be on the same page, believing, cooperating and working towards a similar goal.

II. Methodology

Over the course of a four-week research period spanning from 4 April 2011 to 30 April 2011, I had planned to study whether or not the sentiments of pan-Africanism have been kept within the confines of academia or if the movement has transcended educational boundaries to create a full, sweeping society of supporters and advocates, working towards and believing in the same goals. The way in which I intended to gauge how the ideas of this movement differ from one grouping of informants to the other was to use the current event of the November 2011 electoral crisis in Cote d’Ivoire as a constant through which I could cross check the data I collected. The logic in this decision was that by analyzing how each group felt about pan-Africanism and comparing this data with their opinions on the crisis in Cote d’Ivoire, responses would be validated by the coherency of the two opinions. As I came to the end of the research process, however, a fascinating topic which emerged from the data collection period was the disappointment informants shared towards how poorly pan-Africanism’s sentiments have spread, whether participants were familiar with the concept or not.

Tempted to refocus the scope of the paper, the question I posed to myself, before ultimately making the decision to change my topic to “The Unrealized Dream of pan-Africanism in Cameroon,” was what use this study would have if informants in Cameroon were only speaking about pan-African sentiment as a fiction; what is *should* be, as opposed to what it actually is. After speaking with several self proclaimed pan-Africanists, I began to find that the concrete movement of pan-Africanism, at least among the Cameroonians I had the opportunity to speak with, was an urban legend of sorts. Feeling compelled to investigate what aspects had led informants to feel this sense of disillusionment with the concept, the decision was made instead to focus this paper on the areas in which informants believe the movement has failed the people, or,

¹⁹ Ibid, 3.

²⁰ Marable, Manning. "Along the Color Line: Pan-Africanism; Yesterday and Today." Sun Reporter. 14 Dec 1995

if one is to look at the idea of a movement as an ideology carried by the masses, how the people have failed themselves.

Though the focus of the paper changed, removing attention from the educational factors that produce discrepancies in the pan-African movement to focus on the discrepancies themselves, I found that the comparative analysis I had completed with two different informant groups was still helpful in gaining the information I needed to produce the data for this project. My trust in the already collected data remained since any patterns showing breaks in understanding or belief would only further interrogate how successful the pan-African movement has been.

By nature of a comparative analysis, I had to find two sample and target populations with whom I could conduct research. I made the choice to make my first target population members of Yaoundé's academic elite, defined by my own interpretations as university professors, and university students at any level of degree achievement. My second target population became members of Yaoundé's working class, which was interpreted as individuals with working class jobs that do not require them to frequently think critically or philosophically about African politics. The professions mostly included security guards, vendors, callbox operators, boutique owners, house girls etc.

Using these populations, I intended to seek out individuals who make their residence in Yaoundé, where I believed I would be able to find one of the most diverse populations in Cameroon. Within Yaoundé, I sought out informants from the areas of Bastos and Etoa Mekki. This diversification of informants very much aided me in my original search to find an "average" opinion. In terms of finding members of Yaoundé's academic community, I was able to seek out members of my sample group primarily from the Protestant University of Central Africa, as well as individual informants who have completed their degrees elsewhere. This group consisted largely of university students getting their license or masters degree, which was dually useful because not only was I able to focus on the differences between those who do and do not frequent academic institutions, but also look at generational differences, seeing as the university students were generally a generation behind my working class population. One problem that must be admitted in terms of the creation of this paper is that the late decision to change the focus of the work did not leave enough time to seek out individuals who could validate the strong statements given by informants. For a paper so firmly based on opinion, I feel as if the process would have been aided by a more diverse group of view points as opposed to opinions largely dominated by members of the academic community who have been trained to push forward their beliefs.

Project Execution

Hypothesis and Research Questions

The research questions analyzed throughout the course of this study relate to the direct manners in which pan-African sentiment has or has not manifested itself in Cameroonian society. Addressing the ideas of education, cultural division, and politics, the questions are as follows:

- 1) *Is pan-Africanism an easily accessible, understandable and acceptable movement with sentiments and goals that ALL Cameroonians can identify with, not just the academic elite?*
- 2) *Do Cameroonians believe in and support the idea of a solid African identity that transcends ethnic, regional or religious backgrounds?*
- 3) *Do Cameroonians believe that African politicians have successfully carried on the pan-Africanist legacy left behind by the leaders of the independence era?*

Touching on the specific ideas of concept comprehension, unity, and the role of government in concept proliferation, this study features three chapters which address each of these questions respectively. The culmination of these chapters results in the proving or disproving of a hypothesis stating,

Even though most Cameroonians identify with the sentiment and identity adopted by the pan-Africanist movement, there is rarely consensus about the movement itself nor an adherence to these teachings by members of Cameroonian society.

Time Frame and Data Analysis

In order to effectively use the four weeks assigned to complete this research project, I broke up my study into four different steps attributed to each week. The first week, spanning from 4 April to 9 April, was used exclusively to complete preliminary research, visit libraries, and test survey questions. The second week, spanning from 10 April to 16 April, was set aside for data collection from my first sample population. Due to the opinion-based nature of the subject, I decided to make use of questionnaires and follow-up interviews to ensure the opinions of Cameroonians would be the main focus of the study. Due to the fact that the project deals a bit with demographics, I believe using surveys was a way to gain a wide range of information from a wider range of individuals in a fashion that would respect the time limitations given. From a batch of twenty surveys completed in the first target population, I picked three informants to conduct follow-up interviews with. The manner in which I went about picking these individuals was by going through the survey responses and isolating the surveys with answers most representative of specific response patterns or those with answers that were unique in that they

followed no pattern at all. The interviews held were mostly formal, unless the informant did not wish to be recorded or did not have time to meet away from their place of work or study.

The third week, spanning from 17 April to 23 April was spent in a similar manner, with data collected from my second sample population instead. With this group, I collected surveys from 15 informants in conjunction with several informal interviews which took place as they were filling out their surveys. Formal follow up interviews were conducted with three students while one more interview was conducted without the informant having already completed a survey. The fourth week, 24 April to 30 April, the week in which I realized that I wanted to refocus my subject, was spent writing, editing, and revising the final draft of the paper.

The data collected was analyzed in a very systematic fashion. After the creation of a number categories of information that data could relate to, all surveys and transcribed interviews were color coded based on their topical relevance. Quotes and quantitative data alike were then reorganized into separate documents bearing the name of their category. From there I could easily access information on a specific idea within the larger umbrella concept studied in this research project. The logic behind this mode of data analysis was to properly organize all of the different subjects that had been discussed over the course of the study. Pan-Africanism is an idea which holds many sub topics within its formation, so it was extremely important for the data to be interrogated under a controlled and organized analysis period.

Constraints and Limitations

One of the biggest constraints that I came up against during the execution of this project was time. With a concept as broad and expansive as pan-Africanism, four weeks was not nearly enough time to thoroughly investigate an idea that is so multi-faceted. Though each sub topic within the larger concept of pan-Africanism, such as regional development or the definition of African identity, is of extreme importance to the understanding of the project, to bring up and thoroughly discuss each of these subjects would push the paper further than its own length and data limitations. Keeping this in mind, subjects suggested for further study include the perceptions of what constitutes a true African identity based on differences in origin from sub-Saharan Africa to the Sahel region, the manner in which political parties work to agitate ethnic differences and the effects of colonialism on modern day education in the Cameroonian context.

Another point that I will mention as a constraint, or in this case, a limitation, to my research is the fact that my informants were based in very specific areas of Yaoundé. Though my placement in the nation's capital was quite beneficial in terms of my desire to be surrounded by a politically minded community, it posed a certain hindrance to my search for general information

representative of all Cameroonians. While carrying out my research, I was very conscious of the fact that responses to interview questions and surveys might have changed dramatically if I had another target population located in a more rural area of Cameroon. Once again factoring in time and the nature of the Independent Study Project, in general, doing such an expansive, diversified study would not been conducive to the four week research period.

Strengths and Weaknesses

My weaknesses during this process have mostly been in the realm of language. Being that French is a language that I am always in the process of learning and perfecting, it was often hard to properly pose follow-up questions that I would have otherwise been able to if I was conducting the interview in English. I believe my research ultimately suffered from this because often if an informant mentioned something interesting while responding to a question, it was very difficult for me to quickly and properly interrogate their answer without confusing the information they had originally shared or without confusing them. I found that this problem was no longer an issue at times when I was interviewing Anglophone Cameroonians, which ironically, was 62 percent of the time. While my planned questions were a strength in that informants often understood them upon a first reading, the language barrier paired with the impromptu nature of follow-up questions, exposed my intermediate level of French while interviewing Francophone Cameroonians.

I believe this to be a weakness because often the members of my “academic” population could express themselves to me in English, making for an enriching exchange of ideas, while my working class sample mostly spoke French. My intermediacy with the language, I believe prevented as positive of an exchange to take place, which I believe resulted in the opinions of my English-speaking and consequently, educated informants being better represented in this paper. I truly wanted to gain an in depth understanding of pan-Africanism from Cameroonians of all backgrounds and I feel as if I failed to have as fruitful of a dialogue with my Francophone informants.

A secondary weakness I realize I had during this process was often not knowing how to budget my time in an effective way. Though I was always able to complete my weekly goals on time, there were often days where I would find myself unsure of what to do, where to go or who to try to interview, often leaving me feeling very overwhelmed and unsure of my plan of action. The weakness exposed to me here was that I usually thrive in situations with a set structure and very much need to improve how I plan my daily schedules. However, keeping these weaknesses in mind, I think a strength I recognized in myself is how easily I was able build personal

relationship with informants in such short amounts of time. Previously I had never believed that research was a time to get to know people on an individual basis, but I believe this ultimately helped my enrich the data in my research, while also helping my informants to trust me enough to speak openly and freely. By approaching my data collection process on a personal level, allowing each informant time to express a few things about themselves, while also gaining the information I sought out, I believe a relationship of trust and honesty was built. This willingness to share their thoughts grew since I did not seem to only want answers out of them, but gain real knowledge of their life experiences and opinions. Though this meant that the data collection process was a bit lengthy, due to long conversations that would often flow in and out of the intended reason for my being there, I always left every informant with a wealth of knowledge and a new perspective on the realities of pan-Africanism.

Factors That Affected and Facilitated Research

By picking an aspect to my original topic that was timely in nature, the problem in Cote d'Ivoire being an unfolding news story that changed and grew with every day, I was very lucky to always have a wealth of resources about pan-Africanism my fingertips. Whether they were newspapers, magazines, websites or just the daily conversation people had from day to day, it was never hard for me to seek out information on pan-Africanist sentiments or find an opinion on what people believed was happening.

As an additional aid, I would often receive informants who were so enthusiastic and passionate about the latest news that I would often end up talking with them for hours at a time just over their questionnaire. The content of these conversations was often fascinating enough that I would then ask if I could use the impromptu conversation as data for my research. I can truly say that the timeliness of the subject helped facilitate my research probably more than any other factor. The natural enthusiasm of a majority of informants also allowed for me to easily jump into conversations about Cote d'Ivoire that were already taking place and pose questions about the group's thoughts on pan-Africanism and how it functions in their country.

A factor that affected my research is first and foremost, the fact that I am a female American student carrying out research on timely, yet sensitive topics. There is no way for me to know whether the opinions I have received are a true representation of my informants beliefs, but I will venture to trust that I was able to access the real thoughts of my informants. During discussion with several Cameroonians, whether informants or otherwise, I was often told that the fact that I am a black American with distinctly West African features due to my Ghanaian origin would make it much easier for my informants to trust me as opposed to if I was a white. Though

these opinions may invalidate the strength for personal connection I believe I formed, ultimately this factor did aid me greatly. The other factor that affected my data, specifically, is the fact that the informants from my second week of research were overwhelmingly male. In part due to the inequality in university attendance between the sexes and also to the circumstance that males were often more willing to be questioned and interviewed, my quest for a general opinion faltered in that it is representative, mostly, of men. Though I did actively seek out women during the first week of research to avoid this problem, it was more difficult to avoid the second week, when I had to simply make use of those available to me in the busy atmosphere of a university.

III. Crisis of Pan-Africanism in the 21st Century

Chapter I - Failure to Educate

. Most men in this world are colored. A belief in humanity means a belief in colored men. The future world will in all reasonable possibility be what colored men make of it.

-W.E.B. Dubois²¹

As the rector of the Protestant University of Central Africa (PUCA), the Reverend Professor Emmanuel Anyambod, is quite knowledgeable about the concept of pan-Africanism. The very first point the rector made sure to explain upon our first meeting is that pan-Africanism, as understood by the teachings of Kwame Nkrumah, does not exist in Africa. In his opinion, the concept, which he describes as a question of the unity of African nations and a “matter of consciousness [for] African people to redefine their identity”²², was no longer real. “Pan-Africanism today has become a philosophy. More of a philosophy of ideas than what ought to be implicated...Rhetoric instead of reality.”²³ The rector, reflecting the opinions of Tunde Adeleke, who explains that true pan-Africanist sentiment died shortly after the end of colonialism²⁴, believes that although the idea is an exciting theoretical concept to discuss in academic and political circles, ultimately, one cannot claim its existence unless one completely ignores the failure of the African community to instill knowledge of the movement in its young ones.

Citing a slew of diverse problems, Anyambod isolates the failure of African school systems to properly educate their youth in the pan-African tradition as one of the reasons why the movement has never come to a tangible fruition. Denouncing the superficial actions made by

²¹ Dubois, W.E.B. ctd by Young, 35

²² E. Anyambod, Formal Interview, 25/4/11, Yaoundé

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Secovnie, Kelly O. "Ama Ata Aidoo and Kofi Awoonor: Pan-Africanism Reconstructed" Obsidian 8.2 (Fall 2007)

politicians and heads of state, Anyambod states that, “Africa will not transform by making speeches, but only through concrete actions that will begin with education. We must start planting our small children with positive images...We need to teach our citizens, right from when they are children. These are simply the basics of making the movement real.”²⁵

Cultivating Effective, Revolutionary and Practical Pan-Africanists

After conducting interviews with several PUCA students, I came to realize the popular opinion, that educational systems have often overlooked their responsibility to prepare Cameroon’s new generations not only by personal means, which relate to the cultivation of positive personal characteristics, but practically as well. Classifying corruption as one of the biggest hindrances to the realization of the pan-African dream, Anyambod and the three students who participated in formal interviews share the common thought that teaching characteristics such as transparency and accountability is the best way to tackle the negative elements present on the continent²⁶. According to the Council on Foreign Relations, of the top ten most corrupt countries in the world, six can be found in Africa, a factor which has contributed to the "stunted development and impoverishment of many African states."²⁷ To combat this, the rector finds, “We need to teach [the children] how to honor and respect one another”²⁸, a process he believes will lead to a better understanding of solidarity and an ebbing of the seemingly unending web of corruption that continues to plague African countries. .

While agreeing with the rector’s ideas, Immanuel Wanah, a masters student studying International Relations at the university finds that the Cameroonian school system ill prepared him to be revolutionary, effective and practical in aiding his country to develop. Learning about pan-Africanism for the first time at the age of 16, Immanuel advises that children be exposed to the teachings of the concept much earlier in their academic life as opposed to subjects he describes “don’t even really concern Africans.”²⁹ “They don't even teach us our own history. They teach ancient Greek history and how the Europeans were fighting each other. There's no African nationalism, there's no pan-Africanism, even Cameroonian nationalism...these are things you should be learning in primary school”³⁰ Raul Awa, another International Relations masters student, did not come across the concept, until his first year in university when he took a course in African history. Awa, a self-proclaimed pan-Africanist gives credit to the course for awakening

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²⁵ E. Anyambod, 25/4/11

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Stephanie Hanson. "Corruption in Sub-Saharan Africa" *Council on Foreign Relations*. 6 August 2009

²⁸ E. Anyambod, 25/4/11

²⁹ I. Wanah, Formal Interview, 19/4/11, Yaoundé

pan-Africanist sentiment in his mind. “That is how I got these ideas. I didn't just embrace them like that.”³¹

Validating the truth of pan-Africanism's late introduction into the curriculum for Cameroonian students is the fact that of twenty individuals who participated in a survey gauging the proliferation of the concept, of the 17 informants who had received only a primary or secondary school education, only eight were familiar with the concept, while only two of those eight were able to properly identify what the concept actually is. Conversely, of the twenty members of the academic community who were surveyed, only four were not familiar with the concept, three by nature of their background in environmental studies. Despite this, three of these four individuals were still able to correctly define pan-Africanism.

Though this is not to assume that a formal education is the only means by which Africans can educate themselves on the concept, one of the most knowledgeable informants being a man who has only received a primary level education, schooling does play an integral part in familiarizing youth on how to liberate themselves, as Kwame Nkrumah once intended, through a sustainable and independent means. As Musa Jallow says in his article, "Africa Underdevelopment; Don't Blame It On Poor Diet," Africans have the difficult task ahead of them to develop their continent in ways that will not compromise the safety of their surroundings.³² He calls upon Africans to "innovate" new ideas, ideas he believes will only be formed with a "real education."³³

Getting Technical

In the realm of practical training, Wanah strongly criticizes Cameroon's educational system's lacking ability to train Cameroonians in technical industries that will aid the country in harnessing the power of natural resources that can be transformed within the state. Taking part in what Norwegian economist Erik S. Reiner would call, “bad trade,” many African countries, including Cameroon, export raw material and import industrial goods.³⁴ Meanwhile, when a country does the opposite, it is considered to be a positive step towards the growth of their economies.³⁵ Informant 8, who has completed only a primary level education, recognizes this fact just as clearly as his more educated contemporaries by pointing out that “Si c'était les Africains eux-mêmes qui vendraient leur propre produits, a leur propre prix! Ils se seront plus riches aussi

³⁰ I. Wanah, 19/4/11

³¹ Raul Awa, Formal Interview, 15/4/11, Yaoundé

³² Jallow, Musa. "Africa Underdevelopment; Don't Blame It On Poor Diet" Ghananation.com. 19 March 2010.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Boateng, Osei. "Cracking the Code" *New African*. April 2011, 12.

³⁵ Boateng, 12.

que les Occidentaux.”³⁶ Though Awa agrees with this point, his concern comes back to the point of a lack in education. “Either way even if Africans did use the resources, they don't have the means, the technology...the technique.”³⁷

According to Awa, this technique can be achieved through the cooperation of educational systems and the government to create institutions that can promote these academic experiences. Martin Nkematabong discusses such cooperation in his news article, "Cameroon: Technical Education - Still More Theoretical." In a meeting held in April 2010, the Ministry of Secondary Education joined with curriculum planners and student representatives to discuss education in Cameroon, "[a] sector which they said has been deprived of basic scientific knowledge as well as practical and applied skills it deserves."³⁸ Noticing the high amount of theoretical subjects such as history and geography in Cameroonian curriculums, subjects that Nkematabong describes as, "literally irrelevant to their career,"³⁹ speakers at the meeting related the current focus of Cameroon's curriculums to be a direct link to colonial rule.

Despite discussion commenced at this meeting, attendees were still unsure as to whether the building of technical or vocational schools was the answer to the country's development and unemployment issues. Putting both of these difficulties aside, it should be noted that in the early 1990's sub-Saharan Africa was host to "tens of thousands" of foreign technical assistants. "A top World Bank official, Edward Jaycox, notes that 'the extraordinary fact is that there are more expatriate advisers in Africa today than there were at the end of the colonial period' The result of all this has been the pillage of African resources."⁴⁰ Perhaps if Cameroonians and Africans in general were the ones trained to complete these technical tasks, the continent would witness a standstill of embezzlement and corruption.

Despite a lack in technical institutions, Cameroon and Yaoundé specifically host a wide range of public, government funded universities. According to Wanah, however, the critique of Cameroon's educational systems must extend to the country's public universities, where, during his time as an undergraduate he believes he was taught that corruption was the only way he would be able to be successful in Cameroon, "I think the education which they gave us isn't one that is helpful, isn't one that will make us know our problems, it isn't going to professionalize us and it is

³⁶ Private Interview, 14/4/11, Yaoundé. Translation: “If it were Africans themselves who sold their own products, at their own price! They would be more rich than the West”

³⁷ R. Awa, 15/4/11

³⁸ Nkematabong, Martin. "Cameroon: Technical Education - Still More Theoretical" *Cameroon Tribune*. 27 April 2010.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Lumumba-Kasonga, Tukumbi. "Reconstructing Africa: Reflections on the African Renaissance" *Black Renaissance*, 4.1, Spring 2002, 110

not an education where it will permit us to think and reason."⁴¹ Upon beginning his graduate studies at PUCA, a university which features a special focus of study in Peace and Development, Wanah now feels as if his duty to revitalize the pan-African dream has grown. "I think I have the responsibility and the duty to promote...the image of not only my family, not only my society, not only my country, but the whole African continent."⁴²

Rector Anyambod cites the revitalization Wanah expresses feeling as the exact reason for the creation of the Peace and Development course study at the university. "The reason for the Peace and Development concentration here is to give a new orientation to young African students to realize that if we fight for development, we fight against conflict."⁴³ In the rector's belief, money that African governments spend on arms to finance conflict is the same grouping of funds that could be used to be building and improving infrastructure, health or even education.⁴⁴ An example can be taken from the state of Chad, where oil revenue meant to be saved in a "Future Generations Fund" through the Petroleum Revenue Management Law, has been absorbed by the government of President Idris Deby to combat rebel forces in the country.⁴⁵ "We should be using these resources to improve these things rather than to purchase arms to kill ourselves," says Anyambod. "We need to come together"⁴⁶

Youth in Action

As a show of the fulfilled hopes of Rector Anyambod, his students are internalizing his institution's teachings and taking the ideas of development, rooted in pan-Africanist sentiment to Cameroon's youth. Along with some of his classmates, Wanah has started a student organization by the name of the Cameroon Youth Association for Change (CYAC). The objectives of this group are to raise up the spirits of Cameroon's "poor, uninformed and unequipped youth" whose inadequate training has left them lacking "competition and innovation"⁴⁷ and make them conscious of the roles they have to play in designing their destinies. The goals of the organization as outlined by their mission statement are: To inject hope and confidence among the youth which will germinate courage, to educate and sensitize youths about their rights, moral values, citizenship and civic responsibility and to inform youths about good training schools, their importance, how to get these trainings and make good use of them.⁴⁸ Wanah's belief in continuing

⁴¹ I. Wanah, 19/4/11

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ E. Anyambod, 25/4/11

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Zissis, Carin. "Chad's Oil Troubles" Council on Foreign Affairs. 27 April 2006

⁴⁶ E. Anyambod, 25/4/11

⁴⁷ CYAC mission statement

⁴⁸ CYAC mission statement

work with this organization is inspired by an idea he once read from a book, which posed that, “If [the youth] are informed, they will have purpose, if they have purpose, they will be committed, if they are committed they will be creative, if they are creative, they will be productive, if they are productive they will be successful and if they are successful, they will make an impact.”⁴⁹ In this line of thought, Wanah hopes his organization will plant trees of development which will allow the next generations of Cameroonians to sit in the shade.⁵⁰

As the university’s student body president, Charles Foumane, though not a part of this initiative, has taken similar steps towards spreading awareness by holding meetings to combat what he has termed a type of “fake pan-Africanism”⁵¹ currently in existence. Though these meetings are held to discuss world events and what students can do to affect change, Foumane explains that the best way to share pan-African sentiment is through leading by example in positive behavior. “To spread pan-Africanism it’s important to just boost people morally! If I ever see someone looking down I always ask them how they are and how they’re doing. Even for those who don’t love me!”⁵² Foumane’s humanistic and charismatic approach to student governance pays tribute to the rector’s hopes that the revamped take on education at PUCA will mean a revamping of the quality of leaders Africa’s future holds. “We wish and hope for a new approach to leadership that will be different. We hope for a new leadership that will use African resources to enhance life rather than to destroy it.”⁵³

Analysis

It must be strongly reiterated that despite the criticisms given above informants do not believe that a formal education is the *only* way for Africans to become advocates for the concept that led to their liberation. As in the words of Foumane, “It is not only school that makes success.”⁵⁴ Despite this truth, individuals such as Informant 8 are rare in that they have the vocabulary and historical knowledge to properly contextualize the movement in a way that relates directly to their life and how the concept could work to improve the state of affairs in their country.

What quickly became clear to me during my period of research with the twenty informants classified as non-academics was that the informants did not have a proper grasp on the idea of pan-Africanism. If the understanding of the concept is not really there, how can it

⁴⁹ I. Wanah, 19/4/11

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ C. Foumane, Informal Interview, 21/4/11, Yaoundé

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ E. Anyambod, 25/4/11

⁵⁴ C. Foumane, 21/4/11

proliferate? The example I wish to use here is to compare the responses of Informant 9 and Informant 5. Though both were approached as individuals who fell outside of the academic community, Informant 9 being a call box operator and Informant 5, a young man who works at a bar, I believe the difference between the two informants and what made Informant 9 stand out from the rest of his sample population, was the fact that he is in the process of completing his masters degree. Though both individuals expressed being familiar with pan-Africanism, Informant 5 was able to give his definition of the concept as “...le lien de cooperation entre les Africains pour l’Afrique ou le partage de l’esprit Africaine”⁵⁵, while Informant 9, though fully engaged in the study, was not able to give any form of a definition, asking first exactly what it meant. Coincidentally Informant 5 is Raul Awa, the masters student studying International Relations, which shows what a difference education can make.

The discrepancies continued into the informants follow up interviews when each was asked, based on survey responses, the *specific* ways in which the West still controls African countries. While Awa was able to break his answers into three sub topics which included control of economic, social and political natures, Informant 9, though extremely strong in her belief that the West still manages African affairs, was unable to give any answer as to the specific ways in which the West had taken advantage of African countries. As these differences continued to manifest themselves in questionnaire responses, a point that had to be addressed is that if the African continent, as a whole and equal body, wishes to attain the goals of the pan-African movement, all members of the community, not just those who have reached a level of education that only small percentage of Cameroonians achieve⁵⁶, must have the ability to articulate what it is they want for the future of their continent, their country and equally importantly, for themselves. The question I pose here is, how can the pan-African movement grow, if African citizens are not given the education on how to explain what it is the movement is fighting for and, in the case of the lack of technical training, how to put these ideas into action.

One answer to this question reflects the opinion of Wanah, who, despite his strong belief that formal education has a role to play, believes that proper education and sensitization towards the sentiments of pan-Africanism should begin in the home and surrounding community. “If it happens like that, I think [the idea] is very accessible to everybody.”⁵⁷ With Wanah calling upon good faith and humanism as the solution⁵⁸, I began to wonder if education as conducted by one’s community or society had succeeded in instilling the sentiments of pan-Africanism in its

⁵⁵ R. Awa Translation: “Cooperation between Africa for Africa or the sharing of the African spirit”

⁵⁶ Based on statistic that gross enrollment for primary school children fell to 10.6% during the 1990s. (commonwealtheducationfund.org).

⁵⁷ I. Wanah, 19/4/11

inhabitants in ways that formal education has not. In the quest to discover where and why informants believe pan-Africanism has faltered, one must now analyze what exactly is understood, in relation to the ideas of solidarity and cooperation, within African communities.

Chapter II - Failure to Unite

Africans all over the continent, without a word being spoken, either from one individual to another, or from one African country to another, looked at the European, looked at one another and knew that in relation to the European they were one.

-Julius Nyerere⁵⁹

Yves Djouwa sat on top of the wooden desk, staring silently out the window. He had not spoken for a few moments and I was starting to wonder what exactly he was thinking. After a few more seconds of reflective silence, Yves turns to me, saying, "The word I want to say is "traître"...traitor. There are brothers killing brothers, brothers betraying brothers...They are only thinking of themselves, not their community."⁶⁰ The topic of conversation that led to this statement was the idea of unity in the modern African context and Yves's opinion on how, despite what people may claim, on a societal level, it has failed.

One of the ideas pan-Africanism deeply rests upon is the idea of a fully united continent that looks passed societal boundaries, recognizing the continent of Africa as the only classification needed for defining one's identity. As explained by Rector Anyambod, original pan-Africanists, such as Nkrumah, were really striving to unite the entire "Black Race", which explains the inclusion of members of the African Diaspora in the pan-African form⁶¹. Despite these plans towards a true unity, one cannot ignore the fact that between 1960 and 2000, the continent has witnessed over 100 territorial disputes.⁶² To Djouwa, these spurts of conflict speak to the psyche of disunity currently embedded in African communities. "The majority of Africans do not have their eyes open. They are still sleeping...they are still sleeping. If they had their eyes open they would see that it has taken fifty years to put up our institutions so why would they be destroying them?"⁶³

Djouwa is not alone in his critique of the African psyche in relation to group solidarity and, in comparison with his fellow Cameroonians from both sample groupings, did not hold the

⁵⁸ Ibid

⁵⁹ Nyerere, Julius ctd. by Young, 34

⁶⁰ Djouwa, Yves, Formal Interview, 25/4/11, Yaoundé

⁶¹ E. Anywambod, 25/4/11

⁶² Lumumba-Kasongo, 1

⁶³ Y. Djouwa, 25/4/11

harshest comments. "The problem first of all for Africa, is Africans," explains Awa. "It is not the White first, but your African brother..."⁶⁴ On the topic of disunity at a community based level, he comments by saying:

First I will identify that it is an ill that needs to be ejected from our society. There is discrimination in all plans. People don't accept others because they don't know them, because you are not from the same region with me. We will favor the students from [one] region rather than that from another region and who is condemned here?"⁶⁵

Wanah answers that question by stating that Africans themselves have become the victims of their disunity within their communities due to a poor presence of solidarity.⁶⁶ Informant 9, who describes herself as identifying with all Africans, as well as Cameroonians, also acknowledges the issue of broken solidarity in her country. "Pour la moment, c'est important parce que c'est comme ça, non? C'est comme ça on voir. C'est pas juste mais, c'est comme ça."⁶⁷

To understand the missed realization of the pan-African dream of inter-group solidarity, one must ask how divisions within African communities became *comme ça*, and not a point of public discussion and scrutiny. Of the thirty-five participants who completed questionnaires, only five expressed *not* sharing common experience with *all* Africans, while only twelve expressed *not* sharing common experience with all Cameroonians. Though some patterns emerge in that members of the academic target population were less likely to admit to sharing common experience with all Cameroonians, a larger question presented itself during the data analysis period. Why have the majority of both groups of informants confirmed the existence of unity based in common experience, while interviewees expressed with great disappointment the discriminatory actions of their fellow Cameroonians? Taking a look at the idea of unity in the historical African context in order to discover why these discrepancies have manifested themselves in data provides an opportunity for some consensus to be made about what has led young Cameroonians such as Djouwa to be disillusioned by the idea of unity within his culture.

Origins of Division: An Educated Guess

Looking to the Past

If one is to understand the nature of division found in Africa and why it has been sustained in the 21st century, an analysis of the potential origins of said division must also take place. One hypothesis, as presented by Informant 8, leaves the problem of division up to human

⁶⁴ R. Awa, 15/4/11

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ I. Wanah, 21/4/11

⁶⁷ Private Interview 18/4/11, Translation: "For the moment, it's important because it's like that, no? That's how we see things. It's not right, but it's like that"

nature. "La division a commence avec la création du monde! Ce n'est pas nous! Nous avons duré la division. C'est la nature. C'est Dieu qui a fait ça"⁶⁸ In his book, *One World*, author Peter Singer interrogates such beliefs by analyzing the origins of genocide, a horror that often is a product of social divisions. Citing Timothy Garton of *History of the Present*, Singer pushes forth the hypothesis that human nature does in fact lend itself to division with violent results. Being of the belief that "the presence of poverty, injustice, exploitation" and in direct reference to the last topic discussed, "a lack of education,"⁶⁹ may push the process of division along, he feels that Europe, at the end of the 20th century was just "as capable of barbarism as it was in the Holocaust of mid-century,"⁷⁰ meaning that division on the African continent, whether violent or otherwise, is not an issue specific to African nature, therefore making the inhabitants of the continent undeserving of my informants' harsh critiques.

Complicating his own theory, however, is the proclamation later made by Informant 8 who believes that though "la division est naturelle...la paix aussi est naturelle."⁷¹ As a matter of fact, several of the informants who participated in follow up interviews were under the impression that Africa's pre-colonial history was inherently peaceful. Wanah expresses this belief, stating:

I know that Africans were in a communal life, living together and always sharing. That was one aspect of African values. Solidarity and communal life...in tribes this is really what was existing. Tribes can fight against each other and it was normal because they wanted to feel like they dominate but we were living in a communal life.⁷²

The communal pre-colonial life that Wanah refers to is supported by Nicola Gennaioli, who, in her article "The Modern Impact of Pre-Colonial Centralization in Africa"⁷³, describes pre-colonial Uganda as being characterized by pre-colonial institutions that served a centralized collective of ethnic groups. Gennaioli puts forth that the "local accountability" found within these ethnically diverse communities strongly boosted the trade of public goods.⁷⁴ Awa shares support of this opinion of pre-colonial Africa, believing that despite the presence of different African empires such as the Ashanti and Malian kingdoms, "...Everyone was for the good of one."⁷⁵

Despite this explanation, there still remains a difference between the pre-colonial communities described by Gennaioli and the state of affairs within African society today as

⁶⁸ Private Interview 14/4/11, Translation: "This division started with the creation of the world! It's not us! We have endured the division. It's nature. It's God who did that"

⁶⁹ Singer, Peter. *One World: The Ethics of Globalization*. Yale University Press, New Haven: 2002, 112

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Private Interview 14/4/11, Translation: "Division is natural, but peace is natural too"

⁷² I. Wanah, 19/4/11

⁷³ Gennaioli, Nicola. "The Modern Impact of Pre-Colonial Centralization in Africa" *Journal of Economic Growth*, 12.3, September 2007, 187

⁷⁴ Ibid

described by my informants. Posing a possible answer to this change is author Ali A. Mazuri who believes that Africa's pre-colonial history is in fact the root of its present day problems. In his book, *Towards a Pax Africana*, he describes the creation of the idea of "African unity" as a concept created only in a time of great vulnerability.

They are 'all Africans' because of the common interest in independence; ...until a craving for independence was born they were not 'Africans', but Ibo, Kikuyu, Balunda, Egyptian, Somali and Zulu. In other words, if Nkrumah's 'We are all Africans' is an assertion of self-conscious collectivity, then the collectivity is as much an effect as a cause of the self-consciousness.⁷⁶

Aligning with this belief, Melville Herskovits believes that the thought of all Africans having a common belief in terms of their identity and consciousness is the "tyranny of the map maker" who has classified their continent and homeland for them.⁷⁷ Whether or not these theories present a factual picture of why African unity has gone wrong, Wanah reserves the belief that things simply are not as they were. "My problem here is that even within families there's no solidarity. Even within societies and villages, there's no solidarity"⁷⁸ he explains. What then constitutes the difference between the divisions of pre-colonial times and that of today? A hypothesis formed by Awa simply states that, "the [division] that the white man came and instituted is different from the one that is from historical background,"⁷⁹ meaning that Western influence is to blame for this break.

Divisions from the West

According to the collective opinions of my PUCA interviewees and Awa, the introduction of Western beliefs and standards into African culture has much to do with the present day divisions that continue to keep the people apart. For my other interviewees, such as Informants 8 and 9, division among Cameroonians and Africans in general, is of Western doing due to the fact that, in their opinion, African identities and African cultures, though not singular as pan-Africanism preaches, are incredibly similar. According to Informant 9, "On a la même nourriture, les mêmes habillements, la même habitude, les mêmes langues sauf le patois."⁸⁰ Informant 8, emphasized the point of his fellow Cameroonian by making an example out of a calendar in his place of work that depicts the traditional dances of several Central African

⁷⁵ R. Awa, 5/4/11

⁷⁶ Mazuri, 45

⁷⁷ Herskovits, ctd by Mazuri, 43.

⁷⁸ I. Wanah, 19/4/11

⁷⁹ R. Awa, 15/4/11

⁸⁰ Private Interview, 18/4/11, Translation: "The culture, the African traditions. When I come to your place we dance with tam tam drums. When I come to the West we dance with the tam tam drums. It's a culture. In Africa...it's the same thing!"

countries. As he flips from page to page, Informant 8 makes sure to point out the similarities in dress from one country to the next. "La culture, la tradition africain. Quand j'arrive chez vous on danse avec le tam tam. Quand j'arrive à l'ouest, on danse avec le tam tam. C'est une culture, c'est une manière. En Afrique...c'est le même chose!"⁸¹

Dr. Willibroad Dze-Ngwa, a professor of political history and international relations at several universities in Yaoundé finds the hands of the West at the base of African division despite historical similarities. I rather see the hands of the former colonial masters or the first world powers struggling to maintain Africa in a servant-master relationship by implementing some sort of 'divide and rule' policies⁸². It is with this knowledge that Wanah expresses the frustrations of his fellow PUCA students with how Western influence has created dividing factors that were never there, specifically referencing the Francophone/Anglophone divisions in Cameroon. "Some villages...they are very identical, in their way of doing things, even in their language, but because of the way the White divided the country, they have fallen in a part where it's French speaking and the others in the part where they are Anglophones."⁸³ Wanah, an Anglophone himself, finds the whole underlying regional conflict to be a "very, very pathetic debate" based on the fact that English and French are not even the people's native tongues, but rather the languages imposed on them by colonizers⁸⁴. "I think it played a big part in our psyche and that's why at first we were brothers and now we are separated."⁸⁵ Awa, also Anglophone, believes that this physical division of Cameroonian people as carried out by French and British colonizers has had an undeniable affect on the political scene in the country.

You will hear people say that no man from northwest, no English speaking man will ever rule this country. I have heard those words especially around elections, people saying, "Oh, people from that region, they have weaknesses!" So do you see how they consider it? It is all such things that provoke all those riots They start bringing in some disparities that I cannot explain so that's what really makes unity for us be very much difficult to obtain.⁸⁶

Awa sees the divisions among his people as the success of colonial forces who famously used the exaggeration of ethnic differences to divide and conquer the native people who stood in the way of their conquests, as in the case of the Rwanda-Burundi area where Belgian and German colonizers used the status of the Tutsi majority as the economic ruling class to create a "stratification ladder" in which Tutsis, supported by foreign military occupation, dominated the

⁸¹ Private Interview, 14/4/11

⁸² W. Dze-Ngwa, 2/5/11

⁸³ I. Wanah, 19/4/11

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ R., Awa, 15/4/11

Hutus.⁸⁷ Historical evidence reveals, however, that the only difference between the Hutus and Tutsis rested in the Tutsi ancestral advantage of being "non-sedentary" pastoralists with a wealth of cattle, which provided them with their economic strength in the first place. Despite this non-ethnic difference, the Tutsis went on to retain the preference of colonizers for four hundred years.⁸⁸ In the 1990's, the history of this region exploded into violence when the systematic killing of 800,000 to 1 million Tutsis took place during what has become known as the Rwandan Genocide. "That is the weakness that the Westerners exploit," says Awa. "That's how the Whites get in...they see that you these people have divided opinions and they get in this way."⁸⁹

As a Francophone Cameroonian, Djouwa's opinion on the issue does not differ. "If I [playing the role of the West] want to kill you and your brother wants to kill you, what do you do?"⁹⁰ Here Djouwa has effectively highlighted how a lack of social unity among Cameroonians and the larger African community leaves citizens, who at the time of their independence were guaranteed the strength and support of a sweeping African community, vulnerable to threats on multiple fronts.

Capitalism's Curse

Another aspect of Western intervention that presents itself as a possible reason for the broken state of solidarity in African states is the question of wealth accumulation. Keeping in mind Gennaioli's understanding of pre-colonial African communities' being completely communal, with the introduction of capitalistic sentiments from the West, one must wonder how African citizens have adjusted, if at all, from the practices of their ancestors. While the topic of structural corruption and embezzlement is usually analyzed in this respect, I believe my informants brought up a pertinent and fascinating topic in terms of the affects capitalism and wealth accumulation have on African characteristics and personality traits in relation to solidarity.

Awa believes that Africans leaders hold the negative characteristic of becoming lazy or unmotivated upon attaining wealth or success. "Their wealth becomes a source of laziness for them and they don't do everything they can. And they don't feel the same with others....to collaborate."⁹¹ Referencing societies of the rich who no longer return to their village of origin, Awa believes wealth has become a negative thing for Africans. "It is when an African is poor that he will really take time to be conscious of himself and his ideas. It is when an African is poor that

⁸⁷ Badru, Pade. "Ethnic Conflict and State Formation in Post-Colonial Africa: A Comparative Study of Ethnic Genocide in the Congo, Liberia, Nigeria, and Rwanda-Burundi" *Journal of Third World Studies*, 27.2. Fall 2010, 149-169

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ R. Awa, 15/4/11

⁹⁰ Y. Djouwa, 25/4/11

he is very much in solidarity. People who are poor, they will all sit in a bar and share one bottle of drink and really discuss African politics, but the rich man will never sit there.”⁹² Rector Anyambod points out that the continent could potentially develop if rich Africans, specifically African leaders, themselves would invest in the development of Africa, much in the way that several Africans in the Diaspora⁹³ have started to do. He believes that these individuals instead have carried their money off to European banks where their money circulates, therefore building up foreign economies.

Analysis

Ultimately, when looking at the opinions of participants, it seems as if Wanah’s expectations for a pan-African education to begin in the community are in vain if such divisions are continuing to manifest themselves. Despite positive questionnaire results that represent a majority of Cameroonians who feel a common solidarity and life experience with other Cameroonians and Africans in general, Wanah strongly feels that “People who say that there is solidarity...are really not telling the truth and not giving the real situation that Africans are facing.”

Critics of pan-Africanism such as Adeleke, who acknowledge the very real social differences factored in the problems of disunity, put the blame for the unrealistic views of African unity on members of the Diaspora. In representations he calls “naive” and “romantic”, Adeleke believes diasporan citizens, having lost their attachment to their “roots” through the transatlantic slave trade, idealize Africans still on the continent and their capabilities to live in harmony with one another, falsely creating a warm, inviting, familial environment for members of the Diaspora to work to promote and protect.⁹⁴ In conjunction with these thoughts, Keith Hancock critiques the framework of pan-Africanism itself, concluding that pan-Africanism cannot rely on the idea of one solid African identity for its survival due to the fact that the concept of “self” exists in several ways. Using East Africa as an example, Hancock cites the many ethnic groups that each produce a different identity and consciousness.⁹⁵ In this respect, hopeful pan-Africanists cannot blame anyone, but the concept itself for their disappointments.

In an attempt to avoid taking only negative opinions of communal solidarity into consideration, Informant 8, who expressed belief in the existence of African solidarity, was asked about specific times in which he believes Africans share this unity he believes in. He replied,

⁹¹ R. Awa, 15/4/11

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Corey, Charles. "Africa is New Frontier of Global Economy" America.gov, 10 October 2008, E. Anyambod, 25/4/11

⁹⁴ Secovnie, 1

saying,

Sans problème. La preuve. Hier il y avait championnat. Le champions lègue. Quand Eto'o a joué hier, tout les africains le support parce qu'il est un africain! Avant-hier, quand Drogba a joué tous les africains était derrière Chelsea pour supporter Chelsea par rapport aux africaines qui se trouvent dans ce club. Alors il y a des solidarité.⁹⁶

Though spectator sports do relate to a type of solidarity, just by nature of the nationalism sporting events such as the Olympics and the World Cup often bring, authors such as Gaston Kelman, in his book, *Je suis noir et je n'aime pas le manioc*, denounce the tendency of Africans to believe that spectator sports constitute the uniting reaction it does, finding it reflective of the childishness of African countries.⁹⁷ Wanah's opinions rest with that of Kelman in his belief that, "We portray our patriotism when we play football only, but in our daily activities, our daily life, we don't...so there's a lot of hatred [and] distrust, amongst ourselves and we don't work together. It's a problem, that solidarity."⁹⁸

Despite the fact that there may be Cameroonians who do not have the same thoughts as these informants, after reflecting on the current events in African politics, I hesitate to question the opinions they have shared. As the 2010-2011 election seasons carries on in Africa, regional conflicts have once again come to the forefront of news headlines, first and most infamously in Cote d'Ivoire and in Nigeria as well, with the re-election of President Goodluck Jonathan. Though feelings of unity can and will vary with each differing context and personality, my concluding analysis about the failure of unity in the pan-African dream align with those of Awa who states simply, "There is complete chaos and finally we are not united...believe me we are not ready to fight any war. I think the time when Africa will be ready is when mentality will change, behavior will change and people will believe in one another and see one another as their brothers, their partners."⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Hancock, Keith, ctd by Mazuri, 4

⁹⁶ Private Interview 14/4/11

⁹⁷ Kelman, Gaston. *Je suis Noir et je n'aime pas le manioc*. Editions Max Milo, Paris: 2004, 166.

⁹⁸ I. Wanah, 21/4/11

⁹⁹ R. Awa, 15/4/11

Chapter III - Failure to Lead

It is better to lead from behind and to put others in front, especially when you celebrate victory when nice things occur. You take the front line when there is danger. Then people will appreciate your leadership."

-Nelson Mandela¹⁰⁰

He started to write down some words on the piece of paper before him and as I looked on, the names I found scribbled one right after the other were, Leopold Senghor, Julius Nyerere, Kwame Nkrumah, Ahmahdo Ahidjo, Felix Houphouet Boigny and Nelson Mandela. Upon finishing his list, Awa tapped his pen over the very last name, saying, "Nelson Mandela...he's the real hero of Africa and Africanism...That's really the person who has sacrificed all of his life... The fact that he came out from apartheid victorious...so Nelson Mandela has to be one of them."¹⁰¹

The collective in which Awa was giving Nelson Mandela special membership was a grouping of independence leaders and freedom fighters who he feels were the real pan-Africanists in Africa's history. "For me, I consider those African leaders who brought African countries to independence to be *real* men who really lived to what was called...just an example of true men who could lead Africa and who were not egoistic, who were devoted to serving the nation."¹⁰² According to Awa, due to the life experience of living through colonialism and actually being a part of the fight for liberation that ushered African countries into the post-colonial era, the group of men he hails as being "the true Africanists," had a clear vision for their countries' future based on the needs of the people.¹⁰³

As Awa looked down at the list before him he explained to me that the historical group of men he had just mentioned was quite different from the leaders Africa has today. "The men in power today...don't really still play this role. Somehow, somewhere, so far, I think [their] vision is in failure. It's...it's lost!"¹⁰⁴ While the administrations of several of these first African leaders were in fact cut short, either due to death or overthrow, Nkrumah himself ejected from the Ghanaian presidency by a military coup¹⁰⁵, the lost vision Awa was attempting to describe is the vision of an African leader who reflects the ideas of democracy, transparency and accountability to his people, as Rector Anyambod previously described.

¹⁰⁰ Edition.cnn.com. "Mandela in His Own Words" 26 January 2008

¹⁰¹ R. Awa 15/4/11

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ R. Awa, 15/4/11

¹⁰⁵ Timeline: Ghana, BBCnews. 20 April 2011

Passing the Torch

The generations of African politicians following the first class of post-colonialism leaders have often been critiqued as one of the main factors that have been detrimental to the development of their countries. In *Promises Not Kept*, John Isbister highlights this opinion, writing, "Nowhere has the promise of independence been more cruelly betrayed than in Africa. In most countries, any semblance of democracy disappeared...most are still controlled by military dictators"¹⁰⁶ Making an example of the "creative social plans" designed by Julius Nyerere in Tanzania, Isbister explains that the misdeeds of Africa's new generations of leadership have done little to upkeep the development plans previously formed in their countries.¹⁰⁷ Though the 1990's brought a new trend of multi-party elections which took place throughout the continent, many of them have been and continue to be regarded as faulty or as Isbister puts it, "shams...where the results cannot be held to represent the views of the people"¹⁰⁸ In addition, Callaghy believes that this class of leadership had also failed to make their countries' economies and societies self-sufficient, leaving the door open for external actors to intervene, a lack of action he believes left them "quite tattered" by the end of the decade¹⁰⁹.

Despite all of these internal misdeeds carried out by leaders in their respective countries, as the search for why pan-Africanism has faltered continues, one must ask what has been done by African leaders to push forward the sentiments of the movement. In looking at the data, as well as taking into account the opinions of my informants, the general opinion discovered is that African governments have done very little to push forth the dreams of Awa's "Real pan-Africanists". Based on data collected during interviews, the area in which Africa's heads of state have failed the most are in the realms of exercising African agency, a mistake which has worked dually to disempower their countries and open the door to Western intervention.

Acting on Agency

Hands Tied

As a part of the survey handed out to informants, a series of questions relating to what role Western intervention plays in Africa were asked to be completed. The questions were as follows:

- 1 .Croyez-vous que les pays africains sont encore influencees par les pays occidentaux?

¹⁰⁶ Isbister, John. *Promises Not Kept*. 7th edition Kumarian Press, C: 2006, 127

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Isbister, 132

¹⁰⁹ Callaghy, 79

2. Croyez vous que le Cameroun est encore influence par les pays occidentaux?
3. Savez-vous des exemples dans l'actualite ou des pays occidentaux influencent les pays africains?

Participants answered with an overwhelming yes to all three questions regardless of their grouping, with only one participant answering no to question number two. As an additional question to investigate what Cameroonians believed African leaders felt about the presence of Western influence in African affairs, Question 10 of the survey asked: Croyez vous que les gouvernements africains veulent d'avoir des relation politiques sans l'influence de l'Occident? To this question, responses were a bit more diverse. 25 participants answered yes to this question, 17 of them coming from the working class sample group. An interesting pattern emerges here in that the members of the academic community interviewed seemed to have less faith in their politicians.

As one of those who has retained confidence in the inherent good of his leaders, Informant 8 explains that African heads of state are simply, "malheureux," unable to exercise any sort of agency because as "chefs d'état" they too have their own "chefs d'état" in the West.¹¹⁰ Informant 11 from the academic target population, sharing a similar sentiment, responded to the questions by asking a question in return. "Est-ce que tu as vu quelqu'un qui n'a pas besoin de la liberté?"¹¹¹ In his opinion, African agency can never be realized as long as Western countries continue to intervene in African affairs. Informant 11 cites Western intervention into African economies as the biggest obstacle in this realm. In regards to the manner in which economic accords such as the France's 'Colonial Pact' ultimately control the buying and selling power of former French colonies, Informant 11 finds that no matter what, African leaders are stuck, able only to do the bidding of their former colonial masters. "C'est eux qui fixe le prix et crée les règle de marche...Tu vas dire quoi? Tu n'es peut rien dire! Les autres pays sont excessivement riche."¹¹²

Alternatively, Awa believes that African leaders are bound in a similar manner in the political realm. His beliefs are that even if African countries wanted to exercise some type of agency in affairs that concern their nation or those of their neighbors, intimidation from foreign powers would stop them from making such actions.¹¹³ Making use of the recent intervention of French and United Nations forces into Cote d'Ivoire to remove incumbent president, Laurent Gbagbo, from power, Awa, is of the opinion that even if African countries were against this foreign intervention, their reliance on the good graces of French president, Nicholas Sarkozy,

¹¹⁰ Private Interview, 14/4/11. Translation: "Unhappy" "As heads of state, they have their own heads of state"

¹¹¹ Private Interview, 21/4/11. Translation: "Have you seen someone who wasn't in need of freedom?"

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ R. Awa, 15/4/11

would prevent them from retaliation. Awa goes as far as to put forth the hypotheses that the reason why international aggression turned towards Libyan leader, Muammar Qaddafi, in early 2011 is due to this rejection of Western command. Though French officials claim their intervention as a move to retain the democratic abilities of the Libyan people who have called for the 42-year rule of the colonel to come to an end¹¹⁴ Awa believes it was based on Qaddafi's attempts to aid Gbagbo retain his power. According to this hypothesis, after Gbagbo's funds had been cut off by the Western governments in which they were being held, Qaddafi offered to keep Gbagbo's regime functioning by paying the civil servants wages until the conflict came to an end. As a hypothesis often brought up informally by participants, no official journals or news articles have confirmed such a transaction between the two African leaders. Awa, retaining his stance concludes that the international aggression "...is a Libyan affair and no more in Ivory Coast. So that is why the other countries will not easily intervene when one of their neighbors is in crisis. They will not intervene because they are afraid."¹¹⁵

These opinions and hypotheses posed by my informant would suppose that the West is at the heart of any sort of negative impact African leaders have had on the survival of pan-African sentiment at the governmental level, however, public figures such as Paul Boateng, the Ghanaian-born member of England's House of Lords, believes this has become an excuse. In an interview with *New African*, Boateng asks Africans and African leaders to take responsibility.

You know, we really have to get away from this concept of victim and blame. I don't believe in that...We have to confront our own fate as a continent, the failings of leadership, the failings of vision...The failure of our political parties to be sufficiently visionary in their approach to the challenges on the continent.¹¹⁶

Rector Anyambod agrees with this opinion, saying, "The West does everything that it does with the complicity of an African leader. We can blame the West, but we must also blame ourselves."¹¹⁷ Keeping this in mind, one must take into consideration the fact that before Western forces intervened in Cote d'Ivoire, they were given permission by both the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the African Union (AU)¹¹⁸. Despite the fact that over three-fourths of questionnaire participants provided Cote d'Ivoire as a sample of negative Western influence in Africa, this intervention was ultimately approved by their own leaders.

¹¹⁴ *Gbagbo, Gaddafi Must Face ICC*. Leadership: For God and Country. 13 April 2011.

¹¹⁵ R. Awa, 15/4/11

¹¹⁶ Boateng, Paul ctd by Gyasi, Stephen. *New African*. Fall 2011, 43.

¹¹⁷ E. Anyambod, 25/4/11

¹¹⁸ Mbakwe, 13

Too Small to Sanction?

Keeping with the example of African agency in Cote d'Ivoire, it should be noted that African international organizations such as the AU attempted to take control of the situation by sending several representatives of the organization to bring about a peaceful agreement between Gbagbo and the internationally recognized president, Alassane Ouattara. Former South African president, Thabo Mbeki was the first to attempt this resolution.¹¹⁹ Despite this try at action, Western forces were ultimately the ones to take initiative in the situation, bombing the city of Abidjian on 5 April 2011 as a final attempt to loosen Gbagbo's grip on power. Donald Rothchild believes that though 'African solutions for African problems' are a preferred method of resolution on the continent, African states simply do not have the power to hold leverage over one another in times of conflict. He writes, "One of the key variables that distinguish great-power mediators from others is their high status and command of political and economic resources. Access to extensive resources places the great power in a better position to influence their adversaries by offering or withholding inducements."¹²⁰

This supposed limitation to African agency has left several informants agreeing with Rothchild's position. According to Informant 11, "On n'a pas la capacité. Russie peut faire ce qu'il veut, quand elle veut parce qu'elle a la capacité."¹²¹ Informants such as Djouwa and Awa, have even arrived at a point where their trust in the agency of African leaders has them believing if all Western influence left Africa today, the continent would have the possibility of being worse off. In response to Question 10 on the questionnaire, Djouwa, feeling some personal conflict expressed being unable to answer the question, "I can't answer this because there are many angles where we could use their intervention."¹²² These angles, highlighted by Awa worry that, "dictatorship would be the order of the day,"¹²³ with African leaders completely consolidating power without regard for their public. His belief is that due to the psychological effects colonization has had on African politicians, the only way to keep totalitarian leaders in check is through Western intervention, therefore allowing them to keep "responsible sovereignty"¹²⁴.

At times [African leaders] want to do something and they'll say, 'No, these countries are looking up on us, they will sanction us at the World Bank, they'll give [us] economic sanctions, political sanctions and all the like...so that is the point. If you don't respect the rules that are put in place by the international community you are going to be

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 12

¹²⁰ Rothchild, 168.

¹²¹ Private Interview, 21/4/11

¹²² Djouwa, 25/4/11

¹²³ R. Awa, 15/4/11

¹²⁴ Shraeder, 357

sanctioned.¹²⁵

Whether needed or unneeded, according to the data collected, most Cameroonians find the intervention of Western states to be negative in the African context¹²⁶. Returning to the ideals of pan-Africanism which pushes that Africans should look to "consolidate their independence and freedom,"¹²⁷ African leaders seem to have been unable to make this happen.

Analysis

Bringing into account Rector Anyambod's statements made about the current failures of African leadership, my analysis of this aspect of the pan-African dream leaves me believing that despite outside forces that cannot be immediately rejected by African leaders, these individuals do need to improve their abilities to achieve the needs of their people in order to regain their confidence. According to the beliefs of 65% of questionnaire participants, solidarity *is* the best way to combat Western intervention, so it seems as if an initiative by African leaders to create such institutions built on cooperation would be a productive step towards solidarity in the eyes of my research participants. Consequently, despite the negative aspects that have been previously highlighted, Africa's leaders have begun to take steps towards creating a, "United States of Africa."

One Nation, Under...

During pan-Africanism's debut on the continent, there existed discrepancies in how independence leaders believed the concept could function within the infrastructure of their governments. The three different schools of thought that emerged were classified as the Brazzaville Group, the Monrovia Group and the Casablanca Group¹²⁸, each representing the different extents to which leaders thought the continent's sovereign states should be bound to one another. Kwame Nkrumah's Cassablanca Group retained an approach that "argued that the success of pan-Africanism required a political union of all independent African countries, patterned after the federal model of the United States."¹²⁹ In the opinion of Kwame Nkrumah, a complete unity of all states was the best way to ensure, as always, the absolute liberation and independence of African states.

In a move of initiative fifty years later, the visions of Kwame Nkrumah's Casablanca Group have been revitalized with the help of Muammar Qaddafi, by his advocacy of "The United

¹²⁵ R. Awa, 15/4/11

¹²⁶ According to survey results.

¹²⁷ Nkrumah, Kwame ctd by Shraeder, 253.

¹²⁸ Shraeder, 253

States of Africa," an international institution that would bind together all African states, including those north of the Sahara, under an interconnected governing body. After a summit hosted by Qaddafi in 2009, the African Union, the most recent manifestation of pan-Africanist sentiment in government, voted to reconstruct the collective by creating the African Union Authority.¹³⁰ "[The] institution that would replace the existing AU Commission with the aim of eventually bringing Africa's countries under a single unity government."¹³¹ Though this initiative seems promising in fulfilling the hopes of 94% of questionnaire participants who would support the creation of a federation of African states, one of my interviewees did not seem to be convinced by these preliminary actions. Awa, aligning with the academics who were more critical and skeptical of the desire of their leaders to function without the work of the West, rests with the opinion that "...a United States of Africa will not succeed."¹³²

Disillusioned by what he believes to be the hubris of African leaders, Awa's views reflect those of the Monrovia Group, who believed that despite the fact that a "United States of Africa" would present an advantage to Africa's social, political and economic strength, "political leaders would jealously guard their countries' independence."¹³³ Being of the impression that countries such as his own Cameroon, would reject membership into the organization due to fear of losing their power, Awa finds that African leaders would not be willing to give up their egos to allow for the creation of the institution to take place. "If they allowed Qaddafi to win in that idea, they know that in the group, by the fact that he is the inventor of the idea, all the credit and power would be [Qaddafi's] and that is what they don't like. So even though the idea was good, there will be those who don't like it because of the background scene. Africans are very egoistic."¹³⁴ Francis Ikome, a South Africa-based analyst, is similarly skeptical. Bringing into account that this idea has been in discussion since 1960, Ikome finds the actions of African leaders towards the creation of the African Union Authority to be empty.¹³⁵ "While many leaders publicly pay lip service to this idea, they don't really support it."¹³⁶ Fomane follows this opinion, stating that the individualistic nature of politics in Africa would prevent such partnerships from taking place, saying, "Power is personalized in African politics"¹³⁷

By taking in the opinions of just these two informants, it can be concluded that whether

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ "The United States of Africa May Become Reality" CBSnews.com. 15 March 2011.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² R. Awa, 15/4/11

¹³³ Shraeder, 253

¹³⁴ R. Awa, 15/4/11.

¹³⁵ "The United States of Africa..." BBCnews.com.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Fomane, 21/4/11

African leaders are deserving of the critiques that have been mentioned above or should be given more credit for initiatives such as the potential creation of the African Union Authority, by losing the people's confidence in their ability to fulfill their job descriptions, they have failed to lead their countries by the pan-African example. Though the issues discussed above do express the different opinions of Cameroonians, the mere fact that voting in the country has fallen to dismal levels is proof enough of this loss of trust.¹³⁸ As Lumumba-Kasongo writes, "As a result of the despicable behavior of the African leadership, most African people have lost confidence in state apparatuses and in what they can collectively achieve as a people."¹³⁹ Remembering the manner in which Kwame Nkrumah once stood to address his people calling upon their help, praising their efforts and reinforcing the validity of the dreams, African leaders must return to their original purposes as the road, not the road block, to liberation for their people.

VI. Conclusion

Arriving at the conclusion of this study, one may wonder what connection exists between education, unity and leadership. As exposed by informants' expression of the reality of the pan-African movement within their home country, the path to liberation as once outlined by Kwame Nkrumah, does not run a linear course, but in a circular fashion that requires the three aspects analyzed over the time frame of this study to function in cooperation with one another. If one of these aspects fail, the other aspects are likely fail as well.

Returning to Rector Anyambod's proclamation that the success of the pan-African movement starts with the success of education, one can now deduct how a failure to sensitize youth to the teachings of the concept leaves them susceptible to the acceptance of ethnic or regional divisions within their community. Consequently, spawned from this spirit of individualism are men and women who, if given the opportunity to lead, run the risk of preoccupying their time spent in positions of power maintaining their own prosperity as opposed to that of their public, which starts the vicious cycle all over again. It is in the context of this cycle that informants express their belief in how Cameroonians have not maintained their contribution to maintaining pan-African ideals within their country and therefore, have contributed instead to the concept's demise.

It is concluded then that the results of this study have affirmed the hypothesis which states that although Cameroonians, as represented by research participants, widely support and

¹³⁸ Of a population of approximately 9 million individuals of voting age, only about 300,000 are registered to vote (ELECAM). Selin, Katherine. *To Vote or Not to Vote*, Fall 2010.

¹³⁹ Lumumba-Kasongo, 110.

agree with the sentiments of pan-Africanism, there is rarely a concrete grasp on the concept, nor an adherence to its teachings within their society. Keeping in mind the possible onset of an African Renaissance in the upcoming years, it is still unclear as to how the continent will move forward without a foundation of unity and solidarity that can guide them through a time period which has the potential to revolutionize the prosperity of the continent at macro and micro levels. According to Lumumba-Kasongo, this renaissance cannot expect to move forward unless enlightened by pan-Africanism.¹⁴⁰

Unless individuals on the continent can truly come together in a spirit of unity, the opportunity for positive change will ultimately prove fruitless. It is now the challenge of all Cameroonians and Africans alike to take the prosperity of the continent into their own hands. No matter the origins of division or misdeeds of the past, the future of the continent has the opportunity to liberate Africans in ways proceeded only by the wave of independence movements that took place fifty years ago. To achieve the goals of the future, Africans must move forward not as individuals, but as a united people, the words of Kwame Nkrumah leading them each step of the way.

Today, from now on, there is a new African in this world!

¹⁴⁰ Lumumba-Kasongo, 1

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Appendix

Survey and Interview Questions

Questionnaire

Salut! Je m'appelle Araba Sapara-Grant et je suis une étudiante avec SIT, un programme d'échange pour les étudiantes étrangères. J'étudie le panafricanisme et je voudrais d'avoir votre opinion sur le concept. Toutes les réponses que vous donnez sont complètement confidentielles et seront utiliser seulement dans mon projet de recherche. Si vous n'êtes pas confortable avec quelques questions vous n'avez pas besoin de répondre à tous. Les questions ne sont pas obligatoires, mais votre vraie opinion sera de grande importance à mon projet. Merci d'avance pour votre temps et votre aide!

Nom: _____ Age: _____

Profession/emploi: _____ Sexe: M F

Niveau de l'éducation que vous avez déjà accompli:

Primaire Secondaire Université (License? Maitre? Doctorat?)

1. Est-ce que vous êtes familière avec le concept du panafricanisme? Oui Non

2. Si oui, comment est-ce que vous définissez le concept? Si non, qu'est-ce que vous pensez le concept ca va dire?

3. Décrieriez-vous-même comme une panafricaniste? Oui Non

*Pourquoi?

4. Croyez-vous que les pays africains sont encore influencés par les pays occidentaux?

Oui Non

5. Croyez-vous que le Cameroun est encore influence par les pays occidentaux?

Oui Non

6. Savez-vous des exemples *dans l'actualité* ou des pays occidentaux influencent les pays africains?

Oui Non

7. Si oui, quel sont des situations?

-
-
-
-

8. Cet influence, est-elle bonne ou mal? Pourquoi?

9. Si mal, qu'est-ce que vous pensez est la meilleure manière d'arrêter l'influence de l'Occident

A. La solidarité entre les pays africains qui peuvent soutenir l'un l'autre économiquement, socialement, et militairement.

B. Demander de l'aide a les organisations comme l'Organisation de Nations Unis ou l'Union Africain.

C. Il y a rien qu'on peut faire a propos l'influence de l'Ouest.

10. Croyez vous que les gouvernements africains veulent d'avoir des relations politiques *sans* l'influence de l'Occident? Oui Non

11. S'il y a une fédération des pays africains qui *semble* l'Union Européen, voudriez-vous que le Cameroun participe? Oui Non

12. Pensez-vous que vous partagez une expérience de vie en commun avec les africains dehors le Cameroun? Oui Non

13. Pensez-vous que vous partagez une expérience de vie en commun avec tous les camerounais? Oui Non

Les Questions sur la Cote d'Ivoire

1. Etes-vous familière avec la crise politique en Cote d'Ivoire? Oui Non

2. Croyez-vous que le problème est a cause de l'influence de l'Ouest? Oui Non

3. Croyez-vous que la situation en Cote d'Ivoire est un problème pour **juste la Cote d'Ivoire** ou **tout l'Afrique?**

4. Pourquoi?

5. Croyez-vous que la conséquence de la Cote d'Ivoire va avoir un effet sur les gens du Cameroun? Pourquoi?

Interview Questions (Interviews consisted of some or all questions with the possible addition of follow-up questions based on informant responses)

Target Group 1 Questions

1. On your survey, you marked that you were familiar with the concept of panafricanism. Can you just give me a quick summary of what this concept means to you.

Dans votre questionnaire, vous avez dit que vous êtes familière avec le concept ou l'idée du panafricanisme. Pouvez-vous me donner juste un petit sommaire du concept et qu'est ce va dire dans votre avis.

2. When did first learn about this concept? School? Watching TV? Life experience?

Quand est-ce que vous avez appris ce concept? A l'école? Juste dans votre expérience?

3. Why do you describe yourself as a pan-Africanist?

Pouvez vous expliquer un peu pour quoi vous avez dit que vous êtes une panafricaniste?

4. As a pan-Africanist what are some changes you would like to see in terms of African politics?

Comme une panafricaniste, quelles sont les changements que vous voudriez voir dans les politiques de l'Afrique

5. If not for the influence of the West, do you think politics in Africa would be fairer or stay the same?

Si l'influence de l'Occident n'existait pas, pensez vous que les politiques en Afrique serait plus juste ou reste le même?

6. What are some specific ways that the West still controls African countries socially and economically?

Quels sont des manières spécifique dans lesquels l'Occident control encore les pays africain socialement and économiquement?

7. As a pan-Africanist what do you think Africans can do to stop this?

Comme une panafricaniste, qu'est-ce que vous pensez les Africains, eux-mêmes, peuvent faire d'arrêter cet influence?

8. When this intervention takes place, do you think African governments have a responsibility to prevent Western countries from intervening in African affairs? Do you think they can?

Quand les pays occidentale intervient, pensez vous que les gouvernements africains ont une responsabilité d'empêcher les pays africain? Pensez-vous qu'ils peuvent?

9. Based on your survey, you said best way to combat intervention was solidarity between African countries, why did you pick that answer and what type of solidarity are you thinking of?

Dans votre questionnaire, vous avez dit que le meilleure manière dans lequel on peut lutter

l'intervention est la solidarité entre les pays africains. Pourquoi est-ce que vous avez choisi cette réponse and quel type de solidarité voulez-vous?

10. Based on your survey, you said that you supported the idea of a "United States of Africa" or federation of African states, can you just talk a little bit more about that. In a perfect situation, how would this federation of states work? What would be the guiding characteristics? One president?, Common currency?

Dans votre questionnaire vous avez dit que vous soutenez l'idée d'un "Etats Unis d'Afrique" ou une fédération des états africains. Pouvez-vous parler plus a propos de cet idée. Dans une situation parfait, la fédération travaillerait comment? Quelles caractéristiques? (Un président? Le meme monnaie?)

11. Do you believe that most Africans would describe themselves as pan-Africanist? Why?
Pensez vous que la majorité des Africains décririez eux même comme panafricanistes? Pourquoi?

12. Do you believe there is such a thing as an African identity or personality?
Croyez-vous qu'il y a une identité africaine ou une personnalité Africain?

13. What are the characterisites of this identity?
Quels sont les caractéristiques de cette identité?

14. On your survey you marked that you have a common life experience with all other Africans. What specific life experiences do you believe you have in common? Besides living on the same continent?

Dans votre questionnaire vous avez dit que vous avez un expérience de vie en commun avec tous les autres Africains. Quels expériences de vie spécifique croyez vous que vous avez en commun? En dehors du fait que vous habitez dans le même continent?

15. Do you believe you share a common identity with all other Africans? What specific characteristics do you believe you have in common? What characteristics make up this African identity?

Croyez vous que vous partagez une identité en commun avec tous les autres Africains? Quels sont les caractéristiques spécifiques que vous avez en commun? Quels sont les caractéristiques qui créent cette identité africaine?

16. What specific life experiences do you believe you have in common with Cameroonians? What specific characteristics create the Cameroonian identity you share?

Quels sont les expériences de vie que vous croyez que vous avez en commun avec les autres Camerounais? Quels sont les caractéristiques spécifiques qui créent l'identité camerounaise que vous partagez?

17. How important do you think the issue of ethnicity is in Africa?
Pensez vous que l'ethnicité est encore importante en Afrique? Pourquoi?

18. How important do you think the issue of ethnicity is in Cameroon?
Est-il importante au Cameroun? Pourquoi?

19. If Africans have a common personality and spirit of solidarity, how do you explain ethnic violence and prejudices?

*Ethnicity can affect jobs in Cameroon.

Si les Africains ont une personnalité en commun et l'esprit de la solidarité, comment expliquez-vous la violence ethnique et les préjugés ethniques?

***Est-ce qu'il y a des préjugés ethniques au Cameroun?**

20. Do you think Africans always have a spirit of solidarity or do you think it is stronger when there are outside forces involved?

Pensez vous que les africains ont toujours une esprit de solidarité ou pensez vous qu'elle est plus forte quand il y a des influences de l'Ouest?

COTE D'IVOIRE QUESTIONS

1. Retell the issue of the Cote d'Ivoire scandal as you understand it.

Pouvez-vous me donner un petit sommaire du conflit en Cote d'Ivoire, au début jusqu'à maintenant?

2. Why do you or don't you believe that this is an issue of Western influence?

***Why would France want to intervene in this issue?**

Vous pensez/ne pensez pas que ce conflit est une question de l'influence de l'Occident. Pourquoi?

Pourquoi pensez vous que la France veulent d'intervient?

3. Do you think the majority of people support Gbagbo or Ouattara?

Pensez-vous que la majorité de gens soutiennent Gbagbo ou Ouattara? Pourquoi?

4. Who do you support and why?

Qui soutenez-vous et pourquoi?

5. Are you familiar with the concept of Ivoirite and how do you understand it?

Êtes-vous familière avec le concept d'Ivoirite? Pouvez-vous me l'expliquer?

6. Do you think the ethnicity or religious background of the candidates is playing a role in this conflict or is it based solely on Western influence?

Pensez-vous que l'ethnicité ou religion des candidats joue un role dans le conflit ou est il seulement l'influence de l'Occident?

7. The UN and France ended up intervening. Do you think this was a good or a bad idea? How would you have wanted this conflict solved?

L'Organisation de Nations Unies et La France ont intervenu. Pensez vous que c'était une bonne idée ou mauvaise? Si vous aviez l'opportunité de résoudre le problème. Vous auriez voulu quoi?

8. Do you believe African governments responded properly to the situation?

***If yes, why?**

***If no, what should they have done?**

Pensez-vous que les gouvernements africains ont répondu correctement a la situation? Si oui, pourquoi? Si non, quoi est-ce qu'ils auront du faire?

9. Will the outcome of this conflict have any implications for Cameroon?

10. Will the outcome of this conflict have any implications for Africa?

Target Group 2 Questions

1. Quel est votre définition du panafricanisme?
2. Quand et comment est-ce que vous avez appris a propos cet idée?

For professors: D'habitude, vos étudiants étudient le concept du panafricanisme quand? Pourquoi? Enseignez-vous le concept du panafricanisme? Pourquoi?

3. Pouvez-vous expliquer un peu pourquoi vous avez dit que vous etes une panafricaniste?
4. Comme une panafricaniste, quelles sont les changements que vous voudriez voir dans les politiques de l'Afrique?
5. Vous avez dit/n'avez dit pas que les pays africains sont influences par les pays occidentales. Dans quel manière *spécifiquement* pensez-vous que les pays occidentales influencent les pays africaines?
6. Comme une panafricaniste, qu'est-ce que vous pensez les africains, eux-mêmes, peuvent faire d'arrêter l'influence de l'Ouest?
7. Si l'influence de l'Ouest n'existait pas, pensez-vous que les politiques en Afrique seraient plus juste ou reste le même?
8. Pensez-vous que tous les africaines partagent un identité et connaissance solidaire ou panafricaniste?
9. Une sentiment du panafricanisme est la solidarité entre tous les gens africains. Si cette solidarité vraiment existe, comment expliquez-vous la violence ethnique et les préjugés ethniques?
10. Pensez vous que la question d'ethnie est encore important en Afrique? En Cameroun. Est-elle positive ou négative?
11. Comme un homme/femme de l'université, familière avec ce concept et les aspects positifs, pensez-vous que vous avez transcende les préjugés ethnique et religieuse? Pourquoi?
12. Croyez-vous que les idées du panafricanisme sont accessible pour TOUS les camerounaises malgré leur niveau de l'éducation? Pourquoi?
13. Pensez vous que les gens avec moins de l'éducation vont soutenir le mouvement panafricaniste avec assez de la loyauté que les gens avec une éducation?
14. Croyez-vous que les populations africaines sont connaissant du panafricanisme comme un mouvement qui peut libérer l'Afrique?
15. Pensez-vous que le monde expérience actuellement une renaissance des sentiments panafricanistes? Pourquoi et comment?
16. Quels sont les façons différents dans lesquels les pays africains peut lutter l'influence de l'Ouest? Quels sont les façons différents les pays africains avaient déjà utiliser?

17. Pensez-vous que les gouvernements africains ont des politiques qui sont déjà panafricaniste?

18. Pensez-vous que les sentiments panafricanistes sont plus forts ici en Afrique ou *le Diaspora*? Pensez-vous que les Africains ont toujours une esprit de solidarité ou pensez vous qu'elle est plus forte quand il y a des influences de l'Ouest?

19. Quand les pays occidentaux interviennent, pensez-vous que les gouvernements africains ont une responsabilité d'empêcher les pays africain? Pensez vous qu'ils peuvent?

COTE D'IVOIRE QUESTIONS INTERVIEW

1. Redirez moi qu'est-ce qui s'est passé à Cote d'Ivoire?

2. Vous pensez/ne pensez pas que cet conflit est une question de l'influence de l'Occident. Pourquoi?

3. Pensez-vous que la majorité de gens soutiennent Gbagbo ou Ouattara? Pourquoi?

4. Qui soutenez-vous et pourquoi?

5. Etes-vous familière avec le concept d'Ivoirite? Pouvez-vous m'expliquer?

6. Pensez-vous que l'ethnicité ou la religion des candidats joue un rôle dans le conflit ou est il seulement l'influence de l'Occident?

7. Pensez-vous que les pays africaines ont réagit correctement a la situation en Cote d'Ivoire?
Si non, qu'est qu'ils auront du faire?
Comment aimeriez--vous le gouvernement du Cameroun réagir?

8. 19. 5 avril 2011, la France et l'ONU ont bombarde Abidjan. Ils ont voulu d'enlever Gbagbo finalement. Était-il le décision correcte?

9. Pensez vous que les pays africains sont assez forts d'arrêter un conflit comme la conflit en Cote d'Ivoire?

10. L'expression "Solutions africaines pour problèmes africaines"...Qu'est-ce que se passe s'il n'y a pas une solution rapide ou les pays ne sont pas assez forts d'arrêter un conflit?

Questions for Rector Anyambod

1. What does pan-Africanism mean to you in relation to your work as an educator?

2. Would you describe yourself as a pan-Africanist?

3. As a pan-Africanist, what are some changes you believe must be made to the general way in

which African society and government is run?

4. To your knowledge, is the concept of pan-Africanism taught on this campus? Why?

5. Can you give me a little bit more information about the Peace and Development course study at this university?

6. Do you believe the conflict taking place in Cote d'Ivoire will have any implications on social life and politics in Cameroon?