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Editorial

“**C**ELEBRATING OUR LIVING HERITAGE” has been adopted as the official theme by government for use during Heritage Month over the next three years. In keeping with the tradition of celebrating “Our Living Heritage”, the sub-theme for this year’s Heritage Month focuses on the promotion and preservation of “Indigenous foods, our knowledge, and our heritage”.

Heritage Month gives us an opportunity to engage our history and the heritage of our continent. It is also an opportunity to showcase our talents through the arts and crafts.

In this way government hopes to encourage cultural expressions of our different communities through the various cultural traditions, beliefs and social practices that we hold dear.

Ours is a continent that gave birth to humankind. The African continent was also the epicentre of learning in the ancient world. As we celebrate Heritage Month, we need to reflect on the enormous contribution our continent has made in the development of civilisation throughout the world.

In this issue we look at the roots of the African Renaissance and the contribution made by leading lights in the African Diaspora and those on the African continent who have contributed to current thinking on Africa’s renewal and to Africa’s freedom.

From the Haitian Revolution in 1804 to the first Pan African Congress held in 1900 to the founding of the Organisation of African Unity, we seek to celebrate the astuteness, courageousness, perseverance and heroism of all those who paved the way for a free and united Africa and for Africans to take their proud and rightful place in the world.

In this issue, we also focus on the South Africa, African Union, Caribbean Diaspora Conference held in Jamaica on 16 – 18 March 2005. Through co-initiating and participating in this event, we paid tribute to our brothers and sisters in the African Diaspora for their role in fighting against racism in South Africa and in the wider world, and in helping to shape African thinking and the quest for African unity.

Part of our task as the Department of Foreign Affairs in strengthening our international relations is to convey the rich cultural and intellectual wealth of our country to the world. As President Thabo Mbeki pointed out in Taung on National Heritage Day, we are forging a new South African identity “which knows no discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, ethnicity, gender or creed” and we need to invoke common traditions that bind us “as a nation, as South Africans and as human beings.”



*Director-General of Foreign Affairs
Dr Ayanda Ntsaluba*

I hope this fourth issue of DFA NOW will go a long way in stimulating an interest in further exploring “Our Living Heritage”.

Any direct feedback can be forwarded to The Editor at: sadesk@foreign.gov.za ▶

In the last decade of the twentieth century, we witnessed great changes on the African continent. The liberation of South Africa was part of this second wave of democracy to sweep the African continent. With this victory, the liberation committee of the OAU started winding up its work. The Frontline States could begin processes of reconstruction freed from the destabilising activities of the apartheid regime. Through South African liberation, the completion of the continental process of the liquidation of the colonial system in Africa had been achieved. In addition, the Cold War had come to an end and globalisation rapidly hurtled the world into a new era. The information economy was upon us. With all these developments, a new challenge presented itself – that of African renewal and development.

The African Renaissance

*“... finally, at this summit meeting in Tunis, we shall remove from our agenda the consideration of the question of apartheid South Africa.”
‘Where South Africa appears on the agenda again, let it be because we want to discuss what its contribution shall be to the making of the new African renaissance.’*

FORMER PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA, SPEAKING IN JUNE 1994 at an OAU meeting of Heads of State and Government in Tunis declared that: “finally, at this summit meeting in Tunis, we shall remove from our agenda the consideration of the question of apartheid South Africa.” ‘Where South Africa appears on the agenda again, let it be because we want to discuss what its contribution shall be to the making of the new African renaissance.’



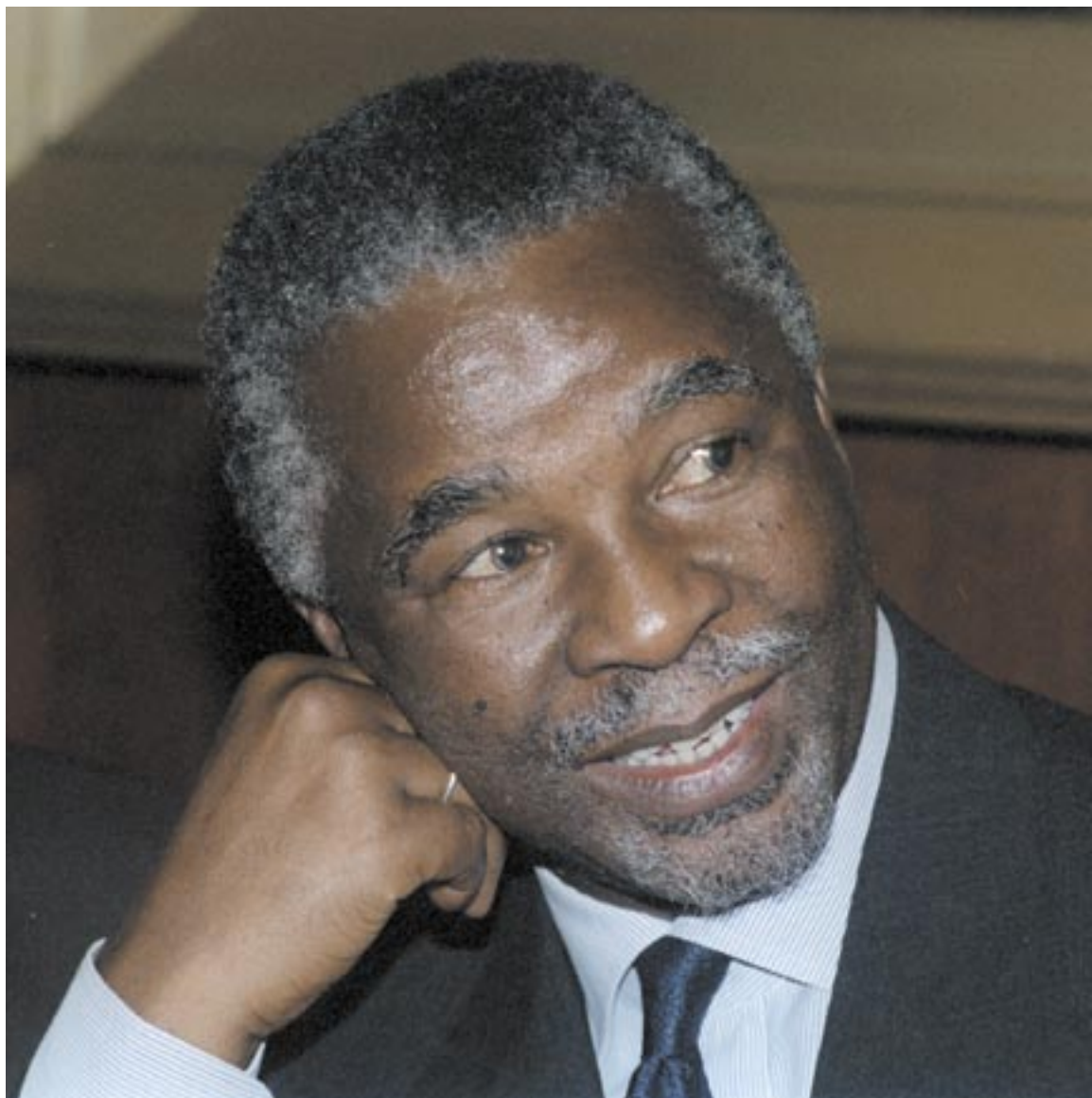
Former President Nelson Mandela

With these words, he re-invigorated African political vocabulary with the revolutionary spirit of an earlier era in Africa's history. An earlier movement was brought to bear on the demands of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. In this way, new life was given to ideas from an older epoch. Or it could be that the seeds of the past were only now beginning to sprout and to flower.

Speaking a year later in Zimbabwe, Mandela expanded upon his previous statement, when he said that: "the time has come for Africa to take full responsibility for her woes, [to] use the immense collective wisdom it possesses to make a reality of the ideal of the African renaissance whose time has come."

Up until then, the African renaissance had only taken root in the minds of intellectuals. Development programmes in newly independent states had not been the successes that they had been planned to be. Now for the first time, a real possibility existed for the renaissance to be realised as a potential and palpable reality in the lives of the African people.

In the words of President Thabo Mbeki speaking at the launch of the African Renaissance Institute in October 1999, "when we speak of an African Renaissance, we speak of the rebirth and renewal of our continent. The idea is not new to the struggles of the peoples of our continent for genuine emancipation. It has been propagated before by other activists for liberation, drawn from many countries." Then the President added: "But it has been suggested that when this perspective was advanced in earlier periods, the conditions did not exist for its realisation. Accordingly,



President Thabo Mbeki

"But it has been suggested that when this perspective was advanced in earlier periods, the conditions did not exist for its realisation. Accordingly, what is new about it today is that the conditions exist for the process to be enhanced throughout the Continent, leading to the transformation of the idea from a dream dreamt by visionaries to a practical programme of action for revolutionaries."

what is new about it today is that the conditions exist for the process to be enhanced throughout the Continent, leading to the transformation of the idea from a dream dreamt by visionaries to a practical programme of action for revolutionaries."

In this issue of *DFA NOW* we take a cursory look at some of the ideas and visionaries shaping African Renaissance thinking. Such a glance at our past cannot even pretend to be complete. Through a more modest and piecemeal approach, we hope to show some of these intellectual and political steps taken in the past – spanning nearly one hundred years of African history or more – we take a peek at the roots of the African renaissance.

“Since the 1994 call, Thabo Mbeki has further elaborated on this theme and his 1996 address, I am an African, with its poetic suggestiveness, its depiction of this ‘African’ as containing in himself multitudes, a truly renaissance persona, has justifiably become a classic. Clearly, the African Renaissance seems to be an idea whose time has come, to witness the number of books, articles and conferences. The discussions have been rich in their economic, political and even cultural exploration of meaning and implications of the idea. However, the shortcomings in the recent academic discussions, as opposed to those of the times of Mqhayi and Vilakazi, have been a virtual silence over the relationship between language and renaissance. Language, though often seen as a product and reflection of economic, political and cultural order, is itself a material force of the highest order.

That is why we must ask: is an African Renaissance possible when we, the keepers of memory, have to work outside our own linguistic memory? Working within the prison house of European linguistic memory? Often drawing from our own experiences and history to enrich the already very rich European memory?

.....European renaissance involved not only exploration of new frontiers of thought but also a reconnection with their memory with roots in ancient Greece and Rome. In practice, it meant a disengagement from the tyranny of hegemonic Latin and discovery of their own tongues. But it also meant a massive and sustained translation and transfer of knowledge from Latin and Greek into the emerging European vernaculars including English. There was also a lot of inter-vernacular translation of current intellectual production among the then emerging European languages, for instance, from French into English and vice versa. The African keepers of memory could do worse than usefully borrow a leaf from that experience. Thabo Mbeki’s contribution to the debate, in fact, comes as a challenge to the African intelligentsia, the keepers of memory, to ‘add to the strengthening of the movement for Africa’s renaissance’

..... For us in Africa, and in the current ideas of renaissance, this can be a model for practical steps in realising the goals of the African Renaissance. We have, for instance, three Nobel Prize winners in Literature, Soyinka, Gordimer and Mahfouz. Why shouldn’t their works be made available in the languages and cultures of the continent which nourished their imagination? Why shouldn’t the work of Biko be available in African languages? What about Nkrumah’s, Nyerere’s, Mandela’s, Machel’s, Neto’s, Cheikh Anta Diop’s work? What of all the corpus/ouvres of all the African intellectuals? What of all the works of diasporic Africans in the Caribbean and Americas, Sonia Sanchez’s, for instance? What of the works of the two other black Nobel winners, Derek Walcott and Toni Morrison? If we can think of scouting European museums, asking and even demanding the return of our precious works of art, why not also the restoration of the precious works of written thought?

All this calls for a very different attitude and relationship to our languages on the part of African governments and the African intelligentsia as once articulated by Vilakazi, and Diop, and exemplified by Mqhayi and the whole line of African intellectuals who have always kept faith in African languages. There are signs of positive responses to his call.”

Consciousness and African Renaissance: South Africa in the Black Imagination
The Fourth Annual Steve Biko Memorial Lecture, 2003
 Presented by Ngugi wa Thiong’o
 University of Cape Town, South Africa September 2003

sance in this Heritage Month. In so doing, our journey also takes us to the African Diaspora and to the freedom struggles of African slaves that have inspired the generations that have followed them. We recall the first attempts at an all African unity from the first Pan African Conference in 1900 and the legacy left by luminaries such as W.E.B. Du Bois and Sylvester Williams. Our journey also returns us to South African soil and the contribution of Pixley Ka Seme in shaping thinking on the regeneration of Africa. We look at the early South African contributions to thinking on the renewal of the African continent and the emergence of emancipatory ideas. A look at the roots of the renaissance would be

incomplete if we did not explore some of the main African thinkers and actors in the national liberation movements of the 1950s and 1960s leading to the formation of the OAU.

This rich history conveys to us that today’s leading African thinkers on the African renaissance are not venturing into wholly new terrain. Nor are they out of limb with reality. The quest for African unity and African development is indeed an old one. But it is new for our generation in this new century to embrace this dream, imbue it with a contemporary focus and to make it come true. It is an international dream that can combine countries and harness the skills of those who reside on a number of continents, who hold aloft

the dream of a better Africa and are eager to see to its success.

It is an African Agenda that we have embraced as South Africa in the first decade of democracy as we strive to end poverty and underdevelopment in our country and in the wider world, as we participated in the transformation of the OAU into the African Union and as we have put our energies into its socio-economic initiative – the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD). In this year, we also embarked upon the South Africa, African Union, African Diaspora Conference. This event was intended to thank the countries of the Caribbean for their support of our liberation movement and the South African people during



the dark days of apartheid and for making the South African cause their struggle as well.

This historic gathering was also intended to renew our relations with our brothers and sisters in the African Diaspora, to celebrate historic and cultural ties and to look at ways in which we can address common challenges through linkages and partnerships. This is the solidarity we need to strengthen in the twenty-first century. In this Heritage Month, as we celebrate our heritage and our cultural expressions, as we honour our living treasures and preserve our unique South African heritage, let us remember the interconnectedness between our history, our political heritage, our cultural expressions and those in the wider African world who also fought for freedom, their freedom as much as our own.

As President Mbeki has said: "Stretching through the mists, for a millennium, our common African history is replete with great feats of courage, demonstrated by the heroes and heroines and the heroic peoples, without whose loyal attachment to hope and the vision of a bright future for Africa, her people would long have perished. The moment is upon us when we should draw on this deep well of human nobility to make this statement an action – that Africa's time has come!"

This too is our heritage. We salute all who have given us hope, vision, programmes of action, and who have renewed our dedication to Africa's renaissance and for a more inclusive world. ▀



NATIONAL COAT OF ARMS

THE HIGHEST VISUAL STATE EMBLEM IN

SOUTH AFRICA is our national Coat of Arms. It can be found on many documents that we use everyday such as your diplomatic passport, ordinary passport, school certificates, death and marriage certificates. It also forms a central part of the Great Seal, which has been traditionally considered as being the highest emblem of the State. The Great Seal signifies that a document has been approved by the President and as such carries absolute authority.

The new coat of arms reflects Government's aim to highlight democratic change and a sense of patriotism among South African citizens.

- The Motto of our Coat of Arms is *ǃke e: ǀxarra ǁke* derived from the Khoisan language of the */Xam* people, meaning: diverse people unite. It calls on our nation to unite in a common sense of belonging and national pride.
- The Ears of the Wheat symbolises the notion of germination, growth and the feasible development of any potential. It relates to the nourishment of the people and signifies the agricultural aspects of the earth.
- Elephant Tusks: elephants symbolise wisdom, strength, moderation and eternity.
- The Shield: has a dual function as a vehicle for the display of identity and of spiritual defence. It contains the primary symbol of our nation.
- The Human Figures: derived from the Linton stone depicting the Khoisan, represents the beginning of the individual's transformation into the greater sense of belonging to the nation and by extension, collective Humanity.
- The Spear and Knobkierie: signifies defence and authority and in turn represent the powerful legs of the secretary bird. Peace is also symbolised by the laid down spear and knobkierie.
- The Protea: is an emblem of the beauty of our land and the flowering of our potential as a nation in pursuit of the African Renaissance. It symbolises the holistic integration of forces that grows from the earth and are nurtured from above. The most popular colours of Africa have been assigned to the Protea – green, gold, red and black.
- The Secretary Bird: symbolises growth, speed, the legs depicted as the spear and knobkierie symbolises protection of the nation against its enemies. Its uplifted wings are an emblem of the ascendance of our nation, whilst simultaneously offering us its protection. It is depicted in gold, symbolising its association with the sun and the highest power.
- The Rising Sun: symbolises the promise of rebirth, the active faculties of reflection, knowledge, good judgement and willpower. It is the symbol of the source of life, of light and the ultimate wholeness of Humanity.

Narratives of renewal

Africans in the Diaspora

AS DESCENDANTS OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT who were forcibly removed through the slave trade, a yearning for a free and democratic continent based on the principles of good governance reverberated throughout their struggles against slavery and for human dignity. Over the century that followed, abolitionists began to protest against slavery and call for the freeing of the slaves. Notable among these was Frederick Douglass who played a prominent role in abolitionism and in his support for women's rights. An end to slavery only came about late in the nineteenth century with Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of 1863.

One heroine and gallant fighter against slavery and for the rights of women was Sojourner Truth, whose famous words: "Ain't I a woman. I have borne thirteen children, and seen most of all sold off to slavery and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me! And ain't I a woman?" echoed through the centuries as a testimony both against slavery and also for the rights of black women.

The call for freedom from black oppression and slavery had manifested itself in various forms over a long period of time, from armed resistance to passive resistance and as such elevated Africans in the Caribbean, to become a springboard for the fight against colonialism on the mother continent. In fact, the fight for freedom had already gained its first victory at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the island of Haiti.

THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION

A turning point for achieving the ideals of freedom for Africans in the Diaspora was the Haitian revolution under the astute leadership of Toussaint L'Ouverture, who in the eighteenth century led a successful revolt

The struggle for an Africa freed from the yoke of colonialism and imperialism was influenced by Africans in the Diaspora. To satisfy the demand for labour from farmers and industrialists in America, from the 1600s African captives were taken from their homes, enslaved and chained in boats that would take them across the Atlantic Ocean in the most appalling conditions to become slave labour in the New World. Initially, some were taken as indentured servants, but over the century a more systematic race-based slavery system developed in which Africans were kept as slaves for life.

against colonialism and established the first Black Republic. Though Africans on the island constituted the majority of people and toiled the soil with their work and sweat, they were forbidden from benefiting from the wealth they created on the sugar plantations and from forestry. Never before in the history of the slave trade, did slaves in the volumes that they did, take up arms and turn against their masters in their quest for freedom. The revolt, which erupted in 1791, just two years after the French Revolution, eventually culminated in the independence of Haiti in 1804.

The colony that had thrived on slavery became a free country, as CLR James describes in *The Black Jacobins*:

"In 1789 the French West Indian colony of San Domingo supplied two-thirds of the overseas trade of France and was the greatest individual market for the European slave-trade. It

was an integral part of the economic life of the age, the greatest colony in the world, the pride of France, and the envy of every other imperialist nation. The whole structure rested on the labour of half-a-million slaves.

In August 1791, after two years of the French Revolution and its repercussions in San Domingo, the slaves revolted. The struggle lasted for 12 years. The slaves defeated in turn the local whites and the soldiers of the French monarchy, a Spanish invasion, a British expedition of some 60,000 men, and a French expedition of similar size under Bonaparte's brother-in-law. The defeat of Bonaparte's expedition in 1803 resulted in the establishment of the Negro state of Haiti which has lasted to this day."

As Haiti celebrated its bicentennial of its independence last year coinciding with our first ten years of democratic rule in this country, it is in the shadow of leaders such as Toussaint



Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma with Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

that we as a people have walked, inspired by those such as he who were fearless and decisive in their actions.

“There was Toussaint, the former slave, incredibly grand and powerful and incomparably the greatest man in San Domingo. There was no need to be ashamed of being black. The revolution had awakened them, had given them the possibility of achievement, confidence and pride. That psychological weakness, that feeling of inferiority with which the imperialists poison colonial peoples everywhere, these were gone. In him, born a slave and the leader of slaves, the concrete realisation of liberty, equality and fraternity was the womb of ideas and the springs of power, which overflowed their narrow environment and embraced the whole of the world”, so writes Trinidadian historian C.L.R. James in his book *The Black Jacobins*.

THE PAN AFRICAN MOVEMENT

It is also this overflowing of the “realisation of liberty, equality and fraternity” that saw the emergence of a Pan-African movement in the Carib-

bean in the late nineteenth century. This determined movement of solidarity attracted luminaries such as Henry Sylvester Williams, W.E.B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey amongst others, in the advocacy for a United States of Africa.

Williams, who hailed from Trinidad was the first black lawyer to be admitted to the British Bar. He formed the African Association in 1897 that sought to promote the interests of African people and those of African descent. He organised the first Pan-African Conference in 1900 with representatives from as far afield as Africa, America and Europe attending the event. Williams also travelled to South Africa where he practised law from 1903 to 1905. His South African experience strengthened his conviction that Africans should be given equal justice and equal rights.

One of the attendees at the 1900 Conference was the prominent Harvard graduate and scholar W.E.B. Du Bois, who campaigned relentlessly for the equal treatment of Blacks in America and came to be known as the father of the Pan African view-

point. His prophetic address to the Nations at the Pan African Conference would resonate throughout the century and his often quoted lines; “the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line” would prefigure the struggles against racial oppression in the Americas and the battles for national liberation on the African continent in the latter half of the century.

The Pan-African movement was the stepping-stone towards the regeneration of a new continental Africa imbued with the challenges of self-rule and economic development.

Slavery had the effect of decimating the continent of its healthiest and most productive citizens while colonialism and imperialism resulted in the exploitation of raw materials to the exclusion of the indigenous population.

The Pan-African movement also emanated from a desire to regain an African identity and heritage and to free Africans from colonial rule”.

Launched in 1900, Pan-Africanism protested colonial repression that was still being experienced by Afri-

cans. It was concerned with the mobilisation of all African countries to further the aims of contesting for independent states. "It was also a reawakening, a discovery of a new consciousness among all Africans, of traditional selfhood: a selfhood that had come from ancient civilisations".

The objectives of the Pan African Congress were:

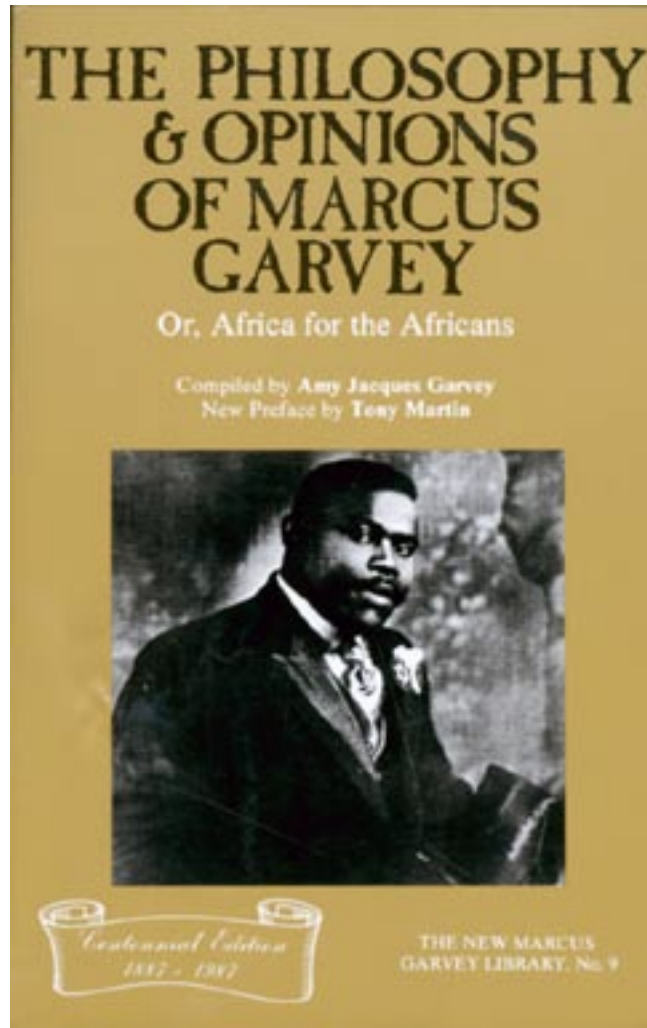
- To secure to Africans throughout the world true civil and political rights;
- To ameliorate the conditions of our brothers on the continent of Africa, America and other parts of the world;
- To promote efforts to secure effective legislation and encourage our people in educational, industrial and commercial enterprise;
- To foster the production of writing and statistics relating to our people everywhere; and
- To raise funds for forwarding these purposes

The movement looked forward to an Africa characterised by accountability, democracy, economic development, respect for human rights, the elimination of barriers and access to education by all.

Women were active participants at the first Conference, with Anna Jones and Anna Julia Cooper both addressing the 1900 Conference and serving on the Executive Committee. W.E.B. Du Bois would organise subsequent Pan African Conferences and he involved women in the decision-making.

GARVEYISM

The second decades of the twentieth century also saw the coming to the fore of Marcus Garvey who was born in Jamaica and who envisioned and galvanised for an African nation state by establishing the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) as an advocacy grouping through



"His [Garvey's] leadership and significance continued to be influential and was recognised around the world. In the United States Garveyism was central to the development of the black consciousness and pride at the core of the twentieth century freedom movement. The Jamaican Rastafarian Movement and the United States Nation of Islam both grew out of and have been influenced by the UNIA. Jamaica named Garvey its first national hero."

which those ideals could be realised, an organisation that would "embrace the purpose of all black humanity" and depended on black economic self reliance. According to Martha King writing in the *Encyclopaedia Africana*, "his [Garvey's] leadership and significance continued to be influential and was recognised around the world. In the United States Garveyism was central to the development of the black consciousness and pride at the core of the twentieth century freedom movement. The Jamaican Rastafarian Movement and the United States Nation of Islam both grew out of and have been influenced by the UNIA. Jamaica named Garvey its first national hero."

The Minister of Arts and Culture, Dr Pallo Jordan has argued that: "The Garveyist movement was probably the first trans-Atlantic mass movement among the Africans of the English-speaking world. Its impact was felt in Garvey's Caribbean home, the US as well as in Anglo-phone Africa

and Britain. Garvey catalysed yet another movement, Rastafarianism, by linking the deliverance of the African world from bondage to the coronation of an African Emperor. When the Ethiopian nobleman, Ras Tafari was crowned Emperor Haile Selassie, the Lion of Judah in 1930, his name was adopted by a pan-African mystical sect with growing numbers of adherents in every part of the African world.

Garveyism in the British empire, found an echo in Negritude in France's Atlantic empire, Afro-Cubanismo in Cuba, Modernismo Afro-Brasileiro in Brazil and the New African Movement in among African intellectuals in South Africa. In each of these regions these movements among intellectuals were accompanied by mass protest movements such as the United Negro Improvement Association in the US and the Caribbean, and the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) in Southern Africa." ▸

Narratives of renewal continued ... *The movement towards African Unity*



Heads of delegation at the Inaugural Summit of the AU

THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR saw the establishment of new African states as colonial powers were forced to relinquish their colonies, partly due to the campaigns of “Africa for the Africans” influenced by Marcus Garvey. African people fought for their independence and established their own nation states. At independence, African states experienced unstable political environments and post-independence this was compounded by neocolonialism in the form of civil wars, military rule, corruption, inadequate economic growth and rapid decline of the standard of living.

As a consequence of this, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was established in May 1963 in Ethiopia under the tutelage of leaders such as Haile Selassie, Kwame Nkrumah, and

Leaders in the African Diaspora firmly believed that an independent African continent would not only serve as an inspiration but would also further the purpose of unity among all Africans scattered around the world. As the twentieth century matured, it was time for Africa to steer ahead and take her rightful place in global affairs and to end its marginalisation from the rest of the world.

Julius Nyerere so as to reconfirm the principles of Pan-Africanism and to embark on a course to steer the continent towards unity and development.

THE BATTLE OF ADWA

The gathering of the founders of the

OAU in Addis Ababa was a reminder of a previous victory in Ethiopia in 1896. It recalled the courage and determination that propelled Ethiopia even at the height of colonial conquest to render a humiliating defeat over the Italians at the Battle

of Adwa on 1 March 1896. Italy's attempt to assert its military supremacy through the colonial annexation of Ethiopia was abruptly terminated by its defeat.

In a collection of papers titled *Adwa: Victory Centenary Conference* edited by A.H. Ahmad and R. Pankhurst, the battle "won Ethiopia immense prestige in the eyes of Africans, and people of African descent throughout the world. The victory of the battle of Adwa was a victory over greater ambitions of imperialism. It has thus continued to inspire hope and confidence in the minds of many Pan-Africanists and leaders of African Liberation movements, right down to the foundation of the Organization of African Unity, here at Addis Ababa, in the very country of the Victory of Adwa!"

THE OAU

The founders of the OAU drew up its founding charter that aimed to:

- To promote the unity and solidarity of the African states;
- To co-ordinate and intensify efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa;
- To defend their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence;
- To eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and
- To promote international co-operation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

FOUNDERS OF THE OAU

Among its founders included the Ras Tafari, Haile Selassie, the last emperor of Ethiopia, who worked hard to modernise his country through expanding education, and



President Thabo Mbeki and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma at a press conference in Addis Ababa during the First Extra-Ordinary Summit of the Third Session of the AU.

"The creation of African communities on the American side of the Atlantic was a harrowing process involving the horrors of the middle passage, the humiliations of the auction block and the brutalities of the plantation. Close to 10 million Africans perished during transportation to feed the insatiable appetite for labour power of the plantation and mining economies the Europeans established in the New World. African slaves played the pivotal role the triangular trade spanning the Atlantic, producing the raw materials that were exported to Europe for manufacture. Finished goods were in turn sold along the Atlantic coast of Africa in return for human cargoes bound for the Americas."

... the whole history of the slave trade and slavery is a sequence of revolts." Professor Oruno D. Lara told a UNESCO meeting of experts in 1978, Every part of the New World where slavery was practiced experienced its share of slave revolts, large and small All were crushed with terrifying brutality. All, except for the revolution of the African slaves in the French colony of San Domingo. On 22nd August 1791, two years and one month after the Storming of the Bastille, the slaves of San Domingo rose and in twelve years of war inscribed one of the most inspiring chapters in the annals of humanity's struggle for liberation. In January 1804, after the French expeditionary force Napoleon had dispatched to the island was defeated, Dessalines halted the independence day proceedings briefly in order to rip out a band of white bunting from the new national flag. "We want nothing white in our flag!" he declared. So embittered towards their former White masters had the ex-slaves become. The liberators renamed their island Haiti and proclaimed it the first Negro republic in the New World. Haiti, an African nation in the Caribbean, lit the torch of African freedom two centuries ago. That torch was passed on from Toussaint L'Ouverture to Henry Sylvester Williams ninety-six years later, it was carried across the finishing line by Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela ninety four years later.

When Nelson R. Mandela was sworn in as South Africa's first democratically elected Head of State in 1994, in every part of the world his inauguration was hailed as marking the official end of the system of institutionalized racism that had assailed the dignity and human worth of every person of African descent for the previous five hundred years of interaction between Europeans and Africans.

The Atlantic Slave Trade and the triangular triad cycle of which it was an indispensable link, were the material undergirding of the White racism that legitimized and sustained it. The colonial conquest of Africa during the latter part of the 19th century cemented this relationship while widening the circle of stakeholders in racism and exponentially increasing its victims."

Minister of Arts and Culture, Dr Pallo Jordan at the SA-AU-Caribbean Diaspora Conference, Jamaica 16-18 March 2005 speaking on *The Contemporary Relevance of Pan-Africanism and the Challenge of Globalisation*

improving health care and education and developed a world wide following. Robert Fay in the Encyclopaedia Africana, explains why: "The coronation of Tafari, whose Dynasty claimed descent through Lebna Dengel from the biblical King Solomon, inspired Jamaican followers of Marcus Garvey to found a new religion, known as Rastafarianism, that idolized the Emperor."

Kwame Nkrumah, the first prime minister of Ghana, was among the founding fathers of the OAU. Nkrumah embraced the African personality and his statement that Ghana would not be free until Africa was free was indicative of his far-reaching Pan-Africanism. In his essay "Consciencism" Nkrumah declared that "Practice without thought is blind; thought without practice is empty.... Social revolution must therefore have, standing firmly behind it, an intellectual revolution, a revolution in which our thinking and philosophy are directed towards the redemption of our society. Our philosophy must find its weapons in the environment and living conditions of the African people"

In the same essay Nkrumah further clarified that "The people are the backbone of positive action. It is by the people's efforts that colonialism is routed, it is by the sweat of the people's brow that nations are built. The people are the reality of national greatness. It is the people who suffer the depredations and indignities of colonialism, and the people must not be insulted by dangerous flirtations with neo-colonialism. The people have not mastered their independence until it has been given a national



The Mausoleum of Kwame Nkrumah in Accra, Ghana.

"Imperialism vaunts its exploitation of the wealth of Africa for the benefit of civilisation. In reality, from the very nature of its system of production for profit it strangles the real wealth of the continent – the creative capacity of the African people. The African faces a long and difficult road and he will need guidance. But he will tread it fast because he will walk upright."

CLR James: The Black Jacobins

"Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, and most of the 19th century, the exploitation of Africa and African labour contributed to the source for the accumulation of capital to be reinvested in Western Europe. The African contribution to European capitalist growth extended over such vital sectors as shipping, insurance, the formation companies, capitalist agriculture, technology and the manufacture of machinery".

Walter Rodney: How Europe underdeveloped Africa

"Central and South American gold and silver – mined by Africans – played a crucial role in meeting the need for coin in the expanding capitalist money economy of Western Europe, while African gold was also significant in that respect. African gold helped the Portuguese to finance further navigations around the Cape of Good Hope and into Asia ever since the 15th century. African gold was also the main source for the mintage of Dutch gold coins in the 17th century; helping Amsterdam to become the financial capital of Europe".

Walter Rodney, prominent scholar and native of Guyana

and social content and purpose that will generate their well-being and uplift."

Present at this illustrious gathering was also "Mwalimu" Julius Nyerere, independence leader and first president of Tanzania, who also embraced African socialism and the notion of ujamaa (familyhood).

In the words of Nyerere:

"I was the first to use the word ujamaa in order to explain the kind of life we wish to live in our country. The word ujamaa denotes the kind of life lived by a man and his family – father, mother, children and near relatives. Our Africa was a poor country before it was invaded and ruled by foreigners. There were no rich people in Africa. There was no person or group of persons who had exclusive claim to the ownership of the land. Land was the property of all the people, and those who used it did not do so because it was their property. They used it because they needed it, and it was their responsibility to use it carefully and hand it over in good condition for use by future generations...Wealth belonged to the family as a whole; and every member of a family had the right to the use of family property. No one used wealth for the purpose of dominating others. This is how we want to live as a nation. We want the whole nation to live as one family."

Leopold Senghor, poet, philosopher and President of Senegal, was also at the founding of the OAU. Influenced by the writings of W.E.B. Du Bois and the Harlem Renaissance, together with his fellow au-

thor, Aime Cesaire, from Martinique, Senghor had founded a new artistic and intellectual movement, Negritude, which tried to bring together the sum total of African values of civilisation. Their writings also attacked racism. As Cesaire wrote in his seminal work, *Return to My Native Land*:

“But the work of man is only just beginning

And it remains to man to conquer all the violence embedded in the recesses of his passion

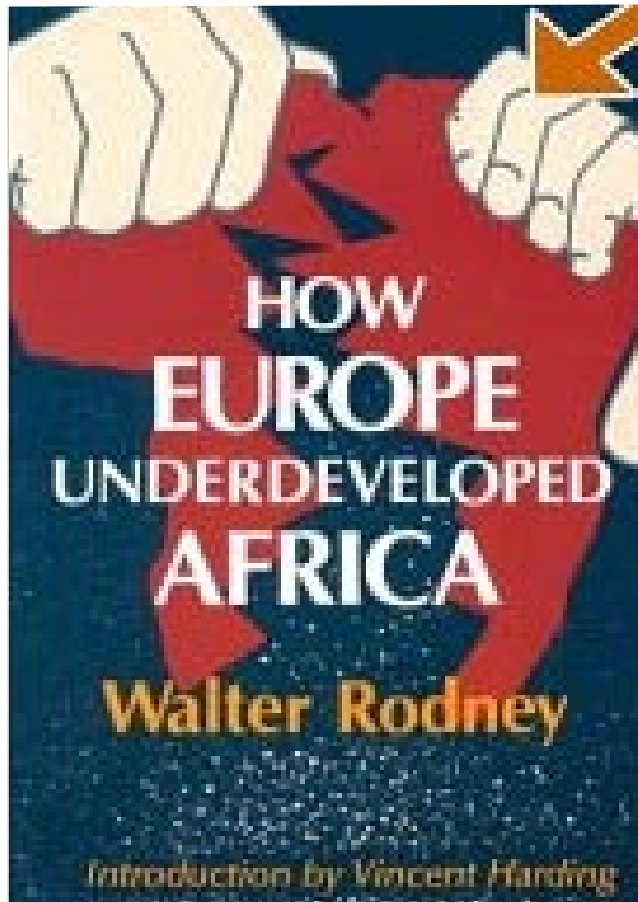
And no race possesses the monopoly of beauty, of intelligence, of freedom

There is a place for all at the rendezvous of victory.”

Other African leaders present at the historical founding meeting included Modibo Keita, President of Mali, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, the governor-general of Northern Nigeria whose publications included *Renascent Africa* which called for Africa’s rediscovery and renewal, Sekou Toure, President of Guinea, Ben Bella, leader and first Prime Minister of Algeria and Gamal Abdel Nasser, who had fought in the Palestine war in 1948 and later became the first president of Egypt.

The OAU helped to strengthen bonds between African countries and to resolve conflicts, but there were also tensions between countries over the years that hindered its progress on various fronts.

In our times, the OAU has since transformed itself into the African Union (AU) so as to respond to modern day challenges and to expedite African political co-operation and economic integration. The new African Union, even in its infant stages, has succeeded in being a force for peace and democracy and a champion of economic development. Its socio-economic project, the New Partner-



Likewise, since the motivation of colonialism, whatever protean forms it may take, is well and truly economic, colonialism itself being but the institution of political bonds fastening colonies to a colonialist country, with the primary object of the metropolitan economic advantages, it is essential that a liberated territory should not bind her economy to that of the ousted rulers.

*Kwame Nkrumah
Consciencism*

What is the Harlem Renaissance?

The Harlem Renaissance was a flowering of the arts and culture in the African American community from approximately 1917 to 1935. It was a literary enterprise and it also promoted black music and black art. The Negro Arts Movement was formed by enthusiasts who sought to mobilise the Talented Tenth as formulated in an essay written by Du Bois in 1903. Writers such as Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, Zora Neale Hurston, Nella Larson, Jessie Redmon Fausset, Richard Wright and Ralph Ellison were among those associated with the movement. The Charleston and the Jitterbug were among the dances that came to be associated with the Movement over a long period of time and jazz flourished during this period and the big bands music of Duke Ellington and others. It was somewhat of an elitist movement, but it was a rich in creativity and produced art that is still appreciated today.

ship for Africa’s Development, is trying to bring about Africa’s sustained development through a range of interventions and programmes in a range of sectors at country, regional and continental levels. Its architects have at the centre of their concern, the practical realisation of an African renaissance that has preoccupied African thinkers, poets, philosophers from the late 1800s to our present times. In the realisation of an African renaissance, their efforts have also been focused on working towards a more humane world in which Africans and other marginalised people can participate as equals in the global economy and in the making of a new world order.

The great scholar, Frantz Fanon, born in Martinique, , speaking 44 years ago, emphasised the need for a new humanism and that Africans should build their nations: “the building of a nation is of necessity accompanied by the discovery and encouragement of universalising values. Far from keeping aloof from other nations, therefore, it is national liberation which leads the nation to plays its part on the stage of history. It is at the heart of national consciousness that international consciousness lives and grows. And this two-fold emerging is ultimately the source of all culture” (from *The Wretched of the Earth*). It is precisely a definition of this new humanism that is being sharpened and enhanced and that achieves new meaning in practice, as the African leadership and peoples, inspired by their past, nevertheless shape a new path for Africa’s development in the twenty first century. ▀

Some renaissance roots in South Africa

SOGA

This article takes a brief look at some of the leaders and writers who are still cited by our leadership today in their efforts to develop South Africa, the region and the continent as a whole.

One such intellectual and activist was the Reverend Tiyo Soga, an alma mater of Lovedale, who against all odds became one of the first Africans to be educated abroad. Lovedale was a mission school established for the education of Africans by the Free Church of Scotland on the banks of the Tyume River.

Soga through his academic intuition became synonymous with the call for a free and just society by advancing the dawn of a better day amongst his people. An ordained priest and baptized in Scotland in 1848, Soga not only preached the gospel according to John but also used his journalistic skills to write hymns of inspiration calling for an end to the suffering of his people at the hands of the colonizers.

An urgency to end the misery and helplessness of the indigenous people saw the emergence of leaders from different sects of backgrounds who, at great expense to their lives and families, protested against institutionalised racism and demanded an inclusive society.

DUBE

John Langalibalele Dube, a teacher and theologian, held awareness campaigns throughout his life in South Africa and in the United States stressing the need for self-reliance among Africans. Influenced by the teachings and works of Booker T. Washington, Dube established the Ohlange Institute in Natal in 1901, which emphasised the philosophy of self-reliance and later founded an isiZulu newspaper, *Ilanga Lase Natal* in 1903.

Inspired by the forth-righteous-

Nineteenth century colonial South Africa saw the emergence of intellectuals and activists who became instrumental in challenging the status quo of colonialism and being treated as second-class citizens in the country of their birth.

ness of a generation of leaders who stood firm in their beliefs for a free Africa, an extraordinary revolutionary and cousin of Dube, Pixley ka Isaka Seme prophesied about an Africa that is “awakening from the four corners of the earth”.

An Ivy League graduate of Columbia University in the United States and Oxford University in Britain and a qualified lawyer, Seme emphasised the importance of the “regeneration of Africa” by Africans on the continent and the Diaspora.

The convergence of Africans from diverse backgrounds in Bloemfontein in 1912 to set up the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), an organisation that would profile their needs was initiated by Seme who at age 32, made use of his oratorical skills by giving the keynote address on the significance of unity in the fight against racial oppression. It is notable to mention the participation and presence of intellectuals such as W.B. Rubusana and Sol T. Plaatje, renown journalist and

novelist, at the same congregation as well as the singing of Soga’s hymn ‘Lizalis Dingalako Thixo We Nyaniso’ (Fulfill Thy Promise, God of Truth).

The SANNC championed passive resistance with the government of

the day and lodged petitions to voice its grievances with the hope that their demands would be acceded to. The founding members of SANNC were Dr. W. Rubusana, T. Mapikela, Rev. J.L. Dube, Sol Plaatje and S. Msale.

Ka Seme called for the “demon of racialism” to be defeated to create a consciousness that would lead to the attainment of a higher standard of living among the Africans. He further believed that the regeneration of Africa would translate into a “unique civilization” that would be added to the world.

In his award winning essay titled “The Regeneration of Africa” where he scooped the George William Curtis Medal at Columbia University in 1906, he eulogised that a “brighter day is upon Africa. Already I seem to see her chains dissolved her desert

“A brighter day is upon Africa. Already I seem to see her chains dissolved her desert plains red with harvest, her Abyssinia and her Zululand the seats of science and of religion, reflecting the glory of the rising sun from the spires of their churches and universities. Her Congo and her Gambia whitened with commerce, her crowded cities sending forth the hum of business, and all her sons employed in advancing the victories of peace – greater and more abiding that the spoils of war”.

Oliver Tambo was a fierce critic of injustice, oppression and the ideas of reaction. With no trace of selfishness or arrogance, he saw himself as an ordinary foot soldier, the unsung infantryman in the army of ordinary working people of our country, of Africa and the world whom he loved.

He had the power of vision to understand the historic privilege granted to those charged with the defeat of the apartheid crime against humanity, and the equally historic privilege given to the generations charged with the responsibility to build a South Africa that truly belongs to all who live in it.

He was quintessentially a renaissance intellectual, eminently proficient in mathematics, the natural sciences, the law, pedagogy and music.

Gifted with learning, a passion for learning and a logical mind as well as a deeply-entrenched humanism, he knew that his task as an intellectual and an African was to destroy the old and to build the new, to overcome that which is dehumanising and to dare to create the qualitatively new.

Extract from the Second NIEP Oliver Tambo Lecture by President Thabo Mbeki, 11 August 2000, Johannesburg

“The regeneration of Africa means that a new and unique civilization is soon to be added to the world. The African is not a proletarian in the world of science and art. He has precious creations of his own, of ivory, of copper and of gold, fine, plaited willow-ware, and weapons of superior workmanship. Civilization resembles an organic being in its development – it is born, it perishes, and it can propagate itself. More particularly it resembles a plant, it takes root in the teeming earth, and when the seeds fall in other soils, new varieties sprout up. The most thoroughly spiritual and humanistic – indeed a regeneration moral and eternal”,

The Regeneration of Africa, Pixley ka Isaka Seme

“The ancient pride of the peoples of our continent asserted itself and gave us hope in the form of giants such as Queen Regent Labotisbeni of Swaziland, Mohammed V of Morocco, Abdul Gamal Nasser of Egypt, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Murtala Mohammed of Nigeria, Patrice Lumumba of Zaire, Amilcar Cabral of Guinea Bissau, Aghostino Neto of Angola, Eduardo Mondlane and Samora Machel of Mozambique, Seretse Khama of Botswana, WEB Du Bois and Martin Luther King of America, Marcus Garvey of Jamaica, Albert Luthuli and Oliver Tambo of South Africa.”

Former President Nelson Mandela



Reverend Tiyo Soga



Sol Plaatje



Anton Lembede

plains red with harvest, her Abyssinia and her Zululand the seats of science and of religion, reflecting the glory of the rising sun from the spires of their churches and universities. Her Congo and her Gambia whitened with commerce, her crowded cities sending forth the hum of business, and all her sons employed in advancing the victories of peace – greater and more abiding than the spoils of war”.

By strongly supporting the participation of Africans in economic activity, Seme founded the “Native Farmer’s Association of Africa Limited” as a vehicle through which land could be purchased for use for commercial purposes.

Also a teacher and theologian, Rubusana after his sojourn to London attending the ‘Universal Races Congress’ and having met with Dr. W.E.B. du Bois, embraced nationalism that set the scene for the creation of a nationalistic organisation in Bloemfontein in 1912. As president of the South African Native Convention, he championed for the rights of his people to be recognised by leading a delegation to London in 1909 in a move to expunge the ‘colour bar clauses’ from the draft constitution.

This nationalism also found expression through hymns and songs of authors such as Enoch Mankayi Sontoga who in 1897 composed our



Delegation from the South African Native National Congress (forerunner of the ANC) that went to England in 1914 to convey the objections of the African people to the 1913 Land Act. Back row (from left) Walter Rubusana and Saul Nsane. Front row – Thomas Mapikela, John Dube and Sol T Plaatje.

national anthem *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* which also became the national anthem of Tanzania and Zambia. *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* was first recorded in 1923 by another famous leader of the liberation struggle, Sol Plaatje.

PLAATJE

Plaatje strongly opposed the 1913 Native Land Act. Plaatje up to this day remains one of South Africa's outstanding contributors to the development of African literature. His classic 'Native Life in South Africa', chronicles the forced removals of Africans from their land by the repressive government. His novel, *Mhudi*, is reported to be the first book to be written in English by a black South African and it is known for its beauty and delicacy. Plaatje is also well known for his translation skills when he translated William Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and *Comedy of Errors* into Setswana.

He formed part of a deputation to London in 1914 to protest and persuade the British government to reject the constitutionality of the 1913

Native Land Act. The passing of the Land Act would have adverse effects on the African population by confining it to a small piece of land and the deputation remained convinced that the intervention of Britain as a power that had colonial jurisdiction over the Union of South Africa established in 1910 was the correct approach to settle the matter. However, their efforts proved fruitless as Britain refused to address their concerns and intervene with the 'internal affairs' of the Union.

LEMBEDE

Anton Lembede did his articles under the tutorship of Seme for admission as an attorney. Lembede was well-known as being more militant. It is said he became radical as a result of what he perceived to be slow progress achieved by deputations to London to try to change the lives of Africans for the better.

LUTHULI

Another luminary was Albert Luthuli, a great political and religious leader, who, in his acceptance speech as

the first African winner of the Nobel Peace Prize for Peace in 1961, saluted the courageousness of the people of Africa and citizens of the world in the fight against apartheid when he uttered that:

"High amongst them – the things that have sustained us, stand the magnificent support of the progressive people and governments throughout the world, amongst whom number the people and government of the country of which I am today guest; our brothers in Africa; especially in the Independent African States; organizations who share the outlook we embrace in countries scattered right across the face of the globe; the United Nations Organization jointly and some of its member nations singly. In their defence of peace in the world through actively upholding the quality of man all these groups have reinforced our undying faith in the unassailable rightness and justness of our cause. To all of them I say: Alone we would have been weak. Our heartfelt appreciation of your acts of support of us, we cannot adequately

express, nor can we ever forget; now or in the future when is behind us, and South Africa's freedom rests in the hands of all her people".

He concluded by saying "let me invite Africa to cast her eyes beyond the past and to some extent the present with their woes and tribulations, trials and failures, and some successes, and see herself an emerging continent, bursting to freedom through the shell of centuries of serfdom. This is Africa's age – the dawn of her fulfilment, yes, the moment when she must grapple with destiny to reach the summits of sublimity saying – ours was a fight for noble values and worthy ends, and not for lands and the enslavement of man. Africa is a vital subject matter in the world of today, a focal point of world interest and concern. Could it not be that history has delayed her rebirth for a purpose? The situation confronts her with inescapable challenges, but more importantly with opportunities for service to herself and mankind. She evades the challenges and neglects the opportunities to her shame, if not her doom. How she sees her destiny is a more vital and rewarding quest than bemoaning her past with its humiliations and sufferings".

He also became the author of a



*Nobel Peace Prize winner,
Chief Albert Luthuli*

*"Our cause is the cause of
equality between nations
and people".*

much-read biography, *Let My People Go*.

ZK MATTHEWS

The first African to graduate with an LLB degree at the University South Africa and a cousin of Plaatje, internationally respected Professor ZK Matthews volunteered his services to better the cause of African interests through activities that undermined the

authority of the apartheid system. As an academic, Professor Matthews believed that an educated people were an additional incentive in advancing the cause of the liberation of this country.

A strong proponent of Pan-Africanism, Professor Matthews in his 1961 Third TB Davie Memorial Lecture titled "African Awakening and the Universities", at the University of Cape Town, said that the "Africa with which we have to deal to-day is one which is full of new attitudes to old practices and new types of reaction to previously existing systems. The central factor in the African awakening is the emergence of new ideas, strange men and other ideas. It is in the minds of Africans that revolutions which are rocking the foundations of African societies are taking place. The continent of Africa is a large slice of the world, in terms of human and natural resources is an area which can no longer be ignored whatever the position may have been in the past. The peace and security of the modern world demand that the problems of Africa emergent should be tackled with energy and determination and that all the skill, the ingenuity and the collective wisdom of all interested parties should be brought to bear on the situation".

"I am an African.

I owe my being to the hills and the valleys, the mountains and the glades, the rivers, the deserts, the trees, the flowers, the seas and the ever-changing seasons that define the face of our native land.

My body has frozen in our frosts and in our latter day snows. It has thawed in the warmth of our sunshine and melted in the heat of the midday sun. The crack and the rumble of the summer thunders, lashed by startling lightning, have been a cause both of trembling and of hope.

The fragrances of nature have been as pleasant to us as the sight of the wild blooms of the citizens of the veld.

The dramatic shapes of the Drakensberg, the soil-coloured waters of the Lekoa, iQili noThukela, and the sands of the Kgalagadi, have all been panels

of the set on the natural stage on which we act out the foolish deeds of the theatre of our day.

At times, and in fear, I have wondered whether I should concede equal citizenship of our country to the leopard and the lion, the elephant and the springbok, the hyena, the black mamba and the pestilential mosquito.

A human presence among all these, a feature on the face of our native land thus defined, I know that none dare challenge me when I say - I am an African!

I owe my being to the Khoi and the San whose desolate souls haunt the great expanses of the beautiful Cape - they who fell victim to the most merciless genocide our native land has ever seen, they who were the first to lose their lives in the struggle to defend

our freedom and dependence and they who, as a people, perished in the result.

I am the grandchild of the warrior men and women that Hints and Sekhukhune led, the patriots that Cetshwayo and Mphephu took to battle, the soldiers Moshoeshoe and Ngungunyane taught never to dishonour the cause of freedom.

My mind and my knowledge of myself are formed by the victories that are the jewels in our African crown, the victories we earned from Isandhlwana to Khartoum, as Ethiopians and as the Ashanti of Ghana, as the Berbers of the desert.

All this I know and know to be true because I am an African!

Extract from speech by Thabo Mbeki, then Deputy President of South Africa, at the adoption of the new constitution in 1996

The thinking of Seme, Dube, Plaatje, Luthuli, Matthews and others would influence the present generation of South African leaders as they engaged in new post liberation struggles to create a more inclusive society, a better South Africa in a better Africa and a better world.

In the latter half of the twentieth century, the writings of a generation of South African thinkers across the political divides and across the colour lines would also help to mould the thoughts of previous generations and shape the Africa to come.

But our political leadership did not forget to pay tribute to those earlier generations who had nearly been forgotten and who had first spoken of renewal and renaissance.

Addressing the Parliament of Zimbabwe in Harare in 1997, Nelson Mandela, the first democratically elected President of South Africa, said that "time has come for Africa to take full responsibility for her woes, use the immense collective wisdom it possesses to make a reality of the ideal of the African renaissance whose time has come".

He also pointed out that:

"It is a renaissance that must mean that Africa refuses to be a passive onlooker in a changing world,

hapless victim to modern machinations of the forces historically responsible for her woes. Only in this way can Africa assert her right to be an equal partner in world affairs. Indeed, we have the right to claim and the obligation to ensure that Africa occupies her rightful place in the new world order in the making. We in South Africa are convinced that our region and our continent have set out along the new road to realise Africa's dream of her renaissance. In the relations that we build across the continent; in the integration that we forge in our region; and in cementing the kinship between our two countries, we are inspired by this new dawn".

It is in this fulfilment of an African dream and with it, bonds of friendship across borders and oceans, that our

"Tribute is due to the great thinkers of our continent who have been and are trying to move all of us to understand the intimate inter-connection between the great issues of our day of peace, stability, democracy, human rights, co-operation and development". We know it is a matter of fact we have it in ourselves as Africans to change all this. We must, in action, assert our will to do so. We must, in action, say that there is no obstacle big enough to stop us from bringing about a new African renaissance"

Former President Nelson Mandela

current President Thabo Mbeki, is advancing within the borders of Africa and across the oceans of the world, the concept of a New Africa.

In his own words, President Mbeki says that the "time has come that Africa must take her rightful place in global affairs. The time has come to end the marginalisation of Africa. We call on the rest of the world to work with us as partners. This is a moment of hope for our continent and its peoples. We shall act together to build a brighter future, working together with all of us, governments, parliamentarians, trade unions, private sector, civil society, religious communities, cultural workers, for a better future for the peoples of Africa"(speech at the launch of African Union on 9 July 2002). ▸



"We are engaged in an historic struggle for the victory of the African Renaissance because we are inspired by, among others, the Haitian revolution.

We are engaged in struggle for the regeneration of all Africans, in the Americas, the Caribbean, Africa and everywhere, because we want to ensure the struggle of our people here in Haiti, in the Caribbean, in the Americas, Europe and Africa must never be in vain.

In this way, we will contribute to the renaissance of Africans everywhere in the world and ensure we are no longer an object of ridicule and pity, nor a tool of exploitation to be discarded at the fancy of the powerful, but that we become what we really and truly are: proud and confident human beings who occupy their pride of place as equals among the peoples of the world."

President Thabo Mbeki, on the African Renaissance

“Towards Unity and United Action by Africans and the African Diaspora in the Caribbean for a Better World: The Case of South Africa “ was the theme of the South Africa - African Union - Caribbean Diaspora Conference held in Kingston, Jamaica on 16 to 18 March 2005. Over 250 delegates from Africa and the African Diaspora in the Caribbean participated in the Conference. The participants included Ministers and Parliamentarians, diplomats, business people, academics, civil society, non-governmental organisations, the media, cultural organisations, Rastafari and the youth.

Report on The African Diaspora Conference

The sub-themes of the Conference were: Pan-Africanism in the 21st Century, International Affairs, Peace and Security; The Report on the United Nations High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change; Democracy and Good Governance; Regional Development and Integration; Economic Co-operation and Trade Links; Historical, Socio-Cultural and Religious Commonalities; South-South Co-operation and Solidarity and Knowledge Sharing.

The Conference, which formed part of South Africa’s ten years of democracy celebrations, was the result of the initiative of the Government of South Africa to acknowledge the contribution of the African Diaspora in the anti-apartheid struggle. The Conference, which was co-hosted by South Africa, the African Union (AU) and the Government of Jamaica, contributed to the efforts of the AU to reach out to the Diaspora.

The objectives of the Conference were to:

- reaffirm the historical and cultural bonds between Africa and the African Diaspora in the Caribbean;
- create linkages between Africa and the Diaspora and to initiate dialogue on common challenges;
- strengthen partnerships and co-operation between the peoples of the two regions;
- establish mechanisms for building stronger political and economic relations between Africa and the Caribbean;



When I passed through London en route to Kingston this past weekend, the British media were celebrating the publication of the Blair Commission on Africa's Report. Though this report contains nothing that is significantly new, the profile it has been given suggest that its validity resides in its sponsorship, a European head of government, rather than its actual content. While it is highly commendable that a British Prime Minister regards the issues of African poverty and under-development as important, is it not time that collective African initiatives dominated discourse about our continent rather than his?

The trans-Atlantic African communities must interrogate that matter with the gravity that it deserves and provide answers that will take us forward. There are important developments taking place in Africa, many of them based on our own efforts. The reversal of the attempted coup in Togo in recent weeks is a case in point. It is equally significant that it was action by ECOWAS that achieved this.

We remain engaged with the issues of the Cote d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, Sierra Leone and Liberia. The struggle to achieve peace and political stability on the mother continent is going to require the same measure or commitment as well as the solidarity that brought us freedom during the 20th century. Yet it is equally true that African capacity is gravely constrained by the limited finances of the continent and the huge developmental challenges facing every African country.

Extracts from the paper by the Minister of Arts and Culture, Dr Pallo Jordan on The Contemporary Relevance of Pan-Africanism and the Challenge of Globalisation delivered at the Diaspora Conference.



- identify new opportunities for future collaborations that can be of mutual benefit in political, economic, social and cultural spheres;
- develop a common agenda for confronting common problems between Africa and the Caribbean;
- and support the implementation of AU decisions on the African Diaspora.

It recalled a decision of the first Extra-Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of States and Government in March 2003, which decided to integrate the Diaspora into the policy framework of the AU. This was done by amending the Constitutive Act, to provide a new Article that invites and provides full participation of the African Diaspora as an important part of the African Continent.

The decisions of the Executive Council in Sun City in 2003 and the decisions of the AU First Conference of Intellectuals from Africa in Dakar, Senegal in October 2004 were noted.

Some of the efforts of the AU to reach out to and deepen or expand contacts with the African Diaspora in various regions of the world include encouraging and supporting the creation of AU Diaspora Chapters; including the Diaspora in the policy organs of the AU; making the African Diaspora the 6th region of the Continent.

It traced the origins of Pan Africanism and the shared history of Africa and the Diaspora over the past five hundred years. The Conference confirmed that Pan Africanism remained a relevant strategy for addressing the problems of Africa. The vision that guided the Pan Africanists in their efforts to promote unity, solidarity and co-operation among the people of Africa and the Diaspora and the right of all people to freedom and to the right to govern themselves without restrictions from any foreign power and to control their own destinies (as expressed in the Declaration of the 5th Pan African Conference in Manchester, Britain in 1945), was still relevant today.

It also paid tribute to the role played by Pan Africanists from Africa and the Diaspora in the affirmation of their common identity. Some of the Pan Africanists mentioned were Edward Wilmot Blyden, Marcus Garvey, Norman Cameron, Henry Sylvester Williams, George Padmore, Aime Cesaire, Walter Rodney, Franz Fanon, among others (from the Diaspora) and Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Sekou Toure, Kenneth Kaunda, Jomo Kenyatta and Leopold Senghor (from Africa). The Conference also acknowledged the Rastafari, Maroons and other Afro-Centric spiritual movements that promote an Afro-Caribbean identity and Afro-Centric value system and noted that they serve as positive cultural forces of integration in Africa and the Caribbean.

It discussed 'The Report on the United Nations High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change' and commended Africa for having met collectively at Ministerial level and on having decided on an African Common Position on the Report



Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma addressing the Diaspora Conference.

(The Ezulwini Consensus). The Conference noted that CARICOM (The Caribbean Community) was considering their position on the High Level Panel Report. The AU encouraged the Caribbean countries to lend their support to the African Common Position on the Reform of the United Nations Security Council, including 2 permanent Security Council seats and 5 non-permanent Security Council seats with all the privileges of permanent membership including the right to veto. The Conference noted that Jamaica as current Chair of the G77 + China, would play an important role in defending the developing world at the upcoming 60th United Nations General Assembly Summit. The Conference also noted the clout that the AU and CARICOM have in terms of numbers (53 + 16 = +/- one third of UN membership).

It pledged solidarity with people who were still straggling against colonialism, occupation or invasion of threat. The Conference expressed concern for the troubled situation in Haiti, the oldest independent African State, and called on the AU and CARICOM to help the people of Haiti to find a lasting solution to their country's predicament.

The South Africa, African Union, Caribbean Diaspora Conference got a positive reception in the media and good exposure.

“Our presence in the Caribbean also gives us an opportunity to make our acquaintance with and salute such great heroes as Nanny of the Maroons, Tacky, Sam Sharpe, Paul Bogle and of course Norman Manley. Accordingly, we remember all those gallant fighters from the Caribbean, who stood up against slavery, racism and oppression, among them the great Toussaint L’Ouverture, Marcus Garvey, Alexander Bustamante as well as Jose Marti, Simon Bolivar and Harriet Tubman. Yet they knew fully well that theirs was only a humble contribution in making the world a better place for Africans to live. They laid the foundations for all of us. Now it is our task to follow their lead.

The valiant history of these Africans stolen from their homes continued to be a guiding light to those Africans still on the continent dispossessed of their land. Thus on both sides of the Atlantic we wrestled hard to break the backbone of colonialism.”

From the Opening Statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of South Africa, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, at the South Africa, Africa Union, Caribbean Diaspora Conference, Kingston, Jamaica, 17 March 2005

“We have reached the end of a historic occasion for the people of the Caribbean and of Africa. As brothers and sisters on different continents bound by the same umbilical cord that gave us not only a common past but a shared destiny, we have spent the past three days strengthening our connections through a very stimulating, frank and enriching discussion about ourselves and the world around us. We have reflected on our common past, our different experiences, the demands of the present, and together we have dreamt about our common destiny. We have deliberated on a range of issues - from the question of reparations to poverty eradication, from debt cancellation to peace and security. We have discussed health, culture, the environment, gender equality, economic co-operation, trade, knowledge sharing, integration, South South co-operation, to mention but a few.

I think it would be right to conclude that we have to take our destiny into our own hands. We have to be united and undertake united actions in a number of crucial areas. That in President Fidel Castro’s words, we should globalise solidarity. Our strength is in our unity and through unity in action.”

Extract from the Closing Statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of South Africa, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, at the South Africa, Africa Union, Caribbean Diaspora Conference, Kingston, Jamaica, 18 March 2005



PARTICIPANTS MADE THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

- The need for effective reform of the United Nations Security Council and holistically addressing the threats and challenges of the global system of governance.
- The central role of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security as well as the inseparable nature of the security agendas (of the North) and the development agendas (of the South) and the need to comprehensively address poverty eradication and debt cancellation.
- Countries in Africa and the Caribbean were encouraged to work together to ensure final outcomes of the High Level Panel Report and the Sachs Report are consistent with attainment of NEPAD and the Millennium Development Goals. Regional integration should include all stakeholders including trade unions, youth organisations, civil society, religious/spiritual groups, the private sector and the media.
- African and Caribbean states should ensure that mechanisms are put in place to facilitate interconnectedness of the people in both regions in all spheres, for example abolishing visas between Caribbean and Africa and putting in place mechanisms to facilitate the transfer of competence/skills between the regions.
- The need for effective reform of all organs of the United Nations, particularly the strengthening of ECOSOCC (Economic, Social and Cultural Council) as an equally important organ in driving the international security and development agendas.
- Science and technology can be used as a tool of integration and

development. There is a need to develop centres of excellence for the mutual benefit of Africa and the Caribbean and to create and develop opportunities for top scientists in both regions.

- The need to develop a data bank of experts and research institutions in both regions and to encourage collaboration between them.
- Commended CARICOM's efforts in achieving regional integration, in particular the establishment of the Single Market Economy in 2005, which means there is free movement of people and capital as well as foreign policy co-ordination among member states.
- Noted the development potential of Africa and the Diaspora through the contribution of migrant remittances and through strategies to promote the flow of investment between the regions.
- The need for institutionalization of formal relations between CARICOM and the AU to reinforce ties and forge mutually beneficial relationship in addressing common challenges, while trying to have a common position on these issues.
- The eradication of trade barriers and the promotion of investment between Africa and the Caribbean and the promotion of trade diversification policies.
- Africa and the Caribbean countries to co-ordinate their work within multilateral institutions, by pooling their resources and sharing technical expertise.
- The need for further dialogue to arrive at a common position on the issue of reparation and repatriation.



- The need to profile women leaders in Africa and The Caribbean to raise awareness and educate about the rich history of women's leadership in Africa.
- The importance of creating an enabling and empowering environment for women's emancipation and gender equality.
- The need for the AU and CARICOM to formulate alternate means of communicating with each other and the world, and for both organisations to create effective outreach strategies to disseminate their policies, programmes, positive images and ideas.
- Recognize that the impact of capitalism and globalization on democracy and governance should be examined as emphasis on 'the

market' can be problematic.

- Traditional leadership roles and their contribution to democratic government should be examined.
- Democracy, good governance, transparency and accountability should promote real human development, dignity and freedom.
- The Rastafari, Maroons and other Afro-Centric spiritual movements that promote an Afro-Caribbean identity and Afro-Centric value system serve as (positive) cultural forces of integration in Africa and the Caribbean.
- Knowledge of history should be promoted and shared, especially among the youth.
- The need to empower legislatures in Africa and the Diaspora in the Caribbean. Opportunities for closer collaboration of mutual benefit between African and Caribbean countries in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres are:

POLITICAL:

- Granting the AU observer status at CARICOM and vice versa as first steps to bonding between these institutions and leading towards the formation of an African Brazilian Caribbean (ABC) Commission.
- Establishing bilateral, joint, diplomatic relations between African and Caribbean states.
- Building together close links with emerging economic power houses.
- Strengthening, on an agreed Programme, relations with the North.
- Encouraging travel facilitation, including signing of agreements requiring novisas for travel between African and Caribbean countries

ECONOMIC:

- Collaborating in the delivery of information technology services.
- Building links to harness genetic and biological research in Africa and the Caribbean.
- Establishing viable air and sea links between Africa and the Caribbean.
- Facilitating and promoting investment in Africa by the Caribbean and Brazil, and vice versa.

- Pooling skills to transfer to Africa and the Caribbean.
- Developing a joint energy approach.

EDUCATION AND HEALTH:

- Facilitating and promoting exchanges of students and faculty members between universities and research institutions in Africa, Brazil and the Caribbean.
- Collaborating fully on an African-Caribbean basis, and through, international bodies, to fight HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis.

SPORTS AND CULTURE:

- Collaborating in sports.
- Facilitating and promoting exchanges of students and workers in the field of arts and culture.

Adopted Statement and Plan of Action. The Programme of Action states that:

- The AU and CARJCOM should continue to develop a concrete mechanism for the institutionalization of the relations between the two bodies.
- The African and Caribbean governments should explore and develop concrete measures for promoting linkages between the two regions in the following priority areas: trade and investment; science and technology; education; culture; travel/transportation and youth exchanges.
- African and Caribbean organs of civil society should explore and develop concrete measures for promoting linkages and collaboration between the two regions.



- Africa and the Caribbean, through their regional organizations, should explore ways of harmonizing international diplomacy in particular by utilizing the forthcoming United Nations Millennium Review Summit and the World Trade Organisation Doha Development Round, to advance the agenda set out by this Conference.
- It was discussed that the next meeting would be hosted in South Africa under the auspices of the African Union. Dates to be identified in future.
- It was decided that the Preparatory Committee for the SA, AU, African Diaspora Conference will remain the same for continuation.
- The need to include participation of other Departments and organisations in the coming Conferences was identified e.g. Department of Trade and Industry, Department of Science and Technology, Department of Safety and Security, the Presidency and other relevant departments.
- In the following Conferences Branch Americas and Europe and Branch Africa Multilateral will co-ordinate jointly.

The theme of the Conference “Towards Unity and United Action of South Africans and the African Diaspora in the Caribbean for a Better World: the Case of South Africa” is an appropriate one as it speaks to the need for a concerted effort, a joining of purposes, to achieve sustainable economic and social development in order to enhance the quality of life of our peoples.

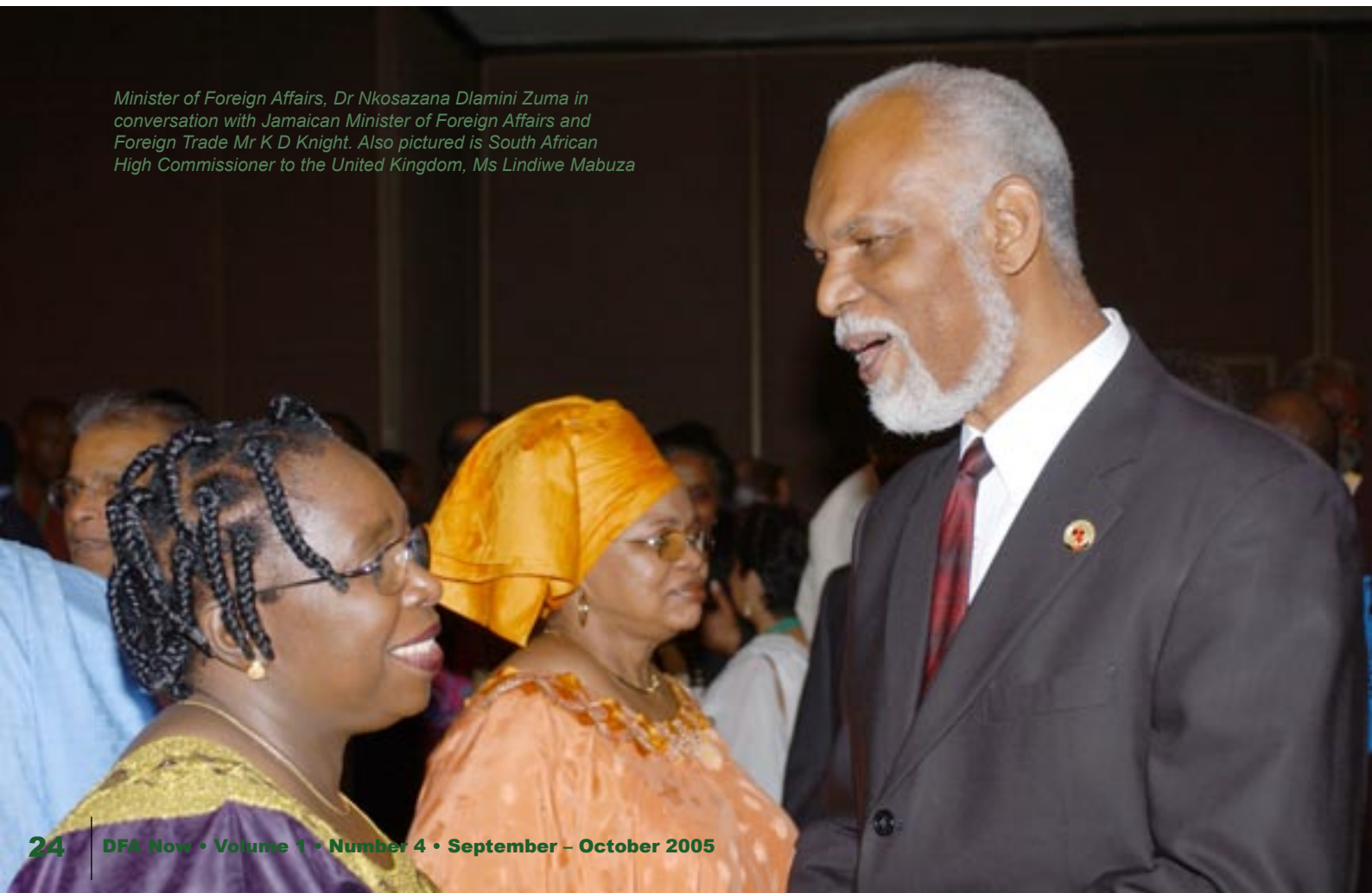
To escape the paradigm of dependence which we have inherited, it is mandatory that we now channel our energies to develop a programme of action tailored to our needs and circumstance, as well as create and build on partnerships both amongst ourselves and with the rest of the world.

This conference will not only provide a platform for reflection on the historic solidarity between the peoples of Africa and the Caribbean, but will also strengthen the resolve and determination of Africans everywhere to confront, decisively so, the plight and predicament of the continent and the circumstance of the Diaspora.

As part of the Diaspora, Jamaica and the wider Caribbean was always conscious of the role it had to play in the struggle against Apartheid. We continue in our commitment to fight against racism and oppression as well as to empower and advance the Black Race. We not only considered it an honour to join in the fight against Apartheid but saw it as our duty to rid the world of this scourge. So today we celebrate with South Africa and Africans everywhere the liberation of our ancestral home, a liberty that was paid for in the blood, sweat and tears of our brothers and sisters.

Extract of Opening Remarks from Jamaican Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, Honourable K.D. Knight at the Diaspora Conference held 16 – 18 March 2005 in Jamaica

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma in conversation with Jamaican Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade Mr K D Knight. Also pictured is South African High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, Ms Lindiwe Mabuza





I, for one, am proud of the contribution of Jamaica and the Caribbean region to the struggle against colonialism and apartheid in Africa through the works of our writers, musicians, orators, politicians and artists. The music of Bob Marley, of Peter Tosh and Jimmy Cliff has inspired Africans and non-Africans alike to not only recognize the continuation of the struggle for liberation and social justice, but to champion the international movement against colonialism and neo-colonialism. Songs such as "War" and "Zimbabwe" inspired freedom fighters and became anthems for change.

Nor should we overlook the refusal of our outstanding cricketers, Lloyd, Richards, Holding and their colleagues who refused the lure of money to play in racist South Africa. The year 1994 represented the culmination of the move-

ment towards the liberation in Africa. The victory over apartheid was the outcome of the activist struggle of those who were oppressed. The contribution of the global anti-apartheid movement was critical to this outcome. Jamaica is proud of having sustained its commitment to the struggle against apartheid. Under Norman Manley, we were second only to India in declaring sanctions against South African products. Jamaicans of my generation could not bring ourselves to consume any product from a package marked 'Made in South Africa'. Successive Jamaican Administrations, from both sides of the political fence, have continued the struggle

*Extract from Address by Prime Minister of Jamaica,
P.J. Patterson at Opening Ceremony of Diaspora Conference on
March 16, 2005, Jamaica*

The South African initiative, that we are celebrating here today, is an indication of what should and could be done to facilitate the success of the Diaspora agenda. We are proud to be associated with this enterprise and would wish that other Member States were challenged by it, especially in the sphere of intergovernmental relations.

This conference spear-headed by the South African and Jamaican Governments is, therefore, a good opportunity to go one step further that we have done so far: to build deeper South-South Cooperation, Unity and Solidarity, to generate a dialogue on our rich and diverse, yet Common History, and to mobilize support within our institutions and beyond for stronger economic, social, cultural and political linkages. Its importance cannot be overstressed.

*Extract from Statement of H.E. Patrick Mazimhaka
Deputy Chairperson, Commission of African Unity at the Diaspora Conference*



Extract from President Thabo Mbeki's Address at The Heritage Day Celebrations in Taung on 24 September 2005

IT IS INDEED FITTING THAT WE CELEBRATE THIS DAY AT THE TAUNG WORLD HERITAGE SITE, which was recently recognized by the 29th Session of the World Heritage Committee in Durban this year.

The recognition and affirmation of Taung and Mokapane's Valley in the Limpopo Province as World Heritage Sites bear further testimony to Africa and South Africa as a cradle of humankind.

It was here in Taung that in 1924 Raymond Dart discovered the fossil bones of our human ancestors. This was to open an important global development of research and discovery about human evolution. Indeed, Taung placed our country on the world map as a place in which humanity emerged.

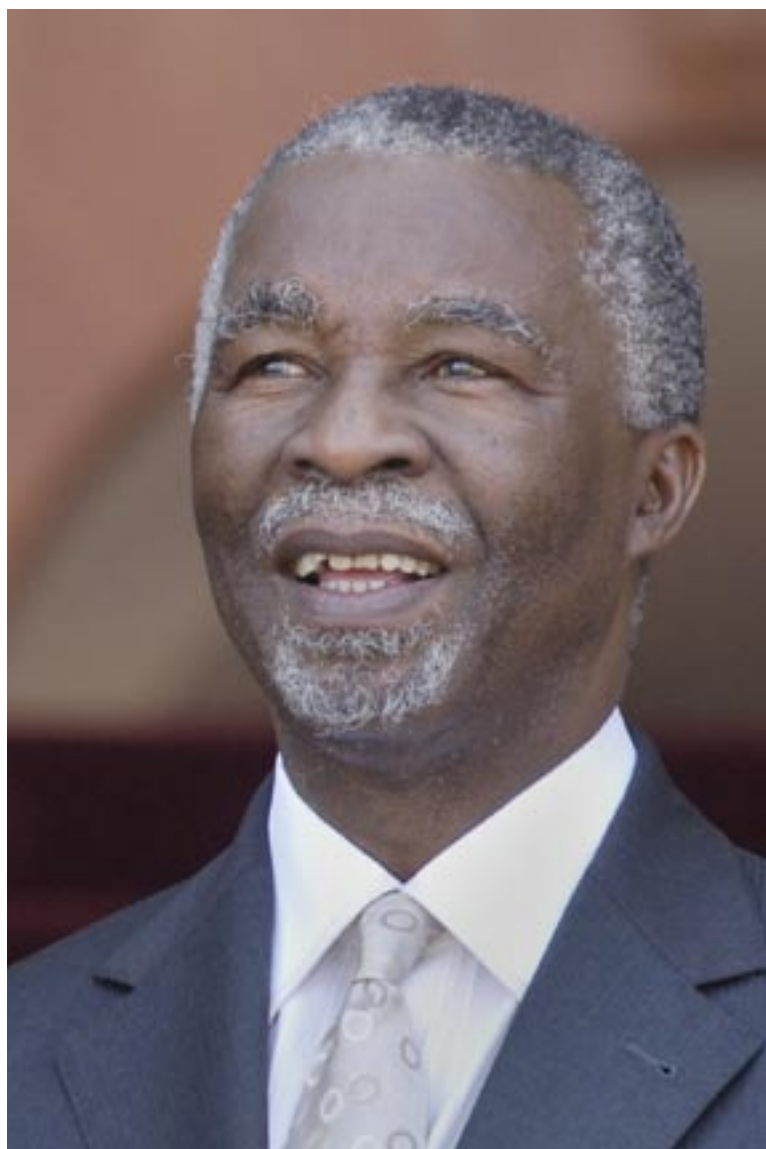
In recent weeks further discoveries of early hominid tools at Sterkfontein reveal that South Africa has many sites of humankind's oldest and most important heritage, our capacity to make tools. The primitive implements uncovered at Sterkfontein launched those first human ancestors on a technological journey that has today taken humanity to the most remote corners of the earth as well as outer space. It was those instruments that gave us the possibility to change, re-shape and even re-direct our living environment.

Our sub-theme this year is "Our Indigenous Foods, Our Knowledge and Our Heritage". The significance of the sub-theme is self-evident because food is our primary source of sustenance.

The significance of indigenous knowledge systems that people in every part of the world have developed over centuries to solve and to attend to everyday challenges is underscored by our shared ancestry evidenced here.

Our hominid ancestors' ability to make tools spurred on their hunting and food gathering, opening up the possibilities of permanent settlements and consequently a more secure livelihood. From the East to the West, from the North to the South, human beings have come to regard the production of food as more than a necessary activity to satisfy the most basic human need.

As on previous occasions, we celebrate our cultural and our living heritage, as expressed in our traditions, oral histories, in performance, rituals, popular memory, skills and techniques and indigenous knowledge systems.



Taung

The Taung Skull Fossil Site, is one of seven World Heritage Sites recognised by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in South Africa. The site situated in Taung in the North West Province, is home to the Taung Skull, a specimen of the *Australopithecus africanus*, which was discovered eighty-one years ago in 1924. Several archaeological caves situated in the Makapan Valley, show evidence of human occupation and evolution dating back as far as 3.3 million years ago. This area is also known to have hosted fossils that assisted in the identification of early hominids such as the *Paranthropus* specimens, estimated to have existed between 4.5 million and 2.5 million years ago.



The National Flag

Inducted on 27 April 1994, the new National Flag replaced the previous flag that was in use for over 68 years. The flag represents the convergence of diverse elements in South African society and links up with the motto of our Coat of Arms namely !ke e: /xarra //ke, meaning diverse people unite.

The National Flag must at all times be treated with dignity and respect. The flag must not:

- Touch the floor or the ground
- Be used as a tablecloth or be draped in front of a platform.
- Be used to cover a statue,

South Africa's World Heritage Sites as inscribed by UNESCO:

- Fossil Hominid Sites of Sterkfontein, Swartkrans, Kromdraai, and Environs (1999)
- Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape (2003)
- Robben Island (1999) (pictured below)
- Ukhahlamba / Drakensberg Park (2000)
- Cape Floral Region Protected Areas (2004)
- Greater St Lucia Wetland Park (1999)
- Vredefort Dome (2005)



