



МИР И БЕЗОПАСНОСТЬ PEACE AND SECURITY

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Research article

African International Relations, Genocidal Histories and the Emancipatory Project Part 2

H.G. Campbell

Syracuse University, Syracuse, USA

Abstract. Silences in the discipline of International Relations on genocide amount to a form of genocide denial, which is one of the foundations of future genocide. The paper posits that in the era of militarized global apartheid, progressive scholars are challenged to critique and expose the past and current crimes against humanity that are occurring in Africa. Drawing from the consolidation of an alternative analysis in the context of the Bandung Project, the paper analyzed the contributions of the ideas that emerged out of the anti-apartheid struggles and the struggles for reparative justice. Struggles from the Global South had culminated in the World Conference against Racism (WCAR) process, elevating the anti-racist battles as a core challenge of Africa's International Relations. This rejuvenation and energies coming out of the protracted struggle for bread, peace and justice took the form of the transition to the African Union leaving behind the concept of the noninterference in the internal affairs of states. The paper analyzed the ways in which afro-pessimism was being reinforced by the constructivist path in African International Relations. The contributions of radical African feminists are presented as one new direction where there is the coalescence of the progressive anti-imperialist intellectual traditions with radical feminisms. These two traditions open possibilities for an emancipatory project. This project has taken on extra importance in the period of the fragility of global capital when the precariousness of capitalism threatens new and endless wars and destabilization in Africa. Modern humanitarianism forms one component of the weaponization of everything and it is within this ensemble of ideas that scholars need to deconstruct the discussion of 'failed states' in Africa.

Key words: Bandung Project, Africa, anti-Imperialism, Non-Western IR Theories, genocidal histories, radical feminism, reparative justice, emancipatory project

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Международные отношения в Африке, истории геноцида и эмансипации Часть 2

Х. Кэмпбелл

Сиракузский университет, Сиракьюс, США

Умолчание проблемы геноцида в международных отношениях — это одна из форм отрицания геноцида, которая в будущем может привести к новым масштабным преступлениям. В статье утверждается, что в эпоху глобального милитаризованного апартеида перед прогрессивными учеными стоит задача критики и разоблачения прошлых и нынешних преступлений против человечности, которые происходят в Африке. Опираясь на альтернативный анализ в рамках Бандунгского проекта, в документе был проанализирован вклад идей, возникших в результате борьбы против апартеида и борьбы за репаративное правосудие.

Борьба Глобального Юга достигла кульминации в процессе Всемирной конференции против расизма (WCAR), в результате чего антирасистская проблематика стала центральной в международных отношениях в Африке. Новая энергия, появившаяся в результате затяжной борьбы за хлеб, мир и справедливость, приняла форму перехода к Африканскому союзу, оставив позади концепцию невмешательства во внутренние дела государств.

В статье анализируется усиление афропессимизма в контексте конструктивистских подходов в африканских международных отношениях. Вклад радикальных африканских феминисток представлен как новое направление, в котором происходит слияние прогрессивных антиимпериалистических интеллектуальных традиций с радикальными формами феминизма. Эти две традиции открывают возможности для эмансипативного проекта. Данный проект приобрел особое значение в период хрупкости глобального капитала, когда неустойчивость капитализма угрожает новыми и бесконечными войнами и дестабилизацией в Африке. Современный гуманизм является оружием против этого, и именно в этом направлении ученые должны вести дискуссию о «несостоявшихся государствах» в Африке.

Ключевые слова: Бандунгский проект, Африка, незападные ТМО, антиимпериализм, геноцид, радикальный феминизм, репаративное правосудие, эмансипативный проект

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Intervention of Radical African Feminists

Feminists in general and African feminists, in particular, have made a fundamental break with male centered concepts of the State and International Relations that is central to the Eurocentric paradigms of IR. In the article on Feminist Theory and Activism in Global Perspectives Amina Mama explored the varying strands of feminisms and how to build networks to strengthen African feminisms within Africa [Mama 2011]. Feminist centers in Southern, Eastern and West Africa have been breaking new grounds in linking the struggles of women to IR theory. In particular, scholars such as Amina Mama, Cheryl Hendricks, Patricia McFadden, Ruth Meena, Patricia Daley and If Amadiume made fundamental contributions to African

International Relations [Amadiume 1987; 2000]. The radical feminists who focused on the intersections of oppression and genocidal violence brought new insights into the state and family structures [Daley 2008; McClintock 1995].

The preoccupation with individual “identity” in one branch of African feminism exposed the influence of the ideas of decoloniality, modernity and post modernism in the feminist discourse. World Bank and “donor” support for “mainstream gender in policy making”, actively served to coopt the militancy of progressive women just as the “governance and democracy” research groups had diverted attention from social and economic transformation. In both Liberia and Nigeria, a term was coined to designate those women who deployed imperial concepts of liberal feminism

to entrench oppression of men and women. Maryam Babangida¹ of Nigeria and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf² were two leaders in Nigeria and Liberia where the label of *femocrat* was attached. Sirleaf who received the accolade as being the first female President of Africa had been hailed the world over for her role in bringing “peace” to Liberia but did very little for the African women in her country and in Africa. As a femocrat, she consistently failed to support legislation to encourage better representation for women in the Liberian Parliament and minimized the findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia. Amadiume coined the term femocrat as one who is “a performer who knows her role, having succeeded in disarming women, as a daughter of the establishment, she steps aside and introduces the men for whom she has prepared the ground” [Mama 1995; Amadiume 2000].

The intense contestation over gendered understanding of international relations constitutes one of the terrains of intellectual struggle where the class orientation of scholars comes into sharp relief. From the conceptual ensemble of the scholarship on *Gendered States* that implicated masculinity and violence in the reproduction of international relations, the challenges of addressing sexuality in politics raised its head. Virulent homophobia by leaders was grounded in writings and teachings emanating from neo liberal religious fundamentalism. Former leaders of liberation movements in Namibia and Zimbabwe were exponents of this hate speech and incitement to violence by labelling same gender loving persons as dogs and pigs.

After expending millions to shape the anti-apartheid generation, post modernism became the vogue in African IR in Southern Africa³.

¹ Maryam Babangida (1948—2009) — wife of Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, President of Nigeria (1985—1993).

² Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (1938) — 24th President of Liberia (2006—2018), Nobel Peace Prize Winner (2011).

³ Themes of hybridity, shifting cultural borders, composite selves, conflicting identifications, multiple belongings, and travelling identities were central to postmodernist and poststructuralist debates in the 1980s and 1990s, when the definition of cultural identity as

David Harvey had explored the *Conditions of Post Modernity* in his work [Harvey 1990] but it was his student, Patricia Daley who expanded the understanding of genocidal histories and its impact on the Politics of Africa. As a student of Harvey and colleague of Tajudeen Abdul Raheem, her scholarship on *Gender and Genocide in Burundi* sharpened the interconnections between rape, genocide and masculinity [Daley 2008]. Professor Patricia Daley had developed a cogent analysis of the conditions that predisposed a society to genocide. She outlined seven conditions with the history of colonial genocide standing at the apex of a state dominated by what she termed *genocidal histories*. These are,

1. If it possesses a history of colonial genocide that turned social identities into racial and ethnic categories for purposes of social and political control.

2. The presence of genocidal thinking induced by spaces and institutions of genocide. This is the kind of thinking that devalues the lives of other human beings on the basis of their ethnicity or race. For example if a car knocks down a person on the street the driver will come out and say, it is only a Hutu or in the case of Nazi Germany, it is only a Jew or in the case of colonial Algeria, it is only an Arab. These forms of thinking correspond to ideas of eugenics and of social Darwinism. Genocidal thinking gives coherence and legitimacy to the devaluation of human lives.

3. The popularization of genocidal history: this is when the specific reading of the society “mythical histories” is reproduced in order to justify genocide. This was manifest in the historical renditions of Belgium in Africa, of Germany and the history of the Jews in Europe and in the case of Central Africa the so-called history of conquest of Tutsi invaders from Ethiopia. This history was reproduced in 1959 by the political party, Paramehetu, in Rwanda and

something fixed and static came to be increasingly challenged. In order to be prompted in the field, it was professionally expedient to repeat the varying conceptions of post structuralism, Post colonialism and postmodernism [Zezeza 2006].

became the history reproduced in schools and universities.

4. The presence of genocidal institutions: these include those institutions that are organized for incitement to genocide, in particular media institutions such as the press, especially hate radio. Church and religious institutions are also reorganized under these conditions for the promulgation of genocide.

5. The dominance of genocidal politics that occurs where the politics of exploitation, exclusivism, racism, eugenics, militarism, extremism and patriarchy intersect in a society. The politics of competition then results in acts of genocide, and, in turn, create the conditions for the reproduction of genocidal politics.

6. Genocidal economics, these are the forms of economic engagement that require the physical elimination of competition. This type of economics comes from a form of competition for resources which is militarized, racialized and linked to the characterization of economic opponents as vermis. This form of economics is heightened by conditions of capitalist crisis. The element of this kind of economics was best expressed in Germany in the 1940's.

7. The presence of violence emanating from militarism, wars, and the expansion of the spaces of genocide: this is exemplified by the training of militaries for domestic control of citizens, the penetration of militarism into societal institutions, the continued supply of weapons and military training to genocidal states and the regional expansion of warfare, through the transferal of genocidal ideas relating to the conduct of war.

Daley had emerged from the cohort of radical African feminists who had been at the forefront of linking rape and violation. It was this activism that resulted United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000⁴. This Resolution had mandated that the UN itself and its Member States protect individuals from sexual violence in conflict. The activism of

progressive African Feminists was played out in the international political arena after the Beijing Conference in 1995⁵. As one component of “mainstreaming gender” in “good governance” western foundations and governments worked hard to establish gender institutes that focused on “poverty alleviation” and giving prizes to femocrats.

It was another ten years of tenacious struggle after Resolution 1325, before the specific issue of sexual violence in conflict became the subject of the UN Security Council Resolution, namely 1820⁶, which recognized sexual violence as a “tactic of war”. This Resolution confirmed that sexual violence in conflict is a matter of international peace and security, and therefore within the remit of the Security Council. Resolution 1820 demanded nothing less than the “immediate and complete cessation by all parties to armed conflict of all acts of sexual violence against civilians”. After this resolution, however, it came out that it was within the UN peacekeeping missions that the most heinous crimes of violations were taking place. From these revelations developed a veritable cottage industry around the issues of sexual and gender-based violence in Africa, especially the Congo [Daley 2015].

Grassroots women all over Africa pressed their case against capitalism and gave coherence to the fight against “inequality” that was being represented as an unfortunate aspect of globalization. Struggles for health in the Congo against Ebola and HIV/AIDS had called for international cooperation and collaboration. It took the emergence of Covid-19 to strengthen the call from the peace and justice movements that international cooperation is the force that will reverse global warming, exploitation, genocidal violence and pandemics. The international peace movement, the environmental movement, the anti-globalization movement and

⁴ Resolution 1325 adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting // The United Nations. October 31, 2000. URL: [https://undocs.org/S/RES/1325\(2000\)](https://undocs.org/S/RES/1325(2000)) (accessed: 22.01.2020).

⁵ Forth World Conference on Women // The United Nations. 1995. URL: <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/> (accessed: 22.01.2020).

⁶ Resolution 1820 adopted by the Security Council at its 5916th meeting // The United Nations. June 19, 2008. URL: https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/women_peace_security_resolution1820.pdf (accessed: 22.01.2020).

the world progressive feminist movement are now grappling with the requirements of an international system that would make another world possible.

Imperialism Today and the Fragility of Capital

The Congo and the Greatlakes Region of Africa continue to the space for the most contested ideas in relation to African IR as far as these societies contains untapped biological, water and mineral wealth. The exploitation of African resources and African labor power is a multibillion enterprise and many mainstream scholars of African IR are trained to be sub-contractors in this industry. This enterprise is backed up by an infrastructure that embraces global capital, state departments, world religious institutions, mining conglomerates, oil companies, food giants, biotech corporations, pharmaceuticals, internet service providers, media institutions and international non-governmental institutions and universities. Within the Universities in the Global North, the various Departments of Conflict Resolution, International Relations, Governance in the Third World and Global Security are incorporated into this infrastructure and play a very important consulting role in this multi-billion dollar industry [Mama 2007; Campbell 2008]. Through the European Development Fund of the EU, the “Philanthropic” organizations that provide funds for scholarly research and through the interlocking networks of NGO’s think tanks, governments and military contractors, there is a material base for the reproduction of the racist ideas that justify the exploitation and domination of Africa. On the other side of the Atlantic, the Social Science arm of the US Africa Command (AFRICOM) dictated that the bulk of social science research on Africa was mediated through security channels.

The present theories of IR must transcend the initial responses of the independence era to be able to grapple with the current expressions of imperialism (that is celebrated as globalization). This period of imperialist exploitation is muddled by the vibrant presence of Brazilian,

Chinese, Russian and Indian capitalists in Africa. To deepen this muddle, Western foundations have been promoting research and meetings on Chinese imperialism in Africa. The Chinese academy in their intellectual subservience to western scholarship has not been able to mount a clear position on the exact relationship between the BRICS states, China and Africa. When leading Chinese scholars parrot western views of great power rivalry or neo-patrimonialism, this body of scholarship gives credence to the idea that China is seeking to become a force in world politics via its relationship to African peoples. Professor Deborah Brautigam refuted this argument with her research claiming that “the special relationship that China has with a lot of African countries is becoming something that’s much more obvious and that creates a sense of unease, I think, in the West, because of the economic threat, so maybe that Chinese will invest in areas or take over trade markets that we thought once we were going to have” [Brautigam 2009]. Her analysis is very different from the much heralded view of journalists that China is building a new empire in Africa [French 2014].

Numerous books and journalistic articles are reflecting on the so called New Scramble for Africa, with the racist subtext that Africans are helpless, passive and gullible as Japan, Turkey, the European Union, China, Brazil, India and USA all seek to sign cooperation agreements with the African Union. The concept of the “scramble” insufficiently interrogates the complicity of a class of Africans who seek Foreign Direct Investments in order to facilitate capital flight from Africa. The literature and conferences on “failed states” are now integrated into massive output on African International Relations that focus of the “Corruption Index” in Africa.

Organizations such as *Transparency International* and the *Brookings Institute* do not support the work on governance that seeks to bring more light on how the IMF and the World Bank are the key promoters of the kind of accumulation of capital that is labeled as corruption [Mbaku 2020]. The African Union sponsored study on exposed the fact that Africa was losing at least 50 billion USD each year

in illicit financial flows⁷. Léonce Ndikumana and James K. Boyce from the Political Economy Research Institute at the University of Massachusetts have estimated that between 1970 and 2010 an estimated 814 bln USD flowed out of the continent [Ndikumana, Boyce 2018]. This work on imperialism and finance is occurring at a time when the African Free Trade agreement has prompted more research on cooperation across borders and the reality that in the long run it is more beneficial for Africa to use its reserves to build up its infrastructure instead of keeping reserves in Europe and the USA [Mbeng Mezui, Duru 2013].

In the present era of the currency wars, trade wars and cyberwarfare⁸, the convergence of the information revolution, biotech revolution, nanotechnology revolution, robotics and cognitive revolution has placed additional importance on both the knowledge of Africans and the vast genetic resources that had been preserved because of the African world view of the intimate relationship between humans, plants and animals [Juma 1989]. This plunder of the genetic resources is legitimated by the ideas of “freedom of the market” and the right of global capital to own life. Under the new ideation, life is an invention and can be bought and sold by the highest bidder. The energetic pressures of the major biotech companies to patent life forms along with the contentious rules of the World Trade Organization (WTO) relating to intellectual property rights contain the seeds of undermining most if not all of the gains that were made in the context of the struggle for United Nations Convention on biological diversity⁹. Because Africa is the home of the greatest

diversity, it is the peoples of Africa who have the most to lose from the view that genetic materials can be patented for private profit.

Traditional farmers and traditional knowledge are threatened but as of now there is still no comprehensive study of the displacement of the African farmer. It is against this background that progressive African diplomats continue to provide the lead in the World Trade Organization against the patenting of life forms and looting of resources. African scholars have also been at the forefront of opposition to the Free Trade Agreements of the European Union. Yash Tandon argued that the current patterns of international trade are structurally engineered to produce inequality [Tandon 2015].

Michael Hudson’s work on *Finance as Warfare* outlined how “Finance has become the modern mode of warfare. It is cheaper to seize land by foreclosure rather than armed occupation, and to obtain rights to mineral wealth and public infrastructure by hooking governments and economies on debt than by invading them. Financial warfare aims at what military force did in times past, in a way that does not prompt subject populations to fight back — as long as they can be persuaded to accept the occupation as natural and even helpful. After indebting countries, creditors lobby to privatize natural monopolies and create new monopoly rights for themselves” [Hudson 2015].

The Global War on Terror and the multidimensional operations of the European Union in the Sahel region of Africa clarifies the desperation of capitalists in Europe over the future of African cooperation. These struggles in Africa are a component of the permanent war of the military management of the international system. In his work on the *Liberal Virus* [Amin 2004], Samir Amin brought together the understanding of the IMF and the WTO as two frontline battalions of empire, critiquing the double standards of the subsidies for agriculture in Europe and North America and the threats posed to peasants throughout the world. Amin argued that under the new mantra of modernization and property rights the neo liberal policies of capitalists in North America and

⁷ Track it! Stop it! Get it! Illicit Financial Flows. Report of the High Level Panel on Illicit Financial Flows from Africa. Commissioned by the AU/ECA Conference of Ministers of Finance, Planning and Economic Development // UNECA. 2020. URL: https://www.uneca.org/sites/default/files/PublicationFiles/iff_main_report_26feb_en.pdf (accessed: 20.01.2020).

⁸ Hudson M. The Weaponization of Economic Theory // Global Research. July 18, 2012. URL: <https://michael-hudson.com/2012/07/the-weaponization-of-economic-theory/> (accessed: 22.01.2020). See also: [Brooks 2016].

⁹ Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD). 1992. URL: <https://www.cbd.int/> (accessed: 22.01.2020).

Western Europe promise extermination for peasant agriculture. “Peasant agriculture, accounting for 3 billion humans, faces economic extermination by 20 million modern farms”.

Continuing he asserted: “We are thus led to the point where in order to open up a new field for the expansion of capital, it would be necessary to destroy — in human terms — entire societies. Twenty million efficient producers on one side and five billion excluded on the other... If capitalism has ‘resolved’ (in its own way), the agrarian question in the centres of the system, in the peripheries, because it is indissociable from imperialism, it has created a new agrarian problem of immense proportions that it incapable of resolving, except by destroying half of humanity through genocide” [Amin 2004].

It is this new dispossession in the rural areas of Africa that is providing the basis for looting and genocidal economic relations throughout most of the African continents. Patricia Daley defined genocidal economics as the forms of economic management that require the physical elimination of competition. “This type of economics comes from a form of competition for resources which is militarized, racialized and linked to the characterization of economic opponents as vermins. This form of economics is heightened by conditions of capitalist crisis” [Daley 2008: 9].

This agrarian problem that is fed by mindless competition in the rural areas of Africa is compounded by the belief that African lives are worthless and that petroleum companies can destroy the natural environment. Such thinking had already been articulated by Lawrence Summers when he was a chief economist for the World Bank. Summers reasoned that, “the economic logic behind dumping a load of toxic waste in the lowest wage country is impeccable and we should face up to that” [Harvey 1996].

The questions of the natural environment, intellectual property rights and toxic waste bring entirely new questions to the field of African international relations while the old question of the nature of imperial domination lingers. One of the least developed areas of study has been the question of global warming. One is witnessing rising temperatures in Africa, increasing warm

spells and decreased numbers of cold nights, continued decreases in precipitation, impacts on hydrological systems, increased desertification. The fingerprint of this drought impacts on coastline, malaria expansion, insecurity and has been most manifest drying up of Lake Chad. Displaced young people who are recruited into anti-social activities reinforce and reproduce the images and discussions about “tribal and religious affiliations” in Africa.

David Harvey in the book *The New Imperialism* [Harvey 2003] has illuminated the basic links between super exploitation and what he termed ‘accumulation by dispossession.’ The accuracy of this formulation in this concept of dispossession is contested by some scholars of Marxism who refer to the historic genocide and primitive accumulation that had always been present in the world of racial capitalism [De Waal 1997; Duffield 2001; Maren 1997]. Racial terror and racialised elimination received a tremendous fillip in the era of Donald Trump and Brexit when the denigration of Africans is substituted for class struggle against capital.

Afro pessimism as one aspect of constructivism in African International Relation has gained widespread circulation over the past thirty years, specifically in the period of the rejuvenation of Africa. A large number of books and monographs that are being used in the Universities in Africa serves to deny the agency of the African peoples and spread concepts of “collapsed states” (Robert Kaplan [1994]), “failed states”, “the criminalization of the state” [Bayart 1993] and the “African way”. Other formulations openly pronounce that Africans are by nature warlike, if not barbaric and prone to tribal wars, criminal and prone to violence. Most recently, none other than the President of the United States entered this discussion on failed states to declare that African countries were shithole countries.

As one scholar who critiqued the concept of failed states noted, “Over the last several decades, the notion of the ‘failed state’ has entered the lexicon of policy-making, social science and mass public discourse. Although the concept arose in the articulation of foreign policy by the major Western powers and relatedly

among Western political scientists, within a short period of time the notion of the ‘failed state’ (and its multiple synonyms) has become embedded in international, security and development policy and practice, as well as pervading the popular imaginary. The presumption of the ‘failed state’ is recurrently invoked, for example, in debates on the sources of ‘terrorism’, weapons of mass destruction, ‘civil wars’, the ‘coming anarchy’, international criminal syndicates, humanitarian catastrophes, mass migration and refugees, global pandemics, human rights violations, poverty, corruption, governance failures and so on” [Ayers 2012: 568—569].

Boko Haram, Al Qaeda¹⁰, Al Shabaab and other “terrorists” organizations are said to thrive in the context of fragile states [Campbell 2020]. It requires deep investigation to grasp the duplicity of the USA and France in framing the war against terror in the Sahel in order to maintain high military budgets. Inside the academy in the United States, the alliance between practitioners of African International Relations and the US military was most evident in the articulation on the reasons for the creation of the US Africa Command. The thinkers within the Pentagon were explicit that one of the reasons for this military command was to prop up “failed and failing states in Africa”. The realists of the Pentagon were quite ready to invoke the interventionist concept of “responsibility to protect” to justify the destruction of Libya. This author has written extensively on *Global NATO and the Catastrophic Failure in Libya* [Campbell 2013] and will not revisit that critique of “failed states” here. What was so galling was that the head of the US Africa Command deployed the concept of state failure in Libya to justify the US assistance in the western occupation of Libya. Imperial machinations in Africa have come full circle from the Berlin Conference on Africa in 1884 to the Berlin Conference to divide Libya in 2020.

The theoretical flaws that are inherent in the formulations of imperial scholarship have been critiqued by scholars such as Abdul Raufu Mustapha [Mustapha 2002], Allison Ayers and

Branwen Gruffydd Jones [Jones 2008]. Space does not allow for a full outline of the scholarship on “failed states” but the core idea is that this brand of scholarship inspires the Afro pessimism that is dominant in European institutions of higher learning. The scholars of this school of thought have their scholarship reproduced in the principal European languages and these texts are reproduced in the NGO community [Bayart 1993; Clapham 1996; Collier, Hoefler 2004; Crocker, Hampson, Aall 1996; Kaplan 1994; Reno 1998; Zartman 1998].

The Emancipatory Project in Africa

The push from the grassroots against global capital has been unrelenting since the end of the Cold War. Decolonization had mobilized the masses of Africans to oppose colonial rule, but the Cold War was mounted to preserve monopoly capitalism and the reorganization of global capital. Scholars from the Global South such as Claude Ake and Walter Rodney were frontline scholars of African International Relations in that era [Ake 1982; Rodney 1970]. Samir outlived these thinkers and invoked the need for audacity to delink from global capital in calling for “audacity and more audacity”, on two fronts.

1) For the radical left in the societies of the imperialist triad, the need for an engagement in the building an alternative anti-monopoly social bloc.

2) For the radical left in the societies of the peripheries to engage in the building an alternative anti-comprador social bloc.

The call for audacity was a push to move to a higher level of civilization, because, “Capitalism is now an obsolete system, its continuation leading only to barbarism” [Amin 2013].

Radical feminists took the call for audacity to new levels and to new sites of politics. Xenophobia in Europe, Brexit, the election of Donald Trump, Islamophobia and the rise of various forms of neofascism brought new challenges. In the new era of intensified racism there are new militants, new scholars and new sites of politics. In all fora and in day-to-day politics, progressive African women are

¹⁰ The organization is prohibited in the Russian Federation.

redefining politics and the terrain of democratic struggles. The issues of environmental racism, the AIDS/Ebola pandemics, sexual violence and violation against women, the dumping of toxic waste, the looting of natural resources and the breakdown of social services elevate politics to a new level and sharpen the audacity.

It is in this context that the theory and practice of emancipatory politics are being developed out of the mess created through global plunder. Jill Steans in the conclusion of the book on *Gender and International Relations* had proposed that scholars moved in the direction of emancipatory international relations, but this call was shrouded in the “discourses of postmodern feminism” [Steans 1998].

Roger D. Spegele carried forward the call for an emancipatory international relations noting that, “Emancipatory international relations refers to any theory, discourse, paradigm or approach to International relations which claims that the principal grounds for studying International relations is not to explain or predict events, search for laws or confirm or disconfirm hypotheses, as in competing naturalistic conceptions of the subject, but rather to radically transform or transfigure the political communities in which we live: that is, that our interest in international relations lies in its potential for liberating individuals, groups and peoples from structures or conditions that hinder them from actualizing freedom in thought and in practice” [Spegele 2014].

This theory of emancipatory international relations went back to Immanuel Kant and the thinkers of the European Enlightenment in an effort to reconcile modernist emancipatory international relations (MEIR) and post-modernist emancipatory international relations (PEIR). The emancipatory project emanating from critical theory remained linked to one part of humanity. Genocidal denial by scholars ensure that in the current rise of far right parties in Europe, there is no firm base for fighting neo Nazism among the left intellectuals.

The militancy of the working peoples of the South in their day-to-day fight for survival is creating new sites of politics and rendering irrelevant the ideas of the debates among

Eurocentric scholars who have been unable to mount a robust opposition to the white racism in international relations theory. At this moment, that racism is no longer hidden, but in plain sight with racist immigration policies, anti-immigrant policies and a travel ban on a quarter of the citizens of Africa. Opposition to racism and incitement to racial terror is reflected in the new intellectual and political insights inspired by autonomous organizations of women. These insights provide the basis for songs, dance, dress, other forms of self-expression and the struggle for survival in the midst of the health and food crisis. The experiences of the organized and mobilized women of Sudan, Egypt, Algeria and other parts of Africa have served to discredit the vanguardism that had been the idea behind previous periods of African resistance and Liberation. In the twenty first century the peoples of Africa are moving from the liberation of states to the social emancipation of the peoples.

Emancipatory politics has to deal with both concepts, that of emancipation and that of politics. All thinkers of human freedom sought to refine concepts of emancipation. Karl Marx had raised the issue of emancipation in the nineteenth century in raising the question of the collective self-emancipation of the working people. Marx in his communication to the First International had argued that the emancipation of the workers could only come about by the activities of the workers themselves¹¹.

It was in the context of the Cuban revolution where emancipatory politics was tested and unleashed with the foundation of emancipatory education. In studying the contribution of Cuba to the emancipatory project, Mark George Abendroth noted the elements of emancipatory education in Cuba especially the foundations of “emancipatory global civic education”. Abendroth stated: “It is emancipatory because it identifies oppressors and oppressed, and it combines theory and action to express solidarity with the oppressed. It is global because capitalist exploitation of people and natural resources is

¹¹ Marx K. Inaugural Address. October 21—27, 1864 // First International. The International Workingmen’s Association. URL: http://ciml.250x.com/archive/marx_engels/marx_inaugural_address.html (accessed: 22.01.2020).

global. It is civic education because a citizenship of the world must be the crux of a united front against global oppression” [Abendroth 2005].

Walter Rodney had identified this process of the politics of emancipation in the Cuban revolution and elaborated on emancipatory politics in the Pan-African world. His earlier study of the Russian Revolution had earlier exposed how the bureaucratization of the political processes in the former Soviet Union had excluded that state from the project [Rodney 2019].

Rodney as one of the prophets of self-emancipation had continuously brought out the self-mobilization and self-organization of the African peoples in their confrontation with colonial despotism. Rodney’s contribution was especially important as far as fighting and dying for a brand of emancipation that built on the alliance of oppressed workers and working peoples of all races and religions [Rodney 1970]. This was an important breakthrough in order to transcend emancipatory projects that involved the freedom of one race or gender. African feminists have taken the lessons further by pointing to the autonomy and self-mobilizing techniques that were used by African women to force the pace of decolonization. Both Kwame Nkrumah [2007] and Frantz Fanon [1969] have linked the unification and liberation of Africa to the humanization of the planet.

Reference has already been made to the episodic intervention of the African peoples, especially the peoples of Southern African into the international system. Samir Amin and Ifi Amadiume had summed up these challenges in the calls for audacity and in the call for progressive women to transcend first lady syndromes [Amadiume 2000; Amin 2013]. Some of the very same forces that were involved in the liberation struggles are managing the exploitation of the peoples and have embraced the realist principles of IR. It was therefore not accidental that the current South African leadership turned its back on the Agenda of the World Conference against Racism¹² to call for

reparative justice for African descendants of enslavement. Thus far, very few universities in Africa have sought to study the program of action of the United Nations in relation to Crimes against humanity¹³ so that there can be a process that begins the break with racial capitalism and its genocidal base. In this current context the ideas of white supremacy, white nationalism have taken hold in the countries of imperial control. The struggles against global apartheid, environmental racism, male supremacy and war have created new spaces for the development of emancipatory ideas and practices.

Emancipatory politics seeks to bring back to the center of the debate on Africa the militant struggles of the producers. In this paper the producers are the militants of emancipatory project. This class of producers in the main excludes those who have made alliances with imperialism and are the agents of the imposition of the neoliberal agenda in Africa. The militancy of the producers is reflected in the struggles for survival against the plunder of capitalism and the destruction of life as manifest in the HIV/AIDS, Ebola and other health emergencies across the continent. The militant struggles for survival in the midst of the health crisis reinforce the opposition to capitalist ideas about society being motivated by “individual self-interest”. As Walter Rodney, the late African thinker, observed, “one must go back to this underlying movement of history and have confidence in the capacity of our people: if they could have breached the gates of colonialism through their own effort, then it seems to me that they have brought into the neo-colonial period a capacity to breach the walls of imperialism” [Rodney 1990: 70].

These emancipatory frameworks are releasing African peoples from the linear conceptions of development that have been championed by imperialism in the past thirty years. In the contentious moment of the declarations of the World Conference against Slavery and the calls for reparations for genocide, slavery and colonialism in Africa, the

¹² World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance // United Nations. August 31 — September 7, 2001. URL: <https://www.un.org/WCAR/> (accessed: 22.01.2020).

¹³ Crimes Against Humanity // United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect. URL: <https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/crimes-against-humanity.shtml> (accessed: 22.01.2020).

articulators of realism came up with the Millennium Development Goals. It was clear to the imperial scholars that the global reparations struggles of Durban 2001 had the potential to mobilize a global constituency to delink from capitalism. This momentum had been coalescing around the World Social Forum. With memories of the global anti-apartheid campaigns still fresh for activists, the reparations movement was poised to become part of a much larger antiglobalist campaign involving the struggles of the Palestinian and Puerto Rican people, Dalits in India, Mexican braceros, landless workers in the former settler colonies of southern Africa, Asian-American communities confronting hate crime violence, and citizens dealing with the effects of Structural Adjustment in the Global South.

Collective reparative justice entered the field of International Relations as one component of the emancipatory process of delinking from capital. Some scholars of Africa have identified human rights and social citizenship as the fundamental core of the emancipatory project [Neocosmos 2007], but this author would suggest that the emancipatory project is fractal in the sense that there needs to be a decisive break with genocidal histories in order to start out on the many sided tasks of social and economic transformation in Africa. Emancipatory politics as a component of the transformative politics draws from the richness of the lessons of the anti-colonial struggle and the clarification of the reality that liberation movements founded (primarily) on armed struggles were not instructive as regards to a number of democratic questions. Neither has the concept of democracy that is simply based on a number of parties and elections. Focusing on genocidal histories and the reality that racism has been embedded or stamped from the beginning with genocidal economics, the limitations of the market driven concept of democracy, the one party democracy of many liberation movements and the dead end of the World Bank conceptions of “sustainable development” have been laid bare to the producers [Wamba-dia-Wamba 1993]. Emancipatory politics with the new sites of politics and militants has forced itself on the political agenda in the context of creeping fascism.

Neo fascists and white supremacists have brought genocidal histories from the margins of international relations theories back to the center. This period is one where there is simultaneously a struggle for a radical revision of the mechanistic ideas that brought humanity to the era of ecocide. Ecocide is defined as the destruction of large areas of the natural environment as a consequence of human activity. Global warming, forest fires, desertification and pandemics all point to the reality that the transformation of Africa is linked up with the unification and emancipation of the African peoples. The push to mobilize collective actions to reverse the drying up of Lake Chad while championing the call for place Shell Oil Company and other polluters before the International Criminal Court broaden the terrain of social justice. Campaigning for the rights of Mother earth while promoting ecocide as an international crime aims to create criminal liability for chief executives and government ministers, while creating a legal duty of care for life on earth is now running alongside the push for reparative justice and operationalizing the Durban Declaration of 2001. Progressive environmentalists understand that the emancipation of African peoples cannot take place outside of the collective emancipation of humanity. Thus, Africans were at one in signing the Cochabamba Declaration of 2010 in respect to the rights of Mother Earth¹⁴. This is the recognition of Mother Earth as a living being and the promotion of a system of environmental restorative universal justice. Ubuntu is a philosophy of human emancipation that incorporates love, reconciliation, peace and saving the planet.

The transition from the old to the new, from realism to emancipatory politics, from apartheid to Ubuntu, from the OAU to the AU and from death tendencies to life giving processes are all at work in Africa. This body of scholarship on anti-racism and reparative justice brought forward

¹⁴ Universal Declaration of Rights of Mother Earth // World People’s Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth. April 22, 2010. URL: <https://therightsofnature.org/universal-declaration/> (accessed: 22.01.2020).

the emancipatory approach to International Relations. Reversing dehumanization requires a full hearing of the genocidal crimes in Africa so that the principle of never again can become real. Black capitalists in South Africa have internalized the xenophobia of capital and turned their back on the ideas of progressive Pan-Africanism, all the time while supporting the expansion of South African capital across Africa.

When intellectuals are suborned by the discourses on “good governance” and “failed states”, it devolved to the progressive popular artists to carry forward the grassroots messages of emancipatory politics. Fela Ransome Kuti, Bilia Bel, Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela were among progressive artists who were internationalists in their work. Bob Marley had urged all humans to “emancipate themselves from mental Slavery”¹⁵. These cultural artists bring to the fore the impact of non-state actors on IR and undermine one of the key concepts of realism that nations are the main force in international politics. Throughout Africa the young have developed new platforms for political organizing and are battling both old forms of plunder as well as new forms of brain hacking and information warfare.

The philosophical contributions of cultural leaders and poets complement the articulation of the principles of emancipatory politics for the freedom and transformation of the planet earth. The information revolution has served to rehabilitate oratory and the democratic practices of the oral traditions as the youth seize new spaces to let their voices be heard. This same information revolution has opened the most profound possibilities for communication, education, politics, commerce as well as new forms of leisure, all of which interrogate the ways African states have been integrated into the global system. Cultural leaders are bringing to the fore the importance of music and dance in the emergence of the new and expanded the theoretical horizons beyond those provided by Antonio Gramsci.

¹⁵ “Redemption Song” by Bob Marley, October 1980. Words refer to a speech given by Marcus Garvey at St. Phillip’s African Orthodox Church in Sydney, Nova Scotia, 1937 (*Editor’s Note*).

Conclusion and a New Research Agenda

Genocide is not new in human history. What is new is the determination under international law to ensure that acts of genocide and ecocide would constitute crimes against humanity. The focus on genocidal histories in this paper was to bring to the forefront the implications of genocidal denial, especially at this historical conjuncture. The experience of the genocidal violence and acts of genocide in Central Africa were highlighted to bring back the reality that once there is genocide denial, it can occur again. In the struggles for decolonization, scholars of Africa International Relations had found a base within the Bandung Project, but it was the organized peoples in their struggles against capitalism that brought an end to the era of crude apartheid. Racism found a fertile base in global capitalism in the period of the financialization of the global economy and heightened exploitation.

The author of text on Capital in the 21st century [Piketty 2014], in the main, excluded Africa from the analysis. It devolved to patriotic scholars within the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa to argue for the social and economic transformation of Africa. The research agenda of transformation encompasses understanding material transformations, anti-racism, transformation of consciousness, the transformation of gender relations and the transformation of relations with nature. These intellectual directions call forth a new research agenda and a rethink of the past priorities about “development”. There were six broad areas of research that emerged in the analysis of genocidal histories. There were: Restorative and Reparative justice within the spirit of never again, Environmental Justice and the repair of the planet, Peace and Reconstruction — Silencing guns in Africa and global demilitarization, the Transformation of Gender relations, Health Care as a human right and Transformative Education to create new humans beyond the algorithms of oppression.

Restorative justice and the calls for the implementation of the Durban Declaration of the World Conference against Racism process envisioned a new research agenda but the mainstream IR scholars remain silent while there

is a renewed push for the humanitarian perspective on Africa. Within this body of scholarship there have been debates on the differences between genocide as defined by the United Nations Convention 1948, mass murders, war crimes and other crimes against humanity. The legalistic understanding of the UN Convention has sought to reproduce genocide denial to exclude the experiences of Africans, Roma peoples and the Armenian genocide. The question of genocidal violence and crimes against humanity cannot be confined to the legal definitions outlined by the UN Convention. Whether episodes of genocide occurred in Biafra and Darfur cannot obscure the urgent need to highlight all forms of genocidal violence, war crimes and crimes against humanity. This tradition of excluding the history of genocidal violence came back to haunt Europe and North America as these societies faced the specter of neo fascism.

The fragility of capitalism and the rise of white supremacy in the era of the military management of the international system is challenging African thinkers and progressives to steel themselves in the context of multiple forms of warfare: trade wars, financial wars, cyber wars and biological warfare. Wamba-dia-Wamba had noted that “Emancipatory Politics does not always exist: when it does, it exists under conditions. It is thus precarious and sequential” [1993: 96]. The precariousness of the current moment under neo fascists all over the white world pointed out the need for a thorough break with old conceptions of International Relations. It is this break that renders the complicity of mainstream Europeans with genocide not at the level of individuals but at the level of the core ideas of modernity.

After the First World War the anti-racist forces on both sides of the Atlantic had sounded

the warning about fascism. Samir Amin in the context of the World Social Forum has called for audacity, declaring that, “What is on the agenda now is the deconstruction of the existing system — its implosion — and reconstruction of national alternative systems (for countries or continents or regions), as some projects in South America have already begun. Audacity here is to have the courage to move forward with the strongest determination possible, without too much worry about the reaction of imperialism” [Amin 2019: 401].

In this paper there was an attempt to outline both the actuality of realism that denied the existence of Africans as human beings and the realities of globalization and the biotech century. Radical African feminists as militants of the emancipatory project exposed the limits of androcentrism and the religions of oppression. The intervention of women in the streets of Cairo and Khartoum heralded profound challenges to the alliance between imperialism and Islamic fundamentalism. The interventions from Soweto to Tahrir Square bring out new lessons for organizing politics.

No single state or party can solve the problem of the crippling foreign debt, dire economic hardship, the income differential, the male female violence, economic decline, environmental degradation, infrastructural collapse, inadequate educational facilities and the power of the international financial institutions. The limits of the armed struggles and the liberation narrative are informing the elements of emancipatory politics. Grassroots African women are taking the lead in this exercise.

These questions require a new social movement that will mobilize all strata and patriotic forces to face these challenges.

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About the author: *Campbell Horace G.* — PhD, Professor of Political Science and African American Studies, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, New York, USA (e-mail: hgcampbe@syr.edu).

Сведения об авторе: *Кэмпбелл Хорас* — доктор философии, профессор политологии и афроамериканских исследований, Школа гражданства и публичной политики им. Дж. Максвелла, Сиракузский университет, Нью-Йорк, США (e-mail: hgcampbe@syr.edu).