

# **Power and Nationalism in Modern Africa**

---

*Essays in Honor of  
Don Ohadike*



# **Power and Nationalism in Modern Africa**

---

*Essays in Honor of  
Don Ohadike*

Edited by

**Toyin Falola**

and

**Salah M. Hassan**

CAROLINA ACADEMIC PRESS

Durham, North Carolina

Copyright © 2008  
Toyin Falola  
Salah M. Hassan  
All Rights Reserved

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Power and nationalism in modern Africa : essays in honor of Don Ohadike /  
[edited by] Toyin Falola, Salah M. Hassan.

p. cm.

“This book grew out of a symposium in honor of the memory of Professor Don Ohadike, held at Cornell University, Ithaca, from September 22 to 23, 2006”--Pref.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-59460-490-4 (alk. paper)

1. Africa--Civilization--Congresses. 2. Africa--Politics and government--Congresses. 3. Africa--Intellectual life--Congresses. 4. Nationalism--Africa--Congresses. 5. Power (Social sciences)--Africa--Congresses. 6. Postcolonialism--Africa--Congresses. 7. Social change--Africa--Congresses. I. Falola, Toyin. II. Hassan, Salah M. III. Ohadike, Don C.

DT14.P675 2008

960.3--dc22

2008002448

CAROLINA ACADEMIC PRESS

700 Kent Street  
Durham, North Carolina 27701  
Telephone (919) 489-7486  
Fax (919) 493-5668  
www.cap-press.com

Printed in the United States of America

# Contents

---

List of Figures	ix
Contributors	xiii
Preface and Acknowledgements	xxi
Chapter 1 Introduction <i>Toyin Falola and Salah Hassan</i>	3
I NATIONALISM AND IDENTITIES	
Chapter 2 Nationalism, Power and Africa at War: In Search of Pan-African Solutions <i>Ali A. Mazrui</i>	21
Chapter 3 The Historic and Humanistic Agendas of African Nationalism: A Reassessment <i>Paul Tiyambe Zeleza</i>	37
Chapter 4 The Idea of Ethiopia: Ancient Roots, Modern African Diaspora Thoughts <i>Ayele Bekerie</i>	55
Chapter 5 Modernity, Ethnicity and the African Postcolonial State in Theoretical Perspective <i>Raphael Chijioko Njoku</i>	67
Chapter 6 Social History and the Engendering of African History <i>Carina Ray</i>	87
Chapter 7 The “Darkest Africa Syndrome” and the Idea of Africa <i>Salah M. Hassan</i>	105
THE IGBO WORLD: RESISTANCE AND CHANGE	
Chapter 8 Reflections on Igbo Culture and Society <i>Simon Ottenberg</i>	113
Chapter 9 Anioma Nationalism in the Matrix of Nigerian Politics <i>Kunirum Osia</i>	121
Chapter 10 The Culture of Resistance to Western Imperialism among the Igbo <i>Felix K. Ekechi</i>	135

Chapter 11	Subterfuge and Resistance: A History of Infanticide in Onitsha (Nigeria) <i>Anene Ejikeme</i>	155
Chapter 12	Navigating the Colonial Terrain through Protest Movements: A Discourse on the Nigerian Women's Motives <i>Gloria Chuku</i>	169
Chapter 13	The Iva Valley Shooting at Enugu Colliery, Nigeria: African Workers' Aspirations and the Failure of Colonial Labor Reform <i>Carolyn A. Brown</i>	187
<b>THE QUESTION OF MODERNITY AND AFRICA: COLONIALISM AND ITS AFTERMATH</b>		
Chapter 14	Colonial Response to Disease and Health in Northern Ghana: 1900–1950s <i>Sylvester Gundona</i>	213
Chapter 15	The Colonial Legacy to Contemporary Culture in Northern Nigeria: Islam and Northern Administrators 1900–1960 <i>Andrew E. Barnes</i>	251
Chapter 16	Africa and Language-Policy Inertia: The Historical Genesis <i>Olaoba F. Arasanyin</i>	281
Chapter 17	Ujamaa in Tanzanian Life: Disruptions of Villagisation on Life in the Rural Regions <i>Toyin Falola and Adam Paddock</i>	309
Chapter 18	Interpretations of Ujamaa and the Search for African Socialism: A Historiographical Survey <i>Toyin Falola and Adam Paddock</i>	327
Chapter 19	Music and Politics in Tanzania 1980s–1990s <i>Mathayo Bernard Ndomondo</i>	341
<b>THE QUESTION OF MODERNITY AND AFRICA: CULTURE AND THE ARTS</b>		
Chapter 20	Beyond Localism: Obiora Udechukwu and the Articulation of Modern Uli <i>Chika Okeke-Agulu</i>	363
Chapter 21	Contemporary Nigerian Artists' Confrontation, Contestation, and Conversation with Modernity <i>Adérónké Adésolá Adésànyà</i>	383
Chapter 22	Rethinking Family in Black and White <i>Petrine Archer-Straw</i>	419
Chapter 23	Militant Femininity in Southern African Poetry: A Discussion of Selected Poems by Micere Mugo and Gladys Thomas <i>Chinyere Okafor</i>	431

Chapter 24	Artistic Activities and the Development of Working-Class Culture among Sudanese Railway Workers, 1940s–1970s <i>Ahmad A. Sikainga</i>	447
Appendix 1	Four Eulogies	459
Appendix 2	Complete Bibliography of Publications: Don C. Ohadike (1941–2005)	467
Index		469



# List of Figures

---

Figure 20.1	Some Igbo Uli motifs (illustration by the author)	365
Figure 20.2	Obiora Udechukwu, Titled Man with Elephant Tusk (I), 1973 (courtesy Obiora Udechukwu)	367
Figure 20.3	Obiora Udechukwu, Titled Man with Elephant Tusk (II), 1973 (courtesy Obiora Udechukwu)	368
Figure 20.4	Obiora Udechukwu, Titled Man with Elephant Horn (V), 1974 (courtesy Obiora Udechukwu)	369
Figure 20.5	Obiora Udechukwu, New Baby is Born, 1983 (courtesy Obiora Udechukwu)	372
Figure 20.6	Obiora Udechukwu, Writing in the Sky, 1989 (courtesy Obiora Udechukwu)	373
Figure 20.7	Obiora Udechukwu, A Journey of Several Centuries, 1996 (courtesy Obiora Udechukwu)	374
Figure 20.8	Obiora Udechukwu, Dark Days I, 1998 (courtesy Obiora Udechukwu)	376
Figure 20.9	Obiora Udechukwu, Face Behind the Mask, 2004 (courtesy Obiora Udechukwu)	377
Figure 20.10	Obiora Udechukwu, Face Behind the Myth: Oba, 2006 (courtesy Obiora Udechukwu)	378
Figure 21.1	'Hunter' (Ink on board) by Twins Seven Seven, a notable Oshogbo artist. Collection of the Museum of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan (photo courtesy Adérónké Adésànyà, 2006)	388
Figure 21.2	'Untiled' (Ink and paint on cloth, 1973) by Twins Seven Seven, a notable Oshogbo artist. Collection of the Museum of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan (photo courtesy Adérónké Adésànyà, 2006)	390
Figure 21.3.	'Unknown' by Adeniji Adeyemi is another painting characteristic of the Oshogbo school. This piece showing dismembered bodies	

	is in the collection of the Institute of African Studies (photo courtesy Adérónké Adésànyà, 2006).	391
Figure 21.4	'Flute Player' (Oil on board) by Charles Umezude, 1967	392
Figure 21.5	'Mother of Twins' (Silk thread on board) by Wale Olajide, 1973 (photo courtesy Adérónké Adesanya, 2006)	393
Figure 21.6	Mural decoration on the wall, entrance to IFRA office, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan. This was executed by Akintibubo in the style of the Oshogbo school (photo courtesy Adérónké Adésànyà, 2006)	394
Figure 21.7	Jimoh Buraimoh's mosaic painting on the wall of the Coffee Room, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan (photo courtesy Adérónké Adésànyà, 2006)	395
Figure 21.8	Abiodun Olaku's The Sorrows of Amalgamation (Oil on board, 1994) (photo courtesy Adérónké Adésànyà, 2006)	397
Figure 21.9	Francis Uduh's Another Apple (Cold cast bronze, 2006) (photo courtesy Adérónké Adésànyà, 2006)	398
Figure 21.10	Abiodun Olaku of the Universal Arts Studio, National arts Theatre, Iganmu Lagos (photo courtesy Adérónké Adésànyà, 2006)	399
Figure 21.11	Abiodun Olaku, Francis Uduh and Patrick Agose members of the Universal Art Studio, National Arts Theatre, Iganmu, Lagos (photo courtesy Adérónké Adésànyà, 2006)	400
Figure 21.12	A political cartoon culled from Vanguard Newspaper. This particular piece comments on the commonplace tensions between the Executive (symbolized by Obasanjo) and the Legislative (represented by Ghali Na'abba, former speaker of the House of Representatives) arms of the Nigerian government. The political class is always at loggerheads.	400
Figure 21.13	A cartoon piece which derides the anti-corruption crusade of the Obasanjo's regime. Some Nigerians believe that the state machinery and the process lacks credibility, and is especially selective with its focus on hapless citizens	401
Figure 21.14	Cartoon commenting on political corruption and social ills in Nigeria	401
Figure 21.15a	A satirical comment on the ineptitude and corruption of the Nigerian police.	402
Figure 21.15b	A satirical comment on Nigerian Corruption	402
Figure 21.16	Fidelis Odogwu's Chequekered History, (Wood, metal and paint, 2006) (photo courtesy Adérónké Adésànyà, 2006)	403

- Figure 21.17 “Jesus turning water into wine”. One of the registers on the doors to the Catholic Church, University of Ibadan (photo courtesy Adérónké Adésànyà, 2006) 404
- Figure 21.19 Jesus brought before Pilate. Characteristic of works of this genre are biblical themes, and forms typical of Yorba canon style (photo courtesy Adérónké Adésànyà, 2006) 405
- Figure 21.18 Jesus carrying the cross (photo courtesy Adérónké Adésànyà, 2006) 405
- Figure 21.20 Evidence of syncretism in art produced for the Catholic Church is found in this piece showing the Risen Christ flanked by an If a priest and a Muslim jihadist on horseback (Photo courtesy: Aderonke Adesanya, 2006). 406
- Figure 21.21 Interior of the mosque in the university of Ibadan (photo courtesy Adérónké Adésànyà, 2006) 407
- Figure 21.22 “Polo riders” (pastel on paper 57cm × 64cm) Ronke Adesanya, 2002 (photo courtesy Adérónké Adésànyà, 2004) 408
- Figure 21.23 “Polo Riders” (Oil Pastel on Paper 45cm × 45cm) by Rónké Adésànyà, 2002 (photo courtesy Adérónké Adésànyà, 2002) 409
- Figure 21.24 “Celebration” (Oil Pastel on paper, 57cm × 55cm.) Ronke Adesanya, 2002 (photo courtesy Adérónké Adésànyà, 2004) 410
- Figure 21.25 “Dancers” (Oil and chalk pastel on paper, 57cm × 64cm, 2006) 411
- Figure 21.26 “Women on Galloping Horses” (Oil pastel, ink and coloured pencils on paper, 2003) by Ronke Adesanya (photo courtesy Adérónké Adésànyà) 412
- Figure 21.27 Sculptures of three White cap chiefs, Lagos Nigeria (photo courtesy Adérónké Adésànyà, 2006) 413
- Figure 21.28 Back view of the three white cap chiefs (photo courtesy Adérónké Adésànyà, 2006) 414



# Contributors

---

**Aderonke Adesanya** is a Research Fellow and Lecturer in the Visual Art Unit, Institute of African Studies at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria. Adesanya received her BA in (Education) Fine Arts from Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria; her MA in African Visual Art (African Studies), and PhD in African Art History, both from the University of Ibadan, Nigeria. Adesanya is the author of several essays and book chapters. She has also published numerous creative art works. Her current works include: “The Art of Abiodun Olaku and Contemporary Nigerian Art,” a research project aimed at documenting the *oeuvre* of a distinguished Nigerian artist and filling existing gaps in the history of modern Nigerian art, and *Perspectives on Nigerian Art*, an edited book in honor of the late Professor C. O. Adegbeba. Adesanya’s teaching and research interests include: art history, appreciation, and criticism; African art; folklore studies; gender studies; and conflict studies. In addition to her academic post, Adesanya spent more than ten years as a cartoonist; her work was published in leading Nigerian newspapers such as the *Nigerian Tribune*, *Daily Sketch*, and *Vanguard*.

**Olaoba F. Arasanyin** is Associate Professor at Georgia Southern University, Statesboro, where he teaches with focus on psychosocial and historical linguistics. He maintains research interests in the domains of language in politics, policy, law, culture, and globalization. He earned his doctorate degree in linguistics at Northwestern University, Evanston. He has held several academic positions including being appointed to faculty positions at the University of Jos, Nigeria, and Yale University, New Haven. He is currently the coordinator of linguistics program at Georgia Southern University.

**Petrine Archer-Straw** is a Visiting Associate Professor at the Department of Art History with the Africana Studies and Research Center, Cornell University since 2006, and where she also concluded a year as a fellow at the Society for the Humanities 2005–2006. Archer-Straw is a world-renowned Jamaican scholar and curator and is among the most prolific scholars in the fields of African diaspora art history and black visual culture, in particular Caribbean arts and cultures, and their intersection with critical theory and cultural studies. More specifically, her work negotiates the impact of black culture on European modernism in its global manifestations. Archer-Straw earned her PhD from the Courtauld Institute in London in 1994. Since then she has written and edited several books, some in conjunction with important exhibitions she has curated in several renowned venues, including Jamaica’s National Art Gallery. She has worked as a consultant and a professor in several institutions, including Britain’s Royal Academy and the Courtauld Institute in England. She has most recently served as the head of Art History at the Edna Manley College for the Visual and Performing Art in Jamaica. Among her most significant books are *Back to Black: Art, Cinema, and the Racial Imaginary* (London, 2005) and *Negrophilia: Avant-Garde Paris and Black Culture in the 1920s* (London, 2000). Her current book project, *Imaging Ethiopia: Monarch and*

*Modernity* (ed.), is under contract with the German art publisher Prestel, and has an anticipated date of 2008.

**Andrew Barnes** received his BA from Wesleyan University in 1975 and his PhD from Princeton in 1983. He taught at Carnegie Mellon University from 1980 to 1996, prior to his appointment at Arizona State University. In 1992–1993, he served as a Fulbright Senior Lecturer at the University of Nigeria, Jos. Barnes was trained as an Europeanist, with a focus on early modern Catholicism. For the past fifteen years, while continuing to publish in European history, he has concentrated on Northern Nigerian history. His most recent publication in Nigerian history is “Religious Insults: Christian Critics of Islam and the Government in Colonial Northern Nigeria,” published in the *Journal of Religion in Africa* (2004). At present he is completing a monograph on the conflict among groups of European expatriates over the nature of the European civilization to be introduced in the North.

**Ayele Bekerie** received his BSc from Addis Ababa University in 1976 and his MSc and MPS from Cornell University in 1978 and 1989 respectively. He earned his PhD in African American Studies at Temple University in 1994. He has written and published in scholarly journals, such as *ANKH: Journal of Egyptology and African Civilizations*, *Horn of Africa*, *Journal of Black Studies*, *The International Journal of Africana Studies*, and *International Journal of Ethiopian Studies*. Bekerie is also the creator of the African Writing System Web site, which is widely used throughout the world. Bekerie is an Assistant Professor at the Africana Studies and Research Center at Cornell University. He has also served as the director of undergraduate studies at the Center for seven years. Bekerie, who is the author of an award-winning book *Ethiopic, An African Writing System: Its History and Principles* (Red Sea Press, 1997), is also a contributing author in the highly acclaimed book, *ONE HOUSE: The Battle of Adwa 1896—100 Years*, published by Niyala Publishing. Bekerie’s most recent published work includes “The Ancient African Past and Africana Studies” (2007). Bekerie appears regularly on the Amharic Service of Voice of America and Radio Germany. He is a regular contributor of historical essays and book reviews to Ethiopian American electronic magazines. His current book project is on the “Idea of Ethiopia.”

**Carolyn A. Brown** (Columbia University, 1985) is a historian of Africa who specializes in southeastern Nigeria during the colonial period. Her core fields are labor history, urban social history, and slavery in this region. Her work focuses on gender, specifically African masculinities under colonialism and how this informs the behavior of African male workers. Her book, “*We Were All Slaves*”: *African Miners, Culture and Resistance at the Enugu Government Colliery* won “Best Book of the Year” of the International Labor Association in 2003. Her work on masculinity and Nigerian coal miners is featured in *Towards a Comparative History of Coalfield Societies*, edited by Stefan Berger, Andy Croll, and Normal LaPorte, as well as in *Men and Masculinities in Modern Africa*, by Lisa Lindsay and Stephan Miescher. She is currently developing a project, tentatively titled “Cowboys,” *Letter Writers, and Dancing Women: Identity and Struggles over Space, Leisure, and Time in a West African City: Enugu, Nigeria 1914–1955*, which is a social history of Enugu and how urban race, class, and gender identities shaped the responses of the city’s popular classes to nationalism. Brown is also director of “Memories of Sorrow and Loss,—the Slave Trade and Southeastern Nigeria,” an oral history project with the York University’s (Canada) Nigerian Hinterland Project and the Schomburg Center of the New York Public Library on the memory of the slave trade in southeastern Nigeria. She is network cochair of the Labor Network of the European Social Science History Conference, is on the editorial board of *International Labor and Working Class His-*

tory, and cochair of the Program Committee for the AHA 2007 Annual Conference in Atlanta, Georgia.

**Gloria Chuku**, Associate Professor of History at Millersville University in Pennsylvania, is the author of *Igbo Women and Economic Transformation in Southeastern Nigeria, 1900–1960* (Routledge, 2005). She has published numerous articles on gender relations in African societies, women in economic development, women in the Biafra-Nigeria War, in resistance and nationalist movements, and in the transatlantic slave trade. She is currently working on Igbo slave resistance in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century South Carolina.

**Felix K. Ekechi** is Professor Emeritus of History at Kent State University. He specializes in Igbo studies, social history including religious studies, women's studies, and the history of missionary enterprise in Africa. Professor Ekechi retired from Kent State University after thirty-five years of service as both professor and Coordinator of African Studies Program. He was also Chair of the Kent State University Africa Initiative, charged with KSU-Africa Exchange Program. The Ohio House of Representatives and the Akron City Council respectively commended Professor Ekechi for distinguished and meritorious service. He is the author and/or coeditor of many books and numerous articles on various aspects of African political, social, cultural, and religious history. Among them are *Missionary Enterprise and Rivalry in Igboland*, *Tradition and Transformation in Eastern Nigeria*, *African Market Women and Economic Power* (coedited), "African Women and Politics: A Case Study of Chief (Mrs.) Margaret Ekpo of Nigeria," and "For God and Country: Portrait of Rev. M. D. Opara 1905–1965." He is currently completing the biography of M. D. Opara of Nigeria.

**Anene Ejikeme** completed her BA from Yale, MA from Ohio State, and PhD from Columbia. She has researched mission education for women, changes in childrearing and marriage patterns, as well as infanticide in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. She is currently writing a biography of the 1957 world welterweight boxing champion Hogan Bassey. She is Assistant Professor of History at Trinity University in San Antonio, Texas.

**Toyin Falola** is the Frances Higginbotham Nalle Centennial Professor in History at the University of Texas at Austin as well as a University Distinguished Teaching Professor. A Fellow of the Historical Society of Nigeria and a Fellow of the Nigerian Academy of Letters, Falola is author and editor of more than sixty books. He is coeditor of the *Journal of African Economic History*, Series Editor of *Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora*, and the Series Editor of *Culture and Customs of Africa* by Greenwood Press. Falola has received various awards and honors, including the Ibn Khaldun Distinguished Award for Research Excellence and the Jean Hallway Award for Teaching Excellence. He has been presented with three Festschriften, various lifetime awards, and an honorary doctorate.

**Sylvester Gundona** is a lecturer in the Department of History, University of Ghana, Legon. He received his BA and MPhil from the Department of History, University of Ghana. He is currently pursuing a PhD in African History at the University of Texas at Austin under the supervision of Professor Toyin Falola, an eminent African historian. His research interest is in the colonial and postcolonial political and social history of Northern Ghana.

**Salah M. Hassan** is professor of African and African Diaspora Art history at Cornell University. He is the author of *Art and Islamic Literacy Among the Hausa of Northern Nigeria* (1992), and coeditor, with Philip G. Altbach, of *The Muse of Modernity: Essays on Culture as Development in Africa* (1996) and editor of *Gendered Visions* (1997). He

served as curator of several exhibitions, including *Modernities and Memories* at the 1997 Venice Biennale and *Seven Stories About Modern Art in Africa* at the Whitechapel Art Gallery in London in 1995. He is editor of *NKA: Journal of Contemporary African Art*, and consulting editor for *African Arts* and *Atlantica*.

**Ali A. Mazrui** is one of the world's most prolific writers on Africa. He obtained his BA with Distinction from Manchester University in England, his MA from Columbia University in New York, and his PhD from Oxford University in England. Recognized among the world's top one hundred public intellectuals, he is the recipient of several honorary degrees. Upon completing his education, Dr. Mazrui joined the faculty at Makerere University (Kampala, Uganda), where he served as head of the Department of Political Science and Dean of the faculty of Social Sciences until 1973. In 1974, he joined the faculty of the University of Michigan as professor and later as the Director of the Center for Afro-American and African Studies (1978–1981). In 1989, he was appointed to the faculty of Binghamton University, State University of New York, as the Albert Schweitzer Professor in the Humanities and the Director of the Institute of Global Cultural Studies (IGCS). In addition to his appointments at Binghamton University, Dr. Mazrui holds three concurrent faculty appointments as the Albert Luthuli Professor-at-Large in the Humanities and Development Studies at the University of Jos in Nigeria, the Andrew D. White Professor-at-Large Emeritus, Senior Scholar in African Studies at Cornell University, and Chancellor at Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology in Nairobi, Kenya. In 1999, he stepped down as the inaugural Walter Rodney Professor at the University of Guyana. Dr. Mazrui has also been a Visiting Scholar at Stanford University, the University of Chicago, Colgate University, McGill University, National University of Singapore, Oxford University, Harvard University, Bridgewater State College, Ohio State University, and at other institutions in Cairo, Australia, Leeds, Nairobi, Teheran, Denver, London, Baghdad, and Sussex, among others. In addition to his academic appointments, Dr. Mazrui has also served as President of the African Studies Association, as Vice-President of the International Political Science Association, on the Board of the American Muslim Council, and has lectured on five continents. He has also served as Special Advisor to the World Bank. Dr. Mazrui's research interests include African politics, international political culture, political Islam, and North-South relations. He is the author or coauthor of more than twenty books; he has published hundreds of articles in major scholastic journals and for public media. He has also served on the editorial boards of more than twenty international scholarly journals. In addition to his written work, Dr. Mazrui was also the creator of the much acclaimed and widely discussed television series the "Africans: A Triple Heritage," which was jointly produced by the BBC and the Public Broadcasting Service (WETA, Washington) in association with the Nigerian Television Authority. A book by the same title was jointly published by BBC Publications and Little, Brown and Company. The book was a bestseller in Great Britain and was adopted or recommended by various book clubs in the United States.

**Mathayo Ndomondo** is an Assistant Lecturer in the Department of Fine and Performing Arts, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. He received his BA (in Theatre and Music) and MA (in Music) from the Department of Fine and Performing Arts, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Mathayo is currently a PhD student at the University of Texas at Austin, Department of Musicology/Ethnomusicology, School of Music. He is interested in music and HIV/AIDS, music and politics, music and gender, and music for empowerment of children and young people.

**Raphael Chijioke Njoku** received two PhDs: in African History (Dalhousie University, Canada, 2003) and in African Politics (Free University, Brussels, 2001). Before he joined the University of Louisville faculty in 2003, Njoku taught at the Alvan Ikoku College of Education in Owerri, Nigeria. His research specialty is African history and African politics. He is the author of *Culture and Customs of Morocco* (Greenwood, 2005) and *African Cultural Values: Igbo Political Leadership in Colonial Nigeria* (Routledge, 2006). Njoku has also been published in scholarly journals and edited volumes. With a fellowship from the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Studies in New York, Njoku is beginning a project on African Masks and Carnival of the Diaspora. His next book project is tentatively titled *Revisiting Sir Arthur Lewis: Democratic Transitions and the Imperative of Non-Majoritarian Democracy in Africa's Divided Societies*.

**Chinyere G. Okafor**, PhD, is an Associate Professor of English and Women's Studies, Wichita State University.

**Chika Okeke-Agulu** is an Assistant Professor of Art History at Penn State University and the Robert Sterling Clark Visiting Professor of Art History at Williams College (Fall 2007). He received his BA (Fine Arts, First-class Honors) and MFA (Painting) from the University of Nigeria Nsukka, his MA (Art History) from the University of South Florida, Tampa, and PhD from Emory University. He has published articles and reviews in *African Arts*, *NKA: Journal of Contemporary African Art*, *Glendora Review*, and *Art South Africa*. He contributed to edited volumes such as *Reading the Contemporary: African Art from Theory to the Marketplace*, *The Nsukka Artists and Contemporary Nigerian Art*, and *The Grove Dictionary of Art*. In addition to writing catalog essays, he has co-organized several exhibitions, including the Nigerian Pavilion at the First Johannesburg Biennale, 1995; *Seven Stories About Modern Art in Africa* (Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, 1995); and *The Short Century: Independence and Liberation Movements in Africa, 1945–1994* (Museum Villa Stuck, Munich, 2001). In 2002, he served as Academic Consultant for Documenta 11 as well as coordinator of its Platform 4 conference in Lagos, Nigeria. In 2004, he curated and wrote catalog essays for the Fifth Gwangju Biennale, South Korea; and *Strange Planet*, Georgia State University Art Gallery. In spring 2006, he edited the first issue of *African Arts* devoted to modernism in Africa. He is currently cowriting (with Okwui Enwezor) *Contemporary African Art Since 1980* (Damiani Editore, 2008). Dr. Okeke-Agulu, also a practicing artist, is coeditor of *Nka: Journal of Contemporary African Art*, copublished by the Africana Studies and Research Center, Cornell University.

**Kunirum Osia** has an MPhil and Ph.D. in Political Science from the George Washington University, Washington, D.C., and MA in Social Anthropology from Howard University, Washington, D.C. Presently, he works as a social scientist for the Maryland State Department of Education, Division of Rehabilitation Services where he conducts research and develops and coordinates program evaluation to identify program needs and strengths of the agency. He is an adjunct professor at Coppin State University, Department of Applied Psychology and Rehabilitation Counseling, Baltimore, where he teaches graduate classes in multiculturalism and rehabilitation counseling. Until recently Dr. Osia was an adjunct professor at the Central Michigan University, College of Extended Learning, Camp Springs, Maryland, where he taught International Political Economy, Comparative Government, and seminars in International Relations. Presently he is the Executive Editor of *World Review of Science, Technology and Sustainable Development (WRSTSD)*—a paper and electronic journal based in the United Kingdom. Until recently he was the Editor-in-Chief of *The Anioma*, a community cultural magazine based in Washington, D.C., for sixteen years. The magazine articulates

the culture of Anioma people of Nigeria. He was also the Editor-in-Chief of *International Journal of Nigerian Studies and Development*, based in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, for the past sixteen years. This journal discusses the socioeconomic and political gestation of Nigeria in particular and Africa in general.

**Simon Ottenberg** is an Emeritus Professor who taught at the University of Washington 1955–1991 and has conducted extensive anthropological research among the Igbo of southeastern Nigeria and the Limba of northern Sierra Leone. He is the author of four books on the Igbo of Afikpo, and another Igbo tome on the colonial history of Abakaliki. He curated an exhibition of seven contemporary artists trained or associated with the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, at the National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution, wrote the accompanying text, and edited the related two-day seminar. His selected essays and articles have been published in two volumes by Africa World Press, edited by Toyin Falola.

**Adam Paddock** is currently a PhD student at the University of Texas at Austin in the history department. He received a BA in History from Mansfield University of Pennsylvania in 2006 where he was nominated for the MU outstanding senior award. Adam is interested in social and economic history in Nigeria and is focused on women's resistance and child labor during the colonial period.

**Carina Ray** is Assistant Professor in the Department of History at Fordham University. She received her PhD in African History from Cornell University in 2007. Her current book project, *Policing Sexual Boundaries: The Politics of Race in Colonial Ghana*, focuses on the intersection between the racial and sexual politics of colonial rule in the Gold Coast. Specifically, her work theorizes the domain of interracial sexual relations in the Gold Coast as a space in which racial, administrative, gendered, and indigenous hierarchies were being constructed, contested, and reordered by a broad range of social actors, both African and European. Professor Ray is also the author of "Tales from the Archives," a monthly column in *New African* magazine.

**Ahmad Sikainga** is a Professor in the Department of History at Ohio State University. He received his BA and MA from Khartoum University (Sudan) and his PhD from the University of California, Santa Barbara. Professor Sikainga's area of expertise is African and economic social history, with a focus on slavery, emancipation, labor, and urban history. The geographical focus of his research is Sudan, the Nile Valley, and North Africa. His publications include: *Sudan Defence Force: Origin and Role, 1925–1955* (1983), *Western Bahr al-Ghazal Under British Rule, 1898–1956* (Ohio University Press, 1991), *Slaves into Workers: Emancipation and Labor in Colonial Sudan* (University of Texas Press, 1996), *City of Steel and Fire: A Social History of Atbara, Sudan's Railway Town, 1906–1984* (Heinemann, 2002) and several articles. He coedited *Civil War in the Sudan, 1983–1989* (1993). His most recent publication is a coedited book titled *Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Africa* (Africa World Press, 2006). In 1991–92, Professor Sikainga was a Mellon Fellow at Harvard University and in 1996–97 he was a Fulbright Scholar in Morocco. His current research examines the role of slavery, ethnicity, and identity in the development of popular culture in contemporary Sudan.

**Paul Tiyambe Zeleza** is a historian, literary critic, novelist, and short-story writer. He is Professor of African American Studies and History, the Liberal Arts and Sciences Distinguished Professor, and Head of the Department of African American Studies at the University of Illinois at Chicago, as well as Adjunct Professor of History and African and African American Studies at the Pennsylvania State University and Honorary Professor at the University of Cape Town. He is the author of more than a hundred articles and essays and two dozen books, including most recently the two-volume *The Study of*

*Africa* (2006–2007); *African Universities in the Twenty-First Century* (2004) also in two volumes; and *Human Rights, the Rule of Law and Development in Africa* (2004). He is the winner of the 1994 Noma Award for his book *A Modern Economic History of Africa* (1993), the 1998 Special Commendation of the Noma Award for *Manufacturing African Studies and Crises* (1997), and several awards for *Encyclopedia of Twentieth Century African History* (2002). He has raised about \$5 million in research and institutional grants from the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the U.S. Department of Education Title VI, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Canada Social Science and Humanities Research Council, and the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa. While teaching at the Pennsylvania State University (2003–2006) he received the 2006 Penn State College of Liberal Arts Class of 1933 Distinction in the Humanities Award.



# Preface and Acknowledgments

---

This book grew out of a symposium in honor of the memory of Professor Don Ohadike. Held at Cornell University, Ithaca, from September 22 to 23, 2006, the symposium attracted an international cast of speakers. The main goal was to provide a forum for intellectual exchange around the theme of “Nationalism and Power in Modern Africa” with Africa here viewed as a global presence and not just a mere geographic entity or locale. The symposium explored the trajectories that defined the interest and scholarship of Professor Don Ohadike. These include: “Colonial Order and Resistance in Africa,” and the understanding of Colonial rule in Africa in general and in Nigeria in particular, focusing on the nature of change and of agencies within a comparative perspective; “Diaspora Africans and Nationalism” dwelling on issues of global blackness; how it was framed, articulated, and expressed over time; and “Question of Modernity and Africa and its Diaspora,” interrogating African modernity and how it is constructed and articulated in comparison to other modernities including Western modernity.

The symposium and the book that emanated from it could not have been possible without the enthusiasm and efforts of many colleagues and departments. We acknowledge all the goodwill and hard work of many people and individuals who made the symposium a reality. We would like to acknowledge with gratitude the generous support from the Provost’s office for the symposium, and to thank Provost Bidy Martin for her enthusiasm for the idea from the moment of its inception, and for her unwavering support of the Africana Studies and Research Center. We are also grateful to the main cosponsors of this project, The Institute for African Development and its Director Professor Muna Ndulo, The Society for the Humanities, and to its Director Professor Brett de Bary, for her consistent support of activities in Africana Studies and Research Center. Our appreciation also go to Tim Murray, Director of the Rose Goldsen Fund, and to Professor Victor Koschmann, the Chair of the Department of History for their generous support of the symposium.

We would also like to thank all our colleagues in Africana Studies and Research Center for their enthusiasm and hard work behind the scenes to make the symposium a reality. It is also with gratitude that we acknowledge the hard work and efforts of the organizing committee in Africana, our colleagues Professors Robert Harris, N’Dri Assie-Lumumba, Abdul Nanji, and Ayele Bekerie. The utmost gratitude goes to Eric Acree, the chief librarian of the John Henrick Clarke Africana Library for preparing an exhibition and an extensive bibliography of the works of Don Ohadike and for providing videotaping documentation of the symposium as he does consistently with all events at the Africana Center.

Working with the staff of Africana, Cindy Telage, Sheila Towner, Judy Holley, and with Denine Kirby and Kim Cornish have been a delightful experience. They maintained their “cool” throughout a very stressful process, and very last-minute request or

demands. We are also grateful to Ken Glover for rallying students to help in the symposium in many ways; to Jamicia Lacky for volunteering to videotape our deliberations throughout the two days of the symposium; and to Ramez Elias, who provided a wonderful design of posters, symposium program, and its Web site.

Our utmost appreciation goes to our guest speakers—presenters, moderators, and discussants—for taking the time (from what we are sure are very busy schedules) to write papers, or contribute commentaries on the papers. We also appreciate the time they took to travel to Ithaca to be part of the symposium. Finally, we would like to acknowledge the presence at the symposium of Don Ohadike's family: his two daughters, Ophelia Ohadike of Washington, D.C., and Sandra Ohadike, of Silver Springs, Maryland, and his son, James Ohadike, of Jersey City, New Jersey, and his wife Veronica Ohadike, and grandchildren.

Toyin Falola  
The University of Texas at Austin  
Salah Hassan  
Cornell University  
Summer 2007