

**ATILIM UNIVERSITY**  
**GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**  
**DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**  
**MASTER OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**



**THE ROLE OF KWAME NKRUMAH AND GHANA IN  
PROMOTING PAN-AFRICANISM**

**Master's Thesis**

**Abdul-Samed Iddisah**

**Ankara- 2019**



**ATILIM UNIVERSITY**  
**GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**  
**DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**  
**MASTER OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**



**THE ROLE OF KWAME NKRUMAH AND GHANA IN  
PROMOTING PAN-AFRICANISM**

**Master's Thesis**

**Abdul-Samed Iddisah**


**Supervisor**

**Assoc. Prof. Dr. Cenk Aygöl**

**Ankara-2019**

## ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

This is to certify that this thesis titled “THE ROLE OF KWAME NKRUMAH AND GHANA IN PROMOTING PAN-AFRICANISM” prepared by Abdul-Samed IDDISAH under the supervision of Dr. Cenk Aygöl meets with the committee’s approval unanimously as a Master’s Thesis in the field of International Relations following the successful defense of the thesis conducted on



Prof. Dr. Dilaver Tengilimoğlu (Director)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sonay Bayramoğlu Ozugurlu (Jury Chair)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Cenk Aygöl (Supervisor)

Dr. Duygu Dersan Orhan (Jury Member)

## **ETHICS DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that;

- I prepared this thesis in accordance with Atilim University Graduate School of Social Sciences Thesis Writing Directive
- I prepared this thesis within the framework of academic and ethics rules
- I presented all information, documents, evaluations and findings in accordance with scientific ethical and moral principles
- I cited all sources to which I made references in my thesis
- The work of art in this thesis is original

I hereby acknowledge all possible loss of rights in case of a contrary circumstance. (In case of any circumstance contradicting with my declaration)

Abdul-Samed IDDISAH

28<sup>th</sup> June, 2019

## ÖZ

IDDISAH, Abdul-Samed, The Role of Kwame Nkruma and Ghana in Promoting Pan-Africanism, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2019

Pan-Afrikanizm ideolojisi kıta içindeki ve dışındaki Afrikalıların tecrübe edindiği en önemli politik düşüncelerden birisidir. Sömürgeciliği, ayrımcılığı ve Afrikalıların köleleştirilmesini durdurmayı talep eden ve hatta buna zorlayan bir hareket olarak başlayan şey, güçlü bir ideolojiye dönüşmüş ve böylece Afrika ve Afrikalıların birliğini ve sendikalaşmasını şiddetle talep edilir hale getirmiştir. Bu kavram Afrika'daki ve diasporadaki birçok lideri cezbetse de, Gana ve Kwame Nkrumah'nın oynadığı rol, bu ideolojinin Afrika'da gerçekleşmesi ve sürdürülmesi bağlamındaki düşünceleri ve süreci anlama ve analiz etmede ehemmiyetini korumaktadır. Bu tez , harekete geçiş nedeni liderlerin benimsediği fırsatlar ve ideolojinin yüzleştiği, liderler tarafından ileri sürülen zorluklar olan Pan-Afrikanizm ideolojisini Gana ve Kwame Nkrumah'nın teşvik etmede oynadığı rolü incelemeyi hedefler. Bu araştırma, Gana ve Nkrumah'nın ideolojiyi teşvik etmek için ellerinden geleni yapmasına rağmen, böylesi büyük bir projenin yürürlüğe geçmesinin ve sürecinin, bu engin coğrafyanın ve Afrika'nın farklı bölgelerindeki çeşitli, büyük zorlukların üstesinden gelmede daha karmaşık ve daha iyi organize edilmiş bir yaklaşım gerektirmiş olacağını savunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Pan-Afrikanizm, Gana, Kwame Nkrumah, Africa Birliği

## ABSTRACT

IDDISAH, Abdul-Samed, The Role of Kwame Nkruma and Ghana in Promoting Pan – Africanism, Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2019

The Pan-African ideology is one of the most important political thoughts Africans in and outside the continent have experienced. What started as a movement to demand and possibly force an end to colonialism, discrimination and enslavement of Africans transformed into a strong ideology and thus, pushed for the unity and unionization of Africa and Africans. Although this concept attracted many leaders in Africa and in the diaspora, the role played by Ghana and Kwame Nkrumah remains crucial in understanding and analyzing the thoughts and processes of implementing and sustaining the ideology in Africa. This thesis seeks to examine the role Ghana and Kwame Nkrumah played in promoting the Pan-African ideology; what their motivation was; the opportunities and challenges the ideology faced as propounded and espoused by the leaders. This research argues that while Ghana and Nkrumah gave their best in promoting the ideology, the process and implementation of such a huge project would have required a more complex and well-organized approach in order to overcome the vast geography, immense and divergent challenges in the different parts of Africa.

**Key Words:** Pan-Africanism, Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, African Unity.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I would like to Thank the Almighty for the strength, wisdom and good health He granted me to have gone through this course without any problems

Throughout this thesis I have recieved a great deal of support from my supervisor, Dr.Cenk Aygöl. I wish to show my appreciation and gratitude to him for the time and knowledge shared with me.

I would like to also show my appreciation to my respondents without whom I wouldn't have gotten vital information and data to complete this work. God bless you.

I wish to thank my friends and family especially my 'Jo' for all the support, advice and encouragement all through the course and particularly during the thesis period.

## TABLE OF CONTENT

<b>ÖZ.....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENT.....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>INDEX OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS.....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>INDEX OF TABLES AND PICTURES.....</b>	<b>viii</b>

### CHAPTER ONE

1.1. INTRODUCTION .....	1
1.1.1. Background of Study .....	3
1.1.2. Problem Statement .....	7
1.1.3. Research Question.....	7
1.1.4. Significance of the Study .....	8
1.1.5. Delimitation .....	8
1.2. Methodology .....	9
1.2.1. Selection of the Research Approach .....	10
1.2.2. Advantages and Disadvantages of Key Informants Interviews .....	12
1.2.3. Sample Size and Sampling Technique.....	13
1.2.4. Data Collection and Analysis.....	13
1.2.5. Ethical Consideration.....	14

### CHAPTER TWO

2.1. LITERATURE REVIEW .....	15
2.1.1. Emergence and Development of Pan-African Movement and Ideology .....	15
2.1.1.1. History of Pan-Africanism.....	16
2.1.2. Nature and Scope of Pan-Africanism.....	20

2.1.3. Factors for the Rise of Early Pan-Africanism: Slavery and World Wars .....	21
2.1.3.1. Slavery .....	21
2.1.3.2. World War I& II and Pan-Africanism .....	22
2.1.4. Pan-Africanism in Africa: Post-World War Era .....	23
2.1.5. Regionalism: The New Pan-Africanism .....	25
2.2. Theoretical Andiconceptual Framework.....	27
2.2.1. Leadership Trait Analysis (LTA) Theory .....	27
2.2.2. Features of the Leadership Trait Analysis (LTA) Theory .....	29
2.2.3. Decision Making and Leadership Traits of Kwame Nkrumah .....	31

### **CHAPTER THREE**

3.1. THE ROLE OF GHANA IN PROMOTING PAN-AFRICAN MOVEMENT .....	41
3.1.1. Ghana's Independence Foreign Policy and the Pan-African Movement .....	41
3.1.2. The Establishment of African Affairs Centre .....	53
3.1.3. The Establishment of an Adviser on African Affairs Office .....	54
3.1.4. All African Peoples' Conference (AAPC).....	56
3.2. The Role of Kwame Nkrumah in Promoting Pan-Africanism.....	59
3.2.1. Early Life in Ghana: 1909-1934 .....	60
3.2.2. From Ghana to United States and London.....	62
3.2.2.1. The Manchester Congress of 1945.....	64
3.2.3. From Manchester to Ghana.....	66
3.2.4. Nkrumah's Thoughts on the Liberation of Africa.....	70
3.2.4.1. Nkrumah on Self-Determination.....	70
3.2.5. Formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Concept of Self Determination.....	72

## CHAPTER FOUR

4.1. FINDINGS .....	75
4.1.1. Pan-Africanism .....	75
4.1.2. Culture in Pan-Africanism .....	76
4.2. Factors that Influence Kwame Nkrumah’s Stance on Pan-Africanism .....	79
4.3. Achievements .....	80
4.4. Challenges .....	83
<b>CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>91</b>
<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>CV.....</b>	<b>101</b>

**INDEX OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>AU</b>	: African Union (AU)
<b>AMU</b>	: Arab Maghreb Union (AMU)
<b>COMESA</b>	: Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)
<b>CPP</b>	: Convention People's Party (CPP)
<b>EAC</b>	: East African Community (EAC),
<b>ECCAS</b>	: Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)
<b>ECOWAS</b>	: Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)
<b>FNL</b>	: Front de Libération Nationale (FNL).
<b>IGAD</b>	: Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD).
<b>PAC</b>	: Pan-African Congress (PAC)
<b>OAU</b>	: Organization of African Unity (OAU).
<b>LTA</b>	: Leadership Trait Analysis Theory (LTA)
<b>SADC</b>	: Southern African Development Community (SADC)
<b>UNIA</b>	: Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA)
<b>WANS</b>	: West African National Secretariat (WANS)

**INDEX OF TABLES AND PICTURES**

Table 1-Merits and Demerits of Using Key Informants' Technique .....	12
Table 2- Informants' demographic characteristics.....	13
Picture 1: Map of Ghana at Independence .....	42
Picture 2: Map of West Africa .....	48
Picture 3: Nkrumah of Ghana with Nasser Of Egypt.....	51
Picture 4: George Padmore .....	54
Picture 5: Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.....	59
Picture 6: Pan-Africanist at the Manchester Pan-African Conference.....	65
Picture 7: First Heads of State Summit of the OAU in Addis Ababa in 1963.....	73
Picture 8: Political Map of Africa .....	83
Picture 9: Pictorial Presentation of African Counties and their Colonial Masters before World War I.....	87

## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.1. INTRODUCTION

Pan-Africanism has been the single most elaborate concept and practice to bring the African continent into a single social, economic and political bloc. The idea was first mooted in the United States and has since remained to be a concept that continues to attract support from Africans living on the continent and the diaspora. Its first proponents included individuals based in and out of the continent such as Henry Sylvester Williams (diaspora), Sekou Toure (Guinea), George Padmore (diaspora), Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), Peter Abrahams (diaspora), Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya), Marcus Garvey (diaspora) and Julius Nyerere (Tanzania). Despite the enormous efforts of others, the role of Ghana and Kwame Nkrumah for that matter remains very crucial. This is not to negate the roles and contributions of other key players. However, the enthusiasm and passion in promoting the Pan-African ideology can best be explained using the case of Ghana and its leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah.

Ghana's struggle for independence was characterized by the ideals and belief in pan-Africanism, a practice that Ghana endeavoured to spread to other liberation movements across the African continent. Kwame Nkrumah, on the other hand, was able to mobilize the masses to believe in the pan-African movement through his writings and eloquent speeches. His thoughts and writings did not only help transform his Pan-African vision into reality, they still continue to influence like-minded people to date. Ghana and its leaders were on the forefront advocating for the creation of a union government for the continent of Africa and articulated this position in every possible opportunity. To show their commitment, Ghana entered into a union with Guinea and later a triad with Mali and Guinea. The quest for a United States of Africa brought about foe and friends for Ghanaian Leaders and support or isolation of Ghana as a state by others. Nonetheless, although the vision of a united Africa that Ghana fought hard to promote and that was fiercely defended by Kwame Nkrumah did not materialize,

important gains were made to promote integration among African states and the ideology still has a good number of supporters.

Before we examine the role of Ghana and Nkrumah in promoting the Pan-African ideology, it is important to attempt to explain the meaning of the concept. The notion of Pan-Africanism has been described in different forms and to some extent, it has changed over time. This has led to the change of focus, practice, and the definition of this concept. The main focal point of the concept is that its proponents seek to see Africa become free of external influence, united among themselves and become visible players on the international arena. In the beginning, pan-Africanism was an anti-colonial movement that sought to unite Africans and people of African origin across the world in order to defeat imperialism and discrimination of the African race. Today the emphasis may be different, for instance, there are those who look at pan African ideology as an attempt to strengthen collaboration on different issues such as promoting peace, climate change, combat terrorism, and economic prosperity. As a philosophical movement, it seeks to provide the basis and direction of African unity (Kuman-Abiwu (2013,124).

Some scholars such as Williams as cited in Kuman-Abiwu (2013, 124) consider Pan-Africanism as a project that goes beyond the continent of Africa and one that seeks to unite all people of black race in any part of the world, be it in the Caribbean, the United States or Latin America against exploitation and oppression by other races. This definition goes contrary to others who look at the project as solely concerning people who reside in the continent of Africa and who need to unite in order to succeed in overcoming the numerous challenges on the continent. Whether they deliberately ignore the plight of other people of African origin may be debatable. In addition, contemporary Pan-Africanists also seek to fight and challenge any form of neo-colonialism.

The most elaborate definition of Pan-Africanism may be found in the African Union definition which states that pan-Africanism is:

*“An ideology and movement that encourages the solidarity of Africans worldwide. It is based on the belief that unity is vital to economic, social and political progress and aims to ‘unify and uplift’ people of African descent. The ideology asserts that the fates of all African peoples and countries are intertwined. At its core, Pan-Africanism is a belief that African people, both on the continent and in the Diaspora, share not merely a common history, but a common destiny”* (Kumah-Abiwu 2013, 124)

The idea of combining political, social and economic needs of the continent as defined by the African Union tends to expand the definition. It however, has the support of some scholars such as Kimaryo (2013:15-18) who also adds “a belief that African peoples, both on the continent and in the Diaspora, share not merely a common history, but a common destiny” to his definition of Pan-Africanism (Kimaryo 2016, 16-17). Noteworthy, the African Union definition of Pan-Africanism seems to identify certain benefits that Africans should enjoy irrespective of where they may be.

### **1.1.1. Background of Study**

Ghana has been touted as the beacon of African politics with regard to political sovereignty and the exercise of the rule of law. This prestigious reverence towards Ghana has stemmed from the role it played in the political emancipation of the countries within the sub-region, economic support to other African states, and currently the torch it holds in strengthening democratic governance on the continent. While the history of Africa as a continent cannot be written without a mention of colonialism and the struggle for independence given that colonialism lasted for over 300 years. A dark period for the African people, within which they were governed by imperialist Europeans, the same history cannot be written without touching on the role of Ghana and its leaders in this struggle (Gough, Wood, Barrientos, Bevan, Room & Davis, 2004; Lester, 2005). Colonial period refers to the time when the Africans lost control of their

sovereignty and independence following events that were triggered by the 1884 conference in Berlin hosted by Otto Von Bismarck (Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012).

The tragedy of colonialism in Africa be it in terms of loss of human capital as a result of the resistance wars or the loss of resources that were exploited during the colonial era can never be over emphasized. This is because many African indigenes lost their homes through forceful land annexation (Nunn & Wantchekon, 2011), a practice where many Africans were rounded up into what was called 'reserves' and Europeans occupied their fertile and mineral endowed lands. During this same period, the consequence of slave trade and Africans who had been taken to Europe to fight along the colonial masters during the first world war and few lucky ones who were taken to study in some of the European countries began to develop a new movement.

Africans in the diaspora who were concerned about the increasing loss of their African identity and heritage began to advocate for the unification of Africans in the continent and abroad. Furthermore, African history was threatened as it was being watered-down by Eurocentric scholars who emphasized western perspectives on African narrative. The European imperialist push into Africa was motivated by three main factors; economic, political and social, this came about as a result of the decrease in profitability in the slave trade since there was advocacy for the abolishing of the slave trade. (Rodwel, 2010:12-34). Although the initial stage of contact between the imperialists and Africans was under the guise of trade in materials such as gold, ore, diamond, ivory and other natural resources on the soils of the continent, the quest to rule Africa which was being pushed for by nationalist segments of European societies would not have been achieved without the introduction of education and religion.

The strong impact wielded by education and religion on Africans can be seen by the prominence gained by Christianity and Islam, and formal education in modern day Africa, at the expense of the African Traditional Religion and oral tradition which existed prior to the coming of the colonial. These elements have had both positive and

negative impacts on African society, however the lack of involvement of Africans as to whether they preferred the new way of life remains a significant concern.

Within this period, local institutions through which Africans ruled and educated themselves on the culture and traditions of the people were crumbling and being substituted by European and American governance systems and ideals. Colonialism served to worsen the conditions and experiences of Africans creating an image of a dark continent that further promoted the spread of racism of Africans across the world. It is the racist treatment of Africans and the loss of their sovereignty and freedom that created a fertile ground for discussion on the need for African Unity thus leading to the birth of the Pan-African movement. The hardships experienced, coupled with the disintegration of the traditional institutions and ideas in Africa necessitated the struggle for independence and sovereignty which adopted a Pan-African approach with the support of leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah and countries like Ghana.

By 1940s, the disgruntled African population sought to emancipate themselves and regain their sovereignty. It is worthy of note, however, that the struggle for independence did not take of concurrently throughout the continent. Rather, the struggle for independence took place in waves with some countries leading the way. Some countries that spearheaded the struggle for independence include Nigeria, Guinea, Cameroon, Senegal, Mali, and Congo. The first black African country to have gained independence was Ghana in 1957 and that is why it becomes an important actor in understanding the spread of Pan-Africanism across Africa.

Ghana did not only win independence but overtly inspired and supported other countries to fight for their independence. Ghana's unflinching support for other African countries can be seen in the utterance of its first president, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah that, "Ghana's independence is meaningless unless it is linked to the total liberation of the African continent" (Nkrumah, 1964:32). Dr. Kwame Nkrumah did not only pay lip service to this statement but worked towards achieving this goal with an unbridled

enthusiasm throughout his tenure of office as president. Some actions he carried towards inspiring and supporting other African countries to keep fighting for independence include giving financial support to countries like Guinea (Grilli, 2014: 21) and the establishment of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute where leaders such as Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Julius Nyerere of Kenya, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Sekou Toure of Guinea, Namdi Azikiwe of Nigeria and other leaders from African countries were trained to lead their people towards the strife for independence (Quist-Adade, C., & Doodoo, 2015).

Kwame Nkrumah and Ghana were also crucial in the establishment of Pan-Africanism as a politico-cultural movement, which continues to be a key institution and movement in African international relations. Through Ghana's efforts, many African leaders were educated and orientated on the ideals necessary for the emancipation of the entire continent (Adeze'Frehiwot, 2011: 8). The dividends as paid-off in these efforts as in 1960, three years after Ghana's independence, many countries gained independence, ushering in a wave of emancipation throughout the entire continent (Kah, 2016:148).

The independence of Ghana coincided with a strong wind of change in the demand for independence blowing through the African continent. Nkrumah and the other African leaders mooted for a united Africa which resulted in the first Heads of African states summit held on 1st May, 1963 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia that brought the presidents of independent African countries together. While Ghana under the leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah led the way in ensuring that Ghana's independence translated into the emancipation of the entire African continent, the actual contribution made by the country in terms of politics and economics can equally not be underestimated.

The translation of the Pan-African vision into a reality did not only need rhetoric and narrative but also a strong sense of commitment, investment, and sacrifice. It is therefore incumbent that the subject of African emancipation and unity and the role played by Ghana as the front-runner in politics and democracy is revisited. It is against

this backdrop that this study is being conducted to understand how crucial Nkrumah and Ghana were in promoting African unity and the efforts in helping different countries attain their independence. Despite the eventual attainment of independence of all African states, to a large extent, African unity has remained a mirage yet to be achieved. Nevertheless, the contribution of Ghana and Nkrumah in promoting African unity remains worthy of serious attention.

### **1.1.2. Problem Statement**

The question of African identity is one that has remained unclear for over a century, rightfully so given the level of diversity witnessed in the continent. However, efforts to promote African identity is not pegged on simple cultural identity but rather a form of identity that can strengthen and unite Africans in overcoming various challenges that affect them in and out of the continent. The narrative of African unity has however been surrounded by a serious dilemma. For example, does African unity mean the same thing as black people unity? Should it be limited to the geographical sphere of the continent or should it include Africans and people who can trace their roots to Africa from across the world? Should it be a political, cultural or economic unity? Given these important questions, it is difficult to discuss the role of different actors in promoting African unity even though they both overlap in ideas and approach. This thesis, therefore, seeks to investigate and make sense of the nature and model of African Unity that Ghana and its leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah sought to promote. There is little doubt that African unity or in other words pan-Africanism will go a long way in bringing change among Africans.

### **1.1.3. Research Question**

The questions which this research seeks to answer include;

- What role did Ghana play in promoting the Pan-African ideology across Africa?

- What methods did Ghana use to achieve this goal?
- What individual role did Kwame Nkrumah, the first President of Ghana, play in promoting Pan-Africanism in Africa?

#### **1.1.4. Significance of the Study**

This research seeks to revive an important topic on Pan-Africanism at a time where African unity can help the continent become globally relevant and also overcome some of the deep rooted challenges witnessed in Africa. While there has been previous research conducted before on Kwame Nkrumah, most of them have focused on his individual political life and achievements or an analysis of his speeches and writings. His role in promoting the Pan-African ideology has attracted little attention and even in the cases that it has, there has been no side-by-side distinction of his role as an individual and that of Ghana as a state.

Therefore, by drawing a line, although thin, between the role of Ghana as a country and the role of Nkrumah as an individual, we will be able to paint a better picture of reality. To do so, the author has adopted a theory that explains how individual traits can be important in international relations. Here in Turkey, a search on the Department of Higher Education (YÖK) thesis database indicate that no similar studies have been conducted here in the past and therefore I expect that this thesis will help promote knowledge and understanding of Africa from an African perspective.

#### **1.1.5. Delimitation**

This study is limited to the role of Ghana and Kwame Nkrumah in promoting Pan-Africanism in Africa. It will focus on the years between 1950 and 1980. The topic on Pan-Africanism is broad and has been promoted by very many people. This means that the inclusion of Ghana and Nkrumah in this research does not undermine the contribution of other people and countries towards this course. Rather it does seek to

recognize the selfless contribution of the two actors. The research will examine how they promoted Pan-Africanism in their distinct ways and the impact of their contribution. But first, it is important to examine the concept of Pan-Africanism.

## **1.2. METHODOLOGY**

This research is a qualitative study and utilizes personal communication with key informants as a means of reaching the depth of the research topic and as one of the ways of answering the research questions. This section brings to light the process of selecting the key informants, the intersection between informants' ideas and the research topic as well as the advantages and disadvantages of using this technique as a method of collecting data. As already established in earlier chapters, the main objective of this research is to elucidate on the role of Ghana and Kwame Nkrumah in promoting pan-Africanism while building on the already existing literature as well as the knowledge of the informants. It is on this basis that in-depth interviews were conducted and, in the process, important themes that relate to the study emerged. I also used relevant information from exiting literature on the contributions of both Ghana and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in their quest for African unity and thus Pan-Africanism.

Methods used in qualitative research examine on the “what”, “why” or “how” of a situation rather than the “how much” or the “how many” questions. Therefore, if the researcher intends to examine how individuals or an entire society perceive certain issues, qualitative research approach will be sufficient. It goes beyond looking at how people perceive different issues but also why they perceive them that way. By allowing the respondents to give their opinion, the researcher is able to interpret and understand their feelings and motivation. This sought of in-depth feedback is derived from group discussions and face to face interviews. Qualitative method is also useful when the researcher is trying to come up with a new recommendation to a study. In addition, the use of observation as a means of data collections adds up to the several merits of using the qualitative method. It involves the recording of peoples' behaviour in their own

setting. Observation matters when there is a need to collect sensitive information that respondents may otherwise not be willing to share or in some cases inaccessible.

### **1.2.1. Selection of the Research Approach**

The choice of an appropriate method in social science is still debatable and controversial. On one hand, some social scientists have given prominence to quantitative methods and on the other, others have favoured qualitative methods (Rhodes et al, 2010). Such controversy influences the researcher in his/her selection and utilization of valid techniques as the most significant facet of any research is how the research is conducted. In short, the method used has the utmost significance.

In view of this, all researchers have to make a choice between qualitative or quantitative and in some cases, they could combine the two methods to collect and analyse appropriate data (Schwandt et. al., 2007). However, it is important to note that using both qualitative and quantitative approaches should be done methodically and carefully in order to come up with quality data (Neuman & Robson, 2007). This research uses the qualitative method and key informants as a way of analysing and gathering data. Research design includes everything that deals with data collection, analysis, and measurement. In the qualitative method, data interpretation and collection are done in a non-numerical and descriptive way. It is best applicable when investigating social aspects of humans such as how they live, interact with each other, work or react to certain things. Researchers mostly use descriptive design in explanatory and preliminary studies to enable them to collect, summarise, interpret and present information in order to achieve their research objective (Yadav and Jain, 2007).

Denzin and Lincoln (2002) look at qualitative research as an interdisciplinary approach that is used in the humanities as well as the social sciences (Denzin and Lincoln, 2002). Qualitative research is explanatory, and it encompasses a small number

of members through the non-probability approach to obtain an in-depth definition or content (Adnan, 2010).

This purposive approach of selecting few specific respondents is an important advantage of the qualitative method since it gives the researcher the opportunity to gain a deeper understanding of an individual case study rather than a general descriptive approach that a large population sample may have. This approach helps to provide an in-depth appreciation of the structure, pattern, and order during the entire research period. Thus, the qualitative method has sufficient merits in collecting data about people in a social setting.

Another advantage of the qualitative method is that it does not bring in several variables or treatments or give the participants the researchers own operational definitions, instead it allows the respondents to have the independence of giving their own unbiased opinion. This is important in getting unbiased data particularly on sensitive topics such as conflict and identity. It also gives the researcher the ability to adjust data collection techniques, data collection tools as well as concepts depending on the circumstances during the data collection process.

In this research, the qualitative in-depth interviews were done with key informants who have a wealth of knowledge on the area of study. The informants included university professors who had grasped the political, social, economic and cultural history of Ghana, as well as knowledge on pan-Africanism vis-a-vis the role of Kwame Nkrumah in promoting Pan-Africanism. The selection was limited to university professors and former diplomats due to their fluency in English. It must be remembered that there are several local languages in Ghana and even though there were other people who could elucidate on this topic, I wanted to avoid the challenges that come with translation from local languages to English which could lead to diluting or losing the content or meaning of the information collected.

### 1.2.2. Advantages and Disadvantages of Key Informants Interviews

Virtually every research method has its advantages and disadvantages. Key informants' technique can produce quality data since the researcher has the opportunity to ask for clarifications and follow ups on questions. This method also helps the researcher to build relationships with the respondents who could be of help in future studies relating to the area of study, since their wealth of knowledge and expertise never expire. However, choosing the right and appropriate informants could be a difficult task. Some of the desired informants could be so busy that making time to sit for lengthy interviews is almost impossible. Also, since the informants are very experienced and full of knowledge, controlling and maintaining the interview to be in the specific area of the study could be difficult for the researcher. Finally, mostly respondents in this category are old and retired, it could be difficult for them to remember and respond to questions in a chronological and coherent order.

The table below summarizes the merits and demerits of using key informants' technique.

Table 1-Merits and demerits of using key informants' technique

<b>Advantages</b>	<b>Disadvantages</b>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Key informant's technique allows the researcher to create awareness, enthusiasm, and interests around the topic.</li> <li>2. Detailed and quality data can be gotten using this technique.</li> <li>3. Researcher establishes rapport and a personal relationship with the informants.</li> <li>4. The technique allows for clarification and follows ups on questions.</li> <li>5. The respondents may know other people who would have more vital and important information and recommend such people to the researcher.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Choosing the right kind of people can be troubling for the researcher.</li> <li>2. Scheduling the interview sessions can be difficult if the informants are busy and unwilling to adjust.</li> <li>3. It is difficult to generalize the findings.</li> <li>4. Informants may not remember all the relevant information needed.</li> <li>5. Respondents may give a lot more unrelated information which becomes difficult to "separate the wheat from the chaff"</li> </ol>

### 1.2.3. Sample Size and Sampling Technique

There are several strategies that are used for selecting research participants in qualitative research, but they mostly depend on the accessibility, availability and the size of the population as well as the scope of the study (Lune et al, 2010). The importance of sampling is to come up with a collection that accurately represents the entire population (Gilbert 2005). In this research, purposeful sampling method was used to select the informants. This technique enables the researcher to select those participants he deems fit for the research. The respondents were selected from universities in Ghana and retired career diplomats due to time constraints and limited resources. This selection was done based of their expertise, background knowledge and experiences on the area of study.

Informants' demographic characteristics are summarised in the table below

Table 2- Informants' demographic characteristics

<b>Informants</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Profession</b>	<b>Institution</b>
Informant 1	Female	University Professor	University of Ghana
Informant 2	Male	Retired Diplomat	Tamale, Ghana
Informant 3	Male	University Professor	University of Cape Coast, Ghana.
Informant 4	Female	Retired Diplomat	Accra, Ghana.
Informant 5	Male	Retired diplomat	Accra, Ghana.

### 1.2.4. Data Collection and Analysis

According to Nueman (2007), the quality of a research is largely anchored on the quality of data collected and assessed during the research process. In this research, notes taking were used to collect the data from the participants. I prepared some questions in relation to my topic of study which I put to the respondents and then as they answered the questions, I took notes and asked for clarifications where their answers weren't clear enough to me, I also asked follow up questions based on the responds I got for some of the question I originally asked.

The process was simplified as much as possible to avoid any ambiguity. I began by explaining to them my topic of the study and the need for the interview. I then put my questions to them and took my notes copiously as they answered. Each session took an average of two hours; some of them had a lot of time for me but others were pretty busy and thus had limited time but overall, I was able to get all the responds I needed for my questions and the follow up questions that came up. I then analyzed the data from my notes I collected and a number of themes emerged during my analysis of the data.

### **1.2.5. Ethical Consideration**

Ethics are an important part of any scientific study as they contain moral principles that guide the researcher throughout the process. Gilbert (2005) underscores that ethics are the principles that provide a boundary and guides the conduct of a researcher in all of his/her work. Even though there have been varied consensus on the importance of ethics in research, there are some ethical studies that indicate that most research works or studies have inherent unethical components (Scarbrough & Tanenbaum, 1998).

In my case, ethical procedures were duly followed in this study. I requested informant's participation in the study which they willingly accepted to do at their convenience. The informants' names were coded to ensure that their real identity is not revealed. I did this to protect their identity and safety so that they do not become targets for people who, may disagree with them on any of the issues that came up. Also, I assured the informants that the information and data I collect from them would be used only for the purpose of this research and nothing more.

## CHAPTER TWO

### 2.1. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section, I will examine the idea of Pan-Africanism using the existing literature in order to assess what has been previously said and determined by previous researchers. I will use some of the concepts from this section throughout the paper.

#### 2.1.1. Emergence and Development of Pan-African Movement and Ideology

Tracing the beginning of Pan-African Movements and Pan-Africanism as an ideology has proved to be a protracted endeavour in many studies. Some scholars have located the ideology within the continent of Africa and link it to the independence of several African nations as well as the rise of nationalism. But as Geiss (1974) argues, this conception of pan-Africanism is an erroneous and a shallow view of an ideology whose roots spread far beyond Africa and cannot be explicitly linked to the independence of African nations.

Thompson and Davidson (1969) warn that viewing Pan-Africanism with the prism of nationalism and independence of African nations only works to limit the ideology within specific borders. They go ahead to ascertain that factors that enabled the rise of Pan-Africanism find their origin from outside the continent of Africa (Thompson and Davidson, 1969). In fact, Legum (1965) attributes the origin of these factors to the Diaspora long before 1900 (Legum, 1965:14). Pan-Africanism is hence believed to be a product of the need of Africans, both in the Diaspora and in the continent of Africa, to rise up against discrimination and slavery as well as the need for social, economic and political liberation.

As a concept, Pan-Africanism has also been difficult to define and scholars who attempted to define the term have come up with varied definitions. Geiss (1974) conceptualized pan-Africanism as an embodiment of political, social, economic and

technological modernizations aimed at improving the lives of African people around the world (Geiss, 1974). Legum (1965) views Pan-Africanism in subjective terms and according to him, it is simply ‘a movement of ideas and emotions’. Other scholars like Thompson and Davidson (1969) have looked at the term as a representation of socio-economic and political solidarity (Thompson and Davidson, 1969). Based on these definitions, even though the term had in it a vision of a modern Africa, it is easy to conclude that pan-Africanism has been viewed through emotional and intellectual prism propelled by ideology and sentiments.

In this section, I will endeavour to locate the early origin of Pan-Africanism which is traced back to the 19th century, the nature and scope of Pan-Africanism, as well as factors that motivated the rise of Pan-African movements. Aside the global perspective of Pan-Africanism, this section will also look at Pan-African ideology and movement in Africa, especially in post-World War II order and how Pan-Africanism has transformed in the current order.

#### **2.1.1.1. History of Pan-Africanism**

Pan-Africanism as a movement has been largely associated with the solidarity of the African race (black race) and Marcus Garvey, writing in the early 20th century, envisaged the United States that would protect all generations of this race across the globe (Garvey Philosophy and Opinions vol 2: 32 cited in Ajala 1973). However, it would be significant to underscore the fact that solidarity of the African race is viewed both in terms of the unity of liberation movements that aimed at achieving Africa’s economic, social and political emancipation and unity to represent the solidarity of the entire African race across the globe.

Therefore, a conceptualization of Pan-Africanism that limits it to the solidarity of liberation movements in Africa would be narrow and erroneous. As a matter of fact, an investigation into the history of Pan-Africanism would lead to several conflicting stance

concerning solidarity of Africans within the continent of Africa. On one hand, it is easy to notice that Pan-Africanism was largely an ideology championed by a specific class of Africans, especially the political elites, who had the vision of improving the lives of Africans. On the other hand, one notices the efforts of specific individuals who on their own devoted their lives towards the ideology. This diversion can be seen in ideological differences and individualism that characterized the stance of great personalities like W E Burghardt DuBois and Marcus Garvey.

A look into the role these two early Pan-Africanists played, an elitist, individualist and more often ideological inclinations are palpable. For example, DuBois who devoted his life to the course of Pan-Africanism is largely seen as the organizer of the first Pan-African Congress. This coupled with his unmatched writing ability have attracted most historians and other Pan-Africanist to his work. Geiss (1974) describes Dubois' history as a Pan-Africanist, as one that is romantic and intellectual laden. This is portrayed by his oscillating stance that shifted from moderate and more intellectual to a more unrealistic thought of Pan-Africanism (Geiss, 1974). Nevertheless, some writers disagreed to this perspective. Ajala (1973) subscribes to the Dubois' intellectual stance and sees it as a realistic approach compared to Garvey's rejection of movements that aimed at African liberation (Ajala, 1973:192- 201).

Even with low standing amongst some scholars, Marcus Garvey, with his Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) - this was rather radical-has occupied a huge space in the history of Pan-Africanism, especially after World War I. Garvey visualized what he termed as an African Nation in which all people of African race would be free. Nevertheless, a substantial amount of resistance to his views, which were described as radical, originated from the Africans both in the continent and abroad. This can be illustrated by heated discussions between key delegates who attended the Pan-African Congress (PAC)-Organised by Du Bois-concerning the slogan that Garvey had initiated.

Even though the slogan 'Africa for Africans' which Garvey used to describe his conceptualization of Africa aroused such heated debates, Garvey got an opportunity to get back at those who opposed it terming them as moderates (Geiss, 1974: 246). As unpopular as it may appear among some delegates, Garvey's slogan became important amongst Pan-Africanists who rooted for a united Africa (Ajala, 1973: 101). Surprisingly, Garvey could not offer a realistic image of Africa for Africans and he ended up offering a conceptualization of the whites. Moreover, there were elements of extravagance and imperialist which did not resonate well with the true liberation of Africa (Geiss, 1974: 279).

At this time there were glaring irreconcilable differences between Garvey and Du Bois which led to a division in Pan-African Movements. The two great personalities even reached for each other's persona as Du Bois sought to dismiss Garvey's ideas (Ajala, 1973:111) while Garvey used a huge section of his thesis to hit on Du Bois (Geiss, 1974: 280). This sought of an individualistic and elitist approach to Pan-Africanism as portrayed by these two personalities and ideological differences point to a dented image of early Pan-African movements.

In Africa, the history of Pan-Africanism is also dotted with a number of challenges. In British occupied colonies, decolonization just like the colonization process was characterized by a considerable degree of political freedom as well as identity and nationality. Geiss (1974) describes the decolonization process in most British occupied colonies as rather peaceful and with pockets of democratic elements as a result of the considerable degree of freedom-although limited- that Africans were granted. This offered Africans a window to begin the process of institutionalizing their societies. Institutions like parliament which enhanced political participation arose as a result of the limited press freedom that Africans were granted by the colonizers. To this end, nationalism and Pan-Africanism found an enabling environment to prop up.

As compared to British colonies the growth of Pan-Africanism in other colonies was sluggish and inconsequential. For example, in French-occupied colonies, Pan-Africanism found its footing in 1958 championed by Sekou Toure who called for the independence of Guinea. The late initiation of Pan-Africanism in French dominated colonies is attributed to the French's assimilation policy which entailed liberation struggle from within rather than from outside the French system. As a matter of fact, Africans were so into the French system that they did not want to completely abandon it. This is clearly demonstrated by the sentiments of Blaise Diagne who declared that West Africa was not to be entirely surrendered to the African people (Thompson, 1969:).

These variations in the rise of Pan-Africanism in Africa points to the influence of outside powers or famously known as the west. As Ajala (1973) plainly puts, the American, French and British administrations were keen to ensure that Pan-Africanism, which presented a humongous threat to their colonial policies, was thwarted in order to maintain the status quo (Ajala 1973). The failure of Garvey's gigantic ambition of a united Africa is also attributed to the influence of outside powers (Geiss, 1974). These outside powers have also been linked to the deaths of African Pan-Africanists like Patrice Lumumba of Congo and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana (Mazrui & Tidy 1984). Interestingly, the influence of outside powers has transcended the past and continues to be felt even in present-day Africa even though the interests of these powers-old and new-might have changed.

Even with ideological differences as well as other variations that characterized the rise of Pan-Africanism, it should not be misconstrued that these challenges were only peculiar to Africans. European history is littered with immense tension, divisions as well as conflicts and not consensus and solidarity. The emergence of new nation-states like Italy and Germany in the late 19th century presented a new challenge to the unification of Europe and nationalism was only deemed important to few European countries like Poland and Romania. Consequently, Europe was faced with other divisive elements like

religion and language but unlike Africa, it was able to forge a considerable unified continent fortified by cooperation (Dinan, Nugent, Paterson, & Wright, V. 1999: 5).

### **2.1.2. Nature and Scope of Pan-Africanism**

As it has been mentioned earlier, Pan-Africanism can be traced back to as early as 1900. It is important to note that the slave trade that occurred along the Atlantic Ocean was a major factor in the initiation of African led organizations that were against the ongoing lucrative trade. Therefore, clamour for the abolition of slavery produced immense solidarity amongst the oppressed African race in what can be termed as a unity of purpose (Walvaren 1999).

The contours of Pan-Africanism are one that has been largely distinguished as one which was led by intellectuals and elites. In fact, those who live in the Diaspora and had gone through European education system took the lead roles and were later followed by those Africans who resided in Africa but had either gone through European's education system or in one or another had been influenced by the Europeans (Walvaren 1999: 86). There were a series of movements organized by Africans living abroad such as Henry Sylvester Williams who formed The African Association, Dr. W.E.B DuBois who formed The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People and Marcus Garvey who formed The Universal Negro Improvement Association. At the center of all these organizations was the attainment of African American's equality, a theme that resonated well with the African race in Africa and engendered a sense of racial unity (Hill & Garvey, 1983:18).

Henry Sylvester Williams who was a Barrister organized the first Pan-African conference in London. This was a monumental event attended by delegates and representatives from the West Indies and America. This conference aimed at achieving three main goals. The first was to raise a dissenting voice against colonialists. The second goal was to bring people of African race across the world closer to each other

and the third goal, which is very significant, was to initiate a movement which would fight for the full rights of Africans and support commercial interests of Africans. However, the intellectual and elitist nature of Pan-African movements was first portrayed here. The list was filled with intellectuals including Benito Sylvain who represented the continent of Africa as well as other lawyers, professors and the clergy from America.

### **2.1.3. Factors for the Rise of Early Pan-Africanism: Slavery and World wars**

Immense solidarity amongst the African and the European people was impelled by certain international and social events that shaped the history of the world, as for Europe, diversity, state formation, war and nationalism are some of the issues that instigated solidarity. The two world wars in the 20th century, especially, World War II, played an important role in the formation of the European Union (Archer 2000: 54). Global events, even in post-World War II, which led to the call of economic cooperation to help rebuild affected nations, a number of opportunities especially the field of commerce, came up. This led to the signing of more bilateral and multilateral trade agreements as nations would no longer isolate themselves from the global system. To this end, European countries utilized this opportunity to strengthen their cooperation. But how did this global events lead to the rise of early Pan-Africanism? The following section looks at factors that enabled the rise of early Pan-Africanism with a specific focus on slavery and the two world wars.

#### **2.1.3.1. Slavery**

A number of scholars who have endeavoured to explain the origin of Pan-Africanism have located the initial Pan-African sentiments in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Shepperson (1960) locates the movement in what he terms as 'a complicated Atlantic triangle of influences' (Shepperson, 1960). On the same note, Geiss (1974) also

bases his argument on the origin of Pan-Africanism on transatlantic slave trade that involved Africa, Europe, and America (Geiss, 1974).

However, it is also believed that Pan Africanism sentiments had developed in West Africa in the 18th and 19th century. Indeed, British West Africa was a rich hunting ground for slaves during the era of slave trade and it generated the bulk of slaves who were then shipped to America under difficult conditions. Personalities like Ottobah Cugoano who originated from Ghana voiced his sentiments against the ongoing slave trade as well as unequal treatment of Africans (Geiss 1974: 9). America also proved to be conducive for the initiation of uprisings against the dehumanizing slave trade. The revolt which was led by Toussaint L'Ouverture was well captured in this era as its latent effect, the independence of Haiti in 1804 (Thompson and Davidson: 1969:4).

#### **2.1.3.2. World War I & II and Pan-Africanism**

Even though World War I and World War II had insidious effects in Europe, they turned out to be some of the factors that enabled integration and subsequent cooperation among European countries. At this point, it is clear that war was critical in the development of the European Union but as the war was shaping Europe, it also had a ripple effect on the progression of Pan-Africanism by acting as a mechanism through which growth of Pan-Africanism occurred (Ajala 1973).

Moreover, writers like Mazrui and Tidy (1984) have argued that nationalism and Pan-Africanism were also by-products of war. The 1935-36 Ethiopian war, as well as its resistance against the Italians in 1896 battle of Adowa and in 1935, served as a prologue to the independence of African nations (Mazrui & Tidy, 1984). Thompson (1969) and Geiss (1974) concur that these wars led to the arousal of a sense of pride amongst Africans and engendered more resistance, both in the Diaspora and in Africa, geared towards the liberation of Africa.

Specifically, Africans who participated in the war as soldiers used their experience to enhance the growth of Pan-Africanism. Back home these soldiers were highly honoured by their governments through appointments in various positions within the government while for those in the Diaspora, the two wars enhanced the sense of political consciousness as well as solidarity (Davidson 1991: 326). But post World War II era presented new challenges to the world, and since they were not anticipated, the continent of Africa was severely hit. The burgeoning of the population, urbanization as well as rural-urban migration became rife. The resultant slums at the edges of main cities became the new breeding points of nationalism, forging a united front against the colonial regimes as a result of new movement and this presented a tectonic shift in the manner in which political ideologies emerged.

#### **2.1.4. Pan-Africanism in Africa: Post-world War Era**

Pan-Africanism was largely concerned with the plight of African people but its arrival in the continent was rather late and it was only until 1958 that its presence was strongly felt in Africa. In the beginning, Pan-African conferences played a major role in the emergence of political rhetoric as well as solidarity sentiments in Africa, but the newly formed liberation movements in post-world war took over from the conferences the role of generating political rhetoric. Thus Pan-Africanism slowly transmogrified from a solidarity movement against racism and slavery to movements against entrenched colonial rule and the educated elite again took the leading roles in the new liberation movements. A new Pan-Africanism grew under leaders such as Julius Nyerere, Sekou Toure, and Kwame Nkrumah, and through their leadership, the flame of independence moved from one country to another: from Libya to Ghana, from Egypt to Nigeria and slowly colonialism was supplanted from most African countries in the 1960s. Nevertheless, even with the upsurge in calls for independence, some countries continued to be fully or partially under colonial rule, especially the French colonies. As a result, independent nations, guided with the spirit of nationalism, joined forces to completely destroy the leftovers of colonialism.

The year 1958 is marked as a very important year in the history of Pan-Africanism in Africa as it is the year that the first Pan-African Conference was organized in Africa under the leadership of Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah. This time, the achievements of the initial objectives of post-world war order, which were geared towards complete annihilation of colonialism, seem to have begun. Ghana together with several other countries had just attained full independence and several other countries were nearing their full independence. Pan-Africanism had just transformed from a movement against racism and slavery to a movement that sought independence of African nations. There was a need for a new formal organization of Pan-African ideas and the foregoing formed a solid foundation that informed the establishment of the Organization of African Union (OAU).

Even with the need for such a humongous organization that was to unify African countries, unification was merely that of purpose and convenience as witnessed in the rejection of a united Africa in favor of territorial integrity. A change of priorities endangered a transformation of OAU to African Union (AU) in July 2012. This change was neither motivated by the need for the independence of African countries nor the desire to form a formidable force against international threats, but it was as a result of a change in priorities informed by globalization challenges that befell political, social and economic sectors and to this end AU aimed at ensuring the development of physical, human and financial capital as well as ensuring accountability in leadership.

From this transformation, the organization transitioned from a politically inclined organization to one concerned with economic and social integration but most important the development of the continent with an end goal of achieving political unity of the continent. Africa was, in this case, bringing in place collective dependency which had been adopted by other countries, especially developing countries, to resuscitate the dwindling economic fortunes (Agupusi, 2016: 8)

Several perspectives have emerged to describe Integration of Africa following the new transformations. For some integration has been anchored on partitioning done by the colonialist and gives prominence to cultural orientation with little or no regard to the economic and structural development of the continent (Mazrui and Tidy 1984).

Others have anchored their perspective on the views of nationalists who agitated for a united Africa albeit with differences in political and ideological orientation (Makale). Nevertheless, as at now, a point that has significant importance in the continent is the call for collective efforts with the sole goal of sustainable economic development. To this end, several regional organizations have emerged and the most noticeable ones like Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), East African Community (EAC), Southern African Development Community (SADC) and many others, which have taken the lead role in promoting social and economic integration.

#### **2.1.5. Regionalism: The New Pan-Africanism**

It is palpable that the initial conception of Pan-Africanism has transformed over the last decades and a conception of a single united Africa has now largely been replaced by regional blocks-regionalism. Coming from a period of brutal and exploitative colonial administration, the emergence of regional blocks seems to have espoused the concept of territorial integrity by providing platforms in which independent countries cooperate on the basis of common objective and ideologies. If the proliferation of the regional blocks in Africa were anything to go by, then it would be easy to conclude that the survival of the continent is largely anchored on them to foster the much needed economic and social growth.

According to Mykelka (1984), the increase in the number of the regional organizations can be viewed with the prism of a 'self-reliant strategy'- a way that gives African countries a collective power to engage with other powerful countries and donors

in the new global order (Mykelka, 1984: 131). From the outlook, some of these regional organizations intended to be complete economic communities while others only worked towards free trade and common markets. Nevertheless, even with these noble objectives, they have been a cause of the disintegration of the continent into smaller, weaker organizations with little and sometimes no framework for inter-cooperation. The net effect of this phenomenon has been a duplication of resources, memberships, and objective as well as rivalry between them and the African Union (AU)-the continent's largest supranational organization (Franke, 2007: 32).

But as to whether these regional organizations will trounce the ever-evolving globalization challenges is a question that is still debatable. The foregoing challenges coupled with pervasive political instability, self-interests, and conflicts are factors of concern when it comes to their sustainability. Based on these factors, as well as the economic and political context of the continent, it's possible to wonder whether the establishment of a supranational institution, like the one conceptualized by Kwame Nkrumah, is practical. The dwindling fortunes of some stable countries exacerbates the possibility of creating such a supranational organization that would be a threat to territorial sovereignty either directly or indirectly as witnessed in 2007 when Libya re-initiated the idea of a United States of Africa

Accordingly, an examination of Pan-Africanism, right from its early conception to date, it is clear that it has tremendously transformed and deviated from its initial objectives. Even though it can be argued that part of its objectives was achieved upon the independence of African states as well as following the abolishment of slavery, the African race especially in the continent of Africa, still faces some of the challenges that Pan-African Movements were up against. Besides, the call for a united Africa has been relegated to the periphery and what has emerged now, as explained before, are small, weak regional blocks which go against the initial Pan-African dream envisioned by Kwame Nkrumah. Examination of these regional organizations is not within the purview

of this research, and their significance can only be looked at in relation to the objectives of Pan-Africanism.

## **2.2. THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

### **2.2.1. Leadership Trait Analysis (LTA) Theory**

Leadership Trait Analysis Theory (LTA) has emerged as an important tool of analysis in political psychology and decision making in foreign policy. It involves measuring how the personal style and leadership traits of top decision makers affect state behaviour and orientation. Walker (1990) identifies the worldview and value of leaders (operational codes) as important concepts of analyzing political leaders' behaviour. This theory was first coined by Margaret Hermann with the aim of analyzing foreign policy decision making by giving emphasis on the personal traits of the political leaders (Dyson 2006; Hermann 1980; Kaarbo 1997).

According to Hermann, the role of political leaders in shaping a country's behaviour in the international system is very important and cannot be undermined (Hermann 1980; 1999). This theoretical idea has attracted the interest of other scholars of foreign policy who agree with the assumption that the individual traits of key decision makers are significantly relevant in foreign policy (Kaarbo 1997; Dyson and Preston 2006; Kesgin 2012; Dyson 2006; Gorener and Ucal 2011).

One assumption of this theory is based on the argument that the preferences of leaders meaning the things they believe in, the decision making approaches they adopt and how they work shapes a country's relationship with external actors and therefore deserve sufficient analysis (Hermann 1999:1). Other studies were undertaken by scholars such as Kesgin on how a country's foreign policy is affected by political elites also reflects a similar finding. For Kesgin (2012:29), political elites are not only relevant in shaping a state's domestic policy, but also, since they are at the center of making

foreign policy decisions, it is possible that they employ their personality styles and traits, motives, and beliefs in developing foreign policy frameworks.

Despite the significance of individuals' role in international relations (IR), major theories of IR such as realism, liberalism and neorealism have either ignored or overlooked such relevance. These dominant theories have continued to focus on structural aspects of international politics in explaining actor's behaviours (Gorener and Ucal, 2011:359). Hagan (1994) agrees that the use of structural explanations to understand global outcomes as emphasized by scholars such as Waltz (1979) came at the expense of the role of individuals / domestic -level explanations. The reasons as to why domestic explanations or the role of individuals have been ignored have also attracted the attention of scholars who have come up with some of the possible reasons for such outcomes.

The main explanation as to why individual level analysis of international politics has often taken a back seat is that proponents of traditional theories consider such lower level of understanding international politics as being less sufficient and unnecessary when analyzing 'big issues' such as security, war/conflicts, cooperation, transformation of the international system and balance of power (Hermann and Hagan, 1998:125-6). Therefore, with regard to the traditional theorist, there is a general assumption that 'big issues' are above the scope of domestic and individual analysis.

Proponents of individual/ domestic level analysis disapprove the notion that such knowledge (domestic analysis) is insufficient or unnecessary to explain global politics. They point out that the post-cold war era has shaped the international system into an ambiguous environment that encourages the increased role of political leaders to be involved in international politics as they seek to balance external demands with domestic constraints and pressure (Hermann and Hagan, 1998:123-8). That is to say, the role of political elites in foreign policy scholarly work does matter. Indeed, the role of leaders in shaping foreign and domestic policies is no longer a debate and that their strategies,

perceptions, expectations, interpretations, and beliefs regarding the world do shape policy outcomes.

Dyson (2006) in his work examines the relationship between the leadership style and personality of former British Prime Minister Tony Blair and the entry of Britain in the Iraqi war which he found to have had a significant connection. Such studies have not only made a relevant contribution to foreign policy and state behaviour literature but have also influenced my decision to re-examine Pan-Africanism from an individual level analysis.

### **2.2.2. Features of the Leadership Trait Analysis (LTA) Theory**

The strength of this theory also marks its potential challenges. As noted earlier, the theory emphasizes the role of political elites in shaping policy. This poses a challenge of measurement and data collection. Meaning scholars are faced with the dilemma of how to measure and collect data on such a research. Scholars have acknowledged the difficulty of subjecting political leaders to either questionnaire, psychological tests or clinical interviews in order to understand their personal traits or leadership style (Hermann, 1999; 1980). In response, unique methodological approaches have been recommended.

These include examining what these leaders say or practice that will not need any personal contact or cooperation with the leader (Kaarbo 1997; Hermann 1999). The advantage of this approach is that a researcher can deduce this information from a leader's spontaneous utterances, public statements, speeches, and from existing literature most importantly because it will allow the researcher to get information from leaders who lived in the past or those, they may not have access to. (Hermann 1999; Winter et al. 1991; Kesgin 2012). This methodological approach of assessing leaders is referred to as At-A-Distance technique (Hermann, 1999: 12 -19).

To further strengthen the application of this theory, seven features have been identified as the key pillars of analyzing this theory (Hermann, 1999). They include; belief in ability to control events, in-group bias, the need to have influence and power, conceptual complexity, self-confidence, task orientation (desire to focus on problem-solving) and suspicion or distrust of others (Dyson 2006:291; Hermann 1999:10; Kesgin 2012:32). The above-mentioned tenants constitute the key pillars of the leadership trait analysis theory. They are used to measure a leader's score based on systematic content analysis. For example, a researcher analyses the variables of a leader through policy papers, verbal statements, and interviews (Dyson 2006; Hermann 1999). What underlines this methodology is the assumption that important values, beliefs or traits of a leader can be determined from by looking at the number of times they mention certain variables and the context in which they use these words.

This theory offers a persuasive argument and framework that can be used broadly by several methodology approaches in social sciences. It is particularly relevant and applicable in both qualitative and quantitative methodology. In his thesis, the theory has been used to examine Kwame Nkrumah's leadership traits while making decisions on African unity specifically on the question of Pan-Africanism. The method of inquiry in this thesis will be qualitative and I expect that the application of this theory through a qualitative methodology will provide sufficient explanatory power to address the research questions of this study.

While mentioning the contribution of Kwame Nkrumah in the growth of African nationalism and struggle for independence, it does not mean that other leaders across Africa did not play a significant role in this process. Indeed, leaders such as Mwalimu Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and others played an important role in the decolonization of Africa and contributed to the Pan-African debate. That being said, the role of Kwame Nkrumah and Ghana were exceptional and unique. The next section will apply this theory to explain the role of Kwame Nkrumah in promoting Pan-Africanism.

### **2.2.3. Decision Making and Leadership Traits of Kwame Nkrumah**

Kwame Nkrumah emerged not only as one of the most prominent African leaders of the 21<sup>st</sup> century but also stands tall among few similar leaders globally (Yousuf, 1990; Botwe-Asamoah, 2005; Biney, 2011). Even after passing away, Nkrumah still enjoys a great deal of admiration and respect for his contribution to Ghana's independence and promoting unity in Africa. His sterling role in Africa, the efforts he contributed towards the independence of Ghana, nationalism as well as being the founding president of Ghana are some of the factors that make Nkrumah's contribution to the politics and history of Africa and Ghana unforgettable according to scholars such as Biney (2008:130) and others. Nkrumah's leadership credentials and popularity in the continent have extended deep into the turn of the millennium. For example, in 2009, Kwame Nkrumah was voted "Africa's Man of the Millennium" by listeners of a popular radio program known as BBC Focus on Africa. The AU also recognized his stellar contribution to the African continent and thus built a statue in his honour at the forecourt of the AU headquarters in Ethiopia, which is the only statue sited there.

Yousuf (1990) argues that the nature of the leadership style and personality traits of Nkrumah is deep-rooted in the customs, culture, traditions, and history of Africa. Owusu (1997) adds that his background tailored his sense of humour, natural grace, and charismatic personality. Apter (1968) and Ake (1966) opine that Nkrumah's political transformation and success was attributed to his personality and charisma. His strong sense of nationalism can be traced to the experiences he and other young Africans in the 1930s and 40s had under colonial powers. In addition, Nkrumah had an opportunity to get exposure to western democratic principles, values, and culture at an early age as a student in the United States. Responding to the question as to why he chose to study in the United States, Nkrumah argued that the effects of the scramble and partition of Africa had affected the continent to the extent that the natives could not get a quality education in the continent. In addition, he chose not to go to either France or Britain which is where Africans under the colonial rule of the French and British respectively

went to. In his book, he explains his decision to study in the United States by stating that *“a number of us tried to study at centers outside the metropolis of our administering power.... and that is how America came to appeal to me as a Western country which stood refreshingly untainted by territorial colonialism in Africa”* (Nkrumah 1965: 1). For some scholars, Nkrumah’s approach as the president is open for criticism, however, his personal traits have become embedded in the country’s political tradition and that successive governments and political elites have admired his personal magnetism and decisiveness (Saaka 1994: 276).

Based on the assumptions of the leadership traits analysis theory such as the argument that a leader’s belief in his ability to control events, the need for self-confidence and power, this research seeks to examine how Nkrumah’s traits reflect the assumptions of this theory and its impacts. Hermann (1999), Dyson (2006) and Kesgin (2012) contend with the finding that political elites with a strong desire for power as well as strong belief in their ability to control events have a tendency to challenge their environmental and situational constraints. On the other hand, leaders with low desire for power and little belief in their ability to control events tend to give in to the challenges they face and not attempt to challenge them. This research will, therefore, examine if Nkrumah’s pursuit of African unity exhibited these traits (Nkrumah, 1970).

The biggest constraint to Nkrumah’s efforts for unity in Africa at the time was the problem of colonialism. The continent was not only divided into spheres of influence by different European countries but also, most of the independence movements were divided from within. Therefore, talking or believing in a project of African unity was less likely. However, we see that Nkrumah had a strong belief that he could have helped craft a Pan-African project. In his pursuit, calling for the independence of countries that were still under colonization was part of the process. He knew that such demands would have had severe consequences for himself and also for his country.

While calling for African unity, he was aware of the extent to which colonialism had gone deep in the continent. However, it appears that he was confident that his leadership style and strategy would succeed in overcoming the obstacles to African unity. This influenced his decision to become a leading voice of Pan-Africanism, and decolonization. Thus, it is valid to argue that Nkrumah was a leader with a strong belief that he could affect change in Africa.

Nkrumah became an advocate of renaissance across Africa by disassociating the continent's future with history and influence of colonial domination. In his work *Consciencess: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization and Development* published in 1965, he argues that “*our history needs to be written as the history of our society, not as the story of European adventures*” (Nkrumah 1965:63). Having developed strong nationalist feelings, Nkrumah returned from the United States and started nationalist movements in the Gold Coast. His leadership style, belief in his ability to change events as well as the strategies he adopted helped the then Gold Coast (now Ghana) to become the first sub-Saharan country to gain independence. (Reeck 1976:12-16).

According to Hermann's (1999) assumption of this theory, leaders with a strong conviction of their ability to shape the outcome of events do not only do so in the belief by being directly involved in the design, planning, and execution of decisions and policies. Once again, Nkrumah fits into this framework. Kwame Nkrumah actively participated in the anti-colonial movements not only in Ghana but also across Africa that resulted in the independence of several other African countries. He mentions in his book *I Speak of Freedom* published in 1976 that the success to overthrow imperial forces in Africa came as a result of good planning, organizational strength, and positive action.

Asante (1997) and Thompson (1969) further point out that, the efforts and dedication Nkrumah showed upon becoming the president of Ghana through his ambitious foreign policy design of providing moral, technical, financial and military support to other liberation movements were an important manifestation of his leadership

abilities. His active participation can be seen in his writings where he encouraged Africans to take control of their destiny. In one of his books, Nkrumah states that, “*the twentieth century has become the century of colonial emancipation, the century of continuing revolution which must finally witness the total liberation of Africa from colonial rule and imperialist exploitation*” (Nkrumah 1970:x). These examples do indicate that Nkrumah was an exceptional leader whose own personal attributes contributed to the development and spread of Pan-Africanism in the continent.

There is sufficient evidence in the existing literature to indicate that Nkrumah exercised the other tenets of the LTA theory such as a forceful personality, strong influence at the international and domestic levels as well as a high thirst for power. A good example of his strong thirst for power can be explained by the domestic events that followed the independence of Ghana. The Convention People’s Party (CPP) which Nkrumah was the leader began to consolidate political power in the presidency and the political party structure of the country to the extent that Ghana lost its multi-party political structure and became a single-party state that was seen to have resembled an authoritarian regime (Biney 2008).

The desire Nkrumah had for power was not only reflected domestically but also shaped his foreign policy agenda. Scholars who have written broadly on Kwame Nkrumah have pointed out that his foreign policy objectives when Ghana became independent were not just aggressive and robust, they also reflected his desire to spread his control, power and influence in the entirety of African. (Tieku and Odoom 2012; Thompson, 1969; Gebe, 2008). These scholars argue that the foreign policy of Ghana under Nkrumah was a reflection of his desires and personal attributes.

Nkrumah’s popularity and political thought spread beyond Africa and were recognized internationally. This form of reputation at the international stage could have perhaps made him develop a keen interest to play a bigger role in the continent and beyond (Grundy 1963; Clark 1974; Aluko 1975).

This is further evident from the manner in which he related to both the Soviet Union and the United States. His diplomatic maneuver enabled him to be ideologically inclined to the Soviet Union but still got financial support from the United States (Asante 1997). For example, Washington gave Ghana the needed resources for the construction of the Akosombo Dam (Gebe 2008). Nkrumah's practice and relations with the United States and the Soviet Union were beneficial to Ghana and demonstrate his confidence as a leader with influence as well as his personal trait as a smart politician who got the best out of the West-East rivalry (Asante, 1997:35).

Another way in which Nkrumah's personal traits reflected this theory's assumption of self-confidence can be deduced from a speech he made stating that "*We prefer self-government with danger to servitude in tranquillity... and that we have the right to live as men...we have the right to govern ourselves*" (Biney 2008:130). In his own publication regarding unity among Africans, Nkrumah further demonstrates his self-confidence by stating that:

*"I do not believe in racialism or tribalism. The concept of 'Africa for the Africans' does not mean that other races are excluded from it. No! It only means that Africans shall and must govern themselves in their own countries without imperialist and foreign impositions; but that people of other races can remain on African soil, carry on their legitimate vocations and live on terms of peace, friendship and equality with Africans on their own soil."* (Nkrumah 1976:30)

This theory highlights self-worth and personal image of a leader as key features to examine under the self-confident trait. According to Hermann (1999), political elites who appear to be satisfied with who they are or what they represent and their ability to influence others in order to overcome any challenges that are ahead of them are generally self-confident leaders. If we are to apply this logic to our study and use it to analyse Nkrumah's leadership, then we can see that his self-confidence enabled him to

challenge colonialism in two dimensions. One of the ways was his role and contribution to the independence of Ghana and the second is the nature of support (material and financial) he provided other liberation movements across the continent (Armah 2004; Thompson 1969). Such contribution led to the rise of nationalism in Ghana as well as Pan-Africanism across Africa. Even more importantly, Nkrumah's political ideology and philosophies enabled him to interact with scholars in Ghana, Africa and the world. His self-confidence was also manifested in his participation and active contribution in Pan-African conferences starting with the Manchester conference of 1945 in Britain (Nkrumah 1970; Botwe-Asamoah 2005). There is a high possibility that his interaction and role in the Pan-African conferences increased his confidence in pursuing 'practical nationalism' that was centered on promoting unity among Africans.

This theory also asserts that political elites with low self-confidence rarely take a strong stand on issues and can easily change their opinion or position on a matter. These kinds of leaders lack or have less developed charisma and personality. In the context of this research, there is no evidence that Nkrumah showed any sign of being swayed to change his opinion and perception over the unity of Africa. As expressed by Olaosebikan (2011), the idea of African unity was not only opposed by external actors, particularly the colonial powers but also many leaders and opinion shapers in Africa were opposed to the idea of African Unity. This means that although Nkrumah and other leaders pushed for African unity, they had to face their colleagues from the continent and donor countries who may have had a different opinion. Nkrumah may have been ready to compromise and accommodate some adjustment on the structure and approach of Africa unity, he remained confident and convinced that the radical agenda of unity among the very diverse African communities could have been achieved.

Further proof of Nkrumah's self-confidence can be found from a collection of his speeches specifically a speech he made in 1960; here he sent a strong message to African leaders and its people over the available options and the future of the continent. He highlighted three scenarios that African states had at hand; *“(1) to unite and save the*

*continent, (2) to disunite and disintegrate, or (3) to sell out to outside intervention”* (Obeng 1979:26).

Conceptual complexity is an important pillar of determining the leaders’ trait in this theory and how the decisions they make are based on the outcome of conceptual complexity. The assumption of this tenet is that leaders who are able to be flexible while reacting to different events and ideas are conceptually complex while political elites who are conceptually simple tend to analyse ideas and events in a good or bad, black or white dichotomy (Kesgin, 2012; Hermann, 1999; Dyson, 2006). Based on the existing literature, this research is convinced that Nkrumah was a conceptually complex leader given the way he interpreted events and ideas as well as how he applied a flexible strategy when responding to opposing and alternative ideas. One of the main areas where he may have found opposition is in the debate on African Unity where opponents were promoting regionalism rather than continental unity. He described those calling for regionalism as a stepping stone to African unity as “*regional federations are a form of balkanization on a grand scale*” (Nkrumah 1970:214).

His flexibility is also seen when he supported the ideas that led to the formation of the Organisation of African Union (OAU) in 1963. From the beginning, Nkrumah was advocating for a radical north to southeast to west unity for the continent with perhaps full political, economic and institutional unity. The OAU, on the other hand, was not going to be the full union that Nkrumah and others were advocating for. By accepting to support an alternative proposal and opinion on African unity shows that Nkrumah was flexible and thus conceptually complex. Hermann (1999) supports the idea that leaders who are willing to adjust their position and tolerate alternative options as being conceptually complex. His leadership traits during the process of establishing the OAU clearly demonstrate that he made decisions based on prevailing circumstances and therefore he was not only task oriented but also had intelligent ideas to counter colonialism, he had a vision for Africa and as an advocate of the continents socio-economic growth and development.

Even though African leaders did not agree to adopt a radical continental union, the process shows that Nkrumah showed distrust of others and in-group bias. These two are important assumptions of the leadership trait analysis theory. They assume that political elites with strong *in-group bias* tend to have a separate and distinct identity of themselves and will put a lot of efforts to protect other groups from swaying or undermining their opinion. In addition, political elites with a strong distrust of others tend to be suspicious of other leaders and they tend to demonstrate misgivings, uneasiness, and doubts. Such distrust of other leaders does not only influence the manner in which political elites formulate their policies but also their general response to events and ideas from the other side will be shaped by the level and extent to which they perceive the others as a threat. The theory asserts that leaders who have a strong distrust of other leaders tend to have a perception that the world is a dangerous place and prone to conflict (Hermann 1999:30).

The manifestation that Nkrumah had a strong distrust of other African leaders is evident in the manner he made policies. Rightfully so, there were widespread suspicions that Nkrumah was intending to be the president of the United States of Africa that he was strongly advocating for. He himself was aware of such suspicions on him by other leaders and therefore he became suspicious of them and what they would have done to stop him (Olaosebikan 2011). Proponents of this theory argue that political elites who distrust other leaders tend to be highly suspicious of others' criticism, motives and actions more so those they consider to be opposed to their course or ideology (Hermann, 1999:31). Biney's (2008) work on Nkrumah's domestic policies reveals how deep he had suspicion and distrust of other leaders. In what he classified as positive Nkrumahism and negative Nkrumahism, Biney examines the policies that Nkrumah made that had a positive impact on his legacy and which some of the leaders endeavour to emulate and those that had negative implications on his personality and style of leadership (Biney, 2008:131). One of the negative sides of his leadership style can be summarised by the events that made Ghana move from a multi-party to a single-party state.

This can be interpreted to mean that his regime was not going to tolerate or give room for any form of criticism or opposition thus a clear sign of distrust. But this attitude could have been further strengthened by the several assassination attempts on his life which in turn could have informed his increased lack of trust of his opponents. The outcome of his lack of trust did not only end with the consolidation of power to himself but he then used these powers to pass repressive laws that would work against his opponents. Some of these repressive laws include the *Preventive Detention Act-PDA* (Biney 2008).





## CHAPTER THREE

### 3.1. THE ROLE OF GHANA IN PROMOTING PAN-AFRICAN MOVEMENT

#### 3.1.1. Ghana's Independence Foreign Policy and the Pan-African Movement

Ghana gained her independence from the British during a period that was characterized by increased calls by other African nationalists seeking for their attainment of self-rule and subsequent formation of statehood. Even though independence was granted to Ghana, there were still strong interests for the need for interference in the new state especially by the new superpowers; the United States of America and the Soviet Union. As a result, Ghana therefore embarked on a very careful adoption of foreign policy that could cement the relationship between the US, the UN, Commonwealth and the new fragile state immediately after independence between 1957-1958 with support from Padmore with whom they had drafted the Pan-African model that was to be spread across Africa as more countries were demanding for their independence especially at the UN.

Nevertheless, the independence of Ghana marked a critical turning point for Africa. It not only manifested a victory for the Manchester model but also propped up a desire to have the Manchester model exported across the continent. The two proponents of the Pan-Africanist ideology, Padmore, and Nkrumah had even before the independence of Ghana developed an outline of what they envisioned the Pan-African ideology would entail. Based on this, Ghana was already positioning herself as a shelter for various liberation movements in Africa. Figuratively, Accra had become a sought of "Mecca" for freedom fighters in Africa and went ahead to play a critical role in sponsoring African Unity (Adamafio, 1982: 108).



***Picture 1: Map of Ghana at independence***

Ghana went ahead to form key Pan-African institutions that would support its foreign policy objectives. It is worth noting that although Ghana's intention was to help African countries to gain independence, policymakers in Accra were fully aware of the diverse ideologies the various liberation movements across the continent had and therefore overtly and covertly tried to create or influence some wings in the liberation movements to adopt the Pan-African ideology or create parties with similar leanings. Ghana also outlined clear conditions that liberation movements would have to adhere to, in order to get the support of Accra. Some of these included but not limited to; the adoption of nonviolence techniques of independence struggle unless there was unavoidable need for guerrilla tactics, the movements were required to establish national parties without discriminating against anyone on ethnic, racial or class identity, national movements were to refrain from any form of alliance with the major powers particularly with regard to the cold war ideologies. Last but not the least, the parties that were to be supported by Ghana had sought the unity of Africa as their final goal (Adamafo, 1982: 112).

The newly independent state of Ghana was molded in a manner that promoted nationalism as an important component of unity across Africa. Federalism and its systems of government were considered a threat to the unity of the continent. Based on this, significant support was also extended to national movements that were against ethnicity and federalism. This saw liberation movements that were inclusive and ideologically leaning towards Accra receive technical, moral and financial support (James, 2012: 207-216). Similarly, policymakers in Ghana were cautious of the fact that not all liberation movements may have a nationalist outlook, and in this case, support was given to a united front that would resemble inclusivity.

An important pillar of Ghana's foreign policy in promoting African Unity was the call for non-violence approach to defeating colonialism. Ghana promoted a policy of "Positive Action" that was centered on Mahatma Gandhi's principles of non-violence. This strategy had worked for Ghana making it the first country to gain independence in the Sub-Saharan region and it is not a surprise that Ghana would have favoured such an approach. In addition, one may not consider the support for nonviolence as a moral issue but as a strategy against the colonialists. Attempts to use force were largely seen as suicidal as the military capabilities of the colonial powers were far much stronger than those of African liberation movements thus reducing their chances of gaining anything tangible through violence. But the inevitability of using violence was also clear among Ghanaian government officials who conditionally set the ground for the support of some guerrilla movements to use force but only when extremely necessary.

With the effects of cold war ideological war spreading across the world, Ghana made it clear that it would support movements that would distinguish themselves by keeping an equal distance between the West and the East and not align itself with the major powers. Indeed, nonalignment had become a strong characteristic of the Pan-African movement since the conference in Manchester. There was a strong feeling that the success of African Unity did not depend either on the outcomes or events that characterized the cold war. As a component of Positive Action, nonalignment was to

project the 'African Personality' in other words the unique needs of the continent, the values it stood for as well as the aspirations and desires of the people within the continent. Ghana rejected the idea that anyone or any country would purport to speak on behalf of Africa at the local, regional and international level. Ghana not only joined other non-aligned movement countries such as India, Indonesia, and Egypt at the Bandung Conference of 1955. It was the strength of neutrality that its proponents argued would grant the continent the much-needed freedom.

Meanwhile, preparations had begun in earnest for the convention of the first Conference of Independent African States that was to be held in Ghana in 1958 and through which Ghana was going to outline its idea and vision of the Pan-African policy to the other African countries. To achieve the success of the Pan-African policy Nkrumah emphasized on the need for African unity that could translate into keeping any form of confrontations between the US and the Soviet Union who could exploit divisions between African leaders to push their own agenda. During the period between 1957 and 1958 Ghana adopted a policy of neutrality whereby they did not take sides with either of the two superpower blocs.

Despite the call for neutrality, relations were more frequent and better with the US and the UK than with the Soviet Union and later with the support of the Western powers, Ghana formally joined the UN. Ghana was very important for the United States and this was clearly manifested during the independence celebrations whereby the US was represented by Vice-President Richard Nixon, while the Soviets were represented by the Minister of State Farms. The dire need for more finances to fund some of the projects undertaken by the new government such as the Volta River Project led to Ghana becoming more inclined to the Western bloc (Thompson, 1969). The improved relations with the West birthed the inauguration of a US embassy by Washington in the capital Accra, and consequently, a meeting between President Eisenhower and Nkrumah in 1958 was held. Previously in 1957, Nkrumah led Ghana in joining the Commonwealth

and this positively improved the attitudes of the West especially the United Kingdom towards Ghana.

At the Commonwealth, Ghana did not display radical nature towards the West, but rather used the platform to confirm its rejection of the Communist ideologies, re-assure the West of Ghana's support whenever called upon and guarantee the lack of interest by Ghana to revisit the colonial past that may spook emotions of revenge (Thompson, 1969).

Through the Commonwealth, Ghana was able to join the UN which was one of the key foreign policy targets by Ghana during this period. The mission and vision of the UN was the ideal ground through which the Pan-African Movement would receive support. The UN became a valued ally to the Pan-African course through the Charter of the United Nations which safeguarded the rights and freedoms for self-determination (Padmore, 1971) and was highly regarded by Nkrumah until the Congo crisis manifested the weaknesses on UN as an international organization. Nkrumah made very clear that Ghana's foreign policy was guided by the provisions of the UN Charter in a speech to the National Assembly (Nkrumah, 1958). It is also through the UN that Nkrumah spread his Pan-Africanist ideas throughout the African continent. In a calculated and gradual process, Nkrumah began denouncing colonialism and advancing for African political unity and closely worked in collaboration with other African groups to vote on an important issue concerning Africa.

Padmore who was serving in the capacity of Advisor on African Affairs was requested by Nkrumah to work on the establishment of a United Nations Regional Economic Commission for Africa in 1958 (PRAAD, SC/BAA/165, 1958), and negotiate for it to be headquartered possibly in Ghana and not in the other three independent African states that included Sudan, Ethiopia, and Egypt. Padmore's role was to ensure that Ghana prevailed so that it could be able to further spread its political influence across Africa. The first Independent African States Conference was held in 1958 in

Accra and before the conference, Padmore had taken it upon himself to visit all the seven independent African states and invite them to the conference in an attempt to unite Sub-Saharan African countries such as Liberia, Ethiopia and Ghana with the North African countries.

The success of African unity depended on the cooperation among African states and Nkrumah wanted to utilize this conference to outline his vision for a united Africa. The Ministry of External Affairs and Defence did not feature prominently in the organization of this first conference because of trust issues especially now that the conference was supposed to highlight Pan-Africanist ideologies as a driving force for the independence of all the other African states that were still demanding for their independence. Nkrumah replaced the conference's Secretary (Adu) who had been appointed by the ambassadors by another Indian diplomat called Appadora (Die-Anang, 1977).

In the upcoming conference, Nkrumah wanted to share his vision of a united Africa under one flag. The Pan-Africanist Movement was an ideology that transcended past colonial state boundaries, looked above the narrow confines of religion, race, tribe, and culture for the pursuit of a single goal culminating in the formation of a United States of Africa. However, with France granting Guinea independence, Nkrumah took the advantage to propose a unification deal with Sekou Touré who was desperate for assistance because the French had practically left the country economically reeling on its knees. Nkrumah viewed such a union as a key step towards laying the foundation of the future unification of Africa. Sekou accepted the deal and Ghana chipped in with a 10 million-pound loan to save Guinea's economy.

However, understanding the complexities that are involved in a single step political union, Ghana recognized the need for regional unions as an intermediate step towards achieving an African political union and aggressively pushed for this regionalization agenda especially in the 1950s alongside pressing for the larger

unification of Africa (Austin, 1970). The political union was envisioned to treat all men regardless of race, tribe, colour or creed equal. All the single national states that formed the regional federations were to be autonomous yet united on matters touching on African interests (Padmore, 1971)

On the 23rd November 1958, the union between Ghana and Guinea was announced and it was designed to be a symbolic act especially bearing in mind the All-African People Conference that was fast approaching so that the leaders of African liberation could see the path leading towards a united Africa. At this point in time, the two leading proponents for the unification of Africa; Nkrumah and Padmore had different opinions regarding which path was best suited for attaining African political unity. Nkrumah argued that the Ghana-Guinea Union laid the foundation for the unification of the whole of Africa while Padmore viewed it as a regional formation that was to later merge with other African regional federations that will be established by the independent African countries. He also argued that countries that were not so radical such as Liberia would be more inclined to discuss the idea of establishing federations with Ghana. Padmore's notion emphasizing on the federation of territories based on regions prevailed at first with Nkrumah and Sekou announcing the establishment of the union of West African States (Welch, 1966).

During the opening of All African People Conference (AAPC), Nkrumah stressed the importance of the union of West African states to be incorporated into a continental union at a later stage. Nkrumah pointed out the wind of political change blowing throughout the African continent and with it the desire of Africans to be able to develop a singular African political identity that will defend and uphold the rights of all men just like the evolution of the thirteen American colonies that developed into 49 states creating the United States of America. Nkrumah argued that Africans stood a better chance of safeguarding and defending their national rights and freedoms through interdependence (AAPC, 1958).

## West Africa



*Picture 2: Map of West Africa*

The idea of the union of the West African States did not prevail for a long time. By 1959, Nkrumah's views began to gain more publicity especially after the Conakry declaration of 1959 that also referred to a Union of African States that was to be open to all independent African states and federations that agreed in principle with the ideals in which the union was anchored (Legum, 1962). Nkrumah began to intensify his struggle for a union of African states by firstly withdrawing Ghana's membership from all regional boards such as the West African Currency Board, West African Frontier Force and West African Cocoa Research Institute with colonies or ex-colonies of the British as he viewed these boards as colonial institutions (Aluko, 1976). Nkrumah attacked other regional colonial institutions such as the Central African Federation which was a federation between Nyasaland and Rhodesia as Ghana continued to shape its idea of regionalism.

In 1958, Ghana had a decision to make regarding its idea of African nationalism which was being countered by an alliance between Nasser of Egypt and Syria under the umbrella name of the United Arab Republic which represented another source of assistance to the independence movements. The United Arab Republic adopted very

radical policies for assisting African independence movements as well as calling for an Arab-African unity. However, with the All African Peoples' Conference fast approaching, Ghana needed to define its position towards this new alliance, ideally as an ally but realistically he considered the organization a foe. Cairo was already deeply involved in liberation movements and therefore Accra had to decide whether to compete with the United Arab Republic or enter into an alliance. Ultimately, Nkrumah and Nasser did not come to an agreement thereby involving both Accra and Cairo in a political confrontation and thereby putting the fate of the various movements at stake. It was difficult for Nkrumah to ignore the role of Egypt which was steadily becoming conspicuous and important in the struggle for liberation by African countries as it had adopted both Pan-Arabism and Pan-Africanism.

Ghana clearly recognized the shared vision for African unity and politics with Egypt, but there were challenges that stood in its way to agree on the merger or formation of an alliance with the United Arab Republic. The Soviet Union and Egypt shared close ties and therefore Nkrumah did not want to involve the Soviet Union in the decolonization processes of African countries. Pan-Africanism required a single goal focused attention, but Nasser had divided loyalty between Pan-Arabism and Pan-Africanism and Nkrumah did not accept this. Lastly, Accra was concerned that it would lose its gained influence on Cairo which had a stronger economy as well as enjoying the support of the Soviet Union. Nkrumah was not willing to accept a decreased political influence of Ghana. Accra, therefore, was always suspicious of Cairo and monitored Cairo's moves very closely within the continent. A strong relationship with Egypt also endangered Ghana's relationship with Israel (Thompson. 1969: 46).

Nkrumah's strategies that had been so far successful were exposed by the manifestations of cracks in the relationship between Ghana with the United Arab Republic. Ghana and Egypt shared conflicting views on how to handle the process of African liberation as well as different perspectives regarding the Cold War and this culminated in a political debate towards the end of 1958 with both the United States and

the Soviet Union heavily interested in understanding the impact of an alliance between Cairo and Accra on the process of African decolonization.

At the Independent African States Conference, the use of violence was raised especially regarding Algeria. Ghana held a relatively moderate position and emphasized on the use of non-violence as the path for African independence struggle (Thompson, 1969: 36). Cairo led by Nasser was opposed to the idea of non-violence struggle and Nasser did not share the traditions that were created in the Manchester conference. Ghana, on the other hand, was not contented giving up on one of the fundamental tenets of the Pan-African policy. The United Arab Republic was more radical.

The encounter between Accra and Cairo was not just restricted to the utilization of force in the process of the liberation struggle. At the gathering, they held additionally altogether different positions on what role the two superpowers needed to play in the African freedom process. In accordance with the Pan-African strategy of neutrality, Ghana needed to keep the decolonization process out of the Cold War. Accra was pioneering the process of establishing a fund or special kitty for freedom fighters that was to be financed only by the independent African states and thereby limiting external influences from both the Soviet Union and the United States. The United Arab Republic did not support the establishment of such a fund since it wanted to avoid any competition between this new fund with the Afro-Asian Solidarity Association, a Soviet-supported anti-colonialism platform that Cairo was already part of. (Thompson, 1969:37) Whereas Ghana tried to avoid any form of external support to influence the process of African decolonization, Nasser went ahead and invited the Soviets despite officially claiming to be non-aligned.



*Picture 3: Nkrumah of Ghana with Nasser of Egypt*

The ideological differences between Ghana and Egypt were crystal clear but were not tantamount to the complete impossibility of cooperation between the two states. This created a lot of concern especially for the Western powers who considered that such an alliance can lead to political instability in post-colonial Africa because a liberation process led by two very radical African independent states could lead to revolutions within the continent. In addition, there were fears that the Soviet Union may take advantage of such a situation to challenge the United States influence in Africa. To understand the position of Ghana regarding this issue, London prepared reports before the commencement of the All African People Conference (AAPC) on Ghana's foreign policy with emphasis on the nature of relationship it has with the Soviet Union, United Arab Republic and other Arabic states so that they can be prepared to counter any negative subversive actions that may arise from the conference.

In one of the preparatory trips of the conference British diplomats enquired the kind of relationship between Nkrumah and Nasser. It was reported that Ghana was not

intensely associated with the United Arab Republic spearheaded by Egypt and Accra's attitude towards the organization was not welcoming (Thompson, 1969: 37). However, the AAPC was not without opposition. Roy Welensky who at the time served as the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland blasted the conference as a tool used by the Soviet Union to introduce a communist revolution in Africa led by Ghana and Egypt.

However, the British did not take such claims seriously as they were aware of the shared contempt between himself and Nkrumah. Nkrumah had always strongly opposed to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland even before the attainment of their independence because the federation was not just any type of regional union but rather a platform that acted to strengthen European rule in the continent. Wilensky, on the other hand, viewed Nkrumah as a communist. However, contrary to Welenky's accusations, Ghana was not warming up as an agent for Moscow.

The Prime Minister of CAF shared views with Harold Macmillan who was the serving Prime Minister of United Kingdom on how to counter communist activities in Africa. Macmillan reacted very fast as he did not want to risk Africa falling under the influence of Moscow by scheduling a meeting between the Commonwealth Secretary and Kwame Nkrumah in the summer of 1958. During the meeting, Nkrumah made it very clear his distrust in Nasser whom he viewed as having taken sides already with the Soviets and even more importantly his reservations regarding the Arabic nationalism by arguing that Egypt was indeed a part of the African continent and not Asia (BNA, FO/371/131182: 1958). Nkrumah also used the meeting to reassure Britain the upcoming AAPC was strictly going to be a gathering of all African nationalists struggling for their independence and for the unity of the African continent and that Egypt was considered more of an enemy than an ally.

Ghana's refute of any alliance with Egypt was motivated by the fact that Ghana did not want to raise any fears for the West regarding its Pan-African policy. The

conference provided a very good platform for Ghana to advance the unification idea. However, despite Ghana's assurances to the West, they kept a close eye on how Ghana wanted to spearhead the decolonization process.

### **3.1.2. The Establishment of African Affairs Centre**

To achieve the success of uniting the African continent, Ghana's Pan-African policy was tailored to attract several liberation movements in Africa with the ultimate end of creating a single party composed of the various African nationalist parties to form a single continental government. The idea for the creation of a center for African affairs came about as a solution to the problem of lack of structures to host the nationalists who were coming to Accra for the AAPC. Makonnen, therefore, fronted this idea that was, in addition; it was intended to serve as a symbol of the Pan-African policy after the conference. This new center was also envisioned to act as a base for political training for the nationalists' groups as well as a hostel for accommodation. Accommodating the visiting nationalist leaders in hotels in Accra had proven to be very expensive for the new government and considering Ghana's pledge to provide support to these movements, addressing the lack of proper structures was critical.

The establishment of this center was delegated to Makonnen who was considered as having a wealth of experience in management and political mobilization from his previous work in the United Kingdom as well as to have the trust of both Nkrumah and Padmore. Makonnen, therefore, began his work in earnest as he had just a short period of three months to complete the African Affairs Centre. His immediate task, however, was to find the material resources such as finance and location for the establishment of the center and its maintenance. He identified a location adjacent to the airport, which was very strategic especially for hosting the Pan-African leaders who were coming in from different countries. In addition, the new location already had twenty-five houses which were not in dire condition but needed renovations for a facelift (AGPL, 1959).

By December, the center was ready to host the All African People Conference and the newly renovated hostels were adequate to host the delegates from African liberation movements who attended the conference. It was an ideal place for the mingling of freedom fighters during the conference and enhanced networking and exchange of ideas. More importantly, Ghana finally had the necessary structures for the realization of its objectives and Ghana was ready to be the leader and face of the African independence struggle.

### **3.1.3. The Establishment of an Adviser on African Affairs Office**



*Picture 4: George Padmore*

This office was among the first institutions to be established by the government of Ghana to actualize its support for African Unity. The office was created outside the conventional realm of the government to avoid being politicized. The office was first headed by Padmore who was tasked with advising the Prime Minister on key issues that touched on the information and support for liberation movements (James, 1972). The establishment of this office faced several oppositions from the ruling party (CPP) and some members of the civil service who opposed its establishment. Despite such opposition, the government's position remained very clear that Ghana had a role to play in the continent and there was no stopping on such a mission. These sentiments were

echoed by Nkrumah in his famous statement that “The independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent” (Nkrumah, 1967:77). Ghana was keen on playing the role of helping Africa gain her freedom and compete with other regions at the international arena. This office was highly involved in the transformation of Ghana’s foreign policy into one that reflected Pan-Africanism.

The office continued to face severe opposition and therefore the ruling elites decided to change their approach. The office was reduced into an agency which acted as a ‘propaganda forum,’ ‘investigative body,’ or ‘centre for exchanging views with other African leaders’ (National Liberation Council, 1966:3). It began to collect contacts and information that was useful in spreading the Pan African ideology. Ghanaian diplomats took advantage of their vast web of contacts across the continent to build on this project. This office was the one responsible for facilitating and delivering financial and political support to liberation movements across Africa and was an important point of contact for refugees who were fleeing other African countries to safely settle in Ghana.

This office worked closely with other foreign policy agencies of Ghana such as the External Affairs Ministry, the Ministry of Defence and the ruling party. Although it was registered under the Ministry of Defence, this office was autonomous to the structures and hierarchy of the ministry and its officials were answerable to Nkrumah directly (Armah, 2004:24-27). One unique thing about the autonomy of the Office of the Adviser to the Prime Minister on African Affairs was that its political and financial autonomy remained unchecked, even by major institutions such as the parliament were not supposed to question its extensive financial figures (PRAAD, SC/BAA/357, 1961:29).

The establishment of this office and the huge amount of criticism that followed it does not only reflect the extent to which the government of Ghana was willing to go in promoting African unity and perhaps the existing gap between the radical wing and non-radical wings of the ruling party (CPP), it also shows an important personality of

Nkrumah as we looked at in the theory chapter. This office clearly shows the extent of mistrust Nkrumah had on the other political elites and the public service. Dei-Anang (1975) best describes the situation as;

*“It took some time before Nkrumah defined the role Padmore was to play, namely, to head an office outside the orthodox government machinery to carry through his policy for the emancipation of those parts of Africa still under foreign rule and therefore to work with nationalist movements and political parties, an area of activity which it would be inappropriate for civil servants to engage in at that time. Once he made his position clear, I not only withdrew my opposition but in fact collaborated enthusiastically in getting his office established, including negotiating for a vote for him” (Dei-Anang, 1975: 13).*

#### **3.1.4. All African Peoples’ Conference (AAPC)**

All political liberation movements that endorsed the political agenda of the conference were invited to the conference regardless of the nature of their political outlook (PRAAD, 1958: SC/BAA/165). Ghana needed to attract as many liberation movements to support its agenda as much as they could and towards this agenda, the Office of the Advisor of African Affairs that was headed by Padmore played a very critical role. Padmore activated his vast contact base of African liberation leaders whom he had met before and connected them to Ghana and by the time of the first celebration marking the independence of Ghana, other Pan-Africanist leaders such as Apithy, Kenyatta, Azikiwe, Mboya, Murumbi, Garba-Jahumpa and Djibo Bakary attended the anniversary celebrations. This first group was a pointer to the commencement of Ghana’s struggle for influence towards independence movements and became the basis of the list of delegates for the All African Peoples Conference that was to be held later in December of the same year.

This conference became the most important conference after the 1945 Manchester Conference held in the United Kingdom and it brought together different Pan-Africanists in a gathering within the African continent. The choice of name for the conference by Ghana in the sense of “All-African” was opposed by Padmore who preferred just the title of Pan-African Conference (Thompson, 1969: 58). The gathering included more than two hundred representatives from thirty-six liberation movements (PRAAD, ADM/16/1/11: 1958). This conference gave Ghana the opportunity to explain the vision of a united Africa as well as encourage other nationalist movements to follow in the foot-steps of Ghana. The national party; the Convention Peoples Party (CPP), was presented as a model party that had proven its success through organizational efficiency and ideological integrity that led Ghana to its attainment of independence and now having also successfully organised the first African conference on African soil and its response to the Pan-African policy on the use of non-violence in the struggle for independence. CPP had also proven its policy by successfully implementing provisions as were discussed during the Manchester Conference and all liberation movements were strongly encouraged to do so provided that the colonial powers provided basic political rights.

Issues regarding colonialism, federalism, liberation racism and regionalism were all discussed at the conference with five committees holding meetings every single day during the nine-day period that the conference lasted between the 5th to the 13 of December 1958. Accra presented on ways that Africans could attain the ‘highest quality of life’ through gaining independence, consolidation of freedom and independence, the establishment of African unity between African communities and states and finally on how a better and more balanced social and economic reconstruction can be done (Adom 1992: 82). These were the key pillars that summarised Ghana’s foreign policy and it was delivered before the conference came up with its own resolutions. However, discussions did not just end at the conference, as more practical and serious discussions were carried in secrecy at the African Affairs Centre which was hosting the bulk of the delegates between different nationalist movements and the Ghanaian government.

Nationalist movement leaders and other political activists exchanged contacts with the Pan-African office housed at the African Affairs Centre as well as with the government of Ghana as roots for immediate collaborations were being established. The need to establish collaborations with Ghana's Pan-African institutions prompted the establishment of offices in Accra for groups such as Algeria's Front de Libération Nationale (FNL). The conference came up with resolutions that covered all the Pan-African issues relating to the struggle for independence of African countries and promoting a platform to synchronize the efforts of liberation fighters against European colonialism (Gewald, 1990). The All African Peoples Conference was very significant as it intensified the demands for independence by liberation movements. It also made Ghana to be more under scrutiny by both the Western powers and the Soviet Union especially after it was proposed to serve as the headquarters for the African liberation movement.

Indeed, 1958 became a very critical year regarding the implementation of Pan-African policy. By the end of the conference, Ghana had already attracted huge support and confidence of hundreds of liberation fighters from different parts of the continent. The success of the conference was a combination of diligent work and support provided by the Office of the Advisor on African Affairs. The existing relationship between Nkrumah and Padmore was very instrumental in the operations geared towards the establishment of both the Centre for African affairs in Accra as well as successfully hosting the first conference. The conference was a transition stage for Ghana's previously more moderate approach towards a call for the independence of African states to a much more radical approach as it was going to put the Pan-Africanist ideology to test. The early period between 1957-1958 was key as it shaped the African Affairs Centre regarding its mode of operations and structure and the new phase was now to develop it further in relation to its policies and composition of the working force so as to effectively and efficiently provide support to the Pan-African independence movements.

### 3.2. THE ROLE OF KWAME NKURUMAH IN PROMOTING PAN- AFRICANISM



*Picture 5: Dr. Kwame Nkrumah*

Nkrumah's role in promoting Pan-Africanism as an ideology that sought to enhance solidarity among all African people while giving prominence to African cultural

values and traditions is one that has been largely contested both outside and within Africa where he has been praised by some and vilified by other political leaders and scholars, yet, it is an undeniable fact that he is one of the most distinguished personalities of Africa and the world at large in the 21st century. Many writers like James (1996) compares him to great global personalities like Tse-Tung, Gandhi, and Lenin who played important roles in shaping the contours of global civilization in the 20th century (James,1996). However, his legacy has been misconstrued and confined to the study of the exploitative colonial rule and this has only served to present him as an anti-colonial crusader with blithe disregard of his ideology. Understanding his Pan-Africanist perspective is also impossible without delving into his early life in then Gold Coast to the present-day Ghana and subsequently his experiences abroad.

### **3.2.1. Early Life in Ghana: 1909–1934**

On 22nd of September 1909, Kwame Nkrumah was born of a goldsmith father and a trading mother. Even though the parents were illiterate and poor, the father was highly respected as an astute advisor on traditional and domestic matters in their community (Timothy, 1963: 19). His birth added to the already existing respect some good tidings to his parents, his father's business flourished and his mother's trading business experienced success upon success. Nkrumah's eagerness to learn particularly his observatory skills developed at an early age and this was realized by his father whom he used to accompany to various business endeavours (Asamoah, 2005). In early traditional Ghanaian societies, learning, which was an outcome of the process of socialization, began at home for all children. This was the same for the Asona Family where Nkrumah learned traditional knowledge and skills as well as the history of his people from his parents and elders. As a keen listener, he displayed unparalleled knowledge on a wide range of societal matters at a very early age. Davidson (1973) in his book *Black Star* portrays a picture of Nkrumah as a shy boy who listened to his elders instead of engaging in crowd activities and this enabled him to be an ardent observer of his customs and other traditional ceremonies. Besides, he also amassed an

admirable understanding of challenges that his community faced and his focus was on how to overcome these challenges (Davidson, 1973).

The year 1915 was the watershed between informal traditional learning and the beginning of formal learning as his parents sent him to Roman Catholic school in Half-Assini. It is here that his leadership and mobilization skills were displayed when he convinced his classmates not to come to school on a day that the inspector of schools was visiting the school. In his book, *Ghana: the Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, he elaborates that his action was motivated by the teacher's fondness of the stick, which was used to punish them. It is the use of the stick that made him develop a negative attitude towards education and at this point, his mother played an important role in ensuring he completed his education by continuously dragging him to school. While at school he had a quick grasp on national and global affairs and often gathered his friends along the beach or under the tree for discussions (Nkrumah, 1957).

His outstanding performance, coupled with his leadership skills caught the eye of Reverend Father George Fisher, headmaster of the elementary school, who rewarded him with a position of a pupil teacher. Although he was young, he was entrusted with several leadership positions such as the secretary of African Club. Importantly, he embarked on intensive historical research and he became the first secretary of Nzima Literature and Cultural Association. After his first year as a pupil teacher, through the support of his father he went to a teachers training college where he was involved in several extra-curricular events but most importantly, he was more involved in delivering speeches and lectures which were inspired by the influence of Dr. Kwagyir Aggrey, who aroused his cultural nationalism (Asamoah, 2005). Nkrumah's lectures were majorly concerned with the achievements and the roles of African people in pre-colonial Africa and he encouraged his contemporaries to work towards emancipating Africa from the colonial yoke.

Nkrumah was overtly preoccupied with the preservation of African culture. In his conceptualization of culture, he viewed it as an instrument of thinking, which by its very nature contained specific rules that determined people's thoughts and according to him, colonial administration was an enemy of African culture. Through its systems, inter alia, religious and education systems, colonialism relegated Africans' culture from the core to the margins of cultural contexts by introducing new ways of life that served to prop up the colonial system. The colonial education system in particular glorified and established Europeans as the founders of African treasures like lakes and mountains which had already been used by Africans.

Additionally, the education system, mainly grounded on Christian values, led to the loss of Africans identity by imparting western values on African students thus weakening their dedication to the collective ethos. According to Nkrumah, this system altered the course of nationalism in Africa (Rodney 1982:240). Christianity became an important component of the colonial enterprise. It missionary preaching, Christianity was anchored on the gospel of hell and heaven in which evil was associated with everything African. Therefore, it was incumbent upon Africans to convert to Christianity for them to enter heaven (Ani 1993).

### **3.2.2. From Ghana to United States and London**

Nkrumah's quest for knowledge as well as his vision of an emancipated Africa pushed him to pursue further education in the United States through the influence of Dr. Aggrey who gave him an insight on the ideals and ideas of Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. DuBois (Taylor, 1990). His desire for further studies was further bolstered by Azikiwe, an alumni of Lincoln University, who further ignited his vision of an emancipated Africa. Consequently, Nkrumah joined Lincoln University in 1935 where he pursued Theology, Economics, and Sociology. He later obtained his Master degree in Education and another Master degree in Philosophy from the University of Pennsylvania. He also joined London School of Economics in 1945 where he studied law and doctoral degree

in Political Science which he did not complete as a result of disagreements with his research advisor. While at the University of Pennsylvania, Nkrumah played a pivotal role in establishing the Institute of African Languages and Culture (Nkrumah, 1957:15).

The United States provided a conducive environment for Nkrumah to recollect his thoughts on the brutal colonial rule, which he deemed to be an impediment in achieving what he called the 'African dream'. As of 1943, he was deeply involved in politics and through his lectures on challenges of Africans he argued for the dismantling of colonial rule and further articulated the need for liberating Africa. He was joined by others like Nnamdi Azikiwe and Durosimi Johnson who were from Nigeria and Sierra Leone respectively in developing the concept of West African Federation which they intended to use upon the liberation of Africa to bolster the social, political and economic fortunes of West Africa (Timothy: 1963). At this point, it is clear that colonialism as a system played a major role in influencing Nkrumah's social, political and economic thoughts. He conceptualized colonialism as a barbaric form of administration that prodigiously exploited Africans economically and its latent outcomes were dehumanizing. He pointed out to the work of the missionaries and the Eurocentric nature of colonizers' thoughts, which regarded Africans ways of life as inferior, as agents that eroded African culture (Asante, 1993:54).

But as absurd as the colonial system was in Nkrumah's eyes, there were other Africans who relegated African culture and believed in the new European thought, particularly those who had gone through the colonial education system and espoused Christian values. To Nkrumah, this category of Africans worked against his vision in several ways. First, these Africans served to strengthen the brutal colonial system and the net effect of their actions was a delay in the emancipation of the continent. Secondly, in the process of supporting the colonial system, they ended up losing their sense of self-definition thus diminishing the worth of African heritage. But as it will be seen later, the efforts of such people did not deter Nkrumah from pursuing his dream for Ghana and Africa at large.

Nkrumah's ten-year stay in America and London also shaped his African consciousness for the betterment of the world, shifting his focus to other challenges which were not particularly African. In America, he came face to face with various challenges that Africans living abroad were grappling with, from poverty to homelessness and most importantly racism. He had to embark on odd jobs like vending to finance his stay, and in his own account, he tells of several occasions when he slept in the public spaces. But what caught his eyes the most was racism. He viewed racism with the prism of colonialism and to him; the nature of exploitation that colonial administration was overseeing back in Africa was parallel to racial discrimination that he witnessed in London and America. His study on African American communities in Philadelphia, which he conducted for a period of six months, further opened his eyes on the depth of the racial problem. That notwithstanding, he also had personal experiences that manifested themselves in racial terms. In his autobiography, he recounts on one occasion when he was denied drinking water in a cafe due to his colour (Nkrumah, 1957:42).

### **3.2.2.1. The Manchester Congress of 1945**

In London, the prevailing situation was almost the same to that of the United States. But as it would turn out, London became a place where Nkrumah came into contact with his political mentor- George Padmore and together they became secretaries to the organizing committee that was in charge of the fifth Pan-African congress scheduled for December 1945. Padmore was at that time also the head of Pan-African Federation which DuBois had entrusted with the organization of the congress in Manchester. These two, Padmore and Nkrumah, had a cordial working relationship and for Nkrumah this marked the beginning of his political journey as he had found a mentor who strengthened his political beliefs by teaching him various anti-colonial activities which became crucial in his later life, and enabled him to reap from other political friends. On Padmore's side, he had found in Nkrumah the bearer of Pan-African thought whom he had been looking for. He was therefore confident that Nkrumah would

champion the call for Africa's liberation with eyesight on the ability of Africans to determine their own social, political and economic paths (Forward Ever, 1977:10).



*Picture 6: Pan-Africanist at the Manchester Pan-African Conference*

The Pan-African Congress in Manchester became an important platform for Nkrumah to solidify his political clout. At the congress, he came face to face with other leaders like Jomo Kenyatta, CLR James WEB DuBois and hundreds of others with whom he wrote a declaration, sanctioned by the Congress which articulated the ability of colonial people to determine their destiny. He also articulated the need for a more unified Africa, with a particular interest in West Africa. The epitome of the Congress was crowned with two important resolutions that were to guide the liberation movements in decolonizing Africa. The first was the adoption of non-violent strategies

and the second was the mobilization of the masses to help in uprooting colonial administration. These two were seen as crucial in achieving a bloodless revolution in which huge masses of people would be involved. But as it would be realized later, non-violence as a strategy proved to be an unworkable and more often it was characterized by chaos and loss of lives.

Upon the end of the Congress, he pioneered the formation of West African National Secretariat (WANS) and consequently became the secretary general. Founded on Pan-African ideologies, WANS mandate was to unite nationalist movements from West Africa but its activities were nipped in the bud with its quick collapse after Nkrumah decided to go back to Gold Coast, present-day Ghana. Despite its short stint, WANS was vital in the calcifying Pan-African platform and enabled the formation of underground liberation movements like “The Circle” in which Padmore and Nkrumah were members (Padmore, 1963).

### **3.2.3. From Manchester to Ghana**

In 1947 Nkrumah returned to the gold coast and he was inaugurated as the secretary general of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) youth wing. In this period, UGCC was the strongest nationalist party in Ghana and it mainly comprised of the urban populace. It was this composition that Nkrumah sought to change; his idea was to transform the convention into a mass movement by diversifying its activities and recruiting members from the entire colony. This was indeed a daunting task, ideological differences, ethnic divisions, and internal wrangles proved to deter the progress and transformation of UGCC. This instigated a merger between the United Gold Coast Convention and the Gold Coast League in an effort to salvage the collapse of the main nationalist party (Nkrumah, 1957).

By 1949, due to the ongoing wrangles and ideological differences in UGCC, Nkrumah formed Convention People’s Party (CPP) which brought together diverse

classes and ethnic groups. The party opposed a federal system which in Nkrumah's opinion, would prop up tribalism and instead advocated for a centralized system of governance which would inspire national unity. In 1950, as the party was gaining strength across the colony, Nkrumah initiated a "Positive Action campaign" which encompassed a chain of events like boycotts and protests whose end result was to weaken the colonial government. The campaign largely achieved its objectives and re-energized nationalists' struggle for independence. Following this campaign, Nkrumah rose to the position of Leader of Government Business becoming the first African to hold this position even though the country was still under British rule. 1954 was also marked with another success for his political party when CPP won the general elections. In 1956, a year before Ghana attained independence, another general election was held and CPP registered a huge victory in most regions. Upon attainment of independence in 1957, Nkrumah became the prime minister and later in 1960 when Ghana became a republic, he was again elected the president on 1st July.

As it would turn out, based on Nkrumah's political ideology, Ghana's independence did not mark the epitome of his success. Upon gaining self-determination, Nkrumah's focus now shifted to the liberation of the entire African continent and his stance was that the liberation of Ghana was insignificant if other African colonies continued to carry the colonial yoke (Nkrumah, 1973). Political sovereignty was very significant for social change and Nkrumah worked towards the attainment of the sovereignty of several countries from South Africa to Algeria. To this end, Ghana, under the leadership of Nkrumah, played an important role in the decolonization of other colonies. They provided the much-needed human, financial and logistical support to liberation movements as well as young nations that had just attained independence throughout the continent. This was attested to by the then Kenyan "Mau Mau" leader who asserted that Ghana's attainment of the self-rule was a window for other colonies to attain their independence and supplant the brutal colonial administrations (Esebede 1994).

To Nkrumah, African nations that had attained independence were to lay a strong foundation that would be anchored on African values. This Pan-African principle was closer to his heart and immediately after Ghana's independence; he invited seven leaders of African countries that had attained independence to Accra- the capital city of Ghana, for a meeting in April of 1958. During the meeting, he emphasized the need for utilization of African solutions to African challenges, particularly, the inculcation of African ways of life in every sphere of African societies. The development would, therefore, mean that African ways of life were given primacy in a bid to supplant the already spreading colonial legacy. Another conference, All-African Peoples Conference (AAPC), which brought together African leaders who were championing liberation cause both from within the continent and from abroad, was held in December of the same year. A number of other meetings followed and they culminated in the formation of the Organization of African Union (OAU) in 1963 which transformed into the present-day African Union (AU). These engagements attest to Nkrumah's commitment to instil Pan-African ideologies across the continent, although unifying the entire continent proved to be a daunting task following ideological differences (Asamoah, 2005).

In Ghana Nkrumah embarked on institutionalizing the country and his focus was on dismantling the already entrenched European culture. Among the key institutions, he paid much attention to were those of culture and national heritage which he viewed as vehicles of instilling African values into the populace. He criticized those African scholars who viewed Africa as an ahistorical continent and treated Africa as an appendage of Europe. This, in his opinion, robbed Africa and Africans of their heritage and side-lined African culture to the periphery of cultural context.

With his philosophy of "Consciencism", which has been criticized as Marxist, he aimed at re-establishing the lost Africa values and spreading these values to the entire continent. Besides, he aimed at inspiring new generations by restoring the lost glory of African past which European colonizers had disregarded as savage. This led him to

insist on the establishment of African Studies departments which, through theatre, would become the last bastion of the restoration of Africa's cultural values (ibid: 8). The net effect of this move was to enable a unique mix between politics and African culture which would, in turn, raise the stature of African personality and bring it to the core of cultural context.

Inculcating African culture in all spheres of African society is seen to be at the core of Nkrumah's Pan-African ideology even though his work cannot just be viewed in the context of cultural and historical preservation. He also registered unmatched success in education, scientific, agriculture, and technology sectors as well as unparalleled contributions geared towards the emancipation of Africa. Despite all these, his tenure was not as smooth as it would have been expected of a leader of his stature. The political environment he operated in was not that of opulence, order, and peace but one characterized with serious difficulties, attempted coups as well as assassination threats. Until the end of his reign, which came as a result of a military coup in 1966, Nkrumah had escaped a number of assassinations attempts some of which occurred inside his presidential residence. This points out to the intent and ferocity of his rivals to remove him from the reins of power, and of course his political ideology did not just receive resistance from within, there were other external forces that were keen to see his tenure come to an end (Asamoah, 2005: 9).

It is clear that Nkrumah's experiences both in Ghana and abroad formed part of his formative years in solidifying his ideologies. Accordingly, the nature of personalities he met, like Padmore, Dubois and a coterie of others played an important role in shaping and preparing him to take up leadership position after the independence of Ghana. But this introduction has only given a crude chronology of Nkrumah's journey to Pan-Africanism without delving much into his thoughts that guided his course towards liberation and unification of Africa. In the following section, this thesis examines Nkrumah's thoughts on self-determination.

### **3.2.4. Nkrumah's Thoughts on the Liberation of Africa**

It is without a doubt that Nkrumah became one of the most distinguished leaders whose influence transcended the continent of Africa, and reverberated across the globe. However, most studies that have tried to examine his personality have only located his influence within the context of anti-colonial struggle, yet his ideologies were transformed in a context which enabled him to develop a more complex African centered ideology whose end goal was not only the emancipation of Africa but also of Africans across the world. His experience abroad, in London and the United States, placed him in an environment where he could develop a solid viewpoint of Africans predicaments. Indeed, his ideologies were also bolstered by the ongoing colonial process, especially in Africa, which he had endeavoured to supplant due to its exploitative social, political and economic policies. It is clear that self-determination, which would only be achieved after decolonizing the continent, was a key element in the prosperity of Africa and its people and Nkrumah developed a different stance on self-determination.

#### **3.2.4.1. Nkrumah on Self-determination**

Colonial Africa, especially the period between 1950 and 1960, the concept of self-determination reverberated across the entire continent of Africa. Surprisingly, its understanding differed from colony to colony, so did the ideologies and personalities of the then leaders of liberation movements. Some leaders conceptualized self-determination as a chance to redraw the borders of the continent which had been altered by colonial administration while others, including Kwame Nkrumah, conceptualized the concept in Pan-African terms and to them, self-determination was a chance to establish a united Africa. In other words, they visualized Africa as a union of several states. But as it would turn out, the establishment of a united Africa did not come to fruition but Nkrumah's role quest for self-determination of African states was palpable and manifested itself in various forms.

Accordingly, even after his overzealous ambition for territorial unity became impossible, he viewed self-determination as the first step towards restoration of African personality and culture was the epic center of any liberation movement which was seeking to organize a successful political revolution. For him, supplanting the colonial legacy called for a complete transformation in a political and cultural regime that had been established by Europeans. This would mean bringing back relegated African cultural values which would serve as a foundation for economic and social transformation.

Following the independence of Ghana in 1957, Nkrumah's perspective of self-determination came to light again and for him, the independence of Ghana bore no significance without the complete liberation of the entire Africa (BBC World Service, 2000). Subsequently, in 1958 upon convening the first Conference of Independent States, which was attended by delegates and heads of States from Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Ghana, Ethiopia, Tunisia, the United Arab Republic, and Liberia, Nkrumah emphasised the unwavering support and loyalty to the Charter of the United Nations and 'respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations'. At this point, his Pan-African conception of self-determination transmogrified from the perception of Africa as a union of states to that of independent self-governing states.

But even with his change in stance regarding self-determination, Nkrumah and Ghana, in general, played an important role in ensuring several African countries attained their independence. Down from the south to the north of Africa, Ghana provided essential support to liberation movements across Africa with the sole aim of total liberation of the entire continent. But in this course, Nkrumah was utterly disturbed with what he termed as "Balkanization"-the mobilization of ethnic groups- which he considered to be a stumbling block to the liberation of Africa. Balkanization had taken root in a number of countries due to the multi-ethnic nature of Africa countries.

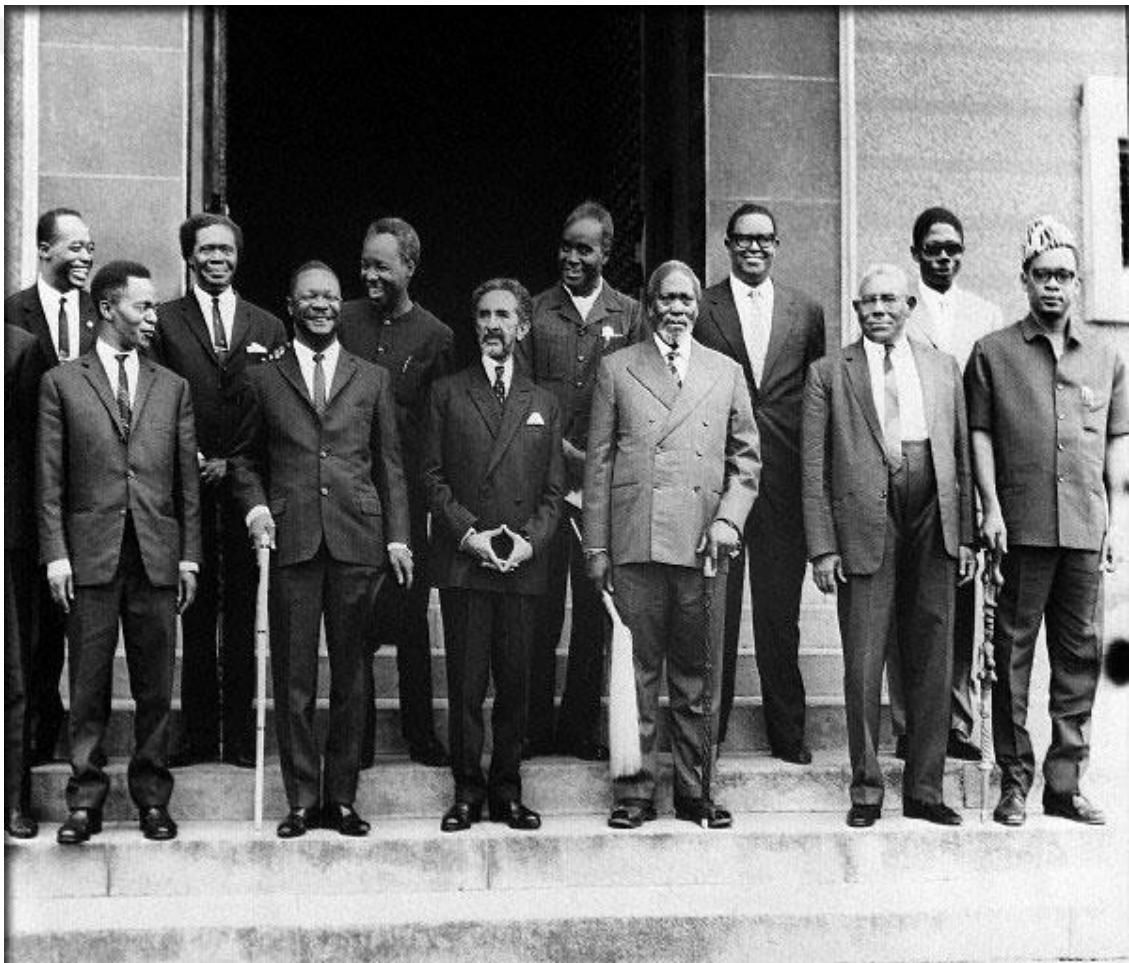
According to Nkrumah, this kind of mobilization would only serve to divide the continent, thus weakening the already independent states and creating an enabling environment for neo-colonialism to prosper. In Ghana, he abolished the use of tribal flags and placed more emphasis on national cohesion. But his affront against balkanization did not just stop in Ghana, he took this battle to other countries and Congo is the case in point in which his urge for cultural unity as well as national cohesion can be seen.

Congo, the present-day Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) faced secession threats in the mineral-rich Katanga province in 1961. Secessionists' annexation of Katanga presented a new threat to Africa's peace and order as a result of balkanization which Nkrumah had highlighted as a threat to the progress of Africa. As the president of Ghana and a Pan-Africanist, Nkrumah took the lead role as an envoy who mediated between Congolese leader -Patrice Lumumba-United Nations and the secessionists (Small, 2017). His belief in territorial integrity defined his bias and led him to disregard secessionists' plights and instead rooted for a united Congo. With the protracted nature of the situation, following failure of diplomatic efforts to solve the crisis, United Nations authorisation of the use of force to liberate Katanga province from the secessionists in 1964 was inevitable. In this end, Ghana following an order from Nkrumah became one of the first countries to avail its troops for the United Nation's military operation in Katanga province. The outcome of this crisis not only reflects positively on Nkrumah's belief in the self-determination of African states but also points to his commitment towards the promotion of national identity through preservation of national culture (Small, 2017: 73).

### **3.2.5. Formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Concept of Self-determination**

Having failed to establish a union of African states with a single central government, Nkrumah sought to establish a formal organization for the newly

independent states. Farmer (2012) argues that Nkrumah's dream for a united Africa did not falter, and in the 1963 Addis Ababa conference for the Independent African States, Nkrumah saw an opportunity for reigniting the debate on what he called the United States of Africa which would be under the control of a single central government (Farmer, 2012).



*Picture 7: First Heads of State summit of the OAU in Addis Ababa in 1963*

This vision created divisions on the path the continent was to take with regards to political integration. On one hand, there was a group; the Casablanca group in which Ghana was included, that viewed political integration as a path for achieving economic

integration (Wapmu, 2009). On the other hand, there was the Monrovia group which deviated from the formation of the United States of Africa to a united Africa founded on unified actions and aspirations. At the Congress, the position of the Monrovia group carried the day and subsequent declaration on the integrity of territorial borders was upheld in Cairo in 1964 (Organisation of African Unity, 1964). Despite Nkrumah's reservations, he appended his signature on the charter and continued with his belief in territorial integrity upholding the continuation in the use of colonial borders (Legum, 1975).

Even though the 1961 crisis in Congo was significant in affirming the quest for territorial integrity, Cairo's resolution established a more legal stance that shaped the course of self-determination in Africa. In all these developments, Nkrumah's efforts, which include the formation of OAU, have been instrumental in enhancing the recognition of colonial borders but most importantly promotion of nationalism. At this point, it is important to note that political pragmatism played an important role in shaping Nkrumah's decisions, especially with regards to colonial borders. As much as he had a different version of African Union in which he visualized a united Africa, he chose to endorse the new formation but with a clear focus on enhancing order and stability which would be prerequisites in achieving true Pan-Africanism (African Union, 2013).

## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4.1. FINDINGS

This section presents the findings as obtained from the literature I reviewed and the key informants through my in-depth interviews with them. The information I derived from the informants correlates to most of the available literature on Nkrumah and Ghana's role in promoting Pan Africanism but offers a new dimension since some of my information came from persons who have had a great understanding of Nkrumah's life, politics, social and cultural understanding which served as his guiding principles. In this section, I would present my findings under different themes that emerged from the interviews I did and the literature I reviewed. Key amongst the themes that came up several times is the concept of Pan-Africanism. Nkrumah's cultural orientation and his political philosophy in relation to the promotion of Pan-Africanism.

#### 4.1.1. Pan-Africanism

The concept of Pan-Africanism dates back to the 1900s as already presented in the earlier literature. But in Africa and for that matter Ghana, Pan-Africanism is largely associated with Nkrumah. This is illustrated by all the key informants, who in their responses associated Nkrumah with the concept of Pan-Africanism. In response to the question, "when you hear the name Kwame Nkrumah, what comes to your mind?" the unanimous answer was Pan-Africanism, Ghana's independence and African Unity.

According to informant 1, *"Nkrumah is the father of African's liberation. As much as he strongly struggled for the independence of Ghana, Nkrumah was largely calling for the liberation of Africa. He was a Pan-Africanist who believed that Africa had the capability of enshrining its own values and norms in the activities of its people without having to borrow from Europeans' ways of life. But this is not to say that Nkrumah was against the modernization of Africa, he wanted a modern Africa but that which finds its*

*foundation in Africa's beliefs, values, and traditions. In the same vein he believed in the emancipation of the entire Africa"*

Indeed, for Nkrumah, the independence of Ghana was not enough, and as a Pan-Africanist, he wanted Africans to retain their cultural heritage, systems and way of life. On the eve of Ghana's independence, Nkrumah strongly emphasized that Ghana's independence bears no meaning until it leads to the total liberation and emancipation of the whole of the African continent (Nkrumah, 1937). In view of this, Ghana gave financial, technical, logistic and varied forms of support to liberation movements across Africa and according to Esebede (1994), Ghana's role in liberating Africa was acknowledged by Kenya's foremost liberation fighter who later became the first president of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, when he declared that Ghana's independence was a symbol of Africa's liberation and signified an end to European rule on the African continent (Esebede, 1994: 105-106). Nkrumah's philosophy that "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all other things shall be added," (Marais, 1972:204) also significantly brings to bear Nkrumah's Pan-African orientation.

Informant 2 also shared similar sentiments with the first informant. According to him *"Nkrumah's name is synonymous with Pan-Africanism as well as the liberation of both Africa and Ghana."* As it has been mentioned before, Pan-Africanism, as a movement did not start from Africa, however, though it was short-lived, it was largely preached, spread and propagated by Nkrumah and its fruits and significance today is still attributed to him.

#### **4.1.2. Culture in Pan-Africanism**

The colonial era transformed African societies in many different ways. The colonial system started by the Europeanization of Africa's formal and informal institutions, particularly in education and religion by the introduction of Christianity and European education system. They indoctrinated Africans to believe their education and

religions were bad and backwards, this put the African culture to the backburner since education and religion are the main transmitters of culture. A situation that needed to be checked and reversed to maintain the African identity and personality, this was duly done by Pan-Africanism as espoused by Nkrumah and the others. When the question, “what was the main objective of Pan-Africanists in Africa”? Was asked the informants had different views but an underlying theme cut across all their responds and that was the cultural aspect of the movement.

According to Informant 2, *“As much as Pan Africanist wanted to reduce, if not eliminate European’s domination of the continent, it was not just like any other struggle for independence. Pan-African movements were embroiled in a battle of cultural dominance because by that time African culture was regarded as backward and barbaric and there was a need to prevent the spread of European culture in Africa. For Nkrumah and his colleagues, the African culture was at the centre of the African identity and an erosion of the African culture would mean the loss of the African Identity.”*

This assertion is augmented by Cabral (1980) who argues that the liberation struggle of the 1950s was preceded by the cultural struggle which served to solidify the cultural personality of the African people. Whatever the manifestation of the colonial environment in Africa, it was with the cultural context in mind that Africans started to challenge the imperialist systems of the colonial governments and thus, the liberation movements in Africa were mostly formed and structured on cultural contexts which Pan-Africanists like Nkrumah had earlier identified as the reason for their struggle (Cabral, 1980).

According to informant 4, *“The main objective of the Pan-African Movements in Africa was to reverse and overturn the cultural dominance of Europeans as against the African culture. Culture was at the core of it all.”*

Accordingly, this assertion is also found in Nkrumah's thoughts. According to Cabral (1980), Nkrumah had a unique view of culture in which he conceptualized culture as the core of any political revolution and an embodiment of humanity. In his opinion, political independence is the beginning of the restoration of the African's personality, dignity and humanity.

In all these, Nkrumah's Pan-African orientation is reflected through his belief in the superiority of the African culture. After Ghana's independence, Nkrumah met the heads of state of the other independent countries in Africa in 1958 and emphasized the need to establish and orientate their young nations on the basis of African culture, value systems, beliefs and traditions (Esebede, 1994).

The setting up of institutions that support and propagate ideologies have always been key in establishing the necessary infrastructure that would support economic and political integration which was a key tenet of the Pan-Africanism movement during the 20th century. Indeed, the institutionalization of Pan-Africanism as discussed earlier shows a long history on the continent and prominently featuring is the many problems that came its way at different times as different leaders and regimes tried to spread the ideology throughout the African continent. After a while, the aspirations and objectives of the Pan-African ideology was watered down by the divergent opinions on what constituted Pan-Africanism. On one side, Pan-Africanism and nationalism were mistaken to be one and the same thing and on the other side, Pan-Africanism and nationalism were separate and different and at times in conflict. The failure to distinctly spell out continental interests from country, ethnic or tribe specific interests laid the foundations for the misunderstanding of the unity dream (Biswaro, 2015). In this section, I will assess the role of Nkrumah and Ghana in promoting pan-Africanism in a more contextual manner. Based on the findings of my research, these are some of the main issues worth noting due to their significant impact on the whole process. I will first look at the circumstance that influenced the stance of Nkrumah on the issue of Pan-

Africanism, his successes and Ghana's efforts and the challenges the pan African project faced.

#### **4.2. Factors that influence Kwame Nkrumah's Stance on Pan-Africanism**

Political pragmatism: During the research, I established that Nkrumah was not only a practically minded politician but also a cunning and idealist person. This explains why he was strictly against the idea of federalism and secession in Ghana and condemned the National Liberation Movement (NLM) that was advocating for the independence of the Ashanti regions of Ghana which is dominated by the cocoa producing and gold rich areas of Ghana and also rejected the calls for Ghana to practice federalism where regions would control a chunk of their wealth (Biney, 2011: 45).

However, despite his open criticism of ethnicity, tribalism and divisive politics, Nkrumah did not hesitate to align with tribal identities to achieve political goals. A case in point was in 1960 when Ghana under Nkrumah tried to influence Côte d'Ivoire's Southeast populace to secede on what he described as efforts to bring "tribal unity" among the communities who had been split by the colonial boundaries (Shaw, 1996: 207). This led to serious confrontations and misunderstandings between Nkrumah and the first president of "Cote d'Ivoire" Félix Houphouët-Boigny. There were claims as well that Ghana wanted Togo to be part of its territory which was also on the basis of uniting "tribes" in the two countries; particularly the Ewe tribe which is split between Ghana, Togo and Benin.

Secondly, efforts to promote nationalism as a means of strengthening domestic unity and protecting the country's boundaries. As he continued to call for a united Africa with shared military, political and economic functions, many argue that it was not a secret that Nkrumah himself wanted to be the leader of the United States of Africa. This ambition perhaps made Nkrumah more passionate in promoting Pan-Africanism. Rightfully so since Nkrumah unlike many other African leaders at the time had a better

and qualified legitimacy to make claims to a leading role if the continental unity project had succeeded. Nkrumah is among a few Africans who traveled to Europe to attend the Pan-African conferences such as the one in Manchester (1945). However, Nkrumah was not the only leader desirous of becoming the leader of the United States of African if it had succeeded. Other leaders such as Nasser of Egypt were one such leader who also had aspirations of being the leader of a United States of Africa. To some extent, the competition over who would be the leader of the United States of Africa could have also led to its failure.

### **4.3. Achievements**

There has been a caveat that Pan-Africanism as conceptualized by its pioneers did not come to its fruition in Africa following the collapse of the ideology in post-independence Africa. But limiting Pan-Africanism to the unification of Africa and Africans is to turn a blind eye on several other areas in which Pan-African movements in Africa gained huge success. It should be remembered that by the time Pan-Africanism was gaining grounds in Africa, the continent was almost fully colonized and at this time one of the main objectives of the movement was to decolonize the continent. By the 1950s, as a result of the Pan-African ideologies, the continent had more liberation movements than it had in the 1940s. By 1957 African countries began lowering the colonizers flags and hoisting their own flags with Ghana leading the way as the first black sub-Saharan African country to do this and by the early 1970s several Africa countries had attained the coveted self-rule. The role of Pan-Africanism in the independence struggle of Africa is, therefore, one of the major achievements of the movement. This is well captured in Nkrumah's speech on the eve of Ghana's independence when he declared that Ghana's independence would not make much sense if other African countries were still yoked by the colonial administrations.

Importantly, even though the fire of the Pan-African ideology in post-colonial Africa started burning slowly and low, the pioneers of the movement on the continent,

particularly, Nkrumah managed to lay a strong foundation that would lead to the unification of Africa even after them. This they did through the formation of OUA. However, looking at African unity from the spectacles of total similarity amongst all nations would quickly do away with the very idea and concept of the Pan-Africanists. To the Pan-Africanists, African unity that would lead to the collective empowerment of the African people was desired and only that facet of unity which would lead to building capacities of Africans to steer their own affairs and control their destinies was at the core of their concept of African unity. To this end several attempts were made by Nkrumah himself as early as 1958 when he met the heads of states from the seven independent countries in Ghana where he emphasised the need for a unified continent in which African traditions, values and culture are given prominence.

Since then the call for unification has reached its crescendo. Even though Nkrumah's ideas were truncated somehow, the flames of a United States of Africa were reignited in 2005 at an African Union Summit conference in Nigeria. This time it was driven by the then president of Nigeria Olesgun Obasanjo who called for the formation of an African Union Government. Contrary to Nkrumah's emphasis on African tradition and culture, Obasanjo's initiative was to create a common economic and monetary union. But still, going by the major shifts in world order, the emerging calls for unification had an underlying objective of uniting African people as opposed to unity of governments. But again, this call was opposed by nationalist who view territorial integrity as more important than the African unity project.

Accordingly, Nkrumah's Pan-African thoughts had relative success in Ghana. As a Pan-Africanist, he held onto an insightful idea of the significance of culture and the link between politics and culture in post-colonial Ghana. In his view, the primary focus of culture was to remove the repressive conditions of colonialism and give rise to better correlation between the people, their society and nature. This perspective led him to establish his philosophy of "*Consciencism*", which, generally misunderstood to mean

Marxist, this was as a result of the clash of ethical and cultural values of the African people and those of the Europeans.

Of great significance though, is the institutionalization of his cultural and ideological thought in Ghana. His cultural and ideological thoughts started and lit the flames for the establishment of various institutions which would be grounded on the African culture heritage and traditions. Key among these institutions are the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana, Arts Council of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute and the School of Music and Drama. These were designed to merge African's past achievements with the emerging changes and challenges in African societies. These institutions were to redefine and redirect African history and connect the past to the present and in raises African culture to its proper place in African societies rather than where it had been pushed to by Eurocentric colonial administrations.

In summary, even though Pan-Africanism has not chocked much success in post-colonial Africa, there have been efforts to bring back the very concepts and ideologies of the movement in present day Africa. This has been triggered by new developments in the global system order which have rippling effects on the continent. So, whether a total and complete unification of the continent, as conceptualized by the pioneers of Pan-Africanism with a centralized government and systems of control will be achieved in the near future is a matter that scholars will continue to keep an eye on.



*Picture 8: Political map of Africa*

#### 4.4. Challenges

One of the challenges that faced the Pan-African movement at the time was financial constraints. This led to the lack of proper functioning of key organs of some offices that supported the movement. While leaders from all over the continent met to discuss important issues that effected the continent such as the independent struggle of African states and other issues of development, the resources for the pursuance of these agenda was not forth coming given the fact that most African countries were still under colonial rule and those that were in the early years of independence like Ghana did not have enough resources to fully fund the cause even though they still tried to help as they suffered from underdevelopment and other forms of internal conflicts (McKenzie, 2010: 78).

The Pan-African agenda also faced the problems of acceptance and being incorporated into the identity of the African culture and heritage. The ideology of Pan-

Africanism and the Pan-African movements were seen largely as being for the political elites and a few Pan-African scholars at the time. Many countries were deeply engrossed and focused on first attaining self-rule rather than continental integration. Also, the failure of central governments to bring on-board civil society groups and organizations, interest groups and movements and the support of the general citizenry of different countries in pursuing Pan-Africanism and the regional integration agenda played a key role in dwindling the fortunes of Pan-Africanism.

Entrenched polarisation of the African continent also increased the challenges of Pan-Africanism. The entrenched positions taken by the two main blocs at the time on the continent; the Casablanca group and the Monrovia group stalled the progress of any form of African Unity. For example, in 1962, the radical Casablanca group demanded that the continent should move towards the east which favoured socialism as an ideology. They sort to argue that socialism is the only solution to the continent's economic problems. However, the Monrovia group had a divergent view, they sort to argue that it was better to have good relations and cooperation with the former colonial powers.

The widest and most significant difference, however, concerned the concept of unity (Smith, 1993). To countries of the Monrovia group; Ethiopia, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo and Tunisia, "unity" referred to unified aspirations, solidarity and the maintenance of political identity without necessarily having political unification on a unitary, federal or regional bases. This was in sharp contrast to the vision of the founding fathers of Pan-Africanism like Kwame Nkrumah. According to Nkrumah, the future of a prosperous Africa was in its political union. He believed an African Union will provide the platform for which solutions to specific African problems like poverty, balkanization of the continent, neo-colonialism, and mutual aspirations, as well as language and cultural differences could be overcome. (Smith, 1993).

Consequently, these differences in approach towards Pan-Africanism degenerated into personal quarrels amongst the leaders. For example, the Nigerian press in support of their president took on Nkrumah for his derogatory remarks on the Monrovia group's principles and mocked him for his inability to unite Ghana and Guinea properly. He was accused of trying to push himself on the people of the whole African continent as the leader (Smith, 2013).

When the first conference on Pan-Africanism was held in Ghana in 1958, the movement did not have any nation or state philosophy in mind, however, as more and more countries became independent, proponents of pan-Africanism had to readjust its agenda to meet the changes and emerging challenges and the dynamics they pose on the continent. In addition, the size of the African continent means a vast geographical area with diverse concerns, identities and interest. This made Nkrumah's task of preaching and propagating Pan-Africanism more and more complex with each passing day (Mkandawire 2004:2). There have been several conflicts in different parts of the continent and among different groups and identities such as religion, race, nationality, geography and ethnicity, these have further disrupted the objectives of Pan-Africanism as envisaged by its founding fathers leading to its decline (Murobe 2000:58). This can be seen in the division between the Arab North and the non-Arab sub-Saharan Africa regions, the many conflicts from Darfur in Sudan to the Central Africa Republic, Somalia, and the expulsion of Morocco from the African Union among others.

More strongly, this research acknowledges the negative impact of the various different identities of African societies on Pan-Africanism. Despite the strong efforts put in by Ghana and Nkrumah, there has not been sufficient push from others to help put in place programs and institutions to counter and resolve the problem of identity and its negative impacts on Pan-Africanism. More importantly, African countries have managed to foster stronger national identities and whip up sentiments of nationalism that makes its citizenry identify more with their nation states rather than the continental identity which would be the main goal of Pan-Africanism. As part of nation-building, countries

have fostered a stronger sense of sovereignty and nationalism that they hold on dearly and seem not to let go anytime soon. These factors and many others militate against the spread of Pan-Africanism on the continent.

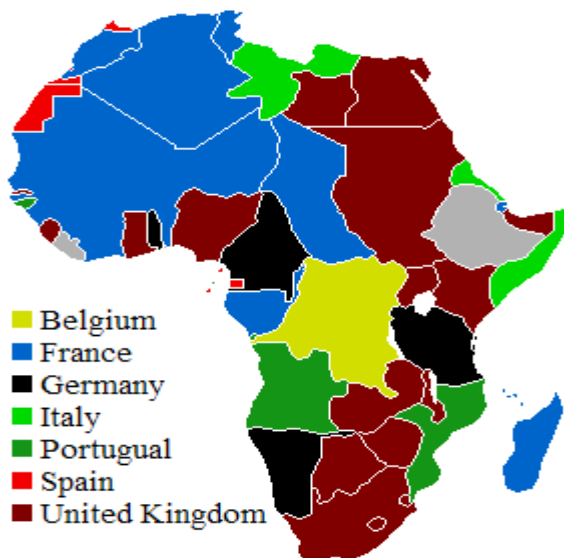
The naysayers with regard to the quest for Pan-Africanism undermined the work of Nkrumah and were quick to point out why the African unity project could not be sustained instead of helping find ways to make it better. As Ghana and her likeminded groups gave political, economic and technical support towards forging African unity, there were those of the scare mongering group who went around giving false information and putting fear in the minds of people on the possible impact of having a United States of Africa. The effects of these scare mongering have led to the rise of three kinds of attitudes towards African unity; those who engage it critically and or constructively; those who ignore it all together and the last group are those who reject the idea as being utopian and unattainable (Ijeoma 2004:5).

The three attitudes have advantages and disadvantages on their positions, but as we can see, it is only one group that is trying to come up with an initiative to push for a better understanding of Pan-Africanism and how to resolve the difficulties and problems of achieving it while the remaining two groups do not have any interest in the initiative. These attitudes and ideological difference are quite clear and visible among scholars and academicians in Africa and in the diaspora. While we have a decent number of African researchers engaged in research on Pan-Africanism, those involved are small proportions considering the target audience that needs to be reached, there is simply insufficient research conducted on African unity. This, therefore, undermines the work that Ghana and Nkrumah started.

Apart from the ideological differences, economic competition and military rivalry between those backed by the East against those backed by the West, along with emerging problems like the need to build new and improve existing infrastructure which was also prominent. The United States and the Soviet Union were busy looking for ways

to keep dominating, exploiting and influencing the actions of individual African states, the unity and prosperity of Africans in the form of Pan-Africanism was not an issue of immediate concern to these two superpowers they were concerned with their control and influence in world politics. African countries were used as proxies for these super powers which affected the Pan-African movement negatively.

Another challenge proponent of the Pan-African ideology faced was the already existing strong bond and relationships between African states and their external allies and or colonizers. While Nkrumah called upon strict bipartisan non-aligned approach for African states on global issues, countries were already divided between Francophone, Anglophone, Lusophone and Afro-Arabic countries. African countries have strong ties to countries such as the US, France, UK, Portugal and recently China, sometimes rivalry between these global powers plays out in the continent thus affecting any prospects of peace. Unity and consensus will therefore be difficult to arrive at in the continent as long as strong adherence to the culture, language and ideologies of external actors are held on within the African continent.



*Picture 9: Pictorial presentation of African countries and their colonial masters before world war II*

Another area of difficulty identified was that holding of parallel conferences and structures such as the ones held by the independent states and the All African Peoples' group, was also posing as a key challenge to the dream of Pan-Africanism. Divisions within the movement such as “moderate” and “militants” or “hard liners” within the same group created an atmosphere of chaos and tension between the two groups who work together sometimes with suspicion and disdain for each other. For example, the All African Peoples' group held their second congress in Tunis, Tunisia in 1960 and top of their agenda was the devotion towards the political, economic and cultural aspects of Pan-Africanism. Its revised constitution reaffirmed the idea of unity and the eventual creation of a United States of Africa (Smith, 2013).

However, later in the same year, the independent states met in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia at a conference that was also open to colonies which were not yet independent but had almost completed their independence struggle since they had already set dates for which they would declare independence. While countries such as Nigeria, Somalia, and Algeria attended, the French colonies set to attain independence later that same year, were conspicuously absent in this conference. This could, however, be attributed to several factors. Firstly, at a time when the idea of Pan-Africanism was having a significant following of enthusiasts, the drive for a majority of the French colonies was rather the opposite and could be described as being lukewarm towards Pan-Africanism because they were afraid that the presence of Algeria, which was engaged in an intense struggle with France, could alienate them from their colonizer, France, who they were still so heavily dependent on. Other differences were the problem of language and the background of the leaders of the francophone countries who were deeply rooted in French culture due to the assimilation policy the French used in colonialism. The way in which these colonies became independent was significant too. From 1960 they had the choice to obtain independence individually with continued economic, technological, military and other aid from France (Smith, 2013). In view of this, many French West African countries are independent but still strongly aligned to France (Duffield, 1975: 111-112).

While governance and leadership may not appear as one of the key challenges of achieving Pan-African unity, it is one of the most significant factors. Nkrumah and Ghana tried to provide leadership in the push for African Unity, but their efforts could not succeed given the vast geography and diversity in the political and leadership structure on the continent. Also, there were no adequate efforts to ensure that proper and good leadership was available to all states to guide the continent on the required reforms and processes necessary for managing the Pan-African project effectively. The continent lacks a common standard on the nature and structure of governance and leadership. Example in case is where some countries have presidents for over 30 years in power without any significant change to the lives of their people. Money laundering, corruption, nepotism, tribalism are but a few of the vices which have plagued the continent and have resulted in extreme poverty; the continent did not set the means and guiding principles through which good leadership and governance practices would be achieved and adhered to.



## CONCLUSION

The role of Ghana and Nkrumah in promoting the spirit of pan-Africanism will remain embedded in the history of the African continent. The selfless support Ghana extended to fellow African countries especially during their struggle for independence cannot be overlooked either. Although the goals and aspiration of Nkrumah and Ghana with regard to African unity have not been achieved to the extent they expected, their efforts have given birth to other forms of unity such as their important contribution to the formation of the Organisation of African Unity which later metamorphosed into the African Union. Today the continent has several strong regional organisations such as Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), East Africa Community (EAC), Southern African Development Community (SADC), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD). These organizations are keen on promoting unity among different African states regionally and at the continental level which to some extent they are doing successfully. Their formation and running can be credited to the efforts of the proponents of Pan-Africanism.

Also Kwame Nkrumah through his personal efforts whipped up the sentiments of the African identity among fellow African since one of his main focal points was to ‘de-europeanize’ Africa. He set up institutions like the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, African Studies Center at the University of Ghana all in the bid to push the Pan-African ideology. Although there were stumbling blocks on his way, Nkrumah still soldiered on and pushed forward using different strategies, in my view, this was a result of some of his personal traits as analysed in the Leadership Trait Analyses theory above.

Today the flames of the Pan-African ideology have not died off completely even though the focus and emphasis may have shifted from what the founding fathers of Pan-Africanism proposed. For instance, An AU passport is being proposed for which all

Africans would use thus, ensuring free movement of people, goods and services within the African continent even though administratively borders would still be maintained. Also A customs union regime is being advocated for where all African countries would have a common standard custom standard for all goods and services within the continent. These are all to an extent innovations to the Pan-African ideology since they unite Africa and bring us together.

Today, even though the problem of financial constraint may still largely loom over an African Unity project, some of the problems like-the strong bond of attachment to the colonial masters are being broken. Also the problem of the divide as to which power to align to, be it The soviet Union or The United States of America no longer exist since the collapse and disintegration of the Soviet Union

However, despite the efforts and achievements mentioned, the Pan African project has not been entirely a success. This failure is largely attributed to the lack of a solid ideology that cuts across geography, religion, race and ethnic beliefs. African leaders have failed to agree on very critical issues that are of importance to the success of the project. There was no understanding on the timelines which this project would have taken, some wanted a more rapid approach to African Unity, and others like Nkrumah wanted a step-by-step implementation of the plan. However, even the latter did not provide a detailed time frame in which Africa would have been united. Secondly, there seems to have been an over concentration on the idea of continental unity that overlooked the national aspects of countries in Africa. Such concentration and focus on continental unity led to the concerns raised by individual nations being ignored which then killed their enthusiasm of the Pan-African project of unity.

For example, in his entire support for the Pan-African ideology, Nkrumah and Ghana never offered tangible solutions to the problem of bad governance and authoritarianism that spread across the continent, the divide and differences between the Arab North and non-Arab South did not get the attention and dedication it deserved. In

view of this, North Africa is studied as part of the Middle East and rarely mentioned under African studies since they hold stronger ties to the Middle East than to their continent of Africa. The problem of infrastructure and transportation in order to facilitate communication and movement of goods and people across the continent was never discussed at the time yet it will be simply impossible to talk about African unity without people, goods, and services being able to move from one part of the continent to another. Nkrumah and other African leaders failed to give the Pan-African project a national anchor and character. Speeches regarding African unity have been made at high-level conferences attended by few political elites and diplomats, but the citizenry and general populace of African countries were not given a chance or the environment to make their input or suggestions on continental issues that directly affect them. There are no Pan-African leaning political parties across the continent, even in Ghana; the push for African unity was seen more as an Nkrumah and his government agenda rather than a CPP political party ideology.



## REFERENCES

- AAPC Speech by the Prime Minister of Ghana at the Opening and Closing Sessions on December 8th and 13th, 1958
- Adamafo, T. (1982). *By Nkrumah's side: the labor and the wounds* (p. 115). Accra: Westcoast Publishing House.
- Adeze'Frehiwot, M. (2011). *Education and Pan-Africanism: A Case Study of Ghana, 1957–1966* (Doctoral dissertation, Howard University).
- Adom, H. (1992). *The role of Ghana in African liberation and unity, 1957-1977*.
- African Union ‘Kwame Nkrumah: The permanent relevance of a road-not-taken’ 21 May 2013 <http://summits.au.int/50th/50th/speeches/kwame-nkrumahperm-anen-et-relevance> road-not-taken (accessed 24 August 2018).
- AGPL, un-cataloged AA/Office Stationery Equipment and Accommodation (BAA-8), “*Certificate of Allocation, Accra, site for Taycot Bungalows*”, 16th October 1959
- Agupusi P., (2016) The African Union and Development in Africa. *Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs Research Paper No. 2016-30*
- Ajala, A. (1973). *Pan-Africanism: Evolution, progress, and prospects*. St. Martin's Press.
- Ake, Claude. (1966). Charismatic Legitimation and Political Integration. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 9(1): 1-13.
- Aluko O. (1976). *Ghana and Nigeria 1957-70, a Study in Inter-African Discord*, Barnes & Noble, New York, pp.63-66.
- Aluko, Olajide. (1975). After Nkrumah: Continuity and Change in Ghana's Foreign Policy. *A Journal of Opinion* 5(1):55-62.
- Ani, Marimba (1994). *YURUGU: An African-Centered Critique of European Cultural Thought and Behavior*. Trenton: African World Press.

- Apter, David E. (1968). Nkrumah, Charisma, and the Coup *Daedalus* (97): 3. Philosophers and Kings: Studies in Leadership. The MIT Press on behalf of American Academy of Arts & Sciences.
- Archer, C. (2000). Euroscepticism in the Nordic region. *Journal of European Integration*, 22(1), 87-114.
- Armah, K. (2004). *Peace without power: Ghana's foreign policy, 1957-1966*. Ghana University Press.
- Asante, Molefi, Kete (1993). Location Theory, *The African Aesthetic, Keeper of the Traditions*, edited by Kariamuwelsh Asante, Westport: Glenwood Press, 53–62
- Biney, Ama. (2008). The Legacy of Kwame Nkrumah in Retrospect. *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 2 (3):129-159.
- Biney, Ama. (2011). *The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan Press.
- Biswaro J. M., (2005): Perspectives of Africa's Integration and Cooperation from the Organization of African Unity to the African Union; 'Old wine in New Bottle?' Tanzania Publishing House Limited, 2005
- BNA, FO/371/131182, Letter, Dearden (British Embassy, Tunis) to Smith (African Department, Foreign Office), March 1, 1958. "The Conakry Declaration"; in C. Legum, Pan-Africanism, 1962, pp.160-61.
- BNA, FO/371/131182, *The Commonwealth Secretary to British Prime Minister*, typescript, 2nd September 1958
- Botwe-Asamoah, Kwame. (2005). *Kwame Nkrumah's Politico- Cultural Thought and Policies: An African-Centered Paradigm for the Second Phase of the African Revolution*. New York: Routledge.
- C Legum 'The Organisation of African Unity: Success or failure?' (1975) 51 *International Affairs* 208. 650.

- C.E. Welch, *Dream of Unity, Pan-Africanism and Political Unification in West Africa*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca N.Y., 1966
- Clarke, John. (1974). Kwame Nkrumah: His Years in America. *The Black Scholar* 6(2):9-16.
- D. Austin, *Politics in Ghana 1946-1960*, 1970 pp.283-84
- Davidson, Basil (1973). *Black Star*. London: Allen Lane
- Dei-Anang, M. (1975). *The administration of Ghana's foreign relations, 1957-1965: a personal memoir*. London: the University of London, The Athlone Press published for the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1975. ix, 88 p.; 22 cm. Series: Commonwealth papers; 17. G. Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism?* 1971
- Dinan, D., Nugent, N., Paterson, W. E., & Wright, V. (1999). *Ever closer union: an introduction to European integration*. London: Macmillan.
- Duffield I (1975), 'Pan-Africanism since 1940', in M. Crowder (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Africa*, vol. 8: Fromc. 1940 toe
- Dyson, Stephen and Preston, Thomas. (2006). Individual Characteristics of Political Leaders and the Use of Analogy in Foreign Policy Decision Making. *Political Psychology* 27(2):265-288.
- Dyson, Stephen. (2006). Personality and Foreign Policy: Tony Blair's Iraq Decisions. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 2:289-306.
- Dyson, Stephen. (2006). Personality and Foreign Policy: Tony Blair's Iraq Decisions. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 2:289-306.
- Esebede, Olisanwuche (1994). *P. Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement, 1776–1991*. Washington, D.C., Howard University Press.
- Forward Ever: The Life of Kwame Nkrumah* (1977). London: Panaf Books Ltd.

- Franke, B. F. (2007). Competing Regionalisms in Africa and the Continent's Emerging Security Architecture. *African Studies Quarterly*, 9(3).
- Gebe, Boni Y. (2008). Ghana's Foreign Policy at Independence and Implications for the 1966 Coup D'état. *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 2(3):160-186.
- Geiss, I. (1974). *The Pan-African Movement: A History of Pan-Africanism in America, Europe, and Africa*. Taylor & Francis.
- Gewald, J. B. (1990). Hands off Africa!!: *an overview and analysis of the ideological, political and socio-economic approaches to African unity expressed at the first All-African People's Conference held in Accra, Ghana in December 1958*.
- Gorener, Ayilins and Ucal, Meltems. 2011. The Personality and Leadership Style of Recep Tayyip Erdogan: Implications for Turkish Foreign Policy. *Turkish Studies* 12(3):357-381.
- Grilli, M. (2014). Support to African Nationalist Movements by Nkrumah's Ghana. In *African Dynamics in a Multipolar World: 5th European Conference on African Studies—Conference Proceedings* (pp. 1018-1030). Centro de Estudos Internacionais do Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (ISCTE-IUL).
- Grundy, Kenneth W. (1963). Nkrumah's Theory of Underdevelopment: An Analysis of Recurrent Themes. *World Politics* 15 (3):438-454.
- Hagan, Joe D.(1994). Domestic Political Systems and War Proneness. *Mershon International Studies Review* 38:183–207.
- Hermann, Margaret and Hagan, Joe. (1998). International Decision Making: Leadership Matters. *Foreign Policy* 110:124-137.
- Hermann, Margaret. (1980). Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders. *International Studies Quarterly* 24: 7-46.
- Hermann, Margaret. (1999). Assessing Leadership Style: A Trait Analysis. *Social Science Automation Inc*.

- Hill, R. A., & Garvey, M. (1983). *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol. IX: Africa for the Africans June 1921-December 1922* (Vol. 9). University of California Press.
- Ijeoma EOC, (2004). *Multilateralism at Risk: The Role of NEPAD*. Paper presented at the European Union-Least /developing countries Networks (EU-LDC) annual conference. Multilateralism at Risk; beyond globalization. The European Union Conference Centre. Brussels. 2-3 April.
- James, C. L. R. (1972). *Notes on the life of George Padmore*. The University of Chicago Library.
- James, C. L. R. Nkrumah and The Ghana Revolution (London: Allison & Busby, 1977). CLR James, "The Rise and Fall of Nkrumah," *CLR James Reader*, 358-361.
- James, C.L.R. (1996). The Rise and Fall of Nkrumah, *African Intellectual Heritage*, edited by Abu S.Abarry and Molefi Kete Asante. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 573–579.
- James, L. E. (2012). *What we put in black and white: George Padmore and the practice of anti-imperial politics* (Doctoral dissertation, The London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE)).
- Kaarbo, Juliet.(1997). Prime Minister Leadership Styles in Foreign Policy Decision-Making: A Framework for Research. *Political Psychology* 18(3):553-581.
- Kah, H. K. (2016) Kwame Nkrumah And the Pan African Vision: Between Acceptance And Rebuttal. *Austral: Brazilian Journal of Strategy & International Relations*, 5(9).
- Kesgin, Baris. (2012). Tansu Ciller's Leadership Traits and Foreign Policy. *Perception*, 17(3):29-50.

- Kimarya, L. (2013). "Africa's Rocky Road to Continental Unity. Workshop to Commemorate 50 Years of OAU/AU," J.K Nyerere Hall, MUCoBS, May 24.
- Kumah-Abiwu, F. (2013). "Rethinking the Ideas of Pan-Africanism and African Unity: A Theoretical Perspective of Kwame Nkrumah's Leadership Traits and Decision Making." *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 6 (6): 122-142.
- Legum, C. (1962). *Pan-Africanism* (pp. 147-148). London: Pall Mall Press.
- M. Dei-Anang, *The Administration of Ghana's Foreign Relations 1957- 1965: a personal memoir*; 1977 p.13
- Mackenzie D., (2010) *A world beyond borders, An Introduction to the history of International Organizations* University of Toronto Press
- Mazrui, A. A., & Tidy, M. (1984). *Nationalism and new states in Africa: from about 1935 to the present* (Vol. 1948). Nairobi: Heinemann.
- Mkandawire, Thandika (2004). Rethinking pan-Africanism. Paper presented at the African Union first conference of intellectuals of Africa and its Diaspora in Dakar. 6-9 October.
- Murobe, M. (2000) Globalisation and African Renaissance: An Ethical Reflection In problematising the African renaissance. Eddie Maloka and Elizabeth le Roux. Pretoria. Africa Institute Research Paper. No 62.
- Neuman, W. L., & Robson, K. (2007). Basics of social research: Qualitative and quantitative approaches. *Power*, 48, 48.
- Nkrumah, K. (1967). *Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah*. Panaf Publications.
- Nkrumah, Kwame (1957). *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*. New York: International Publishers.
- Nkrumah, Kwame (1973). *I Speak of Freedom*. London: Panaf.
- Nkrumah, Kwame. (1970). *Africa Must Unite*. New York: International Publishers.

- Nkrumah, Kwame. (1976). *I Speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology*. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Nkrumah, Kwame.(1965). *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization and Development with Particular Reference to the African Revolution*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- NLC (National Liberation Council) 1966, *Nkrumah's Subversion in Africa, Documentary evidence of Nkrumah's interference in the affairs of other African states*, Ministry of Information, Accra.
- Obeng, Samuel. (1979). *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah* (Volume 1). Accra: Afram Publications (Ghana) Ltd.
- Olaosebikan, Johnson. (2011). Kwame Nkrumah and the Proposed African Common Government. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* 5(4): 218-228.
- Owusu, Maxwell. (1997). Domesticating Democracy: Culture, Civil Society and Constitutionalism in Africa. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39(1):120-152.
- PRAAD, ADM/16/1/11, "List of Official Delegates" as part of AAPC, News Bulletin of the All African People's Conference, issued by the Permanent Secretariat.
- PRAAD, SC/BAA/165, Letter, Padmore to Nkrumah, 19th August 1958
- PRAAD, SC/BAA/165, Letter, Padmore to Nkrumah, 21st January 1958
- PRAAD, SC/BAA/357, "Yearly Expenditure – Ministry of Defense and External Affairs – 1957/1960", (handwriting).; Still, officially, the budget of Padmore's Office was under Adu's control. In W.S. Thompson, *Ghana's Foreign Policy*.
- Quist-Adade, C., & Dodoo, V. (Eds.). (2015). *Africa's Many Divides and Africa's Future: Pursuing Nkrumah's Vision of Pan-Africanism in an Era of Globalization*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

- R. Makonnen, Pan-Africanism from Within, p.212
- Reeck, Darrell. (1976). The Castle and the Umbrella: Some Religious Dimensions of Kwame Nkrumah's Leadership Role in Ghana. *Africa Today* 23(4):7-27.
- Rodney, W. (2010). How Europe underdeveloped Africa. *Perspectives on Africa. Blackwell, Malden, MA*, 439-449.
- Rodney, Walter (1982). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Washington D.C.: Howard University Press.
- S Wapmu 'In search of greater unity: African states and the quest for an African Union government' (2009) 1 *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*
- Saaka, Yakubu. (1994). Recurrent Themes in Ghanaian Politics: Kwame Nkrumah's Legacy. *Journal of Black Studies* 24 (3): 263-280: Special Issue: Social, Economic, Political, and Cultural Dimensions of Life in Ghana.
- Schwandt, T. A., Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (2007). Judging interpretations: But is it rigorous? Trustworthiness and authenticity in naturalistic evaluation. *New directions for evaluation*, 2007(114), 11-25.
- Shepperson, G. (1960). Notes on Negro American influences on the emergence of African nationalism. *The Journal of African History*, 1(2), 299-312.
- Taylor, Samuel E. (1994). *Kwame Nkrumah: A Case Study in Intercultural Leadership*. Degree for the Doctor of Philosophy. Ann Arbor: United States International University.
- Thompson, Scott W. (1969). *Ghana's Foreign Policy, 1957-1966: Diplomacy, Ideology and the New State*. Princeton: University Press.
- Thompson, V. B., & Davidson, B. (1969). *Africa and Unity: the evolution of Pan-Africanism* (p. 300). London: Longmans.
- Tieku. Thomas and Odoom, Isaac. (2012). "Re-orienting Ghana's Foreign Policy Crowd." In *The Public Policy Making Process in Ghana: How Politicians and*

*Civil Servants Deal with Public Problems*, ed. by Frank L. Ohemeng, Barbara W. Carroll, and Joseph R. Ayee. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press.

Timothy, Bankole (1963). *Kwame Nkrumah: His Rise to Power*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

W.S. Thompson, *Ghana's Foreign Policy*, 1969

W.S. Thompson, *Ghana's Foreign Policy*, p.36. See: Declaration of the IAS conference, Accra, April 15- 22 1958, Section 3 – The Question of Algeria, article 6; in C. Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, p.142.

Walker, Stephen. (1990). The Evolution of Operational Code Analysis. *Political Psychology* 11(2):403-418.

Walraven, K. (1999). *Dreams of power: The role of the Organization of African Unity in the politics of Africa, 1963-1993*. Hants: Ashgate.

Waltz, Kenneth N. (1979). *Theory of International Politics*, McGraw-Hill.

Winter, David., Hermann, Margaret., Weintraub, Walter, Walker, Stephen. (1991). The Personalities of Bush and Gorbachev Measured at a Distance: Procedures, Portraits, and Policy. *International Society of Political Psychology* 12 (2):215-245.

Yadav, B. S., & Jain, M. (2007). *Research methods in social science*. New Delhi: Shree & Distributors.

Yousuf, Hilmi. (1990). Framework of Analysis for Administrative Leadership in African States: Tanzania, Kenya, Ghana and Uganda. *JKAU: Econ. & Adm.* (3):49-62.

# Abdul-Samed Iddisah

## ORIJINALLIK RAPORU

% **11**

BENZERLIK ENDEKSI

% **6**

İNTERNET  
KAYNAKLARI

% **5**

YAYINLAR

% **7**

ÖĞRENCİ ÖDEVLERİ

## BIRINCIL KAYNAKLAR

- 1** Matteo Grilli. "Nkrumaism and African Nationalism", Springer Nature America, Inc, 2018  
Yayın % **1**
- 2** uir.unisa.ac.za  
İnternet Kaynağı % **1**
- 3** Submitted to Atilim University  
Öğrenci Ödevi % **1**
- 4** thekeep.eiu.edu  
İnternet Kaynağı <% **1**
- 5** repository.up.ac.za  
İnternet Kaynağı <% **1**
- 6** www.encyclopedias.biz  
İnternet Kaynağı <% **1**
- 7** Submitted to Leiden University  
Öğrenci Ödevi <% **1**
- 8** Submitted to University of Johannesburg  
Öğrenci Ödevi <% **1**

## CURRICULUM VITAE

**Name and Surname :** Abdul-Samed IDDISAH

**Place and Date of birth:** Tamale, 27th September, 1980

Education:

Degree	Field	University	Year
Undergraduate	Social Science (Sociology and Geography)	University of Cape Coast, Ghana.	2006-2010
Graduate	International Relations	Atılım University, Ankara, Turkey.	2016-2019

Work Experience:

Work Place	Position	Year

**Foreign Languages:** English, Turkish

**Publications:**

**E-Mail :** iddisah27@yahoo.com

**Phone No. :** 5467815844

**Date:** 28th June,2019