

# A Critical Appraisal of Kwame Nkrumah's Pan Africanism and the Appropriation of African Identity

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## ABSTRACT

This paper sets out to discuss the question of African identity from the position related to Nkrumah's Pan Africanism. This work demonstrates that the question of African identity is challenged by the diversity of cultural heritages that incarnate the African continent and its peoples. It also shows that the invasions by foreign cultures impede the delimitation of an identity called African, and that the re-education of the African is instrumental in reinventing an African identity capable of competing with other cultures in the global (space).

**KEYWORDS:** African identity, African unity, Culture, Cultural identity, Pan-Africanism

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## INTRODUCTION

The appropriation of African identity is an issue here due to the fact that the definition of Africa itself is polemic. The fundamental question remains: Who is to be identified as an African? Is it culture, color, geography, or history? Here the biggest problem of the African identity crisis comes from Du Bois as expressed in his work *The Souls of Black Folk*, "with an African suffering from the sensation of double consciousness, the feeling of two-ness", two warring ideals in one dark body (1907: p.3). Ruch and Anyanwuequally argue that, the contemporary African has become a multicultural hybrid full of identity crisis due to slavery, colonialism and racism (1981). That is the reason why in this paper, we set out to discuss the question of African identity from the position relative to Nkrumah's Pan Africanism. This work demonstrates three things: First, the question of African identity is challenged by the diversity of cultural heritages that incarnate the African continent and its peoples. Second, the invasion of foreign cultures impede the delimitation of an identity called African, and third, that the re-education of the African

is instrumental in reinventing an African identity capable of competing with other cultures in the global space.

### 1. African Unity and Cultural Identity

The argument here is that, Africans arising from different backgrounds would inevitably manifest or demonstrate contradictory positions because of cultural differences. This in its totality projects a difficulty inherent in an attempt at unity or reconciliation of their contradictions. The multicultural nature of Africa was/is seen by many as an aspect that could spice the unity but some saw/see it as an obstacle for the unity of Africa under Pan-Africanism. Nkrumah, for instance, sees it as an element which being conscious of, serves as an impetus for African unity. He expresses it as follows:

the basic world view implicit in traditional African religions and philosophies may long remain an important factor in the African cultural subconscious or in shaping characterological structures, but despite academic attempts to rationalize them as forms of

explicit belief, the traditional African religions are doomed, by modernity(1968: p. 68).

Even though this approach is philosophical, the point of consciousness is very important and depicts what W.E Abraham (1962, p. 45) suggests as a certain paradigm that ties the wide range of African cultures and ethnic groupings. He contends that, “the central feature of the types to which African customs belong is that there is a certain world-view to which can be related all other concepts, including those of religion and theology, morality and social organizations” (1962: p. 45). There is, thus, an African sense of community founded on kinship which projects the uniqueness and the *Africaness* justifying the need for Africans to come together. So Nkrumah instead sees a bonding factor in the African multicultural state leading into inter-culturalism and integration. By presenting seven basic characteristics or attributes of African communities he sees in them unity in diversity. The African attaches importance to membership of a group, rather than individual with a predominant communal and kinship spirit. The second point being that, the African has a deep and revered belief in the supernatural, and third, that the African has a polygamous concept of marriage with the strong emphasis on the community spirit. Fourth, kinship and lineage are of great importance to him which holistically constitutes a sort of built-in social welfare system. The lineal attachment is of a socio-political base. Fifth, there is a clear and notable absence of the concept of absolute ownership of land on a personal basis since land is a people’s property and an individual is just like a custodian of land, that is, he has a right to its utilization and occupation but not appropriation in the absolute sense, sixth, the polygamy of the African has wide sociological and diplomatic dimensions. It should be noted that, apart from the quantitative increase in lineage, polygamy was a vehicle for promotion of friendly relations between varied villages and clans. Finally seniority and old age were not only respected, but were equally important criteria for appointment or election to *mediationary* and political offices. The *raison d’être* of these attributes is to show the basis and the feasibility of continental unity and as well as the unity of the Africanists. To concur, Abraham enjoins that with the notion of African mind, indicating the existence of a certain unity tying the wide range of African cultures and ethnic groupings (1962).

Despite the multicultural, multilingual and multi-religious nature of Africa, the communal spirit is built-in to bring unity. This unity in diversity is possible because an African is social and communal and the African family is already a microcosm of the

nation and/or political state as Nkrumah presents in *Africa Must Unite*:

As the years go by, further all-African people’s conferences will take place and their resolutions and declarations will become increasingly significant as they gain more power. All other African gatherings will continue to make their impression, whether they are held to discuss political, social or economic problems. Hardly a week goes by without news of some gathering together of Africans from different parts of the continent. As the whole of Africa becomes free, these gatherings will gain in membership, strength and effectiveness but it is only when full political unity has been achieved that we will be able to declare the triumphant end of the Pan-African struggle and the African liberation movements (1965: pp. 139 – 140).

The challenge here is that, despite the desire to stay united in their diversity, Africa has been wantonly split in to pieces. This is the result of balkanisation and colonisation. Western powers have sought to divide and rule Africa. To do this, they have sown a seed of division and suspicion amongst and between Africans. They have created an atmosphere of hate and suspicion where by, the only trusted ally becomes the western colonial power. Africa then sees itself in a vertical relationship of south to north and not south to south. It thus becomes easier for independent African states, struggling to survive to take friends from Europe and America than to enter into fruitful alliances with other African states. This is what we mean by the challenge to African unity as a hindrance, or stumbling block to Nkrumah’s Pan Africanist policy.

## 2. African Identity and the Invasion of Foreign Cultures

In his *Consciencism*, Nkrumah (1968) argues that, the loss of African identity is due to Africa’s exposure to different cultures through slavery, slave trade, and colonialism. Another face of the crisis of identity is what Afisi and Taiwo (2008) term “Africa’s triple Heritage; the Afro-ethnic, the Arab-Islamic and the Euro-Christian double consciousness”. In this regard, an African is neither a real Christian nor a real Muslim nor a real African traditionalist. The pretense, the hypocrisy, the secrecy, all lay on this identity crisis because the African does not know who he is. Another facet is the imposed language that sometimes the African identifies himself/ herself with, as English speaking or French speaking in spite of the fact that the proportion of speakers of these imperial languages is so small. It is true that language identifies people because they talk in a language and think in a language. This problem of self-definition which

results from the transition from the traditional to the modern way of life, can be resolved with the kind of analysis that would identify and separate the backward aspects of our culture from those aspects that are worth keeping. With this in view, Wiredu (1995), like Nkrumah, opine that, the blending of the positive aspects of our culture with aspects of other cultures that are constructive would give a modern structure and identity to the African. Wiredu further intimates that, the African today is living in a cultural flux, characterized by a complete interplay between an indigenous cultural heritage and a foreign cultural legacy of colonial origin. Nkrumah on his part argues thus:

The African society has one segment which comprises our traditional way of life, it has a second segment which is felt by the presence of Islamic tradition in Africa, it has a final segment which represents the infiltration of the Christian traditions and culture of Western Europe into Africa using colonialism and neo-colonialism as its primary vehicles. These different segments are animated by ideologies (1968: p. 68).

It can therefore be affirmed that, the appropriation of African identity was and is urgent to clear away the conflicts of conscience, self-definition, various forms of alienation and the crisis of right and belonging. Amongst other exhortations and opinions, Africans should be warned against Euro-centrism. In this regard Wright (1970) argues for the primary of African values and makes the call for a cultural identity of the black race. He expresses it thus:

We had our own civilization in Africa before we were captured and carried off to this land. You may smile when we call the way of life we lived in Africa “civilization” but in numerous respects the culture of many of our tribes was equal to that of the lands from which the same captors came. We smelted iron, danced, made music and recited folk poems, we sculptured, worked in glass, spun cotton and wool, wove baskets and cloth... we had our own literature, our own systems of law, religion, medicine, science and education, we painted in color upon rocks, we raised cattle, sheep and goats, we planted and harvested grain, in short, centuries before the Romans rule, we lived as men (1970: p. 6).

That Africa had a strong and organized socio political structure in pre-colonial days is a self-evident truth from history. The reality is that, pre-colonial Africa was organized in smaller ethnic groupings, yet the social and political structures were in place. The African is equally conscious of himself as a religious being and of the existence of the absolute. In this regard, Mbiti asserts that “Africans are notoriously

religious, and each people have their own religious systems with a set of beliefs and practices. Religion permeates into all the department of life so fully that it is not easy or possible to isolate it” (1989: p. 17). The introduction of foreign religions to African has become a basis for identity crisis. Thus, African Traditional religion and philosophy can create awareness in restituting the lost African identity. For this reason, Afisi (2008) opines that, an African should be freed from this crisis and religious dilemma by not giving denigrating names to African Traditional Religions as the worship of evil gods and the like. For us to achieve this lost identity, education has a vital role to play.

### **3. Education as a Prerequisite for the Appropriation of African Identity**

The case of education presupposes educational alienation. If we take from Farrant (1980), education would be viewed as describing the total process of human learning by which knowledge is imparted, faculties trained, and skills developed. Pre-colonial Africa had its own process of human learning by which knowledge was impacted, faculties trained and skills developed. Africans before colonialism had a form of well-established informal educational system which was of daily learning. This system begins from the home and extends to the experiences of the child in his environment. Based on the communitarian and utilitarian values, the child was groomed in skills which could feed, protect and preserve him and serve the community at large. In this informal system structuration was not known, but that does not make it short of education as it has its own advantages. In fact Farrant (1980) intimates that, in the case of informal education, there is no attempt at structuring it. Much of learning that goes on is almost unconscious as with those things the child learns from his family, friends experience and environment. Informal education is more haphazard than the other forms of learning and is not associated with the award of certificates. But its effects tend to be more permanent because unlike formal education, which is confined to learning experiences that are planned in a specific context for a particular time, informal education pursues its own course of its own pace by its own means throughout each person’s life.

Thus, informal educational values served as the cornerstone of African educational system. Unlike the informal systems, one of the basic attributes of formal educational systems involves the acquisition of certificates. With the prevalence of western education, Africans have lost the dividends that accrued from their natural approach to education. African informal educational system was based upon

character formation and the entrenchment of sound moral principles and values. These values are lost through years of colonialism and western education. The high rate of moral decadence in our societies requires an appropriation of the values inherent in our traditional systems of education. This does not mean adhering to the Boko Haram's vision of fighting against western education. We go with Rodney (1973) that, education is crucial in any type of society for the preservation of the lives of the members and the maintenance of the social structures. This implies that, education remains a tool for development and must take its roots in the living conditions of the people for it to be realistic. This explains why the underlying philosophies of any system of education come from the style and the cherished values of the people. In this regards, the pre-colonial African system of education whether written or unwritten was based on communalism, utilitarianism/functionalism, preparationalism, perennialism and holism. The prevalence of Western education has diminished these values and ideologies as the West brought another way of interpreting the values.

Today, people no longer do things to accommodate others. The principle of individualism has taken over African communalism, brotherhood, collectivism, and the rest of 'isms' mentioned above as underlining the African education systems. Corruption has permeated the fabrics of society while violent crimes and terrorism remain in the rising position. This is indicative of a great shift from a communalistic system of indigenous education to an individualistic one. Education is no longer in benefit of the community as focus but as a fall out, but rather for the development of the individual and his selfish needs. In contrast to both Plato and Rousseau who believed that, education aims at a just society with strongly shared values. Contemporary liberal education theorists such as John Dewey, Micheal Oakeshott, Paul Hirst and R.S Peters, hold that, education is individualistic, existing simply for the sake of developing one's rational mind, exploring with our natural inquisitiveness, acquiring knowledge for the sake of knowledge or at cultivating personal autonomy (Rodney, 1973).

Nevertheless, abuses do not do away with the uses or values, education has as its target the responsibility of building or developing citizens who are morally accountable to the society; who value their culture, custom and tradition and are ready to defend it with courage, since it is from and within the people or community and their living conditions. This being the condition with the pre-colonial African community, the families were therefore the most immediate unit

for pre-colonial education. In this regard, a child's conduct in public was usually attributed to the type of upbringing in his/her parents' home. Parents were therefore the immediate teachers of their children since they would not want or stand their family's name being dragged in mire.

They did all within their capacity to bring up their children to fit the moral standards of the society. Likewise, the community at large also had a part to play towards up-bringing of the child or children. This is strongly held onto by the Nso community (people) of the North West Region of Cameroon with an adage that, "A child belongs to the mother when in the womb, once born, it belongs to the community", thus, the community is also tasked with the up-bringing of a child. In this regard, every parent or adult was expected to correct any child when he/she went wrong; whether or not the child is his/hers. It remains a contrary today because of the adulteration from the western system where correcting one's child by a parent or adult at times raises an alarm from the child's biological parent(s) and even draws the attention of the extremist exponent of children's rights. Yet the objective of the pre-colonial African system of education was geared at grooming children according to the needs of their society; considering all that relevant to the practical life within their society or community. This is succinctly expressed by Rodney (1973) who gives the example of the Bemba people of what was then Northern Rhodesia. Children by the age of six could name fifty to sixty species of tree plants without hesitating, but they knew very little about ornamental flowers. The explanation is simply underscoring that, knowledge of the trees was a necessity in the environment of "cut and burn" agriculture and in a situation where numerous household needs were met by tree products. Flowers however, were irrelevant to survival.

Likewise, the most crucial aspect of pre-colonial African education was its relevance to Africans, contrary to the alien system introduced by the colonialists. The pre-colonial education was integral in the sense that, it was closely linked with social life, both in a material and spiritual sense. Its collective nature, its many sidedness, as well as its progressive development are in conformity with the successive stages of physical, emotional and mental development of the child. In a positive note, there was no separation of education and productive activity or any division between manual and intellectual education. Thus, in its entirety, through informal, pre-colonial African matched the realities of pre-colonial African society and produced well rounded personalities to fit

into that society. Then why should this issue of education be an important aspect in the approach of African identity? One answer is probably that formal education, as introduced and institutionalized by the colonizers, leads to a certain form of alienation from our African cultural values. Africa was denied a history, rationality, culture amongst other things which were essential to its being. Blackness was looked upon as an ontological mistake and even to this day one still sees traces of such a mindset among some blacks and whites alike. In this regard, Bedu-Addo (1981) argues that, it is the slavish copying of foreign patterns, which inevitably destroys a people's distinctive culture. Acculturation is not a bad thing, but when it overwhelms the original culture, it poses a problem of alienation.

To succumb to this new culture is to accept the permanent stamp of the brain-drain imposed by colonialism. Given that during the pre-colonial era, the concept of modern education was far-fetched all that was needed for education to make sense was to observe, imitate and to participate. So to say, the colonizers and colonialists did not introduce education into Africa, rather they introduced a new set of formal educational institutions which partly supplemented and partly replaced those which were there before. It was not an educational system designed to give young people confidence and pride as members of African societies, but one which sought to instill a sense of difference towards all that was European and capitalist. The racism and cultural boastfulness harbored by capitalism were also included in the package of colonial education. This was education for subordination, exploitation, and the creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment, just to use the words of Rodney (1973). This system of education has left African grossly unidentifiable. It is and has been pretty difficult for the African to reconcile himself with himself since there is a great deal of confusion in his head. The educational problem is just one of the multiple heritages the African battling with to self-identity.

There is therefore a great need to achieve a proper education for the African in order to meet up with the global development of science and technology. To achieve this, the African must not lose the trend of his culture but at the same time be conscious of what goes on in the global arena. It is not to go back to the glorious pre-colonial African past for it is no longer possible, but we can look in to it to take the positive aspects of it. That is, there is a need to go back into the pre-colonial history, study the kind of indigenous education system, how it operated, how it worked to

help the people sustain a living in those days and to see how to improve it. Such positive aspects could then be harnessed and harbored to the academic agenda, for it makes no sense to own a certificate in a certain field which is irrelevant to your society. Though as Nyerere would wish and propose that the African should go back to the glorious past in order to identify as Africans, the challenges of the contemporary world, coupled with socio-economic and political restructuring science and technological development cannot permit any stability for even the present African is different from the pre-colonial African. Being a new individual with new challenges, the African has to assume this new identity. In this regard, Nkrumah asserts that: A new harmony needs to be forged, a harmony that will allow the combined presence of traditional Africa, Islamic Africa and Euro-Christian Africa, so that this crisis is in tune with the original humanist principles underlying the African society.

Our society is not the old society but a new, enlarged by Islamic and Euro-Christian influences. A new emergent ideology is therefore required, an ideology which can solidify in a philosophical statement, but at the same time an ideology which will not abandon the original humanist principles of Africa. Such a philosophical statement will be born out of the crisis of the African conscience confronted with the three strands of present African society. Such a philosophical statement Nkrumah (1968) calls *philosophical consciencism*. It should be noted that education is built on ideas or ideologies. It is in respect of this that Nkrumah proposes a revolution for reconstruction in post-colonial independent Africa which is mainly concerned with the social, cultural, scientific, economic, industrial and technological developments. This can be done when there is a radical break from the capitalist orientation of the society.

Similarly, Bolarinwa and Andah (1993) call for the liberation and reawakening of the African mind. To them, it is only Africa and Africans alone that can free the African mind. Thus to have a true African identity the African must first all embody his cultural heritage by way of learning and the uplift of the African culture and moral values, at the same time, become technologically relevant to meet with contemporary realities and challenges. Until our educational system corresponds to the solution to our challenges and our contemporary realities, we will only face the challenges of the undergraduates, graduates and post graduates fleeing the continent into other countries where what they study is relevant and influencing their development massively while

latter heaps insults on us and our continent and how backward we are. This is in line with what Du Bois expresses that even books were written and planned for white readers and their world viz: One can see in almost every book written by a coloured author that the work has been done under foreign dictation. The author has wished his book to be read and to be sold, he has written too many under the influence.

The book has been planned for white readers. The transition from the custom of writing books of explanation and defense intended for white men to read to that of depicting our own experience giving our own interpretation of events transpiring or past pouring out our own realities of feelings and longings telling of God and his work as we see them has as yet hardly begin. This explains the genesis and the issue of identity that demanded appropriation of African identity. Similarly, the case in African colonial education was in line with that of the Negroes in the American social order. Regarding this aspect as put by Mbiti:

Such education as we were all given put before us right from our infancy ideals of the metropolitan countries, ideals which could seldom be seen as representing the scheme, the harmony and progress of African society. The scale and type of economic activity, the idea of the accountability of the individual conscience introduced by the Christian religion, countless other silent influences, these have all made an indelible impression upon African society...But neither economic nor political subjugation could be considered as being in tune with the traditional African egalitarian view of man society (1969: p. 70).

Similarly, President Sekou Toure of Guinea laments: The education that was given to us was designed to assimilate us, to depersonalize, to westernize us, to present our civilization, our culture, our own sociological and philosophical conceptions, even our humanism as the expression of a savage and almost unconscious primitivism, in order to create a number of complexes in us which would drive us to become more French than French themselves. In addition to this, there were the advantages and the security of the material surroundings of the intellectual elites, which were absolutely foreign to life of the immense majority of the people and constitute a privilege situation in comparison with general conditions (1959: p. 213).

Considering the above citation with ideas they present, we see and note that pre-colonial indigenous education puts the African in the spirit of nostalgia towards its purpose, direction and focus. This is therefore strife to gain or consolidate African identity

against a background of previous subjugation to dominant powers and alien education and cultures. To do this, it is necessary to inculcate in the educational system the method and means of poverty alleviation and new technological and scientific competence. This is to be done by unleashing the usable aspect of the traditional systems and containing them within the larger framework of a developing technology. In which case, if the African cannot develop or invent the kinds of technology of contemporary times, he can borrow technology as people of other cultures too would have something to borrow from them. In another case, there is a need to adjust or to reverse what Nkrumah (1965) presents as 'Stupendous task' depicting a situation where African education is aligned to alien examination councils and languages; the making there from of inferior copies of the alien bourgeois gently; the simultaneous denial of the knowledge belonging to Africa's past or the distortion of traditional African culture; the undue emphasis on alien history, Geography culture and even weather, and the breeding of intellectualist-inclined African academicians and elites, who cannot address the stark realities of contemporary African life. The fundamental emphasis is that a thorough re-appraisal and comprehensive educational campaign which must begin from an analytic view of alienation and a radical assessment of its thesis conducted in the light of its peculiarities in Africa, with special attention to the extermination of the realities of and relics of racism.

#### **4. The Pan Africanist Ideology as a Cultural Fight**

Pan-Africanism can be seen as an ideology. Bernard Fonlon (1966) defines an ideology as a doctrine on a regent and coherent set of well-defined principles, political philosophy which serve as a standard or a norm for judging the soundness of political decisions and actions; a doctrine to which we should refer for political enlightenment, in specific problems just as Christians refer to the Bible or to the catechism. Kwasi Wiredu (1980) understands ideology in two senses, the good and the bad. In the good sense, it is a set of ideas about what form of the society must, such set of ideas need basis in first principles which is where philosophy enters. In the bad sense, it is a set of dogmas to be imposed by the government with force if necessary. Looking at these definitions, we can consider an ideology as a comprehensive framework of ethical and social principles as well as beliefs which serve as an ideal for as a political being in his society. It is in a way a framework of ideas binding and guiding the practice of politics to reach a particular goal. For Kwame Nkrumah (1964), there is no much difference between philosophy and

ideology. He states that, the social milieu affects the content of philosophy, and the content of philosophy seeks to affect social milieus, either by conferring it or opposing it. In either case philosophy implies something in the nature of an ideology.

The case where the philosophy confirms a social milieu, it implies something of the ideology of that society. In the other case in which philosophy opposes a social milieu, it implies something of the ideology of a revolution against that social milieu. Philosophy in its social aspect can therefore be regarded as pointing up an ideology. It is therefore parallel to Kwasi Wiredu's good and a bad sense as Nkrumah has confirming and opposing nature of philosophy in relation to social milieu. The ideology of the society is confirmed in the philosophical idea or doctrine of that society while a revolution against that society is when philosophy opposes the ideology of the society. Whatever the case may be, an ideology is a pattern or framework of principles and beliefs serving the ideal of a whole man as an individual and as a member of a society. Pan-Africanism as an ideology would therefore be born from the philosophies underlying African society or milieu. Such would include communalism, humanism and socialism. It would obviously be a netting of all or two. However, the case of ideologies is considered later in the work. Let us isolate the case of pan-Africanism as an ideology. It should be noted that despite the early surface of pan-Africanism around 1919 as an ideology, it is a post independent ideology. To see the germ of Pan-Africanism in the African leaders at the time of Nkrumah was very clear with regard to the issue of socialism which as a term became a necessity in the platform diction and political writing of African leaders.

This means that there was already a common dominator and foundation for all African ideology. This term unites the Africans in recognition that the restoration of Africa's humanistic and egalitarian principles of society call for African unity. The united striving of the African leaders for the restoration of personality and principles called on all Africans to stand as one man for reason (philosophy) leading to the movement and the ideology of Pan-Africanism. Thus Pan-Africanism is the ideology that calls on all Africans to unite and face their developmental challenges as one social entity with common identity and plights. Every philosophy always addresses or attempts to address a pending problem, Pan-Africanism as a philosophy and ideology was and is addressing the issue of African identity and poor development among others. For Nkrumah, Africans need unity or union of independent African states

integrated by socialists apparently acceptable yet presenting and ideological and programmatic problematic. This was because of practical difficulties or what can be termed implementation difficulties arising from similarities with communism. For instance Okadigbo cites Padmore as saying:

Pan-Africanism recognizes much that is true in the Marx's interpretation of history, since it provides a rational explanation for a good deal that would otherwise be unintelligible but it nevertheless refuses to accept the pretentious claims of doctrinaire communism that it alone has the solution to all the complex racial, tribal and socio-economic problems facing Africa. It also rejects the communist intolerance of those who do not subscribe to its ever changing party line even to the point of liquidating them as enemies of the people. Democracy and brotherhood cannot be built upon intolerance and violence (1985: p. 39).

From a strategic view-point, Padmore asserts that Pan-Africanism seeks attainment of the government of Africans for Africans with tolerance extended to non-Africans residing in Africa. As an ideology, it is a philosophy of action for social, economic and political development of Africa. It is a movement of ideas and emotions feeding African United States with its original focus in black consciousness in a world dominated by the world powers. In other word, it is a socio-political world-view and a moral philosophy as well as a movement which seeks unity and emancipation of both native Africans and those of the Africans in diaspora as part of global African community. The proponents in the limelight include Henry Sylvester who organized the first five conferences in 1919 with W.E.B Du Bois who later became the 'father' and prophet of Pan-Africanism, Kwame Nkrumah, Magnus William of Nigeria, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and others including Khadafi of Libya.

As an ideology, Nkrumah (1973) was always conscious of it and put it into writing as he always stresses African unification, when *Towards Colonial Freedom* was written; his ideas on African unity, important even as he considered them were limited at that time to West African unity as a first step. It is realistic and pragmatically correct because a journey of a thousand miles always starts with a step. Since he had the opportunity, his ideas to work and in the intensification of neo-colonialism, he laid even greater stress on the vital importance to Africa's survival of a political unification of the entire African continent. Nevertheless, he observes that regional groupings which are economically based cooperation in areas which are already dominated by neo-

colonialist interest instead retard rather than promote the unification process.

In this ideology expressed is the affirmation and postulation of the inevitable national solidarity of colonial peoples and their determination to end the political and economic power of colonial government. The ideology from this view-point serves a practical guide and a political yardstick projecting an uncompromising opposition to all colonial policies, exposing the inherent contradictions between colonial labour and capital investment in the colonies; between the financial monopolist combines and the imperialist powers in their unquenchable thirst for the colonies and national aspirations of the colonial people just to mention a few. Yet as already mentioned concerning Pan-Africanism as an ideology, it featured as post independent framework of ideas and principles, as well as belief systems guiding behavior within and without the society. For instance, Nkrumah came out consciencism as an ideology leading to another and greater ideology in terms of focus and scope, Pan-Africanism in this regard, the instrument of ideology is a political theory, social and moral theory. Pan-Africanism is therefore an ideology which can unify Africans, free Africans in order to abolish the existence of social order and also to search to defend and to maintain the new order that the ideology will install. Pan-Africanism as an ideology has to bring a socio-political change a revolution. In fact it is an ideology that brings a change, a revolution.

Kwame Nkrumah (1968) quotes Mirrini as saying that every true revolution is a program, and derived from a new, general, positive and organic principle. The first thing necessary is to accept that principle. Its development must therefore be confined to men who are believers in it, and emancipated from every tie or connection with any principle of an opposite nature. This is because an ideology does not seek merely to unite a section of people; but it seeks to unite the whole of the society which it finds itself. In effect, when it is dominant, it certainly reaches the whole society. Thus Nkrumah sees *consciencism* as an opening and light to Pan-Africanism helping precisely the Africans to understand the social dialectics and enable them to the real struggle that can install or re-install the African socialism whose basis is egalitarian and humanistic principles.

In a way there is a link between a revolution and an ideology. This is because the success of a revolution entails the attributions of an ideology to the entire society. That is, the ideology gives countenance to the ensuring social milieu. The question now remains if Pan-Africanism is prevailing among other ideologies,

what makes Pan-Africanism peculiar or unique? For in fact, Pan-Africanism is among others like socialism and/or communalism, consciencism and communism that characterized the contemporary African society. Yet in a society or societies where there are competing ideologies, it is still usual for an ideology to be dominant. Thus pan-Africanist ideology prevails when it becomes dominant, when it is that of the ruling group. Besides seeking to establish common attitudes and purposes for the society, the dominant ideology is that which in the light of circumstances decides what forms institutions shall take, and in what channels the common effort is to be directed. Pan-Africanism as an ideology therefore unites and prevails over other ideologies since they are not opposing and competitive but rather are having as a based, egalitarian and humanistic principle with society of community in focus.

### Conclusion

Ideologically, Pan-Africanism aimed at promoting understanding and unity amongst the people of descent, accelerating the liberation of African from imperialism, individualism, capitalism and colonialism. Another objective of this ideology was to mobilize and develop the feeling of one community among the people of Africa aiming at enhancing the emergence of the united states of Africa. By so doing it advocates the projection of African personality in world affairs to those faced by missionaries. This is because the ideology is the key to the inward identity of its group that is intent solidarist. So the possibility and particularity of Pan-Africanism is because different social systems can co-exist with a common ideology. The necessity of egalitarian principle is because peaceful coexistence between the African States from instance with different social systems, but would not coexist if oppressive classes exist and likewise with opposing ideologies. Thanks to solidarity, the common enemy, egalitarian spirit and humanist philosophy that forward that wagon of Pan-Africanism. Today, Pan-Africanism is a success in that it has gripped the African people and has an exciting and romantic hold over militant African nationalists, particularly those whose countries are still under colonial control or apartheid aggression. It could also been seen from the realization of OAU to AU and the demand for an African unique currency. We recommend the African leaders to work out a possibility of building their own currency such that it will reduce the dependency rate towards the occidentals and permit the African economy to experience a boom giving that they will be able to sell directly without any problem of converting from dollars to FCFA.



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