

## **A Historical Perspective of Pan-Africanism and The Unity of the Black Race**

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## Abstract

Pan-Africanism is a child of circumstance. The evolution and development of the movement or concept could be viewed in accordance with the prevailing situation the continental Africans and AfroAmerican/Diasporan Africans found themselves. Ranging from the experience of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, European imperialism and the challenges of race relation, the black man has continued to be a subject of discourse. This study undertook a survey of the evolution of PanAfricanism – a movement or concept that aspires for the unity and solidarity of the black race all over the world. It examined the contributions of both the Diasporan and Continental Africans to the PanAfrican movement in the period prior to and during the World Wars. The methodology adopted in this study is a historical narrative approach in highlighting, discussing and evaluating the role the key players, organisations and other stakeholders played in their efforts at unifying the entire black race through ideas and initiatives that emerged in each of the phases of the movement. The paper concluded that while the movement has to a large extent made appreciable progress, there are still hurdles to overcome in uniting the black race.

## Background

The ambiguity inherent in the term ‘Pan-Africanism’ has made it convenient for intellectuals to assert that there is no acceptable or definite universal description of it. Some scholars have argued that part of the difficulty of pinning down the definition is that Pan-Africanism, as a concept has taken varying forms at different historical moments and geographical location. While others in an attempt to define it embark on elaborate discussion of the various historical developments or evolution of the political ideas and movements that have shaped the concept<sup>1</sup>. Be that as it may, a number of scholars in their individual perspective have lent their voices to the notion of Pan-Africanism which are worth considering. To begin with, Edward Wilmot Blyden’s definition of Pan-Africanism which emphasizes the *dignity of African Personality* or the *restoration of African self esteem*<sup>2</sup> could be seen as the key element in contextualizing some of the definitions offered by certain scholars and may have provided the background for others.

To corroborate the above, G.O. Olusanya defines Pan-Africanism as a movement directed at restoring dignity to the African through the rediscovery of the African Personality and which seeks to create a common identity between Africans and the Africans in Diaspora in order to achieve unity of purpose<sup>3</sup>. J.I. Dibua described it as a collective effort on the part of African peoples worldwide to promote unity and solidarity of people of African descent, and to liberate them from various forms of European domination and oppression<sup>4</sup>. Similarly, although from a cultural anthropological view, Bronislaw Malinowski describes it in the cultural anthropological perspective to mean ‘the Pan African Aggregate’<sup>5</sup> Pan-Africanism can also be defined as the concept of Black

Nationalism. As indicated we cannot speak of Black Nationalism without simultaneously speaking of Pan-Africanism. According to Wilson J. Moses, Pan-Africanism seems to have originated with the awareness of Westernised Africans that all black people were suffering from the slave trade which tended to confer an inferior status upon all black people, whether slave or free, and regardless of the continent upon which they lived. It further seek to unite entire black racial family, assuming that the entire race has a collective destiny and message for humanity which could be compared to that of a nation<sup>6</sup>. Olusanya further noted that Pan-Africanism was the brainchild of the Africans in the New World, a view which corroborated George Shepperson’s notion that it was a gift of the new world of America to the old world of Africa. His thesis reflects the argument that the contributions of Africans in the Diaspora had significantly led to the development of panAfrican ideas and its political thought<sup>7</sup>. According to Ayodele Langley, from about 1500 to 1900, Pan-Africanism remained merely an ‘informal organisation of memories’ among articulate members of the Black Diaspora<sup>8</sup>. This presupposes that during the aforementioned period, the idea of uniting peoples of African descent whether those of the New World or in Europe or in Africa through the formation of well organised platform had not crystallized. It also suggests that the convergence of the black folks especially those of the New World had much to do with Pan-Negro sentiments which are generally a movement of ideas and emotions and have not taken organizational or associational form<sup>9</sup>. In essence, Pan-Africanism of that age was essentially the relaying of Africans’ harrowing experiences and effects of the slave trade and the fond memories of their ancestral homeland.

The organised Pan-African movement was said to have likely begun with the founding of the African Association in 1897 in London and this was subsequently followed by the Pan-African Conference between 23<sup>rd</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> of July, 1900 in London as well which was led by Henry Sylvester Williams (a Barrister from Trinidad in the West Indies practicing law in London). This Conference was arguably the first attempt towards the attainment of the Pan-Africanist objective which is concerned with strengthening the unity of all those of African descent, so as to solve what they saw as ‘the problem of the twentieth century which borders on the issue of race relation and the need to secure civil and political rights for Africans and their descendants throughout the world.’<sup>10</sup> Before going into the details of the explorative study of pan Africanism and the unity of the black race, there is need to look at the historical antecedents that gave rise to the Pan-African movement and conferences.

## Historical Antecedents to Pan-Africanism

The historical experience that gave rise to the idea of uniting the peoples in Africa, and those in New World found expression in their common heritage as a result of the colour of their skin; the denigrating status with which all the black people, whether those free or enslaved were conferred with as a result of the experience of the abolished slave trade. In other words, the events of the slave trade, the European colonization of Africa and racial discrimination against the black people were the major collective issues among others that sparked the evolution of Pan-African movements. A brief overview of these 3 developments is undertaken below.

The trade in human trafficking by the European across the Atlantic Ocean was a heinous crime which had involved the largest intercontinental migration of people (the blacks) in world history before the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The nature of the ‘middle passage’ in which human beings were kept below the deck, poorly fed and remained shackled without any form of hygiene showed a gross lack of concern for human suffering and misery. As posited, the status of Africans whether in England or the Americas was seldom anything other than slavery<sup>11</sup>. Even after emancipation New World Negroes still suffered from the stigma of inferiority – slavery was legally abolished but the spirit remained the same; and the European colonization of Africa further served to encourage the perpetuation of this myth<sup>12</sup>

The intellectual contributions of Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832 - 1912) to PanAfricanism especially his views on African personality cannot be ignored on the subjectmatter of the enslavement and denigration of Africans by the Europeans intellectuals and evolutionary scholars. He was particularly influenced by his racial purity in the sense his parents were free born and of a pure African ancestry in the West Indies. He was convinced of the essentialist conception of every race whereby each race is believed to have its peculiarity and ability to contribute to human well being and civilization and as such dispelled the seemingly Eurocentric philosophy that placed Africans on the rung of the ladder of world development. Blyden decried the physical and psychological enslavement of both the illiterate and educated Negro in America and insisted that the enslavement of the mind was far more terrible than the body. Consequently, he was of the opinion that for Africans to advance, it was necessary to restore the self-esteem and confidence of the African person. To this end he denounced the trans-Atlantic slave trade and its effects on Africans<sup>13</sup>

Arising from the experience of the slave trade, the attitude of the Diasporan African (Afro-Americans) towards Africa at this period was aptly captured by Dibua<sup>14</sup> as been largely dominated by romanticism and idealism from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century up to the end of the World War II. According to him, the attitudes were expressed in terms of the African colonization schemes, missionary activity and racial pan-Africanism. To begin with, when Toussaint L’Ouverture led other former black slaves to a successful revolution in Haiti in 1804 against the French master, the exploit may have provided the aspiration for Pan-Negro leadership to hope for self government. Although, the black self- rule in Haiti was itself a failure, but many Afro-American had begun to nurse the idea of a return to their native continent –Africa due to the persistence of slave holding in the South and many of them began to subscribe to the notion of resettlement

of blacks in Africa (emigration) within the context of colonization scheme by the American Colonization Society (founded in 1817).

From the early decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a vocal minority among the AfroAmericans had begun to realise that the political, social, and economic condition of the black man in America was a hopeless one. Many of the oppressed and brutalized among them fantasized a reunion with their African kiths and kins in Africa especially with the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. It was the belief of these ones that at least they might find respite if only they were able to emigrate to Africa or Haiti as the case may be. Thus, the platform of the American Colonization Scheme was used by the Negro to resettle some black families in Liberia and Sierra Leone. For instance, notable among proponents of the emigrationists, Paul Cuffee during his lifetime was able to resettle more than thirty black families in Sierra Leone and Daniel Coker who apart from resettling in Sierra Leone also resettled about eighty-eight emigrants at Cape Mesurado in Liberia.<sup>15</sup> Although, some Negro leaders see the activities of this society as a ploy by Whites slaveholders to do away with the Negro freemen in America who were seen as threat.<sup>16</sup> The likes of Martin Delany, a Negro doctor trained in Harvard and one of the advocates of the emigration policy was of the opinion that creating a black empire in the Caribbean or in South and Central America which he felt would hasten the end of slavery in America and ultimately provide an economic base for the negroes in the New World. According to him, it does not matter if the Negroes will not return to Africa but, as long as they were able to establish themselves in a particular location where they would be accorded the respect they deserve as human beings and as a nation. In an official report, he indicated that, *Africa for the African race, and black men to rule them*. Delany was to later turn his interest to West Africa as the 'geographical centre for the pan-Negro programme'.<sup>17</sup> He believed that the bountiful harvest of cotton in West Africa would undermine the American slave-grown cotton which will ultimately result in the final abolition of slavery in America.

However, the nostalgic feeling which might have resulted into the *emigrationist philosophy* was not without opposition even among the Afro-Americans. Those who oppose the emigration of the Negroes back to Africa share the assimilationist perspective. Frederick Douglass was one of the notable assimilationists who contended that the AfroAmerican was destined to solve his problems in their new home – America and that slavery could only be defeated by Americans in America. According to Douglass:

...No one idea has given rise to more oppression and persecution toward the colored people of this country, than that which makes Africa, not America, their home. It is that wolfish idea that elbows us off the side walk, and denies us the rights of citizenship.<sup>18</sup>

It must be noted that the debate between the emigrationists and the assimilationists continued during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century to an extent that theological and providential justifications were put forward. For instance, Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, who was the first appointed Chaplain during the American Civil War had argued that God had brought the black man to America to be Christianized and civilized so that he could return to Africa and develop the continent. He encouraged the establishment of the American Methodist Episcopal Churches both in Sierra Leone and Liberia which were to be staffed by Negro pastors. Contrary to Turner, Thomas Fortune, a strong proponent of the assimilation position and editor of the *New York Age* posited that the idea about the black

people being brought to America to prepare themselves for evangelism in Africa is so much religious nonsense which boils down to a sycophantic platitude and that God was not instrumental to their forced evacuation from Africa, therefore, they could only be evangelized by the Africans and not those from the Diaspora.

Another development which found expression within the context of race relation and Pan Africanism was the idea of Ethiopianism. Ethiopianism enjoyed privileged position in the Pan Africanist vocabulary as a concept used for all Africans and as well as the reference to the inhabitant of the country called Abyssinia. The movement – Ethiopianism took its name from the Ethiopian Church established in 1892 in South Africa by Mangena M. Mokone (1851 - 1931) who separated from the African Methodist Episcopal mission over discrimination in the church. Beyond that, the movement emerged in response to European colonial settlement, the institutionalisation of white supremacy, and rapid industrialization, especially in the mining region close to Johannesburg. Ethiopianism thus became a notable means of spreading proto-nationalism and a form of Pan-African unity in South Africa and it later spread to West Africa, notably in Gold Coast and Nigeria towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, where it was said to have blended with other Pan-Africanist currents.<sup>19</sup>

More so on race matter, W.E.B. DuBois in one of his contributions to the PanAfrican Congress of 1903, he addressed the nations of the world by declaring that *the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line – the relations of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea.*<sup>20</sup> The issue of racial equality is one that on moral ground, ought to be universally accepted and upheld by the law of any nation, but the post Civil War era in the United States saw more cases of racism especially against the negro. DuBois vehemently derided

Booker T, Washington's acceptance of segregation and the latter's reformist approach.

Similarly, the event after the World War I, where even after many Africans fought on the side of the European colonialist against the Axis powers in order to keep the world safe for democracy, were in turn denied their right on the basis of the skin pigmentation. This is particularly more obvious when the Allies refused to include a guarantee against racial discrimination in the League of Nations Charter following the war. Consequently, the interwar years witnessed unprecedented surge for racial unity and the popularity of black internationalism<sup>21</sup>

### **Pan-African Conferences before World War I**

As earlier stated, Africanism was said to have gained legitimacy with the founding of the African Association in London in 1897 spearheaded by Henry Sylvester Williams, who also organised the first Pan African Conference in London. He was assisted by Bishop Alexander Walters of the American Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. (Walters in his capacity as the President of the National Afro-American Council chaired the

Conference) The aim of the African Association was to unite the whole of the African Diaspora and to gain political rights for those of African descent. The main objectives are hereunder captured:

- to secure civil and political rights for Africana and their descendants throughout the world;
- to encourage friendly relations between the Caucasian and African races;
- to encourage African people everywhere in educational, industrial and commercial enterprise;
- to approach governments and influence legislation in the interests of the black races and
- to ameliorate the condition of the oppressed negro in all parts of the world.

Although the conference could not achieve any substantial goal, nevertheless, it was significant in the sense that it served as the first platform for bringing together peoples of African descent from Europe, Africa and the New World to deliberate on matters affecting them as a race with common fate and to foster the spirit of cooperation and unity among them. For instance, a media outlet which covered activities of budding nationalists in West Africa - *Lagos Standard*<sup>22</sup> asserts:

The last year of the present Century will long be memorable to all people of African descent for an event in the history of race movements, which for its importance and probable results, so far as its aims and objective are concerned, is perhaps without parallel. The unprecedented spectacle of a Conference of members of the Negro race gathered together in the world's Metropolis, discussing their wrongs and pleading for justice for the race, is sufficiently striking to attract public attention in an unusual degree...

More so, the fact that it raised and emphasized the issue of the Natives' race question and was able to send a petition to Queen Victoria of England on the subject matter were enough to spur other pan-African pursuit. To further buttressed the above, W.E.B. DuBois who was part of the Conference gave a remarkable speech condemning the exploitation of subject people under the guise of religion. He asserts:

Let not the cloak of Christian Missionary enterprise be allowed in the future, as so often in the past, to hide the ruthless economic exploitation and political downfall of less nations whose chief fault has been reliance on the plighted troth of the Christian Church.<sup>23</sup>

With the passage of Sylvester Williams and the gradual fading of the organizational structure of the Pan-African Association which was fallout of the 1900 Conference, the tempo of Pan-Africanism slowed down until the formation of the Niagara Movement in 1905. The Niagara Movement was a black civil right organization founded by a group led by W.E.B. DuBois and William Monroe Trotter. It was named 'Niagara Movement' to reflect the nature of the change the group desired in comparison to the "mighty current" of the Niagara Falls. Thus, the first meeting of the movement took place at Niagara Fall, Ontario in July 1905. The Movement drafted a "Declaration of Principles", part of which asserted that "We refuse to allow the impression to remain that the Negro-American assents to inferiority, is submissive under oppression and apologetic before insults" It also demanded equal economic and educational opportunity as well as the vote for black men and women.<sup>24</sup> It strongly condemned Booker T. Washington's *accommodationism philosophy* which they alleged lowers the expectations for

AfricanAmericans. The Movement grew to become powerful in American society until a race related riot which broke out in Springfield in 1908 led to the weakening of the Movement and the need to form a more combative organization against racism led to the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).<sup>25</sup> There was also attempt to further create awareness on Pan-African thinking through the International Conference on the Negro in April 17-19, 1912 (or Tuskegee Conference on Africa) organised by Booker T. Washington. His book, *Up from Slavery*, was about the belief that African must improve themselves first, showing the whites that they deserve equal rights. About 100 delegates with majority from various Negro American Missionary bodies and less than a dozen African delegates attended. At the

Conference, a scheme was worked out for promoting trade relations between black America and West Africa, and the African Union Company was formed. This vision did not materialise due to the World War I which sabotaged the initiative.

#### **Pan-African Conferences during Inter-War Years.**

The growing problems of injustice meted to the black race and the backlash of colonialism which the Africans and those in Diaspora led to emergence and popularity of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Right (UNIA). Garvey was born in Jamaica in 1887. His poor economic background influenced him and his empathy for the downtrodden. The UNIA represent the largest mass movement for the blacks during his period. His philosophy and organisation had a rich religious feature incorporating political and economic aspects. Parts of his principles found expression in his “Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World” which he supports with Biblical reference for freedom for Africa in Psalm 68:31 which states: *Princess shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God*” The motto of UNIA was “One God! One Aim! One Destiny!”

Although, Garvey was known for his ‘back to Africa’ philosophy as an *emigrationist*, he was deeply committed to the ideals of Pan-Africanism. Vincent Thompson conceptualized Garvey’s programme in four principles which are seen as guiding light of contemporary Pan-Africanism. They include: first, the common destiny of all African and the need for continental unity as a prerequisite for dealing with the numerous problems; second, Negro or African personality; third, the repudiation of all foreign rule and control and the eradication of all its vestiges which are retarding the growth of African man; fourth, social change including cultural regeneration and reactivation of the world’s culture. Garvey’s charisma, organizational and oratorical skills and the popularity and effectiveness of *Negro World* (his vibrant newspaper) in exposing the evils against the blacks made him a familiar foe to the white supremacists. His arrest and eventual deportation from America dealt a big blow to the cause of Pan-Africanism at that period.

W.E.B. DuBois as noted earlier was a popular Pan-African figure of the AfroAmerican struggle for the emancipation of the black race. His philosophy about the process of achieving the Pan-African unity was in sharp contrast with Marcus Garvey. While Garvey and his UNIA maintained that Africans and peoples of African descent would attain equality only through personal endeavour, DuBois thought that cooperation with the American and European Liberals were essential in the attainment and struggle of that goal. The difference between the two was that Garvey believed in a radical, massbased

movement which was inclined to the use of force in the struggle for the liberation of African colonies, DuBois on his part believed in an intellectual-led gradualist Pan-African movement.<sup>26</sup>

DuBois organised four Pan-African Congresses between 1919 and 1927 which held in various Western countries. In 1918 DuBois was sent by the NAACP to investigate the report that alleged the discrimination meted out against the black soldiers in the United States Army who were stationed in France, he was also required to ensure that African interests were addressed at the impending Versailles Peace Conference and to pursue the revival of the Pan-African Congresses. Although, there was serious opposition to the pursuit of DuBois' mission in France, but for the intervention of Blaise Diagne, (a black African deputy from Senegal in the French Parliament), the Pan-African Congress was later held in February, 1919. Among the resolutions were: the improvement of the living conditions of Africans and peoples of African descent; abolition of some harsh aspects of the colonial system like corporal punishment and forced labour; provision of access to education; protection from land expropriation and exploitation; and the gradual involvement of Africans in the administration of their colonies, especially at the local level.

The 3 other Pan-African Congresses were as moderate as that of 1919 due to the fact that the colonial policies were strictly enforced. It should be emphasized that Pan-African movement before the World War II was essentially romanticized and was more concerned with transcontinental cooperation and unity. Though, they were geared against racism, however, they were moderate in their view as their aim was to seek reform within the existing system. Only Marcus Garvey's movement that pursued vehement policies considered anti-imperialism. It was the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, the World War II and the Manchester Pan-African Congress that helped radicalize the liberation movement of Pan-Africanism.

#### **Pan-Africanism by Continental African Leaders**

The contributions of Continental Africans prior to the radicalization of the Pan-African movement were also worthwhile. In line with the spirit of Pan-Africanism, 2 notable organisations were formed to pursue the unification of the Africans, even though; it was limited to West African sub-region. They include: the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) founded in 1920 through the efforts of Joseph Casely Hayford of Ghana and Akinwande Savage of Nigeria and the West African Student Union (WASU) established in London in 1925 by the effort of Ladipo Solanke. Apart from the aim of unifying the African people, especially those of British West Africa, NCBWA demanded the establishment of West African University and West Africa Court of Appeal. WASU also in its drive for unification of the African student, demanded for a hostel for students of African descent in Britain, they appealed for an objective presentation of the contributions of the African continent to world civilization. WASU also collaborated with other Pan-African movement.

The invasion of Ethiopia by Italy in 1935 marked a turning point in the Pan-African movement. Prior to this time, the momentum had been considerably low due to the weakening of the seemingly forceful Garvey's approach. But the news of the invasion of Ethiopia re-awakened that momentum. Ethiopia had immense symbolic, sentimental and

religious significance to the black race of the world and the ever sovereign status before this time was source of hope which explains why the country represented their heritage and an identity which was used to prefix many Diaspora institutions. The ineffectiveness of the League of Nations to deal decisively with the Italian imperialism and fascism convinced many moderate Africans that the League was not in a position to defend the interest of African people, whether Continental or Diasporan. The invasion provoked massive reaction from all blacks all over the world and rallies, organisations, and funds for the liberation of Ethiopia were raised. Black personalities such as Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, George Padmore, C.L.R. James, Peter Abrahams, Ras Makonen among others played crucial role through the Pan African Federation (PAF) in order to restore Ethiopia's image.

The Manchester Congress of 1945 provided the platform for the fullest expression of the radicalisation of the liberation struggle of the black race came with the Manchester Congress of 1945. The Congress was unique in the sense that it was the first one to be attended and dominated by people from the continent of Africa and the West Indies. Over 200 delegates were in attendance. These were representing trade unions, farmers, political organisations, students and black organisations in Britain.<sup>27</sup> The resolutions passed addressed various forms of racial discrimination, forced labour, and called for trade union rights and the granting of universal franchise in South Africa and the colonies.

The main resolutions were for:

- the complete and absolute independence for the Peoples of West Africa';
- the removal of British armed forces from Egypt'
- the granting of 'complete independence from Egyptian and British rule' to the Sudan
- the recognition of the 'demands of the indigenous peoples of Tunis, Algeria, Morocco and Libya from French and Italian rule'
- democratic rights and self-government for the people of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, Somaliland and Zanzibar'
- the non-incorporation of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland in South Africa
- West Indian federation founded upon internal self-government based on universal adult Suffrage
- the withdrawal of the British Military Administration from Ethiopian soil and - the independence or at least self-government for all of all British, French and Italian colonies in Africa and the West Indies.<sup>28</sup>

The Congress gave its full support to the goals of Pan-Africanism and Africa unity by calling for the creation of a commonwealth of African states. In addition, PanAfricanism was said to be no longer exclusively for the political elite or Diasporan Africans, the demand for the sovereignty of the colonial people and the rights of trade

organisations was brought to the fore. It is also pertinent to note that the pan-African proponents were now able to approach the United Nations that was newly formed rather than lobbying colonial administrators, but what was left unresolved was the divide between the Anglophones and Francophone African countries. However, the Manchester Congress presented the forum where Pan-Africanism and nationalism now became a mass movement of Africans for Africans. As a follow up to the Manchester Congress, the emphasis on liberation as a necessary prerequisite for the eventual unification of African countries made a number of West African students in Britain to come together to establish the West African National Secretariat (WANS) in December, 1945 with Wallace Johnson as Chairman and Kwame Nkrumah as Secretary-General. It aimed to synergise with West African nationalist organisations to build a strong and broad united front in the struggle for the emancipation and unity of West African States. However, the organisation was short-lived because Nkrumah departed for the Gold Coast in 1947 to assume the position of Secretary-General for the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC).<sup>29</sup>

Between 1957 and 1958, Kwame Nkrumah exerted substantial influence over the direction of the Pan-African movement in Africa. Consequent upon the attainment of Ghana's sovereignty, he was alleged to have stated that the independence of Ghana would not be complete unless other African states achieved total freedom from the colonial domination. These goals he vigorously pursued through the convening of conferences. It was the first of its kind to mark the beginning of Pan-African movement on African soil. It was attended by leaders of 8 independent African states (Ghana, Ethiopia, Libya, Liberia, Morocco, Tunisia, Sudan and the United Arab Republic). Nkrumah engaged in a number of state visits, courting many of the African leaders in his bid to get them involved in the vision for a united Africa. He fraternized with the likes of Patrice Lumumba, Sekou Toure, Nnamdi Azikiwe. At a very local level, there was a proposed draft Union of Independent African States between him and Guinean leader – Sekou Toure. In 1960, in a practical way of demonstrating their commitment to Pan-African unity, the heads of state of Ghana, Mali, and Guinea announced the formation of Ghana-Mali-Guinea in December 1960. In 1961, they published a 'Charter for the Union of African States' and changed the name of their union to "the Union of African States" which they regarded as the nucleus of a United States of Africa.

The aforementioned seems a precursor to the latter political groupings - Casablanca, Monrovia and the Brazzaville blocs which eventually led to the Organization of African Union (OAU) which metamorphosed into the African Union (AU).

### **Conclusion**

Pan-Africanism as a movement for the solidarity of the Africans and those in the Diaspora grew out of the horrendous experience that the black people had, beginning with the obnoxious trans-Atlantic slave trade. The concept of Pan-Africanism has evolved in many phases and scholars have interpreted the phenomenon in the light of the peculiar situation each phase represents. From the stage of romanticism and idealism to the stage of intense political and nationalistic struggle, the concept has continued to be relevant. The concept of Pan-African movement which as indicated in the study embraced economic, social, cultural, psychological, religious matters has today incorporated other hitherto neglected segments of African public life and discourse. The forbears of Pan-Africanism from the Afro-American society to continental Africans have envisioned

the unity of the entire black race, and this vision is still evolving as we see the African Union today.

However, from the time of the conception of this movement, there has been certain clog in the wheel of its progress. Some of these relate to internal strife or feud, lack of competent successor or sustainable principle, double standard and lack of unity among the Africans etc. Some notable instances are drawn from the feud between Marcus Garvey and William DuBois based on ideological difference, the lack of competent and effective followership where the departure of a leading figure signifies the weakening or eventual collapse of principle or system. Case studies of this type of development could be seen in the imprisonment and deportation of Marcus Garvey and its effect on Universal

Negro Improvement Association (UNIA); the departure of Kwame Nkrumah from the West Africa National Secretariat (WANS) etc. There are reported cases of double standard among West African Political leaders and lack of unity which the African society is still grappling with are all pointers to the fact that achieving the actual goals of Pan Africanism is still far from being over.

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