

Pan Africanism as an Ideological Model and Panacea for African Renaissance

Prof. S. Ade Ali

*Department of Philosophy, Olabisi Onabanjo University,
Ago-Iwoye, Ogun State, Nigeria.*

Abstract: In this paper, a thematic discussion of Pan Africanism as a concept and as an ideology is exemplified. It is argued that Pan Africanism is a worldwide intellectual movement with the aim of encouraging and strengthening continentally and internationally the bond of solidarity among the people of Africa. Not only that, it is argued that if Pan Africanism is truly orchestrated and enhanced, it is capable of serving as a good tool and ideology as well as a panacea for the realization of African renaissance in the twenty-first century. Given this, this paper is an exposition of the ideological discussion underlining Pan-Africanism which recognizes the importance of Pan-Africanism not only as a model but also an organized ideology for the act of governance, and institutions within the African continent.

Key Words: African Renaissance, Ideology, Pan Africanism.

Introduction

This paper is a thematic exemplification of Pan-Africanism as a concept and as an ideology and a world-wide intellectual movement aimed at encouraging and strengthening the bond of solidarity among the people of Africa. Also, the paper, given the beauty of Pan-Africanism nationally and internationally, argues that if properly exemplified, is capable of being a model, and a panacea for African Renaissance in the 21st century Africa. This is the face of the challenges underlying Pan Africanism, identity politics and the re-integration of the African Diaspora in the contemporary world.

Pan Africanism as a Concept

Historically, Pan Africanism is a formation that had its intrinsic origin in the Atlantic slave trade being an international trade across the sea championed and controlled by the European presence in Africa. Pan Africanism was originally conceived, as a concept and ideology by Henry Sylvester-Williams Thong and a time credited to Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832-1912) as the father of Pan Africanism. Pan Africanism is usually referred to as the symbol of unity of all continental Africa. According to Campbell (2006), "it is not only a model but also an organized ideology for the act of governance of socio-political institutions in the continent of Africa". According to *Wikipedia*, "Pan Africanism is a worldwide intellectual movement that aims to encourage and strengthen bonds of solidarity between all people of African descent".

The formulation of Pan Africanism by the African nationalists and freedom fighters was not only without unalloyed holistic support of the African diaspora in the Caribbean, Latin America and the United States. This is with the goal and belief, "That unity is vital to social, and economic progress and uplifting of people of African descent." Besides is the philosophy that Pan Africanism according to Makalani Minkah (2011) is formulated as a movement to champion the belief that "African peoples, both on the continent and in the diaspora, share not merely a common history, but a common destiny."

The strong advocates of this ideological school of Pan Africanism movement, among others, include such political icons like: Kwame Nkrumah, Naile Selassie, Marcus Garvey, Julius Nyerere, John Henrik Clarke, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Sekou Toure, Hackney Black, Thomas Sankara, Malcolm X, W. E. B. Du Bois, Leopold Senghor, Muamman Gaddafi, Amika Cral, Nnamdi Azikwe et al.

Indeed, the African Union, formerly, the Organization of African Unity established in 1963 with its seat in Addis Ababa and Pan-African parliament with its seat in Johannesburg and Midrand was established for the purpose to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its member states and also to promote global relations within the framework of the United Nations.

According to the “objectives of Pan Africanists Parliament” (2014), it is apparent to note politically that the mission of Pan Africanists or Pan Africans among others is:

- (1) To raise the political consciousness and solidarity of the Africans both at home and in diaspora
- (2) To attaining collective self-reliance,
- (3) To globally and independently empower African people, ensure power consolidation in Africa possibly 'United African Nations' that would bring to realization the economic, social and political clout that will enable Africa as a league of nations to compete globally and competitively at the world stage with the European Union and the United States of America.

Pan Africanism as a Political Ideology

What is ideology? According to Honderich (1995), an ideology is a collection of normative beliefs, doctrine, dogma, theory, creed and values that an individual, social group or an institution holds for other than purely epistemic reasons.

Historically, the term ideology was first conceived by a French philosopher and enlightenment aristocrat, Antoine Destutt de Tracy (1796-1836). In contemporary philosophy the term *ideology* refers to such related terms in one way or the other like a general view, a philosophy, ideas, concept, a world view, anthology, belief system, style of thought politically, epistemologically, culturally and/or by an individual thinker or a group. It is within this context, that such ideologies like communalism, feudalism, capitalism, socialism, communism, Marxism, welfarism, arch-capitalism, anti-communism, democratic socialism, libertarianism, facism, Negritude, nationalism et.al are meaningfully used and significant.

It is in view of this that Pan Africanism is an ideology of class or social group of the same political thought with the same ideological focus and cultural orientation aiming at resurgence of African civilization and reclaiming of African pride and self-esteem. It is in the realization of this focus that each of the protagonists of Pan Africanism is committed to one ideological focus on the other hand.

For instance, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, one of the leading protagonists of Pan Africanism and as an indigenous Pan African was ideologically a committed social democrat believing in the philosophy of democratic socialism and with the struggle committed to the will of national greatness, workers' welfares and well-being of the individuals and international brotherhood. As C.A Alade (1998:315) puts it,

Chief Awolowo after a long tortuous and gradual evolutionary process, having started life from humble beginnings, by dint of hard work and perseverance become a petty-bourgeois. Having amassed a good fortune, he metamorphosed into a multimillionaire bourgeois. Ideologically, from a post-west, arch-capitalist, and anti-communist position, he evolved into a welfarist, liberal reformer and social democrat. He preached equality of opportunities for all, irrespective of ones position in life and tried to raise the living standard of the workers and the downtrodden.

Nevertheless, it is apt to point out that this ideological democratic tenet is not limited to Awolowo. It is the copious goal of all Pan Africanist leaders.

As an ideology, Pan Africanism is a philosophical school of thought for the sharpening, strengthening and unification of African identity and cultural identification on the one hand and for the realization of African renaissance in the twenty-first century. It is a model and a philosophical template for the impression of the unity of a people called Africans wherever they may be in the international globe.

As a model, Pan Africanism is a template for the revival and re-positioning of the value system in Africa and in the global world. It is seen and conceived as an ideology that promotes Pan Africanism in terms of the realization of the potency and underlying principles and the common destiny of the Africans globally.

According to Falola and Essien (2013:71-72), as a philosophy, Pan Africanism represents the aggregation of the historical cultural, spiritual, artistic, scientific and philosophical legacies of Africans from the past to the present. Indeed, Pan Africanism as a philosophical ideology represents the ethical system upon which the African norms, values and ethical principles are built.

Fundamentally, these ethical and aesthetic values among which African ethical system emphasizes include significantly: honesty and loyalty, patience and humility, respect for elders and social norms, hospitality and kindness, obedience and gentleness, truthfulness and attitude, hard work and goodwill, responsiveness and usefulness as well as chastity and charity.

Besides such values of African culture that Pan Africanism traces its indigenous and cultural origin from as the product of African civilization, there are negative values which formed the basis and culminated the rise of Pan Africanism as a form of struggle culminating various models of Pan Africanism.

These are negative values of oppression that the European penetration in to Africa brought upon the Africans in their scheme of governance. These among others include: racism, slavery, colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism and xenophobia culture. It was those negative values inculcated to African continent that brought about Pan Africanism as a regressive and liberating measure sparking some other Pan African religio-political movements across the global stage. Examples of such are *Ethiopianism*, the sons of African in London in 1791, The modern twentieth Pan Africanism pressure groups among others including Pan Africanism Association with several political movements, civil rights movements in some universities in the West.

The fact is that Pan Africanism as an ideology attained its golden age from the twentieth century Africa with the independence state of Ghana in 1957 and the independence of many other African countries in the twentieth century. This has led to the formulation of various Pan African measures by Pan Africans leaders aimed at revolutionizing and decolonization of Africa from Imperialism. For instance, Kwame Nkrumah on assumption of office as the President of Ghana in 1957 with his Socialist policy backed with the ideology he called '*consciencism*' summoned the first ever All-African Peoples Conference (AAPC) in April 1958 with delegates of political movements and major political leaders and advocates of Pan Africanism all over Africa invited. While the conference with the exception of South Africa had all the independent States of Africa: Ghana, Liberia, Libya, Tunisia Sudan, Egypt and Ethiopia all in attendance, the imperativeness of pushing ideological focus of the Nationalist Pan African conference remained a priority. For instance, it marked the first time that the black African region would come together politically to exercise its political unity and common identity at a national conference level and spoke with equanimity against imperialism, colonization, slavery, exploitation and injustice of the West against the African continent.

Given this, the Accra National Conference of 1958 also marked the establishment of a new political beginning and emancipation of Africa from imperialism as well as the establishment of a new policy of non-alignment between the US and the United States of Soviet Republic. The

political consensus at this conference was followed by the signing of *Sanniquellie declaration* in Liberia at Sanniquellie in 1959. This was jointly by Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, President Sekou Toure of Guinea, President William Tubman of Liberia, thus outlining the principles for the achievement of the unity of independent African States with emphasis on a national identity and autonomous constitutional structure (Legon, 1965). Thus, signing the *Sanniquellie declaration* into effect by the first of All-African People's Conference of 1959, there was the convention of the second All African Peoples conference in 1960 at Addis Ababa in Ethiopia. This was in pursuant of the ideological promotion of Pan Africanism and the struggle against colonization in Africa. By this time, more African States which had attained their independence like Nigeria, Somalia, Cameroun, Guinea and the United Arab Republic including Algeria provisional Government were able to attend the 2nd All African National conference thus increasing its membership.

By and large, the fact is that Pan Africanism denotes globally the unity of continental Africa.

The Need for an Ideology

For the growth and renaissance of Africa in the recent twenty-first century there is need for a clear cut philosophically oriented ideology. Quoting Areoye Oyebola:

Any which wants spectacular transformation from abject poverty and confusion into great wealth and world recognition must have a coherent, deep-rooted and forward looking national philosophy (Oyebola 1982:17).

Be that as it may, African leaders of the contemporary times would have to borrow great ideas needed for transformation and re-integration of the Africans both in the continent and Diaspora from such great leaders of the world and the world super powers with gigantic economic gigantic projects like Chairman Mao of China and from Japanese post 2nd world war experience that led the country to rapid economic and industrial growth despite the destruction caused by the war. If Chairman Mao of great China and his team had been daunted by overwhelming odds the country faced in 1949;

If they had not sought an original unique solution to their problem of poverty, the voice of China could never have become one that is so important and respected in the world today as China's leadership focus have defeated event and have conquered fate (Oyebola, 1982:17).

Apparently, the tribal nationalism, neo-colonialism, xenophobic attacks, militarism, dictatorship, identity distortion, civil wars, political instability, problem of endemic diseases, economic domination by imperialists, rebellions and internal revolts, deep-rooted corruption unemployment and planlessness, high mortality rate and poor health facilities, illiteracy, crudeness and backwardness and over dependency on the imperialist leaders, neo-colonialism, religious intolerance, tribal jingoism and ethnicity problem, *selfishism* and ineffective leadership in different parts of African nations constitute a major hindrance to the rapid and scientific industrial and technological transformation of African nations and the re-integration of the Diaspora Africans. However, there is no nation in the world without its own turbulent history. China as a country, for instance, has more than 3,000 years of Civil War and about, 40 years of national war which none of the countries in the third world nations had never experienced. Despite the concession of some of the territories of China to other countries during the war and that the British controlled the taxes and duties in that country as late as 1930, and that about 60 percent of China's trade was controlled by foreign internationals namely: the Japanese and the British with the foreign firms controlling 50 percent of the country's coal production and 45 percent of the country's textile industry, China with her clear cut and transformative ideology of 1949 was able to put their economic doldrums behind them such that by the third quarter of the 20th century China had not only become a military and industrial power but a force to be reckoned with in the world.

Hence, for the re-integration of the African Diaspora in the twenty-first century, the foreign economic domination under the auspices of imperialism of Africa must go and be replaced with economic freedom, pragmatic, scientifically and technologically modernized ideological reform of its leadership style and governance with refined African orientations to warranting re-integration of the Diaspora Africans. Experience has to be learnt ideologically and formatively from such world super nations like communist China, Japan, Britain, the United States of America, the Soviet Republic, and the rest of Europe in the area of ideological attitude, technological innovations, economic reforms, national and cultural commitment that made their nations today most powerful industrial, technological, and economically vibrant and dynamically progressive nations in the contemporary twenty-first century world partially in the area of mechanized farming, steel productions and automobiles, ship buildings and sophisticated electronics.

Africa in the twenty-first century given the ideology of Pan Africanism must reject foreign domination, naivety, poverty, economic backwardness, civil and inter-tribal wars, dictatorship, ideological redundancy, leadership failure, tribal nationalism, unscientific African Syndrome, that is, the assimilation of Western cultural tenet and embrace resourcefulness, new identity an ideology that can guarantee modern African culture in the world over. African leadership and governance, must as well imbibe, the ecological and developmental attitudes that portend rapid and dynamic intellectual, technological reform, cultural orientation that can propel attitudinal rapid progress, tint of industrial revolution and transformation worldwide just as the British and many super nations of the world have done to have industrial revolution.

For proper identity, politics and re-integration of the African Diaspora, African and the contemporary African leaders, as a matter of ideology, must embrace and activate the lessons of history of development of the world richest and most powerful economically and technologically advanced nations.

Be that as it may, the governance of the nations of African continent must cultivate the leadership acumen and the philosophic principles underlying the formation of Pan Africanism by its progenitors if true and genuine reintegration of Diaspora Africans is to be achieved.

Indeed there is need for re-integration of Diaspora Africans but the modern day political practices by leaders in power seem to be unconcerned with that;

The Elites of the new nations (of Africa in many cases) therefore abuse their official positions and corruptly enrich themselves in a bid to meet the insatiable demands of their relations and towns' people. A situation has therefore emerged in many of these poor nations in which any talk about probity and uprightness in the public life is a mere academic exercise (Oyebola, 1982;9).

In view of this, with the problem of Africa and African leadership, pan Africanism must be the ideological focus. Indeed, if such humiliated Austria, Czechoslovakia, France and others were able to make it ideologically in spite of devastation of Hitler and Mussolini on them as a result of the Second World War, which the poor countries of the world and of Africa had never experienced, just like the China and Japan example we have mentioned, the effect of slave trade and colonialism on Africa following interpolation of the European encapsulation of African countries at the invasion of African continent should not be an excuse for African leaders and governance to re-integrate the African Diaspora. All that is needed is ideological redemption using pan-Africanist philosophical principles as a panacea for African renaissance.

Pan Africanism as a Panacea for African Renaissance

The global target of Pan Africanism is to serve as a development strategy and template for the development and revival of renaissance of Africa in the twenty-first century. This is orchestrated in the various ideological acumen of the front liners and political icons of Pan Africanism. To this effect the Leopold Sedar Senghor's *Negritude movement*, Mobutu Sese

Sekoure's view of *authenticite*, Julius Nyerere's ideology of *uhuru jumaa*, Obafemi Awolowo's ideology of democratic socialism, Nnamdi Azikiwe's principle of *zikizim* and Amilca Cabral quest for the unification of the whole of African continent by Kwame Nkrumah socio-politically point to this fact.

Just as the UK Pan African congress of 1998 put it:

Contrary to the expectation of the universal gesture displayed by the Africans at the coming of Europeans that were taken as guests, these guests took the profit from the African land and the African Black, the African minds and defaced the African temples, destroyed African libraries, languages, traditions and culture, raped African women, enslaved the African people and manipulated their differences, setting them upon each other.

So, Pan Africanism is therefore a strategy for development of African mindset given the background upon which the industrial societies were built on African slave labour, exploitation and degradation of the natural resources appropriated by Europeans and their collaboration; thus further marginalizing the African people from the global terrain and further rendering them to an underclass.

Be that as it may, Pan Africanism is a justified strategy for the transformation of the twenty-first century Africa on the ground that it is regarded as a principle for the liberation of Africa and the realization of a reformed political and social African consciousness for a United African global family.

Indeed, Pan Africanism as a template for the emancipation of the 21st century Africa could be seen as a collective weapon of decolonization based on the philosophy that:

- i. Only the African people have the independent inalienable right to decide what happen to them and to their continent Africa.
- ii. Africans are the rightful guardians of the continent of Africa as their homeland and the defenders of Africa irrespective of where they were currently domiciling.
- iii. All non-African people domiciling on the continent of Africa and by their virtues and status are guests of the Africans and that the hospitality gesture accorded to them deserved of any guest should not be used against the host as a sign of weakness.
- iv. Pan Africanism is a mechanism for the enjoyment of the right of entry and freedom of movement of Africans throughout the length and breadth of Africa without any legal impediments or restrictions.
- v. Pan Africanism is an organ for the of the welfare of African people irrespective of where they may be and shall always be shall always be placed above any personal or individual and/or group agenda such that it ensures that it is only the Africans by the themselves that are in position to entrust themselves in positions and to also entrust individual, group or legitimate organization as a medium of representation where need be for the benefits of the African people
- vi. Pan Africanism is a panacea for reparations in favour of the Africans such that no thought be given to the idea of debt repayment to global European interests. Rather that all outstanding African debts be calculated as a fraction of the trillions of pounds, dollars, marks, francs, yens, rubles, dirhams etc. which are owed to Africa and her people in reparation for the continual theft of much of her wealth and the calculated deliberate destruction of African civilization.
- vii. Pan Africanism, on the other hand, is a snoop of African awareness committed to reclaiming African pride and self-esteem and on the other hand, a global African family committed to preparing for the challenges of the twenty-first century Africa.
- viii. Pan Africanism is indeed a tool for self-determination of Africans in that it aims at

establishing that only Africans have the absolute irrevocable and unconditional right to pursue and collectively decide their own destiny, self-determination, self-fulfillment and self-defense as well as their own future particularly on their own African soil without any compromise.

- ix. Pan Africanism is a global vehicle for African self-protection such that it ensures the rightness of necessary steps without any hindrance to secure and protect the rights and entitlements within the context of the twenty-first century global freedom of activation.
- x. Pan Africanism is a global ideological conception that also seeks the equal participation of the Africans in the United Nations and in other international fora on the basis of non-compromise of equal rights and opportunities accruable to them.
- xi. While Pan Africanism serves as modulator for resurgence of African civilization and the dignity of Africa and Africans in the twenty-first century, it equally seeks the pursuit of reclaiming Africa pride, self-esteem and African identity through a typical indigenous knowledge of the continental Africa.
- xii. Indeed, Pan Africanism is spirited machinery for the reclaiming of the artifacts taken owners on the continent of Africa and that the remaining resources of the continent and around the sea areas are converted for the benefits of the living Africans on the continent and those in the global Diaspora.

Submission and Conclusion

The argument in this paper is informed by the premise that the tyranny of underdevelopment orchestrated by 'unfulfilled expectations as well as the 'farce of ideology' in Africa constitutes a major hindrance for the development of Africa in the face of European colonialism and foreign interpolations. Thus, the clamor for Pan Africanism as an ideological parameter is to rescue African nations from the yoke of underdevelopment and neo-colonization.

Apparently, while Pan Africanism as an instrument of ideology fulfilled led many African nations to the attainment of independence between late 1950's and early 1960's, the hope to guide the dividends of Pan Africanism in the area of modernity and spectacular, technological and ideological breakthrough needs to be exploited such that the unfulfilled expectations to join the league of modernity of the type of Russia unusual breakthrough, Japan's post-1945 miracle of unprecedented development, China's technological breakthrough and the astonishing breakthrough in Europe and America will not be a matter of mere conjectures in the twenty-first century African world.

Be that as it may, we can infer from the argument so far that:

First, the gains of Pan-Africanism, after of the struggle to independence, have been at standstill. Though many opportunities were offered but missed.

Second, that there have been many hues and contradictions. Eulogies as well as some actions, expected potentials awaiting transformation into stark practical realities have not been potent.

Third, that poverty and colonization underlying the premium of Pan Africanism have been replaced with abject and grinding poverty of poor feeding, poor housing, poor clothing, poor development, ignorance, corruption, ill-gotten wealth, and decolonization of different sorts reflecting in obtuse governance of enrichment in the nations of the third world countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

At the same time, contrary to the expectations of Pan-Africanism goal, the poor nations of Africa despite vastness in economy are becoming poorer and poorer qualitatively. The gulf between the rich and the poor classes in these nations, as well, is becoming wider and wider. While the developed nations in Europe, America and the Britain are growing sporadically in economy and technological innovative developmental agenda, the drift of violence, corruption and economic sabotage, Judicial killings, armed banditry, cyber frauds, drug addiction and

trafficking, wars and turbulence, military and religious bigotry in most of the African countries like in Congo, Burundi, Sudan, Somalia, Nigeria are not giving and interface for the rise of African industrial and technological development in the present twenty-first century. In spite of all these, we can still say that:

In view of slave trade and colonization effects, the poor nations of Africa have never experienced the type of holocaust which Hitler and Mussolini inflicted on the conquered Austria, Czechoslovakia, France and others (Oyebola, 1982: 13).

Given the above conjecture, there is need for African nations, using Pan Africanism as a model, to adopt a colossal re-orientation in social attitudes, socio-cultural reforms, and leadership reformative strategy. Besides, as Ade Ali puts it:

Our statesmen and patriots ought first to cultivate the virtue of using their influence to promoting religious tolerance and understanding, socio-harmony, as well as for the enhancement of peaceful co-existence in the society rather than using it for the promotion of tribal patriotism ... Besides, there is need to raise public morality to the level of consciousness across the continental border., (Ade Ali, 1999: 38)

Indeed, peace and harmony constitute first a parameter for any nation to strive to grow into greatness and technological breakthrough. With this, is ideological backup. It is on this framework that every nation of the world is known for one fundamental ideological breakthrough or the other. For instance, while China is known for technology, India for pharmacy, Israel for military might and Ghana for gold, Britain is on the other hand, known for education. Also, while South Africa is known for diamond, Lebanon for cedar, Malaysia for palm oil, Saudi Arabia for trade and tourism, Kuwait for crude oil; on the other hand, United States is known for authority, Japan for automobile, Italy for textile and Czechoslovakia for steel. At the same time, Germany is known for machinery, Indonesia for wears and Iraq for ammunitions. All this is premised on ideology as a template. Then the question, what is Africa known for particularly Nigeria being the world largest economy in Africa? There is farce of ideology. Nigeria as an oil-rich Nation requires an ideological back up. It is on this note we conclude that: for African renaissance in the contemporary twenty-first century, Africa as a continent and Nigeria globally require:

One, there is an urgent need to opt for a fundamental ideology for sustainable growth.

Two, there is need for decolonization, ideological strategy for the emancipation of the Black Americans and Diaspora Africans in the global world.

Three, there is need for diversification of economy and foreign investments.

Four, there is a radical shift from total reliance on oil to increased manufacturing technology in all ramifications.

Five, there is need for an adoption of an enhanced international relations and diplomacy as a strategy for integration of Diaspora Africans.

Six, there is need for a creation of African goodwill for a united Africa in the contemporary globalized world.

Seven, there is need for an ideological framework against African alienation in the modern day world.

Given this, then our submission is that:

Pan-Africanism is an instrument and a model that could be adopted as an ideology by the

African nations for the unification of Africans home and abroad. Besides, there is need for Pan-Africanism as a philosophical template for the expression of African identity and cultural identification. That apart, Pan Africanism is a very useful and pragmatic panacea for African Renaissance in the contemporary twenty-first century as it serves as a snoop of African awareness committed to reclaiming African pride, self-esteem and a rediscovery of a global African family committed to preparing for the challenges of the twenty-first century Africa. In addition, Pan Africanism serves as a canon and indeed a tool for self-determination, self-fulfillment, self-actualization and self-defense as well as rediscovery strategy of the common destiny of Africans and Africa as a continent. Finally, Pan Africanism is a justified strategy for the transformation of the twenty-first century Africa on the ground that it is a principle for the liberation of Africa from neo-colonization and western imperialism and for the realization of a reformed political and social African consciousness for a United African global family. It is a template that seeks the revival and repositioning of the value system in Africa and in the global world given the principles underlying the ideology.

Postscript

I am grateful to TetFund for this write-up as this piece has its source from a contribution to a TetFund Project on Pan-Africanism, Identity Politics and Re-Integration of the African Diaspora.

References

- Aime, Cesaire, (1998), "Discourse on Colonialism", Chukwudi Eze (ed.), *African Philosophy & Anthology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Alade, C.A. (1988), "From Bourgeois to Social Democrat: A Study in the Evolution of Awolowo's Concept of Ideology", Obasope O. Oyediran, Toyin Falola, et.al (Eds), *Obafemi Awolowo: The End of An Era*, Ile-Ife: Obafemi Awolowo University Press Ltd.
- Ali, S. Ade (1999), "Morality and the Problem of Moral Decadence in an African Society", Oye: Ogun Journal of Arts, 3. Faculty of Arts, Olabisi Onabanjo University.
- Campbell Crystal, Z. (2006), "Sculpting a Pan-African Culture in the Art of Negritude: A Model for African Artist", *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, Archived June 1, 2015.
- Eze, E. Chukwudi, (1998), *African Philosophy: An Anthropology*, Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.
- Falola, T., Essien Kwame et.al (eds.), (2013), *Pan Africanism and the Politics of African Citizenship and Identity*, London: Routledge.
- Hatch, John (1961), *Africa: Today and Tomorrow*, New York: Fredrick A Pracger.
- Honderich, Ted (1995), *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, Oxford University Press.
- <https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pan>.
- Makalani, Minkah (2011), "Pan Africanism", *Africana Age*.
- Legun, (1965), *Pan Africanism*, 45.
- Okolo, C.B, (1993), *African & Social Political Philosophy*, Nsukka.
- Oyebola Areoye (1982), *The Tyranny of Poverty*, Lagos: Board Publications Ltd.
- Souvenir Programme (1998), United Kingdom Pan African Congress, London.
- Walter, Rodney, (1972), *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Tanzania Publishing House Limited.