

Pan Africanism and the Leadership Question in Africa in The 21st Century, A Case Study of Nigeria.

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ABSTRACT

Pan Africanism is an international intellectual movement that aims to encourage and strengthen bonds of unity between entire people of African origin. It is grounded on the doctrine that unity is essential to economic, social, and political progress and aims to bring and uplift people of African origin. Pan-Africanism, is the perception coined by African origins and descent that had interest in common goals, been an important by-product of colonialism and the enslavement of Africans by Europeans. Culturally, Pan-Africanism had pursued literary and artistic projects that brought together people in Africa and her diaspora. Pan-Africanism had tasks in relation, to correcting the historical injustices of slavery, colonialism and racism: free Africa and unite Africa, Pan Africanism represents the historical, cultural, spiritual, scientific, and philosophical legacies of Africans from past times to the present. It as a system that traces its history from ancient period, and promotes values that are the product of the African civilization, foreign policies, and the struggles against slavery, racism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. It aimed at encouraging and strengthening bonds of solidarity and unity between all people of African descent and thus has numerous impacts in the African continent. Considering the involvement of the early Pan African leader the study will delve into the position of the contemporary African leaders in achieving the set objective of Pan Africanism. The study used documentary method for data collections, the paper relied on the use of qualitative-descriptive tool and content analysis. It was established that the patriotic life of the founding fathers is no longer obtainable due to the conduct of the present African leadership. Also the African leaders presently are not prioritizing unification of Africa and its economic liberation and emancipation. The study recommended that relegation of Pan Africanism should not be in the 21st century. Also that Africans should elect leaders that gear towards the achievement of the aim of Pan Africanism.

Keywords: Pan-Africanism, Negroes, Leadership, Colonialism, Racism.

INTRODUCTION

The origin of Pan Africanism can be traced to the struggle of the Africans against enslavement and colonialism [1,2,3]. It was a movement against the coercion and exploitation of the Negroes and racial doctrines that marked the era of slavery, which may be link to the first resistance on the slave ships through the continual plantation and colonial uprisings and back to Africa movement of the 19th century [4,5,6]. However, it was in the twentieth century that Pan Africanism arose as a distinct political movement hitherto formed and led by the Diasporas. In 1900, Henry Sylvester Williams organized a conference that took place in London to

protest racial segregation and other problems with interests to blacks [7,8]. [9], stated that, it was the African American scholar and writer Dr W. E. B Du Bois who organized the first Pan African congress in 1919 in Paris, France. Demand was made for African nation's independence. Further Congresses were held in 1921 (London, Brussels, Paris), 1923 (London and Lisbon) 1927 (New York). Each reiterated and refined the fight for rights and freedom and built support for the cause [10]. Meanwhile, the most significant was the 5th congress held in Manchester in 1945. For the first time, a large number of Africans from the continent were present

and the meeting provided impetus for the various post war independence movement. By 1963, there were 31 independent nations [11]. Some were agitating for immediate continental political union while others favored slower steps towards unity. The scholars noted that, throughout the 20th century, culturally Pan Africanism weaved through the political narrative-the Harlem renaissance, francophone philosophies of Negritude, Afrocentrism, Rastafarianism and Hip Hop, artists of African origin and heritage have found inspiration in and been drawn to exploring and communicating their connections with the continent [12]. The 6th and 7th Pan African congresses in Tanzania and Uganda respectively, took place by the

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

Pan-Africanism emerged at the end of nineteenth century as an idea and later an action programme by Africans in colonial territories, a response to slavery, imperialism, colonialism and racism. From the onset, pan-Africanism became an anti-thesis to European imperialism, domination and racism. As Thompson explains Pan-Africanism emerged at the end of nineteenth century as an idea and later, the idea of pan-Africanism was intended to challenge the main activities of European imperialists, namely, the slave trade, European colonisation of Africa and racism'. Basically this was an ideological response to the 1884/85 Berlin Conference. As Tondi argues, four themes are discernible through the evolution of pan-Africanist thought and practice in the 20th century (i) Pan-Africanism: a universal expression of black pride and achievement; (ii) pan-Africanism: a return to Africa by the people of African descent living in the diaspora; (iii) pan-Africanism: a harbinger of liberation; and (iv) pan-Africanism: the political unification of the continent. For 20th century African struggles, pan-Africanism meant a 'vehicle that was used to reclaim African history and rediscover the African Personality that had been subjugated under European cultural domination' [5].

According to [8], the Pan-Africanist movement began in the nineteenth century among intellectuals of African descent in

radical black movements. It aimed to creating a big and open coalition of all citizens of African countries and people of African heritage in Diaspora [13,14]. In the meantime, Ghana attainment of Independence in 1957 marked a significant milestone, not just for the people of Ghana, but also for Africans and those in the Diaspora [15]. It aided to intensify the struggle by the people of Africa for the complete independence of the continent from colonial domination and equally developed an irreversible march towards the vision of Pan-African leaders of the time. It is against this backdrop that this study examines the interface between Pan Africanism and the leadership question in Africa.

North America and the Caribbean who thought of themselves as members of a single, "Negro," race. In this they were merely following the mainstream of nineteenth-century thought in North America and Europe, which developed an increasingly strong focus on the idea that human beings were divided into races, each of which had its own distinctive spiritual, physical, and cultural character. As a result, the earliest Pan-Africanists often limited their focus to sub-Saharan Africa: to the region, whose population consists mostly of darker-skinned ("Negro") peoples. In this way, intentionally lighter-skinned North was not included, even Africans, who speak Arabic as their first language.

Pan Africanism can be seen as an international intellectual movement that aims to encourage and strengthen bonds of unity between entire people of African origin. It is grounded on the doctrine that unity is essential to economic, social, and political progress and aims to bring and uplift people of African origin. According to W. O. Alli, Pan Africanism includes the intellectual, political and economic cooperation that should lead to the political unity of Africa [8]. Paul Gilroy suggests that Pan Africanism posits a sense of a shared historical fate for Africans in the Americas, West Indies, and, on the continent itself, has centered on the Atlantic trade in slaves, African

slavery, and European imperialism [4]. To George Shepperson Pan Africanism was a gift of the New World America to the old world of Africa. It is grounded in an ideology of resistance from colonial and European domination [6]. On a general note, Pan Africanism can mean the doctrine of political union of all indigenous habitants of Africa that cares about the promotion of African race, culture, and achievements.

In the twentieth century, however, this way of thinking of African identity in racial terms was challenged. In particular, the intellectuals born in Africa who took over

the movement's leadership in the period after the World War II developed a more geographical idea of African identity. The founders of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), such as Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, for example, had a notion of Africa that was more straightforwardly continental. African unity for them was the unity of those who shared the African continent (though it continued to include, in some unspecified way, those whose ancestors had left the continent in the enforced exile of the slave trade). He further noted that ;

Nevertheless, the movement's intellectual roots lie firmly in the racial understanding of Africa in the thought of the African American and Afro-Caribbean intellectuals who founded it. Because Pan-Africanism began as a movement in the New World, among the descendants of slave populations, and then spread back to Africa, it aimed to challenge anti-black racism on two fronts. On the one hand, it opposed racial domination in the diaspora; on the other, it challenged colonial domination, which almost always took a racial form, in Africa itself. The stresses and strains that have sometimes divided the movement have largely occurred where these two rather different goals have pulled it in different directions [8].

Pan-Africanism does not lend itself to simple or precise definition; the convenient assembly of related Ideas. It Jostle, sometimes even contradict, each other; but it constitute a movement of ideas no less coherent than, say, Capitalism, Socialism, World Federalism, or Zionism. If Capitalism is a belief in private enterprise; Socialism a belief in a planned economy to achieve social equality; if World Federalism is a belief in a form of

world government limiting one sovereignty of nations; if Zionism is a belief-in a Jewish National State in Palestine, then Pan-Africanism can be similarly simplified into a belief in the uniqueness and spiritual unity of black people; an acknowledgment of their right to self-determination in Africa, and to be treated with dignity as equals in all parts of the world.

PAN AFRICAN CONGRESSES

According to [6] the intellectual movement known as Pan-Africanism started with the work of Du Bois, Delany, Crummell, and Blyden. Nevertheless, Henry Sylvester Williams started its institutional history, Born in Trinidad, a London renown Lawyer, planned in 1897 to bring together people of the "African race" from around the world ; and in July 1900, after a preliminary conference in 1899, held in London. Four representatives came from African, namely Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and the Gold Coast colony, while other African Diaspora from North America (among them Du Bois) was in

attendance; five from London, and eleven from the West Indies,. The clear aim of the conference was to allow black people discuss the condition of the black race around the globe. [6], noted that the Chicago Congress held in 1893 denoted, both the shift of Pan-Africanism from an idea to a decipherable movement. [9], concord by asserting that the creation of the African Association in 1898 and the convening of the first Pan-African conference in 1900 in London, both organized by Trinidad lawyer Henry Sylvester Williams was with the objective of bringing together the people of African

descent throughout the globe. This congress attracted thirty two participants from Africa, the United States, the Caribbean, and parts of Europe. The London Pan-African conference created the Pan- African Association which substituted

- (a) Securing civil and political demands for African people.
- (b) Promoting peaceful relations between races.
- (c) Encouraging African peoples in education, industry, and business.
- (d) Ameliorating conditions of black people in Africa, America.

When Henry Williams journeyed to Caribbean in early 1901, the organization was terminated by many London based PAAs members. Despite the efforts of Williams to revive the organization when he returned, it dwindled into history. Dubois soon systemized the movement, resulting in five Pan African Conferences during the first half of the 20th century [6,8,9]. During this time, the nature of Pan-Africanist cultural and political activities transformed radically. Dubois decided for the African Congress to meet in Paris, and it was organized in February 19-21, 1919. Chaired over by Blaise Diagne of Senegal and Dubois, it brought delegates throughout the African Diaspora, though no delegates came from the British West Indies, hardly any were present from West Africa. White delegates from France, Belgium, and Portugal defended their countries' colonial policies, while the U. S representative William Walling maintained that changes to American racial programs was on horizon. Indeed, the resolution adopted at the conference was more towards moderation and gradual reform than anything approximating a fight for immediate independence. The resolution called on the proposed League of Nations to develop rules for governing African colonial subjects and put forward a series of guidelines for ruling Africans and peoples of African origin. Dubois seemed to know the problems that attended the first Pan African congress, importantly the lack of voice of African themselves. In organizing the second congress, he posited a desire to "have a strong representation of the West Africans" [9]. The August 27-29, 1921 was the second congress in London, also the same congress was held in August 31 to September 2, 1921 in Brussels and Paris.

the African Association. The PAA (Pan African Association), however, continued the work of the African Association but took as its goal creating a Pan- African movement. The association had four major aims which included:

Notably there was a large turn up from Africa, only seven of the 133 came from the Caribbean. The congress resolution came out more powerfully for independence in Africa, the handover of confiscated lands, the enhancement of the masses, and for race rulers to move themselves more closely to black workers rather than white capitalists. This conference also established a second Pan-African Association, which Dubois controlled. This PAA worked little better than the first, this time Dubois discontinued the profound schisms that fired up between the Anglophone participants. In 1923 Dubois was able to call a third PAC in London and in Lisbon, Portugal. [11], noted that in 1919 Du Bois and others organized the first Pan-African Congress, in Paris, which brought together representatives from the Americas, Europe, and Africa to discuss the plight of Africans living under colonialism. This was followed by the second Pan-African Congress, also organized by Du Bois, which met in three sessions, in London, Brussels, and Paris, this time with representatives from French and Portuguese colonies in Africa as well. They issued a final declaration that insisted on the equality of the races, the diffusion of democracy, and the development of political institutions in the colonies. It also urged the "return" of Negroes to their own countries and urged the League of Nations to pay attention both to race relations in the industrialized world and to the condition of workers in the colonies. A third Congress occurred in London in 1923 and continued, according to Du Bois, in Lisbon (though this appears to have been little more than an opportunity for Du Bois to talk to some people from the Portuguese colonies on his way from London to

Liberia, where he was the official representative of the United States at the installation of the Liberian president). [8] noted that the fourth PAC, convened by the "Women's International Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations" met in 1927. Initially it was to meet in Tunisia or the Caribbean, but when the French and British governments blocked the conference, it was shifted to New York City. At the New York conference, former African blood brothers Richard B. Moore and Otto Huiswoud called the adoption of a resolution supporting black workers and pushing for Egyptian, Chinese, Indian and Indian liberation, and urging Caribbean national liberation and federation. During the period between World War I and World War II, in the heyday of the Pan-African Congress movement, the sentiment received a substantial practical boost from the growth of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Led by Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican immigrant to the United States, the UNIA became the largest black movement in the African diaspora. While the slogan of the movement was "Back to Africa," and Garvey did indeed plan a shipping line for the purpose, relatively few members of the organization actually left the New World for the Old. Nevertheless, Garvey's commitment to racial pride and to the celebration of black historical achievement, and his concern to link the diaspora to the continent, make him an important figure in the movement's history, [9]. Furthermore, George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah, led by Ras T. Makonnen and Paul Robeson organized the fifth Pan African Congress in Manchester, England. They invited DuBois to join in the planning and in the congress itself. Africans made up over a quarter of the delegates at the fifth PAC. This congress resolution was against the monopoly of capital and the rule of private wealth and industry for private profit alone, and unlike previous Pan- African congresses, the 1945 meeting declared "African negroes themselves...capable of expressing their desires" [9]. One West Indian born intellectual played an important role in planning the 1945 Congress, namely

George Padmore (1902-1959). (Padmore was a pseudonym: he was born Malcolm Nurse.) Padmore was a Trinidadian who had spent some time in the United States, studying at Columbia University and at Fisk (a black university that Du Bois had also attended). He worked as a Communist Party organizer among students at Howard University, the black university in Washington, D.C. Later he spent time in Germany and in Russia, where he became in 1930 the head of the Negro Bureau of the Red International of labor unions. In the next few years he worked for Communist organizations in Austria and Germany, moving to London in 1935. From then until his death in 1959 he was the leading theorist of Pan-Africanism, and was a close friend and adviser of Kwame Nkrumah. The 1945 congress marked a turning point in the history of Pan Africanism in the sense that; for the first time representatives of political parties from Africa and the west Indies attended the meetings; the conservative policy of the forum gave way to radical social, political and economic demands; congress participants unequivocally demanded an end to colonialism in Africa; and urged colonial subjects to use strikes and boycotts to end the continents social and political exploitation by colonial powers [5].

According to [9] the 1945 congress marked a watershed for the eventual decolonization of the African continent through its resolution for an end to racial segregation and colonization. The resolution and declaration did not only move forward the hopes and aspirations for a united Africa, but also put in a dose of radicalism which was taken back to Africa and improved the fight for independence. Prominent among the twenty six representatives from Africa who attended the congress were Hastings Banda of Malawi, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Obafemi Awolowo of Nigeria, and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. More so, Tanzania president Julius Nyerere organized Pan African congress in June-17-19, 1974, Dares Salaam. Commonly called the six PAC, this was first congress held in Africa. Nyerere considered this meeting, coming

after national liberation had spread throughout Africa and the Caribbean, as a means to deliberate the means and further the progress of opposition to racialism, colonialism, oppression and exploitation everywhere. The resolution of the congress, however, mainly focused on neocolonialism, apartheid in South Africa, Class differences, and Palestinian liberation movement.

The 7th Congress in Kampala, Uganda in 1994 sort to implement and rectify the 1974 Tanzanian conference resolutions by building a permanent organizational structure to execute decisions taken at the congress meeting. The major significance of this conference is that it established the Pan African youth movement, and the Pan African women's liberation organization to

THE LEADERSHIP QUESTION IN AFRICA

If the 21st century is really to be an 'African century', the promise must be met with clear intent, reassertion of pan-Africanism as a liberating concept and agenda, and a serious leadership renewal programme. The obvious failure of African states to sustain the modest post colonial economic gains and social provisioning established by the nationalist and Pan- Africanist who took over the reins of government from the colonialist remains a sad commentary on the calibre of political leaders now running the affair of state in many of the countries in Africa. The people of Africa have been alienated by regimes that lack any ideological commitment, unable to guarantee their political and civil rights, as well as their socio- economic and cultural rights. Indeed, many of the "African governments and political regimes, are faced with crises of legitimacy, and popular revolt have become despotic, erecting regimes of authoritarianism and repression, with little or no scope for popular democratic expression and involvement". This, clearly tantamounts to a negation of the noble objectives of the founding generation of African political leaders, intellectuals and Pan- Africanists. The 21st century African leaders had not being following the footsteps of the pioneer leaders of Pan Africanism in the pursuit of the unity of their various nation and Africa as a whole.

address the specific needs and aspirations of youths and women activists in the Pan African movement [9]. Finally, another Pan African Congress was held 21 years later in Accra, Ghana from 5th to 7th march, 2015. The then president of Ghana, John Mahama officially opened the 8th Pan African Congress and delivered a keynote address calling all African governments and people to take practical steps collectively for the unity and development of Africa. The 8th Pan African Conference resolutions through its commissions include: Pan African alternatives to neo-liberalism and for sustainable development; strengthening global solidarity and voice of the Pan African women's movement; and enhancing Pan Africanism through democracy and justices, among others.

Unfortunately the present declining economic fortunes of African countries seems almost impossible to halt in the foreseeable future given inept and corrupt political leaders, administrators, professionals and intellectuals devoid of a nationalists and Pan-Africanist ideology that sustained the first generation of Africans who successfully fought the colonialists, neo-colonialists and imperialists for political and economic liberalisation, and assertion of the African personality and cultural identity. The current African leadership is not towing for the common good especially in Nigeria but is challenged with ethnicity which is a form of racial discrimination in the local level. But most importantly, what must a 21st century pan-Africanism look like in practice and who can be the champions and to what end? In the end, if this is not done, the promising decades ahead may return Africa to the 'lost decades' and spell déjà vu and re-marginalisation of the continent.

[11], opined that, Pan-Africanism had twin tasks in relation to correcting the historical injustices of slavery, colonialism and racism: free Africa and unite Africa and her people. It is deliberate that the phrase her people are included in the quest for unity. It is a conscious acknowledgement of the fact that ultimately, the unity of officialdom (states)

is incomplete without the unity of the people, the defeat of tribalism and of narrow territorial African nationalism, free movement of the people, and the restoration of the African Personality. Remember that the centuries' long subjugation of the black race meant the suppression, belittlement and destruction of Africa and the African. Necessarily, the rebuilding of Africa requires the restoration of African humanity in all facets of life and the elevation of Africa back onto the global stage as an equal people, culture (human civilisation) and geographic space. In essence, when the so-called developed societies (developed on the basis of the underdevelopment of Africa) focus on 21st century crises of environmental degradation, cyclical global capitalist crises, biogenetic revolution and consequent social upheavals, Africa has a double burden of simultaneously confronting these and the challenges of neo-colonialism in all its manifestations. The end of colonialism naturally meant that the process of decolonisation would follow. So far, there has been African cooperation, mostly at official state and economic sector level, but no real unity and integration has taken place yet in a manner that realises the pan-African dream of one continent, one people and one destiny, [13]. Many of the ideas of Pan-Africanism flowed from the part played by Pan African leader requires implementation and emulation by the new and present African leaders. There should be need for championing the common goal of the masses, during the time the Pan Africanism leader was representing they involved Africans in the African continent even though some of them did not set foot on African land or soil but their representation was felt by the white that they are championing the course of the black race. How can one compare the course of the present African leaders of the 21st century who sees and assume that leadership is a "do or die affair" not for every citizen but for personal interest, their relations and cronies. Political positions, that should be shared among geopolitical zones or according to the stipulations of the constitution is shared

among relations, friends, and party members and faithful whether qualified or not, these has led the polity and economy to go down the dreg and poverty, unemployment, development among other dragging and refuse to improve. The effectiveness of leadership is determined by leaders' ability to overcome the challenges. poverty; infrastructural underdevelopment; urban decay; economic dependency upon western nations for financial aid, loans, technical assistance, and technical expertise; external indebtedness; misappropriation of public funds; embezzlement and financial mismanagement; prebendalism; money laundering; contractocracy; cyber fraud; poor economic. Socially, these include ethnicity, irredentism, ethnic violence and genocide and civil wars like in Rwanda and Burundi between the Hutu, Tutsi and Twa, Darfur in Sudan, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Niger Delta in Nigeria; sectarian or religious violence; sectionalism and communal violence; widening social disequilibrium and injustices arising from escalating economic misfortunes; unemployment and underemployment crises; anti-social activities, including rape, prostitution, robbery and creeping culture of violence among the idle or unemployed youths; declining educational quality and collapsed university system; food insecurity and general social insecurity. Given the particular context of Nigeria, leadership, development and unity becomes problematic owing to political, social, economic and environmental factors. Some of the impediments that fall under these categories and which hinder the development of an effective leadership in Nigeria are briefly highlighted below. Governance by predation: Given the predatory behaviour of rulers, it is difficult to enforce the rule of law as there is neither consideration nor respect for the institutions of the state. This behavior, which has persisted in the country's system of governance for many years, has destroyed the ruler-citizen relationship as the citizens no longer have confidence in leaders. The leaders rather than serving

the society, are serving the interest of their parties and this has negate the ideology of the Pan Africanism and the Nationalist forefathers.

Dishonesty: The persistent logic of politics for private gain is probably most visible in Nigeria natural gas sector, but other sectors are also cleverly exploited. Most politicians have developed their own structures of predation, often based on the creativity of those leading them. Fraudulence poses a serious threat to the rise of effective leadership in Nigeria because leaders pursue their own interests and also because corruption paralyses the functioning of Pan Africanism ideology of liberation, unity and development,

Absence of actual leadership: The problem in the Nigeria is that from the inception, leadership was imposed by people and powers external to Nigerian society. For instance, each regime (head of state) came into position just to fill a power vacuum but never to change the underlying structure of a modern nation-state.

Absence of political values: The long autocratic rule of some African leaders in the 21st century without real leadership, entrusted with a strong political ethos. In most cases, leaders (politicians basically) lust after power not because they have a specific goal or vision they are intending to achieve but only to get rich or richer by

It was established that the patriotic life of the founding fathers is no longer obtainable due to the conduct of the present African leadership. Also the African leaders presently are not prioritizing unification of Africa and its economic liberation and emancipation. The study recommended that relegation of Pan Africanism should not be in the 21st century. Also that Africans should elect leaders that gear towards the achievement of the aim of Pan Africanism. A transformational leadership style is essential, as leaders will strive to revitalise Africa through the renewing of the mind set of rulers and followers. Although Nigeria crisis seems dire, there is however hope that, with good leadership, the country can rise up again and become a major player on the continent and the

any means. For them, public office equates to a golden opportunity for embezzling public funds and misusing public properties. In addition, the members of opposition parties find it difficult to support the government even when its actions are directed towards the welfare of the population or national interests. In this context, governance becomes problematic, the unity of the polity has been lost in oblivion in many African countries especially in Nigeria.

Snares of development:The development snares that are characterized by the conflict trap, the natural resources trap, the snares of being virtually landlocked with neighbours, and the snares of bad governance [5]. Nigeria is facing all the afore-mentioned snares. For many years the country has not been able to deal with these snares adequately and there is a lack of strong leaders who can effectively tackle these challenges and establish a system that promotes good governance This hope is nurtured by some of the best practices given as evidence by some African countries that are striving to make a difference by disposing effective leaders who are in turn striving to put their respective countries on the path of stability, development and achieve the ideologies of Pan Africa.

CONCLUSION

This hope is nurtured by some of the best practices given as evidence by some African countries that are striving to make a difference by disposing effective leaders who are in turn striving to put their respective countries on the path of stability, security and development. The study recommended also that the core objectives of Pan Africanism should be adopted by the 21st century African leaders which include, securing civil and political demands for African people. Promoting peaceful coexistence and relationship between ethnic races in African nation-state.. Encouraging African peoples in education, industry, and business. Ameliorating conditions of black people in Africa, America, and in the globe, combating insurgence and insecurity, fighting corruption of various form and

enhancing methods that will promote

sustainable development.

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