

Kwame Nkrumah  
and Félix Houphouët-Boigny



Kwame Nkrumah  
and Félix Houphouët-Boigny:

*Divergent Perspectives on  
African Independence and Unity*

By

Dadoua Aboussou

Cambridge  
Scholars  
Publishing



Kwame Nkrumah and Félix Houphouët-Boigny:  
Divergent Perspectives on African Independence and Unity

By Dadoua Aboussou

This book first published 2019

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data  
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2019 by Dadoua Aboussou

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-5275-3592-4

ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-3592-3

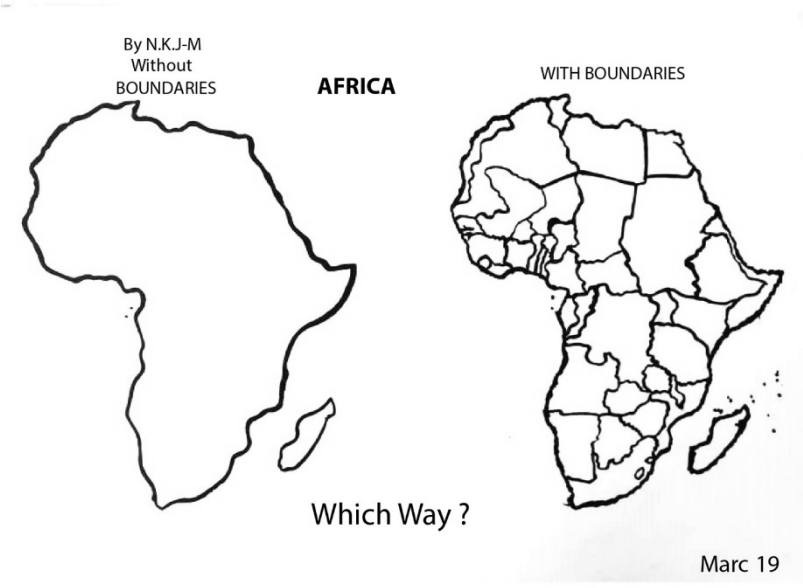


Figure 1 Maps of Africa With and Without Boundaries



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Lists of Figures .....	ix
List of Abbreviations .....	xi
Preface .....	xiii
Foreword .....	xvii
Acknowledgements .....	xxi
About the Author .....	xxiii
Chapter One.....	1
Introduction	
Chapter Two .....	15
Historical Background and Biographies	
Chapter Three .....	41
A Review of the Related Literature	
Chapter Four.....	63
Conceptual Framework and Methodology	
Chapter Five .....	77
The Political Thoughts and Policies of Félix Houphouët-Boigny on African Independence and Unity	
Chapter Six .....	127
Kwame Nkrumah on African Independence and Unity	
Chapter Seven.....	153
The Priorities of Two African Giants	

Chapter Eight.....	163
The Politico-Ideological Division of African Leaders: A Stumbling Block to African Unity	
Chapter Nine.....	185
Subversion: Nkrumah in the Dock and Another Stumbling Block to Unity	
Chapter Ten.....	205
Summary and Analyses	
Chapter Eleven.....	211
Discussion, Recommendations and Conclusion	
Bibliography.....	217
Index.....	223



## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Maps of Africa With and Without Boundaries

Figure 4.1 Overview of The Historical Evolution of Pan-Africanism



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
AAPC	All-African People's Conference
AU	African Union
BAA	Bureau of African Affairs
CIAS	Community of Independent African States
CPP	Convention People's Party
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EAF	East African Federation
EEU	European Economic Community
EU	European Union
G.C.F	Great Colonial France
G.E.C	Groupes d'Etudes Communistes
G.P.R.A	<i>Gouvernement Provisoire de la République Algérienne</i> (Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic)
OAMCE	<i>Organisation Africaine et Malgache de Cooperation Economique</i> (Afro-Malagasy Organization of Economic Cooperation)
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OCAM	<i>Organisation Commune Africain et Malgache</i> (Common African and Malagasy Organization)
NLC	National Liberation Council
NLM	National Liberation Movement
NIPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
PAFMECA	Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa
P.D.C.I	Parti Démocratique de la Côte-d'Ivoire
RDA	<i>Rassemblement Démocratique Africain</i> (Democratic African Rally)
PRA	<i>Parti du Regroupement Africanin</i> (African Party of Regrouping)
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SAA	<i>Syndicat Agricole Africain</i> (African Agricultural Union)
UAM	<i>Union Africaine et Malgache</i> (African and Malagasy Union)

UAR	United Arab Republic
UAS	Union of African States
UGCC	United Gold Coast Convention
UMOA	<i>Union Monétaire Ouest Africaine</i> (West African Monetary Union)
UPC	Union of the Peoples of Cameroon
WANS	West African National Secretariat

## PREFACE

Africa still lags behind the rest of the world in economic terms. Why on earth is one of the richest, if not *the* richest, continents on the planet still not able to adequately provide for its inhabitants more than 50 years after its political independence? Accusatory fingers have not pointed at Africans for their misfortunes and they have, instead, been directed at the slave masters and their imperialist, colonialist, and neo-colonialist descendants. Guyanese historian, Walter Rodney, is the leading “prosecutor” of this charge through his work, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1972). Rodney argues that had not Africans been enslaved and colonized, they would have been better off because at the time of European intrusion in the continent, Africa was on the same level of development as some European countries. It is true that Africa has suffered from terrible circumstances in her recent history. As a case in point, one could name the 15<sup>th</sup> century’s slave trade or the 19<sup>th</sup> century’s imperialism and colonialism. Slavery depleted Africa’s most valid and vibrant populations, who were made up of able-bodied of young men and women. Imperialism has exploited its riches, while colonialism has stolen its lands. Africa has bravely faced and overcome these challenges but this does not mean there has not been a sequel to these issues in the form of poverty and underdevelopment. Those who benefited most from slavery—the European perpetrators, particularly Great Britain—were responsible for its eventual demise and not the victims.

However, it is worth noting that the end of slavery did not come about due to philanthropy or the slave-traders’ sympathy over the Africans’ plight. Rather, it ended because it was impeding the development and expansion of capitalism. In fact, European countries, which had become rich through the trade in humans, were seeking new outlets for their growing economies, technologies, and industries. Slavery thus became irrelevant and pointless. More importantly, it was getting in the way of capitalism; this triggered imperialism. Imperialism then empowered colonialism, which deprived Africans of their birthright and identity. The continent was divided among the European nations like a giant piece of cake at the 1884–85 Berlin Conference without any participation from Africa. The main purpose of the conference was to stop any confrontation between the

“empire builders” on African soil. The “Scramble for Africa” then followed. In spite of their resistance, Europeans successfully subdued Africans through violence and took control of almost the whole continent and its peoples. The latter were to spend the next 75 years or so under the conquerors’ diktat in inhumane conditions and being constantly molested and humiliated. The colonialists designed various and cruel strategies to control their subjects, including the *indigénat* system and its offspring, “forced labor”, which were clearly just other forms of slavery.

The decolonization process began soon after the Second World War. African nationalist leaders, with promises of a better life after European departure, mobilized the masses. This mobilization subsequently contributed to the political independence of many African countries. Faced with the enormous and massive task of building and rebuilding their nations, which had been destroyed by years of imperialism and colonialism, the fledging African leaders became divided on how to go about this within the context of the Cold War. While some called for a radical change in the form of severing relations with Europeans in order to avoid “neo-colonialism”, others suggested caution, patience, and partnership with their former masters. This dilemma has seemingly been passed on to the new generation of African leaders who, like their predecessors, the fathers of African independence, grapple with the best method to lift their continent from poverty.

In the face of the region’s current socio-economic woes, fingers are being pointed at its leaders’ inability to unite under the banner of Pan-Africanism. If unity is achieved, it will undoubtedly give Africans a strong and mighty voice on the international scene, particularly at the United Nations, where they make critical decisions that affect the lives of the world’s populations. The disparate and weak 54 voices of the continent do not match, or even get close to, the single and highly influential voice of the United States. Moreover, Pan-African unity would also represent an economic power with a potentially larger internal market. This can undoubtedly help Africans to dictate the prices of their products, which they have not been able to do in a balkanized continent. No single African nation can single-handedly solve its cultural, socio-economic, and political problems and so the continent must unify. Foreign aid, even if authentic and without strings attached, may not be of lasting value. The real development will either be inter-African or not. This shows that Pan-Africanism is essential to African emancipation and development. This book is the result of several years of investigation by the author, as a doctorate student studying the competing visions of African leaders, past

and present, with a focus on Kwame Nkrumah, former President of Ghana (1909–1972), and Félix Houphouët-Boigny, former President of the Ivory Coast (1905–1993) and their quest for Africa’s socio-economic and political progress.

A. Dadoua, PhD  
African Studies and Research  
Howard University, Washington, DC (USA)

**Note:** The author has completed all translations from French to English.





## FOREWORD

Africa's nationalist élites who advanced Africa's decolonization movement in the 1950s shared a common vision in their quest for political and economic freedom, as well as the unity of Africans, which had been impacted by artificial colonial boundaries, the introduction of new European languages, and different strategies of colonization. They wanted to relate to the rest of the world on equal footing, to steer the affairs of their respective countries for the benefit of their people, be masters of their destiny as a people, and advance the development of their countries free from the control of the colonialists.

However, their approach to the liberation movement was guided by two basic divergent ideologies, which were mostly shaped by their experience of colonialism: one vision advanced the idea of a radical liberation from colonial tentacles, while the other favored an incremental decolonization over time. These divergent ideologies embodied in the decolonization policies of two icons of West African politics, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Félix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, continue in their transformed versions to shape the social, political, economic, and development landscape of Africa into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

At Ghana's independence Kwame Nkrumah noted that Ghana's "independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa." Nkrumah's "total liberation of Africa" was not merely a change of the flag. At its core was economic, cultural, and ideological liberation, as well as good governance in the interests and for the common good of Africans.

About sixty years later Dr. Aboussou Dadoua, in *Kwame Nkrumah and Houphouët-Boigny: Their Divergent perspectives on African Independence and Unity*, revisits the policies that guided Africa's nationalist elites' struggle for independence from colonial rule and provides fresh insights from the lessons of history. More interestingly is that his insights, emanating from a Francophone perspective, lean toward the view advanced by Anglophone Africanists.

The insights highlighted in *Divergent Perspectives* lead us to engage with fresh eyes the extent to which the continent has achieved the Pan-African goals and it also requires us to ask some basic questions. Five decades later, how self-sufficient are African countries? To what extent have African countries become the architects of their own destiny? How free are their economic, political, and governance process from external controls?

A close examination of African countries at this juncture reveals a great irony. Despite the zeal of the Pan-African decolonization elites to free Africa, in the face of Africa's abundant wealth and human resources and in spite of the exposure of many Africans to the inner workings of the colonizing countries, the continent falls short of the Pan-Africanist's stated goals. Rather, new forms of colonization, which are mostly driven by multinational corporations' competition for Africa's resources and neo-liberal economic ideologues, have taken hold of the continent. Meanwhile, the majority of Africans live in poverty, with some far worse off than they were fifty years ago.

Who would have imagined in the heyday of decolonization movements that, fifty years later, China would consider Africa not as an equal partner but from the position of a colonial power, as it sets up police stations; takes control of state agencies, including banks and television stations; and puts up signs in Chinese? What would have seemed a fairy tale to Africa's nationalist élites then is indeed a reality now. Rather than a shrinking the agents of colonization, one sees them increasing and a widening their exploitation.

How is this possible? These new forms of exploitations have been facilitated by African "leaders" who have lost the vision of a new Africa as conceived by the early Pan-African nationalist elites. African leaders, who do not have the interest of their people at heart, enable the exploiters. On the contrary, many of Africa's new leadership privatize the state and see political office not as a platform to serve the welfare of citizens of the state, but as a means to acquire wealth even at the impoverishment of their people. They engage in programs for short-term gains and consign the common good to the back burner. They sign up to international agreements that are clearly to their disadvantage, and they bring in investors who get cheap labor from the people, make billions in profit and repatriate their earnings without paying taxes. They push their countries into "international deals" without the attendant socio-cultural environment and are eager to run before they learn how to work. They do the bidding for the agents of exploitation.

Dr. Aboussou Dadoua's *Divergent Perspectives* highlights anew the depth of colonization's impact on the African psyche and negative perceptions of "things African" that the colonial mindset has generated. Despite sharing similar cultural and ethnic heritage, as in the case of Félix Houphouët-Boigny and Kwame Nkrumah, the exposure of Africans to different colonial ideologies, in this case Francophone or Anglophone ideology, has set them on different courses and has created divergent loyalties, such as with Houphouët-Boigny feeling more French than African.

These loyalties have taken new forms in the postcolonial era, where new African players continue to feel an affinity with their colonialists, and seek patrons, "helpers", and god-fathers from outside the continent. They continue to behold their colonial masters, feel proud to vacation abroad, and spend millions of dollars on medical tourism overseas without any shame. They feel better trading with entities outside the continent than from buying goods from their fellow Africans and waste precious resources on overseas engagements.

As the chief executive officer of the Africa Faith and Justice Network (AFJN), I have had the privilege of visiting and engaging African communities across the continent, albeit mostly south of the Sahara. One thing is clear. There is a leadership deficit. In effect, Africa's economic and development problem is one of governance. When one examines the ease with which African governments mortgage the future of their people for pennies, sign trade agreements without reading the fine prints, settle for a raw material based economy for over half a century, receive exploitative foreign aid that plunges their countries into more debt, waste their resources on the maintenance of experts from overseas, and continue to cultivate the mentality that whatever comes from outside is better for them, one cannot but conclude that the new generation of African leaders need mental liberation.

One need not wonder then why after over five decades of the struggle for liberation, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which transformed into African Union (AU), has failed to achieve the economic and political freedom, as well as the unity sought, by the pre-independence African elites. When African leaders begin to value their heritage, overcome inferiority complex and the "theirs is better syndrome", when they realize the enormous wealth at their disposals, refrain from seeking immediate gratifications and short term gains that mortgage the heritage of their citizens for petty gains, when they understand the negative impact of "foreign-aid" and see their people as assets and agents of development,

and understand that the call to govern is a privilege to serve their people then the light will dawn on the continent and a new Africa will be born. I am optimistic that this light will dawn on the continent, perhaps sooner than expected.

Aniedi Okure, OP, PhD  
Executive Director, AFJN  
Fellow, Institute for Policy Research at the Catholic University of America

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book might not have been a reality without some outside contributions. In this respect, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to my former teachers at the Department of English from the National University of the Ivory Coast. These include the late Professor Séry Bailly, as well as Professors Djangoné Bi and Théodore Bouabré. I also appreciate my professors at the Department of African Studies and Research at Howard University, Washington, D.C. in the United States. In particular, I would like to mention Professors Robert Russell Edgar, Mbye Cham, David Wilfred, the late Nyang, and Dr. Halem Hailu. My appreciation also goes to my friends, Dr. Wheeler Winsted and Dr. Sussie Okore, for their constructive criticism and Professor Mohamed Camara and Dr. Clément Akassi for their encouragement and insights. I would like to thank Professor Layi Abigunrin for his advice and guidance with regard to publishing this book. I would also like to thank Mr. N'dogo Kacou Jean-Marc for the cute images of Kwame Nkrumah and Félix Houphouët-Boigny, and the maps of Africa. However, the mistakes and limits of this work are the sole responsibility of the author. Finally, my special thanks go to my daughters Amanda Dadoua and Tracy Dadoua for their well wishes and my beloved wife, Dadoua Marie-Chantal. They endured, with great patience and understanding, many of my late returns home over many years while working toward my doctorate degree and then this book.

A. Dadoua



## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Aboussou Dadoua has taught English in Africa for many years. He now teaches ESL in the United States. Dr. Dadoua received his PhD from Howard University- Department of African Studies and Research in Washington, D.C. He received his M.A. and B.A. from the National University of Ivory Coast.





# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

Slavery played its shameful role in depopulating Africa; capitalism denuded it of its wealth.

Colonialism deprived it of its birthright, and imperialism emasculated its will to live as a human

Being, and to enjoy its fair share of the bounties of the good earth.<sup>1</sup>

The statement above made by Nnamdi Azikiwe, former President of Nigeria in 1962 on ‘the future of Pan-Africanism’, encapsulates the situation on the African continent that led to the rise of generations of great African leaders and Pan-Africanists to fight slavery, imperialism, colonialism, racism, and neo-colonialism. These figures included Olaudah Equiano, Ottobah Cugoano, Harriet Tubman, Amy Jacques Garvey, Marie Kore (one of the leaders of the December 24, 1949 Women’s March on Grand Bassam in Ivory-Coast), Toussaint Louverture, Samory Touré, King Béhanzin, Lat Dior, Henry Sylvester William, Casely Hayford, W.E.B. Dubois, Marcus Garvey, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Patrice Lumumba, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Jomo Kenyatta, Sékou Touré, Houphouët-Boigny, Amilcar Cabral, Nelson Mandela, Thomas Sankara and many others.

However, this book aims to examine and investigate the work and ideas of two of these illustrious sons of African stock: Kwame Nkrumah, former president of Ghana (1909-1972), and Félix Houphouët-Boigny, former president of the Ivory Coast (1905–1993). This will be done from a Pan-African perspective as the two leaders epitomized the competing visions between African leaders in pre-independence and post-independence eras.

This book has used comparative and historical perspectives to analyze the ideas and work of these two leaders in their quest for Africa’s liberation from imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism and their desire to seek the well-being of both the continent and its people.

As political leaders, and despite their tremendous contributions to the political and economic advancement of their respective countries and Africa, Kwame Nkrumah and Houphouët-Boigny were also well known for their heated rivalry throughout their political careers. They constantly disagreed on how to address various African and world issues. This included, but was not limited to, the Congo Crisis, the Algerian War of Independence, apartheid in South Africa, Mauritania's independence, non-alignment, and African independence and unity. However, it is worth noting that their conflicting views on African independence and unity forms the basis of this book.

Colonialism seems to have had a greater impact on their worldviews than their ancestral heritage, as coming from part of the same ethnic group did not temper their rivalry. Indeed, Nkrumah was an Nzima from Ghana, whereas Houphouët-Boigny was a Baoule from the Ivory Coast: two sub-groups from the large Akan group located in both countries. Houphouët-Boigny once declared that "*Kwame et moi, nous sommes les deux seuls chefs d'Etat Africains à nous entretenir en dialecte Africain.*"<sup>2</sup> (Kwame and I are the only Heads of State who can communicate through the same African dialect). Yet, their opposition was stiff and uncompromising. At times, it would turn into personal attacks with each accusing the other of plotting "subversive" activities in his country. This book, therefore, attempts to explore, analyze, and understand the true motives behind the antagonism of the two leaders and its impact on current African political discourse.

This book was inspired by a persistent thirst to understand what went wrong in post-independent Africa. Despite the human, mineral, and agricultural resources that abound on the continent, Africa still ranks as "the poorest region in the world."<sup>3</sup> According to *Global Finance Magazine*, nineteen of the twenty-three poorest nations in the world are in Africa.<sup>4</sup> The World Bank's 2015 Gross Domestic Product Ranking indicated that African nations form the bulk of the countries with very low GDPs.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, Hugh Morris, "the travel writer" insists that "Africa is the only continent that contains nations where the average life expectancy is below 60—and there are 21 of them—the fifth lowest is in the Ivory Coast, at 53.3 years. The lowest is nearby Sierra Leone at 50.1 years."<sup>6</sup> In the same vein as the statements above, American Political scientist Peter Swab presents an even darker picture of the African continent when he insists, "Africa accounts for just 1percent of global gross domestic product (GDP) and only 2percent of world trade, and its per capita income is lower today than in the 1960s"<sup>7</sup>. Swab further reveals that the daily

existence for most Africans, particularly women, is dismal--safe drinking water is atypical, two-thirds of rural Africa lacks adequate water supplies, 75 percent of its people live without appropriate sanitation, and 2 million of the continent's children die before their first birthday each year.<sup>8</sup> If Peter Swab is right one can safely assume that the "balance sheet" of African independence or more specifically, African governing bodies since political independence from the Europeans is mediocre. It is even worse when he adds that "its [Africa] per capita income is lower today than in the 1960s." So what was the point for Africans to demand independence? It seems a betrayal of the masses of the African peoples by the élites. This state of affairs is certainly what prompted Ghanaian novelist Ayi Kwei Armah to argue as early as in 1968 that *'The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born'* that is, Africa lacks responsible leaders who can foster its political and socio-economic progress. This significantly vindicates French agronomist René Dumont's outcry over what was going wrong in newly independent Africa in the early years of the 1960s. His book *False Start in Africa* (1962) is about the missteps taken by African leaders following political independence including lavish expenditure and corruption by government officials. He also attacked forms of education which created élites unable and unwilling to use their hands, unskilled to live in the countryside.<sup>9</sup> However, unlike Peter Swab, Dumont according to Lloyd Timberlake shared the blame of Africa's betrayal and suffering between the African leaders and the former colonialists, as he headlined one of his books' sections "France Bears the Brunt of the Blames" and offered countless examples.<sup>10</sup> One is the attention he called on the "vast amounts of money wasted on administration that brought no benefits."<sup>11</sup> Apparently in 1962, Dumont saw Black Africa as a continent of great expectations--expectations being betrayed by both its present African leaders and its past colonial rulers. The prophetic nature of his vision is spectacular, in that he identified then all of the still unsolved problems that continue to hamper African development. More specifically, much of what Dumont railed against in 1962, he and others inside and outside Africa still rail today.<sup>12</sup>

Evidently, the hope of improved socio-economic conditions in the early years of independence turned into disillusionment and despair<sup>13</sup> as poverty, bad governance, civil wars, ethnic conflicts, famine, and border disputes became the lot of the African people. The rate of migration to other nations increased annually as African professionals sought refuge outside the continent in the hope of a better life, professional enhancement, educational opportunities, and security abroad mainly in western countries such as France, England, Germany, and the United States. This high rate

of disillusionment led to an urge to examine the source of Africa's political problems, and to identify where previous leaders went wrong in order to forge a better future for Africa and Africans. To this end, this book also provides some informed policy recommendations with a view to reverse the trend for the well-being of the African people.

Before and after African independence, Houphouët-Boigny and Kwame Nkrumah had opposed one another on various issues. While Houphouët-Boigny believed that independence was a luxury that the poor African colonies could not afford, Nkrumah peremptorily disagreed and argued that it was pre-requisite to Africa's development. Houphouët-Boigny's position on the Algerian War of Independence was aligned with that of France, the colonial master, while Nkrumah sided with the Algerian provisional Government seeking independence. With regard to the Congo crisis, Houphouët-Boigny and other moderate leaders supported President Joseph Kasavubu, while Nkrumah and other revolutionary leaders backed the Pan-Africanist and Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba.<sup>14</sup> This situation perhaps contributed a great deal to the division of the African continent into two opposing politico-ideological blocs: the Brazzaville/Monrovia bloc led by Houphouët-Boigny and advocating a gradualist/functionalist approach to African unity and development; and the Casablanca bloc led by Kwame Nkrumah favoring a radical approach to African unity. These organizations became the platforms by which African affairs were to be debated until the creation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in May 1963.

In addition, the two leaders had divergent philosophical and economic perceptions. For example, while Nkrumah believed in socialism (scientific socialism) as the only economic system that could lift Africans from poverty, Houphouët-Boigny advocated a capitalist free-market system to propel Africa's socio-economic development. Their rivalry left almost no room for a compromise that could perhaps lead to the unity that both considered to be the best solution to Africa's socio-economic problems.

This state of affairs led the author to investigate the politico-historical factors that might influence the political ideologies and positions of both Houphouët-Boigny and Kwame Nkrumah, as well as the geo-political factors that came into play at the time of the two leaders' prominence, which still seems to make it difficult for Africans to adopt convergent views on issues affecting the continent. The divergence between Houphouët-Boigny and Kwame Nkrumah, in particular, and many other African leaders as a whole on the best approach to Africa's independence,

unity, and development has remained a defining factor in African politics since its independence in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Houphouët-Boigny and Kwame Nkrumah embodied this conflicting perspective as, perhaps more than any other leaders they grappled with the best way to rebuild Africa after the devastation of colonialism. They almost never got along, however, and left the African continent divided and underdeveloped. Disunity still remains the mark of today's political leaders and élites decades after the "fathers" of African independence.

As a case in point, former presidents Muammar Gaddafi of Libya and Thabo Mbeki of South Africa also disagreed over the best approach to Africa's development and unity. Gaddafi was regarded as the leader who did more than any other to ensure the creation of the African Union in 2002 by hosting several meetings and forcing Nigeria and South Africa to react to his frantic drive toward creating a federal body.<sup>15</sup> Gaddafi wanted his vision of a United States of Africa created through an all-African army and a common monetary union to be accepted by his colleagues.<sup>16</sup> However, most African leaders rejected these moves.<sup>17</sup> Mbeki admitted that there were conflicts and divergences in approaches to Africa's development between himself and Gaddafi as a result of "his focus on eradicating poverty, hunger, and underdevelopment on the continent, which would not have been possible with the models Gaddafi was proposing."<sup>18</sup> Echoing Adekeye Adebajo's stance on Gaddafi's and Mbeki's antagonism, the Togolese diplomat Edem Kodjo put the issue in a broader context by comparing Gaddafi's rejection by other African leaders with that of previous African revolutionary leaders including Kwame Nkrumah. He wrote:

*Aujourd'hui les perspectives d'une réelle unité de notre continent semblent s'évanouir. Les efforts entrepris, en dépit de ses outrances, par Mouammar El Kadhafi se sont hurtés à l'opposition radicale, sinon systématique, de ceux qui, à l'intérieur comme à l'extérieur du continent, considèrent le Libyen comme un mal absolu. Hier, les mêmes combattaient Kwame Nkrumah, Sékou Touré, Modibo Kéita, Barthélémy Boganda, Patrice Lumumba et tant d'autres, moins connus mais tout aussi déterminés. Et pourtant on a beau prendre le problème sous tous ses aspects et sous ses angles, on a beau souligner les difficultés apparemment insurmontables de la question, une seule conclusion s'impose: l'Afrique doit s'unir.*<sup>19</sup>

Today, the chances of a real unity across our continent seem to fade. The efforts initiated by Gaddafi in spite of his excesses, are radically or systematically opposed by those who, from within or without the continent, regard the Libyan leader as an absolute evil. Yesterday, the same were fighting Kwame Nkrumah, Sékou Touré, Modibo Kéita, Barthélémy

Boganda, Patrice Lumumba, and many others, who are less known but just as determined. And yet, no matter which aspects and angles you use to analyze the issue, no matter how much you stress the seemingly insurmountable difficulties, a single conclusion is imperative: Africa must unite.

More specific Kodjo accused the leaders of South Africa for undermining Gaddafi's efforts for unity: "*Ce sont eux qui ont destabilisé les plans de Mouammar El Kadhafi.*"<sup>20</sup> (They are the ones who thwarted Gaddafi's plans). This state of affairs prompted Adekeye Adebajo to insist, "despite claims of his popularity in Africa, Gaddafi was viewed with suspicion."<sup>21</sup>

Like Gaddafi, his contemporaries also regarded Nkrumah with suspicion, as they described him as a megalomaniac whose only real ambition was to rule the entire African continent. Thus, the opposition between Mbeki and Gaddafi seemed to mirror that of Houphouët-Boigny and Kwame Nkrumah in the early years of post-independence Africa. The disunity of the African states that still continues shows the relevance and topicality of this book. In fact, almost like Nkrumah, Gaddafi advocated an immediate political unification of the African continent as the most viable solution to the continent's development problems, while Thabo Mbeki, to some extent, echoed Houphouët-Boigny's focus on economic and social cooperation as pre-requisite for political and economic freedom.

Nonetheless, it is worth noting that Africans and all those interested in African affairs had mostly blamed the division between the African leaders and the subsequent economic difficulties on imperialism, colonialism, and the Cold War. However, after the end of the Cold War in 1989, the division seems to persist, along with its corollary of poverty and underdevelopment. This amply shows that exogenous factors—such as slavery, imperialism, colonialism, and the Cold War—were not the only factors responsible for Africa's underdevelopment, disunity, and economic woes. There were, and still perhaps are, endogenous factors to be considered, such as the inability of its leaders to transcend their egos and self-centered interests to put Africa's interests first, bad governance including incompetence, nepotism, favoritism, and corruption; frequent human rights violations; and a conspicuous lack of democracy that sees leaders remain in power for several decades and even, in some cases, die as sitting presidents.

As a case in point, one could mention such heads of State as Félix Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast (1960–1993), Gnassingbé Eyadéma of Togo (1967–2005), and Omar Bongo of Gabon (1967–2009), who all died