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CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED SPEECHES OF DR. KWAME NKRUMAH

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DECLARATION

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

I, Mohammed Tawfik Adamu declare that this thesis, with exception of quotations and references contained in published materials which have all been duly acknowledged, is entirely my own original work and it has not been submitted anywhere either in part or whole for another degree.

SIGNATURE…….

DATE…….

SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of Thesis as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to Almighty Allah, my mum, Hajia Maryama Iddris and Iddris Sule for the sacrifices you made towards this academic goal. Thank you Iddris Sule for your financial support. Thank you mum for your financial, emotional and spiritual support during my academic endeavour. Thank you, too Mr. Uriah Stonewell Tetteh for your intellectual support.

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ABSTRACT

This study is primarily focused on selected speeches of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. It investigated the latent meanings that are usually embedded in political speeches and make them apparent to readers. The primary data for the study were three selected speeches of Nkrumah. The study used Critical Discourse Analyses as the research approach to interrogate the issues in the speeches based on the concepts of power and ideology and how these issues are embedded in the speeches. The study was motivated by the fact that not much has been done on speeches of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah using the CDA approach. Therefore, the need to interrogate his speeches using that approsach. The findings revealed that issues of power and ideology are hidden in the texts and they are constructed to push forward certain agenda. The findings also revealed embedded characterization of Kwame Nkrumah as ideologue and unrepentant supporter of socialism who was also obsessed with African Unity. The findings further disclose Nkrumah's penchant for using logical reasoning in his speeches in order to drum home his ideology. The most interesting revelations in this study was the use of pronouns and metaphors. The study concludes that issues of power and ideology were subtly constructed and hidden in the speeches through stringing of arguments via carefully selected pronouns and metaphors to create power identification and differentials between Nkrumah and his audience.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

Speech is an important tool in human communication. It is used in communication to express different and divergent views. A speech could be used to persuade people into accepting a new idea, it could also be used to incite people into violence. For this reason speeches are very important because they can be considered as one of the greatest tools of persuasion to make people take the right decisions and choices in their lives. Ehninger, Gronbeck, Mckerrow,and Monroe (1986,p.4) postulate that "speech communication is both a public act and an interrelated set of analytical and motor skills that advance the individual or collective interests of a society." This therefore means that speech is very important in every human endeavor. Mensah (2014, p.1) posits that:

> The twentieth century witnessed the emergence of great speakers who, through their oratory prowess, injected the feeling of nationalism and an unquenchable political consciousness on the continent of Africa thereby paving the way for the independence struggle in many parts of the continent that were under colonial rule.

In light of Mensah's postulation, it is important to state that the continent of Africa has experienced the emergence of great speakers who through words and deeds helped in the emancipation of the continent from colonialism and imperialism. One can talk of Nelson Mandela of South Africa who fought to liberate his people from Apartheid and thereby ushering South Africa into democracy. Another maestro was Julius Nyerere who also led the freedom fight in Tanzania against the British. One can also talk of Patrice Lumumba

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who, according to Salazar (2011) performed the role of not only a freedom fighter but indeed a prosecutor and judge on behalf of the silenced Congolese (cited in Mensah 2014).

Most of these African freedom fighters won enviable positions in the annals of history and world politics because of their oratory prowess. One can also mention Emperor Haile Selassie, W.E.B. Dubois, George Padmore, Martine Luther King Jnr., Tafewa Balewa, Nnamdi Azikwe and Obafemi Awolawo, all of blessed memory.

All these great Pan-Africanists played monumental roles towards the self-determination of the continent of Africa through their oratory prowess. They opened a new dawn in Africa where Africans fought for their emancipation from colonialism and imperialism.

This study is therefore going to focus on one of Africa's illustrious sons, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, a great orator and the first President of the Republic of Ghana who led Ghana to gain independence from the British on 6th March, 1957. The study would be a critical discourse analyses on his selected speeches.

1.1 An Overview of Critical Discourse Analyses

Critical discourse analyses (CDA) considers the human being as essentially a socio-political animal whose instincts are always manifested by the choices of words he/she makes. For this reason, it is prudent to critically analyse the ideology, and power behind the human speech. It is against this background that the works of the proponents of CDA like Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Roger Fowler, Teun Van Dijk, Ruth Wodak, Sara Mills and Michael Toolan are very important in any discourse.

It must be stated that every text is polysemic and therefore can be subjected to different interpretations. Hence, CDA seeks to go beyond textual meanings of a text in order to

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uncover hidden meanings and the possible interpretations of the text be it social meanings, economic meanings or political meanings which are inherent in the text. CDA also seeks to analyse the consequences of linguistic expressions on the hearer.

According to Van Dijk (2003), CDA mainly focuses on language as a tool used for the construction and advancement of thoughts, philosophy, ideology, sexism, feminism, ethnocentrism, politics, social class and power of either an individual, a society or a group. This therefore means that language is used for the construction of the world thus without language the world would have been meaningless. This assumption is built on the common assertion that language mirrors the society.

According to Cutting (2000), CDA is used to analyse how language is used to reflect social classes and also as a tool of power to control and maintain a social class such as the Apartheid system that existed in South Africa. Cutting (2000) further postulates that CDA appeals to a reader's analytical mind through a thought-provoking considerations and reasoning. It exposes to the reader or listener of a text the embedded and latent meanings within the text. It also brings to light the inequalities, corruption and injustices in society by exposing them.

Van Dijk (1993, p.132) posits that CDA draws attention to "…many inequalities and injustices…enacted, reproduced and legitimized by text and talk". For this reason Dellinger (1995) cautions readers to be on alert when reading or listening to a linguistic communication (cited in Abdullahi-Adiagbon, 2010). He highlighted some characteristics of a language discourse based on CDA. According to him a discourse has an overtly political agenda that shows the inequality between the speaker(s) and the hearer(s) most often in terms of power relation, exposure, status, knowledge, and social class. There is

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therefore a strong tendency of information manipulation on the part of the producer of the text.

It is also important to quickly add that CDA is not only about politics, rather, its spectrum goes beyond politics to include ideology, power, gender, corruption, religion, social, historical and political undertones which may not be apparent to the reader or the hearer of a text. This is to reestablish the earlier position by Van Dijk that every text has a 'hidden' or latent meaning. CDA therefore seeks to critically analyse text through a careful and systematic analysis process with a view of bringing to light the 'hidden' meanings in the text.

To achieve this, CDA pays more attention to the linguistic and extra linguistic features of discourse in relation to context (situational, cultural, background knowledge and co-text contexts). It also advocates a critical reading and listening of a text or a discourse. CDA can be applied in all discourses that involve the use of language in endeavours such as: politics, media, advertisement, law, education and even domestic matters. According to Abdullahi-Adiagbon (2010), linguistic features include the use of spoken and written languages such as sentence forms, choice of clauses, phrases and words while non-linguistic features include background knowledge between the interlocutors (the writer/speaker and the hearer/listener) in producing the texts of which the hearer must be able to decode the text in order to better understand and also be able to interpret the texts.

Fairclough (1995) postulates that CDA involves functional principles and tenets. Thus discourse shapes and constrains our identities, relationships, knowledge and beliefs in the same fashion as social structures also shape and constrain discourse. Van Dijk (2000) on the other hands asserts that there is no unitary theoretical framework or methodology for

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CDA. This is because CDA encapsulates divergent approaches of analyses. This therefore means that there are many approaches that can be used in discussing CDA.

This work therefore seeks to enquire if there are any hidden meanings in the selected speeches of Nkrumah. The work will also enquire if there are any hidden ideologies, power, inequalities, injustices, corruption, gender, religion etc. which are inherent in the selected speeches.

1.2 Relevance of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's biography to the Study

Since this work is a CDA on selected speeches of Nkrumah, it is important to build a background knowledge of Nkrumah so that readers will have a background of the person under review. According to Bloor and Bloor, (2007) background knowledge context in discourse analysis enables communicating parties to better understand and appreciate the communication well. Background knowledge is very relevant because it creates mutual understanding and also free flow of meaning in conversations since there is always a shared meaning between interlocutors. For this reason this biography will give us ample ammunition to understand the social, political, economic and intellectual milieu within which Nkrumah operated and which might have influenced the speeches. According to Okadigbo (1985, p.iv):

> A biography of Nkrumah helps the reader to focus on Nkrumah's sociological background and his rise from peasantry to power and scholarship, and to also indicate that the transition of the Osagyefo political phenomenon to the realm of philosophical theory is of phenomenal interest to the contemporary African.

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1.3 A brief Biography of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah as he was later known in life was called Francis Nkrumah. He was born on September 21, 1909 in a small and relatively poor village of Nkroful in the Nzima region in the Southwest of Gold Coast- now Ghana (Biney, 2011). His mother, Nyaniba, was determined to see him receive formal education and she had an early influence on his view of life and attitude towards education. However, not much is known about his father except, according to Nkrumah, "he was a man of strong character and polygamous" (Biney, 2011, p.11). Nkrumah and his mother were both converted into Catholicism by a German Roman Catholic priest, George Fischer, who subsequently paid for Nkrumah's primary education (Okadigbo, 1985). Later in life, Nkrumah was not much committed to church activities. According to Biney (2011, p.26), Nkrumah wrote,

> As I grew older, however, the strict discipline of Roman Catholicism stifled me. It was not because I became any less religious but rather that I sought freedom in the worship of and communion with my God, for my God is a very personal God and can only be reached directly.

In his 1957 *Autobiography* Nkrumah declared, "I am a non-denominational Christian and a Marxist Socialist and I have not found any contradiction between the two" (cited in Biney 2011, p.6). This explores the fact that Nkrumah in his later days broke away from religion. However, it is important to also state that between the ages of 6 and 17, Roman Catholicism shaped his beliefs and conducts in life.

According to Okadigbo (1985), throughout Nkrumah's life, he attended missionary schools and the Government College of Achimota where he studied under Kwegyir Aggrey, a distinguished Pan Africanist who had been educated in the United States of

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America and might have influenced Nkrumah's thoughts and ideologies. Therefore, Nkrumah later lived in the United States of America where he studied for ten years. He graduated from Lincoln University, Pennsylvania. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree, majoring in Economics and Sociology. His course of study and exposure can be said to have influenced his ideology too.

According to Okadigbo (1985), Nkrumah was voted the 'most interesting' of his classmates. This means that Nkrumah was very intelligent and smart. He later studied at Lincoln School of Theology while he was simultaneously taking courses 50 miles away at the University of Pennsylvania. By 1942, Nkrumah had a Bachelor of Theology and a Master of Arts in Education at the latter university. The next year, 1943, he graduated at the University of Pennsylvania, receiving a Master of Arts in Philosophy. He immediately started his PhD in Philosophy. However, he could not complete the PhD thesis. A reason according to Okadigbo (1985), Nkrumah alluded to ill-health, and financial problems. Nkrumah while a student served as a philosophy lecturer and instructor at Lincoln University. As a result of his academic prowess and excellence by 1945 the literary magazine, *Lincolnian,* named him "the most outstanding professor of the year" (Okadigbo, 1985). Finally, Lincoln conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in 1951.

In May 1945, Nkrumah went to London to study Law and to also complete his doctoral thesis in philosophy. He enrolled at Gray's Inn while attending lectures at the London School of Economics. His PhD thesis was on Logical Positivism under the supervision of Professor Ayer, (Okadigbo, 1985). However, Nkrumah's academic dreams was shattered by the events of Pan-African Congress held in London in October 1945. Nkrumah with

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other Africans, organized the West African National Secretariat of which he became the first General Secretary and Editor of its monthly Newspaper, *The New African.*

According to Okadigbo (1985), Osagyefo was a distinguished African political and philosophical scholar and one of the very few leaders in world history who found time for and saw the necessity of literary scholarship. He had fourteen books to his credit and many more articles, essays and addresses. Some of his books are: *Towards Colonial Freedom* (1946), *What I Mean By Positive Action (1950), Ghana- An Autobiography (1957), I Speak of Freedom* (1961), *Africa Must Unite* (1963), *Consciencism-The Philosophical and Ideology for Decolonization and Development with Particular Reference to African Revolution* (1964), *Neo-Colonialism-The last Stage of Imperialism (1965), Dark Days in Ghana (1968), Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare (1969), Revolutionary Path (1972).*

Okadigbo (1985, p.iii) went on to scribe that,

> To a broad spectrum of Africans and Africanists, Kwame Nkrumah is a messiah. To many Afro-Americans, he is the personification of Afro-American solidarity and black renaissance. To militants and political theorists of Asian and Latin American countries, he is a pillar of a predicted strong Afro-Asian-Latin-American union. To the East European leaders, he mobilized the leaders of the Labor Party and the Communist Party.

However, in November 1947, he returned to the Gold Coast to continue with the struggle for independence. He was appointed the General Secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC). Two years later, Nkrumah seceded from the UGCC and then formed the Convention People's Party (CPP), a party that won independence for Ghana

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in 1957. It must also be put on record that the split between the two organizations was ideological; thus whilst Nkrumah wanted 'independence now', the leadership of the UGCC wanted 'independence in the shortest time possible'.

By 1951, Nkrumah had become the Head of Government Business in Parliament of the Gold Coast and in 1952 he was named Prime-Minister. Nkrumah spearheaded the independence struggle until Gold Coast became independent on 6th March, 1957 and was renamed Ghana. He was subsequently elected the President of the Republic of Ghana in 1960 and was also overthrown through a coup d'état six years later. According to Okadigbo (1985, p.iii) Nkrumah, "to the West European and the United States leaders, he is the major African pro-communist hostile to the growth of democracy and the influence of the 'Free World' in Africa". According to Biney (2011, p.16) Nkrumah "…possessed both charismatic and controversial personality". This was the identity to a very large extent Nkrumah created for himself in world history and world politics. Therefore, there are many sides as there are many opinions of Nkrumah. Okadigbo (1985) postulate that some see Nkrumah as the militant freedom fighter, the hero, the African dictator, the mythical promoter of Afro-American solidarity, the communist spokesman in black Africa, the political and philosophical theorist etc. Nkrumah himself once said:

> Fundamentally, I do not believe in the great men theory of history, but I do think that so-called men of history merely personify the synthesis of the tangled web of the material and historical forces at play (cited in Biney, 2011, p. 16).

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1.4 Statement of the Problem

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an area that has received wide patronage by researchers. For this reason many works have been done on critical discourse analysis particularly on selected speeches of very influential presidents around the globe.

Ahmed (2014) did a CDA on some selected speeches of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mian Mohammed Nawaz Shrief. This paper mainly concentrated on the harmful use of drones as a weapon for the war against terrorism in Pakistan. The work intended to uncover the hidden ideologies behind words used in a language. The work wanted to find answers to Pakistan's national interest, the views of the major political parties and the United States of America on the use of drone in Pakistan, and finally, the views of Amnesty International behind drone attacks. The study made a profound conclusion that the use of the drones was a violation of the sovereignty of Pakistan. The work further concluded that 97% of Pakistanis considered drone strikes in Pakistan distasteful and a bad policy.

Wang (2010) also did a CDA on Barrack Obama's speeches. The work analysed Barrack Obama's presidential speeches mainly from the point of transitivity and modality in which language was used to serve ideology and power. To achieve this, critical discourse analysis theory and functional linguistics was used in the analysis. The conclusions were that Obama more often used simple sentences in order to make himself more understandable to his audience across the social divide. His language was more colloquial so that everyone could understand him. By this way, Obama was able to communicate effectively with his audience.

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Nonetheless, Sharififar and Rahimi (2015) also did a CDA on political speeches of Obama and Rouhani at the United Nations. The study aimed at surveying the art of linguistic spin in Obama's and Rouhani's political speeches at the UN in September 2013 based on Halliday's Systematic Functional Linguistics. This study also concluded that Obama used colloquial language while Rouhani used more difficult expressions. However, both presidents tried to persuade their audience to have faith in their government's ability in tackling the numerous problems confronting their respective countries. The study also concluded that both presidents appealed to their audiences' pathos, ethos and logos.

Sharndama (2015) did CDA on President Mohammed Buhari's inaugural speech. The work tried to critically analyse President Mohammadu Buhari's inaugural speech of 29th May, 2015. The analyses showed that an inaugural speech showcase plans and hopes of a new government. The analyses showed the ideologies on which the president intended to govern. It showed the ideology of good governance, strengthening international relations, foreign policies and democracy, fight insecurity, corruption, and improve electricity and the economy.

However, minimum works have been done on speeches of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. The available works on his speeches are mainly on rhetorical studies. For example:

Asemanyi and Alofa (2015) did a rhetorical analysis of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's independence speech. Through a rhetorical analysis and the use of five canons of speech and the three means of persuasion, the work concluded that the speaker used rhetoric to

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inform, encourage and to persuade his audience. The study also revealed that the speaker used powerful diction and expressions meant to persuade the people. It was also concluded that the speaker adopted the three elements of persuasion: ethos, pathos, and logos to persuade his audience.

Adjei-Fobi (2011) also used rhetorical analysis of political discourse to do a comparative study of the use of metaphor in the speeches of Nkrumah and Rawlings. The study concluded that both Rawlings and Nkrumah used metaphors most of the times. However, both of them used violent images in their speeches. Nonetheless, Rawlings used more of violent images than Nkrumah largely because of his military background. Nkrumah's use of metaphor also sounded more Pan-African and religious. They both sounded socialist inclined in their use of metaphor. It also concluded that Nkrumah's use of metaphor looked more continental because he had his eye on continental presidency unlike Rawlings whose use of metaphors were limited to Ghana. They also employed pathos, ethos, and logos as persuasive tools.

Mensah (2014) also did a rhetorical analysis of political speeches of Nkrumah. It concluded that Nkrumah sometimes applied civil religion through an invocation of Christian religious values to persuade his audience. It also concluded that Nkrumah used his speech to celebrate the gains made in Ghana and beyond and to also celebrate the successes of Pan-Africanism as an inspirational tool for the daunting task ahead. He also used his speech for the struggle for freedom of the continent of Africa.

For this reason, there appears to be a gap in literature on speeches of Nkrumah using the CDA approach. It is therefore against this background that I intend to conduct a CDA on

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selected speeches of Nkrumah in other to interrogate deeply the issues of power, ideology and other social issues that may be hidden in the speeches.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

This study is guided by the following objectives:

1. To investigate the social issues embedded in the selected speeches.
2. To investigate the issues of power and ideology embedded in the selected speeches.

1.6 Research Questions

This study is guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the social issues embedded in the selected speeches?

2. What are the issues of power and ideology embedded in the selected speeches?

1.7 Significance of the Study

Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah is one of the most celebrated Head of State in Ghana and Africa as a whole. For this reason his life has courted the attention of many scholars from different academic backgrounds (Mensah 2014). Many works have therefore been done on Nkrumah in order to have a better and deeper understanding of his political ideologies, philosophies, personality, beliefs, and many more. This study is therefore intended to add to the rich literature on Nkrumah. Consequently, such a study would provide answers to some of the questions and controversies surrounding the ideologies of Nkrumah.

It is interesting to note that, the available works on CDA were done on Anglo-Americans. Therefore, CDA on selected speeches of Nkrumah would be relevant since it will add to the few works done on Africans and indeed people of African descent. This

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would further deepen the knowledge base of the world on Africanism, African political philosophies and ideologies.

The study would also bring to light certain African concepts on governance, politics, democracy, diplomacy and so on on a continent that was recovering from colonialism.

1.8 Scope of the Study

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah is someone who has written extensively. His literary prowess ranges from politics, economics and philosophy. According to Okadigbo (1985, p. ii),

> Osagyefo was a distinguished African political and philosophical scholar and one of the very few leaders in world history who found time for and saw the necessity of literary scholarship. He had fourteen books and many more articles, essays and addresses to his credit.

According to van Dijk (2000), the contextual properties of a discourse enables one to categorise them into conversational, judicial, therapeutic, political or educational classes. It is therefore against this background that I limit the scope of this work to three of Nkrumah's speeches. The first speech was delivered on 21st June, 1962 at the opening of the Accra Assembly, the second speech was delivered in May 24th 1963 at the Summit Conference of Heads of African States held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and the third speech was delivered on 6th March 1957 at the Old Polo Grounds, Accra. I have chosen these speeches because of my exploratory research which showed that they carry in them issues of ideologies, power, inequalities, frustrations, philosophies etc. Secondly, I have carefully selected the speeches because of the theme of African unity and Nkrumah's zeal for Africanization that resonates in the selected speeches. I also chose the speeches because they were speeches he delivered at a time when the continent of Africa was

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bleeding from colonialism. I also chose them because he delivered them at the time of the cold war when there was power and economic struggle between the Soviet Union, America and Europe over capitalism and socialism. Africa by then was hugely divided by the events of the time because of their allegiance to their colonial masters. I chose the three because of the difficulty in identifying much of his speeches-written, audio, and visual. As Adjei-Fobi (2011, p.12) puts it,

> Some of the speeches of Nkrumah, for instance, were difficult to locate in the National Archives. However, since these speeches did not necessarily form the core of the data for the analysis, their unavailability did not affect the quality and size needed for the research.

1.9 Justification for the Study on Nkrumah

I was motivated to undertake this study on Nkrumah for a couple of reasons. First of all, it is an established fact that a lot of works have been done on Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, however, my exploratory studies revealed that minimal works have been done on his speeches. I was therefore motivated to undertake this study.

Secondly, I was motivated to look at Nkrumah because of his prolific nature. He was a full time politician, a civil right campaigner and activist, and a freedom fighter and above all he still found time to write. For example according to Okadigbo (1985, p.iii),

> Osagyefo was a distinguished African political and philosophical scholar and one of the very few leaders in world history who found time for and saw the necessity of literary scholarship. He had fourteen books and many more articles, essays and addresses to his credit.

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I was therefore motivated to look at some of his speeches. Nonetheless, Nkrumah can arguably be said to be one of the greatest speakers on the continent of Africa. Adjei-Fobi (2011, p.55) has this to say about Nkrumah,

> Nkrumah's stature as, arguably, the greatest leader the African continent has produced, is unrivaled in the history of the continent. In the year 2000, Nkrumah was voted African Man of the Millennium by listeners to the BBC World Service (2000).

It is therefore undeniable the fact that his oratory prowess shaped the continent of Africa. He was able to conscientise a lot of people through his oratory. Nkrumah's writings canvassed against colonialism and imperialism. I was therefore motivated by such a personality and therefore wanted to undertake a study on some of his very speeches that shaped the continent.

I was also motivated to look at the speeches of Nkrumah because he was very interested in the fight against colonialism and imperialism. For this reason, I believe that Nkrumah's speeches shaped the continent of Africa.

1.10 Summary

In sum it can be said that this chapter has laid the foundation for the study. It has given me all the background information needed for the study including a bio-data of Nkrumah. It has also laid a concrete foundation for the study. It has given highlights on CDA and in a way rationalised the need for that approach in the study. The chapter has also stated the lacuna and has given the objectives of the study.

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CHAPTER TWO

RELATED LITERATURE

2.0 Introduction

Critical Discourse Analyses

According to Van Dijk (1998), Critical Discourse Analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. This therefore means that critical discourse analysts take explicit position and thus want to understand, expose and ultimately resist any social inequalities. According to Rasmussen (1996), some of the tenets of Critical Discourse Analysis can be found in the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School before the Second World War (cited in Van Dijk, 1998). The focus of the Frankfurt School was on language and discourse. According to Fowler, Hodge, Kress, and Trew (1979), this whole movement of CDA was initiated with the 'critical linguistics' that emerged mostly in the UK and Australia at the end of the 1970s (cited in Van Dijk 1998).

CDA as it is commonly abbreviated has counterparts in critical developments in sociolinguistics, psychology and the social sciences, some already dating back to the early 1970s (Birnbaum, 1971; Calhoun, 1995; Fay, 1987; Fox & Prilleltensky, 1997;Hymes, 1972; Ibañez & Iñiguez, 1997; Singh, 1996; Thomas, 1993; Turkel, 1996;Wodak, 1996 cited in Van Dijk 1998).

Van Dijk further postulates that CDA aims to offer a different mode or perspective of theorising, analysing and applying throughout the whole field. We may find a more or

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less critical perspective in such diverse areas as Pragmatics, Conversation Analysis, Narrative Analysis, Rhetoric, Stylistics, Sociolinguistics, Ethnography, Media Analysis, among others. Based on the postulations above, it can be argued that critical discourse analysis is an area that has received wide attention by researchers. This is as a result of the fact that the focal point of CDA is to interrogate the 'hidden' meanings in a text. It therefore focuses on issues concerning power, ideology, hegemony, race, racism, religion, and many other inequalities and injustices in society. Human beings are very sophisticated with words therefore will try to hide their feelings, agenda, secrets etc. in words.

To be able to unravel these hidden agenda, feelings, emotions, secrets etc.one has to dig deeper into their communication. For this reason, CDA goes beyond oral and written text to investigate many other possible meanings and interpretations in communication. It tries to decode the hidden agenda, the hidden feelings and the hidden emotions in our discourse. It must be emphasized that CDA is interpretative. This is because every literature is polysemic and therefore can be subjected to different interpretations. Hence a communicative act can be subjected to many interpretations, meanings and understanding.

As Van Dijk postulates, CDA offers different modes, dimension and perspectives of theorising, analysing and applying throughout the whole field. For this reason, CDA takes a multi-disciplinary approach. It can be applied in all disciplines such as the sciences, humanities, business, commerce, etc. Thus, every human endeavour that involves the use of language, CDA will be applicable. Hence, there cannot be a single theory or methodology, or approach to the study of CDA; rather, we may find more

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critical perspective in such diverse areas as Pragmatics, Conversation Analysis, Narrative Analysis, Rhetoric, Stylistics, Sociolinguistics, Ethnography, Media Analysis, among others.

2.1 Framework for the Study

Many theorists have presented different principles of CDA in accordance with their own theoretical perspectives (van Dijk, 1993; Wodak, 1996; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Meyer, 2001). For this reason this study will be limited to the perspectives of Fairclough and Wodak (1997). I am using their principles because according to Wodak and Meyer, (2001) it is the most widely cited perspective.

According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), critical research on discourse needs to satisfy eight requirements in order to effectively realize its aims. These eight requirements are:

First, every discourse must address social problems. CDA must not only limit itself to language and language use but must also consider the linguistic characteristics of the social and cultural processes within which it emanates. This is because CDA aims at creating equity and a just society therefore it follows a critical approach to social problems in order to exhume the power relationships which are frequently buried in social discourse. It aims at creating a just society which will be of immense importance to the social, cultural, political and even economic contexts.

The second principle is that power relations are discursive. CDA tries to explain how social relations of power are exercised and negotiated in and through discourse. This

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means that CDA tries to bring to light how people produce power, and then exercise those powers.

The third principle is that discourse constitutes society and culture. This means that through social interactions, societies are formed, norms are created, religion, culture and so on come to being as a result of social discourse. These continuous interactions contribute to the reproduction and transformation of societies and cultures including power relations.

The fourth principle according to Fairclough and Wodak (1997) is that discourse is ideological. This is because ideologies are often produced through discourse. For this reason, in order to understand ideological issues it would not be enough analysing only text, the discursive practices must also be considered. These practices may include how the texts are interpreted and received and what social effects they may have.

The fifth principle is that discourse is history. Accordingly, no discourse can be understood without contextualizing it within a historical milieu. This historical context refers to the extra linguistic factors such as culture, society, and ideology in historical terms.

The sixth principle is that the link between text and society must always be mediated. CDA must create connection between society and texts. That is to say that whatever we read or watch must be the true reflection of our society and it must also resonate with our culture. There must be connections between sociocultural processes and structures on the one hand and properties of texts on the other hand.

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The seventh principle is that CDA is interpretative and explanatory. CDA goes beyond analysing a text, interpreting the text to include the intentions behind the text. This therefore makes CDA a holistic approach in discourse studies. These interpretations and explanations are dynamic and open and may be affected by new readings and new contextual information. Meyer (2001) calls this process a hermeneutic process and maintains that compared with the analytical-inductive process employed in some other fields, hermeneutics can be understood as a method of grasping and producing meaning relations by understanding the meaning of one part in the context of the whole. He further argues that hermeneutic interpretation in particular requires detailed documentation such as an explicit linguistic analysis of texts.

The eighth principle is that every discourse is a form of social action. The principal aim of CDA is to uncover opaqueness and power relationships. CDA tries to exhume the buried meanings of power relations, injustices, and inequalities that have been produced by text. It tries to dig deeper and then expose these social variations that are largely whimsical and capricious. It tries to bring about social changes in communicative and socio-political practices.

This means that CDA must be measured by the eight elements above. CDA must be able to address the issues of injustices, marginalization, corruption, racism, and inequalities that are enacted and produced by text and language. By this, I can say that CDA can be used as a moral check to expose the abuses and corruptions in society that have been enacted, produced, and hidden in texts.

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2.2 CDA Addresses Social Problems

Ahmed (2014) did a CDA on some speeches of Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mian Mohammed Nawaz Shrief. The title of the article is *Critical Discourse Analysis of Prime Minister's Speeches on Harmful Aerial Vehicles (Drones).*The focal point of the article was on the use of drones by America in its fight against terror mainly in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Ahmed did a critical discourse analysis of the President's speech to see how the Prime Minister tackled issues that have to do with the violation of the sovereign state of Pakistan. Efforts were made by Ahmed to find out the truth in the whole speech on issues concerning Pakistan and its role in the global war against terrorism. The work intended to decipher between national interests, and foreign interests; particularly, American interests, the view of Amnesty International on the drone attacks and the subsequent bombardment of civilians. The work also looked at the consequences of public opinion on those drone attacks. It looked at the effects of the drone attacks on Pakistan's national security and how these were captured by the Prime Minister in those speeches.

In the findings of the work, it came out that the word sovereignty was captured twice in a single statement in the speech. The word was used to show Pakistan's policy on freedom and respect for other countries sovereignty. Secondly, the word was used to show a demand for reciprocity of respect to Pakistan's sovereignty.

Also in the analysis, Ahmed asserts that the entire nation supported the Prime Minister's bid against the use of drones in Pakistan even though the language of the Prime Minister sounded diplomatic but deep within the speeches there were absolute disagreements on the use of drones in Pakistan. The Prime Minister in a subtle way expressed his indignation at the use of drones in Pakistan resulting in the killing of civilians. The work

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further concluded that, a 2012 poll conducted by Pew Research Centre's Global Attitude project, 97% Pakistanis consider drone strikes a bad policy. Hence the sovereignty of Pakistan had been violated by foreign powers.

Nonetheless, as much as it could be argued that the sovereignty of Pakistan was violated by the use of the aerial vehicle, it can also be argued that the war on terror must continue. It is when terrorism is defeated that the world would have peace and Pakistanis will no longer suffer from suicide bombings. Peace will bring about prosperity and create wealth for the people of Pakistan.

However, in as much as this article discussed Pakistan and the use of drones by foreign powers in the country, it also talks about the sovereignty of an independent state which should be free from foreign influence. This therefore brings to light the connection and the relevance between this article and the current study. It must be noted that the ideology of Prime Minister Shrief is synonymous to the ideology of Nkrumah who also believed that Africa should be free from colonial interference (Nkrumah, 1962). The work will therefore help me in analysing and appreciating the concept of ideology. It will also help me in appreciating the different perspectives in my analysis so that I will not be pinned down to only one direction.

2.3 CDA as Interpretive and Explanatory

Wang (2010) also did a critical discourse analysis of Obama on the title, *A Critical Discourse Analysis of Barack Obama's Speeches*. The article focused on the use of transitivity and modality in those speeches. According to Wang (2010), transitivity is a basic semantic system, which construes the world of experience into manageable set of process types. Modality refers to the speaker's attitude towards opinion about the truth of

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a proposition expressed by a sentence. Wang wanted to find out how Obama used language to drum home the concepts of ideology and power. The article also interrogated how Barrack Obama, an African-American could use language to persuade the vast majority of Americans into voting for him to become the first African-American President. In the analysis, critical discourse analysis theory and systematic functional linguistics were used. From the discussions of the article, it became clear that language is a very powerful tool for achieving goals. Through communication, Obama was able to push forward his ideologies; a phenomenon that made him a successful president of the United States of America. The connection between this article and the current study is that both are political communication. Secondly, because the current study intends to investigate the issues of ideology, power, inequalities, corruption etc. which are inherent in the selected speeches, this literature will be useful since it also investigated how Obama used language to push ideologies. Even though, the focus of my work is not on the use of modality and transitivity, I still find this work relevant.

2.4 CDA as a Power Relation and Ideology

Sharififar and Rahimi (2015) also did a CDA on the title*, Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Speeches: A case study of Obama's and Rouhani's speeches at the United Nations.* The paper is a study of the art of the linguistic prowess of both leaders' speeches at the World's body on September, 2013. The work investigated how the two presidents' language incorporated both ideology and power. Just like Wang (2010), Sharififar and Rahimi (2015) also used transitivity and modality to analyse the use of language by both leaders to push their agenda of power and ideologies across. The article therefore looked at the use of language and how effective they were used by both leaders

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in their speeches at the UN. One would expect that the communication between these two leaders would be strain looking at the diplomatic relations that existed between the two countries, Iran and America. In the findings however, it became clear that Obama used more clear and simple expressions as against Rouhani who used more difficult and formal expressions. The connection between this literature and my work is that, both works intend to investigate the use of language in disseminating ideologies and power. Secondly, aside ideologies and power that resonate in both speeches, there are also issues of security and sovereignty in both speeches. Cleary, the current study just like that of Sharififar and Rahimi deals with the inherence of ideologies and power. This article would therefore help my research in that direction. It will help me get a holistic view of how language could be used to push forward the agenda of ideology, power, security, sovereignty etc.

Al-Haq and Al- Sheibi (2015) also did CDA on King Abdullah II, the late king of Saudi Arabia. The title of the work is*, A Critical Discourse Analysis of Three Speeches of King Abdullah II.* The article interrogated the use of language by the King to convince policy makers across the world to become actively involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The work analysed the King's speeches to bring to light the hidden ideologies and strategies adopted by the King to achieve his long standing political goal of bringing a lasting peace between the two rivals. The article also brought forth the various mechanisms of persuasions employed by the King in his 2007, 2010, 2011 speeches which were delivered on different occasions. The article also dwells more on the King's creative prowess on the use of language and the use of metaphor. I find this work relevant to my work because Dr. Nkrumah was equally known to be sophisticated on the use of

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words; he was creative with words. Hence, this work will help me in appreciating the use of words in those selected speeches and how words were appropriated in the use of ideologies, power, injustices, corruption, inequalities etc.

2.5 Discourse Constitutes Society and Culture

Abdullahi-Adiagbon (2010) worked on *Language Use in Selected Nigerian Presidential Election Campaign Speeches: A Critical Discourse Analysis Perspective*. The work investigated how feelings, emotions as well as ideological beliefs of individuals or groups were conveyed through linguistic expressions to manipulate that of others. He analysed the pattern of language used in three of the last presidential campaign speeches in Nigeria with the aim of exhuming the buried truth in those speeches relating to social structures, identities, and power relations between the electorate and politicians. The work was mainly on the use of language and how those presidential candidates, namely; Mike Akhibe, Atiku Abubakar, and Duke Donald used language to manipulate the emotions and thoughts of their 'victims'. The work looked at headlines of those speeches, the style and tone of language, connotative use of words, topicalization and mood system, the use of passivisation, persuasion and promises, euphemism, and repetition.

The findings were that there were some levels of deceit, hypocrisy, dishonesty, pursuit of personal agenda, pride and greed which were hidden in all their speeches. As Nkrumah (1964, p.1) puts it, "the evaluation of one's own social circumstances is part of the analysis of facts and events…." Thus it became apparent in the findings and analysis that the leaders used propaganda to mislead the people. This literature will be very relevant to my work since I will also investigate how Nkrumah used language to push forward his

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agenda for the unification of the African continent. My work will also probe deeper into the speeches to ascertain whether there were elements of personal interest(s) hidden in the speeches. This work will also guide me in my analysis since the work will investigate if there were any issues of ideologies, and power which may be hidden in the speeches.

2.6 Discourse as Historical

Similarly, Sharndama (2015) also did a work entitled, *Political Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of President Mohamadu Buhari's Inaugural Speech.* This work aimed at digging deeper and unveiling the plans and ideologies of Buhari. The findings revealed that Buhari is a unifier and patriotic who has good plans for Nigeria. Two major ideologies were found hidden in the speech. The first is historical allusion which was meant to draw the attention of Nigerians to good governance as a legacy left to them by their founding fathers and the traditional leaders of their ancient empires and kingdoms. Secondly, there was also the use of personal pronouns to indicate personal responsibility in running a government. On good governance, the findings revealed based on historical allusions, that Buhari was calling for national unity irrespective of religion, ethnicity, and politics. Nkrumah also made similar appeals for unity but his call was for the unification of the continent of Africa (Nkrumah, 1962). This work is relevant to my work because it will guide me to look deeper into the issues of ideology, power, corruption etc. which may be inherent in those speeches. Like Buhari, Nkrumah also acknowledged the diversity of his people. The work will also help me uncover how those ideologies were communicated in those speeches.

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2.7 Discourse as a form of Social Action

Notwithstanding that, Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere (2012) also did a discourse on another Nigerian President, Umar Musa Yar'Adua entitled, *A Pragmatic Analysis of Victory and Inaugural Speeches of Umar Musa Yar'Adua.* Unlike Abdullahi-Adiagbon (2010) who limited his work only on the inaugural speech of Buhari, Ayeomoni & Akinkuolere (2012) went beyond inaugural speeches to include the victory speech of Yar'Adua. The study was conducted to identify the speech act features of Yar'Adua's victory and inaugural speeches. The study was limited to the pragmatic functions of locution, illocutionary and perlocutionary act of speeches. Even though my work is on CDA and not on Pragmatics, a study of this article will give me an in-depth understanding of how language could be used in a particular communicative contexts or situations. Pragmatics, according to Adeyanju (2009) is a study of language in use in a particular communicative contexts or situations of necessity which takes into account the message being communicated or the speech being delivered, the participants involved, their intention, their knowledge of the world and the impact of their interactions and what they have taken for granted as part of the context (cited in Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere 2012). This work will therefore allow me appreciate the context or the situation within which Nkrumah made those speeches, and the hidden ideologies behind those speeches.

2.8 Discourse as Rhetoric

Asemanyi and Alofah (2015) also did a rhetorical study on the independent speech of Nkrumah entitled, *A Rhetorical Analysis of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's Independence Speech.* The study examined the role of rhetoric in the famous

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independence speech of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah on 6th March, 1957 at the Old Polo Grounds. The study investigated the use of the five cannons of speech; invention, arrangement, style, delivery and memory and the three elements of persuasion; ethos, pathos, and logos in the speech. The study found out that indeed the five cannons of rhetoric and the three elements of persuasion were prevalent in the speeches.

They found out that Nkrumah used the five cannons of rhetoric to inform his audience and to disseminate his plans for the future of the country. Even though, the speech lasted for only six minute, fifty-six seconds, it was simple, short, precise, meaningful and straight to the point. It was able to achieve its intended purpose; which was to persuade the audience. The work also revealed that Nkrumah used powerful diction and expressions meant to achieve the objective of rhetoric. He also used the three elements of persuasions to appeal to his audiences' pathos, ethos and logos.

It must be stated that every successful rhetoric must go through the five cannons of rhetoric and the three elements of persuasion. For this reason, the speech has been described as one of the greatest ever written and delivered speech in Ghanaian geo-politics and rhetorical history. No wonder the speech received an overwhelming acceptance and welcome along the length and breadth of Ghana and the continent of Africa. The speech could be said to have given hope and inspiration to the African countries which were still under colonial rule. Looking at the time in which the speech was delivered, Ghana was the only country in sub Saharan Africa that had had independence. Therefore the speech was timely as it ignited the spirit of political consciousness on the continent. Indeed that speech persuaded the rest of the continent into haven a common objective in fighting colonialism on the continent. Even though,

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this work is a rhetorical analysis of the independent speech of Nkrumah, it is still relevant to the current study as it will help me in developing a background knowledge of Nkrumah.

2.9 Discourse as a link between Society and Texts

Another literature worthy of analysing is *Towards Colonial Freedom.* This book was written by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in 1962. It discussed the colonial question and then tried to expose the philosophy and hidden ideology behind colonialism and imperialism. A review of the book revealed that Nkrumah wanted to expose the corruption and abuses that were deliberately enacted and produced by the colonial masters in order to rape Africa of its resources. Nkrumah (1962, p.xiii) opined that,

> The purpose of this pamphlet is to analyze colonial policies, the colonial mode of production and distribution and of imports and exports. It is to serve as rough blue-print of the processes by which colonial peoples can establish the realization of their complete and unconditional independence.

Nkrumah sought to challenge the colonial structures and thereby calling for a complete alienation of these structures which were nothing more than institutions of cheat and injustice. Deeply seated in this literature was the issue of ideology. The book clearly shows Nkrumah as the crusader of socialism and communism on the continent of Africa as against capitalism which he believed was the agent of imperialism and colonialism. Nkrumah painted a gloomy picture of colonialism and imperialism. Nkrumah (1962, p.1-2),

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> …imperialism is the policy which aims at creating, organizing and maintaining an empire…diverse peoples brought together by force under a common force. Colonialism is therefore, the policy by which the 'mother country', the colonial power, binds her colonies to herself by political ties with the primary object of promoting her own economic advantages.

By this, Nkrumah was saying that colonialism benefits no one except the colonial masters. To some extent, one can agree with Nkrumah on this wild but verifiable assertions against colonialism. This is because during the period under discussions, Africa was the producer of raw materials for the industrialized Europe and America. The economy of Africa was not diversified by these colonial masters even though the chunk of their resources and foreign exchange came from Africa. Africa was like a dumping grounds for toxic waste.

Secondly, the prices of these raw materials were determined by these colonial masters. The colonies did not have the power to determine the prices of their own goods and services. No wonder Nkrumah said that it was a deliberate scheme to satisfy only the 'motivated interest of the colonial masters'. This phenomenon rendered the colonies poorer and mere peasants. For this reason, Nkrumah called for a revolution in Africa as the only way of extricating Africa from the shackles of colonialism and imperialism.

In suggesting an alternative system of political and economic model for Africa, Nkrumah called for a Marxist-Leninist type of socialism and communism. Nkrumah kept promoting Marxism on the continent without recourse to the African philosophy and

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ideology. Therefore there was some level of incongruities in the ideologies and philosophies of Nkrumah.

Nkrumah thought of colonialism and imperialism as an ideological warfare between the strong and powerful nations of Europe and America. According to Nkrumah (1962, p.4),

> The origin of colonialism is nothing else than enterprise of individual interests, a one-sided and egotistical phenomenon of European capitalist aggressiveness, one which has been rightly termed 'colonial imperialism'. Our best illustration is the scramble for Africa, which began when the economic insufficiency of Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and Italy impelled their political leaders to look beyond the seas for markets and storehouses of wealth and resources in order to consolidate their individual states and guarantee their economic security.

This postulations by Nkrumah was true because by the middle of the nineteenth century, Africa had been partitioned by the countries mentioned above. The end result was the absolute exploitations of the resources of Africa. Africans did not have the right to participate in their own government. Laws were enacted by the colonial governments.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Africa was largely partitioned between France and Great Britain. For example, in North Africa, Rio de Ore was colonized by Spain, Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia were colonized by France, whereas Libya was colonized by Italy. Even though Egypt was independent, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was colonized by Britain. When you also look at East Africa, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland were all colonized by Britain. Whereas Abyssinia was independent, the Somalilands were

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occupied by Britain, France and Italy. In South Africa the story is not different, the Union of South Africa and the mandated territories of South-West Africa were all under European rule. Nevertheless, in West Africa, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Sudan, Dahomey, Equatorial Guinea, and Togo were all colonized by France. Britain on the other hands colonized Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, and Nigeria. Whereas Portugal colonized Guinea and Angola, Belgium colonized Congo, Cameroon was colonized by both Britain and France. However, Liberia was an independent state. Clearly, one can deduce that the continent of Africa was shared amongst these powers for their personal interests just like the way Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar expanded their empires to satisfy their whims and caprices.

In the book, it could be seen that Nkrumah shared the same ideologies of Marx and Lenin. He used their perspectives on colonialism to criticize the practice of colonialism in Africa. It must be put on record that Marx and Lenin theory of the state and government was against individual acquisition of vast resources to the detriment of the masses. According to Nkrumah (1962, p. 11),

> The most searching and penetrating analysis of economic imperialism has been given by Marx and Lenin. According to the Marx-Lenin point of view, economic imperialism is not only the natural stage in the development of the capitalist system, but its highest stage in which the inner contradictions and inconsistencies of the system foreshadow its doom and demolition.

Nkrumah also spoke of the philosophy behind colonialism. Clearly, it can be deduced from his postulations that the philosophy behind colonialism was nothing more than

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exploitations. Nkrumah (1962, p.26) puts the colonial philosophy as, "The colonial subjects must be exploited and civilized, but in doing so their rights must be respected and protected…." Nkrumah meant to say that colonialism knows no morality. It takes from you in a very subtle way so that you don't notice it at once. The end result is that slowly but surely, colonialism extorts and exploits with impunity.

According to Nkrumah, the Berlin Conference of 1890, the Treaty of Versailles, the Covenant of the League of Nations, and the Trusteeship System of U.N.O.which made provisions to protect and guard colonial peoples are all camouflaged. This is because the philosophy of imperialism is to exploit and make profit. Colonial masters are not interested in the welfare of their colonies; they were only interested in their profits.

This book, *Towards Colonial Freedom* will provide useful information to the current study. It has laid the background to this study since the study wants to examine issues of ideology, corruption, power, abuse etc. The above literature has given me the standpoint of Nkrumah when it comes to issues of colonial ideology, philosophy, belief, religion etc. Therefore this book will be a useful source of information when it comes to the analysis of the current study.

Secondly, my exploratory studies on the current study has revealed similar issues of power, issues of abuse, and issues of ideology; therefore both works share some similarities. In light of this, the book will help me appreciate my data better and will also enrich my interpretations and analysis of the data.

Thirdly, it must also be stated that this book was written by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and this current study too is on him. This book is very relevant to the current study because it

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was written around the same time that the selected speeches for this current study were also delivered. Therefore, I will not be wrong in assuming that the issues discussed in this book carried the same ideologies, and philosophies in the speeches too. This has therefore created the needed connections between the two works.

2.10 Discourse as form of Sociolinguistics

Mensah (2014) also did a study entitled, *The Rhetoric of Kwame Nkrumah: An Analysis of his Political Speeches.* The study examined the political speeches of Kwame Nkrumah. It examined the historical, political, and diplomatic circumstances which gave birth to Nkrumah's rhetorical prowess. The study sought to find out the rhetorical strategies and tools which Nkrumah used in his political speeches.

The findings revealed that he regularly used logical association. It also revealed that he used negative association in his political speeches to tag his Ghanaian and Western political adversaries to engender negative image for them whilst he used positive association to enhance his ethos. The study also showed that Nkrumah employed the argument of inclusion of the part in the whole. This argument for continental unity became central at a continental meeting in Addis Ababa where Nkrumah argued for the unification of the continent.

In this argument, the importance of Africa is brought to the fore whilst minimizing the focus on individual states. Thus, through his argumentation, Nkrumah deepened the continental discussions which sought to project the debate on Africa's freedom. The study also demonstrated that Nkrumah repeatedly applied symbolism as a strategic means of establishing his ethos as well as creating solidarity with his audience. The study further established that Nkrumah employed the collective memory of his audience to create

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pathos in his delivery. Lastly, the study showed that Nkrumah repeatedly used his messages to address different audiences both immediate and remote. It can be said that Nkrumah's rhetoric gave hope to many 'freedom fighters' who were fighting against colonialism on their respective countries (Biney, 20II). Even though, not all of the African leaders agreed with Nkrumah's ideology on the unification of the continent, it is undeniable the fact that his rhetoric ignited the spirit of nationalism on the continent.

As Nkrumah used his rhetoric to call for the unification of Africa, there were also the issue of mistrust and suspicion amongst some heads of state who believed that Nkrumah was only trying to usurp himself into power as the head of state of the continent. Mensah (2014, p.135) opined that, "some of the new leaders that emerged on the African political stage felt Nkrumah's effort for Africa's unity was not borne out of a genuine interest for Africa, but was only for his personal political gains". This therefore means that while Nkrumah used his rhetoric to call for African unity, other African leaders looked at those rhetoric with suspicion. Nonetheless, in the midst of all these suspicions, it can be said that Nkrumah laid the foundation for Africa's consciousness. Mensah (2011, p.135) says,

> Years later, even with the antagonistic tendencies which the speech invoked among certain leading political figures in Africa at the time, the speech, in no doubt, established a critical foundation that was necessary for the unity of African. Nkrumah, through his rhetoric, woke up the continent to speed up the liberation process.

Even though the current study is a CDA on selected speeches of Nkrumah, I still find this literature very relevant since it helps me appreciate the speaking skills of Nkrumah. It also informs me on some of the ideologies Nkrumah had for the continent of Africa. This

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will be useful in my analysis since I am also investigating the issues of ideology in my selected speeches. The literature also questioned the genuineness of Nkrumah's ideology on the unification of Africa and since I am also doing a CDA of his speeches, some of the revelations made in this work will serve as a blueprint to me in investigating the issues of ideology and power which may be hidden in those selected speeches.

Adjei-Fobi (2011) also did a work entitled, *A Rhetorical Analysis of Political Discourse: A Comparative Study of the use of Metaphor in the Speeches of Nkrumah and Rawlings.* The thesis looked at the use of metaphor by both former heads of state of Ghana. Both heads of state have oratory powers and indeed a command over language. Even though both of them had different background, they all wield some level of power and control in the Ghanaian politics. Thus whereas Nkrumah had an intellectual background, Rawlings came from a military background.

The literature looked at the use of metaphors in their speeches. The study also looked at the similarities and difference in the speeches. The study concluded that both of them used a lot of metaphors in their speeches.

The findings revealed that both speakers enhanced the memorability of their messages. They also shared some similarity in their use of metaphor and imagery. They frequently used the expressions 'captivity' and 'destruction'. They also had differences in their use of metaphor. Thus whereas, Nkrumah used metaphors that were mostly militant and confrontational, Rawlings used violent and militaristic expressions. This can partly be explained to be as a result of their background and orientations. Rawlings has a military background and Nkrumah was a freedom fighter. For this reason, Rawlings used more

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metaphors that resonated with the Ghanaian context, whereas Nkrumah used more of metaphors that resonated with Pan-Africanism.

Even though this literature is on rhetoric, I still find it relevant to the current study. This is because it provides me the background information on Nkrumah. It has also given me a clue on the writing and speaking style of Nkrumah. This information will therefore help me with my analysis of the selected speeches.

2.11 Discourse as an Ideology, Politics and Philosophy

It is important to say emphatically that, a review of related literature on such a study without a recourse to *Consciencism* will be insufficient. This is because the book takes a researcher into the core of Nkrumah's beliefs, power, ideology and philosophy. Since I am doing a CDA on selected speeches of Nkrumah, it will only be expedient to review this 'master piece'.

Nkrumah (1964) wrote this book, *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization and Development with Particular Reference to the African Revolution.* In this book, **N**krumah highlighted the philosophical path for Africa, the direction that the newborn continent of Africa should take for a full recovery and emancipation from colonialism and imperialism. A philosophical path that should be defined from the African creed. Nkrumah believed that it is only through this path that Africa can attain a true self-actualization; economically and politically. He asserts that colonialism was an economic policy, but it will only take a political move to fight this obnoxious economic aggrandizement; therefore he called for an end to colonialism in Africa. Nkrumah opined that every philosophy is borne out of the social, political and economic milieu of the period and the environment within which the philosophy emanated. Hence, it is only

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commonsensical that the philosophical propositions of Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, Marx, Berkley, Thales, Engels and others came out of the political, economic, and social milieu of ancient Greece and Europe.

These philosophical propositions received the relevance in those areas as a result of the contextual verifications of the arguments they made. The fact that Greek civilization laid the foundation of Western civilization, it was absolutely incoherent and illogical for the wholesale impositions of these alien philosophies onto Africa as a baseline for the 'development' of the continent by the colonial powers. These impositions also came at the expense of African philosophy because Africa had its own economic, social and political philosophies before the advent of colonialism. Therefore the introduction and imposition of these philosophies sounded abstract in the African context. According to Nkrumah (1964, p.5),

> …it was especially impossible to read the works of Marx and Engels as desiccated abstract philosophies having no bearing on our colonial situation…I learnt to see philosophical systems in the context of the social milieu which produced them.

Nkrumah (1964, p.7) made mention of the "Principle of Sufficient Reason. According to this principle, everything has an explanation why it is as it is, and not otherwise". Therefore the fact that the Mediterranean Sea was very important to the Greeks in terms of commerce, trade, religion, security and power, it was only normal and logical for Thales to assume that everything came from water. In Nkrumah's wisdom, that is what western philosophy failed to recognise about Africa. They failed to recognise the African

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as a religious person who believes in the existence of a Supreme Being as the maker and controller of all things.

Nkrumah also made mention of the 'Cyclic theory'. According to this theory, the world is periodic and that the universe represents itself in a cycle of time. This means that there is nothing new under the sun. For example; in Christian theology, it is believed that God transmogrified Himself from a spirit into Adam, then into Jesus Christ. This logic simply means that God was just cycling himself from one form into another form. To this effect, Nkrumah (1964, p.12) opines,

> It is therefore hardly surprising that in the Christian Bible precisely this is held. There, God is first converted to Adam through his living breath, and second to Jesus Christ through a mystic incarnation. Appropriately, therefore Christianity holds that we have our being in God in whom we live.

It is important to establish the fact that Christian civilization can never be divorced from western civilization; the latter is heavily influenced by the Greek civilization. That notwithstanding, the discourse becomes more interesting since there are certain palpable contradictions in this philosophy. The contradiction here is that, Marx was an atheist who did not believe in religion. Nkrumah, who was pushing for African philosophy knows very well that the African is a religious being who considers religion as the center of all things. Therefore, how can Nkrumah be calling for African philosophy when he was almost drawn in Marxism. African Traditional Religion (ATR) was a social pact that binds the people together. It served as a moral check that instill discipline in the people. It promoted communal living as the community worshipped together regardless of

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denominations or any major dogma that promoted religious intolerance, division and violence.

To the current study, it is important to note that this literature is useful because it is bringing to light the philosophical idiosyncrasies of Nkrumah. It is also showing me the philosophies and ideologies of the people who influenced Nkrumah's ideologies, beliefs and philosophy. With this background knowledge, my appreciation and understanding of the speeches under review is increased.

In this book, Nkrumah seemed to agree with Marx when he called for the separation of the state from religion. Marx believed that religion was just used by the bourgeoisie to exploit and impoverish the people. Marx called for a secular nature of the state. In defense of Marx to this call, Nkrumah (1964, p 13) said,

> Insistence on the secular nature of the state is not to be interpreted as a declaration of war on religion…the indispensable starting point is to appreciate the sociological connection between religious belief and practice on the one hand, and poverty on the other.

In this book, Marx alluded that people who are religious are poorer. He claimed that, the fact that religion is a social fellowship, it leads to a social depression of workers. In Nkrumah (1964, p. 13) Nkrumah says,

> People who are most aggressively religious are the poorer people; for, in accordance with the Marxist analysis, religion is social and contemporary religious forms and practices have their main root in the social depression of workers.

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As much as I agree with Nkrumah to some extent that contemporary religious forms and practices breeds low productivity that cannot be said of African Traditional Religion (ATR). In ATR, religion is in pari passu with the state. The work of Achebe (1959), *Things Fall Apart,* which is a verisimilitude of colonial Africa, will inform readers that religion and state have been inseparable in African philosophy since time immemorial. The African ideology and philosophy is not independent of religion and state; therefore, for Marx and Nkrumah to believe that it is only when religion is separated from the state that a nation can achieve economic and political emancipation is alien and foreign to the African philosophy. Therefore in the wisdom of African philosophy which Nkrumah was campaigning for, it was absolutely unacceptable to separate the two.

Nonetheless, it is important for me to state that this literature has informed me immensely on the African political, social, religious and economic philosophy. With this exposure, it will make my understanding, appreciation and analyses of the current study easier. It has exposed me to the core sources of Nkrumah's ideology. Hence it is not surprising to me at all when my exploratory studies revealed most of these ideological contentions in the selected speeches.

Another important issue that came to light in this literature was on socialism. Even though, the traditional African economic structure was more of communalism, there are some congruence between the two since both economic ideologies champion the interests of all persons in society and not some few individuals. It therefore does not come at a surprise to me when in my exploratory research, I found out that Nkrumah kept on promoting socialism as the economic revolution for Africa as against capitalism which he called a 'reformed slavery' just like feudalism. This book is indeed relevant to this study

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because it has exposed me to the philosophical and ideological standpoints of Nkrumah. Nkrumah was trying to say that communalism is the unifying economic ideology of Africa since time immemorial. Therefore his proposal for socialism is a retrospection into African communalism. Nkrumah (1964, p. 57) writes,

> Though the ideology is the key to the inward identity of its group, it is in intent solidarity. For an ideology does not seek merely to unite a section of the people; it seeks to unite the whole of the society in which it finds itself…imperialism, which is the highest stage of capitalism, will continue to flourish in different forms as long as conditions permit it.

Nkrumah was not only calling for political alienation of colonial rule, he was indeed calling for a complete revolution of the colonial structures in Africa. He says in the same page that "though its end is certain, it can only come about under pressure of nationalists awakening and an alliance of progressive forces which hasten its end and destroy its conditions of existence". This postulation clearly means that Nkrumah looked at every colonial move with a suspicion; a suspicion of exploitation and marginalization of the colonial peoples. It also means that Africa by Nkrumah's ideology was against capitalism, colonialism and imperialism.

This African ideology was borne out of the African philosophy of the human liberty and freedom of all persons to live peacefully and in absolute security from external influence and aggression. Nkrumah's call for the alienation of colonial structures could be akin to Paulo Freire's (2005) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* In this write-up, Freire alluded that the only way to break the cycle of oppression is to destroy the structures of oppression and replace them with an oppression-free structures. Therefore Nkrumah was calling for the

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destruction of the political and economic structures that colonialism bequeathed to Africa. In its replacement, he was calling for a system that resonated with the African culture, ideology and philosophy.

This literature has indeed taken me through Nkrumah's standpoint as far as his ideologies for Africa were concern. This has therefore made this book very relevant to this work. Nonetheless, Nkrumah (1964, p.72), opines that, "Capitalism is a development by refinement from feudalism, just as feudalism is a development by refinement from slavery". This statement is a complete attestation to the fact that Nkrumah was not a fan of capitalism.

The relevance of this literature to this work can never be underestimated. This is because the literature has outlined many ideological issues and since the current study is on ideology and power, it is only prudent and expedient that I interrogated the issues in the literature.

The literature has given me a holistic approach in analysing the data. It has also given me a better understanding of my work and has also increased my appreciation of the current study.

This literature has indeed informed me immensely on colonialism, colonial philosophy, and ideology.

The literature has also taken me through the historical background of the period, thus has increased my understanding of the historical period within which the selected speeches were delivered.

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It important to conclude that most of the issues in this literature resonate with the issues I discovered in the selected speeches during my exploratory studies. Therefore this literature becomes relevant to my study.

Another literature worthy of reviewing in this study is Okadigbo (1985). The title of the book is *Consciencism in African Political Philosophy*. This book is a critique of Nkrumah (1964). Even though Okadigbo claimed to be Nkrumahist, the dispassionate and scholarly manner with which he approached this work makes it worthy of review. Okadigbo (1985, p.ix) said,

> In proposing a critique of *Consciencism,* an attempt will be made to remain within the ideological wave-length…*Consciencism* will be based on the conviction that Nkrumah was activated more by what he felt Africa should be, than by a realistic appraisal of what Africa is.

In chapter One where he speaks on *The Crisis of the African Conscience,* Okadigbo (1985) criticized Nkrumah for limiting the contemporary African crisis only to tradition, Islam and Euro-Christianity, and colonialism. According to Okadigbo, Nkrumah failed to include communism to what he, Nkrumah, considers as the problems of contemporary Africa. Okadigbo's argument was that communalism is as alien to the African ideology and philosophy as much as Islam, Euro-Christianity, and colonialism is. Okadigbo (1985, p. 1) posits,

> It follows that to Nkrumah's understanding, the crisis is simply the result of three issues, viz., tradition, Islam, and Euro-Christianity and colonialism…it can only be observed here that the thesis of communism neither originated in Africa nor was it the creation of any African; it is as such an alien experience.

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This assertion of Okadigbo comes from the fact that Nkrumah (1964) was proposing for an African philosophy which is African in nature and origin. Therefore, for Nkrumah to be rooting for communism and socialism as the only economic revolution for Africa would be a self-contradiction. However, it is important to know that both communalism and socialism advocate for the interests of all persons unlike capitalism and materialism that promotes greed, individualism and unhealthy competition amongst persons. Therefore, even though socialism was not an African economic ideology and philosophy, its principles, practices and spirits resonated and reflected the African communalism as the champion of all and not some selected few. To buttress this position, Okadigbo (1985, p. 5) said,

> The traditional face of Africa includes an attitude towards man which can only be described, in its social manifestations, as being socialist. This arises from the fact that man is regarded in Africa as primarily a spiritual being, a being endowed originally with a certain inward dignity and value. It stands refreshingly opposed to the Christian idea of original sin and degradation of man.

The African had a strong passion for communal living in the extended family system, the African believed in polygamy, kinship, membership, clanship etc. These systems could be seen in their socio-economic and socio-political practices.

Okadigbo also criticised Nkrumah for not properly dealing with the question of Islam in Africa in the fashion in which he dealt with the question of Christianity in Africa. Nkrumah (1964) postulated that there were three segments of African society; namely, the traditional, the western and the Islamic. Therefore, for Nkrumah to use only four pages to talk about Islam in the one hundred and eighteen pages work was insufficient. In

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the wisdom of Okadigbo, the introduction of Islam in African also exploited Africa just like Christianity did; therefore, Nkrumah did injustice to the Muslim question in the work.

Thus according to Okadigbo (1985, p. 8), "On the subject of Islam, it is to be noted that only in four pages of the 118-page *Consciencism,* does Nkrumah consider Islam".

I agree with Okadigbo that Nkrumah could have delve deeper into the influence and impact of Islam in Africa. This is because Islam has a long history in Africa; particularly in North Africa up into Spain. The spread of Islam in Africa promoted slave raids and slave trade, conflicts and wars especially in the Northern part of Africa, the scale of exploitation can never be underestimated. Okadigbo (1985, p.16) posits,

> when, however, slavery and slave trade became illegal, the 'experts' on Africa 'yielded to the new wind of change, and now began to present African culture and society as being so rudimentary and primitive that colonialism was a duty of Christianity and civilization.

It is important for our attention to be drawn to the fact that colonialism, and imperialism were a deliberate colonial policies that were calculated to exploit, marginalize, and cheat colonial peoples. All colonial policies that were designed to bring about civilization, development, and freedom to the colonial peoples were phoney. For instance, in the case of the Gold Coast, there were no serious attempt to promote education in the colony. However, it became an established truth that the few available schools in the colony were meant to train local people to serve as interpreters in the colonial courts, colonial messengers, colonial clerks and other menial jobs. In Okadigbo (1985, p.17), President Sekou Toure of Guinea said,

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> The education that was given to us was designed to assimilate us, to depersonalize us, to Westernize us-to present our civilization, our culture, our own sociological and philosophical conceptions even our humanism as the expression of a savage and almost unconscious primitivism-in order to create a number of complexes in us which would drive us to become more French than French themselves.

As much as Nkrumah had a solid conviction that an economic revolution was the only way out for Africa, he also believed it is only through political independence that the economic revolution can materialize.

Nkrumah (1964) spoke about consciencism. His attempt was to rekindle the African spirit, culture, religion, philosophy and ideology. He spoke about the African consciencism so that the African will go back to the traditional ways of doing things which to him was more egalitarian, equitable, and fair as against the colonial systems that were bequeathed to Africa. In doing so, Nkrumah kept on contradicting himself by introducing some ideologies that were alien to the African culture. For example, Nkrumah's concept of conciencism were more or less the ideologies of Marx and Lenin. These were not Africans and so could not have understood the African phenomenon. According to Okadigbo (1985, p.50),

> The 'conscience' of *Consciencism* is Marx. Marxism itself is alien to Africa. The resolution of the crisis of the African conscience is a spiritual and at once a material problem…Africans are not in search of new problems; they are in search of identity of an authentic philosophy and ideology.

The contradictions of Nkrumah became apparent as it was exposed in Okadigbo (1985). Okadigbo (1985, p.61) posits,

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> The preceding demonstration of the poverty of Consciencism leaves us with only two problems. First, there is a necessity for more extensive appraisal of Nkrumah's 'Set Theoretical Terms',…Secondly, there arises the resolution of the crisis of the African conscience.

This is because it is a known fact that Marx was an atheist who rejected the existence of God; he called religion the opium of the masses. Africa on the other hand was a continent of religion which believed in the existence of an omnipotent and omniscient God. Therefore for Nkrumah to be calling for the ideologies of Marx on a continent that was deeply rooted in religion was an act of contradiction. Meanwhile in Okadigbo (1985, p.50) "… Nkrumah claims to be a 'Christian Marxist'".

I find this literature very relevant to the current study in many diverse ways. This is because the current study is a CDA on selected speeches of Nkrumah.

This literature, even though not a CDA, it is a critique of a very important literature that outlines the ideology, philosophy, belief, and the psychological standpoints of Nkrumah. Therefore with this ocean of information, this literature will enable me make some inferences and allusions from it especially during my analysis and discussions.

2.12 Discourse as a Historical Paradigm

Another literature worthy of reviewing is Biney (2011), the title of the book is, *The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah.* This book took me into the annals of history. It talked about the historical background of Nkrumah, his formative days and the factors that influenced his ideology, ideals, beliefs and philosophies.

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To start with, Nkrumah in his formative stage was influenced by Catholicism. He was converted into the faith by a German Roman Catholic Priest, George Fischer. According to Biney (2011, p.11), "However, between the ages of approximately 6 and 17, Roman Catholicism shaped his beliefs and conduct". This therefore means that Catholicism played an important role in the life of the young Francis Nkrumah. It gave him the religious identity necessary for a young African. It is also important to bring to light that, it was George Fischer who paid for Nkrumah's school fees, (Biney, 2011).

Nkrumah was also influenced intellectually by the likes of Dr. James Kwegyir Aggrey. Dr. Aggrey was then the Vice Principal of the Government Training School where Nkrumah was a student. Although Dr. Aggrey; his mentor, did not teach him, Nkrumah drew a lot of inspiration and motivation from him. According to Biney (2011, p.12),

> He drew much inspiration and encouragement from his Sunday evening sermons. In fact, in one of Nkrumah's classes when a tutor continued to divide Africa's ethnic groups, Nkrumah expressed his disapproval and interrupted with the following words: You're wrong: Dr. Aggrey has told us that all Africans are one.

Therefore, Nkrumah's ideology for the unification of Africa has a long history. He believed that Africans are one people regardless of where each and every one of them was coming from. It was this conviction that he carried with him throughout his life. Nkrumah was also influenced during his school days in Achimota from1927 to 1930. It was one of the periods in which he read extensively and also developed his oratory skills as a result of the debating club he helped formed in honor of Dr. Aggrey, (Biney, 2011).

Nkrumah was also influenced by S.R. Wood who was then the secretary of the National Congress of British West Africa. It was Wood who shaped Nkrumah's political thought.

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Thus according to Biney (2011, p.13), Nkrumah said, "It was Mr. Wood who introduced him to politics through their long discussions. Wood strongly encouraged him to travel to the United States to continue his studies at Lincoln University and wrote a letter of reference for him".

Aside Wood, another nationalist who also shaped Nkrumah's ideology was Nnamdi Azikiwe. He inspired Nkrumah to take up studies abroad. This was because Nkrumah had a strong nationalist passion and so Azikiwe wanted him to have a first-hand experience of happenings in Europe and America. According to Biney (2011, p.13),

> It is also very possible that Nkrumah's meetings with the Nigerian publisher Nnamdi Azikiwe further inspired him to travel to the United States to pursue his studies. "Zik," as he was more popularly known, was a graduate of Lincoln University and a nationalist... Nkrumah acknowledged that other significant influences on his nationalist thinking were the ideas expressed in *The African Morning Post,* edited by Nnamdi Azikiwe. The Sierra Leonean agitator, I. T. A. Wallace Johnson was a contributor to the paper, and it was his famous article titled "Has the African a God?" that also had a profound impact on Nkrumah's emerging nationalist consciousness. In a defiant style, the article asserted the right of Africans to determine their own destiny and denounced the hypocrisy of European civilization.

This therefore means that Nkrumah's ideology was influenced by very profound and distinguished Pan Africanists who, like Nkrumah, also called for a political revolution on the continent. Thus Nkrumah carried the hopes, dreams and aspiration of the people of

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Africa. It therefore should not come as surprise when Nkrumah became the shining star as far as the struggle against colonialism was concern.

It is also established that, Nkrumah during his school days at Lincoln University, had a thirst in the African situation. He engaged in many intellectual discussions on the subject of colonialism in the continent of Africa. He developed a great interest in politics and philosophy. For this reason he read extensively on philosophy, politics and history. These might have shaped his political thoughts and ideology.

According to Biney (2011, p. 15),

> A great amount of Nkrumah's time as a student was spent reading on philosophy, political science, and history. His voracious reading included the work of Kant, Hegel, Descartes, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and Freud. Beverley Carter remarked, 'He was always well prepared but did not make a fetish of studying. He seemed to take great personal pleasure from reading of the great philosophers and this was in many ways a form of relaxation for him.'

Clearly, it can be concluded that his passion for philosophy, history, and politics contributed in shaping his political thoughts, social thoughts, and ideology.

Another event that influenced Nkrumah's ideology was when he went to England to study law and to complete his PhD thesis in the year 1945 to 1947. According to Biney (2011), while in London, he met George Padmore, an astute politician and Pan Africanist in London, and Joe Appiah, a Ghanaian law student and active member of West African Students Union (WASU) in London. Nkrumah drew a lot of inspiration from them especially George Padmore. According to Biney (2011, p.28), "… the capital drew many African students who gradually became politicised by the organizational activities and

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views of Padmore and the desire to see their respective countries free from colonial rule." It was also while his stay in London that he met Ako Adjei; a meeting which begun the implementation of Nkrumah's political revolutionary ideology in Ghana in 1947 when he was invited by the leadership of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) to become the General Secretary of the party.

The relevance of this literature to the current study is very significant. This is because it has taken me through the annals of history. It has provided me with the historical background that influenced Nkrumah's ideology. This has therefore increased my appreciation of the study. This has made me understand why Nkrumah had extensive understanding of colonialism and the colonial ideology and philosophy. It is because he came face-to-face with the colonial masters and thus understood the colonial machinations. My exploratory studies clearly showed Nkrumah's intolerance to colonialism and the suspicion with which he looked at any colonial policies. A review of this literature has indeed given me the historical bases for this.

Nonetheless, it was also during the stay of Nkrumah in London that led him to meet other African personalities who later helped shape the destiny of Africa. According to Biney (2011), these gentlemen helped in shaping the thoughts and ideology of Nkrumah prior to his return to the Gold Coast. These were: Wallace Johnson of Sierra Leone, Obafemi Awolawo, Jaja Wachuku and H.O. Davies of Nigeria; Garba-Jahumpa of Gambia; Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya; Hastings Banda of Nyasaland and Peter Abrahams of South Africa.

2.13 Concepts for the study

Van Dijk (2000) posits that there is no unitary, single, or strait jacket theory or methodology for conducting any research in CDA. The reason being that CDA is a study

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of language and its meaning and because language and its meaning permeates all aspects of human life-politics, economics, social, religious and others; it is very difficult to restrict theories in explaining issues of CDA. Therefore for the purposes of coherence and comprehension, this work will be guided by the concepts of power and ideology.

2.13.1 Power

When 'power' is mentioned in every discourse, the generic meaning that comes to mind is the ability to control, influence, or the use of physical force or pressure or even the using of physical strength to achieve something. In this particular study however, the use of the word 'power' goes beyond the above generic meanings and interpretations. According to Foucault (1980), power cannot be interpreted as though it is something that can be seen, touched, and felt. He posits that:

> In any society, there are manifold relations of power which permeates, characterize and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse (p.93).

Foucault accordingly is trying to argue that power is a creation of social interactions. Thus power is a social construction. In simple language, power can be defined as the probability that one person within a social group will have the ability or will be in a position of controlling, steering or manning the affairs of a group and would require the full obedience and cooperation of the group. According to Foucault (1980), that power or ability to control is derived from the society or the group within which that power is being exercised. In that case, power cannot be treated in solos. Foucault believes that all

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forms of power are motivated by a "demystification of ideologically distorted belief systems."

According to Fairclough (2001,p.57), "power is an ongoing process that takes place under conditions of social struggle that is exercised through coercion or consent; it can be won, exercised, sustained and lost in the course of social struggle." An example is when in 1957, out of social struggles, Nkrumah won power; thus independence for Ghana and in 1966, he also lost the power through another social struggle; coup de'tate.

It must be noted that power is exercised through consciousness. It is only when people are conscious of their environment and themselves before they begin to seek for power in order to exercise their ideologies. People can use power to either empower or emancipate others or to either suppress, oppress or to dominate them. Therefore, power can be obtained and exercise through coercion or by consent. For example, the 1966 coup de'tate that toppled Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and his Convention People's Party (CPP) is an example of power by coercion. This included the use of force, brutalities, violence, conflicts, violation of the rights of people and so on. However, the 1992 elections, which ushered in the fourth republic of Ghana is an example of power by consent because it was the people who decided through a Universal Adult Suffrage system to usher the government of the National Democratic Congress (NDC). This therefore means that power can be exercised either positively or negatively; power can therefore be said to be neutral.

Van Dijk (1998) asserts that the most critical work on any discourse revolves around power, especially social power. He defines social power in terms of social control of a

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group or an organization by an individual, or a group. He posits that an individual or a group may have more or less power depending on how the individual or the group controls the acts and minds of the members of the group. In other words, the extents to which the individual controls the minds and acts of the group will determine how powerful the individual is. This access to power presupposes that there is an access to a power base over scarce social resources such as force, status, fame, knowledge, information and so on.

Just like Fairclough (2001), Van Dijk (1998) also posits that power can be enforced through the use of coercion whereby the coercive arms of the state or the organization like the police or the military are used. It can also be enforced by consent. For example, the rich can be powerful as a result of the wealth they control, the politician can also be powerful as a result of the sovereign will of the power he/she controls, the intelligentsia can be powerful as a result of the information or the knowledge they control and the clergy can also be powerful as a result of the goodwill he/she enjoys from the congregants. It must be emphasized at this point that power is derived from the people and exercised on the people. For this reason, power cannot be absolute; it is conditional. For example, in every democratic institutions, power alternates from one government to the other government.

Dominant groups may resist, accept, condone and even legitimize such powers. They may integrate such power and dominations into laws, rules, norms, habits, and even form a consensus over such power abuse. This concept will be very useful to this study as it will help me explain some grand schemes of power abuse that were hidden in the texts.

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According to Van Dijk (1998), since actions are controlled by the mind, then if one is able to control and influence the human mind (opinions, perceptions, knowledge etc.) then one can control the human action. Thus this concept will help me in rationalizing my findings of how Nkrumah through those selected texts tried to control the minds of the people; thereby controlling their actions. More so, Van Dijk posits that since people's minds are most often influenced by text and talk, discourse may indirectly control their actions. This phenomenon therefore makes such group very powerful since they are in a position of controlling the minds and actions of others. Therefore there may be abuse of such powers in order to satisfy certain parochial interests.

Asher (1994, p. 324) also opines that "nearly all human relationship have power dimension and are expressed via language which reflects, maintains, and enforces power differentials." This position of Asher is in line with the earlier position by Foucault. Asher's positions explains that power is largely expressed and experienced through a discourse. Thus human beings produce, experience and interpret power through social interactions. This is to say that through discourse human beings get to know who is powerful and who is not. Human beings construct these power relations consciously or unconsciously. In this case it can be argued that power can be associated to the construction of ideology.

2.13.2 Ideology

Ideology is a very complicated term because of its varied interpretations and meanings. Ideology is intrinsic because every human being has ideological foundations. However, our ideologies are influenced by so many factors like religion, culture, environment, belief systems, education, social status, power, wealth, resources, ethics, norms, values,

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language, and social interactions and so on. This therefore means that it is possible for a human being to have multiple ideological inclinations. According to Sereno and Mortensen (1970, p. 32),

> One of the most important sources of each person's fundamental values is his membership in small groups, organizations, societies, and cultures…when a rhetorical situation involves the actual or implied presence of such groups, the norms of those groups predictably are going to function as an ideology which will tend to set limits for attitudes of group members.

For this reason, ideology can be defined depending on the context in which one wants to use it. However, critical discourse theorists like Fairclough (1989), Wodak (1989), Hall (1990) and Van Dijk (1997) have defined ideology in relation to language and discourse. They posit that ideology can only be created through a discourse. This is because ideology is an intrinsic phenomenon that can only be showcased when one is engaged in a discourse or a social interaction. However, the above listed theorists' perspectives on ideology would be the leading perspective in this work. This is because according to Quainoo (2011), they have presented social perspectives of ideology.

According to Fairclough (1989, p. 2),"ideology is closely linked to language because using language is the commonest form of social behavior…where we rely most on commonsense assumptions." Fairclough explained commonsense assumptions as "implicit in the conventions according to which people interact linguistically, and of which people are generally not consciously aware." According to Fairclough, ideology is sometimes unconsciously formed; however, through discourse it becomes apparent for

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people to know the kind of ideologies they form. It must also be emphasized by this postulation that even though ideology is intrinsic in nature, it is also shaped through social interactions and social elements like religion, culture, education, and politics.

Fairclough (1992, p.67) also posits that "ideology is significations generated within power relations as a dimension of the exercise of power and struggle over power in the form of partial representations and misrepresentations." This means that the production of ideology can only be achieved through the control over power. Thus when one has power one can implement his/her ideologies; therefore both power and ideology are in tandem with each other. This only agrees with the earlier postulations that discourse is an essential tool through which ideology can be produced and reproduced. Fairclough (2001, p.69) emphasized the point that "the operation of ideology can be seen in terms of ways of constructing texts which constantly and cumulatively impose assumptions upon text interpreters and text producers, typically without being aware of it.

Fairclough (2003) agrees that ideologies are the representations of aspects of the world which contribute to the establishment and maintenance of power relations, domination, and exploitation. For this reason ideology can be said to be the production of social intercourse and genres. They include both written and spoken texts. Therefore Fairclough (2003) considers analysis of texts an important aspect of ideological analysis and critique.

According to Wodak (1996, p.18), ideologies are "particular ways of representing and constructing society which reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation." Wodak (1996) just like Thompson (1990) and Simpson (1993) disagree with the assumption that ideology has a neutral position. That is to say that

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ideology cannot be judged as being good or bad. Thompson (1990, p.56), argues that "to study ideology is to study the way in which meaning (symbolic forms) serves to establish and sustain relations of dominations." Simpson (1993) also argues that the construction of ideologies is to serve as a mechanism for maintaining asymmetrical power relations in society (cited in Quainoo, 2011). However, Wodak (1996) argues that it is the recipients of a discourse who decides whether a discourse is ideological or not. Even if the discourse was designed to sustain power relations, to dominate or to marginalize but the recipients do not see it as such, it cannot be considered as ideological. For this reason, I can say that Wodak sees ideology as subjective.

Quainoo (2011) posits from the postulations of Wodak (1996) and Thompson (1990). He believes that the explanations of the two theorists on ideology is that dominant groups of society can always look for the opportunity to conceal their acts of sustaining power and legitimacy. Therefore it was only normal for issues of ideology and power to be created in a more subtle way looking at the period within which those selected speeches were produced. For Wodak, investigating the social and political milieu within which a discourse is made will be of paramount significance since that will reveal the hidden ideologies therein.

Hall (1985, p. 103) posits that "any investigation in ideology must involve an assessment into their extensive background data or their historical contexts because it is these practices and not the discourse which are inscribed by ideologies."

Hall (1990, p.18) has also come out with a very interesting dimension on ideology. He defines ideology as "those images, concepts and premises which provide the framework

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through which we represent, interpret, understand and make sense of some aspect of social existence." He came out with three concepts which will assist in comprehending the concept of ideology.

Firstly, he argues that ideology must not be a separate and distinct concept; rather it should articulate different concepts into forming a set of meanings.

Secondly, ideology is not formed by individuals who also function within ideologies. This is to say that an ideology is bigger and greater than an individual. Thus it takes social interaction for an ideology to be formed and nurtured.

Lastly, an ideology functions by allowing subjects positions of identification and knowledge that help them to construct their thoughts within ideological frameworks.

Hall also stated that the basic function of discourse is to make meaning. Therefore without meaning there cannot be any meaningful discourse. Hence, since every text is polysemic, it is incumbent on me to try to investigate the hidden meanings in the selected speeches. To be able to do this, these ideas of Hall will help me better explain and interpret the data. Hall argued that words don't mean anything; rather people make the meaning out of the words we use. For this reason, Hall wanted to find out how human beings get those meanings. He argued that human beings can get meanings through communication, interactions, and culture.

Van Dijk (1997) also posits that ideology must be shared amongst members of a social group so that members of the group whether weak or strong can be aware and contribute to its operation. He posits that ideology should be interested in the identity of a group in

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terms of membership, activities, aims, values, norms, position and resources. One useful illustration he gave of ideology is that he likened ideology to knowledge that people have such as knowledge in science, technology, mathematics and so on. He also posits that ideology is as subjective as knowledge. What is considered by some people as knowledge may be considered by others as ideological which is meant to dominate and to control them.

Van Dijk (1998, p.258) considers ideology as a 'worldview that constitutes 'social cognition.' He posits that ideologies are "schematically organized complexes of representations and attitudes with regard to certain aspects of the social world." In most cases ideological tendencies are expressed unconsciously. Thus people express them without knowing that they are ideological. This is because they have been practiced for a longer period of time and so they have become norms and conventions; therefore people either express them or accepts them willingly. An example is democracy, monarchy, capitalism, socialism and so on. These are political and economic ideologies that some people believe are the best political and economic systems. People who live under these systems are convinced beyond every reasonable doubt that they are the best systems; therefore it becomes only commonsensical for them to accept it rather than challenging it. Ideology can therefore be considered to be social construction of realities by individuals or a group. This therefore makes it myopic since there may be other aspects of realities that the group may not have considered in the construction of the reality. Hence it was constructed based on their perspectives without considering other aspects of the reality.

Sometimes certain opinions become dominant because members of the interacting group have accepted those opinions. These accepted opinions then become commonsensical and

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therefore becomes conventional identities for those particular groups. Either consciously or unconsciously, those ideologies direct, and shape the thoughts of the people. It defines their worldview even though the world could be bigger than that. As a result of this phenomenon, people who strive for power will like their ideologies to be the dominant ideology so that they can control others. This theory will therefore help me unearth those latent ideological issues which are embedded in the selected speeches.

It must be emphasized that ideology as a theory cannot be discussed without recourse to Karl Marx (1818-1883). According to Tyson (2006, p.56), "For Marxism, an ideology is a belief system, and all belief systems are products of cultural conditioning. For example, capitalism, communism, Marxism, patriotism, religion, ethical systems, humanism, environmentalism, astrology, and karate are all ideologies."

Baron and Davis (2003) argues that Marx hierarchical class system of society was the cause of all social upheavals and this can only be ended through a revolution by the proletariat. Marx believed that society has been dominated by the elites for far too long and that the few elites have taking the advantage of their position in society to exploit and marginalized others. Thus because the elites have power, they also exercise the power to feed their whims and caprices to the detriment of the masses. These elites control of society, Marx believes was as a result of their direct control over the means of production which is the base of every society. Therefore, Marx was calling for a revolution against the old system and then replace it with a new system that will promote equality, and egalitarianism. It must also be established that the elites where able to hold on to power because of their control over culture and the superstructure. Marx believed that culture is

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something that the elites use to manipulate and mislead people to act in a manner that inure to their interests, (Baron and Davis, 2003). Therefore since culture is an ideological issue, the elites have been able to capture and control the minds of the people. For this reason, Marx called for a total annihilation of the superstructure. According to Baron and Davis (2003, p.229),

> Marx believed an ideology operated much like a drug. Those who are under its influence fail to see how they are being exploited. In the worse cases, they are so deceived that they actually undermine their own interests and do things that increase the power of elites while making their own lives even worse.

Nkrumah who had had a great influence with the Marxist ideology believed that for independence to be achieved there must be a departure from the status quo. In line with this ideology, Nkrumah also believed in the Marxist concept of ideology which was revolutionary in nature. My findings revealed that Nkrumah championed the call for an end to colonialism in Africa so that the means of production will be in the hands of the African people who will ensure economic and political equity on the continent. This concept will therefore help me rationalize my findings in a more coherent and logical manner. It will help me explain the ideological issues, issues of power and also the social issues in the selected speeches.

Sereno and Mortensen (1970) also argues that ideology is also informed by a person's presupposition about the nature of man, the nature of reality, the nature of language, and the nature of knowledge. This proposition is undoubtedly true because Nkrumah's ideology was shaped by the works of Karl Marx and Hegel, George Padmore, W.E.B.

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Dubois, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Wallace Johnson etc. All of these personalities were against colonial rule. According to Biney (2011), Nkrumah was heavily influenced by them. This theory will therefore be very useful in explaining and interpreting the data.

Nkrumah (1964) speaking on ideology agrees with Sereno and Mortensen (1970) that ideology can be found in every society and that ideology helps in designing and controlling society. Nkrumah (1964, p. 57) posits that,

> In societies where there are competing ideologies, it is still usual for one ideology to be dominant. This dominant ideology is that of the ruling group. Though the ideology is the key to the inward identity of its group, it is in intent solidarist. For an ideology does not seek merely to unite a section of the people; it seeks to unite the whole of the society in which it finds itself.

Clearly, one can see that Nkrumah wanted to use his ideology to unite the continent of Africa. He believed that it is only when the continent of Africa is united that it can reach its full potential. Nkrumah (1964, p. 59), spoke of ideology as a social unifier. He posits,

> I have said an ideology seeks to bring a specific order into the total life of its society…the ideology of a society displays itself in political theory, social theory, and moral theory and uses these as instruments. It establishes a particular range of political, social, and moral behavior, such that unless behavior of this sort fell within the established range, it would be incompatible with ideology.

With the proposition above, the theory of ideology will help me explain whether Nkrumah seek to establish a certain political order in Africa. The findings have already

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established the fact that Nkrumah wanted to create a United Africa with socialism being the economic bedrock to move the continent into a self-reliant continent devoid of colonialism which he calls 'the highest stage of imperialism.'

Croteau (2014) also asserts that Marxists ideology speaks of belief systems that help justify the actions of those in power by distorting and misrepresenting reality. In this context, it can be said that ideology is the foundation of meaning that is embedded in human life especially the meanings we make in our communication, how we understand the world around us and make it understandable to others, and how we make value judgments about the world. Ideology also deals with concepts such as worldview, belief system and values. This is because these concepts are subjective, it is perceived differently by different people at different times depending on the circumstances in which they find themselves.

According to Croteau (2014), Marxist ideological theory was connected to 'false consciousnesses.' False consciousness is an ideological belief where subordinates accept the ideological beliefs of the ruling class, thereby serving the interests of their masters. For this reason, Marx called for a revolution against the social structures of the time that promoted political, social and economic inequality. To achieve this, the working class needs to rebel from the ruling class. That is to say, the working class needs to extricate themselves from the false consciousness of the ruling class and to develop a revolutionary consciousness that will manifest their interests as the engine of growth and development. In practical terms one can explain this theory to mean that the whole of Africa represented the proletariat class. This is because Africa was the production hub of raw materials to feed the industries in Europe and America. America and Europe on the

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other hands could be referred to as the bourgeoisie. Now, Nkrumah was calling for a complete revolution of the system so that Africa will not only produce and supply raw materials to America and Europe but will rather turn those raw materials into finished products and then export them for foreign exchange.

Gyekye (2004, p.45) also opines that:

> For when we talk of ideology, we are talking essentially of values. But the question that immediately arises is, whose values-those of the entire society or those of a section of the society? One would answer the question by saying "the entire society's." The question that is likely to follow is, is it really the entire society (i.e., all the members of the society) that created those values, and when and how? The answer to this question would be a difficult one to negotiate.

2.14 Relevance of Concepts to the Work

The issues of power, ideology, abuse, corruption, discrimination, inequalities etc. are the underlining discussions in CDA. However, all these issues may not be present in a single speech. Therefore to be able to interrogate these issues adequately, befitting concepts become necessary for this study. I therefore find concepts like power and ideology very relevant to this current study.

The concept of power is much more interested in exposing the undue advantages, injustices, inequalities, oppressive social structures, corruptions and unfair power arrangement at the detriment of the marginalized group in society. The concept tries to bring to light how dominant groups impose their world views on others.

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This concept aims at emancipating the under privileged in order to create a freer, fairer, and equitable society where people will not be discriminated unfairly by the virtue of their color, origin, religion, creed, sexual orientation, sex, gender etc. I therefore find this concept relevant to the current study. In my exploratory studies, I found out from the selected speeches issues such as superiority complex, power struggle, ideology etc. The concepts will help me explain these issues better. The concept of ideology will help me expose all the hidden ideological issues in the speeches. It will also help me rationalise my findings.

2.15 Summary

It is important to state that the reviewed literature would play a very important role in the study. It will provide me with the needed information required for the study. It will increase my appreciation of the study and will therefore make my analysis easier. This chapter will lay the foundation of the study. Thus, it has given me other people's perspectives on the subject. It has also given me the framework for the study. The chapter has provided me an in-depth knowledge and understanding of the concepts needed for the study. It has also given me the ideological standpoints of Nkrumah.

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CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the processes that I used for the study. It is a presentation of the overall methodology I adopted for the study. It describes and explains the mode and approaches used in gathering, collating and processing the data. It also includes the mode of sampling and analyzing the data. The methodology looked at three selected speeches of Nkrumah; it discussed in detail the methods through which the speeches were selected. It looked at the relevance of the selected speeches to the work. The methodology also looked at document analysis and textual analysis. It discussed in detail the relevance of these documents to the study.

The chapter also gives accounts of the scientific approach that was used for the study. It also, as much as possible, shows the challenges faced in collecting the data for the study and the rationale behind the use of texts and documents. It also rationalises the use of CDA as a research design for this study.

3.1 Research Approach

I used qualitative research approach in this work. The reason is that qualitative research is interpretive and so it afforded me the laxity of better explaining, exploring, and interpreting the data and also validating my theory. According to Lindlof and Taylor (2002:p.18), "qualitative researchers seek to preserve and analyze the situated form,

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content, and experience of social action rather than subject it to mathematical or other formal transformations." This assertion by Lindlof and Taylor is in line with the assertion of Priest (1996, p.250) who defines qualitative research method as "any method for social science research that uses general observations, depth, and verbal descriptions, in place of numerical measures." Reinard (1994, p.5) also concurs with the above postulations. He posits that qualitative research method uses "…descriptions of observation expressed in predominantly non-numerical terms…qualitative research emphasizes description or interpretation of communication events." Frankel and Wallen (2000) also defines qualitative research method as a study that investigates the quality of relationships, activities, situations, or materials.

Based on the definitions so far, it can be deduced that qualitative research approach is interpretative and systematic. It does not restrict a researcher to a numerical analysis of facts and data; rather, it allows the researcher to make intelligent guesses and subjective rationalization of data.

Since the current study is on CDA, such an approach allowed me to probe deeper and brought out other possible interpretations and meanings in the texts. By extension, qualitative research approach allowed me to go beyond the content of the speeches and to consider other factors that influenced the text and its meanings. It also allowed me to consider the social, economic and political milieu of the period within which the speeches were delivered. For these reasons and many more, I consider qualitative research approach most appropriate for this study. Furthermore, because qualitative research is interpretative, it offered me the opportunity to interpret, describe, assume, and presume

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and even make predictions of my findings based on the content and social milieu within which the speeches were delivered.

Notwithstanding that, qualitative research approach helped me identify and explore in-depth phenomena such as the reason, attitude, behavior, and other contexts behind the selected speeches. This therefore allowed me to research deep into the ideological background of the speeches. Hence, it helped me in my analysis of the data, and experiences of the social actions, rather than subjecting it to mathematical or other formal transformations (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002).

This study is a textual analysis of the selected speeches of Nkrumah. It involved the interpretation and analysis of the texts. These processes considered different possible meanings, inferences, logic, connotations, denotations and ideologies which may be inherent in the selected texts. The study therefore interrogated these issues and then made them apparent.

According to Neuman (2003, p.141), the qualitative method is the most effective method for "…grasping subtle shades of meaning, for pulling together divergent information, and for switching perspectives" (cited in Adjei-Fobi, 2011). This therefore made qualitative research approach the most convenient research approach for this study.

Moreover, qualitative research allowed me to interpret my data and provide an informed meaning of the data (Creswell, 2014). Du Plooy (2002) posits that "the objective of qualitative research are to explore areas where limited information exists and/or describe the trends and attitudes that are applicable" (cited in Aihoon 2015, p. 31).

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3.2 Research Design

The research design for the study is critical discourse analysis (CDA). Van Dijk (1993, p.132) posits that CDA draws attention to "…many inequalities and injustices…enacted, reproduced and legitimized by text and talk". For this reason, Dellinger (1995) cautions readers to be on alert when reading or listening to a linguistic communication (cited in Abdullah-Adiagbon, 2010). He highlighted some characteristics of a language discourse based on CDA. According to him, a discourse has an overtly political agenda that shows the inequality between the speaker(s) and the hearer(s) most often in terms of power relation, exposure, status, knowledge, and social class. For this reason, my choice for CDA approach is to interrogate the selected speeches in order to exhume the buried meanings in the speeches.

Another reason is that the speeches under review are political speeches; therefore, choosing CDA as a research design allowed me to bring to light all the hidden agenda of ideology, power, social issues, and many other inequalities in the speeches.

Secondly, because they are political speeches there was that strong tendency of information manipulation and embellishment of reality and facts on the part of the producer of the text; therefore, CDA allowed me to dig deeper and then exposed those tendencies.

It is also important to quickly add that CDA is not only about politics; rather, its spectrum goes beyond politics to include ideology, power, gender, corruption, religion, social, and historical undertones which may not be apparent to the reader, or the hearer of a text. This is to reestablish the earlier position by Van Dijk that every text has a 'hidden' or latent meaning. CDA therefore seeks to critically analyze text through a careful and

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systematic analysis processes with a view of bringing to light the 'hidden' meanings in the text. To achieve this using CDA as my research design, I paid more attention to the linguistic and extra linguistic features of the discourse in relation to the context (situational, cultural, background knowledge and co-text contexts). I did a critical or close reading of the text to unearth the hidden meanings in the text. CDA can be applied in all discourses that involve the use of language in endeavors such as; politics, media, advertisement, law, education and even domestic matters.

According to Abdullahi-Adiagbon (2010), linguistic features include the use of spoken and written languages such as sentence forms, choice of clauses, phrases and words while non-linguistic features include background knowledge between the interlocutors (the writer/speaker and the hearer/listener) in producing the texts of which the hearer must be able to decode the text in order to better understand and also be able to interpret the text.

Fairclough (2000) postulates that CDA involves functional principles and tenets. Thus discourse shapes and constrains our identities, relationships, knowledge and beliefs in the same fashion as social structures also shape and constrain discourse. This explains why I approached this study with the view of studying the socio-political undertones that informed issues of ideology, and power, which are inherent in the selected speeches. It must be established that my exploratory studies revealed such issues as power, inequalities and ideology in the speeches under review.

Ahmed (2014) alludes that for every communicating act or in every public utterances, there is a direct message in indirect ways. This is as a result of the fact that every text is polysemic and can therefore be subjected to different interpretations. For this reason, CDA offers the best research design for this study. This is because it looks at the inherent

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meanings in a text and gives readers and listeners of every text the opportunity to understand the hidden and indirect meanings in the text. I opted for CDA as the research design for this study because it enabled me to critically analyse the selected speeches and then expose the inherent issues for discussions. This design did not only identify the politics of ideologies from the selected speeches but also showcased how those ideologies, power and inequalities were crafted and thus hidden in the speeches. This design also helped me study the context and the milieu within which those speeches were made and how those periods shaped the ideologies, power and the inequalities that were inherent in the speeches. My exploratory studies have already revealed the issues of ideology, power and inequalities in those speeches; therefore such a design helped in bringing the issues out.

3.3 Sampling Strategy

Sampling strategy directs researchers to know whom to observe or whom to interview (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002). Therefore I chose purposive sampling strategy. Purposive sampling is a form of non-profitability sampling in which decisions concerning the phenomena to be included in the sample are taken by the researcher based upon a variety of criteria which may include specialist knowledge of the research issue, or capacity and willingness to participate in the research, (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002). An intelligent sampling strategy enables the researcher to make systematic contacts with communicative phenomenon with a minimum of efforts (Given, 2008 as cited in Sackey, 2015).

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I purposively chose the three speeches of Nkrumah because my exploratory research showed that those speeches are easily accessible in both audio and visual form.

Secondly, I purposively sampled the three speeches for this study because they share certain characteristics. This is therefore in line with the assertion by Lindlof and Taylor (2002) which posits that when doing purposive sampling, items can be selected based on the criteria of the items sharing certain characteristics. Therefore, I sampled those speeches because they share common characteristics in ideology, power and other social issues which are inherent in the speeches. I chose those speeches purposively because they would better answer my research questions. Hence the selected speeches would make my work more relevant in analysing the issues.

During my data collection processes, I carefully listened and read the speeches making sure that all the key issues in the speeches were underlined. I used a pencil to highlight those key issues of ideology, power, corruption, inequalities and many other social issues which were inherent in the speeches. Then I arranged them in an orderly manner in which the key issues appear. This is to say that some of the ideological issues in the speeches were so apparent to find while others were inherent. Therefore, I sorted out the ones that had inherent meanings. In all I selected five speeches. Because I needed three out of the five speeches, I went through another rigorous screening of the speeches. I, therefore, chose my three speeches based on the chronology of their presentation by the speaker. The first speech was delivered on 21st June, 1962 at the opening of the Accra Assembly, the second was delivered on May 24, 1963 at the Summit Conference of Heads of African States and Government held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and the third speech was the Independence Speech delivered on 6th March, 1957 at the Old Polo Grounds, Accra;

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Ghana. Two of the speeches were delivered locally while the other was delivered at an international forum. I intentionally did that selection so that I would be able to appreciate the issues in the speeches very well in order to see if there were consistency of ideologies, power and social issues in them. Another reason for my selection of the speeches is that the period under discussions saw a form of political renaissance on the continent of Africa with Nkrumah playing a key role. It was also a period that ushered in the peak of Nkrumah's political movement. This is because it was the period that the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union was formed in 1961 among Sekou Toure, Modibo Keita and Kwame Nkrumah himself.

3.4 Data Collection Instruments

I used documents and texts as my data collection instrument. My reason is that according to Cohen and Crabtree (2006), it is inadequate to use a single method to explain a single research phenomenon; instead, a multiple method in order to facilitate deeper understanding of the phenomenon (cited in Aihoon, 2015). For this reason, I chose these two methods because they helped me explore different avenues in information retrievals and also enhanced my appreciation of the data. Document analysis nourished me with a primary source of written document which minimized as much as possible every biases. It also enabled me to get a first-hand information on the speeches under review. Document analysis allowed me to read other literature written by Nkrumah himself as well as other documents written about him too. This enabled me to understand and appreciate the beliefs and ideologies of the period. Document analysis allowed me to read other works that have been done by other studies concerning Nkrumah. Some of the

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books written by him broadened my appreciation and understanding of the data. It also aided my interpretation and rationalization of my findings.

Textual analysis on the other hand allowed me to look beyond the content of the speeches and other phenomenon that might have influenced the content of the speeches. Lindlof and Taylor (2002,p.96-97) posits that "the publication of any qualitative study carries the potential to reveal group or individual secrets, affect reputations, or expose uncomfortable realities that may upset the subjects when they see them in print." This therefore means that through textual analysis many other issues will be exposed using the CDA approach. It also helped me expose other realities and facts which hitherto researchers may not have exposed. I used textual analysis in this study because I wanted to understand the various meanings that may be inherent in the speeches and how those meanings fit into the world in which we live. Textual analysis enabled me to do an educated guess on the text. As human beings we interpret texts in order to make meanings and to get the sense out of it. For this reason, I used textual analysis in this study in order to interpret the speeches and make meanings out of it through educated guesses and other possible interpretations of the texts.

Textual analysis enabled me to see and appreciate how people make sense of the world around them. It enabled me to understand the interpretations of the texts through the findings I made from them. According to Griffin (2003), textual analysis helps researchers to describe and interpret the characteristics of messages. Because I used CDA to investigate the inherent meanings in Nkrumah's speeches, textual analysis enabled me to do a critical discussions on the speeches. Another reason for my choice for textual analysis is that, it enabled me consider other factors that influenced the texts and thus its

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meanings. This is because Griffin (2003, p.17) posits that, "the word *text* is not limited to written materials." What it means is that, text encapsulates both verbal and non-verbal communication. It even includes the milieu which might have influenced a communication act. For this reason, textual analysis enabled me to consider the socio-political milieu of the period since that also influenced the meaning of the speeches. Textual analysis is also interpretive and since this study is largely an interpretation of a communicative act, I found textual analysis very appropriate for the study. According to Griffin (2003, p.17),

> An increasing number of interpretive scholars aren't content merely to interpret the intended meanings of a text. They want to expose and publicly resist the ideology that permeates the accepted wisdom of society. These critical scholars reject any notion of permanent truth or meaning.

My exploratory studies revealed issues of ideology and power which are inherent in the selected speeches. Therefore, since textual analysis enables a researcher to dig deep into the nitty-gritty of a text, it is only appropriate when I chose it in this work.

3.5 Data Collection Process

There were challenges in collating all the speeches of Nkrumah because of the period in which the speeches were delivered and perhaps the bad culture of record keeping by state institutions. I did a cyber-search for the speeches but only got a few of them which were also fragmented. I also resorted to audio recordings of Nkrumah's speeches which I got from the African Youth Improvement Foundation (AYIF) during the 107TH anniversary celebration of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah held at the Great Hall of the University of Ghana on

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27th September, 2016. To check the authenticity of the speeches, I cross-checked them from the Balme Library, University of Ghana, Legon. Furthermore, I checked from published selected speeches of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah by Samuel Obeng (2009). I became satisfied with the data because they were all the same. I had to go through all these verification processes in order to ensure that they are indeed the authentic speeches of Nkrumah to ensure originality and genuineness of work and to validate the quality of my research.

According to Creswell (2013), analysing documents improves the validity of a study as it enables the researcher to track and organize data sources. Since I am looking at CDA, it is therefore proper to also look at documents since it will enable me organise my data sources properly. After having access to the selected speeches, I looked for any documents available that can help in that regard. Atheide (1996, p. 2) defined document analysis as "an integrated and conceptually informed method, procedure, and technique for locating, identifying, retrieving, and analyzing documents for their relevance, significance and meaning" (cited in Amoakohene, 2006). Therefore to be able to obtain relevant and meaningful documents for this study, I resorted to the University of Ghana Library and their School of Communication Studies library as well. I also visited the Osagyefo Library; University of Education, Winneba quite often for materials that aided this study. Both sources provided me with useful documents that really helped shape this study. I analysed these documents and they helped give me broader and divergent ideas to the work. These documents removed all biases and premature conclusions since they offered me useful information. The documents also enhanced my understanding of the topic under discussion and they also gave me some background knowledge of Nkrumah,

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his ideals, beliefs, philosophies, and ideologies which are very key to this study. I visited the Socialists Forum in Accra, which is an ideological center, to search for documents on Nkrumah and to also listen to discussions particularly on Nkrumah. I also visited the Kingdom Book Shop for materials on Nkrumah and on the current study.

These auxiliary documents helped me in assessing the socio-political and socio-economic milieu of the period which may have catapulted those profound ideologies that my exploratory studies revealed. These documents helped me in assessing the period within which the speeches were delivered and how that might have influenced those ideologies. Document analysis allowed some inferences to be made on this study based on what other writers have opined.

3.6 Analysing the Data

I did a value judgment analysis of the data**.** The rationale is that texts can be polysemic and therefore can be subjected to different meanings and interpretation**;** therefore I subjected my analysis through a rigorous interpretation bringing to bare other possible educated guesses. Because many things like culture, power, religion, faith, environment and background can influence people's ideologies and thoughts, I considered these in my interpretations of the data so that I was able to make a value judgment on the texts. Therefore during the data interpretation, I considered different perspectives which aided my explanation and rationalization of the findings.

In order to achieve all these, I did several readings of the texts, at least three times in order to acquaint myself with the social issues, issues of power and issues of ideology as they appeared in the text. At the first reading, I skimmed through the texts and got a pictorial description of the texts just to ensure that I assimilated the key issues that were

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raised in the texts. At the second reading, I scanned through the texts, this time around with particular attention on the key issues raised in the texts; for example, the sentence patterns, the themes, the controlling ideas, the topic sentences, the supporting sentences, the choice of clauses and phrases and the choice of pronouns as well. I then made an outline of the key issues raised in the texts. These details enabled me to draw certain deductions in the course of the study. At the third stage of the reading, I conducted an intensive reading of the text paying particular attention on the various issues raised in the texts. I did this to see how the issues are related to one another so that I could draw distinctions between social issues, ideological issues, and issues of power from other issues that do not raise those concerns. At every stage of the reading, I took notes of the issues with my pencil and a writing pad.

After this stage, I did a deeper and broader interpretations of the issues raised and then saw how the issues were related with one another. I examined the issues beyond their manifest meanings and then went into their latent meaning. I considered the context (situation, cultural, textual) in the analysis. I must state that at every stage of this process, I related the issues to my concepts: power and ideology. I related them to the concepts because of what I said earlier in my concepts that, the concepts would help me better explain and interpret my data. I did so, so that I could develop a better and clearer understanding of the issues in the text. As much as possible, these processes helped me bracket my biases and thus made the study more credible and scientific.

3.7 Summary

This chapter gives a detailed scientific methodology used in the study. It shaped my understanding and the focus of the study. The research approach gave me the needed

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blueprint by restricting the research to only qualitative method. The research design was CDA which enabled me to interrogate the issues in the selected speeches and thus exposed those social issues, issues of power, and issues of ideology which were latent in the speeches. The sampling strategy on the other hand allowed me to purposively select the speeches. In all, the selected speeches were three in number. Data collection processes showed the process I went through in collecting the data. Finally the data analysis showed the processes I went through in analysing the data. I was therefore able to analyse the data without any prejudices and biases that would have compromised the quality of the research. It is therefore clear that the methodology has given me an in depth account of the research approach, research design, sampling strategy, data collection instrument, data collection processes, and finally data analysis processes.

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CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the three selected speeches. My argument lays deeper emphasis on how the issues of power and ideology were constructed in the selected speeches. It exposes the intent behind the power and ideology and the real beneficiaries of the power and ideology. It shows how they were used to satisfy one's whims and caprices. It gives a deeper analysis of how politicians could use language to show obsession of power and ideology. The analysis also exposes how Nkrumah used language and power to demonize his political dissidents in order to court for popular support. It also exposes the inconsistencies in principles leading to abuse of power. Some of the issues in the analysis took us down into the annals of history in order to give a real time account of the issues of power and ideology and how they were constructed. This analysis exposed how skillful language was used in perpetuating and legitimizing power and ideology.

4.1 Research Question One: What are the social issues embedded in the speeches?

This analysis is going to provide a general understanding of the social issues as captured in the selected speeches. It will look at issues of development, globalization, power relations and ideology. It will also focus on the political dynamisms between Africa and

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the rest of the world as exactly captured in the speeches. It will focus on Nkrumah's vision direction on the continent and how he subtly captured those issues in the selected speeches. It is an in depth analyses of the issues; exposing issues of power and ideology that were buried in the speeches. It will also show how those issues affected the African politics and society.

There were a lot of social issues in the selected speeches. Beneath the social issues were buried the grand scheme of ideology and power. These issues were constructed in such a way that they appear subtle in the speeches. This may partly be that Nkrumah knew the numerous social problems the continent faced and therefore used it as an advantage to launch his ideological campaign and to also display power and control.

In the Independence Speech of 1957, he said:

> And as I pointed out…I made it quite clear that from now on-today-we must change our attitudes, our minds, we must realize that from now on, we are no more a colonial but a free and independent people."

In this statement, Nkrumah laid the main social canker that retarded the development and growth of the country. He was referring to the attitude of apathy and the mindset of social negligence and irresponsibility. However, it can be seen that this meaning was not apparent in the text. Nkrumah consciously or unconsciously made this statement in order to awaken a kind of social consciousness and a sense of collective responsibility amongst the masses to eschew apathy which had characterized colonialism and thereby retarding national development. Without any equivocation, Nkrumah was engaged in an ideological exercise aimed at extricating the mentality of the masses from the "shackles

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of colonialism and imperialism" (Nkrumah, 1962). This is in tandem with Hall's postulation on ideology (1990, p.18) as "those images, concepts and premises which provide the framework through which we represent, interpret, understand and make sense of some aspects of social existence." From the perspective of Hall, it is clear that Nkrumah wanted to give a framework of positive attitude towards the development of the newly independent country. This further explains why Gyekye (2004, p.44) posits that "development must be guided and underpinned by a set of goals. These goals reflect that values of a society." Nkrumah, to achieve his social goals had to prepare the mindset of the masses to reflect the social values of the people which for a very long time had been under the mercy of colonialism which was nothing short of exploitations and marginalization.

Some of the social issues in the speeches were on development and the challenges confronting the country and the continent. These social challenges are always not apparent in the speeches. When addressing these social issues, in most cases, he did not only address his audience present but indeed the wider audience in Africa and the world at large. In most cases, the ideology behind such approach was to prepare the minds of the masses and to also instill in them the 'I-can-do-spirit'. For example, in the same Independence Speech, he said: "We have awakened. We will not sleep anymore. Today, from now on, there is a new African in the world!" Here, Nkrumah was reaffirming his commitment to developing the country and making it great. In the statement he said, "…We have awakened. We will not sleep anymore...." A critical scrutiny of this metaphor shows an admission of the fact that the colonial people initially did not show any commitment in developing the country under colonial rule. Therefore, since the

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country was independent, there was the need to draw the attention of the masses and the rest of the world that Africa/Ghana was going to work again. It must be realized also that beneath this social issue was the show of power that was hidden in the text. In effect, it can be interpreted that Nkrumah was informing the masses that the mantle of leadership was in his hands and no more in the hands of the colonial powers. He was saying that the destiny of the country lied under his control. Either way, it is crystal that there was both a conscious or unconscious establishment of social struggle between Nkrumah and the imperial powers of colonialism. This is in tandem with power as postulated by Fairclough (2001,p.57) as "an ongoing process that takes place under conditions of social struggle that is exercised through coercion or consent; it can be won, exercised, sustained and lost in the course of social struggle." Nkrumah did not want to lose his control and mandate to rule; therefore, he had to instill confidence in the masses, "Today, from now on, there is a new African in the world!" The 'new African' represents development, growth, excellence, positive action, social advancement like better roads, hospitals, schools, commerce and so on. There was going to be a departure from the old colonial system to a new system which will be development-centered oriented.

It can also be seen that there was a latent relation of power between Nkrumah and the colonial powers who had not entirely left the shores of Ghana until 1960 when the country became republic. Nkrumah was trying to tell them that 'I am in charge' of the destiny of this country. When he said: "That new African is ready to fight his own battles and show that after all, the black man is capable of managing his own affairs." The expression, 'fight his own battles' is metaphorical; it does not connote violence. Rather, it refers to the numerous social problems of unemployment, illiteracy, health care, social

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injustices like lack of fair trial and many more which the new government was going to surmount. Secondly, there is an ideological dimension to this as well. Ideologically, Nkrumah wanted to psyche the masses up that the African can even do better than the colonial powers. This was to instill hope in the people. This explains why Foucault (1980, p.93) believes that all forms of power are motivated by a "demystification of ideologically distorted belief systems."

There is also the issue of gendered language in the texts. In almost everywhere in the speeches, the pronouns used were masculine. This in a way neglects the role of women in the struggle. This is an act of marginalization against women and downplaying their contributions towards independence and national development. However, either this was a conscious or unconscious move, the end result was that women were not properly captured in the speeches and this therefore made the language used in the speeches a gendered language. This phenomenon can be interpreted that men are more powerful than women. It therefore gives a picture of a patriarchal system since it portrays men as possessors of power and control. Hence, it can be said that Nkrumah used language to subtly construct issues of power and ideology while relying firmly on the social issues characterizing the country in the aftermath of independence. This was to assert his control and to further legitimize his authority and leadership.

Nkrumah also used rhetorical questions in the speech. Deeply buried in the questions were the social issues that confronted Africa. However, they are latent in the speech; it is only through a careful analyses of the text that could reveal these issues. These questions are also embedded with ideology. Ideologically, it can be seen that Nkrumah wanted to

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use those questions to attain an endorsement of the masses over his ambition for the unification of the continent.

In the 1963 speech for example, he said:

> Which African State will claim that its financial structure and banking institutions are fully harnessed to its national development? Which will claim that its material resources and human energies are available for its own national aspirations? Which will disclaim a substantial measure of disappointment and disillusionment in its agriculture development?

In the statement above, it can be seen that Nkrumah was highlighting the social problems that were confronting Africa as a result of disunity. Because, in all the questions he asked, the answers were in the negative. There was no African country that was financially strong and autonomous. Therefore, he was only emphasizing the point that Africa's lack of capital and low agricultural productivity was as a result of the disintegration of the continent. However, there is also a hidden meaning and a hidden agenda in the text. He tried to hide behind these issues to push the African leaders into accelerating the unification of the continent which in many cases stood to benefit him the most. One of the benefits was that, he stood the chance of becoming the first President of the United States of Africa. This would have sustained his powers and control not only in Ghana but indeed the continent as a whole. It would have also entrusted a lot of resources under his control and would have guaranteed him a safe tenure of office. This would have also made Nkrumah a dominant figure in Africa's politics since such a union would have been built on his values. Gyekye (2004, p.45) says**,** "For when we talk of ideology, we

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are talking essentially of values. But the question that immediately arises is, whose values-those of the entire society or those of a section of the society?" It will therefore be interesting to find out on whose values the continent was going to be built. Was it going to be built on Nkrumah's values? If yes, then the question is: Does Nkrumah's ideologies or values represent the ideology or the values of the African masses or it represented a section of the masses-in most cases the political class? The answer is that the ideology did not represent that of the masses. Therefore, the ideology would have favoured some powerful people on the continent; largely the elites and the political class. Given them enough power and resources to the detriment of the masses. According to Van Dijk (1997) ideology must be shared amongst members of a social group so that members of the group whether weak or strong can be aware and contribute to its operation. He posits that ideology should be interested in the identity of a group in terms of membership, activities, aims, values, norms, position and resources. Therefore, since Nkrumah's ideology to unify Africa did not represent the broader values of the masses, it can be said to be parochial. It can also be argued that there was a form of a conspiracy theory by Nkrumah to impose his values and worldviews on the masses without taking into consideration their norms and values.

In the same speech, he said:

> We cannot afford to pace our needs, our development, our security, to that gait of camels and donkeys. We cannot afford not to cut down the overgrown bush of outmoded attitudes that obstruct our path to the modern open road of the widest and earliest achievement of economic independence and the raising up of the lives of our people to the highest level.

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Nkrumah was referring to modernization. He wanted an industrial revolution for Africa where Africa would be able to mechanize its social systems to meet the modern world so as to be able to compete appropriately with the rest of the world. For example, the metaphor, "…to that gait of camels and donkeys" means that Africa was lagging behind in terms of development. He used such an expression to tickle their emotions and conscience into forming a united front to tackle many of the social issues of development on the continent. In all these things lies his ideology for unification. For he believed that it is only when Africa is united that it can achieve national cohesion, identity, economic strength, defense, strong currency, stable economy and so on. The ideology here was to use the social problems into unifying the continent. Nkrumah (1964, p. 59), spoke of ideology as a social unifier. He posits,

> I have said an ideology seeks to bring a specific order into the total life of its society…the ideology of a society displays itself in political theory, social theory, and moral theory and uses these as instruments. It establishes a particular range of political, social, and moral behavior, such that unless behavior of this sort fell within the established range, it would be incompatible with ideology.

As part of the social issues raised in the selected speeches were the issues of security. Nkrumah elaborated extensively on the insecurity of Africa if it still remained not united. A critical analyses of the speeches revealed that Nkrumah used matters of security to create a need for his ideology for continental unity. It was also used to show power and autonomy in case of external interference and aggression. However, without a critical examination and interrogation of the issues, it becomes very difficult for such issues to be

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seen in the speeches since those meanings lay latent in the text. He said in the 1963 speech:

> Many Independent African States are involved by military pacts with the former colonial powers. The stability and security which such devices seek to establish are illusory, for the metropolitan Powers size the opportunity to support their neo-colonialist control by direct military involvement⋯ they threaten the security not only of the country in which they are situated but of neighboring countries as well….

The above text reveals the danger of insecurity that the African States faced should they remain disintegrated. It also reveals the susceptibility of these States to foreign aggression and violation of their sovereignty by foreign powers. This is the apparent meaning in the text but beyond this meaning lies the latent meaning. It must be established that, Nkrumah was an avowed critic of imperialism and neo-colonialism. He wanted a total and complete annihilation of them from the surface of Africa. Therefore he realized that any form of allegiance or alliance between independent African States with their colonial masters could mean an extension of colonialism. For this reason, he saw the need to push forward an African defense system which will take charge of Africa's security; thereby cutting out entirely any form of colonial interference in the affairs of Africa. This, if achieved would have made Nkrumah and the rest of the African leaders very powerful since they will have absolute control over the military. For example, the word 'illusory' as it was used in the text means deceit, lies, unrealistic, phoney, and so on. Nkrumah deliberately used that word to create the meaning that the security of Africa

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did not lie in any form of military alliance with the colonial powers. Rather, he saw it as a form of a military aggrandizement of Europe and America over Africa and its resources especially now that colonialism was being wiped out on the surface of Africa. Nkrumah wanted to cut off completely every form of colonial interest in Africa. This position can be best situated in Nkrumah (1962, xv) when he said:

> The basis of colonial territorial dependence is economic, but the basis of the solution of the problem is political. Hence political independence is an indispensable step towards securing economic emancipation. This point of view irrevocably calls for an alliance of all colonial territories and dependencies.

The other hidden meaning in the text was the issue of foreign military interference. Nkrumah needed to call for military disengagement between Africa and the imperial powers. The reason being that he feared possible torpedo from the colonial powers since they have influence in the security system in Africa. He feared that the colonial powers could use the local military set-up to overthrow any government in Africa that was not kowtowing to their interest. This can therefore create instability and would therefore cut short the lifespan of government. It is possible Nkrumah had in mind that he could be a possible target of such military torpedoes hence, the need to call off any form of military engagement with the imperial powers. This must be the reason behind his strong stands against any form of military alliance with the colonial powers.

At the end of the day, his ideology of Africa having a united military system was to a very large extent going to serve his interest. It was to secure his authority and to also secure his powers from external aggression and influence. Fairclough (2001,p.57), posits

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that "power is an ongoing process that takes place under conditions of social struggle that is exercised through coercion or consent; it can be won, exercised, sustained and lost in the course of social struggle." Therefore Nkrumah was trying to prevent any future social struggle that might be instigated by a military which could be influenced by a foreign imperial power.

The issue of peace and security was a social issue that was captured in the selected speeches. However, such issues were constructed around power and ideology. They were subtly constructed in such a way that they are latent in the text. For example, in the 1962 speech, he said:

> We have reached a point where each of us must decide, once and for all, whether we want to live-and by living, I mean living normally and happily, without any kind of threat of destruction hanging over our heads…we cannot listen to politicians, to generals, to our leaders and our superiors: this is one time when the individuals, the ordinary men and women of the world, must face the situation themselves and when they must have the supreme courage to do what they know is right….Let us have the courage of our convictions and let us act to-day.

Nkrumah used a lot of pronouns in the above statement. There were at least twelve pronouns in the statement. Generically, pronouns are used in place of nouns in order to avoid repetitions of the nouns. Hakansson (2012) posits that the pronoun 'we' is an important pronoun in political speeches. It represents 'institutional identity.' It can also be used to distinguish between 'us' from 'them' in order to create power differentials. Nkrumah used that pronoun to show where he belonged to. The pronoun 'we' as used in

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the context above shows that the speaker belonged to the masses when in actual fact Nkrumah did not belong to the masses. Rather, he belonged to the political class. The pronoun 'we' can either be used in the inclusive sense or the exclusive sense. According to Hakansson (2012), the 'inclusive pronoun' is when the speaker is referring to himself and his audience. It is also used by a speaker in order to prevent personalization of issues and to include others in a phenomenon.

Clearly, Nkrumah wanted to avoid the centralization of power on himself and therefore needed to involve his audience when in actual fact the audience did not benefit from it. In the first sentence, he included himself in the positive act, "we have reached a point where each of us must decide, once and for all, whether we want to live-and by living…" while in the second sentence, he then excluded himself from the group since it was a negative act, "we cannot listen to politicians, to generals, to our leaders and our superiors…." Nkrumah wanted to identify himself with the masses in order to win their support when he actually did not belong to the masses. Rather, he belonged to the political class; the class that he was trying really hard to separate himself from. There was inconsistency of logic in the explanation above whereby in the same sentence he tried to exclude himself from a group he belonged to by painting them bad.

Secondly, the pronouns 'us' and 'they' as they appeared in the statement were used conveniently by Nkrumah to prosecute that agenda. He used it to his favour to create the impression that he was the 'good guy' when in actual fact he and his government were the real beneficiaries of the power and not the masses. This is in tandem with Asher (1994, p. 324) who opined that "nearly all human relationship have power dimension and are expressed via language which reflects, maintains, and enforces power differentials."

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Nkrumah used those pronouns to show the power differentials between himself and the masses. He also appropriated the pronouns when necessary to glorify himself and to exclude himself from any blemishes when necessary.

That notwithstanding, there are other social issues in the speeches that seem to talk about the core developmental challenges that bedeviled the newly independent nations of Africa. Nkrumah, in most cases linked solutions to these numerous social challenges to the unification of the continent. However, such positions were subtly captured in the speeches. It only takes a critical look at the issues before such latent issues become apparent. An example is from the speech of 1963 when he said:

> Unless we can establish great industrial complexes in Africa, what have the urban worker and those peasants on overcrowded land gained from political independence? They are to remain unemployed or in unskilled occupation, what will avail them the better facilities of education, technical training, energy and ambition which independence enables us to provide?

There is a construction of power which is hidden in the statement above. Even though, Nkrumah seemed to be talking about the social problems such as unemployment, illiteracy, lack of technical-know-how amongst many others; there lies in the text the issue of power which was subtly constructed in text. The expression, '…enables us to provide?' showed a control of power by some few people mainly the political class and the elite and obviously not the generality of the masses. It meant that he and his government had the power to provide all those social interventions he listed in the text. He excluded the role of individuals and private citizens in that effort. Meanwhile, in

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earlier statements he created the impression that governance was a shared responsibility. Personal pronouns are either consciously or unconsciously used in political speeches to create a certain effect of power and control. From the statement above, the pronoun 'us' was used in the exclusive sense to exclude the masses and other private citizens from the exercise of power. According to Bramley (2001), "the intention of the 'us' and 'them' separation is to set one group apart from the other group and their actions, and to include or exclude hearers from group membership" (cited in Hakansson, 2012, p.14). This is because the pronoun 'us' can have either in-group interpretation or out-group interpretation. Based on the context, it can be interpreted that the pronoun 'us' represented the in-group which was the political class excluding the masses. The assertion means that the masses were excluded from the exercise of the power to develop the country when in reality development should be a shared responsibility of all. Without a critical look at the statement, an impression could be created that Nkrumah was referring to the generality of the masses when in actual fact, he was referring to the ruling class.

Such pronouns show that the power resided in the ruling class who had that singular responsibility of developing the continent. Van Dijk (1998) defines social power in terms of social control of a group or an organization by an individual, or a group. He posits that an individual or a group may have more or less power depending on how the individual or the group controls the acts and minds of the members of the group. In other words, the extents to which the individual controls the minds and acts of the group will determine how powerful the individual is. By this postulation, it can be deduced that Nkrumah

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wanted to control the minds of the masses by hiding in the text, his absolute control over power from the masses.

4.2 Research Question Two: What are the issues of power and ideology embedded in the speeches?

The selected speeches bring to light many issues of power and ideology that were inherent in the texts. In many cases, issues of power and ideology are mostly manufactured and hidden in our discourses. People who conceal these issues do so either consciously or unconsciously. Those who do it consciously do so in order to prosecute an agenda. The agenda can be in the best interest of a group or will only satisfy the parochial interests of some group or even an individual. Either way, a careful and critical analyses of those texts can expose these latent meanings and thus make them apparent to all and sundry. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was an indispensable figure when it comes to African politics. He is one person who has written extensively on Pan-Africanism, colonialism, philosophy, politics and many more. He has delivered many speeches on different platforms both locally and internationally. According to Okadigbo (1985), Nkrumah is one of the few Heads of States who saw the need to write. For this reason, issues of power and ideology can be seen in many of his writings including the selected speeches under review.

4.2.1 Issues of Power

Nkrumah had been engaged in a power struggle against colonialism since 1947 when he became the General Secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC). In his 1957 Independence Speech, he constructed issues of power in a more subtle way which insinuated that power was won for the people when in actual fact and in practice, the

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power did not belong to the people. Rather, Nkrumah had absolute control over the power he claimed was won for the people. In the 1957 Independence Speech, Nkrumah said, "the battle has ended and Ghana your beloved country is free forever." A critical analysis of this discourse reveals but one important meaning, which is, the change of hands of power. Nkrumah wanted to tell Ghanaians and the world that the masses now have the power to determine their own destiny.

Thus in Nkrumah (1962), he alluded to the fact that the colonial yoke had been broken. What I find very interesting in this discourse is that whereas Nkrumah spoke of power being vested into the hands of the people, the facts did not support the reality because the actual power resided with Nkrumah and not the masses. The real political power was exercised by Nkrumah and his CPP government. They had an overwhelming majority in parliament and in government as well. This therefore created a political dominance in the statement since Nkrumah's influence and power dominated every other power and influence in the country including the powers and influences of the traditional authorities. Nkrumah needed to tell the masses that the power belonged to them so as to win their support and favour. Without a critical look into the text, one may agree that the power was for the masses.

In the same statement above, Nkrumah said "…your beloved country" to mean that the power was for them but that was not the case since the people especially the opposition parties were completely shut down and did not even have the power to establish any political party which was seen against Nkrumah and his CPP government. The use of the pronoun 'your' technically excludes Nkrumah from the equation of benefactors of the power. But that was not the case, Nkrumah used such statement in a very subtle way to

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conceal his absolute control over the power by creating the impression that the independence was for the people when in actual fact he was the person who controlled those powers at all times. Nkrumah needed to create the impression that the power was for them so as to get an unflinching support from the masses; when in actual fact the real beneficiary of the power was Nkrumah and not the masses.

The analyses above is in tandem with Fairclough's concept of power. According to Fairclough (2001,p.57), "power is an ongoing process that takes place under conditions of social struggle that is exercised through coercion or consent; it can be won, exercised, sustained and lost in the course of social struggle". Thus Nkrumah needed to sustain the power he had won; therefore, he had to create the impression that the power was for the masses. He won the power through social struggles and hence cannot afford to lose the power through another social struggle. Just as Fairclough said, Nkrumah used both force and consent in sustaining those powers. He had to incarcerate without trials dissidents he considered affront to the exercise of the power.

To do this, he first of all had to appeal to the consent of the people through the passage of laws like the Deportation Act, Avoidance of Discrimination Act (1957), and Preventive Detention Act (1958). He made the masses give him all those powers to ban all political parties, to incarcerate without trial and to also deport people without trial. Therefore, Nkrumah spoke of 'free forever' when in actual fact, a critical look at the milieu of the time reveals that the people were not free. He became a constitutional dictator. This is because the 1960 Republican Constitution gave him enormous powers to even override decision of parliament. In Fairclough (2001) position, power can be used to emancipate or empower others and it can also be used to oppress or to dominate them. The

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statement, 'free forever' is a statement of emancipation which made Nkrumah a hero and thus assumed that position of power and authority; however, he used this same power to dominate the very people he emancipated. He claimed the masses were free so as to court for their support and to allow him carry out all his plans. Nkrumah was appealing to the commonsense of the masses to further accept him. At the end of the day, this popular acceptance of the masses made Nkrumah a dominant power in Ghana when in actual fact those powers were derived from the masses.

Croteau (2014) posits that the most effective ways of pushing through an agenda is by shaping the commonsense assumptions of people. When the commonsense assumption of the people is shaped, they begin to accept your power and authority without questioning it. This then gives the locus for an individual to dominate through consent. Nkrumah used such statement and many more to appeal to the commonsense of the masses to accept him and thereby dominated them.

By this analysis, I am not insinuating that Nkrumah used the power negatively. Thus since Fairclough and Wodak (1997) says that CDA discusses history, I will like to state that the political milieu of the period under discussion might have made Nkrumah control that amount of power in order to bring about sanity, cohesion and national unity. The period under discussion witnessed a great cause of ethnicity in the political development of Ghana. One can mention the threats of cessation from the Trans Volta Togoland, the demands of the Ashanti and the Northern part of Ghana, and the threats on his life. All of these pressures were conduit to Nkrumah's occasional use of coercion.

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In the same Independence Speech Nkrumah said, “I am depending upon the millions of the country… to help me to reshape the destiny of this country.” I must say that Nkrumah did not use the personal pronoun ‘I’ and ‘me’ as a substitute for his name as we all know it to be the function of a pronoun. Rather, he used it to show power and control. He used the personal pronoun to mean that he now has the power and that the whole nation should rally behind him in order to develop the country.

The use of the ‘I’ and ‘me’ was a personalization of power and authority. He also used it to show his commitment in developing the country. A critical look at the statement reveals that Nkrumah was very passionate in developing the country. It meant that since he now has the power, it was his singular responsibility to develop the country. To do so, he needed the support of the masses. Clearly, it does not mean that he shared the power with the masses. The masses were just passive beneficiaries of the power whereas Nkrumah was the active beneficiary of the power.

It can also be viewed from the perspective that Nkrumah used the personal pronoun ‘I’ to construct a personal responsibility but without the intention of neglecting the roles of others in the struggle of building the country. This is also in line with Foucault (1980) concept of power. Foucault argued that power is a creation of social interactions; it is a product of social construction. In simple language, power can be defined as the probability that one person within a social group would be in a position of controlling the affairs of a group and would require the full obedience and cooperation of the group. By using the pronoun ‘I’ and ‘me’, Nkrumah was telling the masses that he was now in charge of the operations of the state; he had the sovereign powers of government. Just as

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Foucault (1980), Nkrumah was courting for a full cooperation of the people to help him exercise those power.

In the same Independent speech, Nkrumah said, **"**we are prepared to pick up and make it a nation that will be respected by every nation in the world." This statement can be interpreted to mean that the speaker wanted to establish some kind of a relationship based on equality with his audience because of the use of the pronoun **'we'.** This is because the pronoun has created a sort of a close relationship between the speaker and his audience. This was deliberately done in order to control the minds of the audience so as to build a common ground of understanding and working together.

Since CDA is interpretative, another critical and deeper analysis of the statement reveals another dimension of the show of power in the statement. Thus, even though power had been won for the masses, the exercise of that power did not belong to the masses but rather a few people, mostly the political elites; that is, Nkrumah and top elements of his CPP government. However, without a critical look, the statement could mean the power to make the nation get respect from every nation in the world belonged to all of them including the masses because of the use of the pronoun, 'we'. According to Hakansson (2012), the pronoun 'we' gives institutional identity. That is to say that, Nkrumah was identifying himself with the masses. However, 'we' can also be used to separate one group from the other (to separate us from them).

According to Bramley (2001), "the intention of the 'us and 'them' separation is to set one group apart from the other group and their actions, and to include or exclude hearers from group membership" (cited in Hakansson, 2012, p.14). This is because according to

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Bramley (2001), the pronoun, 'we' can have two meanings: 'the inclusive we' which can be used to refer to the speaker and the listeners or viewers of a text and 'the exclusive we' which can be used to refer to a certain group of people within a larger group and not the generality of the people. A critical analyses of the text revealed that the pronoun 'we' was used in the exclusive sense of the word and not in the inclusive sense of it. The statement means that power did not belong to the masses but rather it belonged to the political class which was made up of Nkrumah and his CPP government. However, the way the statement was constructed created the impression that the power was for the masses and not some selected few. Hence, without a critical look, an impression could be created that Nkrumah was referring to the generality of the masses when in actual fact, he was referring to the ruling class.

A similar statement can also be found in the speech he made in May 1963 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: "In the task which is before *us* of unifying our continent *we* must fall in with that pace or be left behind." The pronoun, 'us' and 'we' is also used in the exclusive sense to exclude the masses from the exercise of the power. The pronouns clearly show that the power resided in the ruling class who had that singular responsibility. This is in line with Van Dijk (1998) concept of power. He defines social power in terms of social control of a group by an individual or a group. He posits that an individual may have more power when the individual is able to control the minds and actions of the group.

Clearly, the expressions above show that Nkrumah wanted to control the minds of the masses by making them believe that he and his government have the wherewithal and the

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capability of developing the country and also unifying the continent. By so doing, he wanted to legitimize his control over them. Such control had its own positives and negatives. The ability of an individual to control the minds and actions of people can foster unity amongst a group of people. In the case of Ghana, events leading to Independence can only vindicate Nkrumah on the need for the exercise and the legitimization of such powers and control. This is in line with Van Dijk (1998) position that dominant groups may resist, accept, condone and even legitimize such powers. They may integrate such powers and dominations into laws, rules, norms, habits, and even form a consensus over such power.

Accordingly, Van Dijk was asserting that since actions are controlled by the mind, then if one is able to control and influence the human mind (opinions, perceptions, knowledge etc.) then one can control the human action. Therefore, both consciously and unconsciously, Nkrumah attempted to control the minds and actions of the masses by making them feel that power was for them thereby controlling their actions. More so, Van Dijk (1998) posits that since people's minds are most often influenced by text and talk, discourse may indirectly control their actions. Nkrumah adopted that kind of statements so that he could control their actions.

In the same speech, Nkrumah went on to say that,

> … and my last warning to you is that you are to stand firm behind us so that we can prove to the world that when the African is given a chance he can show the world that he is somebody!

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This statement is a show of power and authority. The expression, 'my last warning to you' depicts Nkrumah as someone who wielded the power and not the masses. The pronouns, 'my' and 'you' show power differentials between Nkrumah and the masses. It depicts Nkrumah as very powerful as against the people he claimed the independence was won for. This is in relation to what Brown and Gilman (1960) said that the choice of pronouns is determined by the relationship between a speaker and his audience. Clearly, the statement above showed the relationship between a powerful speaker addressing his subordinates. Even though, the text seemed to consider the masses as partners to development, they were not since a critical analyses of the text will reveal a master-servant-relationship between Nkrumah and the masses. The statement showed inequality of status and power between the addresser and the addressees. This is also in line with Van Dijk (1998) who said that power has to do with the control of people's minds, thus when their minds are controlled then you can control their actions. Nkrumah made these statements either consciously or unconsciously to control the minds and actions of the masses.

The speech he delivered in May, 1963 at Addis Ababa also depicts power in a subtle way. He said,

> A whole continent has imposed a mandate upon us to lay the foundation of our Union at this conference, it is our responsibility to execute this mandate by creating here and now the formula upon which the requisite superstructure may be erected.

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Even though this statement carries some ideological issues which are embedded in the statement, there is also the element of power which is also embedded in it. Nkrumah was trying to say that he and the other Heads of States have the legitimate power to rule their people and they have the overwhelming support of the masses. And that, the exercise of those powers are recognized and supported by all and sundry on the continent. For example when he says, '…it is our responsibility…' He was not referring to the masses, he was rather referring to the political class, the intelligentsia, and the elites. Meanwhile, the idea of independence was to empower the masses to be able to stand up for their rights. Thus independence was not meant to give power to some few people who will control affairs without the consent of the generality of the masses.

The above text clearly shows that Nkrumah wanted to control the minds and thoughts of the Heads of States present at that meeting into accepting and believing that there was that sense of urgency to the unification. To be able to do that he subtly capitalized on the power he has as the Head of State of Ghana. This is in line with Van Dijk (1998) who said that since actions are controlled by the mind, then if one is able to control and influence the human mind (opinions, perceptions, knowledge etc.), one can control the human action.

Secondly, the same expression above also shows that Nkrumah was calling on all of them to bring their powers together. However, the call was amplified through the use of the expression, "it is our responsibility…" Also the use of the pronoun, 'us' depicts a polarization of power between 'us' and 'them'. This means that the 'us' were the in-

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groups which were mainly the political elites and the 'them' were the out-groups which were the masses.

It must also be stated at this point in time that the issues of power and ideology in the selected speeches are so intertwined with each other that sometimes it becomes very difficult dichotomizing between them. This therefore makes the discussions and analyses very interesting because a critical analyses of the issues will certainly bring the issues out. One of such examples can be seen in the same speech he delivered in 1963 in Addis Ababa when he said: "African Unity is, above all, a political kingdom which can only be gained by political means." Even though there are ideological issues in this statement, there is also the issue of power which is not apparent in the statement. Nkrumah by this statement agreed that the separate independence of the African countries would be insignificant. Hence, it is only when they are united that they can be very powerful and thus assert their position in world politics. It means that their strength and power lay in their unity. He alluded in the same speech:

> So many blessings must flow from our unity: so many disasters must follow on our continued disunity, that our failure to unite today will not be attributed by posterity to faulty reasoning and lack of courage, but to our capitulation before the forces of imperialism.

In simple language, Nkrumah was saying that Africa can only be powerful when it is united. He wanted to showcase power and relevance of Africa in world politics. Nkrumah by these statements was not only appealing to the conscience of the Heads of States but was also trying to control the minds of the leaders into agreeing to the concept of

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unification. This he believed was the only way to make the continent powerful. This is in line with the concept of power by Van Dijk (1998) who said that actions are controlled by the mind, therefore one is able to control and influence the human action by controlling the human mind (opinions, perceptions, knowledge etc.).

Nkrumah believed that unification will make them powerful just like the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR). It is important to state at this point that ideology is always driven by power. Therefore even though the statement above has ideological undertones, it was also driven by power. Foucault (1980, p.93) said that all forms of power are motivated by a "demystification of ideologically distorted belief systems." Therefore Nkrumah wanted to use his powers as the Head of State of Ghana and also the leader of the first independent state in sub-Saharan Africa to demystify his grand scheme of African Unity.

Nkrumah's speeches are clouded with many issues of power which are inherent. He always acknowledged the fact that the power was won by the people and for the people and must therefore be exercised in the best interest of the people. In the same speech he said: "Our people supported us in our fight for independence because they believed that African Governments could cure ills of the past in a way which could never be accomplished under colonial rule." The point is that even though the statement meant that sovereign power resided in the people; that was not the case because the actual exercise of the power resided in the leadership present at the meeting. In most cases, the power was exercised to serve their interests. According to Foucault (1980), power is a creation

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of social interaction. Nkrumah was therefore engaged in such social discourse with his colleagues Heads of States in order to assert his powers and authority.

Nkrumah also used the vast resources abundant on the continent of Africa to show power. However, because he was talking about the resources, hardly would one recognize the latent show of power in the speech. For example he said, "Our continent is probably the richest in the world for minerals and industrial and agricultural primary materials." Within the context in which Nkrumah made this statement, it can be understood that he was only referring to the vast wealth which was at the disposal of the continent. But it is important to know that, the statement goes beyond that meaning. In actual fact, he was referring to how powerful the continent could be if they were able to harness these resources. Thus he was not just talking about the wealth of the continent but referring to power in which the resources can be turned into. Nkrumah was trying to say that Africa could be more powerful than the West and the East looking at the abundance of the resources at its disposal.

In Nkrumah (1964), he postulates that political independence alone was not enough to make the continent powerful, rather, the ability to harness the collective resources of the continent would make the continent powerful in the comity of nations. For Nkrumah, to be powerful means to have absolute control over your resources. He believed that it is only when the continent harnessed its resources could it become powerful, assertive and attain true self-actualisation. He indicated in the same text, "…but we ourselves have failed to make full use of our power in independence to mobilize our resources…"

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Nonetheless, Nkrumah was saying that Africa could be powerful if it is able to boost its agricultural sector. This issue of power and control, however, is created subtly in the text. He insinuated that if Africa is self-sufficient economically, it would be powerful and would be able to resist any form of dominance and control from the West. He said in the same text:

> "…the Congo basin alone can produce enough food crops to satisfy the requirements of nearly half the population of the world. For centuries, Africa has been the milch-cow of the Western World. It was our continent that helped the Western World to build up its accumulated wealth."

There is the construction of power in this text. Nkrumah was saying that if Africa is able to feed half the population of the world, it would be powerful and a force to reckon with in world affairs. However, this meaning is latent in the text. Nkrumah engaged the Heads of States in a social discourse in order to consolidate power relations between Africa and the West. This is in line with the concept of power as espoused by Foucault (1980, p.93). He posits that:

> In any society, there are manifold relations of power which permeates, characterize and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse**.**

In order to show Africa's power and abilities in World politics, he advocated in the speech for the establishment of an African High Command. In the speech, he sounded the

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establishment of that force was for security reasons. However, a critical analyses of the text reveals that it could have also been used for aggression. Nkrumah wanted to create an armed group which would be used to accelerate his grand scheme of unifying the continent. It was meant to make the continent powerful and to show to the rest of the world that Africa was a power to reckon with. He wanted to use the force to annihilate colonialism on the continent. He wanted to use the force to legitimize the struggles of the freedom fighters. He wanted to arm them and to incorporate them into the national army which would be recognised and supported financially and logistically by the continent. He said, "We do not want nor do we visualize an African High Command in terms of power politics that now rule a great part of the world…"

In another speech he delivered in 1962, Nkrumah showed a lot of power display and inferiority complex to show that he controls more power than everybody else. Even though, he addressed the members of the Assembly as 'Distinguished Friends' there was still the enactment of power which was hidden in the text. Nkrumah did not consider them as his co-equals. He considered himself as more powerful than them. For example when he said, "You are meeting at a time when the United Nations Committee of eighteen nations at Geneva is still engaged in its task of attempting to draw up a treaty for general and complete disarmament." Such language and wording does not show equality between the speaker and his audience. First of all, the pronoun 'You' was used in the exclusive sense excluding Nkrumah from the rest of the group; yet he calls them 'Distinguished Friends'. Without a careful look at the statement, one may be tempted into thinking that Nkrumah saw members of the Assembly as his equals when in actual fact he did not. By that expression, he asserted his powers and authority over them. According

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to Allen (2006), the pronoun 'you' can either be used to refer to the audience or can be used in the generic or indefinite sense. When it is used in the indefinite sense, it may be used as a replacement for 'I' in this case referring to the speaker or is used to include the speaker as a member of the group (cited in Hakansson, 2012). The generic 'you' according to Allen (2006) can also be used by politicians to either include or exclude themselves from the generalization (cited in Hakansson, 2012). Therefore it can be understood from the context that Nkrumah excluded himself from the generalization to show that he is the Head of State and that he has the power to call members of the Assembly to action.

The same speech depicts Nkrumah as someone who wields more power than anybody else. However, it is latent in the speech therefore without a critical look, it will be difficult for his audience to notice. He said, "In the Positive Action campaign which I initiated in Ghana during colonial times, and which led to a realization by the British authorities that the time had come to end colonialism here, I always insisted upon non-violent action." The use of the personal pronoun 'I' puts Nkrumah up and above everyone. It creates the impression that he was the only person who initiated the struggle for independence when in actual fact the struggle started long before him. He, therefore, assumed the position of absolute power and control and wanted everyone to realise his powers and authority to govern.

Once again, Nkrumah did not use the personal pronoun 'I' as a substitute for his name as we all know it to be the fundamental function of a pronoun. The personal pronoun was used to show authority. The use of 'I' was a personalization of power and authority. He

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also used it to show his commitment to the fight against colonialism. It also meant that since the control of the state was in his hands, it was his singular responsibility to develop the country. According to Bramley (2001), the pronoun 'I' in political speeches can be used to show the authority of the speaker (cited in Hakansson, 2012, p.14). It can also be used to place the speaker above all others. It can be used to show personal qualities such as principles, moral, power etc. Thus Nkrumah's use of the personal pronoun in the statement above shows that he was more powerful than all his compatriots in the struggle against colonialism.

It is important to state that political pronouns are very significant in political speeches so that its impact should not be underemphasized. Clearly, Nkrumah used these pronouns skillfully to show power, dominance and control. He used it very succinctly so that it becomes concealed. The use of the first person pronoun just like the examples quoted above created a dichotomy of power between the speaker (Nkrumah) and his audience. There was a power differentials between him and the masses. Just like Van Dijk (2000) said that political pronouns are used to signal roles and to also show self-reference and identity. Nkrumah therefore used these pronouns to refer to himself as the Head of State and to also identify himself with his audience of having a common goal and objective of developing the continent of Africa. The use of such personal pronouns also made Nkrumah an active participant in the whole enterprise of power and control and not a passive participant of it. This proposition is a manifestation of what Fairclough and Wodak (1997) said about CDA as a form of social action. It uncovers latent power relations in every discourse. It does this in order to create a just society and create social justice.

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Nkrumah, while addressing the National Assembly in June 1962, made a statement that showed how powerful the continent of Africa was in world politics. However, the construction of power is latent in the statement such that without a critical look, it becomes difficult identifying it. In the first place, he made the historical allusions of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Britain, France, North America, Latin America, Germany and Italy. These were periods that saw these countries grow to fame and power. Nkrumah was trying to allude that Africa can also grow to power and fame just like the countries mentioned above. He said,

> …what took place in Britain in the seventeenth century, in North America and France in the eighteenth century and in Latin America, Germany and Italy in the nineteenth century, is to-day, in our own century, taking place before our eyes in Africa.

Nkrumah was trying to say that these countries are not powerful than Africa, Africans can also be as powerful as them. Nkrumah wanted to create a form of equality amongst the comity of states in the world. He wanted the world to know that the continent of Africa is not weak and that it can take its rightful position in world politics. This is in tandem with Van Dijk (1998) concept of power. He asserts that the most critical work on any discourse revolves around social power. He looks at social power in terms of social control of a group or an organization by an individual. He posits that an individual or a group may have more or less power depending on how the individual or the group controls the acts and minds of the members of the group. Therefore, Nkrumah, was engaged in a psychological warfare trying to control the minds of the members of the

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Assembly present. It must also be stated at this point that there is power in words, therefore Nkrumah was using powerful diction to control the minds and hearts of the people into kowtowing to him. Congruent to this position, Asher (1994, p. 324) opines that "nearly all human relationship have power dimension and are expressed via language which reflects, maintains, and enforces power differentials". Thus, because power is expressed and experienced through a discourse, Nkrumah used that opportunity to express his power and authority. Nkrumah was able to show his powers and political influence through such social interactions.

A critical investigation into the statement above also revealed that Nkrumah was challenging the dominant role the 'powers' mentioned above were enjoying in world affairs. He wanted to project Africa as another dominant political power that could also play a dominant role in world politics. This is in relation to what Van Dijk (1998) said about how dominant groups may resist, accept, condone and even legitimize such powers. They may integrate such power and dominations into laws, rules, norms and habits. Nkrumah therefore wanted to legitimize every attempt by Africa to rise to power and fame by resisting the notion that Europe and America were powerful than Africa. Nkrumah was resisting that notion through the power of words. He was trying to control the minds and actions of his audience.

4.2.2 Issues of Ideology

Ideological issues can be seen in almost every speech that Nkrumah delivered. This may partly be as a result of the fact that Nkrumah wanted a paradigm shift from the affairs of Africa which for many years was dominated by foreign powers. Ideologically, it can be

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said that Nkrumah was largely influenced by Marxism and therefore many of his grand ideological postulations, even the ones in the speeches under review, could be traced to the Marxist school of thoughts. It can also be argued that Nkrumah himself was an ideologue. In Nkrumah's 1957 *Autobiography,* he declared, "I am a non-denominational Christian and a Marxist Socialist and I have not found any contradiction between the two" (cited in Biney 2011, p.6).

Nkrumah's political ideology was for the unification of Africa and he did not miss any word or any opportunity to talk about it. In many instances the ideological issue of African unification are subtly created in his speeches. While some of them were apparent in the speeches, others were not; therefore it is only a careful examination of the speeches that would reveal these latent ideological issues.

Nkrumah knew very well that the mentality of the Ghanaian or the African had been brainwashed which had then affected his/her worldview. There was therefore the need for a conscious efforts to deconstruct these ideologies which had been deeply infected by colonialism. His grand ideology was a complete departure from colonialism. Hence, there was a deliberate attempt to extricate the African from the shackles of colonialism and imperialism. Nkrumah knew that colonialism was an ideological warfare between Europe and America and therefore would take another ideological war to defeat its continuity even after independence (Nkrumah, 1962).

All these issues of ideology were constructed subtly in the selected speeches so that without a critical analyses of the issues it becomes very difficult to see it. In the Independence Speech of 1957 he delivered at the Old Polo Grounds in Accra, Ghana, he said: "…I made it quite clear that from now on-today-we must change our attitude, our

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minds, we must realise that from now on, we are no more a colonial but a free and independent people." There is some element of ideology in this statement which was not apparent. The ideology was to try and create a sense of nationalism and patriotism in the masses which had been dead through decades of colonialism. However, the language had been constructed in such a way that the actual meaning is hidden. Nkrumah was trying to change their worldview which had been infected by apathy as a result of colonialism. However, it can also be seen that, within the broader ideological issue, there is also the tenacity of domination in the statement. Thus, he wanted the masses to accept him and to obey his powers and authority. Nkrumah was using language and speech to appeal to the commonsense of the masses; however, the language was not straightforward, this meaning was subtle in the speech so that without a careful look at the speech and also the milieu of the period, it becomes very difficult to know it. This is in consonance with what Fairclough (1989, p. 2) says about ideology. He said, "Ideology is closely linked to language because using language is the commonest form of social behavior…where we rely most on commonsense assumptions. "Fairclough explained commonsense assumptions as "implicit in the conventions according to which people interact linguistically, and of which people are generally not consciously aware." Nkrumah was trying to appeal to the commonsense of the masses that they were free when in actual fact they were not entirely free until 1960 when the nation attained its republic from Great Britain. This may partly explain why he made the issue of independent and freedom very significant in that speech. He wanted to instill in the minds and hearts of the masses that he had got them independence in order to legitimize his rule over them. This is why Fairclough (1992, p.67) posits that "ideology is significations generated within power

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relations as a dimension of the exercise of power and struggle over power in the form of partial representations and misrepresentations."

Nkrumah, since his school days abroad had always believed in the unification of the continent of Africa. He believed that it is only when Africa is united that it can attain its full potential, politically and economically. In his 6th March, 1957 speech, he made a similar call for the unification, however, the language was made subtly. He said: "Our independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa." Nkrumah did not mention African Unity in this statement but a careful study of the speech, the context and the milieu of the period only reveals that Nkrumah was referring to the Unification of the continent. The unification of the continent had been his burning desire since time immemorial. By this statement, Nkrumah was saying that Ghana was going to be the springboard for the liberation of the continent. This fact is undisputable because by 1957, Ghana was the only sub-Saharan African country to have attained independence. It has become necessary for me to make this allusion in the analyses because of the position of Hall (1985, p. 103). He posits that "…any investigation in ideology must involve an assessment into their extensive background data or their historical contexts because it is these practices and not the discourse which are inscribed by ideologies."

It can therefore be argued that Nkrumah's grand ideology behind African Unity was to foster national unity and African identity which would promote growth and development. Van Dijk (1998, p.258) considers ideology as a 'worldview' that constitute 'social cognition.' He posits that ideologies are "schematically organized complexes of representations and attitudes with regard to certain aspects of the social world." For

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Nkrumah, African Unity was his worldview. He considered that unity as the only way to develop the continent by harnessing its resources. Nkrumah made that statement to remind his audience that he was still committed to his ideology of African Unity. He believed such an ideology would unite the African race and then bring about the necessary development which would be parallel to none. This is in tandem with Nkrumah (1964, p. 57), he posits:

> Though the ideology is the key to the inward identity of its group, it is in intent solidarity. For an ideology does not seek merely to unite a section of the people; it seeks to unite the whole of the society in which it finds itself….

In another speech he made in 1963, he also expressed another passionate sentiment on African unity. He said:

> The unity of Africa, which is to me and many others, the most important single international issue, may follow from either the system of capitalism as practiced in the United States to-day, or the system of Socialism, as practiced in the Soviet Union.

Nkrumah, ideologically wanted Africa to carve a niche for itself. He believed that Africa when united could become a political and ideological bloc rivalled to the Eastern and Western powers of the world. By the statement above, Nkrumah was trying to say that African Unity was the single most important phenomenon to him. In the same Independence Speech, Nkrumah said: "We are going to demonstrate to the world, to the other nations, that we are prepared to lay our own foundation." This is purely an ideological crusade that Nkrumah was pushing forward**.** When he said, "…lay our own foundation" he was referring to the ideals, principles, beliefs, concepts, doctrines, social,

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economic and political institutions which were African in style and orientation which was going to serve as the roadmap or the blueprint upon which the 'New Africa' would be developed. A system which would be completely divorced from Europeanism and Americanism. This explains why he said, "…to the other nations". Thus totally dichotomizing Africa from the rest of the World. This assertion can be attested in his earlier postulation. In Nkrumah (1964, p.5), he said: "…I learnt to see philosophical systems in the context of the social milieu which produced them." In other words, Nkrumah had this belief and convictions of tailoring the affairs of Africa to suit the African context.

Another significant ideological dimension to the above statement is that even though Nkrumah was addressing the citizens of the newly independent nation, the statement referred to the western powers as well. It meant to tell them that Ghana/Africa was no longer going to kowtow to the economic and political ideologies of the West which was nothing but an avenue for exploitation and extortion. Rather, the country/continent was going to carve a political and social systems which was African in character. This is in tandem with what Wodak (1996, p.18) said. He said that ideologies are "particular ways of representing and constructing society which reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation." For this reason, it is undeniable the fact that, the ideology behind colonialism was just an avenue for economic and political exploitations which created an unequal power relations between the colonial masters and their colonies. Nkrumah had understood this system for many years and in many of his writings particularly *Towards Colonial Freedom* (Nkrumah, 1962), *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-Colonization and Development with Particular*

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Reference to the African Revolution (Nkrumah, 1964), he exposed the colonial ideology. Just as Wodak postulated, Nkrumah in the above statement wanted to deconstruct the political and economic ideology in Africa which had created inequality and disadvantaged Africa.

It must be emphasized that, Nkrumah never missed the opportunity of talking about African Unity in almost all the speeches I have reviewed. Whereas it was apparent in some of the speeches, it was latent in others. For example, in the speech of 1962, he once again said, "The struggle for African Unity and independence is therefore an essential part of the struggle for world peace." There is a hidden ideology behind the continuous call for African Unity. This ideology comes from the commonsensical believe that when a phenomenon is repeated severally, people begin to accept it and act on it. This explains why Fairclough (1989, p. 2) posits that "ideology is closely linked to language because using language is the commonest form of social behavior…where we rely most on commonsense assumptions." Fairclough explained commonsense assumptions as "implicit in the conventions according to which people interact linguistically, and of which people are generally not consciously aware." Thus Nkrumah continued to talk about African Unity at every fora in order to create a commonsense approach for the need for the unification of the continent. What makes this assertion so revealing is the fact that, he conditioned world peace on the unification and independence of Africa. This can best be described as an ideological warfare looking at the milieu within which the speech was made. It was made around the cold war (1953-1962); a period of an ideological war between the Eastern Bloc and the Western Bloc for control and domination. However, without a critical analysis and scrutiny of the speech, the context and the milieu, it

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becomes very difficult exposing these issues and the ideologies behind them. An analysis of the context and milieu, revealed that the Eastern Bloc (the Soviet Union and its allies) and the powers in the Western Bloc (United States and its NATO allies) were forming alliances across the World. The ideology was to push these world powers into ensuring African Unity. This explains why he said that it was the only thing that would ensure 'world peace'.

It is an undeniable fact that Nkrumah's ideology tilted towards the Eastern bloc or socialism. He believed that it was the only economic system that would bring about the accelerated growth and development Africa needed. He projected socialism by painting capitalism badly so as to get the support of the masses and the elites. For example in the speech of 1962, he said:

> …owing to Africa's colonial background, there is no class of indigenous African capitalists, it is impossible to build up a capitalist system in the same way as, for example, Japan has done. A capitalist system in Africa upon the United States model, if it could be constructed at all, which is doubtful, would be essentially a system of domination of Africa by foreign capital.

Even though Nkrumah did not mention socialism in the statement above, it was subtly mentioned in the speech. It is clear that he was trying to demonize capitalism and obviously to project socialism. There was a silent comparison between the two ideologies. Nkrumah had openly declared his support for socialism on many occasions in his write-ups, and speeches. For example, in Biney (2011, p.6), he said, "I am a non-denominational Christian and a Marxist Socialist and I have not found any contradiction between the two." It is interesting to know that socialism entrust all resources into the

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hands of the state unlike capitalism. What this means is that whoever controls these resources would be very powerful. Therefore, since Nkrumah was the Head of State, he was going to have absolute control over these resources under a socialist system. That would therefore make him the single most important and most powerful person in the country. To be able to achieve this, there was the need to control the minds of the people by first of all, making them accept and believe in socialism. Just as Sereno and Mortensen (1970, p. 32) said,

> One of the most important sources of each person's fundamental values is his membership in small groups, organizations, societies, and culture…when a rhetorical situation involves the actual or implied presence of such groups, the norms of those groups predictably are going to function as an ideology which will tend to set limits for attitudes of group members.

Nkrumah used his speeches as an ideological tool to control the attitudes and opinions of the people into accepting socialism. It can also be argued that Nkrumah's repulsive attitude on the ideology behind capitalism was as a result of his experiences of capitalism and colonialism. For example in Nkrumah (1962, p.4) he said, "The origin of colonialism is nothing else than enterprise of individual interests, a one-sided and egotistical phenomenon of European capitalist aggressiveness, one which has been rightly termed 'colonial imperialism'…." This and many more of such postulations of him might have influenced his ideology on socialism as against capitalism. This is in tandem with Hall (1985, p. 103) who posits that "any investigation in ideology must involve an assessment into their extensive background data or their historical contexts

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because it is these practice and not the discourse which are inscribed by ideologies." Hall (1990, p.18), further defines ideology as "those images, concepts and premises which provide the framework through which we represent, interpret, understand and 'make sense of some aspect of social existence" .

Nkrumah was also opposed to Africa joining the world trade order. He wanted Africa to develop a trade order which would be able to harness the resources of the continent for its own good. He said in the speech of 1962 that:

> How can we possibly build a strong trade union movement in Africa if we are under continuous pressure to join either one or other of these rival groups? We want fraternal assistance from trade unionists from all over the world, but we want it without ideological strings attached to it.

There is a latent ideology unpinning the statement above. Nkrumah wanted a complete disengagement and colonial influence over Africa. He did not want to follow the world trade order which only satisfies the interests of the capitalists. Therefore, he wanted Africa to discontinue imperialism. The ideology was to make Africa an economic power which will dictate the prices of their own goods and services. The ideology is that when Africa is able to model an economic system for itself, it would promote economic integration and thereby bring about the Unification he had always wanted. Therefore, it can be deduced that the statement was to serve Nkrumah's interest for African Unity. However, he made it in such a way that such ideology is buried in the text. This is in line with Baron and Davis' (2003) assertion that Marx hierarchical class system of society was the cause of all social upheavals and this can only be ended through a revolution by

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the proletariat. Marx believed that society has been dominated by the elites for too long a time and that the few elites have taken the advantage of their position in society to exploit and marginalized the majority in society. Thus because the elite have power, they also exercise the power to feed their whims and caprices to the detriment of the masses. This elite-controlled-society, Marx believes, was as a result of their direct control over the means of production which is the base of every society. Therefore, Marx was calling for a revolution against the old system and then replace it with a new system that would promote equality, and egalitarianism. Per this Marxists postulation, it can be rationalized that Nkrumah wanted Africa to have direct control over its resources and the means of production. He wanted a change from the old economic order which was heavily influenced by the East and the West to a new economic order that would promote fairness, and equity. The hidden ideology behind this phenomenon was to make Africa powerful, economically and politically.

It must be stated that Nkrumah by all means wanted to destroy the colonial structures in Africa. He understood the ideology behind colonialism as an avenue for economic and political exploitations (Nkrumah, 1962). However, this ideological agenda of Nkrumah was sometimes apparent in his speeches and sometimes too hidden in the speeches. Ideologically, he believed that political independence was a conduit for attaining economic independence (Nkrumah, 1964). Therefore, he did everything to ensure the unification of the continent. He said in the 1962 speech:

> So long as international trade unionism is based upon rival ideologies and cold war politics, it is impossible for African States to link their trade union system with either group. External pressure to join this or that grouping does nothing to

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> help trade unionism in Africa. It merely divides the African people, and divided peoples are in themselves a threat to peace.

It is apparent in the above statement that Nkrumah was referring to international trade but deep within the text lies his ideology for continental unity. Through the above text, Nkrumah was underscoring the need for the unity of the continent which he believed was the only thing that would ensure economic independence. However, this ideology was stated in such a way that it was not apparent in the text. The ideology was to push Africa into developing its own trade system that would be independent of the colonial system which he calls 'a new form of imperialism' (Nkrumah, 1962).

Even though, he never mentioned continental unity in the statement, the hidden ideology is evident in the text through a critical analyses of it. Fairclough (1992, p.67) posits that "ideology is significations generated within power relations as a dimension of the exercise of power and struggle over power in the form of partial representations and misrepresentations." It can be seen that there was a power relation or a power struggle between Nkrumah and the colonial powers in Africa for control over the political and economic resources of the continent. This also means that the production of ideology can only be achieved through the control over power. Thus when one has power one can implement his/her ideologies. Therefore, Nkrumah wanted political independence so that he could have absolute control over the resources of Ghana and use those resources to foster his grand ideology for continental unity. Nkrumah in many of his speeches, hides this ideology but Fairclough (2001, p.69) had emphasized the point that "the operation of ideology can be seen in terms of ways of constructing texts which constantly and

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cumulatively 'impose assumptions' upon text interpreters and text producers, typically without being aware of it." Therefore, the way the text was constructed, it makes this hidden ideology apparent to the interpreter of the text.

In the 1960 speech, there is also a hidden ideology beneath the text. He said: "…I believe, the only principle which can bring peace and prosperity to Africa, the principle of 'one man, one vote'." The ideological issue hidden in this text is democracy. He was referring to the 'principle' of democracy. Nkrumah believed that with the overwhelming majority of the African population as against colonial minority in Africa just as the case of South Africa, Ghana, Nigeria and many more nations in Africa, elections were the easiest way through which colonialism could be ended. This would therefore ensure a peaceful transfer of power from the colonial masters unto the hands of Africans like himself without any recourse to violence. That would therefore put him in a position of power and control. He would therefore be able to push forward his many agenda; one of which was the unification of the continent.

I must add that this was what Nkrumah believed in as an alternative form of gaining independence for the continent. It is also evident that in Ghana before independence, some elections were held in an attempt to fast-track the process of independence. This supports what Tyson (2006, p.56) said, "For Marxism, an ideology is a belief system, and all belief systems are products of cultural conditioning. For example, capitalism, communism, Marxism, patriotism, religion, ethical systems, humanism, environmentalism astrology, and karate are all ideologies." Nkrumah believed that 'elections' were the surest ways of attaining independence since there were more

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colonised living in Africa than the colonial masters themselves. The paradox of this ideology is that Nkrumah was not a fan of democracy in the Western sense of the word. He became a constitutional dictator and by 1964, he declared Ghana a One-Party State. This phenomenon flouts the tenets of democracy which is anchored on multi-partism.

It does not come as a surprise that in almost all the speeches I reviewed, the main ideological issues in them were on African Unity which were subtly constructed in the texts. In the speech he delivered in Addis Ababa in 1963, he said: "I am confident that by our concerted efforts and determination we shall lay here [Ethiopia] the foundations for a continental Union of African States." Why did Nkrumah insist that the foundation for African Unity be laid 'hear'? The ideology behind Nkrumah's insistence on laying the foundation for the continental unity at that conference was that Ethiopia was one of the few African countries that was not colonised. For that reason, it became the 'symbol of African independence.' Therefore since the conference was being held in Ethiopia, he believed that would be an opportune time to unite the continent because of the historical significance. It would also signify the power, autonomy, independence and freedom of the continent. This analysis is in congruence with what Nkrumah (1964, p. 59) opined about ideology as a social unifier. He opined,

> I have said an ideology seeks to bring a specific order into the total life of its society…the ideology of a society displays itself in political theory, social theory, and moral theory and uses these as instruments. It establishes a particular range of political, social, and moral behavior, such that unless behavior of this sort fell within the established range, it would be incompatible with ideology.

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It is clear from the above illustration that Nkrumah wanted to use the venue for the conference to create a social and political order in Africa. The ideology was to create a self-dependent continent devoid of imperialism which he calls 'the highest stage of colonialism' (Nkrumah, 1962). For example when he said, "I am confident that by our concerted efforts and determination we shall…." He was appealing to a collective and social responsibility of all the people gathered at the conference.

Clearly, he believed that would trigger a sense of common purpose in them into effecting the unity. This is in tandem with Croteau (2014). He asserts that Marxists ideology speaks of belief systems that help justify the actions of those in power by distorting and misrepresenting reality. Nkrumah was misrepresenting the reality of the fact that it was not possible for the Heads of States and Government present at that conference to effect that unity without recourse to their respective legislative body since that was not part of the agenda for the meeting. For Nkrumah, such a call was to justify and to reaffirm his strong ideology on Africa's unity as non-negotiable.

It is an undisputable fact that Nkrumah was a torchbearer as far as the unification of the continent of Africa was concerned. It can be argued that it was his ideology and unrepentant belief in Africa's Unity that laid the foundation for the regional cooperation Africa is experiencing today. But I must add that, in many cases, this ideology is subtly constructed in many of his texts including these ones under review. In the 1963 speech, he said,

> Experts have estimated that the Congo Basin alone can produce enough food crops to satisfy the requirements of nearly half the population of the whole world

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> and here we sit talking about regionalism, talking about gradualism, talking about step by step. Are you afraid to tackle the bull by the horn?

The excerpt above talks about the vast agricultural wealth of Africa. But deep within the text is a hidden ideology. Nkrumah believed that the only way Africa could harness this vast agricultural prospects was when Africa is united. However, he either consciously or unconsciously did not recognise the fact that it could not happen overnight. He knew very well that Africa by that period did not have the resources and the technology of developing the agricultural prospects of the Congo Basin. But the ideology was to distort the reality on the ground so that he could win the support of the people into ensuring African unity now.

This is also in line with what Croteau (2014) asserts that Marxists ideology speaks of belief systems that help justify the actions of those in power by distorting and misrepresenting reality. Nkrumah sought to misrepresent the fact and the reality on the ground so as to mislead the people into accepting his ideology of African Unity. Secondly, since ideology deals with people's worldview, values, belief system and so on, it is undeniable the fact that Nkrumah sought to tell half-truth as far as certain ideological issues were concerned in the speeches. According to Croteau (2014), for the early Marxists, ideology was a powerful mechanism of social control whereby the bourgeoisie or rulers imposed their worldview, which represented their interests, on the proletariat or the ruled. Nkrumah therefore tried to impose his worldview on both the masses and the ruling class. Croteau (2014) also opines that Marxist ideological theory was connected to 'false consciousness.' False consciousness is an ideological belief where subordinates

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accept the ideological beliefs of the ruling class, thereby serving the interests of their masters. For this reason, it could be seen that Nkrumah wanted to create a 'false consciousness' by imposing his worldviews on the marginalized group which was made up of some sections of the political class, the elites and the masses into accepting the urgent need for the unification of the continent against the backdrop of many critical issues that should be ironed out first. Critical issues like language barrier, the political and economic system to be adopted, issues of security, issues of leadership, nationality, common currency and many more. These were important issues that ought to be considered first before the unification.

It must be reiterated that Nkrumah had said in plain language that he was a socialist. For example, in Biney (2011, p.6), he said, "I am a non-denominational Christian and a Marxist Socialist and I have not found any contradiction between the two." However, in the selected speeches, issues of socialism were in most cases concealed in the texts. Nkrumah tried to hide such issues from making them apparent to the reader and his audience. In many cases in the texts, he tried to project socialism by demonizing capitalism. For example in the 1963 speech, he made a sarcastic statement which subtly constructed the socialist ideology. He said:

> We have emerged in the age of socialized planning, when production and distribution are not governed by chaos, greed and self-interest, but by social needs. Together with the rest of mankind, we have awakened from Utopian dreams to pursue practical blueprints for progress and social justice.

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In the above statement, the expression "…governed by chaos, greed and self-interest" was in reference to capitalism but the expression was subtly constructed such that it becomes difficult to get the line of conflict between socialism and capitalism. The ideology was to criminalize capitalism in order to glorify his ideology of socialism. But as Gyekye (2004, p.49) rightly said:

> The socialist program of state intervention or public control of the means of production and distribution is considered by the adherents of the socialist ideology to be the most satisfactory way of bringing about social justice and equality, values that-it can be argued- the capitalist ideology also is intended to realise in the concrete world. It is irrelevant to me, for the moment to dispute about which system or program will most satisfactorily attain its goals, that is, will best realise the values and aspirations cherished by the society. It is enough for me to assert that the goals are in many ways fundamentally similar.

Per Gyekye's assertion, both capitalist ideology and socialist ideology aim at curing poverty, creating social justice and equity. Clearly, Nkrumah was trying to impose his worldview on the people by creating a false consciousness amongst the masses into accepting his values and principles. This is in line with Croteau (2014) who opined that 'false consciousness' is an ideological belief where subordinates accept the ideological beliefs of the ruling class, thereby serving the interests of their masters.

Secondly, it can also be argued that because Nkrumah needed to unite the continent, he realised he needed to do it under one broad economic ideology. Hence there was the need for him to destroy competing ideologies like capitalism as against socialism. Developing

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a single economic ideology for the continent would foster economic integration and then entrust all resources under the control of the state-in which case, the ruling class. For instance, In Nkrumah (1964, p. 57) he posits,

> In societies where there are competing ideologies, it is still usual for one ideology to be dominant. This dominant ideology is that of the ruling group. Though the ideology is the key to the inward identity of its group, it is in intent solidarist. For an ideology does not seek merely to unite a section of the people; it seeks to unite the whole of the society in which it finds itself.

Nkrumah always wanted to prick on the emotions of his audience so as to push forward his ideology. In doing so, he either consciously or unconsciously used certain language that made his ideology latent in the text. He sometimes creates fear, anxiety, and a situation of chaos and anarchy in the speeches. His brand of ideology was to accelerate the acceptance of his ideology of African Unity. He said in the same speech:

> If we do not approach the problems in Africa with a common front and a common purpose, we shall be haggling and wrangling among ourselves until we are colonised again and become the tools of a far greater colonialism than we suffered hitherto.

In the statement above, Nkrumah was raising the possibility of re-colonization if the continent is not united. The ideology behind this campaign was to create the sense of urgency amongst the fragmented African States to forge together as one in order to fight the possibility of re-colonization which he called 'greater colonialism.' The use of ideology was to convince them into the Union since none of the people would want to be

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re-colonised. Therefore, he used expressions like 'haggling and wrangling' to create the impression that the continent was still fighting and arguing amongst itself without paying attention to the apparent enemy; which was re-colonization. Language played a very important role in the subtle construction of the ideology in this text.

This explains why Fairclough (1989, p. 2) said that, "ideology is closely linked to language because using language is the commonest form of social behavior…where we rely most on commonsense assumptions." Fairclough explained commonsense assumptions as "Implicit in the conventions according to which people interact linguistically, and of which people are generally not consciously aware." The ideology in using such language by Nkrumah was to shape the minds and hearts of the people into supporting him and his agenda so that he will be able to control the African politics since it will revolve around his ideology.

A critical analyses of this texts and the period within which the text was produced reveals nothing more than the blatant truth that if Nkrumah's ideology for the unification of the continent had materialized, his influence and control over the entire African politics would have been felt. This would have therefore sustained his powers and legitimacy. He would have become the most powerful and most influential African in history.

4.3 Summary

This chapter has given an analyses of the major social issues in the speeches. It also discussed in detail the issues of power and ideology as they were subtly captured in the speeches. One thing that came out in the findings and analysis was on the issue of African Unity which was the main ideological tool in the speeches. It was clear that

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Nkrumah was very much obsessed with the issue of continental unity so that he never missed any opportunity to talk about it at any fora. To crown it all, it became apparent that Nkrumah wanted to consolidate his power around his ideology of African unity.

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CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter is a summary of the entire work. It is a summary of the findings and the discussions in the work. It also gives highlights on the appropriation of CDA in the work. It summarises the use of power and ideology in the work. It also draws conclusion and makes recommendations for future studies.

5.1 Summary

The purpose of the study was to investigate the social issues, issues of power and ideological issues that are hidden in the selected speeches. The study used CDA as a research approach. The study used concepts of power and ideology in rationalizing the findings and discussions. It was made up of five chapters. Each of the chapter covers a particular perspective discussed in details all the related issues in the study. The study was an in-depth discourse of all the subtle issues of power and ideology that were hidden in the texts. It examined the hidden meanings and made them apparent. The primary source of the data were the selected speeches of Nkrumah. In all, three speeches of Nkrumah were selected for the study.

5.2 Findings

In respect of the social issues, the findings and the analyses revealed that there were many hidden issues of power and ideology in the speeches. Some of these hidden social

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issues were based on socio-cultural, socio-political, and socio-economic issues that confronted the country and the continent at large. These socio-cultural, socio-political, and socio-economic issues dealt with issues of employment security, national identity, Africanization, slavery, autonomy, colonialism, economy, personality, and imperialism.

With regard to the socio-cultural issues, it came to light that Nkrumah wanted to project the African personality. He also tried to impose his worldview on the masses and the continent at large. The analyses and discussions also revealed that socio-political issues were amalgamated with economic issues. This was either consciously or unconsciously constructed so as to control and dominate the minds of the people. The findings also revealed that there were social issues, issues of power relations, and ideological undertones in the texts. It revealed that these were either consciously or unconsciously done to shape and to direct the thoughts and conscience of the masses into accepting a particular ideology.

It became quite clear from the discussions and analyses that Nkrumah tried to hide these issues in the speeches with the aim of pushing forward his ideology of African Unity. He created a reason and a necessity for African Unity based on the numerous social problems that confronted the continent. It became apparent in the findings that Nkrumah was obsessed with the issue of African Unity and therefore never missed any opportunity to talk about it at every fora.

There were also issues of power and ideology and how language was used to construct the issues. First, was the use of personal pronouns in the speeches. The findings showed the impact of personal pronouns and how Nkrumah appropriated them to push forward

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issues of power and ideology. It revealed that personal pronouns were either consciously or unconsciously used to achieve some goals.

The use of personal pronouns showed a personalization of power, control and authority by the producer of the texts. Secondly, it also revealed that personal pronouns were frequently employed as a tool for the conveyance of ideology and power. It also became clear that even though in principle Nkrumah identified himself with the masses, in practice, it was not the case. This became evident in his use of the personal pronouns which created power-differentials between him and the masses.

The findings also revealed that continental unity kept on appearing in the speeches. It shows how important the issue of continental unity was to Nkrumah. Nkrumah wanted a complete annihilation of colonialism and imperialism on the surface of Africa.

The findings also disclosed the use of metaphors in the speech. The idea was to hide the real message in the texts. It was also meant to give a pictorial description of the social, ideological and power issues on the continent. It was intended to give a gloomy picture of colonialism and imperialism. The work revealed many of such expressions with the intent and purpose of arousing the emotions of the audience so as to push forward an ideology.

The findings and discussions also revealed that Nkrumah was very creative with words since the same issues of ideology and power kept on appearing in different ways in the speeches. Thus he kept on circumambulating on the same ideological issue of African Unity in the selected speeches. He also reframed such issues of power to show his authority and control over scheme of things in the country and on the continent at large.

The analyses proved and vindicated the many positions that Nkrumah was ideologically pro-East and anti-West. He intentionally used negative expressions and associated them

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with capitalism but rather used positive expressions and associated them with socialism. He did same to anybody or any system he saw inimical to his ideology and power. The findings revealed that Nkrumah deliberately did this in order to stir up public opinion against colonialism. The findings revealed that Nkrumah wanted to consolidate his rule and to also perpetuate himself in power.

Above all, the findings revealed that Nkrumah was an ideologue. He was an unrepentant advocate of socialism as against capitalism which he called ‘‘a new form of imperialism.’’ Furthermore, the findings painted Nkrumah as someone obsessed with power. It also became evident that Nkrumah was very skillful with words looking at how he crafted issues of power and ideology and then hid them in the texts.

5.3 Conclusion

Many of the issues of power and ideology were revealed in the work. The study showed how issues of power and ideology could be hidden in texts.

The study concludes that CDA as a research approach is a very useful approach in unearthing hidden meanings in texts. This approach revealed all hidden ideologies and issues of power which hitherto were not apparent to the readers of the texts.

Again, the use of historical allusions in the study provided a profound significance to the work. The study further concludes from the reviewed speeches that Nkrumah, arguably gave Africa a sense of purpose and a sense of identity and ignited a renaissance movement for the continent to reclaim its lost glory. It can also be concluded that Nkrumah imposed his ideologies and worldviews on the masses. Nkrumah was on a massive Pan-Africanism campaign to make Africa a force to reckon with in international affairs.

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The study finally concludes that Nkrumah gave a theoretical perspective to the social and ideological issues that confronted Africa, stringing complex sentences and grandiloquent expressions to hide issues of power ideology from his audience.

5.4 Limitations

This study was saddled with some limitations. Amongst which are the following:

It became very difficult collating the speeches of Nkrumah from state institutions probably as a result of the bad culture of record keeping. Secondly, my cyber-search for the speeches proved futile probably because of the period in which the speeches were delivered. Furthermore, having access to audio and visual versions of the speeches proved difficult. Cross-checking the authenticity of the speeches became very difficult since there were not many sources from which the speeches could be cross-checked to verify their originality.

Another limitation to this work is that not much work has been done on speeches of Nkrumah. This therefore gave me little room to check from other works done on his speeches. Therefore, having access to other literature on Nkrumah became challenging since literature on him is scanty.

5.5 Suggestions and Recommendations for Further Studies

The following suggestions and recommendations were made:

1. The research should be replicated in order to verify the findings.
2. Using the CDA approach, a similar study could be done on the use of metaphors, euphemisms, oxymoron and other literary devices in the constructions of power and ideology.

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3. Using CDA approach, a similar study could be done on the use of political pronouns in the construction of ideology and power.
4. A study could also be done on the relevance of the use of repetitions in the selected speeches.
5. Using the CDA approach, I recommend that further studies concentrate on speeches of African politicians with the aim of exposing abuses of power and corruption.
6. Further studies could be done to find out how extra-linguistic features could be used to show power and ideology.
7. A comparative study could be conducted to find out the similarities and differences between African politicians and western politicians in constructing issues of ideology and power in texts.
8. Finally, using CDA approach, I recommend that further studies concentrate on speeches of African politicians with the aim of exposing abuses of power and corruption.

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