DISCOURSE AND POLITICAL MYTH-MAKING: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE STUDY OF NKRUMAISM

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Discourse and Political Myth-Making: A Critical Discourse Study of Nkrumaism

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it reproduces no material previously published or written, nor material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma, except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text.

Mark Nartey

DEDICATION

In Memoriam: Professor Stephen Evans†

Thy loving kindness shall follow me all the days of my life.

ABSTRACT

This study critically examines political myth-making in the discourse of Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first president and a pioneering Pan-African leader. It focuses on the characterization, intentions behind and the functions of political myth as well as the discursive strategies, (de)legitimation devices and metaphorical representations used by political actors to promote a certain world conceptualization as a universally held view and a shared ideal. It achieves this objective by investigating Nkrumah's formulation and promotion of a univocal narrative that indicates that without the establishment of a federal African republic, Africa is doomed forever – herein referred to as the Unite or Perish myth. Employing a combined analytic framework of critical metaphor analysis and discourse-historical analysis and a corpus of 154 Nkrumah speeches, the study explores how the Unite or Perish myth is discursively constructed, how it is naturalized into the consciousness of the public and its embedded ideological meaning.

The findings reveal that the Unite or Perish myth is used by Nkrumah to promote an emancipatory discourse and a discourse of resistance through his identification of Africa's Conspiratorial Enemy and his depiction of himself as a Valiant Leader, a Noble Revolutionary and Africa's Messiah. The results also show that four main types of metaphor (war, religion and morality, journey and personification) enabled Nkrumah to present an idealized vision of the social world in a way that aligns with his world conceptualization, serves his political agenda and upholds his social ideals. Further, the study finds that Nkrumah used four main discursive strategies to construct 'the African people' in a way that presents the Unite or Perish myth as a form of populist discourse. These include nomination and predication of social actors and actions, the construction of a man of the people image, the ideological appropriation of familiarity and historical memory and the exploitation of an emotionalized blame attribution or a scapegoating dynamic. By providing insights into the relationship between discourse, ideology and mythology in a setting underexplored in the literature, this study furthers understanding on the content, form and function of political myth. It also sheds light on the relevance of language and semiosis to how politics is performed and conceptualized, and illustrates the role of language and (post-independence) leaders in political decolonization processes. Finally, this study highlights the value of a combined discourse analytic framework and offers theoretical insights into discourse-mythological studies by bringing to the fore the nexus between political mythology and populist ideology.

RELATED OUTPUT

Refereed Journal Articles

1. **Nartey, Mark.** (2020). Voice, agency and identity: A positive discourse analysis of 'resistance' in the rhetoric of Kwame Nkrumah. Special Issue on "Translational Research: Language, Intercultural Communication and Social Action". *Language & Intercultural Communication*, 20(2): In press.

2. **Nartey, Mark.** (2020). Metaphor and Kwame Nkrumah's construction of the Unite or Perish myth: A discourse-mythological analysis. *Social Semiotics*. (SSCI/AHCI). In press.

3. **Nartey, Mark** & Bhatia, Aditi. (2020) Mythological heroism in the discourse of Kwame Nkrumah. Special Issue on "World Englishes and Critical Discourse Analysis". *World Englishes*. In press.

4. **Nartey, Mark** & Ernanda. (2020). Formulating emancipatory discourses and reconstructing resistance: A positive discourse analysis of Sukarno's speech at the first Afro-Asian conference. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 17(1): 22-38. (SSCI/AHCI).

5. **Nartey, Mark.** (2019). "We must unite now or perish!" Kwame Nkrumah's creation of a mythic discourse? *Journal of Language and Politics*, 18(2): 252-271. (SSCI/AHCI).

6. **Nartey, Mark.** (2019). "I shall prosecute a ruthless war on these monsters …": A critical metaphor analysis of discourse of resistance in the rhetoric of Kwame Nkrumah. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 16(2): 113-130. (SSCI).

7. **Nartey, Mark**, & Mwinlaaru, Isaac N. (2019). Towards a decade of synergizing corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis: A meta-analysis. *Corpora*, 14(2): 203-235. (SJR/ERIH).

8. **Nartey, Mark.** Kwame Nkrumah's construction of 'the African people' via the Unite or Perish myth: A discourse-historical analysis of populist discourse. *Pragmatics and Society*. Under review.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The death of Kwame Nkrumah, the first prime minister and first president of the Republic of Ghana, on April 27, 1972, may have been a tragic event. Ironically, however, this became a catalyst for a drastic and dramatic change in attitude and perception towards Nkrumah. General Ignatius Kutu Acheampong, former head of state of Ghana and chairman of the Supreme Military Council (SMC)[1] captures this view aptly in his forward to the book *A compilation of selected speeches by Kwame Nkrumah* (1997). He wrote: "that a man who was so much maligned, condemned and rejected by his own people should at his death be praised and loved so much and be finally accepted by his people again appears to testify to Nkrumah's charisma" (p. iii). It can, thus, be said that by his death, Nkrumah became a victor, and although he is no more, the ideas which impregnated his life are still enshrined in his discourse.

Consequently, this thesis makes use of the socio-political discourse of Nkrumah to investigate the notion of mythic discourse within the domain of politics. The study explores how interdisciplinary discourse analysis helps to throw light on the personality, convictions, visions and ideals of a political leader, and how a leader is able to create a political myth to bolster his discourse. It focuses on various aspects of Nkrumah's rhetoric: the ideology he espoused and the plausible reasons that could account for this ideology, the attitude(s) towards colonialism and imperialism that emerge from his language use, the kind of community he linguistically constructed for his imagined united Africa and the rhetorical strategies he utilized in the communication of his aims and ambitions. By analyzing Nkrumah's discourse, this study tries to unpack the discursive manifestation, representation, features and functions of mythic discourse. Using as its example the discursive ways in which this powerful leader presents his ideas, this thesis brings to the fore how political leaders effectively combine social practices and linguistic resources to popularize their personal ideologies as commonly shared or universally held views, thereby giving rise to political myth-making. It achieves this objective by proposing and implementing an integrated discourse analytical framework to account for the complexities of mythic discourse within the domain of

[1] The Supreme Military Council (SMC) was the ruling government of Ghana from October 9, 1975 to June 4, 1979.

politics. The study considers political myth as a social process (rather than an isolated and exclusive linguistic process) in which language plays an important (but not the only) role and embodies elements such as personal representations, historical experiences, social insights and linguistic and semiotic actions. Hence, it regards a political myth as a complex discourse phenomenon that derives not only from the espousal of political motifs and ideologies, but is also shaped by history and socio-cultural context, thereby necessitating an integrated approach of analysis. Such an approach can offer an in-depth analysis of how political myths are created and exploited, shedding light on the social functions or purposes they serve, the contextual factors that influence their creation, how they reflect a politician's world conceptualization and the power dynamics evident in social interaction and structures.

The remaining sections of this first chapter introduce the research territory, providing a general context for the study. I then highlight the purpose of and motivation for the study, followed by an actual description of the current investigation in terms of objectives, research questions, data and methods as well as the significance of the study. The historical, political and/or contextual background, specifically a biographical sketch of the man called Kwame Nkrumah and a note on Ghana as a colonial society, is also set out. The last section describes the schematic structure and content of the remaining chapters of this thesis.

1.2 Background to the study

Since the early 1950s, discourse analysis, also known as discourse studies, has engaged the attention of many scholars, researchers and linguists in their efforts to describe language use that transcends the clausal and/or sentential level. It is a multidisciplinary term that is concerned with both "linguistic and non-linguistic social practices" (Schiffrin, Tannen & Hamilton, 2001, p. 1), which includes "discursive practices associated with particular social practices" (McEnery & Wilson, 2001, p. 114). Analyzing naturally occurring language (as opposed to invented or contrived data induced in artificial settings) most of the time, discourse analysts can be found in disciplines of varied persuasions, including linguistics, sociology, social psychology, cultural studies, communication studies and biblical studies. Thus, discourse analysis incorporates a wide spectrum of views, interests and perspectives. Despite its 'multiperspectival' nature, discourse analysis sheds light on at least three main things: text, context and meaning (Trappes-Lomax, 2004). And it can be used as both a theory and a method (Jurgensen & Phillips, 2002). Beyond its

aim of revealing the ontological and epistemological bases on which language use can be interpreted and understood, discourse analysis is also concerned with the unveiling of social characteristics of individuals. Put simply, discourse analysis is the analysis of any significant semiotic event.

As a direct consequence of the usefulness of discourse analysis to linguistic inquiry, several studies within linguistics, especially applied linguistics, have in the last five decades focused on discourse analytical research in various discourse or textual domains. This has resulted in a flurry of research on both oral and written texts in areas such as education (Warren, 2011a; King, 2016; Li, 2016; Lu, Li & Ottewell, 2016), business (Cheng & Warren, 2005; Warren, 2007; 2011b), law (Warren & Leung, 2013; Hutton, 2014; Cheng, Cheng & Li, 2015), medicine (Yanoff, 1988; Waitzkin, 1989), politics (Habwe, 1999; Post, 2009; Li, Cheng & Cheng, 2016), workplace (Holmes, 2006; 2007; 2015; Marra, King & Holmes, 2014), media (Cheng & Lam, 2010), among others. These studies have investigated a number of linguistic features, including cohesion and coherence (Halliday & Hasan, 1976), metadiscourse (Hyland, 2004), conversational strategies (Wooffitt, 2005; Heritage, 2005), quotative markers (King, 2010) and implicatures (Yule, 2010). Not only have these studies shed light on the communicative purpose of language as well as highlighted the power of language in operation, but have also contributed immensely to the development of valuable pedagogical and instructional materials for English for Specific Purposes (ESP).

As these discourse analytical studies were not primarily concerned with the ideologies and power relations, which invariably shape and transform discourses and genres, an approach to discourse analysis – that is, critical discourse analysis (CDA) – emerged in the early 1990s with a view to exploring the relationship between language, ideology and power. CDA, thus, adopts a critical standpoint in the examination of social, cultural and political phenomena such as gender, power, ideology, sexual orientation, racism, classism, ethnicity, age, religion, nationality, homophobia, and xenophobia. Doing this, it usually focuses on 'abuse', discrimination, manipulation, victimization, etc., thereby highlighting (illegitimate) forms of control and access. CDA emerged from critical linguistics and critical semiotics and is, generally, "a socio-politically conscious and oppositional way of investigating language, discourse and communication" (van Dijk, 1995a, p. 17). In CDA, thus, the concern is not to analyze or describe language and text for its own sake, but to look at how text reflects social action or practice. Consequently, CDA does not view language

merely as an abstract system but, more importantly, it views words and language to be imbued with meaning in particular historical, social and political contexts. What this means is that CDA can be regarded as a form of pragmatics – that is, a way of analyzing "how to do things with words" (Austin, 1962). According to van Dijk (1995a), CDA "is problem- or issue-oriented, rather than paradigm-oriented" (p. 17), and it highlights "the underlying *ideologies* (emphasis in original) that play a role in the reproduction of or resistance against dominance or inequality" (p. 18). Thus, by paying attention to all levels and dimensions of discourse – namely grammar, style, rhetoric, schematic organization, speech acts, pragmatic strategies, etc. – as well as other semiotic dimensions (e.g., pictures, film, sound, music and gestures), "CDA deals with the discursively enacted or legitimated structures and strategies of dominance and resistance in social relationships" (van Dijk, 1995a, p. 18). In sum, CDA adopts a critical focus in studying the functions of discourse in society, noting the expression, representation, legitimation or reproduction of societal ways, including forms of inequality, in text and talk.

Since its inception in 1990, CDA has been used to analyze text and/or discourse in various domains of language use. For example, it has been utilized to examine academic discourse (e.g., Zotsmann, 2006; Mohammed, 2006), media discourse (e.g., Wodak & Busch, 2004; Richardson, 2007; Ramanathan & Hoon, 2015), familial/domestic discourse (e.g., Rogers, 2002; Smythe, 2006), colonial discourse (e.g., Sabido, 2013; 2015), legal discourse (e.g., Enein, 1999; Hutton, 2009; Edu-Buandoh & Ahialey, 2012) and religious discourse (e.g., Eldin, 2014; Hjelm, 2014). It has also been used to investigate discourse on advertising (e.g., Vahid, 2012; Tahmasbi, 2013; Iqbal, Danish & Tahir, 2014), discourse on terrorism and warfare (Bhatia, 2009; Sarfo & Krampa, 2013), feminist discourse (e.g., Lazar, 2005; McLoughlin, 2017) and political discourse (e.g., Flowerdew, 1997a; 1997b). These studies have revealed that institutional discourse both shapes and is shaped by various competing ideologies and power relations. As well, they have demonstrated the often non-neutral and taken-for-grantedness of language use (and abuse).

I must mention at this point that although traditionally, CDA has focused its investigations on issues of power (abuse) in discourse and, thus, has focused particularly on demystifying the power asymmetry in society in different contexts, this is changing. Hence, the traditional notion that CDA

is a general framework for problem-oriented social research[2] is undergoing a shift, as CDA is now being applied either wholly or in an adapted form to other phenomena. These include illness narratives (Seale, Charteris-Black & Ziebland, 2006), environmental discourse and climate change (Hajer and Wytske, 2005; Smart, 2011), sports and finance reporting (Charteris-Black, 2004), digital literacy (Jones, Chik & Hafner, 2015), food labeling (Jones, 2014a) and health communication (Jones, 2014b; Jones, 2015). Essentially, CDA is concerned with exploring the co-constitutive relationship between discursive practices and their institutional, cultural, social and political contexts; therefore, it can be applied to any number of sociocultural/political investigations. The present study holds that CDA is about the social process of meaning creation – be it power asymmetry or not – and, thus, can be used to study the discursive construction and representation of any social phenomena or construct in whatever context.

An area where CDA studies have been prolific is political discourse: that is, the use of language as it is textualized in or reflects political institutions (e.g., parliament and the presidency), political practices (e.g., ministerial or cabinet meetings) and political structures (e.g., political party systems). This is unsurprising given the political orientation that characterized the inception of CDA. In view of this, political discourse analysis of various political genres continues to attract scholarly attention. These studies, which invariably are CDA studies, have analyzed, among others, political press conferences (Bhatia, 2006), political debates (Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010), political editorials (Al-Sharoufi, 2006) and ministerial statements and parliamentary questions (Sarfo, 2016). In the last decade, the discourse of prominent politicians, especially presidential rhetoric, has also gained attention in CDA research. In his monograph on politics and metaphor, for instance, Charteris-Black (2011) examined the rhetoric of as many as nine politicians, including Winston Churchill, Martin Luther King, Enoch Powell, Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, Bill Clinton, Tony Blair, George Bush and Barack Obama. Studies on United States presidential rhetoric have also been prevalent (see Campbell & Jamieson, 1990; Snyder & Higgins, 1990; Lim, 2002). While some of these studies employed CDA as the sole approach/framework (e.g., Aschale, 2013; Bartolucci, 2010), others have integrated CDA with other frameworks such as critical literacy pedagogy (Abida & Shakila, 2015), contrastive analysis (Schroter & Storjohann, 2015), conversation analysis (e.g., Korobov, 2001), genre theory

[2] Renkema (2004) and van Dijk (2008) have summarized in detail the history of CDA as a field of linguistic inquiry.

(Skalicky, 2013), interactional sociolinguistics (e.g., Fairclough, 1989; 1992; 1995b), multimodality (e.g., Machin & Mayr, 2012), systemic functional linguistics (e.g., Wang 2010; Kazemian, 2010), theory of governmentality (MacDonald & Hunter, 2013), theory of argumentation (Lippi & Torroni, 2016) and topic modeling (e.g., Tornberg, 2016).

Within the general umbrella term of political discourse, myth-making has garnered research interest in recent years with a major focus on the discourse of Western politicians. The present study contributes to this line of research by adopting a critical discourse analytic approach to examine the myth creation and proliferation of a non-Western politician. It regards political myths as provocative, persuasive and people-oriented narratives that emotionally appeal to the masses and which function as a medium to build consensus for an ideological purpose (Flood, 1996; 2002). As narratives or stories with popular appeal, political myths help in the creation of heroes and villains, protagonists and antagonists and may be made up of interrelated themes (or sub-plots) that combine to tell a univocal story. The story that a specific political mythology tells is often presented to be in the supreme interest of the ordinary people and its meaning is conveyed as inevitable, timeless and universal (Flowerdew, 1997b, p. 456). Consequently, this study maintains that the creation and promotion of a political mythology can be associated with a form of populist discourse or populism (see Mudde, 2004; Taggart; 2000) by which a political leader, via his political performance (Chilton, 2004), purports to be acting against an established system in order to fight for and defend the rights, interests and welfare of the masses. By his promulgation of a Union Government of Africa as the only means of Africa's survival post-independence, Nkrumah is considered in this study to articulate a powerful mythology that ideologically suppresses complexity and confirms the values and social ideals of the storyteller (Kelsey, 2015). Nkrumah's articulation of this popular narrative which evokes a sense of Africanness and makes him a populist leader of a sort is the focus of this study, and it sets out to unpack the social and political complexities of this myth referred to in this work as the Unite or Perish myth.

To achieve its objective, this thesis puts forward an integrated methodological framework for the analysis of mythic discourse in politics using Nkrumah's discourse as a medium of analysis. This combined approach incorporates aspects of critical metaphor analysis and discourse-historical analysis to explore the dynamic discursive processes from which the various cultural, ideological and political tensions that imbue mythic discourse stem. Given the multifaceted nature of mythic

discourse, such an approach is relevant in enabling a better understanding of how mythic discourse is realized as well as the ends to which it is put by the mythmaker. As Kwame Nkrumah is the political actor whom this study focus on and Ghana is the political setting, the next two sections sketch a vignette of Nkrumah's biography as well as present some background information on Ghana in order to provide a context for the study.

1.3 Kwame Nkrumah: A historical and biographical sketch

Kwame Nkrumah was born on 21st September 1909 at Nkroful, a village in Nzema in the Western Region of the then Gold Coast (now Ghana)[3]. He was christened on the 8th day in accordance with Ghanaian customary rites and named after a relative of his father by name Kofi Nwiah. He was, thus, known as Francis Kofi Nkrumah until 1945 when he changed his name to Kwame Nkrumah. His father, Opanyin[4] Kofi Nwiana Ngolomah, was a goldsmith who was respected for his wise counsel and knowledge about traditional issues and domestic affairs. Madam Elizabeth Nyaniba, Nkrumah's mother, on the other hand, was a farmer and petty trader. Both of his parents were poor and illiterate. Nkrumah's birth, it is often recounted, brought good fortune to his parents, as his father's commerce thrived, and his mother became "bewildered at the amazing way in which she encountered success after success" (Timothy, 1963, p. 19). Nkrumah was the only child of the mother, albeit he had other step-siblings. At an early age, Kofi Ngolomah took Nkrumah with him whenever he (Ngolomah) went on a trek, owing to Nkrumah's great powers of observation. Given this potential, his parents decided to take him to school.

Nkrumah was sent to the Roman Catholic Elementary School at Half-Assini in 1915. Here, Timothy (1963, p. 19) relays that he led what can be described as his first 'Positive Action' campaign by urging his classmates to miss school during the visit of the Inspector of Schools because he wanted the class to avenge the teacher's frequent use of the cane. Around the age of 17, Nkrumah was made a pupil teacher at his alma mater, having completed the Standard VII Examination (Middle School Leaving Certificate Examination). This rare opportunity, he got, owing to his special qualities as a student which attracted the attention of Reverend Father George Fisher, the headmaster of the school. At this time, he was so diminutive in physique that he had to

[3] The name Gold Coast was changed to Ghana after independence in 1957 by Kwame Nkrumah and Joseph Boakye Danquah, who is considered as one of the founding fathers of the Ghanaian nation.
[4] Opanyin, which literally translates as 'elder', is a title given to elderly people in the Akan Ghanaian community who are respected and often consulted for their wise counsel.

stand on a table to teach. As a pupil teacher in the Roman Catholic Elementary School in Axim, Half-Assini, Nkrumah researched substantially into Nzema history and was elected secretary of a literary and social club, the African Club. Later, he became the first general secretary of Nzema Literature and Cultural Association.

After a year of teaching, Nkrumah got noticed by the principal of the Government Training College in Achimota, Accra, who was on a visit to their school. This encounter was to become a life-changing one for Nkrumah, as he and two other colleagues (Dominic C. Cobina and J. Edward) were sent to the prestigious Government Teacher Training College (now Achimota College), following the principal's visit. Nkrumah's enrolment at Achimota Training College in 1927 marked one of the key defining moments of his life, as he encountered Dr. James E. Kwagyir Aggrey, assistant vice-principal of the College, who aroused in him a sense of cultural nationalism. He wrote of Aggrey, in his autobiography[5], thus: "To me, he seemed the most remarkable man that I had ever met and I had the deepest affection for him. He possessed intense vitality and enthusiasm and a most infectious laugh that seemed to bubble up from his heart, and he was a very great orator. It was through him that my nationalism was first aroused". And although officially speaking, Aggrey never taught Nkrumah, it was from him that Nkrumah drew much inspiration, passion, and encouragement, especially from his Sunday evening sermons. For instance, it was through him he learned of the ideas and ideals of people like Marcus Garvey and W. E. B. Du Bois (Taylor, 1994, p. 87). On completion of Achimota, Training College in 1930, Nkrumah was employed as a primary school teacher at a Catholic school at Elmina in the Central Region of Ghana, by which time he had turned 20. The following year in 1931, he was made the head teacher of another school at Axim in the Western Region and continued his active participation in the activities of the Nzema Literature and Cultural Society.

Indeed, it was through the Association's activities that he met Mr. S. R. Wood, secretary of the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA), an individual who later had an overwhelming influence on his political thought. Wood introduced Nkrumah to the notion of politics and strongly urged him to further his studies at Lincoln University in the United States. Nnamdi Azikiwe's coming to the Gold Coast (editor of *The African Morning Post*) also fired

[5] The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah (1957) – New York: International Publishers

Nkrumah's imagination the more on the idea of African emancipation and the attending of Lincoln University, as Azikiwe himself was an alumnus of Lincoln. With the help of a generous uncle in Lagos, Nigeria, coupled with his own savings, Nkrumah traveled, first, to Britain in October 1935 to obtain a United States visa. Between 1935 and 1939, he enrolled at Lincoln and graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Economics and Sociology. In 1942, he obtained a second Bachelor's degree in Theology and later earned a double Master's degree from the University of Pennsylvania: a Master of Arts in Philosophy and a Master of Science in Education. He usually worked on part-time while schooling in order to be able to pay his fees. In 1945, while pursuing a doctoral degree in Political Science, Nkrumah abandoned the program at the final stages because of disagreement with his supervisor on the title of his thesis. He had proposed the title *The philosophy of imperialism, with special reference to Africa*, but Dr. Morrow, his supervisor at Pennsylvania rejected it (Sherwood, 1996, p. 63).

Nkrumah played a key role in the establishment of an Institute of African Languages and Culture, during his postgraduate student years at the University of Pennsylvania. Together with other dedicated and committed African students, they organized "the first general Conference of Africans in America" in September 1943 (Timothy, 1963, p. 32). The ten years Nkrumah spent in the United States as a student (1935-1945), undoubtedly, shaped his philosophical thought and greatly influenced his intellectual perspectives on issues such as colonialism, racism, religion, education, and culture. Consequently, he and other Africans, notably Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria and Durosimi Johnson of Sierra Leone planned to return home to contribute to their respective countries, in particular, and to the African continent, in general (Timothy, 1963, pp. 32-33). Before Nkrumah left the United States, he and George Padmore of Trinidad as joint secretaries organized the Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester, England, in October 1945. Thereafter, he became general secretary under W. E. B. Du Bois's chairmanship of the Working Committee of the Pan-African Movement. Afterwards, he spearheaded the establishment of a West African National Secretariat, becoming its first secretary. The goal of the Secretariat was to "prepare for revolutionary work in any part of [Africa]" (Timothy, 1963, p. 9).

Joseph Boakye Danquah and Ernest Ako Adjei, two of the founding leaders of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC)[6], invited Nkrumah in 1947 to serve as the secretary general of the party. He injected a new sense of drive, dynamism, and enthusiasm into the party, on his arrival, by opening local branches in several towns and villages across Ghana. However, in 1949, he broke ranks with the UGCC over strategic and ideological differences[7] and formed his own party the Convention People's Party (CPP)[8] the same day. In line with the CPP's motto of obtaining self-government for the people of Ghana **now** (emphasis is mine), Nkrumah went ahead to declare a non-violent 'Positive Action' campaign in January 8, 1950, resulting in a series of political protests and strikes across the nation in an effort to put pressure on the British colonial government. This strike caused a major stir in the country and resulted in Nkrumah's imprisonment with the accusation of having incited an illegal strike. However, he was released in February 1951 after the CPP won a landslide victory in the first national election in Ghana and was made leader of government business with Governor Sir Charles Noble Arden-Clarke as chair of cabinet. Meanwhile, the country was still under colonial rule. In 1952 when the governor withdrew from cabinet, Nkrumah became Ghana's first prime minister. In 1953, he applied more pressure on the British crown when in a speech on the floor of parliament titled *The motion of destiny*, he demanded an early date for Ghana's full independence. Consequently, a second general election was held in 1954 and his CPP won convincingly. This was followed by a third general election held in 1956 which again the CPP won overwhelmingly and decisively. Following this third election, Ghana became an independent country on March 6, 1957, being the first sub-Saharan African country to do same and with Nkrumah still as prime minister. Three years later, on 1st July 1960, the country became a republic and Nkrumah was elected as the first president.

Nkrumah got married to Fathia Halim Roizah Rizk, an Egyptian banker, in a civil ceremony held at the Christianborg Castle[9] on 31st December 1957. They had three children – Gamal Gorkeh Nkrumah, Samia Yarba Nkrumah, and Sekou Ritz Nkrumah – and their marriage is thought of by some political commentators more of a political union than a romantic one in that it was intended

[6] The United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) was the first mass political party formed in the Gold Coast to spearhead social agitations for independence.
[7] For instance, whereas the motto of the UGCC was *self-government between **the shortest possible time***; the CPP's motto was *self-government **now***.
[8] The Convention People's Party (CPP) was the second major political party formed in Ghana.
[9] The Christianborg Castle, popularly known as the Osu Castle, was Ghana's first seat of government. Currently, the seat of government is the Flag Staff House.

to link the North Africa territory with the rest of the Continent, especially West Africa. In his declaration of Ghana's independence speech, Nkrumah remarked that "The independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa"[10]. In view of this, he vigorously pursued a 'radical' Pan-African policy that led to his being one of the founding members[11] of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)[12] on May 25, 1963, and its second chairperson. Still in his pursuit of the emancipation of the African Continent, Nkrumah declared 15th April 1958 as Africa Freedom Day[13], a day marked with the intention to review the progress of the independence struggle on the Continent and, more importantly, to demonstrate and symbolize the resolve of Africans to free themselves completely from foreign domination. Apart from politics, Nkrumah loved conversation, music, literature, art, science and philosophy (Botwe-Asamoah, 2005, p. 10).

He was deposed on 24th February 1966 in a military coup d'état considered by some political commentators to be CIA inspired and/or CIA backed[14] (Botwe-Asamoah, 2005, p. 16), while on a state visit to Hanoi, Vietnam and Peking, China. Lieutenant-General Joseph Arthur Ankrah of the National Liberation Council (NLC) led the overthrow[15]. He left for Conakry, Guinea, on the invitation of his friend and colleague head of state Ahmed Sékou Touré, who declared him (Nkrumah) secretary general of the Guinean Democratic Party (GDP)[16] and joint head of state of Guinea. In his book *Dark days in Ghana* (1968)[17], Nkrumah described this gesture of political

[10] http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/focusonafrica/news/story/2007/02/070129_ghana50_independence_speech.shtml

[11] Other founding fathers of the Organization of African Unity, besides Kwame Nkrumah, included Modibo Keita of Mali, Sekou Toure of Guinea, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Nnamdi Azikiwe and Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Ben Bella of Algeria, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and William Tubman of Liberia.

[12] In 2002, the name of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was changed to the African Union (AU).

[13] The date for Africa Freedom Day was changed from April 15 to May 25 during the launch of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and on that day Africa Freedom Day was declared Africa Liberation Day (ALD).

[14] A number of commentary, including books (e.g., Stockwell, 1978), newspaper columns, documentaries, etc. on the history of Ghana and the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah, in particular, have expressed belief in Anglo-American involvement, specifically the United States' Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), with Nkrumah's overthrow both directly and remotely. Nkrumah himself strongly advances this position in his book *Dark Days in Ghana* (1968).

[15] Other key members of the National Liberation Council (NLC) involved in the operation that overthrew Nkrumah were Mr. J. W. K. Harley (vice-chairman), Brigadier Akwasi Amankwaa Afrifa, Lt. General Emmanuel K. Kotoka, Major General Albert Kwesi Ocran, Mr. B. A. Yakubu, Mr. Anthony K. Deku and Mr. J.E.O. Nunoo.

[16] Ahmed Sékou Touré, the first president of Guinea, was the leader of the Guinean Democratic Party (GDP) during Nkrumah's exile in Guinea.

[17] Other books written by Nkrumah include: *The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (1957), *I Speak of Freedom* (1961), *Towards Colonial Freedom* (1962), *Africa must Unite* (1963), *Consciencism* (1964), *Neo-Colonialism* (1965), *Challenge of the Congo* (1967), *Voice from Conakry* (1967), *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* (1968), *The Struggle Continues* (1968) and *Revolutionary Path* (1973).

solidarity as "historically unprecedented" and "a great landmark in the practical expression of Pan-Africanism" (p. 16). Nkrumah spent his last years in exile and died in Bucharest, Romania, on April 27, 1972, having been seriously ill for over a year. In his lifetime, he received several global accolades, including the 1954 Word Peace Prize by the World Veterans Federation, the Lenin Peace Prize for 1961 and a number of honorary doctorate degrees from Lincoln University in the United States, his alma mater, Moscow State University in Russia, Cairo University in Egypt, Jagiellonian University in Poland and Humboldt University in the former East Berlin. Considered a pioneering Pan-Africanist, Nkrumah, indisputably, greatly impacted global politics and world affairs in the twentieth century: this greatness and his prominence as a political stalwart was affirmed when the African listeners of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) chose him as Africa's "Man of the Millennium" (Poe, 2002, p. 15).

1.4 Political background: Ghana as a colonial society[18]

Ghana (formerly, known as the Gold Coast) was a colonial territory of the British between 1821 and 1957 during which period the British ruled the Gold Coast colony through the appointment of governors. General-Brigadier Sir Charles McCarthy was the first governor to superintend over the Gold Coast when it was taken on as a crown colony and placed under the government of Sierra Leone in 1821. As a colony on its own, however, Commander H. Worsley Hill was the first to be appointed governor and Sir Charles Noble Arden-Clarke was the last governor till Ghana's independence in 1957. From March 1957 to July 1960 when Ghana became a republic, Lord Listowell was the official British representative in the country (Kimble, 1963; McLaughlin & Owusu-Ansah, 1994; Miller et al., 2009).

Ghana's first contact with Europeans dates as far back as the 15th century when various European merchants began to arrive in the Gold Coast for trade. The first to arrive were the Portuguese in 1471 (Rodney, 1961). This was followed by the arrival of British, Dutch, Danish, Prussian and Swedish traders (Rodney, 1961). They traded, inter alia, in goods such as gold, ivory, guns, rum/schnapps, knives, pepper, beads, mirrors, and slaves. And they built several forts and castles, around the coastal areas especially, to facilitate their operations as well as protect their interests and activities against their competitors (McLaughlin & Owusu-Ansah, 1994). The Prussian and

[18] In Chapter 3, section 3.2, a detailed historical overview of Ghana is given as an aspect of the study's context, design, and methodology.

Swedish traders were the first to leave the Gold Coast and they were later followed by the Danes such that by the latter part of the 19th century, only the British and Dutch had business interests in the Gold Coast. The departure of the Dutch traders from the Gold Coast in 1874 meant that the British became the only European presence in the Gold Coast. Soon thereafter, they declared the Gold Coast a protectorate since many of the coastal towns, the Fante and people of Accra especially, came to rely on them for protection against Ashanti incursions as the Ashantis[19] sought to expand their empire (Hallett, 1974). Thus, the British and Ashantis engaged in a series of wars from 1823 to 1901 when the British finally subdued the Ashanti Empire and proclaimed it one of the territories under its control. The defeat of the Ashanti by the British meant that the whole of the Gold Coast now became a colony of the British, albeit as of July 1874, the British had already declared the territory its crown colony (Kimble, 1963).

As a colonial society, the British ruled the Gold Coast using a system they referred to as the indirect rule system (Kimble 1963). That is, the local chiefs were supposed to be the 'overlords' of their towns; however, they were to take instructions from and be supervised by British officials, especially district commissioners. Generally, the most significant period of British administration in the Gold Coast was around the early part of the 20th century when the colony witnessed tremendous progress in infrastructural, social, economic and educational development, a feat largely attributed to the governorship of Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg (1919 – 1927) and his ten-year development plan for the Gold Coast (Pimpong, 2006).

At different times of the colonial administration, the British encountered resistance from different sections of the society, including traditional chiefs and the educated elites or intelligentsia as well as from ordinary people such as farmers and market women. However, such confrontation by the local people heightened after World War II when the locals realized the weakness of Europeans, in general, and the British, particularly, while at the same time, recognizing their own strength (McLaughlin & Owusu-Ansah, 1994). Also, the colonial government's failure to honor the promise it made to the veteran soldiers who fought for them in places like Burma, India, infuriated the people. And when on 24th February 1948, three of these ex-servicemen were shot by British

[19] The Ashanti Empire (1701–1957) was the most powerful empire in the Gold Coast. As a kingdom, it expanded from Ashanti to include the Brong-Ahafo, Central region, Eastern region, Greater Accra region, and Western region, of present-day Ghana.

soldiers on their way to the Osu Castle to petition the government over their grievances, it seemed that the last straw had broken the 'backs' of the Gold Coast people (Danquah, 2003). The Convention People's Party (CPP), which by then had seceded from the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) took advantage of the 'charged' mood in the country to further press home their demand for independence. Feeling the pressure, the colonial administration set up the Watson Commission whose recommendations resulted in the 1951 Constitution and 1951 elections, the first elections to be held in the Gold Coast. Two subsequent elections held in 1954 and 1956 won by the CPP meant that Kwame Nkrumah and his CPP had won all three elections. Consequently, the Gold Coast was proclaimed independent from British colonial rule on 6th March 1957 with Nkrumah as its first prime minister and the CPP as the first local party in government. On 1st July 1960, there was a consolidation of the independence when the country became a republic with Nkrumah as its first president (Fuller, 2015).

1.5 Motivation for the study

The discourse of prominent politicians, in general, and the discourse of presidents (presidential rhetoric), in particular, can be classified as outstanding texts, even when singular. That is, such texts "might have an impact on phylogenesis and ontogenesis that goes beyond the impact of 'ordinary' singular texts that achieve their impact through repetition" (Bednarek, 2009, p. 21). From the foregoing, it is deducible that the discourse of politicians, especially presidents, may be highly valued in the community owing to its special significance in terms of politics and history as well as its centrality to the general fabric of the society.

The texts produced by prominent political figures can, thus, be treated "as artefacts – objects of study in their own right" (Matthiessen, 2006, p. 108). For instance, vice president Albert Gore's environmental documentary entitled *An inconvenient truth* was nationally and internationally applauded for causing a major shift in the sensitization and orientation of the public on environmental sustainability. As a result, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2007 for "efforts to build up and disseminate greater knowledge about man-made climate change and to lay the foundations for the measures that are needed to counteract such change"[20]. It is, therefore, necessary to study such unique and extraordinary texts, as they provide important insights into the

[20] http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2007/

history of a people (here, Ghanaians and Africans, in general), inform our understanding of their present situation and put us in a better position to interpret happenings in their future. "Political talk", as Gastil (1992, p. 471) puts it, "plays a vital role in shaping and transforming political reality". This background informs my studying of Nkrumah's discourse, focusing on the ends to which he deployed his language or what he did with his language as a professional politician. The study assumes that the power or force of Nkrumah's discourse depends on diverse factors such as his profile (being Ghana's first president and a pioneering Pan-African leader) and the context of reception (the African independence revolution that swept across the African continent in the late 1950s and early 1960s), making his discourse especially non-neutral and ideologically-saturated. It is these underlying orientations which give rise to mythic discourse that the present study aims to discover.

Secondly, the discourses on colonialism and imperialism, especially from the point of view of the colonized, became the medium for the expression of resistance, as they gave independence leaders a means of political self-expression and social action. Such discourses can, thus, be viewed as potential sites for the construction and manifestation of political mythology. However, the existing studies that have investigated mythic discourse in both historical and contemporary contexts (e.g., Horvath, 2008; Wydra, 2008; Kelsey, 2013) do not seem to have paid much attention to colonial discourse, thereby motivating this study. By critically analyzing the ideological role of myth in colonial discourse, this study will shed light on the role of myth in political decolonization and contribute to a theory of discourse-mythology in political communication and rhetorical studies.

A further motivation for this study derives from my intention to contribute to Africa's future political agenda. Periodically, it is needful for a society or group of people to re-think their political agenda in order to forge forward. In the case of Africa, it can be asserted that such an evaluation through the lens of a pioneering Pan-African leader who had mooted the idea of African unity as the panacea for socio-cultural and political problems in Africa would prove useful indeed. Although one can find a number of studies on Nkrumah, many of them tend to focus on his rhetoric and oratorical style (e.g., Opoku Mensah 2008; 2014; 2015) rather than explore his socio-political ideologies from a discourse analytical viewpoint. However, such a study will give an indication of the kind of African community Nkrumah hoped to create, making it possible for an examination of Nkrumah's ideal African community in light of Africa's present reality in a bid to determine

the way forward. Therefore, it is hoped that this study will have practical relevance for Africa's current and future political systems.

Finally, a young Ghanaian born more than three decades after Ghana's independence in 1957, I find it both intriguing and disconcerting in my historical readings that the man who is supposed to have saved or delivered Ghana from what he termed oppressor's rule would be described, at times, with very contrasting epithets. Some have praised him to the high heavens, ascribing him with accolades such as "a God-sent savior" (Botwe-Asamoah, 2005), "the Black Star" (Davidson, 1973), "the pride of Africa" (Cudjoe, 1995, p. 322), "Africa's most champion of political integration" (Agyeman, 1997, p. 22) and "one of the greatest men mankind has seen in [the twentieth century]" (Cabral, 1980, p. 114). Conversely, others literally loathed him and systematically campaigned against his political, social, and cultural thought and ideas (Botwe-Asamoah, 2005), accusing him of communism, totalitarianism, atheism, lowering of educational standards stemming from his policy on 'Africanization' of Ghana's educational system, among other actions they considered nefarious. This 'savior-demon' disconnect about Nkrumah's person leaves me to two conclusions: first, that Nkrumah may have been an enigma of a personage (with a charismatic and controversial personality); second, that there should be something 'special' in the way Nkrumah communicated his beliefs, visions and convictions for him to attract such polarized commentary. This curiosity is, thus, yet another reason that undergirds my studying of Nkrumah's socio-political thought.

1.6 Statement of the research problem

The current study is a social-critical investigation of mythic discourse within the domain of politics. It examines the discursive formulation of mythic thinking using the discourse of Nkrumah as a medium of analysis. This study is especially important given that the notion of mythic discourse remains sufficiently unexplored in the (critical) discourse studies literature, despite its importance in furthering our understanding of the language of politics, political discourse analysis and presidential rhetoric. Indeed, the notion of mythic discourse, especially within the (critical) discourse analytical literature can be said to be still under-developed. After the works of political scientist Murray Edelman (see Edelman, 1964; 1971; 1977; 1988) and historian Leonard Thompson (see Thompson, 1985), Geis' (1987) monograph, *The Language of Politics*, can be considered the earliest work by a linguist that touched on the notion of mythic discourse or political

myth-making. Following Geis (1987), notable studies that have explored mythic discourse in politics from a (critical) linguistics standpoint include Kelsey's (2013; 2015; 2017), Charteris-Black (2004; 2005; 2011) and Flowerdew (1997). It is important to state that Kelsey's work was on media discourse (i.e., journalistic storytelling) rather than on political discourse or presidential rhetoric.

Three observations can be made from these studies: first, they usually involve small case studies with a reliance on limited sets of textual resource as primary data. Second, there is an overwhelming focus on US and Western (notably, British) politicians and presidents; a notable exception being Wydra and Woll's (2008) study which focuses on politicians from Eastern Europe. It will, therefore, not be far-fetched to assert that the literature on mythic discourse within the domain of politics is scanty and somewhat skewed towards data from the US and Western settings. For a holistic understanding of mythic discourse in politics to be achieved, a comprehensive and much larger study is desirable; even more useful is a study that analyzes data from another setting apart from the US and Western or Eastern Europe since such a study will be useful in contributing to a general theory of mythic discourse. The present study has arisen in response to this need. It critically investigates political myth-making as a social and discursive practice in order to identify particular semiotic practices and linguistic patterns deployed in the construction of mythic discourse by taking as a vehicle of investigation the discourse of Nkrumah, a prominent African leader. A third observation that can be made from the few previous studies on mythic discourse mentioned above relates to methodology and theory. Whereas Charteris-Black (2005; 2011) proposes critical metaphor analysis as a systematic approach for investigating mythic discourse within the domain of politics, Kelsey (2015) outlines twenty concepts[21] that constitute what he refers to as his "discourse-mythological analysis toolbox" for journalistic storytelling (pp. 43-49). I argue that the former does not explicitly and fully account for the important role of history in the creation of political mythic themes and the isomorphic relationship between political mythology and populism (a point to which I will later return) whilst the latter was proposed using journalistic storytelling (i.e., media reportage) rather than the discourse of politicians or presidential rhetoric.

[21] These concepts include: 'context', 'disclaimers', 'generalization', 'historical memory', 'hyperbole', 'indexical meaning', 'ideological square', 'interdiscursivity', 'intertxtuality', 'lexical choices', 'modality', 'metaphor', 'narration of the nation', 'neologism', 'predication', 'paradoxical persuasion', 'presupposition', 'prolepsis', 'recontextualization' and 'recurrence'.

In addition, the concepts outlined in Kelsey's (2015) discourse-mythological analysis toolbox (e.g., context, disclaimers, generalization, lexical choices, modality, etc.) aligns with the fundamental tenets of CDA and can, therefore, be applied to various forms of CDA research and discourse analysis in general, not only mythic discourse. Therefore, building on the work of these previous studies, the present study advances a combined framework, specifically an incorporation of critical metaphor analysis with discourse-historical analysis, as a more focused approach for analyzing mythic discourse within the domain of politics. In terms of theory, previous studies have hardly associated political myth with populist ideology; ergo, populism is not explicitly conceptualized to be part and parcel of political mythology. However, this thesis argues for an isomorphic relationship between political mythology and populist ideology, noting that myth helps politicians to exploit the notion of 'the people' conceptualized as a homogeneous group and a 'homeland' that is opposed to 'the system' and it enables a politician to (claim to) represent the 'general will' of the 'ordinary people' against an undesirable status quo. The explicit relationship between political myth and populism will be demonstrated in this thesis using the Unite or Perish myth and will be used to argue that the theory of myth in politics must include populist notions.

1.7 Objectives of the study and research questions

This study adopts a combined methodological framework to account for the complexities of mythic discourse in presidential rhetoric, particularly, and political discourse, in general. It examines how political leaders and by extension people in a position to influence society exploit rhetorical and linguistic tools as well as social processes and discursive practices to present their personal beliefs in a manner that depicts that they are necessarily shared by the masses (i.e., the generalization of their beliefs). That is, the focus is on how political leaders or powerful persons present their individual (and often esoteric) conceptualizations as axiomatic, thereby giving rise to mythic discourse. As stated at the onset, this study reckons mythic discourse as a social process that encapsulates other socio-cultural, historical and political elements – and not only language. The exploration of mythic discourse in this study is, therefore, an attempt to construe and explicate the unfixed ideological positions of individuals, which usually results in ideology-loaded discourses, by accounting for such complex phenomena within a socio-political context. In general, this study is a characterization of political myth-making via the language of Nkrumah, and it aims to show how systematic linguistic analysis offers rich insight into the nature of mythic discourse in order to raise critical awareness of this construct.

As ‘animator’ (the one who is speaking the words) and ‘principal’ (the one whose position is reinforced by the instantiated words; who believes in his enunciation and is committed to it), using Goffman’s terms (1981, p. 144), the current study is interested in how Nkrumah’s radical stance on African unity made him position himself differently to different entities. These entities include the colonial governments in Africa, the people of Ghana/Africa and the people whom in post-independence Africa he labeled as white supremacists, neo-colonialists and imperialists. This triad positioning triggers and contributes to Nkrumah’s construction of a mythic discourse. Therefore, this thesis aims to raise critical awareness of how the language of politics through a discourse of resistance can be deployed in the creation of political myths that serve the purpose of manufacturing consent (Richardson, 2007; Mulderrig, 2012b) as well as convincing masses of the personal beliefs, values and aspirations of politicians – i.e., of politicians’ world conceptualization. To this end, the overarching research question in this study is: How does a combination of critical metaphor analysis and discourse-historical analysis shed light on Nkrumah’s creation and promotion of the Unite or Perish myth?

The more specific research questions include:

1. How is the Unite or Perish myth constructed as an emancipatory discourse and a discourse of resistance?
2. What is the role of metaphor in Nkrumah’s creation and promotion of the Unite or Perish myth?
3. How does the Unite or Perish myth operate as a form of populist discourse?

Through the examination of the linguistic and discursive processes that combine to generate an ideologically-imbued discourse that realizes mythic discourse, this thesis analyses how powerful ideologies impact on discursive practices and how discourse is naturalized or popularized to the masses. It also considers how specialized knowledge is transformed into lay knowledge and the implications of such recontextualization. The knowledge and understanding of mythic discourse derived in this study will be useful. This is because it will enable us to re-access and rethink the “assumptions we project onto political actors” (Hay, 2007, p. 161) as well as help us to determine the extent to which politicians construct for themselves a discourse that, ideally speaking, is supposed to realize a collective good (Hay, 2007, p. 2). Like most, if not all, professional politicians, Nkrumah purports to be seeking for the common good of the people of Ghana and

Africa. Hence, his discourse presents us with a meaningful site to interrogate the nature of the underlying intentions and motives underpinning the rhetoric of politicians in general. This is relevant because as already noted, the discourse of influential people such as presidents invariably performs a socially meaningful role and can, thus, not be considered as mere text or talk. To this end, the present research is significant in a number of ways.

1.8 Significance of the study

The significance of this study lies in its contribution to the theory of myth in political discourse analysis or political communication, the discourse analytical framework of mythic discourse, and Africa's political history. To this end, the study holds implications for theory, methodology and practice.

First, this study makes an important linguistic contribution towards a theory of mythic discourse for presidential rhetoric or political communication. Mythic discourse is a complex and hybrid phenomenon; yet the few linguistic studies that have explored it have often relied on small case studies with minimal textual data and with a high emphasis on American and British politics. By comprehensively and intensively exploring the phenomenon with a sizeable amount of data collected from an African politician, this study builds on already existing work by characterizing the manifestation of political myth-making within an unexplored research setting, thereby contributing to a holistic understanding of mythic discourse. Thus, this study holds theoretical implication for how mythic discourses are formed or created in political communication and how the social effects of certain linguistic and semiotic actions or processes are inextricably linked to the mythic purveyance of various political themes. It contributes to an understanding of and a critical awareness of the persuasive role and power of political mythology in presidential rhetoric and motivates other studies to unravel the effects of other examples, especially within non-American and non-Western contexts.

Second, not only does this study bring about critical awareness of the framing of mythic discourse and its linguistic and social creation in politics, but it also suggests that an interdisciplinary framework that combines insights from critical metaphor analysis and discourse-historical analysis offers a robust methodology with which to investigate mythic discourse. The study, therefore, makes a significant methodological contribution to the discourse studies literature, as it builds on

the work of scholars like Charteris-Black (2005; 2011) and Kelsey (2015). Importantly, the combined framework employed in this study can be adopted and adapted for the analysis of mythic discourse in other domains of language use such as business, environment, health, religion and (social) media. It can also be applied to the analysis of diverse kinds of texts such as religious texts or sermonic discourse, journalese, discourse on climate change and discourse on corporate social responsibility. Further, it gives other researchers the platform to expand further the idea of an integrated methodological approach for analyzing mythic discourse, thereby contributing to interdisciplinary discourse analysis. This will help in a detailed and more precise analysis of mythic discourse (and, hence, political discourse) at textual, intertextual and contextual levels.

Third, there is currently no existing corpus of Nkrumah's discourse as far as I am able to determine. Hence, the corpus built for this study (and the study's findings) could form the basis of comparison for other corpus-based CDA studies of (Pan-)African leaders like Patrice Lumumba, Julius Nyerere, Muammar Gaddafi and Nelson Mandela and of other independence leaders like Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Sukarno of Indonesia. Closely linked to this significance of the study is the fact that the Corpus of Nkrumah Discourse (COND) built from scratch for this study will be useful to other researchers not only in linguistics but also in other or allied fields. For instance, most of the recorded speeches of Nkrumah found at the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) and the African Studies library/archive of Ghanaian universities have not been transcribed. Moreover, in some cases, the recordings are getting distorted owing to the long years of storage. Thus, this study contributes a sizeable, carefully and systematically constructed corpus data to the 'research market'; 'big data' that is significant for the preservation of an aspect of Ghana's history.

Fourth, the study in terms of practice contributes to Ghana/Africa's political history by enhancing our understanding Nkrumah's ideological positions. This is useful in either affirming or disconfirming previous findings and various viewpoints about Nkrumah's socio-political thought as well as helping us better comprehend not only the history of Ghana but also Africa in itself in the postcolonial period. In this vein, the study contributes to historiography with particular reference to the political history of Ghana and Africa and is, therefore, relevant to political scientists, communication experts, linguists, historians and rhetoricians as well as scholars of African and Diaspora studies. In furtherance of this is the study's potential to inform public opinion

on Nkrumah's socio-political inclination and vision. Thus, the study holds implications for the national orientation of Ghana's and Africa's political systems (in the post-colonial era), as it gives a sense of the kind of Ghanaian/African community Nkrumah wanted to create. This study, therefore, contributes to the analysis of Nkrumaism, one that is relevant to an understanding of the ideological aspect of contemporary Ghanaian and African politics.

Fifth, the potential role of CDA (the discourse-historical approach, especially) in the historical analysis of a text is highlighted in this study, illustrating the multidisciplinary nature of CDA as a qualitative approach to the study of language. Using Ghana as a case study of a colonial territory, the discourse-historical approach illuminates our understanding on the role of independence leaders in (political) decolonization within the broad area of studies on the colonial legacy of the British Empire, particularly, and the discourse on colonization broadly. In general, while the discourse-historical approach of CDA (Resigl & Wodak, 2001; 2009; Wodak, 2015) has been extensively applied to the public discourses of Western politicians and is now being used to analyze other discourse-related social phenomena such as discrimination, xenophobia, sexism, anti-Semitism and other forms of racist and prejudiced discourse within this context, same cannot be said of Africa. In this vein, the current study contributes to the discourse-historical approach, but more importantly, extends its application to the study of mythic discourse (textualized in semiotic processes such as unity, solidarity, communal stability and social cohesion or integration) which hitherto has not been the primary focus of the discourse-historical approach. In addition, it does this within a context relatively under-researched in the literature and with a non-American and non-Western political leader.

Finally, the study is significant to scholarship on political discourse (presidential rhetoric, especially), (critical) political discourse analysis and rhetorical discourse analysis, African and Diaspora studies and African history. As noted by van Dijk (2002), political discourse analysis is significant for the new cross-discipline of discourse studies. Therefore, an examination of the discourse of a key political figure like Nkrumah contributes not only to this area of discourse studies, but also provides the impetus for additional work in the area, especially in the African context.

1.9 Data and methods

The data used in this thesis is a self-constructed specialized corpus of Nkrumah's socio-political discourse (COND) containing approximately 303, 600 running words, supplemented with information derived from secondary sources such as books authored by Nkrumah, commentaries and views expressed in the media and scholarly works written by academics, journalists and political analysts/experts. The text samples that make up the corpus include 154 speeches delivered by Nkrumah during his active years as Ghana's president before his overthrow in 1966. With regard to the procedure of analysis, I draw on insights from corpus linguistics, history and linguistic action as the overall methodology. Thus, corpus methods and CDA theory, specifically Wodak's (2004; 2015) discourse-historical approach and Charteris-Black's (2004; 2005; 2011) critical metaphor analysis, are fruitfully combined. The analysis, therefore, takes place at textual, intertextual and contextual levels. A detailed account of the methodological procedures of this study, including the historical and political context within which the study is situated, is presented in Chapter 3.

1.10 Thesis structure

This thesis is organized into seven (7) chapters, including this introduction (Chapter 1) which has provided a general context and background that define the goals, motivations and parameters of the entire study. Chapter 2 examines the relevant conceptual and theoretical literature within which the study is grounded and describes the study as one whose concerns span mythic discourse, political mythology and critical discourse analysis, and is broadly situated within the contexts of discourse analysis, discourse-mythological analysis and political discourse analysis. The chapter also reviews the relevant empirical literature on political myth-making in different socio-cultural contexts in order to establish the lacuna and the need for the present investigation. Chapter 3 is the methodology chapter, concerned with the methodological procedures and principles that were deployed in the collection and analysis of the linguistic data (that is, the Corpus of Nkrumah Discourse – COND).

Each of chapters 4 to 6 is devoted to a presentation and discussion of the results and findings that emanate from the analysis. How each of the analysis chapters responds to the research questions is spelled out at the beginning of the chapter. In Chapter 7, the final chapter, I provide a general conclusion to the study by giving a summary of the research together with the key findings arrived

at in the three analysis chapters, showing how they respond to the research questions. The chapter also presents the implications of the research, its limitations, suggestions for further research and ends with a closing remark on Nkrumaism. There is an introduction at the beginning of each chapter which briefly explicates how the chapter proceeds.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

It is the goal of this chapter to situate this research within the extant literature by exploring the conceptual and theoretical issues that define the boundaries of this study. Therefore, the chapter discusses, from a theoretical viewpoint, issues relating to (i) discourse analysis, (ii) critical discourse analysis, including its main principles and approaches, and (iii) the notion of political discourse analysis. It also situates the present study within the existing literature on political myth-making by reviewing previous studies directly related to the current study, and ends with a discussion on how mythic discourse and metaphor are construed in this study. This chapter, thus, demonstrates how the relevant conceptual and theoretical issues herein discussed inform the current work by contributing to a proper conceptualization and contextualization of the objectives and research questions of this study.

2.2 Discourse analysis

The term *discourse* does not lend itself to a single definition and/or interpretation (Jaworski & Coupland, 2006). Given its fluidity and fuzziness, the term *discourse* has been used in both linguistic and non-linguistic investigation and in diverse fields of research. In various conversational contexts, including everyday mundane dyads (Strazny, 2005), speech communities (Afful, 2006a), communities of practice (Afful, 2006b), computer-mediated communication (Coker, 2012) and specialized institutional interactions (Mayr, 2008), some form of *discourse*, it is assumed, is enacted or textualized. Presenting a vignette of De Saussure's work, Chapman (2006, p. 96) submits that to him, "a word did not stand for an actual thing in the world […] rather it stood for a concept". Chapman's submission on words as concepts, I posit, is vital in engaging a definition of *discourse*. Subsequently, I have presented some relevant definitions of *discourse*.

i. "stretches of language perceived to be meaningful, unified and purposive" (Cook, 1989, p. 156).
ii. language above the level of the sentence or clause (Stubbs 1983; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Carter & Simpson, 1989).
iii. "linguistic behavior, written and spoken, beyond the limits of individual

sentences" (Bhatia, Flowerdew & Jones, 2008, p. 1).

iv. "[a] continuous stretch of spoken language larger than a sentence, often constituting a coherent unit" (Pustejovsky, 2006, p. 2).

v. language use in its (social or situational) context (Cook, 2013; Brown & Yule, 1983; Stubbs, 1983, p. 9).

vi. any meaningful utterance or text made in relation to the real world (Mills, 1997).

vii. "a regulated system of statements which can be analyzed not only in terms of its internal rules of formation but also as a set of practices within a social milieu" (Marshall, 1992 cited in Lahlali, 2003, p. 16).

viii. "what happens when people draw on the knowledge they have about language ... to do things in the world" (Johnstone, 2002, p. 3).

ix. language as a means of reflecting socio-political institutions, practices and structures and as a means for economic values (Foucault, 1972).

x. "a cluster of context-dependent semiotic practices that are situated within specific fields of action; socially constituted and socially constitutive; related to a macrotopic; and linked to the argumentation about validity claims – for example to truth and normative validity, which involves several actors with different points of view" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 87).

From the definitions above, it is discernible that whereas definitions (i-iv) emphasize the notion of discourse being above the level of the sentence or clause, definitions (v-x) foreground the social and situational context within which an utterance is instantiated. Taking these two notions of discourse into account, this study examines the use of language by a pioneering Pan-African leader and Ghana's first president, Kwame Nkrumah. Supposing Nkrumah articulated on the floor of parliament, during a debate about whether or not Ghana had to be given independence, *We prefer self-government with danger to servitude in tranquility*, we are interested in the meaning of the enunciation as it relates to the external 'world'/'environment' – that is, the social context within which this utterance was made. This 'world' would include, inter alia: a group of Ghanaian and British politicians/parliamentarians, cabinet/sectorial ministers (with age and hierarchical/horizontal power relations) and the presence and/or absence of other persons (such as journalists, the governor and the queen of England as well as the general public/citizens of Ghana). It will also include the specific time of the day when the utterance was enunciated and the place,

the mood of expression, the tone of voice, the gestures, the visage, the social and cultural background and the world at large.

Using all or some of the factors above, we may interpret *We prefer self-government with danger to servitude in tranquility* to mean that Nkrumah is upset with the British colonial government or that someone does not agree with him on a certain point, suggestion or proposition. It could also be interpreted that he is strategically and deliberately putting pressure on the queen or governor to grant Ghana independence as soon as possible or even ordering them to do same; that there is a conflict and/or confrontation between him and one or more of the parliamentarians/ministers, etc. These interpretations can be arrived at due to the situated or contextual meaning (Gee and Handford, 2003, p. 1) that *We prefer self-government with danger to servitude in tranquility* has. Moreover, given that Nkrumah made the statement within a political institution, setting or context (that is, on the floor of parliament), we would consider it as a form of political discourse, specifically parliamentary discourse (Ilie, 2007).

This kind of discourse (political/parliamentary discourse, legal discourse, medical discourse, bureaucratic discourse, media discourse, familial discourse, security discourse, war and military discourse, etc.) is what Gee (2011) designates as 'Discourse(s)' with a capital *D*. To him, 'Discourse' with a capital *D* is a marker of socially situated identities and practices and, therefore, transcends mere language to the use of language to reflect thoughts, feelings, beliefs, attitudes, social identities, etc. It is the "characteristic way of saying, doing and being" (Gee, 2011, p. 30) and Discourse(s) is/are socially accepted "associations that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group" (Gee, 2011, p. 30) – for example, Ghanaians/Africans or a group of politicians/parliamentarians. Fairclough (1989 p. 17; see Foucault's 1972 definition in ix above) considers this view of discourse as "a social practice determined by social structures" and whose actualization is "determined by socially constituted *orders of discourse* and sets of conventions associated with social institutions". On the other hand, 'discourse' with a small *d* is defined by Gee as "language-in-use or stretches of language" that make sense or are meaningful (p. 34.). This can take place in the form of a single, specific conversation. The current investigation considers Nkrumah's use of language within its social domain (political discourse/presidential rhetoric) and, therefore, assumes that Nkrumah's language use will be informed by his beliefs, philosophies, values and ideological orientations. Consequently, of importance to this study is

'Discourse' with a capital '*D*', as Nkrumah's language use identifies him as a member of a socially meaningful group (here, Ghanaians and Africans), and, thus, cannot be merely and only be considered as meaningfully connected stretches of language.

Discourse Analysis, or more broadly *Discourse Studies*, is a term said to have originated from Zellig Harris in 1952 in his attempt to explore connected stretches of language (speech and writing) that transcend the sentence level (Coulthard, 1985, p. 3; Strazny, 2005, p. 269; Schiffrin, 1987, p. 2). Discourse analysis is, therefore, an umbrella term for the study of the ways in which language is used in texts and contexts. In the words of Mills (1997, p. 135):

> discourse analysis can be seen as a reaction to a more traditional form of linguistics (formal, structural linguistics) which is focused on the constituent units and structure of the sentence and which does not concern itself with an analysis of language in use. Discourse analysis, in contrast to formal linguistics, is concerned with translating the notion of structure from the level of the sentence ... to the level of longer texts.

Like Mills, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and the Birmingham school consider discourse analysis from a unit-functional perspective and approach. A multidisciplinary term, *Discourse Analysis* has engaged the attention of researchers in other disciplines apart from linguistics. For instance, Wooffitt (2005, p. 14) avers that discourse analysis evolved from sociologists' attempt in the 1970s, through their study of the "sociology of scientific knowledge", to challenge scientific claims that the world was an objective independent entity completely removed from culture and context and detached from human influence. This view of the multidisciplinarity of discourse analysis is also highlighted in the works of other theorists, scholars, and researchers such as Brown and Yule (1983), Schriffrin (1978), Coupland and Jaworski (1997) and Cook (2013). The disciplinary variation of discourse analysis notwithstanding, there is some consensus as far as the basic assumptions that underlie discourse analysis are concerned. This is echoed by Trappes-Lomax (2004, p. 134), that:

> discourse analysis may, broadly speaking, be defined as the study of language viewed communicatively and/or of communication viewed linguistically. Any more detailed spelling out of such a definition typically involves reference to concepts of language *in use*, language *above or beyond the sentence*, language as meaning *in interaction*, and language

in *situational and cultural contexts*. Depending on their particular convictions and affiliations – functionalism, structuralism, social interactionism, etc. – linguists will tend to emphasize one, or some, rather than others on this list.

This definition seems to offer a point of convergence for the various explanations and interpretations that have been proffered by different linguists. From a pragmatic and communicative point of view, for instance, Brown and Yule (1983, p. 1) define discourse analysis as "necessarily, the analysis of language in use"; while Lahlali (2003, p. 16) from a critical perspective views it as a social phenomenon that aids the explanation and interpretation of socio-cultural issues that affect the use of language. For Potter (1997, p. 146), doing discourse analysis means "studying discourse as *texts and talk in social practices*".

Depending on a discourse analyst's theoretical and conceptual background, for example, anthropology, cultural theory, linguistics or sociology, s/he is likely to be influenced in her/his approach to discourse analysis. Cultural theorists, for instance, hold the view that the nexus between language (and for that matter discourse) and culture/identity is inexorable since language reflects the attitudes, beliefs, and values of people. Phrased slightly differently, "language is not a culture-free code, distinct from the way people think and behave, but rather, it plays a major role in the perpetuation of culture …" (Kramsch, 1998, p. 8). Discourse is, thus, about language use as it relates to a social, situational or cultural context. This view partly informs the present study, as Nkrumah's use of language is not considered as a secluded discourse but one which is rooted within a lingual-cultural context and it is presumed to represent not only the ideals, values, beliefs, and ideologies of an 'isolated' individual, but also of the masses/group of people.

As already noted, the term 'discourse analysis' covers a wide range of practices and cannot be identified exclusively with any single approach to the study of language. Since its emergence in the 1950s, discourse analysis of various forms has engendered the attention of linguists and researchers in applied linguistics and other allied fields, culminating in a number of methods of discourse analysis. Some of these methods include conversation analysis (Wooffitt, 2005; Heritage, 2005; Sacks, 1984), genre analysis (Swales, 1990; Bhatia, 2004; Hyland, 2007), move analysis (Swales, 1981; 1990; Bhatia 1993; Samraj, 2005), critical genre analysis (Bhatia, 1995; 2012) and multimodal analysis (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996; 2001; 2006; van Leeuwen, 2005). Critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995; 2001; van Dijk, 1998; 2001; Wodak, 2013), political

discourse analysis (van Dijk, 2002; Mulderrig, 2003a; 2003b), interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1982a; 1982b; Tannen, 1993) and narrative analysis (Labov, 1972; Sacks, 1974; Harris, 2001) are other methods of analysis in the broad area of discourse studies. These discourse analytical methods/approaches have been fruitfully applied to written texts such as promotional and sales letters (e.g., Yunxia, 2009), negotiation letters (e.g., dos Santos, 2002) and minutes of meetings (e.g., Handford, 2010). They have also been used to analyze oral texts such as media panel discussions (e.g., Sarfo, 2011; 2012) and patient-doctor interactions (e.g., Roberts & Sarangi, 2005) and to explore computer-mediated texts such as telephone conversations (e.g., Sacks, 1992), texts messages (e.g., Coker, 2011), the language of social network sites (e.g., Crystal, 2001) and emails (e.g., Chiluwa, 2012). In the last three decades, one form of discourse studies that has become increasingly popular is critical discourse analysis. In the ensuing paragraphs, this approach is discussed in some detail, owing to its significance (in both theory and method) to the current study.

2.3 Critical discourse analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), or more broadly *Critical Discourse Studies* (CDS), has its roots in critical linguistics (Teo, 2000, p. 11). At various times in its development, it has been rooted in ideas from classical rhetoric, text linguistics, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics and pragmatics (Weiss & Wodak, 2003, p. 11). Indeed, Wodak and Meyer (2009) note that the terms 'critical linguistics' and 'critical discourse analysis' "are often used interchangeably", with the latter being preferred and, perhaps, now being used to denote the theory of critical linguistics as well. According to Jeffries (2007), "CDA began as a left-wing reaction to the hands-off objectivity of early linguistics, when there was clearly so much wrong with the world that was based in texts, and so much information about manipulation and political dishonesty that could be revealed by a few judicious uses of some fairly accessible tools of analysis" (p. 17). As a theoretical and/or methodological framework, CDA gained popularity in the early 1990s, following a symposium in Amsterdam attended by Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 3). It must be mentioned, however, that as far back as the late 1960s and early 1970s, CDA had already emerged on the research scene (van Dijk, 1988, p. 17) and, thus, some form of CDA studies were already taking place. To this end, it can be said that CDA developed concurrently with critical linguistics.

CDA views language as 'social practice' (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) and considers the 'context' within which language use is enacted, textualized or manifested as vitally crucial. This position is captured in one of the most popular and often quoted definitions of CDA that:

> CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of 'social practice'. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it: The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258; cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2009, pp. 5-6).

Thus, by considering 'discourse as social practice', CDA relates meaning in text to social and ideological phenomena and aims to make more visible the opaque aspects of discourse as social practice (Fairclough et al., 2010). It is important to note that "CDA itself is not a method of research [per se], but a [research or] social movement of socio-politically committed discourse analysts using different methods of analysis" (van Dijk, 2011, p. 621). To put it differently, "CDA is not a discrete academic discipline with a relatively fixed set of research methods …; instead, it subsumes a variety of approaches, each with different theoretical models, research methods, and agenda" (Fairclough et al., 2010, p. 357). This means that CDA is an interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary or transdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse which views language as a form of social practice. The converging point for the diverse theoretical models, approaches and methods found in CDA research lies in the semiotic dimensions of power (asymmetry), (in)justice, abuse and political, economic or cultural change in society. In essence, "CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (van Dijk, 2001, p. 352).

Following the definitions of CDA presented above, it is discernible that one of the central thesis of CDA is to explore how social and political issues are expressed, enacted, legitimated and reproduced or resisted by text or talk. It focuses attention on structures and strategies of these texts in order to "uncover, reveal or disclose what is implicit, hidden or otherwise not immediately obvious in relations of discursively enacted dominance or their underlying ideologies" (van Dijk,

1995b, p. 18). By focusing on the relation between discourse and society, CDA investigates language and communication from a socio-politically oriented perspective. What this means is that the focus of attention of CDA is not only on the linguistic per se, but more crucially, on complex social phenomena that have semiotic dimensions (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Consequently, CDA combines linguistic analysis with social analysis (Woods & Kroger, 2006, p. 206) and, in recent years, multimodal analysis (Machin, 2013) to achieve its aim of revealing (often hidden and latent) ideologies. The critical nature of CDA is usually observed in the mutual connection between language, discourse, speech and social structure. As the dimensions of CDA include "the object of moral and political evaluation, analyzing them should have [positive] effect on society by empowering the powerless, giving voices to the voiceless, exposing power abuse and mobilizing people to remedy social wrongs" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 25). These issues are of prime concern to this study, as Nkrumah's socio-political discourse on African unity may be seen as strategically and intentionally employed to empower Africans, give them voice (and also verve) and, more importantly, mobilize them for what Nkrumah referred to as *positive action* (that is, strong resistance against colonialism and neo-colonialism). In this regard, Nkrumah's discourse becomes a catalyst for change and transformation and a means of instigating action in a less powerful group (Africans vis-a-vis the colonial governments in Africa), a principle CDA adheres to.

CDA insists that "all representation is mediated, molded by the value systems that are ingrained in the medium used for representation; [it] challenges common sense [notions] by pointing out that something could have been represented some other way, with a very different significance" (Fowler, 1996, p. 4). CDA was influenced by Halliday's (1985) systemic functional approach to language and the social theory of Western Marxism (Gramsci, 1971; Foucault, 1972; Bourdieu, 1991). It assumes an imbalance in the access that members of the society have to social and linguistic goods/resources; that social institutions (which are often more powerful) control these resources/goods; and that the masses' limited access to these resources/goods results in the (re)production and maintenance of social inequality. The main tenets of CDA are summarized by Fairclough and Wodak (1997, pp. 271-280; cited in van Dijk, 2001, p. 353). They include: (1) CDA addresses social problems; (2) power relations are discursive; (3) discourse constitutes society and culture; (4) discourse does ideological work; (5) discourse is historical; (6) the link

between text and society is mediated; (7) discourse is interpretative and explanatory; and (8) discourse is a form of social action.

Three concepts that are inextricably linked with CDA, according to Wodak (2001, p. 3), include "the concept of power, the concept of history and the concept of ideology". As well, she reiterates the view held by most CDA practitioners that, "the complex interrelations between discourse and society cannot be analyzed adequately unless linguistic and sociological approaches are combined (Weiss & Wodak, 2003, p. 7) and by considering discourse as social practice, CDA maintains that language use both reflects and produces ideologies in society (Baker et al., 2008, p. 280). In sum, "CDA can be [regarded] as being fundamentally interested in analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 10). Therefore, it can be seen as a 'tool' for deconstructing the implicit ideologies embedded in text and "identifying and defining social, economic and historical power relations between dominant and subordinate groups" (Henry & Tator, 2002, p. 72). It is more of a heterogeneous movement than a uniform school and its varied approaches are informed by different epistemological underpinnings.

Related to critical discourse analysis is *Political Discourse Analysis* (PDA). This is unsurprising, given the socio-political orientations characterizing the development of CDA. In this study, Nkrumah's language is seen as 'political' discourse and its analysis as 'political discourse analysis'. Consequently, it seems reasonable to explain PDA, even if briefly. Primarily, PDA focuses on the analysis of political discourse. In other words, it is a (critical) discourse analysis of political texts or talk. According to van Dijk (1997), PDA deals with the reproduction and enactment of political power and ideology through discourse. It, thus, sheds light on the strategic deployment – and in some cases – manipulation of political notions to achieve specific aims, mainly political. PDA focuses on all properties of a text – phonology, graphics, syntax, semantics, etc. – but, more importantly, it pays particular attention to how these properties can be politically contextualized (van Dijk, 1997). The main goal of PDA, Wilson (2001, p. 410) posits, is "to seek out the ways in which language choice is 'manipulated' for specific political effect". This can be done at nearly all levels of linguistic analysis. PDA, therefore, requires a balance between linguistic analysis and political analysis, a position reinforced by van Dijk (1997, p. 11) when he states that "PDA is both about political discourse and it is also a critical [linguistic] enterprise".

Some benefits of PDA identified by van Dijk (1997, p. 41) include the following: first, it provides useful insights into discursive political practices such as cabinet meetings, parliamentary debates, bills and laws, legislative instruments, bureaucratic documents, party propaganda, media interviews or protests by opposition parties and organizations. Second, it provides subtle forms of evidence for such things as power relations, ideologies, and group interests, which otherwise may be hidden, denied or taken for granted. Third, it contributes to a critical understanding of discursive practices and their relations with social and political contexts.

As political discourse is inherently and predominantly ideological, covert, subtle and hidden ideological set of assumptions can invariably be linked to words and/or expressions in a political text. Language, in general, and language use in political domains, in particular, is seldom neutral. Therefore, it is the assumption of the current study that Nkrumah's rhetoric will be loaded with both overt and covert agenda. In this regard, both CDA and PDA will be useful in uncovering these oft-deep-seated, though not always, agenda.

2.4 Approaches to critical discourse analysis

As already indicated, CDA does not have a unitary theoretical framework. Therefore, within CDA research, various underlying theoretical and analytical orientations can be found. In CDA, ideas from systemic functional grammar feature prominently and it has also drawn on concepts and categories from pragmatics, discourse analysis and/or text linguistics, social semiotics, social cognition, rhetoric and conversation analysis. Indeed, according to van Dijk (2001, p. 96), CDA can be "combined with any approach and sub-discipline in the humanities and social sciences". In what follows, I outline and discuss the three most prominent CDA frameworks. I begin with Norman Fairclough's 'Marxist perspective' (Mayr, 200, p. 9) or discourse and social change approach and follow it up with Teun van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach. Finally, I discuss Ruth Wodak's discourse-historical approach (DHA). Having presented an overview of these existing analytic frameworks, I conclude the section with my thoughts on what I consider to be the most appropriate and suitable approach for probing the ideological construction of mythic discourse in Nkrumaism.

2.4.1 Fairclough's discourse and social change approach

The centrality of Fairclough's approach to CDA, which can be considered as a socio-cultural orientation to discourse, has been evident in the last twenty years. Principally, this theoretical

framework is a "contribution to the general rising of consciousness of exploitative social relationship, through focusing on language" (Fairclough, 1998, p. 4), and can be considered as a dialectical theory of discourse and transdisciplinary approach to social change (Fairclough, 1992; 2003; 2004; 2005; 2006). The theory is influenced by a number of frameworks, concepts, and theorems, including Halliday's systemic functional linguistics and critical social theories such as Foucault's concept of order of discourse, Gramsci concept of hegemony and Habermas' notion of colonization. In order to properly construe the correlation between language use on one hand and social and political thought on another hand, Fairclough developed a 'three-dimensional' approach to any instance of discourse, viz. "a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice and an instance of social practice" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 4).

Discourse as text entails an examination of the way propositions are structured or organized as well as how they are combined and sequenced (Fairclough, 1995a). In this case, the analyst engages the text from the standpoint of what is present, bearing in mind what could have been present but is not. Importantly, the text – and some aspects of it – is seen to be the result of choice, not chance. That is, the text producer chooses to describe a person, an action or a process over another; chooses to use a certain expression, phrase or construction over an alternative; or chooses to use a particular fact, example or argument instead of a different one. The overarching importance of 'choice' in text production is emphasized by Fairclough (1995a) when he asserted that choices in text "cover traditional forms of linguistics – analysis of vocabulary and semantics, the grammar of sentences and smaller units and the sound system (phonology) and writing system. But it also includes analysis of textual organization above the sentence, including the ways in which sentences are connected (cohesion) and aspects like the organization of turn-taking in interviews or the overall structure of a newspaper article" (p. 57). Textual analysis in CDA, thus, does not mean an exclusive focus on "the linguistic form and content"; rather, it is the function ascribed to these elements when they are used in a text that is more important (Richardson, 2007, p. 38). Therefore, "the traditional forms of linguistic analysis should be analyzed in relation to their direct or indirect involvement in reproducing or resisting the systems of ideology and social power" (Richardson, 2007, p. 39).

Discourse as discursive practice "specifies the nature of the processes of text production and interpretation" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 4). This means that the focus of the analysis is more discourse-

based, rather than textual, and discourse is engaged from the viewpoint of being an 'artifact' that can be produced, circulated, distributed and consumed in society. On this level of analysis, the focus of attention is given to speech acts, coherence and intertextuality, and how these relate the text to its social context. Fairclough (1995a) distinguishes between two types of intertextuality: 'manifest' intertextuality and 'constitutive' intertextuality. The former refers to the heterogeneous constitution of texts, showing how other texts are "covertly drawn upon by other texts" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 29) – for example, the use of direct quotation marks to indicate the presence of or reference to another text. The latter, conversely, refers to the heterogeneous constitution of the elements in the text, including discourse types, generic conventions, and register and style.

Discourse as social practice relates to "the institutional and organization circumstances of the discursive event and how that shapes the nature of the discursive practice" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 4). That is, this level of analysis focuses on the text's 'socio-cultural practice' or "the social and cultural goings-on which the communicative event is part of" (Fairclough, 1995a, p. 57). Fairclough (1995b) adds that CDA "may be at different levels of abstraction from the particular event: it may involve its more immediate situational context, the wider context of institutional practices the event is embedded within, or the yet wider frame of the society and the culture" (p. 62). This level of analysis, according to Richardson (2007, p. 42), is informed by three general questions: (1) what does the text say about the society in which it was produced and the society that it was produced for? (2) What influence or impact do we think that the text may have on social relations? (3) Will it help to continue inequalities and other undesirable social practices, or will it help break them down? It is at this level of analysis that issues relating to social practice, ideological assumptions/differences/struggles/positions and power asymmetry are essential in accounting for the nature of a text or stretch of talk.

Fairclough advances three dimensions or stages of CDA, namely description, interpretation and explanation (Fairclough, 2001, pp. 21-22), and presents the stages of applying his framework of CDA as follows:

1. Focus on a social problem that has a semiotic aspect.
2. Identify obstacles to it [the problem] being tackled, through analysis of (a) the network of practices it is located within, (b) the relationship of semiosis to other elements within the particular practice(s) concerned, and (c) the discourse (the semiosis itself).

3. Consider whether the social order (network of practices) in a sense 'needs' the problem.
4. Identify possible ways past the obstacles.
5. Reflect critically on the analysis.

(Fairclough, 1989, p. 125)

Fairclough's approach to CDA can be said to be related to Marxism because his focus is on "the exercise of power in modern society" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 2); on "discursive change in relation to social and cultural change" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 10); and on how "societies sustain their social structures and social relations over time" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 5). To this end, he brings "together linguistically-oriented discourse analysis and social and political thought relevant to discourse and language" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 62). Using this approach, Fairclough has examined neoliberalism in UK Labor politics (2000a; 2000b) and in New Capitalism (2004); the notion of 'community' in international security (2005b) and the political concepts of 'globalization (2006) and the 'knowledge-based economy' (Jessop, Fairclough & Wodak, 2008). Other studies, besides Fairclough's work, that have employed this framework include Bhatia (2006; 2009), Mulderrig (2003a; 2003b), Flowerdew (1997a; 1997b), Chiluwa (2012), Edu-Buandoh (2012), Edu-Buandoh & Mwinlaaru (2013), inter alia.

2.4.2 Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach

The socio-cognitive approach to CDA developed from the work of Teun Adrian van Dijk. It "theorizes the relationship between social systems and social cognition" (Mayr, 2008, p. 9) and, thus, is characterized by the interaction between discourse, cognition and society. Starting off as an approach in formal text linguistics, the socio-cognitive approach later incorporated elements of standard psychological models of memory as well as the notion of 'frame' from cognitive science. The greater part of van Dijk's work has focused on the cognitive dimensions of how discourse operates in racism, ideology and knowledge (e.g., van Dijk, 1993; 1998), highlighting stereotypes, the reproduction of ethnic prejudices and power abuse by the elites and resistance by dominant groups. A conceptual triangle of society, discourse and social cognition (van Dijk, 2001), the socio-cognitive approach regards the socio-cognitive interface of actual language users to be indispensable in the relations between discourse and society (van Dijk, 2011, p. 617). Within this framework, discourse is a 'communicative event', comprising conversation interaction, written text, facework, typographical layout, images and all forms of semiotic and multimedia resources.

Cognition includes personal and social cognition, beliefs and goals, emotions and evaluations and all forms of 'mental' or 'memory' structure and society entails "local and global, societal and political structures, group-relations (of dominance and inequality), movements, institutions, organizations and social processes" (van Dijk, 2001, p. 98).

Like Fairclough's discourse and social change model, the socio-cognitive approach is "essentially interdisciplinary, combining linguistic, discourse analytical, psychological and sociological analysis of news discourse and news processes" (van Dijk, 1998, p. 15). Van Dijk has mainly focused on the analysis of media texts and has proposed a three-pronged analysis of such texts; that is, "the description of argumentative structures; the explication of presupposed (tacit) assumptions, norms and values; and an analysis of style and rhetorical features" (van Dijk, 1998, p. 126). The framework also discusses three main notions of beliefs as far as social representation is concerned: knowledge, attitudes and ideology. First, knowledge can be personal, shared by a group or have a cultural orientation. Personal knowledge concerns one's mental models about specific events, often personal. Knowledge can also be shared by specific social groups – such knowledge may be biased or ideological in which case it becomes more of a 'belief' held by a group of people rather than 'knowledge'. Cultural knowledge refers to oft-taken for granted common knowledge shared by all members of a society. Second, attitudes represent socially shared opinions that can be evaluated as being right or wrong rather than being true or false. Third, ideology refers to the fundamental "framework for organizing the social cognitions shared by members of a social group, organizations, and institutions" (van Dijk, 1995b, p. 19). It is considered the most basic of a society's 'personality', unlike knowledge and attitudes and so is, perhaps, unquestionable. Mentally, ideology represents the typical social characteristics of a society/group, including their identity, goals, values, norms, tasks, positions and resources (van Dijk, 1995b) – members/people are likely to firmly hold on to their society's ideology such that with time, it may be generally regarded as acceptable attitudes of an entire community (van Dijk, 2006, p. 117).

An important feature of van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach is the notion of 'ideological square'. That is, various social groups have the inclination to project their group positively while depicting other groups negatively. This suggests an ideological structure of *us* (in a positive light) versus *them* (in a negative light). Four moves make up the ideological square: (1) express/emphasize

information that is 'positive' about *us*; (2) express/emphasize information that is 'negative' about *them*; (3) suppress/de-emphasize information that is 'positive' about *them*' and (4) suppress/de-emphasize information that is 'negative' about *us*. Van Dijk adds that an aspect of discourse which "expresses, establishes, confirms or emphasizes a self-interested group opinion, perspective or position, especially in a broader socio-political context of social struggle, is a candidate for special attention in ideological analysis (van Dijk, 1998, p. 23). In addition to the work of van Dijk, the combination of cognitive methods and CDA has been successfully applied in other CDA research such as Koller's (2004; 2005) work on cognitive metaphor theory of corporate discourse and other studies of hers on lesbian communities (Koller, 2008) and politically resonant metaphors in corporate and public branding (Koller, 2007). As well, the work of Chilton (2002; 2003; 2004) has made important contributions to political discourse analysis within the ambit of cognitive linguistics, in general, and socio-cognitive studies in CDA, in particular.

2.4.3 Wodak's discourse-historical approach

Ruth Wodak together with other researchers in the Vienna School developed the discourse-historical approach (DHA) to CDA, drawing on the traditions of Bernsteinian sociolinguistics and the Frankfurt School. The framework emerged from an analysis of anti-Semitic stereotyped images or '*Feindbild*' found in the public discourses (press reporting, especially) of former United Nations General Secretary, Kurt Waldheim, during the 1986 Austrian presidential campaign (Wodak et al., 1990; Wodak, 2004; Wodak, 2015). Currently, the approach is associated with large interdisciplinary research programs, focusing on sexism, anti-Semitism, and racism. The main feature of the DHA is that it "attempts to integrate a large quantity of available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive 'events' are embedded". It "further analyzes the historical dimensions of discursive actions by exploring the ways in which particular genres of discourse are subject to diachronic change" (Wodak, 2015a, p. 3). Since its emergence, the various principles underpinning the DHA have evolved over time. Ten of its most important principles are, however, summarized by Wodak (2015, p. 2) as follows:

1. The approach is interdisciplinary and involves theory, methods, methodology, research practice, and practical application.
2. The approach is problem-oriented.

3. Various theories and methods are combined wherever integration leads to an adequate understanding and explanation of the research object.
4. The research incorporates fieldwork and ethnography (study from "inside") where this is required for a thorough analysis and theorizing of the object under investigation.
5. The research necessarily moves recursively between theory and empirical data.
6. Numerous genres and public spaces as well as intertextual and interdiscursive relationships are studied.
7. The historical context is taken into account in interpreting texts and discourses. The historical orientation permits the reconstruction of how recontextualization functions as an important process linking texts and discourses intertextually and interdiscursively over time.
8. Categories and tools are not fixed once and for all. They must be elaborated for each analysis according to the specific problem under investigation.
9. "Grand theories" often serve as a foundation. In the specific analyses, however, "middle-range theories" frequently supply a better theoretical basis.
10. The application of results is an important target. Results should be made available to and applied by experts and should be communicated to the public.

As the DHA is informed by the socio-philosophical orientation of critical theory, it adheres to social critique theory which encapsulates three inter-related aspects (Resigl & Wodak, 2001; 2009; Wodak, 2015). These three aspects are presented below:

1. 'Text or discourse immanent critique' aims at discovering inconsistencies, (self-) contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the text-internal or discourse-internal structures.
2. In contrast to the immanent critique, the socio-diagnostic critique is concerned with the demystifying exposure of the – manifest or latent – possibly persuasive or manipulative character of discursive practices. With socio-diagnostic critique, the analyst exceeds the purely textual or discourse internal sphere. She or he makes use of her or his background and contextual knowledge and embeds the communicative or interactional structures of a discursive event in a wider frame of social and political relations, processes and circumstances.

3. Prognostic critique contributes to the transformation and improvement of communication. This is done by elaborating proposals and guidelines for reducing language barriers in hospitals, schools, courtrooms, public offices and media reporting institutions as well as guidelines for avoiding sexist language use.

(Wodak, 2001, pp. 64-65)

Context plays a crucial role in the DHA and contributes to its triangulatory principle. The DHA takes into account four levels of context. That is:

1. the immediate, language, or text-internal co-text;
2. the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres, and discourses;
3. the extra-linguistic social variables and institutional frames of a specific "context of situation";
4. the broader socio-political and historical context, which discursive practices are embedded in and related to.

(Wodak, 2015a, p. 5)

The notions of intertextuality and interdiscursivity of texts, genres and discourses are paramount in the DHA. As well, it takes into serious account extra-linguistic social/sociological variables, the history of an organization/institution and situational frames. As part of its foci, the DHA investigates how discourses, genres and texts morph vis-a-vis socio-political change. The DHA defines ideology "as an (often) one-sided perspective or worldview composed of related mental representations, convictions, opinions, attitudes and evaluations [which] are shared by members of specific social groups" (Wodak, 2015a, p. 4). It, thus, aims to demystify hegemonic discourses by deciphering, delineating and explicating underlying ideologies. A thorough DHA, according to Wodak (2015, p. 12), follows an eight-step process implemented recursively. They include:

1. literature review, activation of theoretical knowledge (i.e., recollection, reading, and discussion of previous research);
2. systematic collection of data and context information (depending on the research questions, various discourses, genres, and texts are focused on);
3. selection and preparation of data for specific analyses (selection and downsizing of data according to relevant criteria, transcription of tape recordings, etc.);

4. specification of the research questions and formulation of assumptions (on the basis of a literature review and a first skimming of the data);
5. qualitative pilot analysis (this allows for testing categories and first assumptions as well as for the further specification of assumptions);
6. detailed case studies (of a whole range of data, primarily qualitatively, but in part also quantitatively);
7. formulation of critique (interpretation of results, taking into account the relevant context knowledge and referring to the three dimensions of critique);
8. application of the detailed analytical results (if possible, the results might be applied or proposed for application).

The application of the DHA can be seen in studies on prejudice and racism (Kryzanowski & Wodak, 2008), identity construction in European politics (Wodak, 2007), right-wing politics in Austria (Wodak & Pelinka, 2002) and anti-Islam racism in the British press (Richardson, 2004) and among right-wing political parties (Richardson & Wodak, 2009). It has also been combined with ethnographic methods to explore identity politics and decision-making patterns in European Union organizations (Krzyzanowski & Wodak, 2008a; 2008b).

The three CDA approaches discussed in the foregoing sections have both points of convergence and divergence. For instance, it can be opined that Fairclough's three-dimensional approach (that is, discourse as text, discourse as discursive practice and discourse as social practice) is akin to van Dijk's three dimensions of ideology (discourse, socio-cognition and social analysis). Perhaps, the point of departure between the two frameworks is that whilst van Dijk considers the mediation between discourse and society as a function of social cognition and mental models, Fairclough, on the other hand, holds the view that the performance of this task is a function of discourse practices. Meanwhile, it can be stated that Wodak and Fairclough seem to share an affinity in that they both subscribe to the view that language manifests and constitutes social practices. As well, the notion of ideology in meaning construction as well as the consumption of discourse by different groups or societies is the central thesis that undergirds both van Dijk and Wodak's frameworks. Finally, all three frameworks posit an interdisciplinary or a multidisciplinary paradigm.

In this study, I draw mainly on Wodak's discourse-historical approach, owing to its suitability and applicability to my study. The approach argues that in order to fully comprehend the true nature of a particular discourse (that is, what the discourse is and how it works and/or is operationalized), there is the need to pay attention to the wider context, especially the historical context, within which the discourse is produced and consumed. Such a position is taken by the present study and, therefore, is of utmost importance to it, since an exclusive textual analysis of the discourse of Nkrumah that is completely removed from the context of situation is not likely to reveal the 'true' and 'full picture' of Nkrumah's ideological positions. At best, such a narrow approach will yield superficial results; at worst, it may result in inaccurate findings. Analyzing the data, thus, we will frequently step outside the corpus to engage the broader social, cultural, political and, more especially, historical contexts of the data in order to link the micro linguistic analysis to the socio-political context level – that is, to ideologies and macro structures. Such an approach is useful in enabling a holistic understanding of the socio-political thought of Nkrumah and, more importantly, his discursive construction of the Unite or Perish myth. Although I draw mainly on Wodak's discourse-historical approach throughout the analysis, I also refer to the four moves of van Dijk's ideological square as basic tenets of CDA, especially in my exploration of the ideological bias that seems to suggest that Nkrumah is anti-Western world. Although the present study is largely CDA-inspired, it is meticulously and systematically backed by rich corpus data and some corpus methods. This makes a discussion on corpus approaches to discourse analysis in this study relevant.

2.5 Corpus approaches to discourse analysis

Corpus approaches to discourse analysis can be traced to Hardt-Mautner's (1995) seminal paper entitled, *Only connect: critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics*, where she mooted for a 'marriage' between corpus linguistics and discourse studies as a means of minimizing the limitations inherent in the two approaches/frameworks. In recent years, this synergistic framework has given rise to much research in applied linguistics and other allied fields and is becoming increasingly popular. As Baker (2010, p. 93) rightly notes, "Corpus linguistics is an increasingly popular field of linguistics which involves the analysis of (usually) very large collections of electronically stored texts, aided by computer software". Simply put, corpus linguistics is defined as "the computer-aided analysis of very extensive collections of transcribed utterances or written

texts" (McEnery & Hardie, 2012, p. i). The basic concerns of corpus linguistics, according to Hunston (2011, p. 4):

> include collecting quantities of text in electronic form so that they are open to data-manipulation techniques. Such techniques range from finding a search term and observing its immediate environments (key-word-in-context or concordance lines); to calculations of relative frequency (as in, for example, collocation studies); to annotation for such categories as word class, grammatical function or semantic class; and frequency calculations based on such categories.

The principal thing in corpus linguistic research, thus, is the computerized 'manipulation' of linguistic data analysis. Two main approaches to corpus linguistics have been identified in the literature: corpus-based and corpus-driven approaches. The former refers to "a methodology that avails itself of the corpus mainly to expound, test or exemplify [pre-existing] theories and descriptions" (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001, p. 65) "in order to validate, refute or refine" them (McEnery & Hardie, 2012, p. 6). The latter "claims instead that the corpus *itself* should be the sole source of our hypothesis about language" (McEnery & Hardie, 2012, p. 6); that is, the corpus 'drives' the research and theory is derived from the corpus. As far as Hunston (2011, p. 91) is concerned, the corpus-driven approach can be regarded as a "serendipitous method", "just 'noting' something that occurs frequently in concordance lines"; whereas the corpus-based approach is a "rigorous method" that tries "to quantify a concept that has no single realization". These proffered dichotomies between the two corpus linguistic approaches notwithstanding, it is imperative to aver that

McEnery and Hardie (2012, p. 6; pp. 147-153) reject "the binary distinction between corpus-based and corpus-driven linguistics" and opine that "all corpus linguistics can justly be described as corpus-based". In a similar vein, McEnery, Xiao and Tono (2006, p. 11) argue that "the sharp distinction between the corpus-based vs. corpus-driven approaches to language studies is in reality fuzzy". While agreeing with McEnery and others since it seems practically impossible to undertake a completely 'naive' corpus-driven analysis, I take the position that the two approaches are complementary and not mutually exclusive, and can, thus, be useful in diverse ways. Depending on the specific needs of one's research, one may have to establish some hypotheses beforehand in which case these pre-existing hypotheses must be tested. That said, it is normal in a research for

one to encounter insights not previously anticipated, leading to further exploration by the analyst. In addition, it is not likely to be a practical reality for a discourse analyst to approach a corpus with no intuitions or background information (no matter how small) whatsoever. Hence, the relationship between corpus-based and corpus-driven approaches, I surmise, need not be strictly dichotomized in terms of either/or, as it may be more beneficial for them to be considered as inter-related. That is, a corpus analysis, depending on the specific objectives of the analyst, can appear somewhere on a cline between the two approaches.

According to Biber, Conrad and Rippen (1998, p. 4), there are four characteristics of corpus-based research, namely:

1. It is empirical, analyzing the actual patterns of use in natural texts;
2. It utilizes a large and principled collection of natural texts, known as a corpus, as the basis for analysis;
3. It makes extensive use of computers for analysis, using both automatic and interactive techniques;
4. It depends on both quantitative and qualitative analytical techniques.

The final point above – which borders on mixed methods – is particularly significant in that it enables quantitative analysis of frequent linguistic and repetitive patterns and also includes "qualitative, functional interpretations of quantitative patterns" (Biber et al., 1998, p. 5). Thus, there is a two-fold analysis: (1) quantitatively identifying frequent patterns within the text and (2) "going beyond the quantitative patterns to propose functional interpretations explaining why the patterns exist" (Biber et al., 1998, p. 9). In the functional interpretation of the identified patterns, the socio-cultural or situational context is engaged, resulting in a discourse analytical approach like the present study. Biber et al. (1998, p. 106) have asserted that "the use of many lexical and grammatical features can only be fully understood through analysis of their functions in larger discourse contexts". They add that the use of corpus-based "techniques can be applied to a large body of texts to accurately describe the discourse characteristics of selected registers" in order to "produce generalizable findings" (p. 106). In deploying corpus approaches to discourse analysis, Baker (2010, p. 19) offers some useful advice:

> as corpus linguistics is a collection of methods, researchers need to determine which ones are most applicable in addressing their research questions, along with deciding which software will be used (often the affordances of the latter will heavily impact on the former).

A corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS) approach (Partington, 2010; Partington, Duguid & Taylor, 2013) is employed in the present study. This study is corpus-assisted in the sense that although a large part of the analysis employs analytic tools within CDA, it is informed by a substantial corpus and employs, to some degree, corpus methods such as frequency list, collocate analysis and concordances to support the analysis – that is, a qualitative analysis of corpus evidence (see Erdentug &Vefali, 2018). It is, therefore, hoped that the computer-assisted analysis of co-occurring patterns, phraseology and metaphor will help to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the interaction between discourse and ideology in Nkrumah's mythology. An eclectic approach (Baker, 2006), CADS integrates corpus linguistic approaches into discourse analysis and suggests a 'cross-pollination' of techniques and a fusion of ideas between the two frameworks. A CADS approach is defined by Partington et al. (2013, p. 10) as a study of "the form and/or function of language as *communicative discourse* which incorporates the use of computerized corpora in their analysis". That is, "it is the investigation and comparison of features of particular discourse types, integrating into the analysis, where appropriate, techniques and tools developed within corpus linguistics" (Partington, 2010, p. 88). The usefulness of the CADS approach is aptly captured by Partington et al. (2013, p. 10) when they state that:

> in discourse analysis, one is analyzing language in context and therefore to treat the corpus as an isolated black box is often methodologically unsound and unfruitful. It is often helpful to examine corpus-external data both to try and interpret and explain our data and also as a means of identifying areas for analysis.

By incorporating corpus tools, the study is able to uncover "*non-obvious meaning*, that is, meaning which might not be readily available to naked eye perusal" (Partington et al., 2013, p. 11). Corpus tools also help us to "uncover linguistic patterns which can enable us to make sense of the ways that language is used in the construction of *discourses* (or ways of constructing reality)" (Baker, 2006, p. 1). Although the corpus tools make it possible for us to observe co-texts and co-articulated meanings as well as context via collocation analysis and concordance lines respectively, they are

unable to account for the socio-cultural and histo-political contexts of linguistic forms. Consequently, there is the need to step outside the corpus every now and then to engage available background information (here, the historical and political situation of Ghana/Africa and the context of Nkrumah's speeches). To the extent that "a traditional corpus-based analysis is not sufficient to explain or interpret the reasons why certain linguistic patterns [are] found" (or not found) since it "does not usually take into account the social, political, historical and cultural context of the data" (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008, p. 33), the corpus-assisted approach to discourse analysis is significant. Concluding their study on the discursive representation of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants (RASIM) in the UK press, Gabrielatos and Baker (2008, p. 33) opine that "a multidimensional CDA analysis that also goes beyond the 'linguistic' elements of the text is instrumental in allowing researchers to consider issues such as":

1. processes of text production and reception of the news data under analysis;
2. the social context of the news industry in the United Kingdom (e.g., the competitive news market);
3. (changing) political policy in the United Kingdom and elsewhere surrounding RASIM;
4. statistics regarding immigration and asylum applications;
5. social attitudes toward RASIM;
6. meta-data, e.g., reports or talk about the newspaper texts under examination;
7. macro-textual structures;
8. text-inherent structures (coherence and cohesion devices).

For corpus-assisted CDA, in particular, Baker et al. (2008, p. 295) propose nine possible stages, emphasizing that each stage could be a starting point for different research. The stages include:

1. Context-based analysis of topic via history/politics/culture/etymology; identify existing topoi/discourses/strategies via wider reading, reference to other CDA studies
2. Establish research questions/corpus building procedures
3. Corpus analysis of frequencies, clusters, keywords, dispersion, etc. – identify potential sites of interest in the corpus along with possible discourses/topoi/ strategies, relate to those existing in the literature
4. Qualitative or CDA analysis of a smaller, representative set of data (e.g., concordances of certain lexical items or of a particular text or set of texts within the corpus) – identify discourses/topoi/strategies (DH [discourse-historical] approach)

5. Formulation of new hypotheses or research questions
6. Further corpus analysis based on new hypotheses, identify further discourses/ topoi/strategies, etc.
7. Analysis of intertextuality or interdiscursivity based on findings from corpus analysis
8. New hypotheses
9. Further corpus analysis, identify additional discourses/topoi/strategies, etc.

It follows logically from the above that an exclusive corpus linguistic analysis, especially in the descriptive sense, is unable to account for the wider situational context, hence the combination of corpus linguistics and discourse studies in the current research. As noted at the outset of this section, the CADS approach has gained popularity in recent times. This is evident in the increasing body of literature combining corpus linguistics and other discourse-oriented theories/methodologies such as conversation analysis (Partington, 2003), moral panic theory (McEnery, 2005), sociolinguistics (Mautner, 2000; 2007; Holmes & Schnurr, 2005), systemic functional linguistics (Lee, 2016), evaluation/appraisal (Bondi, 2007), stylistics (Semino & Short, 2004), translation studies (Pan & Zhang, 2016; Wageche & Chi, 2016), and language and sexuality (Baker, 2004). The CADS approach has also been used to investigate discourses in various texts, including political texts (Flowerdew, 1997b; Partington, 2003), scientific writing (Atkinson, 1999) and newspaper articles (Morrison & Love, 1996; Charteris-Black, 2004). The application of corpus approaches in CDA research, especially to political discourse, is also becoming increasingly popular – the present study contributes to this line of research. Hence, despite being CDA-inspired, the analysis undertaken in this study is also informed at various points by corpus methods such as word list and collocate and concordance analyses. The key notion under investigation in this thesis is mythic discourse or mythopoeic narrative, specifically political myth. Therefore, it is imperative to explain this notion as well as review the previous literature on it.

2.6 Discourse and mythology

In this thesis, myth is construed as a simplifying process with an ideological motivation owing to the selection it makes in the messages it accentuates and attenuates (Barthes, 1993). It favors a certain representation and understanding of events in the world and promotes this as the only perspective, thereby denying other representations and interpretations. Explaining this point, Lule (2001, p. 119) submits that, “Myth upholds some beliefs but degrades others. It celebrates but also

excoriates. It affirms but it also denies". As a simplifying process, myth suppresses complexity and creates meanings "via associations with other concepts or ideas that appear to be connected in some way, justifying and naturalizing the way in which something is defined" (Kelsey, 2015, p. 5-6). The simplistic nature of a myth as one of its most important characteristics and the univocal story it tells is captured in Barthes' (1993) approach to myth:

> In passing from history to nature, myth acts economically: it abolishes the complexity of human acts, it gives them the simplicity of essences, it does away with all dialectics, with any going back beyond what is immediately visible, it organizes a world which is without contradictions because it is without depth, a world wide open and wallowing in the evident, it establishes a blissful clarity: things appear to mean something by themselves. (p. 143)

Barthes (1993) also discusses 'naturalness' as an essential aspect of a myth and notes that even though myths appear to exist naturally, they are in actuality culturally constructed through semiotic systems with both denotative and associative meanings. For Barthes, thus, "mythology can only have an historical foundation, for myth is a type of speech chosen by history: it cannot possibly evolve from the 'nature' of things" (p. 110). The historical basis that myths usually have is echoed by Flowerdew (1997b), as he notes that although myths may be true or not, they invariably represent a set of beliefs and values that derive from a shared past and which is often exploited to realize ideological functions. It can, therefore be asserted that although myth may not necessarily be used to peddle absolute falsehood, it has the propensity of distorting the facts owing to the "preferences, exaggerations, suppressions and simplifications" (see Kelsey, 2015, p. 6) that it makes possible. As Lule (2001, p. 184) explicates, "Myth legitimizes and justifies positions. Myth celebrates dominant beliefs and values. Myth degrades and demeans other values that do not align with those of the storyteller". Therefore, there is the need for the ideological impact of a myth to be examined when exploring the power and persuasive nature of a myth.

The role of myth, according to Barthes (1972), justifies the meanings of issues, events and constructs in a way that make them incontestable. Myth provides lucidity in meanings because "it purifies them, it makes them innocent, it gives them a natural and eternal justification, it gives them a clarity which is not that of an explanation but that of a statement of fact" (Calder, 1991, p. 3 cited in Kelsey, 2015, p. 6) that transcends any grounds for speculation, doubt or debate. Thus,

through naturalization and universalization of ideas, myth communicates a particular story and paints a monolithic picture of events devoid of depth and complexity. To illustrate how myth is created, Barthes (1993) analyzed the front cover of a French magazine that had the picture of a black soldier in a French uniform and supposedly saluting the flag of France. According to Barthes, the meaning of this picture communicates a specific type of message and at the same time conceals other interpretations:

> France is a great Empire, that all her sons, without any color discrimination, faithfully serve under her flag, and there is no better answer to the detractors of an alleged colonialism than the zeal shown by this Negro in serving his so-called oppressors (p. 115).

Barthes suggested that the soldier is denied history or history is overlooked in the meaning that is projected by the picture, making the soldier a form of gestures. While on one hand, history is distorted in the meaning the image conveys, on another hand, the meaning as it is communicated is complete in the message it gives. Thus, the meaning that Barthes claims the image signifies can be regarded as a form of myth with simplification and suppression functioning through it as far as the historical complexities and politics of French colonialism are concerned. In this case, "Myth serves to flatten the complexity, the nuance, the performative of history [and rather presents] a simplistic and univocal story" (Bell, 2003, p. 75). An essential societal story or a social narrative that principally transforms history into nature and articulates dominant ideologies, values and beliefs of a people, myth may be so powerful that seeing through it may not necessarily impede its influence. In this regard, Barthes (1993) contends that it is possible for the storyteller or the myth promoter to go past the myth and attempt to explain some complex issues that do not support the first impression created by the myth. Even so, Barthes (1993) argues that in such an instance, the myth has already made "an immediate impression – it does not matter if one is allowed to see through the myth, its action is assumed to be stronger than the rational explanations which may later belie it" (p. 130). Jowett and O'Donnell (1992) reinforce this point by asserting that even though a myth is a narrative wherein meaning is rooted in symbolism and events, it is also an idea already subscribed to by people, making it a predisposition to act.

Cambell (2008) discusses four mythological functions performed by myth which explicate the social and psychological dimensions from which myth is used to make sense of the world. They

include metaphysical or mystic, cosmological, pedagogical and sociological functions. The metaphysical or mystic function refers to the ability of myth to "evoke in the individual a sense of grateful, affirmative awe before the monstrous mystery that is existence" (p. 7). The cosmological or cosmic function relates to the use of myth to form perceptions of the world (i.e., the universe) in an attempt to explain it in ways that maintain and elicit an experience of awe. The pedagogical function accounts for myth's psychological role in providing guidance to individuals throughout the significant phases of their lives. It describes how "myth must carry the individual through the stages of his life, from birth through maturity through senility to death [and doing] so in accord with the social order of his group and the monstrous society" (p. 12). The sociological function of myth shows how myth is used to "validate and maintain a certain social system: a shared set of rights and wrongs, properties or improprieties, on which [a] particular social unit depends for existence (p. 10). This function is particularly significant to politics and is important to the present study since it points to an explicit interaction between ideology and mythology, a point to which we will later return.

A political myth is described by Flood (1996, p. 44) as "an ideologically marked narrative which purports to give a true account of a set of past, present or predicted political events and which is accepted as valid in its essentials by a social group". He explains that to say a political myth is ideologically marked means that it has the imprint of a specific ideology or an identifiable group of ideologies, thereby overtly or covertly bidding listeners to concur with a certain ideological viewpoint. Thus, to the extent that a political account signals its teller's political beliefs and values and serves as a medium for their possible diffusion, the narrative discourse can be said to be marked by ideology and is, therefore, mythopoeic (Flood, 1996, p. 43). Unlike the popular and pejorative denotation of myth (i.e., falsehood, distortion or delusion), the scholarly usage of myth indicates that myths have unquestioned validity (and therefore not needing justification) within the belief or value systems of the social groups which cherish them (Flood, 2002). As Geis (1987, p. 29) notes, "a political myth is an empirical, but usually not verifiable, explanatory thesis that purports a causal theory of political events and enjoys wide public support". He expounds on this point by submitting that myth is empirical because it lays claim to an explanation of real events, and it is unverifiable because it cannot be subjected to experimentation. Re-stating the idea of myths as simple causal theories, one can say that myth is a popular but simplistic account of a nation's past to serve current political and ideological agendas as well as uphold supposedly shared

social ideals. The explanatory power of (political) myths and the practical view they typically communicate is emphasized by Tudor (1972):

> A political myth explains the circumstances of those to whom it is addressed. It renders their experience more coherent; it helps them understand the world in which they live … A political myth may explain how the group came into existence and what its objectives are; it may explain what constitutes membership of the group and why the group finds itself in its present predicament; and it identifies the enemy of the group and promises eventual victory. [In sum], a political myth offers an account of the past and the future in a way that serves both as an explanation and a practical argument (p. 139).

An important feature of mythic discourse is that it provides a sense of unity and communal identity through an appeal to the common beliefs and values of a group or culture (Edelman, 1971; 1977; 1988). A myth may, therefore, be viewed as obvious and so indisputable, although it may not be supported by rational or reasoned arguments. This implies that myth may operate at the level of the sub- or non-conscious mind (Kelsey, 2017). The manifestation of a myth may take the form of a narrative (in which case it is made up of sequentially related themes) or it can have an associative form made up of related, but non-sequential themes (Barthes, 1972). Essentially, these sequentially or non-sequentially related themes cohere to present a univocal and an unambiguous story. As a narrative and often a popularized story, myth is used to create meaning in the life of a social group and facilitates the creation of heroes/villains and protagonists/antagonists so that it serves the ideological purpose of suppressing complexity and affirming the belief/value system and social ideals of the myth promoter or storyteller (Kelsey, 2015). Thus, myth evokes a certain cognitive script that aligns with a people's or a society's culture, history or mores (of which the myth promoter is often a part) in order to make the myth comprehensible and recognizable. The simple but powerful and popular story a myth tells may be informed by popular memory, collective experiences and a shared past which are then exploited for socio-political gains, including (enemy) propaganda and national identity construction (Kelsey, 2013).

A myth may exist in a state of naturalness, suggesting that "its meaning is accepted as inevitable, timeless and universal, even if determined socially, historically, economically and culturally" (Flowerdew, 1997b, p. 456). Mythic themes have a dual function of explaining and justifying (i.e.,

legitimization) certain courses of action (Geis, 1987), providing a common experience for a group of people (Gastil, 1992), strengthening and boosting loyalty and group cohesion (Lasswell, 1949) as well as triggering sentimental responses of comfort, reassurance and a feeling of protection (Moss, 1985). They also construct an archetype, a concept or an idea that is communicated as commonsensical, thereby appearing as 'innocent speech' (Barthes, 1993). From the above, it can be deduced that the creation and promotion of a political mythology can be a means of motivating and mobilizing the masses for political or social action and it can be a means by which politicians deflect criticisms of their policies. Gastil (1992, p. 489) claims that "The greatest power of mythic discourse is its ability to make weak arguments appear strong". Given that myths are largely considered as self-evident (so impossible to invalidate) and already have public backing, "the net result is that they are remarkably invulnerable to intellectual assault, with counterexamples usually being shrugged off as somehow irrelevant or inconsequential" (Geis, 1987, p. 29). Charteris-Black (2005) establishes a relationship between ideology and myth and proposes that they are similar to the extent that they have a mutual discourse function of persuasion and can influence an individual's cognition and emotion. However, they are different in that ideology "appeals through *consciously* formed sets of beliefs, attitudes, and values", whereas myth usually appeals "to our emotions (*or pathos*) through unconsciously formed sets of beliefs, attitudes and values" (p. 13).

It is also important to discuss the relationship between mythic discourse and discourse of illusion, which Bhatia (2015) operationalizes as a depiction of individual representations of reality as true and objective. That is, it is the process whereby political leaders or people in influential/powerful positions objectify very subjective and esoteric conceptualizations as axiomatic. Following from this explanation, one can state that there is an isomorphic relation between the notion of discursive illusions and mythic discourse. This is because like discursive illusions, mythic discourse also has 'manipulative powers' that usually derive from a manipulation of historical facts for political gain and the universalization of ideas for ideological purposes. That said, myth and illusion can also be distinguished from each other in the sense that "political myths are narratives of past, present or predicted political events which their tellers seek to make intelligible and meaningful to their audiences" (Flood, 1996, p. 41). Hence, in terms of form and content, political myths are dramatic discourse narratives often lacking a logical basis and rooted within the social, cultural and historical life of a community or nation whereas discourses of illusion often represent argumentations based on inductive or deductive propositions.

2.6.1 Political mythology in the modern world: Functions, uses and types

Generally, political myths are created via reference to certain historical events, reference to the origins of a community or nation, reference to cultural elements within a society, allusions to religious ideas, especially biblical allusions, and via the idealization of people (Thompson, 1985; Flood, 1996). They can be identified using three main criteria of form, content and cultural status (Flood, 1996). With regard to form, a mythic narrative has a dramatic form that distinguishes it from argumentation based on inductive or deductive reasoning. That is, it expresses a way of experiencing the world or making sense of events in a way that appeals more to emotion than logic (Hatab, 1990). In terms of content, political myths are often constructed around issues of national identity, solidarity and patriotism, and they draw on the past to legitimate actions and practices in the present and future. The cultural status of a political myth imbues it with an element of sacredness, making it valid and incontestable within the value system of a social group. That is, it has a special status of being revered as an expression of the belief and value system of a group of people. Therefore, political myths, from an academic standpoint, are not merely fictions or illusions about political issues, events and situations or the product of fantasy or wishful thinking (Tudor, 1972).

Thompson (1985) distinguishes between two types of political myths relevant to the present study: conservative and radical myths. He defines conservative myths to be focused on the origins of a nation and, thus, narrate events leading to the founding of a state. Tudor (1972) refers to such myths as foundation myths since they give an account of how a political society came to be founded and he considers the Roman Foundation myth, the American myth of the Founding Fathers and the Russian myth of the October Revolution as classic example. Radical myths, on the other hand, are created and propagated by (ideological) opponents of a regime with the sole aim of discrediting it and promoting its downfall. Nkrumah's formulation of the Unite and Perish myth is considered in this study as a radical myth. Closely related to radical myths are national revolutionary myths – that is, myths that "consist of appeals to the 'nation' against the arbitrary power of the state [as a result of which] the nation is conceived as a 'people' which once possessed a political society but subsequently lost it and is now groaning under the yoke of an alien tyranny" (Tudor, 1972, p.102). To the extent that Nkrumah's creation of the Unite or Perish myth centers on an attempt to get the African people to expel a foreign invader (i.e., the colonialists and neo-colonialists), it can be regarded as a revolutionary myth. Other types of myth include

eschatological myths, which are myths "concerned with 'the last things', the events with which the world as we know it comes to an end" (Tudor, 1972, p. 91). They can result in messianism and heroic myths (Flood, 1996): the former discusses the notion of saviors or deliverers or redeemers who save 'us' from 'them', construct opposition between 'we' who are inside/right/good vs. 'they' who are outside/wrong/evil and lead us into a blissful and glorious future. The latter explicates the construction of valiant leaders who are not afraid to fight against the odds and overcome trials and tribulations in order to champion the cause of the ordinary people.

Mythology is both projective and injective in that it contributes to an understanding of existence and helps individuals and social groups to construct their own sense of value and order in the world (Kelsey, 2017). Political myths, in particular, fulfill a variety of social and political functions which bring to the fore the isomorphic relationship between ideology and mythology. Political myths are instruments of both integration and competition and conflict since they are sources of explanation and evaluation of the present social world as compared with their conception of how that world ought to be (Flood, 1996, p. 19). In other words, they serve the purpose of voicing solidarity, unifying the beliefs of social groups, legitimating social and political institutions and offering warrants and validations for social actions, beliefs and attitudes.

Related to the function of political myth as an instrument of integration and agitation is its function of identity construction or the creation of codes of collective identity (Gastil, 1992). It contributes to the individual's or group's sense of identity as one who possesses a certain amount of knowledge and upholds a specified set of beliefs and values. In doing so, it confers a sense of purpose and direction through identification with a cause, and forms "a symbolic basis of community to the extent that [it gives bearers] a sense of commonality as well as a feeling of separation from those who hold different beliefs" (Flood, 1996, p. 20). Thus, political myths can be used to promote both feelings of affinity and estrangement. They also serve the purpose of building consensus for and encouraging acceptance of various ideological positions by requesting or demanding practical service, wholehearted commitment and even self-sacrifice from the masses. This function becomes more appealing especially in times of crisis and insecurity when a social group feels threatened either by external forces or by internal social and economic problems such as crime, inflation, poverty and unemployment (Charteris-Black, 2005). Further, political myths can be used to promote patriotism and nationalism by encouraging loyalty and ethnic or national allegiance

(Gastil, 1992). Based on the functions and uses of political myths discussed above, one can assert that political myths, generally, have an ideological, an affective and a persuasive role, and they are told with the aim of inspiring a certain course of behavior or promoting some practical purpose. This view is reinforced by Tudor's (1972) summary of the functions of political myth:

> A political myth may, for instance, establish the claim of a certain group to hegemony, sovereign independence or an extension of territory; it may help strengthen the solidarity of the group in the face of a major challenge; it may serve to encourage the resistance of an oppressed minority; or it may supply compelling arguments for the abolition of undesirable institutions. And, where the myth is the story of a political society already in existence, it may sanctify the constitution of that society, inspire its members with confidence in their destiny and glorify their achievements (p. 139).

Political myths are ubiquitous in the modern world. Their pervasiveness can be attributed to the fact that myths help politicians to tell a 'plausible story' that normalizes their practices and legitimizes their irrationalities (Khafaga, 2017). The plausible story mythic themes tell is underscored by Tudor (1972, p. 124) when he comments thus:

> The view of the world that we find in a myth is always a practical view. Its aim is either to advocate a certain course of action or to justify acceptance of an existing state of affairs. Myths are, therefore, believed to be true, not because the historical evidence is compelling, but because they make sense of men's present experience. They tell the story of how it came about. And events are selected for inclusion in a myth, partly because they coincide with what men think *ought* to have happened, and partly because they are consistent with the drama as a whole.

Based on this submission, Tudor (1972) differentiates history or historical statements from myth or mythical statements. He explains that whereas the historian seeks to persuade by citing relevant evidence (e.g., official documents, eye-witness reports, archeological finds, etc.), the myth-maker presents a practical perspective by giving a conclusion in tandem with her/his worldview or belief system before proceeding to construct an account by retrospectively selecting specific events and situations that can be seen to have advanced the action to its predestined end. The omission and/or

exaggeration of (historical) facts is, thus, central to political myth-making in its quest to tell a plausible story.

Various kinds of political mythic themes have been discussed in the journalism, political science and linguistics literature. Synthesizing Edelman's (1964; 1971; 1977) work, Geis (1987, pp. 26-38) identifies three major political myths, namely the myth of the Conspiratorial Enemy, the Valiant Leader myth and the United We Stand myth. He then adds other myths such as Man is a Rational Animal, the Noble Revolutionary, America the Peaceful and the contradictory pair of The Poor are Victims and The Lazy Poor. In their discussion of political myths in American politics, Denton and Woodward (1990, p. 36) also identify the American Dream, Us against Them, American Democracy and Capitalism for All. Relating the identification of political mythologies to specific political leaders, one can find ample evidence in the literature that points to American (especially) and British politicians as found in the studies of Edelman and Denton and Woodward above. Geis (1987) also discusses John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Baines Johnson and Ronald Reagan in terms of their construction of the Conspiratorial Enemy and the Valiant Leader myths, while Lewis (1987) argues that Ronald Reagan invoked a mythic discourse that was focused on America's origins and the rise of freedom and economic progress in America. Lewis (1987, p. 282) asserts that Reagan's myth provided "a sense of importance and direction [and] a communal focus for identity", with Gastil (1992) also stating that Reagan's mythology unified his listeners and helped him to gain public support for his actions while reducing public criticisms of his policies.

Charteris-Black (2011) examines the manifestation of mythic discourse in the presidential rhetoric of American and British politicians. He contends that Winston Churchill constructed a Heroic myth; Enoch Powel promoted the myth of the Oracle; Ronald Reagan created a Romantic myth; and Martin Luther King articulated a Messianic myth. He also argues that Margaret Thatcher invoked the myth of Boudicca; Barack Obama projected the myth of the American Dream; Tony Blair expressed a Conviction rhetoric; and Bill Clinton engaged in a rhetoric of Image Restoration. Altogether, these mythic themes were used to build support for an ideological purpose (e.g., the justification of policies and programs) as well as challenge or reinforce prevailing social, cultural and political attitudes. Apart from the US and Britain, political mythic themes that can be found in other contexts include Adolph Hitler's rhetoric of superiority of the Aryan race and inferiority

of the Jewish race as well as Chris Patten's mythic depiction of Britain as a benevolent colonial power (see Flowerdew 1997, p. 453; pp. 455-457). In addition to building consensus for achieving political goals and carrying out socio-political action, these political myths also served the purpose of identity construction and argumentation. Further, the work of Darren Kelsey (see Kelsey, 2012a; 2012b; 2013; 2014; 2015; 2016) presents an analysis of journalism as a form of mythological storytelling and sheds light on the relationship between journalism studies and discourse studies as research disciplines. In a similar vein, Bolton and Hutton (2002) discuss media mythologies with specific reference to the discourse of triads (i.e., Chinese secret societies involved in organized crime in Asia, Europe and North America).

Woll and Wydra's (2008) edited volume brings together researchers from fields such as political science, literary studies, sociology, anthropology and history to discuss democracy and myth in Russia and Eastern Europe. All the studies in this volume are premised on the assumption that democracy in Eastern Europe is a function of mythical narratives and they "examine how the role of culture and discourse can account for the paradox of the victory of democracy without democrats" (p. 2). In her work on political myth and political glory in Russian political discourse, Shteynman (2016) identifies three main myths of historical glory, namely the Sacred or Fallen Empire, the Polite People and Panfilov's Twenty-Eight. She also argues that given political myths' connection with the categories of semiotics, beliefs and power, they must not be confined to the limits of narration and plot. In Africa, Leonard Thompson's (1985) monograph, *The Political Mythology of Apartheid*, stands out as a major study on mythic discourse. It presents a historical account of the mythology of the Afrikaner nationalist movement with a focus on two specific myths: that of the Slagtersnek, and the myth of the Covenant. In all the studies mentioned above, a common feature is the element of manipulation, and this is what enables the exploitation of mythic thinking for political goals.

Kwame Nkrumah's postulation of a culturally, economically and politically united Africa (i.e., the 'United States of Africa') or Pan-African unity is analyzed in this study as a case of political myth-making. It will be demonstrated that in an attempt to galvanize support for and instigate action on the part of the masses towards his personal dream, Nkrumah is found engaging in political myth-making realized through various linguistic, semiotic, discursive and social processes. By deconstructing the Unite or Perish myth, this study addresses the complexity it entails instead of

suggesting an alternative reality. Admittedly, the importance of cooperation among various countries in their quest to achieve global impact and make meaningful contribution to the world cannot be over-emphasized because, after all, as the dictum goes, in unity lies strength. However, to suggest that this cooperation in the case of Africa must necessarily result in a political unification of all African countries into a continental federal state and for this to be considered as the only alternative for Africa's survival and success as Nkrumah advances is contestable. Owing to the popular and emotional appeal myth has, this thesis contends that the creation and promotion of a political myth can be associated with a form of populism or populist discourse (see Taggart, 2000; Mudde, 2004). That is, political myths enable political actors to ingratiate themselves with the populace or identify with the masses (i.e., the common or ordinary people) in a way that makes them (the political actors) people-leaders who care about the plight and welfare of the ordinary folks. By so doing, they are able to construct 'a man/woman of the people' and an anti-establishment or anti-system image that helps their political cause. Therefore, in unpacking the Unite or Perish myth, Nkrumah's people-focusing or people-referencing or fore-fronting of the African people for political ends is also analyzed.

In this study, I argue that the Unite or Perish myth offered Nkrumah a powerful ideological narrative which enabled him to present Africa as a protagonist at a critical period when the continent was trying to assert itself in global affairs after several years of colonialism. I submit that Nkrumah's use of the expression 'unite or perish' instead of an alternative like United We Stand (Edelman, 1977) is advantageous owing to the Christian/religious connotation of the word 'perish'. That is, since Nkrumah's listeners were familiar with Christianity and/or the notion of believe or perish, the idea that Africa will perish if the continent fails to unite is likely to make a strong impact on them even if this proposition was not entirely true. The Unite or Perish myth can, therefore, be said to function as a dramatic construction used in an attempt to get the African people to come to grips with reality (Tudor, 1972). Furthermore, to the extent that Nkrumah was addressing the people of Africa at a time when a number of Africans had died in the fight for independence, his suggestion that Africa will perish in the absence of a Union Government of Africa post-independence may be understood by some to mean an extermination of the African people. This increases the need for protection he calls for via the formation of a Union Government of Africa and provides a stronger basis to motivate and mobilize the masses for socio-political action. Based on the explanation above, it can be stated that referring to Nkrumah's exhortation

on African unity as the Unite or Perish myth is a plausible interpretation and it offers Nkrumah both social and political capital that serves his ideological agenda. On one hand, he is able to exploit the African saying: "A single straw of a broom can be broken easily, but the straws together are not easily broken"[22] or the popular adage "there is strength in unity". On another hand, he is able to capitalize on his listeners' acquaintance with Christianity and/or the concept of believe or perish.

This thesis considers politics as one of the semiotic systems of storytelling or myth-making that is indicative of archetypal conventions of mythology in social contexts. Following Flood's (1996) suggestion, I do not aim to evaluate "the intentions of those who tell myths or judge the state of mind of those who appear to believe them" (p. 7). However, I think that critical discourse analysis can help to shed light on the nature of this phenomenon and enable an understanding of the kinds of stories that tellers (here, politicians) tell, how they tell them and why they tell them. A final point to be made in this section is that, in general, when one thinks of a political myth, one is likely to think of a religious or historical story (i.e., some sort of narrative), usually about a hero or heroine, that has existed for a long time in the socio-cultural context of a particular group of people. This popular story is then (un)consciously retold or adopted and adapted by a modern political leader or the media for a particular purpose (see Kelsey, 2013; 2014). Using Nkrumah's discursive positioning on African unity as a case in point, however, this thesis argues that it is also possible for a political myth to be created in the now (i.e., without necessarily drawing upon a particular historical narrative within the socio-cultural context of a social group) and then be extended over the course of a political career. That is, political myths, in some contexts, could serve as 'speech acts' that try to bring a state of affairs into being (such as the unity of a postcolonial nation state or Pan-African unity in the present study). The study also argues that the historical basis of a myth need not always be found within the socio-cultural context of a social group. Hence, even though Nkrumah simply references the United States of America and the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as the basis for a 'United States of Africa', he does not invoke any past piece of religious or historical story within the Ghanaian/African context per se. Yet, the Unite or Perish myth functions as an ideologically marked narrative that purports to give a true account of Africa's past,

[22] See http://auads-nl.org/en/embracing-the-ubuntu-philosophy/

present and predicted political future and it is presented as valid in its entirety for the people of Africa.

In this thesis, metaphor is considered to play a vital role in the linguistic construction and promotion of political mythology since it is often utilized in the communication of the ideologies embedded in language and it is a central strategy for legitimation in political speeches. This makes a discussion on metaphor important.

2.6.2 Metaphor and mythic discourse

Metaphors assist in the creation of a 'blissful clarity' (Barthes, 1993) often constructed through binary forms of meaning, representation and juxtapositions. Such dualities, which result in a contrast between two entities, groups or concepts (i.e., 'us' vs. 'them'), contribute to discursive constructions that privilege specific interpretations and express particular meanings such that even though the evidence from reality may be limited, a perceived reality (i.e., myth) that is in alignment with political motives and a certain ideological position is created. Thus, metaphors play an important role in negotiating and popularizing an understanding of a phenomenon (Zinken, 2003). In addition to giving a concept, a construct or a thing a name that belongs to something else (i.e., renaming), metaphors are used for reconceptualizing purposes and they give an indication of the user's habitus, making their meanings context and culture specific (Bhatia, 2015).

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 36), metaphor is "principally a way of conceiving one thing in terms of another and its primary function is understanding". This definition provided the basis for the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor, which regards metaphor as not only indicative of linguistic ornamentation but also a function of human thought processes (see Gibbs, 1999). Metaphor, thus, enables an understanding of one domain of experience in terms of another via conceptualization and is concerned with language, thought and action. It can be stated that the primary function of promoting understanding is what makes metaphor pervasive in discourse consciously or unconsciously. As Cameron and Stelma (2004, p. 108) assert, "the conventionalization of metaphor into language use makes it almost impossible to avoid metaphor". Lakoff and Johnson (2008) also mention that metaphor forms part and parcel of our basic experiential system. Despite this pervasive nature of metaphor, its presence in a text – for example, a speech – is not equally proportionate throughout the text. Instead, it occurs at specific places to

"reveal something of the conceptualization and thinking processes of speaker and writer, at points in talk or text where producers do something 'out of the ordinary' with metaphor" (Cameron & Stelma, 2004, p. 108).

Metaphorical framing or representation both enables and places constraints on the way different experiences are described and presented to different groups of people. For instance, in tackling a complex socio-cultural and political issue such as colonialism or neo-colonialism, a political or social actor can use metaphor to express and suppress various aspects of the phenomenon to the extent that it serves her or his ideological position. Therefore, metaphor is neither merely a breach of the language code nor a non-standard use of language. It is a linguistic, cognitive and pragmatic process that realizes rhetorical functions by "creating new meanings through the juxtaposition of referents in language" [and enabling] "humanity to extend its knowledge into the unknown" (Mac Cormac, 1985, p. 50), thereby showing the dynamic nature of language. By constructing a naturalized portrayal that conveys particular ideologies, metaphor shapes the conceptualization of and meanings that we project onto certain aspects of reality.

This thesis considers metaphor as an integral aspect of the semiotic system whose purpose transcends the linguistic ornamentation or literary aesthetic of a poetic device. It views metaphor as imperative to the structuring and depiction of unknown or inconceivable dimensions of social reality and as essential to the persuasive force of people in power or authority or of those in a position to influence society. Consequently, in discussing metaphor in this study, I draw on its basic sense as put forward by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) – that is, conceiving one conceptual domain in terms of another in an attempt to enhance meaning and promote comprehension. In addition, I analyze the metaphors as a useful tool in persuasive discourse that not only gives explanation that aids understanding but also encourages a reconceptualization of experience (Goatly, 1997). That is, they "attempt to extract perspectives and situations from their familiar and orthodox settings and manipulate them within more unconventional and unfamiliar contexts … thereby exposing the creative power of their producers" (Bhatia, 2015, p. 22).

Further, I draw on Charteris-Black's (2004, p. 21) definition of metaphor: "a linguistic representation that results from the shift in the use of a word or phrase from the context or domain in which it is expected to occur to another context or domain where it is not expected to occur,

thereby causing semantic shift". He explains that metaphors can have linguistic, pragmatic and cognitive characteristics. Linguistically, metaphor causes semantic tension via processes such as personification, depersonification and reification. The linguistic component of metaphor is heightened by Charteris-Black, noting that any word form can be a metaphor depending on the context of usage. Pragmatically, metaphor is informed by an underlying purpose of persuasion and legitimation and delegitimation of ideas, policies and actions on the part of speakers or writers. The cognitive characteristic is that "a metaphor is caused by, and may cause, a shift in the conceptual system [based on] the relevance or psychological association between the attributes of the original referent of a metaphor (i.e., of a word in its source domain) and those of the metaphor target" (Charteris-Black, 2005, p. 15). He highlights the evaluative and persuasive role of metaphor, noting that metaphor triggers unconscious emotional associations that depend on the binary opposition of goodness and badness and this influences our attitudes, beliefs and values. Thus, metaphor exploits both cognitive and emotive aspects in order to explicate, interpret or make sense of socio-cultural and political constructs.

Again, it must be stated that mythic discourse entails a reconceptualization of experiences in terms of one's own worldview. Hence, although I draw on Charteris-Black's (2004) definition of metaphor which foregrounds the criterion of 'semantic tension', I also depart from it in instances where the use of a word may not necessarily cause semantic tension and yet enables "the reconceptualization of experiences by changing the course of the world, how it is seen, in new and alternative ways" (Bhatia, 2015, p. 54). For example, when Nkrumah says "Imperialism and colonialism are a two-fold evil" (Nkrumah, 10/07/53), even though the word 'evil' is powerful in itself and may be considered by some people to be completely literal (i.e., there is no semantic tension), especially in the absence of some direct visual or iconographic term such as the 'devil', I still treat it as metaphorical (and not merely as hyperbolic) in this study. This is because the word 'evil' has religious undertones and can, therefore, be described or reconceptualized in terms of a 'Manichean outlook' that makes a complex proposition such as the Unite or Perish myth more comprehensible and believable to the public.

Political mythologies are social narratives that present simplistic accounts of complex political events such as colonialism and neo-colonialism in absolute terms. To realize this mythic function of discourse universalization and naturalization, it becomes needful to reconceptualize other

people's actions and experiences in terms of one's own and "metaphors aid in this process of conceptualizing one domain in terms of a new, possibly more radical domain" (Bhatia, 2015, p. 23). By so doing, complex developments of the socio-political world are made to appear uncomplicated and straightforward and when this is conveyed and believed to be the absolute and only truth, it creates mythologies. Not surprisingly, metaphorical conceptualizations are created and utilized by powerful personalities with a large following such as politicians and religious leaders. Granted that metaphors are reflective of aspects of the history of a people since they are developed within a culture, it will still not be far-fetched to state that people in power can impose various metaphors on the masses so as to advance their personal socio-political objectives. Therefore, in "a culture where the myth of objectivism is very much alive and truth is always absolute truth, the people who get to impose their metaphors on the culture get to define what we consider to be true – absolutely and objectively true" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 159-160).

2.7 Justification for the current research

The present study is a discourse-mythological analysis of the rhetoric of Nkrumah, using a combined approach of critical metaphor analysis and discourse-historical analysis. It can be observed from the literature reviewed above that in discourse studies, the concept of mythic discourse and political mythology has hardly been investigated outside non-Western contexts, especially US and British politics. The present study is, therefore, warranted in that an examination of African political myth creation can result in the identification of news myths, new ways of identifying myths or new ways of using myths. For instance, as far as myth identification is concerned, the previous studies reviewed largely focused on the elements of narration and plot. However, it will be useful to explore how other linguistic processes such as coinages, neologism and slogans which have typically not been considered when identifying political myths are important in political myth creation given their power of memory.

Also, in terms of the uses and functions of political myths, it can be seen from the literature reviewed that political myths have been largely shown to be used for building consensus for an ideological purpose, promoting loyalty, nationalism and patriotism or for identity construction that encourages solidarity on one hand and resistance on another hand. There has been no one showing how political mythic themes can serve the purpose of a populist agenda or populism except for Kelsey (2015) who nonetheless investigated the discourse of journalism (i.e., news stories about

politicians) rather than political discourse or presidential rhetoric proper. The present study responds to the aforementioned issues in the political mythology literature. In particular, the non-Western perspectives it offers is relevant in highlighting how unique socio-political situations (here, colonialism) can shape the use of language in specific local contexts and give politicians an argumentative advantage in promoting an ideological agenda. Another observation that can be made from the literature reviewed is that it is silent on the discourses on colonialism and imperialism (especially from the point of view of the colonized) and the discourse of independence leaders. The present study, however, contends that such discourses represent an interesting 'site' for the manifestation of various mythic themes, making the study's focus on the discourse of an African independence leader worthwhile.

Against this backdrop, the current research is a modest contribution to an understanding of myth in political communication and political discourse analysis within a setting underexplored in the literature and contributes to Africa's political history by presenting a window into political and discursive realities of African political systems in the (post-)independence period. Not only does this study contribute to a holistic understanding of political myth-making and the interplay of discourse, mythology and ideology, but it also holds implications for Africa's current and future political systems and illustrates the important role of language/discourse in political decolonization processes.

This study has a relationship with previous works in CDA that have explored constructions of national identity and national consensus (e.g., Fowler, 1991; Bishop & Jaworski, 2003; Kelsey, 2013). However, it builds on these studies by illustrating how the political narratives foisted on a people can transcend local or national contexts to regional and continental levels. Explaining what consensus is, Fowler (1991, p. 16) states that it is "the affirmation and the plea of all political parties, expressed in appeals for 'one-nation', for people to 'pull together' and so on". I argue that in the Nkrumah discourse which I analyze in this study, he strives to garner and indeed impose such shared consent and social optimism on an entire continent through his promulgation of the Unite or Perish myth. As Moss (1985, p. 45) asserts, "The social function of a myth is to bind together social groups as wholes, or, in other words to establish a social consensus. The social function of ideology is to segregate and serve special interests within societies".

2.8 Chapter conclusion

The goal of this chapter was to discuss the theoretical and conceptual issues within which the current study is grounded. It also reviewed the literature on myth creation within the domain of politics, including the types, functions and nature of political myths, and further discussed how mythic discourse and metaphor is construed in the present study. The chapter had a dual purpose of explicating the key notions that inform the study as well as giving a sense of the research already carried out on political mythology in order to demonstrate the paucity of studies with respect to the African context. The conceptual/theoretical underpinning for this research includes discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, political discourse analysis and mythic discourse. As these notions largely take a social view of language, they allow us to examine the discourse of a public speaker (here, a politician) and to unpack socio-cultural, socio-historical and political ideologies and metaphors that underpin his language use. In that way, we will be able to comprehend what Nkrumah tried to achieve with his rhetoric as well as the ideological positions he represented, which resulted in his creation of the Unite or Perish myth. The next chapter accounts for the methodological procedures of the study, including the data collection, procedures of analysis and the research's context.

CHAPTER THREE

CONTEXT, DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This study, as already indicated, employs a corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS) approach (see Chapter 2, section 2.5), making it possible to draw on insights and inputs from corpus linguistics together with the basic tenets of CDA. As its name denotes, CADS has as its key feature the use of a computer as an aid which enables calculations to be carried out "on large amounts of text, revealing linguistic patterns and frequency information that would otherwise take days or months to uncover by hand, and may run counter to intuition" (Baker, 2006, p. 2). The main tool employed in this study is *AntConc* (Anthony, 2005), which is introduced and discussed in this chapter. As well, I present the empirical material and the analytical procedures that lead to my analysis and discussion of the research findings in chapters four, five and six. Thus, this chapter gives an account of the compilation, processing and analysis of the corpus data used in this research. Preceding all of this, however, is the contextualization of the study in its proper historical and political context by giving background information on the political history of Ghana. By presenting this information, I hope to give a sense of the political situation in Africa, in general. I then briefly explain why there was the need to build my own corpus of the discourse of Kwame Nkrumah for the study, and then proceed to outline the data collection procedure for the construction of the corpus, how the data were analyzed, and the challenges of data collection encountered and how they were resolved.

3.2 A historical overview of Ghana: From the colonial period to independence

The Republic of Ghana (formerly, the Gold Coast) is a former British colony. Predating the colonial period (that is, as far back as the 16th century), the majority of the ethnic groups that make up the current Ghanaian population had already settled in their present setting (Buah, 1998). Evidence adduced from oral tradition or folklore and archaeological sources points to the view that the Dagomba states in present-day northern Ghana were the first to settle in the Gold Coast around the 11th century and by the end of the 16th century, they were well established. Between 1630 and 1660, the Ashanti Kingdom under Chief Oti Akenten began to assert its authority over neighboring Akan states through conquest, thereby expanding its territory. And by the end of the 17th century

within which period Osei Kofi Tutu I was the Asantehene (King of Ashanti), he further consolidated the political and military power of the Ashanti Kingdom, culminating in a transformation of the confederation of Ashanti states into an Ashanti Empire Buah, 1998). Osei Kofi Tutu's successor, Opoku Ware I, expanded the Ashanti Empire to non-Akan territories, bringing northern states like Dagomba, Gonja, and Mamprusi under Ashanti influence. Consequently, the Ashanti Empire was a highly organized one by the mid-18th century, following which the kings that came after Opoku Ware extended the territorial boundaries of Ashanti southward. This expansion was a contributory factor to Britain's eventual colonization of the Gold Coast. This is because the Ashanti Empire's expansion to the south, especially, brought them into antagonistic relations with coastal territories like the Gã and Fante – and these territories had to often rely on British protection in their efforts to ward off attacks from Ashanti – as well as with a number of European traders who had their forts in various parts of the Gold Coast (Ward, 1966).

Ghana's contact with Europeans can be traced to the 15th century when different European merchantmen began to arrive on the shores of the region, primarily, for trade (Wilks, 1997). The Portuguese were the first to arrive in 1471 and by 1482, they had built their first permanent trading post, São Jorge da Mina Castle (which later became known as the Elmina Castle), on the western coast of present-day Ghana to boost their trade and to safeguard their business interest from other European competitors (Rodney, 1961). The Portuguese, largely, traded in gold, ivory, pepper, knives, and beads – and later, mirrors, rum, guns, and slaves. The Dutch were the next to arrive in the Gold Coast and began their trading activities around 1598 (Rodney, 1969). As of 1612, they had built forts at Komenda and Kormantsi and they seized the Elmina Castle from the Portuguese in 1637. Following the Portuguese and the Dutch, other European merchants, notably the English, Danes, Swedes and Prussians, arrived in the Gold Coast so that by the mid-17th century and at the turn of the 18th century, the coastal line of the Gold Coast was highly concentrated with more than 30 forts and castles constructed by these traders to protect their interests from competitors and pirates. McLaughlin and Owusu-Ansah (1994) sum up the status quo of the period accurately when they assert that "forts were built, abandoned, attacked, captured, sold and exchanged and many sites [in the Gold Coast] were selected at one time or another for fortified positions by contending European nations" (p. 8).

The Prussians and Swedes had only brief stints in the Gold Coast whereas the Danes withdrew from the region around 1850. Consequently, only Dutch and English traders were in the Gold Coast during the latter part of the 19th century, and when the Dutch also left in 1874, it meant that Britain became the only European power in the Gold Coast. Through conquest and/or purchase, the British gained possession of most, if not all, of the coastal forts dotted in the Gold Coast and, thus, became the dominant European force in the territory (McLaughlin & Owusu-Ansah, 1994), preparing the ground for their eventual colonization of the region. According to McLaughlin and Owusu-Ansah (1994), there were two main factors that precipitated British rule or the establishment of a Gold Coast colony: Britain's reaction to the military expansion of the Ashanti Empire which they thought was disrupting trade and promoting instability and hostility in the region as well as their concentration on abolishing the slave trade.

As the Ashanti Empire, the most powerful Akan state, was expanding, it became necessary for coastal areas like the Gã and Fante to rely on British protection and, thus, became territories that the British considered to be their protectorates. This led to the first Anglo-Ashanti war in 1823 which lasted until 1831 and resulted in the death of Sir Charles McCarthy in 1824, a governor of Sierra Leone who had been asked to superintend over the Gold Coast. A series of four other conflicts between the Ashanti Empire and the invading British Empire (with allied Ghanaian states) followed this first war, resulting in an acrimonious relationship between these two forces up until 1901. The power of the Ashanti began to decline steadily from 1875 when the British compelled them to sign a peace treaty renouncing any claim to several southern territories. And by 1900, when the last Anglo-Ashanti war took place, the British had abolished the position of Asantehene, exiled the incumbent king, Otumfuo Nana Prempeh I, and even more crucially, established an official British residence in Kumasi, the capital of the Ashanti Empire (Hallett, 1974). The defeat of Ashanti in the fifth Anglo-Ashanti war (also referred to as the War of the Golden Stool[23] or Yaa Asantewaa War[24]) marked the annihilation of any kind of resistance to British colonization of the Gold Coast and in 1902 when the British declared the Ashanti Empire

[23] The war was so-called because the British demanded that the Ashanti turn over to the British the Golden Stool, i.e. the throne and symbol of Ashanti sovereignty.

[24] Yaa Asantewaa (1840 – 1921) was appointed queen mother of Ejisu in the Ashanti Empire and she led the Ashanti rebellion known as the War of the Golden Stool, also known as the Yaa Asantewaa War, against British colonialism.

as part of the colonial jurisdiction of the Gold Coast governor, it meant that British colonization of the Gold Coast was now fully fledged.

As of 24th July 1874, however, the British had officially proclaimed the Gold Coast as its colony and had appointed Commander H. Worsley Hill as the first governor; earlier, Hill had negotiated a special treaty with the chiefs of the British protectorates (protected provinces) in what became known as the Bond of 1844. Britain exercised formal administration or colonial rule in the Gold Coast through a system referred to as indirect rule (Kimble, 1963); that is, a system of administration whereby the traditional chiefs ruled their people under the influence, control, direction and supervision of Britain officials. Thus, they exploited the prevailing chieftaincy institution for political convenience, sometimes, with complete disregard to traditional norms and mores of the people (Odotei & Awedoba, 2006). For instance, chiefs were forcefully installed, enstooled or enskinned in places where there were no chiefs (e.g., among the Frafra); others like Otumfuo Nana Prempeh I were compellingly removed and exiled to Seychelles Island (now the Republic of Seychelles); and still some others were exalted and vested with (traditional) powers they did not customarily possess. In effect, the chiefs did not serve the interests of the people, but those of the colonial administration; some historical and political commentators[25] have said.

Earliest nationalist agitations to British colonial rule in the Gold Coast started as far back as the 18th century with the formation of the Fante Confederation and Aborigines Right Protection Society (ARPS) in 1868 and 1897 respectively (McLaughlin & Owusu-Ansah, 1994). Important mass protest movements at the time, these organizations challenged policies of the British government – for example, the Lands Act of 1897[26] – that they thought were obnoxious. Some traditional leaders also responded angrily to the indirect rule system because they saw it as a usurpation of their traditional authority (Odotei & Awedoba, 2006). One of such traditional leaders was Nana Aggrey of Cape Coast who was eventually exiled to Sierra Leone. Other segments of the society, including the educated elites and ordinary people like farmers and students, also joined in what later became known as the nationalist struggle. For example, the Kwame Ayew and Tetteh

[25] Some of these historical and political commentators include: Professor Irene K. Odotei of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana; Kwaku Baprui Asante, a Ghanaian retired diplomat, writer, and statesman who was Secretary to Ghana's First President, Kwame Nkrumah; and Joseph Hanson Kwabena Nketia, a Ghanaian ethnomusicologist and composer.

[26] The Crown Lands Bill of 1896 and the Lands Bill of 1897 threatened traditional land tenure in the Gold Coast, as it sought to give so-called waste or public land ownership to the colonial government.

Ansah[27]-led cocoa hold-up of 1930 was an action that was in open resistance and bold disobedience to colonial policies of the British.

The most intensive period of the nationalist agitations, however, was witnessed after the Second World War in that this period saw the formation of the first organized political party in the Gold Coast, the UGCC, and later the CPP. Respectively, these political parties demanded independence within the shortest possible time and now, thereby putting incessant pressure on the colonial government. The radicalism and aggression that characterized the nationalist agitations during this period were attributable to the realization by the masses that colonial rule, largely, served the interests of the colonialists. Other awakening factors included the Pan-African movements, congresses and conferences whose ideologies influenced people like Kwame Nkrumah and the post-World War II experiences that made the war veterans, especially, to simultaneously recognize their strength and the weakness of the Europeans, the British, especially (McLaughlin & Owusu-Ansah, 1994). The Pan-African ideals advanced by Marcus Garvey, W. E. B. Du Bois and nationalist leaders like Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford are worthy of note. In particular, Hayford's National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) and the West African Students' Union (WASU) played a crucial role in the general orientation of the Gold Coast people towards colonial freedom, and also served as a strategic portal for engagement for those nationalist leaders like Nkrumah who returned to the Gold Coast highly sensitized and politicized.

An event or a period that marked a turning point in the liberation struggle was Nkrumah's breakaway from the UGCC owing to ideological differences to form his own party, the CPP, in 1949 with K. A. Gbedemah and Kojo Botsio (Asamoah, 2014). Meanwhile, a year before Nkrumah's formation of the CPP, February 28 1948 to be specific, an incident that, probably, brought the nationalist agitations to a head had taken place: three ex-servicemen from the Second World War (Sergeant Adjetey, Lance Corporal Attipoe and Private Odartey-Lamptey) had been shot and killed on the orders of a British Police Superintendent, Major Colin Imray, while they were on a peaceful march to the Christianborg Castle[28] (the seat of government) in Osu, Accra, to present a petition to the governor on the government's failure to deliver on the promises it made

[27] Kwame Ayew of Akuapem and Tetteh Ansah of Manya Krobo organized a number of farmers' unions in Larteh and Dodowa and formed the Gold Coast Farmers Association around 1921.
[28] The Christianborg Castle is also known as the Osu Castle, as it was situated in Osu in Accra.

to them before the war. The incident which sparked riots and vandalism of British/foreign properties – especially, stores and shops – throughout the Gold Coast became a catalyst for Nkrumah's propagation of immediate independence (Danquah, 2003). Following recommendations by the Watson Commission which was set up to investigate the incident, the 1951 Constitution drawn up the Coussey Committee came into effect and elections were held for the first time in the Gold Coast on 8th February 1951, subsequent to which Nkrumah was made leader of government business. Another election was held in 1954 which was also won by the CPP and this granted internal self-government to the Gold Coast. However, full independence to the Gold Coast delayed because issues such as whether or not Trans-Volta Togoland was going to be part of the independent country and whether the country was going to run a unitary or federal system of government remained unresolved. In the end, these were resolved by yet another election in 1956 which again the CPP won, and a plebiscite in which Togoland voted to be part of the independent territory. Thus, Ghana became a fully independent country on March 6, 1957, becoming the first country south of the Sahara to achieve the feat and with Nkrumah as its first elected leader. The quintessence of this landmark feat and the massive impact of the Pan-African movement on Ghana's independence struggle was solemnly captured by Nkrumah when in his declaration of independence speech, he remarked thus:

> At long last the battle has ended and thus Ghana, your beloved country is free forever … We are not waiting, we shall no more go back to sleep anymore. *Today, from now on there is a new African in the world, that new African is ready to fight his own battle and show that after all, the black man is capable of managing his own affairs. We are going to demonstrate to the world to the other nations, young as we are that we are prepared to lay our own foundations* … We have won the battle and *we again rededicate ourselves in the struggle to emancipate other territories in Africa. Our independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent*.

The extract above gives us a sneak peek into the ideals of Nkrumah and the mood of the political scene of Africa at the time. First, he directly positions himself as representing the supreme interest of the people of Ghana and Africa and emphatically against the British colonial government. Thus, he clearly puts forward a strict 'us' vs. 'them' dichotomy and pits two camps – a righteous in-group and an evil out-group – against each other. Secondly, he communicates his epic vision of

using the independence of Ghana as a catalyst for the liberation of the whole continent and later for the unification of the continent, while regarding the whole process as a battle of a sort that needed to be fought fearlessly. Thus, we can begin to get a sense of his personae and gauge his attitude towards colonialism. Importantly, the extract above also gives an indication of the significance of Nkrumah as a pioneering Pan-African leader, thereby reinforcing the usefulness of studying the discourse of such a political figure, as is done in this study.

3.3. The need to create a specialized corpus of the discourse of Kwame Nkrumah

The present study is a corpus-assisted critical discourse investigation of how Kwame Nkrumah, Africa's first prime minister and Ghana's first president, discursively constructed a political mythology described in this study as the Unite or Perish myth. The study focuses on how he envisaged (or envisioned) the Ghanaian society, to be specific, and the African community, in general. Given the goals of the study, a specialized corpus of the socio-political discourse of Nkrumah was needed to respond to the aims of the research. It became necessary to create my own corpus of Nkrumah's socio-political discourse because there were no existing corpora suitable for the objectives that the study addresses. As far as I can determine, there is not yet a single computerized corpus of the discourse of any Ghanaian politician, including Nkrumah. The decision to build from scratch a corpus of the socio-political discourse of Nkrumah was, thus, informed by the principle put forward by Biber et al. (1998) and McEnery and Hardie (2012) that in the absence of a publicly available corpus that meets the specifications of a research (for example, a corpus that can answer your research question), then that should be the only time for the researcher to decide to build her/his own corpus. To be able to achieve the objectives of the current research, thus, I found myself having to create a DIY ('do-it-yourself') corpus (McEnery, Xiao & Tono, 2006, p. 71). The value of working with such a specialized corpus (that is, a corpus obtained from a special institutional setting) is advanced by Flowerdew (2005, p. 329) when she argues that working with small, specialized corpora may be beneficial because:

> the analyst ['in the privileged position of being a "specialist informant"'] is probably also the compiler and does have familiarity with the wider sociocultural context in which the text was created, or else has access to specialist informants in the area. The compiler-cum-analyst can, therefore, act as a kind of mediating ethnographic specialist informant to shed light on the corpus data.

Flowerdew's (2005) submission on the benefits of creating a specialized corpus accrues to the present study since the researcher/analyst in this study is also the compiler of the corpus. Hence, the researcher's familiarity with the wider socio-cultural context did prove useful during the corpus analysis.

3.4 Corpus design and planning

As explained above in section 3.3, the goals of the present study made it necessary to compile a corpus that represents the socio-political discourse of Nkrumah. An important design decision I had to make at the outset bordered on the size of the corpus. It will not be misleading to assert that a corpus from which generalizable claims about the ideologies of an individual will be made – as was intended in this study – ought to be quite substantial in size. Although there is no ideal size for a (specialized) corpus (McEnery & Hardie, 2012; Flowerdew, 2004), the point about small or large corpora and the implications they hold for the results or findings of a study are still made in the corpus linguistic literature. For instance, Baker et al. (2008, p. 275) opine that depending on the definition of a 'small corpus' one adopts, a 25, 000-word corpus "is at the lower end of the range defining small specialized corpora". Aston (1997) gives a range of 20, 000 – 200, 000 words; Giovani (2005), on the other hand, sets the range at 50, 000 – 100, 000 words. Based on the submissions above on the size of small specialized corpora, I decided on a corpus size of approximately 303, 600 running words for my study. In the words of Baker (2006, p. 28), "when building a specialized corpus to investigate the discursive construction of a particular subject", the focus of attention "is perhaps not so much the size of the corpus, but how often we would expect to find that subject mentioned within it". This means that the quality or content of the corpus should be prioritized over issues of quantity. Hence, to the extent that the corpus used in the present study is a specialized one, representing the language of an individual in a specific context and within a specified period, 303, 600 words were perceived to be adequate for the present investigation.

Another major consideration was the criteria adopted to select the text samples for the corpus. Here, it is important to be aware that the discourse of Nkrumah is not the discourse of one man. As 'animator', Nkrumah assumes the role of the one speaking the words (Goffman, 1981, p. 44); however, the person who has chosen the encoded and expressed ideas, 'the author' (Goffman, 1981), may include Nkrumah's advisors, officials, speech writers, etc. That said, Nkrumah, importantly, is the 'principal' in that he is the one whose position is reinforced by the words he

speaks and who believes in and is committed to those words (Goffman, 1981). The text samples selected for the corpus were speeches delivered by Nkrumah during his active years as Ghana's president before his overthrow in 1966 and they mostly revolved directly or indirectly around the notion of African liberation and Pan-African unity. It is important to state that Nkrumah's belief in African unity as the panacea for Africa's problems was so strong that even when he spoke about other issues such as education, agriculture or sports that at first glance may seem not to be directly linked with African independence or unity, he somehow established a connection between these issues and African unity. The total number of speeches was 154.

3.5 Description of the corpus used for this study

The specialized Corpus of Nkrumah Discourse (COND) created for this study as already mentioned is made up of a total of approximately 303, 600 tokens, being 154 speeches delivered by Nkrumah. All the texts for the COND are produced in English, as it is the official language in Ghana. At the time of the data collection, only few of Nkrumah's speeches could be accessed online; hence, the corpus was constructed using five volumes of Nkrumah speeches compiled by Samuel Obeng in 1997. As no electronic versions of Obeng's compilation were available, I scanned to pdf format each of the volumes using a scanner and a computer that had Optical Character Recognition (OCR) software, specifically *ABBYY FineReader*, after which I checked the original content against the scanned material to ensure that the scanned material accurately reflected the original material. I then used *AntConverter* to process them into *Plain texts* that were stored on my computer as corpus files. For those few speeches that were electronically accessible, and which could not be found in Obeng's compilation, I downloaded them from the Internet, converted them to pdf format and then to *Plain text*, using *AntConverter*. For the COND, each speech constitutes an electronic text file in *Plain text* format. The choice of *Plain text* rather than other formats (for example, *Rich text* and *XML*) derives from Reppen's (2010) assertion that at present, *Plain text* format works best with corpus analysis tools. For each text file, I used the text editor *Notepad++* to normalize the characters in order to make sure that no characters were encrypted. It is important to note that the COND is untagged.

I had to rely mainly on Obeng's compilation because after Nkrumah's overthrow, most of his works that could be reached were destroyed, as he was much maligned and condemned by his opponents. For instance, his books, speeches and pictures were publicly burnt, and his statue was

vandalized[29]. Worse still, an Act 380 of 28th August 1971 "banned the use of any slogan by word or shibboleth, photograph, or policy document intended to revive the Convention People's Party (CPP) or its leader or chairman Dr. Kwame Nkrumah" (Obeng, 1997, p. v). Consequently, the speeches of Nkrumah as found in Obeng's compilation are extremely useful. To check the authenticity of Obeng's, compilation, I cross-checked any of the transcribed speeches in his volumes against any that could be accessed online to ensure that the contents were the same. As well, some of the speeches contained in Obeng's compilation have been reproduced in some of the books authored by Nkrumah used as secondary data in this study, making it possible for me to verify their contents.

To ensure a fairly representative corpus (McEnery & Wilson, 2001; Hunston, 2002; Leech, 2011) of the socio-political discourse of Nkrumah, I had to make a couple of sampling decisions. First, I had to ensure that the texts to enter the COND were produced by Nkrumah within a formal context or in an official capacity – for instance, as chairman and leader of the CPP, secretary general of the UGCC, leader of government business, as prime minister or president of the Republic of Ghana. Second, I had to make sure that the texts were reflective of a socio-political situation or had a socio-political orientation. Therefore, I excluded any speech that did not meet the above criteria, thereby ensuring that the included speeches can account for the specific goals and peculiar needs of the research.

I wish to also make the point that the texts that constituted the corpus were made up of their bodies only – that is, the complete running text. Thus, for each of Obeng's volume (where applicable), the acknowledgments, footnotes, endnotes, prefaces, forwards, tables of contents and appendices, bibliography and author's biographical information were deleted as these were not considered to be part of the actual text. Moreover, some of these constituted separate genres and/or registers on their own and were composed by other people apart from Nkrumah. Furthermore, following McEnery et al.'s (2006, p. 23) suggestion that "when graphics/tables are removed from the original texts, placeholders must be inserted to indicate the locations and types of omissions", I replaced long set-out quotations using the symbol <^^^> as a placeholder. I removed the long set-out quotations because they did not constitute part of the actual rhetoric of Nkrumah; short quotations

[29] Kwame Nkrumah's statue has since been re-created, his body re-interred and artifacts collected as his memorial can be found at the Kwame Nkrumah museum in Accra built in his honor.

that were integrated into the text (single intertextuality) were, however, kept. Additionally, I used the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) standard mark up for headings (<h_> … <h/>) as a header mark up for titles. So, for a speech entitled *Africa must be free*, we shall have <h_>Africa must be free<h/>. I then excluded these in the analysis, or where necessary, searched for them alone.

The final point to be made on the corpus description is that the data used for this research are publicly available and publicly accessible, as Nkrumah's discourse is considered discourse within public domain. Initially, there was a ban on the use of pictures, slogan, policy documents, etc. of Nkrumah immediately after the military coup d'état that ousted his government from office. However, this ban has long been canceled, following Nkrumah's death in 1972 (Obeng, 1997), and his works most of which can be found in the national archives of Ghana and at the museum established in his honor are now publicly available for (academic) research in all sorts of context. Indeed, the Kwame Nkrumah Museum in Accra, Ghana, is opened to the public, including researchers, and apart from texts, other memorabilia of Nkrumah such as pictures and sculpture are considered de-classified in view of which the public has unrestricted access to them. Appendix 1 lists the speeches that make up the COND. In addition to the COND, I consulted some secondary sources, including books authored by Nkrumah, commentaries and views expressed in the media and scholarly works written by academics, journalists and political analysts/experts (see Appendix 2). The use of secondary sources was helpful in providing a broad context within which to analyze the corpus data, thereby contributing to the objectivity of the findings and conclusions arrived at.

3.6 How the data were analyzed

In this study, I examined the Unite or Perish myth by drawing on insights from critical metaphor analysis and discourse-historical analysis. This combined approach was also informed by corpus methods such as frequency analysis, collocation analysis and concordance analysis. Each of the approaches was utilized for a particular purpose and altogether they enabled a comprehensive and an intensive analysis of mythic discourse. The analysis carried out in this study was underpinned by an overall framework that paid attention to textual, contextual and intertextual levels of analysis. This was achieved by utilizing a combination of tools developed with critical metaphor analysis (CMA) (Charteris-Black, 2004; 2005; 2011) and the discourse-historical approach (DHA) (Wodak et al., 2009; Wodak, 2004; 2015). I, therefore, examined lexical choices and variations in terms of their textual, discursive and social contexts in order to deconstruct Nkrumah's creation

and promotion of the Unite or Perish myth. At the textual level, I focused on the ideological role of linguistic elements and grammatical features in Nkrumah's discourse and their relation to social power. The contextual analysis examined the who, what, how and why of Nkrumah's discourse in relation to the Unite or Perish myth as well as contextual evidences in the form of secondary sources that shed light on this myth. At the intertextual level, I explored the historical underpinning or intertextual history of Nkrumah's rhetoric and its contribution to the creation and promotion of the Unite or Perish myth. Based on this overall analytic framework, a number of tools were used for the analysis, including lexico-grammatical tools such as indexicals and deictics (especially, pronoun use), modality, nominalization, passivization, verb processes, superlatives and hyperbole and lexical choice and variation. Semantico-pragmatic tools such as contrast, categorization, framing, identity construction, indirection (i.e., implication, insinuation and presupposition), intertextuality and interdiscursivity, metaphor, parallelism, positive and negative presentation, repetition and topoi were also utilized.

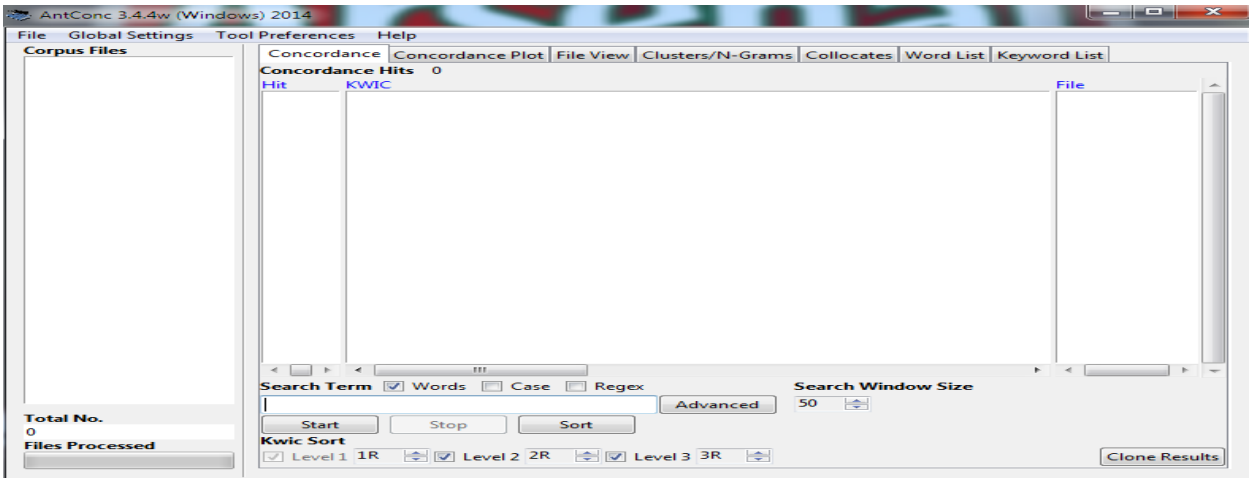
The integrated analytical framework used in this study is put forward as an approach for understanding the nature of political mythology, arguing that it will offer a deeper, richer and more accurate description and interpretation of this multifaceted phenomenon. Before detailing the specific tools of analysis used for the analysis, I will discuss the use of *AntConc Tools*, as it is the main corpus tool used for the analysis.

3.6.1 The use of AntConc Tools

AntConc Tools (Anthony, 2005) is a "multi-platform, multi-purpose corpus analysis toolkit" which "includes a powerful concordance, word and keyword frequency generators, tools for cluster and lexical bundle analysis, and a word distribution plot" (Anthony, 2005, p. 729). The choice of this tool for the corpus analysis is informed by its high level of functionality and my familiarity with it. Using its concordance, word list and keyword features or functions, *AntConc* (see Figure 1) makes it possible for an analyst to observe words in context – that is, collocates of words – to study meaning. Collocation refers to "the occurrence of two or more words within a short space of each other in a text" while a collocate refers to a "word which occurs in close proximity to a word under investigation" (Sinclair, 1991, p. 170). To put it slightly differently, the point of interest of collocation is the '*immediate context*' (emphasis is mine) of the word, which, according to Bartsch (2004, p. 14), is determined by "the span or horizon to the left and right of a node word in a

concordance. The span in collocation studies is usually set to values of between 3 and 5 words to the left and right of the node".

Figure 1: Screenshot of the *AntConc* concordancer



The file view function makes it possible for the analyst to view the number of files uploaded onto the toolkit; the collocates function allow us to observe the recurrent words accompanying a word within a specified span and the concordance plot gives a dispersion of a search term, showing the various places in the corpus (e.g., beginning, middle or end parts) where the term can be found (Anthony, 2005). Concordance refers to "a collection of the occurrences of a word-form, each in its own textual environment" (Sinclair, 1991, p. 33: see also McEnery & Wilson, 2001, p. 18). Thus, by employing concordances or concordance lines, I was able to look at the use of words in context, as a concordance output affords us the opportunity of examining and interpreting a word co-textually and qualitatively (Adolphs, 2008, p. 4). In addition to the concordance output, the concordance program allows the analyst access to the main text ('source text') in its entirety, by double-clicking on a concordance line, and this "takes the researcher straight to the node within the context of the whole file" (Taylor, 2010, pp. 224-225). Another advantage of utilizing a lexical analysis software program like *AntConc*[30] is that it is able to statistically "calculate the number of occurrences of the word so that information on the frequency of the word may be gathered" (McEnery & Wilson, 2001, p. 18) and it does this via functions like keyword lists and frequency

[30] Other concordance programs and/or corpus tools include *WordSmith Tools*, *MonoConc Pro*, *WordPilot*, *Sketch Engine*, *Graphcoll*, *ConcGram*, *Standford NLP Tools*, *UAM Corpus Tool*, among others.

lists (see word list and keyword list columns in Figure 1). A word list/frequency list is simply a list of "all words appearing in a corpus", with a specification "for each word how many times it occurs in that corpus" (McEnery & Hardie, 2012, p. 2).

It must be stated at this juncture that a concordance output cannot indicate beyond-clause-boundary features (Adolphs, 2008, p. 3) in view of which it became necessary to also use a qualitative approach. This approach is "primarily an inductive process of organizing data into categories and identifying patterns (relationships) among categories" (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993, p. 479). Consequently, it enhances an objective detailed description, inductive analysis and interpretation of human behavior (be it verbal, attitudinal or experiential) within a particular social environment (Dawson, 2002, p. 14; Fraenkel, Wallen & Hyum, 2012, p. 426-427). The qualitative approach helped me to properly define the identified ideologies in Nkrumah's discourse, drawing on the concept of situational context. By 'context', we mean the "textual, the situational and socio-cultural environment of linguistic expressions" (Bednarek, 2006, p. 10). The usefulness of combining the corpus analysis with qualitative analysis lies in the view that such a synergetic approach allows for a multi-level analysis (Adolphs, 2008, p. 4), which includes the following:

i. Corpus linguistics, specifically, the examination of output from concordance, keyword and [frequency] analyses
ii. Discourse analysis, with emphasis on patterns and sequences in extended stretches of text or talk, as in the application of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992; 1995; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; 2009) in the analysis chapters of this thesis
iii. Contextual analysis, specifically the analysis of the text both in terms of its textuality and the historical, cultural and socio-political milieu within which it was created or instantiated.

Such a multi-level approach greatly contributes to a reduction in subjectivity and bias, which is often mentioned as a limitation of qualitative research (Fraenkel, Wallen & Hyum, 2012). I now turn my attention to the specific tools of analysis utilized for the analysis.

3.6.2 Tools utilized for corpus analysis

Frequency analysis, collocation analysis and concordance analysis were the three main corpus methods employed in this study. Each of them is discussed in the sub-sections below.

3.6.2.1 Frequency analysis

To get an indication of the principal focus of Kwame Nkrumah as communicated in his speeches, I used the word list function on *AntConc* to derive the frequently used words in the COND. According to Baker (2006), the analysis of frequent words give an indication of the focus of a corpus as well as the "sociological profile of a given word or phrase enabling greater understanding of its use in particular contexts" (p. 47). In general, language use is hardly neutral or random and political discourse, in particular, is laden with various ideologies. This makes the analysis of frequency important since they direct the analyst to different parts of a corpus for further analysis. Like all language users, Nkrumah makes certain choices about the sort of language to use in communicating his beliefs and given his position as president, the kind of choices he makes is even more important. As Stubbs (1996, p. 107) comments, "No terms are neutral. Choice of words expresses an ideological position". An initial frequency analysis was, thus, helpful in identifying Nkrumah's lexical choices and variations and, where necessary, to further probe them via collocation analysis and detailed concordance analysis in order to ascertain how they shed light on the Unite or Perish myth.

A frequency analysis of functional words can be helpful in determining the register of a text as is demonstrated by Biber et al. (1998) when they categorized texts across a range of five stylistic dimensions using frequencies of different functional words together with other criteria. In this study, however, I focused on the most frequent lexical words and terms, following Baker (2006, p. 54)'s suggestion that such words, rather than grammatical words, give a better idea of discourses (i.e., themes, leitmotifs and ideologies) within a corpus. Using *AntConc*, I was also able to derive frequency lists for clusters[31] of words rather than just looking at words in isolation; hence the derivation of frequent clusters. For example, by specifying the cluster size as three, I obtained a word list of three-word clusters such as *colonialism and imperialism*, *unity of Africa* and *unity and independence*. Combined with concordance analysis which provides some contextual information,

[31] A cluster (also termed an n-gram or lexical bundle) is a sequence of two or more words, not necessarily a grammatical or meaningful unit. A frequency analysis can also be applied to clusters (Baker et al., 2009).

the frequent words and frequent clusters gave an indication of the repetitive ideas that underlay Nkrumah's discourse, his stance towards colonialism, imperialism and foreign domination as well as his vision for Ghana and the rest of Africa. It was also beneficial to explore the frequency not only of words and clusters, but also of lemma[32], word families[33] and, more crucially, hyponyms/hypernyms (semantically or functionally analogous words in terms of a relation of inclusion and/or sub-categorization) to obtain a comprehensive view of Nkrumah's discourse. The identified frequent expressions were classified based on specific topics, themes, attitudes and *topoi*[34] (Sedlak, 2000; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001) and their usage was explored in context – that is, via detailed line-by-line concordance analysis. Ultimately, this analytical procedure helped in providing a general impression of the representation of Nkrumah's ideological positions. Beyond the frequency analysis, it was also needful to do an analysis of word collocates, as collocates provide information about the meanings a text emits or evinces.

3.6.2.2 Collocation analysis

In addition to the analysis of frequent words and clusters, I examined the collocates of the frequent words and subjected them to further concordance analysis. This is because the collocates of a word contribute to its overall meaning (Nattinger & DeCarrico, 1992) and examining them can provide "a semantic analysis of a word" (Sinclair, 1991, pp. 115-116) as well as convey implicit messages embedded in the text (Hunston, 2002). The collocates of a word signal the most frequent and/or salient ideas that a word is associated with (Stubbs, 1996). Collocation is statistically established and "refers to the co-occurrence of two words within a prespecified span, when the frequency of the co-occurrence is above chance, taking into account the frequencies of the "node" (the word in focus), its collocates, and the collocation itself" (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008, p. 11). The collocation span was set at five words to the left and right of the search term and mutual information (MI) was used to determine the strength of collocability (see Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008). Thus, three parameters were used to determine the statistical calculation of collocation in

[32] A lemma is simply the base or canonical form of a word, including all its inflected forms. So, for instance, the lemma of 'go' includes 'go', 'goes', 'gone' and 'going'.

[33] 'A word family consists of a base word and all its derived and inflected forms. . .. [T]he meaning of the base in the derived word must be closely related to the meaning of the base when it stands alone or occurs in other derived forms, for example, hard and hardly would not be members of the same word family' (Bauer and Nation, 1993: 253).

[34] Topoi are 'conclusion rules that connect the argument with the conclusion' (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001), or, simply put, they represent 'the common-sense reasoning typical for specific issues' (Van Dijk, 2000), whereas topics simply refer to the subject matter of the discussion (Sedlak, 2000).

the corpus, namely "the frequency of the node, the frequency of the collocates and the frequency of the collocation" (Baker et al., 2008, p. 278). As Hunston (2002) rightly notes, the lexical relation of collocation can be better extrapolated when analyzing large amounts of data, making it cumbersome for collocates to be accessed via intuition or introspection or through a manual analysis of a few texts. Also, collocation (analysis) is helpful in providing useful information about the meaning and/or function of the node in the specific text (Baker et al., 2008), thereby making its utilization relevant to the current research. It is important to state that in exploring the collocates, we were not interested in collocates as individual words per se; rather, and more importantly, we were concerned with how they were employed as a group to suggest certain topoi or to signify the presence of particular topics (Baker, 2004c).

The notions of semantic preference and semantic/discourse prosody which are related to but further expand the possibilities of a collocation analysis were used to examine attitudes expressed or revealed by particular collocations. Semantic preference foregrounds semantic aspects (as opposed to evaluative aspects) of meaning and it is the relationship that holds "between a lemma or word form and a set of semantically related words" (Stubbs, 2001, p. 65). On the other hand, semantic prosody underscores evaluative attitudes by revealing the speaker's or writer's standpoint. Louw (1993, p. 157) explains that it is the "consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates" while Stubbs (2001, p. 66) uses the term 'discourse prosody' in a bid to "maintain a standard distinction between aspects of meaning which are independent of speakers (semantics) and aspects which concern speaker attitude (pragmatics)". He adds that discourse prosody "extends over more than one unit in a linear string" (p. 66), implying that the meaning influence that collocates bring to bear on the node need to come about necessarily by adjacency or proximity. In this study, the overlapping notions of semantic prosody and discourse prosody are used interchangeably and are considered suitable in that they give an explicit indication of how the preponderance of specific collocates may result in the association of certain meaning attributes to Nkrumah's rhetoric. The notion of semantic preference is also useful, as "it allows for the categorization of collocates in cohesive semantic sets, as well as for the collective treatment of all forms of a term" [e.g., *Africa*, *African*, *Africans* and *African's*] (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008, p. 13). As previously noted, the frequency and collocation analyses of the salient lexis that emerged from the corpus were backed by their examination in context; that is, in concordances, which is subsequently explained.

3.6.2.3 Concordance analysis

To gain an understanding of the (wider) linguistic context within which Nkrumah used certain words, phrases and clusters, I used the concordance search tool in *AntConc* to run concordances of these expressions (for example, *Ghana*, *Africa*, *Pan-Africanism*, *neo-colonialism*, etc.). A concordance is a list of a given word or word cluster in its immediate co-text (that is, with linguistic context on either side) (Baker et al., 2008, p. 279; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; p. 15). Thus, it refers to a keyword in context (here, 'keyword' simply refers to the word under examination). Concordance analysis makes it possible for "the examination of language features in co-text" (Baker et al., 2008. p. 279). In this study, the concordances were alphabetically sorted on both the left and right of the word or cluster under examination and the amount of co-text engaged ranged from a few words on either side of the search term to the entire text, depending on the needs of the research. In this regard, concordance analysis is akin to qualitative analysis in a way, but different in that "the analyst does not have to look for instances of the pattern under examination, but can specify it either in terms of a word or cluster or a sequence of grammatical categories (if the corpus has been tagged)" (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008, p. 15). That is, concordance analysis is more targeted than traditional qualitative analysis.

The findings that were derived from the detailed line-by-line concordances were classified (for example, topoi related to words like *colonialism*, *self-government*, *people* and clusters such as *African unification*, *African integration*, and *political and economic independence*), making it possible to identify patterns or semantic/discourse prosodies. Thus, the concordance analysis supplemented the frequency analysis and collocation analysis and, at times, expanded on them. The final point to be made here is that concordance analysis somewhat helps to take care of one of the frequent criticisms usually brought against corpus linguistic research: that it tends to ignore context (Mautner, 2007; Widdowson, 2000). Mautner (2007), for instance, argues that "what large-scale data are not suited for … is making direct, text-by-text links between the linguistic evidence and the contextual framework it is embedded in" (p. 65). But as Baker et al. (2008) rightly explain, this criticism is more applicable to corpus linguistic studies that are descriptive (and not interpretive) in nature and so limited exclusively to the automatic analysis of corpora. Drawing on insights from Brown and Yule (1982), Baker et al. add that "the examination of expanded concordances (or whole texts when needed) can help the analyst infer contextual elements in order to sufficiently recreate the context" (p. 279). Having outlined the corpus methods employed in this

study, I now turn attention to the CDA strand of the method of analysis, which discusses the analytic tools used for the linguistic and discourse-historical analysis.

3.6.3 Tool utilized for linguistic or discourse analysis

The analytic framework in this thesis borrows from Charteris-Black's (2004; 2005; 2011) critical metaphor analysis in order to analyze how linguistic and/or semiotic choice contributes to an understanding of political mythology.

3.6.3.1 Critical metaphor analysis

Critical metaphor analysis (CMA), according to Charteris-Black (2004, p. 34), "is an approach to metaphor analysis that aims to reveal the covert (and possibly unconscious) intentions of language users". In other words, it is an approach to the analysis of metaphor that seeks to identify "ideologies underlying language" (Charteris-Black, 2005, p. 26). CMA is comprised of three main stages – metaphor identification, metaphor interpretation and metaphor explanation – and it can be considered as an "integration of cognitive semantic and pragmatic approaches that is based on corpus evidence" (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 13). By integrating cognitive semantic and pragmatic approaches, CMA, importantly, emphasizes speaker/writer intention as far as the creation and promotion of metaphorical representations are concerned. It, therefore, recognizes that with respect to persuasive language, speakers and writers "use metaphor to persuade by combining the cognitive and linguistic resources at their disposal" (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 11). In this thesis, metaphors are identified through semantic tension that stems from processes such as reification, personification and depersonification (Charteris-Black, 2005) and the study demonstrates how the interaction between metaphors and other rhetorical strategies is an effective means of political myth-making.

The identification of a metaphor, in CMA, is followed by its interpretation, which "involves establishing a relationship between metaphors and the cognitive and pragmatic factors that determine them" (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 37). This means an identification of conceptual metaphors and conceptual keys, where it is possible. Importantly, Charteris-Black (2005) maintains that metaphors need not be necessarily rooted within "human bodily experiences of space, movement, containment, etc." (p. 26). In light of the position of this thesis that political myth-making is hugely influenced by socio-political objectives and ideologies, it considers

metaphors as an outcome of socio-cultural framing. Following metaphor interpretation is metaphor explanation, which entails an identification of the "social agency" and "social role" of metaphor in persuasion (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 39). As stated early on, mythic discourse is not value-free, but ideologically stimulated and agenda motivated. Hence, CMA presents a useful methodology to elucidate "fundamental differences in ideological outlook" (p. 28) of various socio-political actors and groups, and to "identify *which* metaphors are chosen and to explain *why* these metaphors are chosen by illustrating *how* they create **political myths**" (emphasis is mine) (p. 28).

Charteris-Black (2005) has proposed the critical analysis of metaphor and their interaction with other figures of speech such as metonymy, parallelism and repetition as "a methodology for exploring how myths are systematically created and how their evaluations may be determined" (p. 26). He adds, however, that "critical metaphor analysis is not the *only* (emphasis in original) method for understanding a political myth" (p. 27). Consequently, the present study builds on the work of Charteris-Black by suggesting that the incorporation of other aspects of CDA with CMA will offer discourse analysts a more robust analytic framework for understanding the formulation and propagation of political myths. On this wise, the present study proposes a combination of CMA with discourse-historical analysis, specifically Wodak's (2004; 2015) discourse-historical approach (DHA).

According to Flood (2002) cited in Kelsey (2015, p. 1), a salient feature of myth is that it draws on popular but simplistic historical accounts of a people or nation's past. Thus, it has manipulative powers that usually derive from a manipulation (including misrepresentation, distortion, exaggeration and over-simplification) of historical and contemporary facts for political gains (Geis, 1987; Gastil, 1992). Such historical and contemporary complexities behind political mythic themes, I argue, are not (explicitly) accounted for in the CMA framework despite their importance to the overall understanding of a myth. Therefore, the DHA with its focus on narratives of the nation, national narration or national identity realized through memories, rituals, stories and past traditions (see Wodak et al., 2009; Bishop & Jaworski, 2003) when combined with CMA, this thesis suggests, will enable a holistic and an in-depth analysis of political mythology. As already mentioned, this study considers myth as a social process in which language plays a primary role, but not the only role. CMA, however, principally focuses on language; hence, the need for DHA which emphasizes how macro level socio-cultural and socio-political features can contribute to

myth creation. This study also argues that an important aspect of political mythology which is not accounted for within the CMA framework is the notion of populism or populist discourse. That is, the creation of political myths enables political actors to adopt an anti-establishment or anti-system stance, project the image of people leaders who know what the ordinary people want and (claim to) represent the general will of the people via popular sovereignty. Hence, it will be demonstrated in this thesis that a combination of CMA and DHA offers a comprehensive framework within which the complexities of political mythology, including the ideological mechanism of populist discourse, can be analyzed.

Wodak's DHA is useful for the analysis of political mythology or mythic discourse because "it integrates and triangulates knowledge about historical sources and the background of the social and political fields within which discursive events are embedded" (Wodak, 2009, p. 38). In combining CMA and DHA, this study is also interested in the kinds of strategies of nomination, predication, labeling, argumentation, intensification, mitigation and categorization that contribute to the Unite or Perish myth as well as how social actors are represented in Nkrumah's discourse and the topoi, rhetorical tropes and pragmatic devices used (see Wodak et al. 2009). These strategies which may be linguistically realized through neologisms/coinages, euphemistic denotations of actions, synecdochization, recontextualization, etc., doubtless, contribute to the mythic creation of political ideologies. However, they are not explicitly accounted for in the CMA framework, which focuses on metaphorical representations and their interaction with others figures of language. The discourse-historical analysis is subsequently explained.

3.6.4 Tool utilized for discourse-historical analysis: Discourse-historical approach

The main assumption on which the DHA hinges is the view that discourse is invariably related to something that has already taken place or to something that is currently taking place. As an analytical framework, the DHA "attempts to integrate a large quantity of available knowledge about the *historical sources* (emphasis is mine) and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive "events" are embedded" (Wodak, 2015a, p. 3). Therefore, it can be regarded as a historical contextualization of a linguistic phenomenon that analyzes "the historical dimension of discursive actions" by focusing on how "particular genres of discourse are subject to diachronic change" (Wodak, 2015a, p. 3). Apart from the history of an individual or organization, the DHA considers extra-linguistic social or sociological variables and situational frames.

Of importance to the DHA are intertextual[35] and interdiscursive[36] relations that exist between various forms of discourse and it takes into account non-linguistic elements that shape a discourse as well as important issues bordering on the production, reception and consumption of texts. Therefore, it is needful, in this study, to take the historical context into account (i.e., the socio-political situation of the period of investigation, the history of Ghana/Africa, the profile of Kwame Nkrumah and where necessary the diplomatic circumstances under which the texts were produced) in interpreting Nkrumah's discourse and his construction of the Unite or Perish myth as well as how and why he constructed this myth. Specific tools of analysis developed within the DHA (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; 2009; Wodak, 2004; 2015) utilized in this study include strategies and devices used for referring (nomination), labeling, stereotyping, predication, argumentation, perspectivization, intensification/mitigation and enemification/unification. Referential strategies are especially important in this study since they offer a linguistic means through which speakers classify social actors (van Leeuwen, 1996) and enable Nkrumah to express disapproval of colonialism and imperialism as well as stigmatize those who were behind them. The afore-mentioned strategies can be textually evidenced by argumentative devices, membership categorization devices, deictics, stereotypical and evaluative attributions, rhetorical figures and evocations. Various topoi identified in the DHA, including comparison, (external) threat, difference/contrast, favorable time and history as teacher, are also used in the analysis. The analysis of discourse and especially mythic discourse, this thesis holds, cannot remain only within the text; hence, the need to move between the text and text-external or extra-textual factors. To do this, it draws on the principles of the DHA to provide a grounded understanding of how Nkrumah's rhetoric on Pan-African unity is informed by the socio-cultural and socio-political contexts within which it was produced.

By combining the DHA with CMA, this study expands the application of the DHA to other discourses. Generally, the focus of the DHA has been on anti-Semitic stereotypes/prejudice in

[35] Intertextuality refers to the fact that all texts are linked to other texts, via synchronic and diachronic dimensions. Such links can be established through continued reference to a topic or main actors; through reference to similar events; or by the transfer of main arguments from one text into the next (i.e., recontextualization). (See Wodak, 2008b for extensive definitions.)

[36] Interdiscursivity indicates that discourses are linked to each other in various ways. So, for instance, a discourse on un/employment often refers, for example, to topics or subtopics of other discourses, such as gender, security or racism.

public discourses, racism in political discourses, European Union discourses, discourses on migration and (non-)sexist language use (see Reisigl, 2017). It has also been extensively adopted in the analysis of narratives of the nation and the construction of national identities (see Kelsey, 2015). Further, it has been used in studies that did not explicitly analyze the historical dimension of discourses (e.g., examining the comprehensibility of laws and news broadcasts, guidelines for non-sexist language use in administrative texts and doctor-patient communication (see Reisgl, 2017)). However, it has hardly been used in the investigation of mythic discourse except in Kelsey (2013). This study, therefore, extends the application of the DHA to other discourses by showing how it can be used to examine the construction of a myth that aligns with a political agenda. It demonstrates how Nkrumah creates a popular story and/or an ideological narrative that purports to give a true description of past, present and predicted political events in Africa.

3.7 Challenges of data collection

I can submit that the compilation and processing of the corpus data as well as the procedures of critical analysis adopted in this thesis were successful and followed the plan originally conceptualized. That said, the main difficulty encountered had to do with the collection of the text samples for the corpus. At the outset, I had thought that the speeches of Nkrumah would be readily available for download at places like the websites of the government of Ghana, the Ghanaian parliament or the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation – but that was not to be. My next option was to surf the Internet for all sources that may have published any of his speeches, but that only gave me few speeches that were inadequate to build a sizeable corpus. In the end, I had to resort to hard copies of the speeches compiled by Samuel Obeng in five volumes, whose collection and processing was challenging.

In the first instance, Obeng's compilation was out of stock on the market and entirely out of print in view of which I had to contact the publishers (Afram Publications). They managed to get me four of the five volumes, as the first volume could not be found. So, I contacted a Ghanaian historian I knew who was able to get me a personal copy of his. I then had to manually scan all the hard documents as pdf. A good friend of mine[37] assisted me in this task and I also hired a couple of people at various stages of the scanning process. Generally, the *ABBYY FineReader* worked

[37] I would like to immensely thank Benedict Anumel, an undergraduate colleague, for all his help with the data collection process, especially with the acquisition and scanning of the text samples.

efficiently and retained all the characters in the original speech when a scan was completed. That notwithstanding, I still had to edit the scanned versions in a bid to ensure that they were the same as the source text. Admittedly, the entire process of building the COND (especially, with the scanning of the sample texts and the cleaning of the corpus) was tedious. However, it proved successful and rewarding since, in the end, I was able to get the sizeable and carefully and systematically constructed corpus I needed for further processing and analysis.

3.8 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has described the methodological design deployed in this study in terms of how the text materials used for the corpus were collected as well as the analytical procedures employed. The entire work is hinged on an integrated discourse analytical framework made up of corpus analysis, linguistic or discourse analysis and historical-ideological analysis. This multi-layered analytical approach is proposed for the analysis of mythic discourse. The study is also augmented by information gleaned from supplementary data sourced from secondary sources such as books authored by Nkrumah, commentaries and views expressed in the media and scholarly works written by academics, journalists and political analysts/experts. Further, it employs the concordance program *AntConc* as a computational tool. In, general, there was a conscious effort in adopting best methodological practices to ensure the validity, objectivity and credibility of the findings presented in this thesis. The next three chapters are devoted to a detailed analysis of the Unite or Perish myth.

CHAPTER FOUR[38]

THE UNITE OR PERISH MYTH AS A DISCOURSE OF RESISTANCE[39]

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines how various rhetorical and linguistic tools are manipulated by people in power or authority to tell stories that claim to give an accurate description and interpretation of prior, current and anticipated socio-political events, thereby influencing society. The data analysis focuses on how as chief animator of the Unite or Perish myth, Nkrumah draws on a number of lexico-syntactic and semantico-pragmatic tools to accentuate, attenuate or totally eliminate some semantic aspects (see Linell, 1998, p. 148) of his narrative, thereby formulating a political mythology. Specifically, I analyze how various discursive strategies contributed to constructions of valiance and heroism (and therefore a conspiratorial enemy) as well as messianism which the study identifies as the constituent components of the narrative framework of the Unite or Perish myth. In doing so, I demonstrate how Nkrumah used his powerful rhetoric to construct a discourse of resistance against colonialism and neo-colonialism as well as paint a simplistic monolithic picture of a Union Government of Africa (which he referred to as the 'United States of Africa') and how such a continental federation boded well for Africa's future, even though the reality was far more complicated.

The analysis presented in this chapter, as mentioned in Chapter 3, is based on the 154 speeches of Nkrumah that make up the Corpus of Nkrumah Discourse (COND) and is informed by secondary data such as books authored by Nkrumah, commentaries and views expressed in the media and scholarly works written by academics, journalists and political analysts. To examine how the Unite or Perish myth was discursively formulated by Nkrumah and naturalized into public consciousness, I derived the top 30 frequent words in the COND in order to identify the focus of Nkrumah's discourse or the ideas that held his attention. This was necessary because frequency of occurrence is argued by Charteris-Black (2017) as an empirical measure that can be used to

[38] Portions of this chapter have been published in Nartey, Mark. (2019). "We must unite now or perish!" Kwame Nkrumah's creation of a mythic discourse? *Journal of Language and Politics*, 18(2): 252-271 and Nartey, Mark & Bhatia, Aditi. (2020). Mythological heroism in the discourse of Kwame Nkrumah. Special Issue on World Englishes and Critical Discourse Analysis. *World Englishes*. In press.

[39] 'Unite or Disintegrate' and 'Swim or Sink', as used by Nkrumah, can be considered variants of this myth.

ascertain rhetorical effect or impact. The identified frequent words were then examined in detail via concordance and collocation analyses in order to further describe their semantic properties and how they relate to the Unite or Perish myth. The top 30 frequent lexical words are shown in Table 1.

Before proceeding any further, it is worth mentioning which frequent words I focused on and which were found to be less relevant. I focused on frequent lexical words since they have a higher probability of revealing ideologies in discourse compared to non-lexical words (see Baker, 2006; Baker et al., 2008). For instance, the most frequently occurring words in the COND were non-lexical words but they did not give an indication of any ideological position or leitmotif being communicated by Nkrumah since they invariably had grammatical functions. Examples included determiners ('the', 'that', 'all', 'your', 'his'), conjunctions ('so', 'and', 'or', 'as', 'but', 'if'), prepositions ('on', 'with', 'by', 'in', 'of') and copulas ('is', 'are', 'was', 'were'). The COND also had the address term 'Mr.' (e.g., "Mr. Speaker', 'Mr. Chairman') occurring as a highly frequent word but was not examined further because it functioned as a marker of formality. Additionally, some frequent words occurred because of a particular topic that was being addressed by Nkrumah which was not directly or remotely related to the African unification idea per se – for example, the words 'education' and 'university' appeared as frequent words due to a number of speeches that centered on education. Such words have not been focused on in the analysis in this chapter, as the concentration here is on those frequent words that have a direct or an indirect relationship with the Unite or Perish myth and/or have a potential of enabling us to construe this political mythology. As Baker (2010b, p. p. 317) notes, it is important, though, to keep such texts in the corpus in order to have a general overview of the focus of the corpus and, with particular reference to the present study, make us appreciate the fact that not every aspect of Nkrumah's rhetoric is necessarily motivated politically towards a Union Government of Africa. In this analysis, however, I focus on the top 30 frequently occurring lexical words that are ideologically driven towards or have the potential of contributing to our understanding of the Unite or Perish myth, following Baker (2010b, p. 317-318).

Table 1: Top 30 lexical words in the COND

Word	Frequency	Word	Frequency
1. AFRICA	1566	16. CONGO	691
2. AFRICAN	1529	17. COLONIALISM	648
3. GHANA	1467	18. REBELLION	607
4. PEOPLE	1232	19. UNION	570
5. GOVERNMENT	1171	20. LIQUIDATION	566
6. WORLD	1148	21. PEACE	557
7. UNITED	1074	22. COLONIAL	540
8. COUNTRY	1029	23.NEOCOLONIALISM	522
9. STATES	884	24. STRUGGLE	511
10. NATIONS	879	25. FREEDOM	495
11. EMANCIPATION	804	26. LIBERATION	481
12. UNITED	762	27. REVOLUTION	426
13. FIGHT	754	28. REDEMPTION	422
14. UNITY	733	29. IMPERIALISM	415
15. INDEPENDENCE	713	30. SALVATION	408

Having established the list of frequent words, the next task involved examining them in order to discover how they help in the creation of the Unite or Perish myth. This initially involved attempting to group the words into related categories, requiring detailed line-by-line concordance analysis. It was also necessary to focus more closely on frequent words that were related to colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism, African independence and African unity since the Unite or Perish myth is specifically connected to these concepts. Indeed, it must be stated that Nkrumah often used the words ‘colonialism’, ‘imperialism’ and ‘neo-colonialism’ interchangeably in a way that suggested that they were metonymic of the ‘evil’ Western power. It is, therefore, important for this to be borne in mind throughout the analysis chapters. As a discourse of resistance and an emancipatory discourse, the Unite or Perish myth is found to have four key constituent components which combine into a (coherent) narrative framework (i.e., an anti-imperialist rhetoric) that creates a perceived reality that concurs with political motivations. Each of these

components – the Conspiratorial Enemy, the Noble Revolutionary, the Valiant Leader and the Messiah – is subsequently discussed.

4.2 The Conspiratorial Enemy

The Unite or Perish myth, as a proposition, is premised on the assumption that a political, economic and cultural unification of all African states into a single nation (i.e., the 'United States of Africa') was the only means of ensuring Africa's peace, stability, progress and prosperity. I define this myth as the belief that a group of people – be it a country, continent or culture – run the risk of being destroyed by enemy forces if they failed to unite. An important aspect of this mythic proposition, the study finds, is the construction of a Conspiratorial Enemy since it is the presence of this enemy that makes a Union Government of Africa justifiable. In other words, a Union Government of Africa was necessary in order to prevent the people of Africa from perishing at the hands of the Conspiratorial Enemy.

In this way, Nkrumah can be seen as propagating a liberatory mythology (thereby making him the liberator) aimed at ensuring the survival and solidification of the African continent against foreign domination. Therefore, anything or any group or person (real or suspected) that seemed to present any kind of hindrance to this emancipatory mythology was a Conspiratorial Enemy. That is, "a hostile out-group plotting to commit harmful acts, which is perceived as different, homogeneous, highly potent or omnipotent, and conspiring to harm the in-group" (Geis, 1987, p. 26). Nkrumah's construction of the Conspiratorial Enemy was hinged on the thesis that failure to stop (neo-)colonialism and imperialism – which to Nkrumah are aggressive forces – via a Union Government of Africa will breed more aggression that will eventually result in Africa's doom. Hence, when he convened the Nationalists' Conference of African Freedom Fighters in 1962 in Accra, Ghana, his opening statement made it abundantly clear whom or what he regarded as the Conspiratorial Enemy:

> (1) … It is good for our cause to have a periodic meeting of this kind to examine our position in the great struggle to rid Africa completely and forever of imperialism and its hand-maidens, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. ***It gives us the opportunity also to review our strength as well as that of the enemy and to re-organize our forces and our strategy*** … ***We can only know the extent of our task and our strength when we have examined and ascertained that of the enemy*** … ***Who is the enemy? The enemy is imperialism, which uses as its weapons, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. Let us be very clear about this. Let us not lose sight of the real object*** … (Nationalists' Conference of African Freedom Fighters, 1962)

This introductory remark by Nkrumah is indicative of mythic thinking: the view that imperialism and its hand-maidens (colonialism and neo-colonialism) have a singular focus to cause harm to Africa – and nothing more. He suggests that these are three evils by their very nature and proceeds in the rest of the speech to proffer explanatory theses (not necessarily verifiable) for his position, constituting a mythic appeal to his audience to vehemently oppose these evils. The extract is indicative of a war-time rhetoric realized by war-cum-force metaphors such as 're-organize', 'strategy', 'struggle' 'enemy', 'forces' and 'weapons', suggesting that force must necessarily be applied in pursuit of the dream of a Union Government of Africa as well as constructing a strict 'us' vs. 'them' polarity (especially with the use of 'we/our' and the implied 'they/them') that sets up 'us' against 'them'. Also, the adjective 'great' in 'great struggle' and the adverbs 'completely' and 'forever' in the expression 'to rid Africa completely and forever of imperialism and its hand-maidens' realize an intensification strategy that reinforces the negative and combative posture that must be adopted against the enemy forces of Africa. From the extract, we can identify five main aspects of Nkrumah's construction of the Conspiratorial Enemy, which are overtly and covertly reiterated throughout the corpus. They include: (1) do not give the enemy the benefit of the doubt; (2) do not dialogue or negotiate with the enemy; (3) know yourself and the resources at your disposal; (4) know the enemy and the resources at his/her disposal; (5) periodically review your strength and that of the enemy.

The name of the conference from which the extract above was culled, 'Nationalists' Conference of African Freedom Fighters', is instructive in that it metaphorically invokes war imagery such as that of a meeting of armed men and women in a military barracks taking instructions from their General or Commander-in-Chief while strategizing and re-strategizing for warfare. Apart from highlighting the difference in power and status between Nkrumah and his audience, such war imagery is likely to strongly appeal to the emotions of the audience and to make them accept the African unification idea as an effective remedy for the evil machinations and maneuverings of the enemy even if a coherent and rational argument is not advanced. It is the contention of this thesis that the Nationalists' Conference of African Freedom Fighters and other continental conferences, unions and associations convened, formed or spearheaded by Nkrumah enabled him to consistently and methodically formulate colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism as the Conspiratorial Enemy of Africa – that is, as a thoroughly and permanently evil 'other'. This contributes to the naturalization of the Unite or Perish myth into the consciousness of the public or the masses. I

refer to these intentionally created platforms as ‘discourse events’ and suggest that such discourse events (whether newly created/introduced by a political leader or a transformation/modification of existing ones) are an effective means on a macro level by which a political actor can naturalize a political myth or formulate a mythic discourse.

The speeches delivered by Nkrumah at these discourse events (see Table 2 for the full list), I argue, provide a ritualistic poignancy to the Unite or Perish myth by emphasizing the treachery of the Conspiratorial Enemy. I give an example using Nkrumah’s historicization of his ideas and the moment in his speech at the founding of the Organization of African Unity, among other speeches he delivered at these continental conferences or associations, wherein he often made the lexical choice of ‘history/historic’ in phraseology such as ‘most historic occasion’, ‘historic conference’, ‘in this momentous period in our history’, ‘historic and momentous conference’, etc. At the inauguration of the Organization of African Unity, Nkrumah’s iconic status as the first African leader to lead a people to independence, it can be contended, placed him in a position of persuasive and symbolic power, with the ritualistic nature of the inauguration ceremony enhancing this symbolic role.

It is the position of Sanders (2009) that the symbolic communication of rituals often results in the downplaying or reduction of the complexity of political problems. Thus, the ritualistic practices of the inauguration event presented Nkrumah with a substantial platform to communicate a certain view of the world by appealing to the emotions of his audience because “rituals function well when there is consensus” (Sanders, 2009, p. 49). Since the inauguration ceremony was an emotionally-charged event and highly regarded by all in attendance (and indeed the whole of Africa), it provided an ideal setting to invoke a mythic discourse based on African patriotism and African nationalism. Nkrumah’s opening statement at the inauguration buttresses this point: “Our objective is African Union now. There is no time to waste. We must unite now or perish. I am confident that by our concerted effort and determination we shall lay here the foundations for a continental Union of African States” (Nkrumah, 24/05/63). Nkrumah’s pontification that a Union Government of Africa could be formed in one sitting can be analyzed as a mythic proposition based on emotionalization of the facts (Menz, 1989) and a reduction of the complexity of the African situation. Given the context of the enunciation and the mood or spirit in which it was made, it was likely to strike a chord in the hearts of Nkrumah’s listeners and with the African public.

Table 2: Discourse events used by Nkrumah to promote the Unite or Perish myth

Event	Venue	Date
1st Conference of Independent African States	Accra, Ghana	April 1958
1st All African People's Conference	Accra, Ghana	December 1958
Conference of All-African Trade Union Federation	Accra, Ghana	November 1959
2nd All African People's Conference	Tunis, Tunisia	January 1960
Conference on Positive Action and Security in Africa	Accra, Ghana	April 1960
2nd Conference of Independent African States	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia	June 1960
Conference of African Women	Accra, Ghana	July 1960
Conference of African Farmers	Accra, Ghana	March, 1962
Nationalists' Conference of African Freedom fighters	Accra, Ghana	June 1962
1st International Congress of Africanists	Accra, Ghana	December 1962
1st OAU Summit	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia	May 1963
2nd OAU Summit	Cairo, Egypt	July 1964
3rd OAU Summit	Accra, Ghana	October 1965

The summary of the discourse events used by Nkrumah to promote the concept of African unity presented in Table 2 shows the consistency, systematicity and intensity with which Nkrumah constructed the Unite or Perish myth. The intentional creation of such platforms by a political leader to promote a personal belief buttresses the position of this thesis that mythic discourse is not an exclusive linguistic phenomenon. Rather, it is imbued with social, cultural and historical elements; and can, therefore, be properly deconstructed with recourse to these elements. While language plays a fundamental role in the formulation of a political myth, other non-linguistic factors play an equally important role, making the overall construction of mythic discourse a social process. In addition to the key discourse events that Nkrumah purposely created or introduced to discursively and systematically construct the Conspiratorial Enemy (thereby legitimizing the Unite

or Perish myth), he seized the opportunities he had on various platforms by virtue of his position as president – for example, at the opening of institutions, launch of events, inauguration of programs, celebration of national events and anniversaries, etc. – to constantly reiterate it openly or merely allude to it. For instance, in a speech to Ghanaians on July 1, 1960 (the day on which Ghana became a republic), he remarked:

> (2) The ***Conference of Independent African States***, the ***African People's Conference***, and the ***All-African Trade Union Federation*** are three forces which on the initiative of Ghana, have been created to help in achieving this ***grand objective of African unity***. (Declaration of Ghana as a Republic, 1960)

By referring to the three discourse events above as 'forces', Nkrumah gives an indication of the intentional plan and strategic approach he hopes Africa will adopt in dealing with the forces of the Conspiratorial Enemy in 'achieving this grand objective of African unity'. And his use of 'on the initiative of Ghana' subtly creates ownership on his part as it indirectly suggests that he is the originator of the discourse events mentioned because, clearly, the people of Ghana did not conceive these ideas by themselves. By backgrounding himself, though, and foregrounding Ghana instead, Nkrumah construed African unity (and, thus, the Unite or Perish myth) as a generally accepted, commonly planned ideal, thereby heightening the myth he creates. We, thus, see how a political leader or powerful persons present very subjective and esoteric conceptualizations as objective and axiomatic, thereby giving rise to mythic discourse. The systematic use of discourse events by Nkrumah presented above, it can be said, has at least four functions: building support for his myth; providing a sense of importance and direction to Africans; giving a communal focus for his individual identity and bolstering loyalty and group cohesion among Africans.

According to Geis (1987, p. 29), mythic themes can appear to explain certain events as well as justify certain courses of action. This dual role of mythic discourse is echoed in Nkrumah's rhetoric, as he constitutes (neo-)colonialism as an aggressive force (and hence a Conspiratorial Enemy) with the sole aim of wreaking havoc on Africa. So, to Nkrumah, several events in pre-independence Ghana and other parts of the Continent like the Congo (e.g., the presence of Belgian troops in Katanga), Burkina Faso (e.g., the assassination of Thomas Sankara) and South Africa (e.g., the issue of apartheid) can be used to 'explain' the harmful effects of colonialism as far as the construction of the Conspiratorial Enemy is concerned. This perception of colonialism and imperialism being the cause of the ills on the Continent justifies the need for them to be attacked,

destroyed and for a Union Government of Africa to be established. Throughout Nkrumah's characterization of the behavior and activities of the colonialists, he invariably employed affectively negative attributes, including negative action verbs, thereby suggesting that all forms of resistance to (neo-)colonialism and imperialism are legit. Consider the following examples taken from just one of Nkrumah's speeches:

a. *milking* (Africa's resources)
b. *drained* (out of Africa)
c. *plagued* (us)
d. *wreck* (our efforts)
e. *drained* (away by colonialist-imperialism)
f. *seduce* (leaders of the African political trade union)
g. *baited* (to enter European Community)
h. *flattered* (into European alliances)
i. *iniquities* (of colonial oppression)
j. *seductive* promises of (neo-colonialism)

There is no gainsaying the point that this intentional use of affectively negative attributes reinforces Nkrumah's belief that Africa was facing the most dangerous enemy of her future peace, progress and prosperity. The negative action verbs ('milking', 'drained' and 'plagued') especially can have a visceral effect on listeners owing to the connotation of pillage and plunder and the notion of 'the rape of a nation' that they communicate. The idea that Africa is being 'raped' by foreign enemies is further heightened by lexical choices such as 'seduce', 'baited', 'flattered' and 'seductive'. Hence, there is the need to "chase out the enemy, routing him without giving him a moment's rest to re-group his forces" (Nkrumah, 12/06/63). Undoubtedly, Nkrumah uses the words above to depict the behavior of an enemy who is malicious in intent. Presumably, it can be said that the activities of the colonialists did bring about certain hardships in Africa; however, this will be different from saying that the exclusive intent of colonialism was to harm Africa – which is what Nkrumah insinuates by establishing a simple causal relation between colonialism and Africa via his construction of a Conspiratorial Enemy.

It was needful to identify collocates of the frequently occurring lexical words and to subject both the collocates and the frequently occurring lexical words to concordance analysis in order to

uncover how they shed light on Nkrumah's mythology. In terms of the construction of a Conspiratorial Enemy and how it relates to the Unite or Perish myth, some of the relevant clusters using the frequent words 'African' and 'colonialism' plus their collocates include 'African struggle', 'African freedom', 'African fighters', 'African independence', "African nationalism', 'African unity', 'African union', 'African personality', 'liquidate colonialism', 'Portuguese colonialism' and 'evil colonialism'. The concordance lines of some of these clusters have been discussed below.

Table 3: Sample concordances of ***African Freedom*** in the COND

1	belong to Africans! Fighters for **African freedom,** I appeal to you in the sacred name
2	of color in human dignity. Fellow **African freedom** fighters still carrying the burden
3	establish a liberation bureau for **African freedom** fighters. The main objective of
4	a note of warning the enemies of **African freedom,** namely imperialist collaborators,
5	By these methods, the enemies of **African freedom** hope to use the new African states
6	colonial powers and the enemies of **African freedom** to check the movement for unity
7	is understood by the detractors of **African freedom.** There is need for positive action

Nkrumah's articulation of the Conspiratorial Enemy is observable in Table 3 in two main ways: first, he identifies himself with the people he refers to as 'freedom fighters' (lines 1, 2, 3). Second, he adopts a negative posture against the Conspiratorial Enemy of Africa, the colonial powers and imperialists, whom he refers to as 'enemies' or 'detractors' of African freedom (lines 4, 5, 6, 7). By so doing, he discursively pits two camps against each other and at the same time aligns himself with one of the camps (the freedom fighters) using the lexical item 'fellow' (line 2). The use of the noun phrase 'freedom fighters' to refer to himself and the people of Africa on one hand and the use of the descriptors 'detractors' and 'enemies' in reference to the colonialists on the other hand can be interpreted as a categorization strategy (Leudar et al., 2004) that tries to make sense of the activities of people by characterizing them into types based on "one's own moral, religious, and social characteristics as well as those of opponents" (p. 44). This discursive strategy can be seen as a means of attracting support for the African unification ideology via colonial resistance and condemnation for the colonialists. Not surprisingly, Nkrumah presents the camp to which he is aligned favorably, as fighting for the noble cause of African freedom – a right which has been unfairly denied by 'them' whom he represents – or rather stereotypes – negatively. This referential strategy of (de)legitimation is essential in that it serves the ideological purpose of promoting a mythic proposition (Koteyko, 2014) through a discourse of resistance.

In addition to the positive evaluation that the use of the phrase 'freedom fighter' evokes in terms of highlighting courage, bravery and a warrior-like attitude, it also arouses feelings of empathy and sympathy (i.e., positive self-presentation) by suggesting that the people of Africa are unlawfully under attack and there is, therefore, the need for them to fight back. In line 1, Nkrumah appeals to the emotions of his audience for them to remain fervent in their pursuit of African freedom by invoking the 'sacred name of Mother Africa' combined with the predication 'I appeal to you' and in line 2, he uses phrases likes 'men of color' and 'fellow African freedom fighters' to ingratiate himself into the social space of his audience by identifying himself as a member of the group in order to create a sense of belonging. This is important because as Flowerdew (1997b, p. 462) explains, the acceptance of a myth is contingent on the extent to which it is imbued with shared values, beliefs and identities. This means that the promoter of the myth and the person or group of people to whom the myth is being projected must share, or at least be perceived as sharing in, the values and the beliefs of which the myth is made up. Thus, the use of 'men of color' and 'fellow African freedom fighters' can be analyzed as imposing a shared responsibility on the audience.

Again, having established this 'us' group of which he is a member, Nkrumah sets up their members against 'them' classifying 'them' as 'enemies', 'detractors' and 'exploiters' who 'hope to be able to use the new African states as puppets' (line 5). The claim that former colonial powers will use the new African states as puppets, even though not attested, is presented as a factual and an accurate statement that purports to rationalize the construction of the Conspiratorial Enemy and the need for Africa to unite against this enemy. There is, therefore, the need for 'positive action' (line 7) – which to Nkrumah includes a series of political protests, remonstrations and demonstrations – since that is 'the only language understood by the detractors of African freedom' (line 7). The denigration of the colonialists and imperialists as revealed by the concordances above presents us with a Conspiratorial Enemy that is wholly evil and must, therefore, be strongly resisted and ultimately obliterated. That Nkrumah vilifies the entity he believes to be the Conspiratorial Enemy is not surprising because it is such vilification that validates the Unite or Perish myth and makes the proposed Union Government of Africa justifiable.

Table 4: Sample concordances of ***colonialism and imperialism*** in the COND

1	than ever before to crush **colonialism and imperialism** from the face of our beautiful
2	a complete destruction of **colonialism and imperialism**. The colonialists have killed
3	and the nascent forces of **colonialism and imperialism** which we must eradicate as
4	we find the evil forces of **colonialism and imperialism** on retreat. It is true that
5	is very formidable to crush **colonialism and imperialism** utterly and completely from
6	practically nil. There was **colonialism and imperialism** sitting on our necks
7	free from the shackles of **colonialism and imperialism**. From this station, symbol of
8	an attack on all aspects of **colonialism and imperialism**. They inflict pain on Africa
9	goal which is the overthrow of **colonialism and imperialism** and the smashing of
10	which is the liquidation of **colonialism and imperialism** in all its forms

The construction of the Conspiratorial Enemy in Table 4 is represented in very strong terms using a number of metaphorical expressions. First, Nkrumah uses a number of metaphors to depict his disgust at colonialism and imperialism – evil metaphor (line 4), burden metaphor (line 6) and chain metaphor (line 7) – and proceeds to attack these 'twin evils' using war metaphor in nearly all the lines. The use of metaphor enhances the conceptualization of colonialism and imperialism in the worst possible terms and strengthens the negative characterization given to them. For instance, the use of the lexemes 'evil forces' and 'shackles' and the personification of colonialism and imperialism by suggesting that they are 'sitting on the necks of Africans and yielding no quarter' activates graphic images of the maliciousness of the colonialists. Through an intensification and a membership categorization strategy, the need for colonialism and imperialism to be attacked is heightened, as the colonialists and imperialists are accused of 'killings' (line 2) and 'inflicting pain on Africa' (line 8). Thus, the Conspiratorial Enemy is once more vilified via a (de)legitimation strategy that projects a particular version of reality and which performs the rhetorical or ideological function of advocating resistance against colonialism and imperialism and promoting the Unite or Perish mythology.

Worthy of note is Nkrumah's repetitive use of violent words – for example, 'crush', 'liquidation', 'overthrow', 'smashing', 'attack', 'eradicate' and 'destruction' – to characterize the approach that Africans must adopt in dealing with colonialism and imperialism. These words are used together with intensifiers such as 'complete', 'completely' and 'utterly' as well as an affective noun phrase like 'the face of our beautiful Africa' to enhance and give additional emotional context to the instantiation and to reinforce the view that to all intents and purposes, colonialism and imperialism

are ills that must be gotten rid of as soon as possible. These words also carry a military tone of mercilessness that echoes the lop-sided idea that as an opposing force, colonialism and imperialism have only meted brutality to Africa – and nothing more – so they must also be confronted with brutality in equal measure. One of the essential features of mythic discourse is its ability to induce emotional responses (Moss, 1985). Hence, by using a number of negative metaphors to refer to colonialism and imperialism and words denoting violence as seen in the concordance lines in Table 4, Nkrumah is likely to arouse feelings of anger and belligerence in his audience which will, hopefully, instigate action even if a coherent, rational and an intellectual argument is not adduced. A possible outcome is that the idea of having a Union Government of Africa may sound attractive to Nkrumah's audience, especially since it is being touted as capable of providing a once and for all solution to all the wicked schemes and intrigues (both present and futuristic) of the Conspiratorial Enemy and by extension all the problems of Africa.

It should be logically expected that a Conspiratorial Enemy ought to be vanquished or prevented from pursuing its purported Machiavellian schemes. Unsurprisingly, the corpus analysis revealed that (neo-)colonialism and imperialism, the Conspiratorial Enemy of Africa identified by Nkrumah, often collocated with words belonging to the semantic field of 'destruction' such as 'eradication', 'liquidation', 'crush' and 'dismantle'. An example is given in Table 5 using the concordance lines of 'liquidation'.

Table 5: Sample concordances of ***liquidation*** in the COND

1	peace is not possible without complete **liquidation** of colonialism and the total
2	and unity and the complete and total **liquidation** of colonialism. At this moment,
3	stands for in the struggle for the **liquidation** of imperialism and colonialism in
4	sight of the real object which is the **liquidation** of colonialism and imperialism
5	the United Nations declaration on the **liquidation** of colonialism is given practical
6	must presuppose a complete and total **liquidation** of colonialism. Let me now turn
7	peace is intimately bound-up with the **liquidation** of colonialism. As long as the
8	and in Africa for the final and total **liquidation** of imperialism from Africa. In
9	the final overthrow of colonialism and **liquidation** of neo-colonialist exploitation
10	and has taken in the struggle for the **liquidation** of imperialism and colonialism I

An observable pattern in the concordance lines of Table 5 is that liquidation occurs as the head of a noun phrase structure where it is post-modified by a prepositional phrase which has (neo-)colonialism or imperialism as its complement. The systematic collocation or post-

modification of liquidation with the prepositional phrase ‘of (neo-)colonialism/imperialism’ suggests, at least metaphorically, the violent killing of (neo-)colonialism and imperialism. The use of ‘liquidation’ also achieves a personification effect by conceptualizing colonialism and imperialism as actual persons who can be physically assaulted. This is effective because by transforming an abstract concept into a concrete or tangible entity, it becomes easier and more meaningful to launch an attack on this entity or to direct people’s actions against it. The consistency and frequency with which ‘liquidation’ and other synonyms mentioned above are used in the corpus indicate that the choice is intentional (not accidental) and is strategically deployed to have a certain rhetorical impact on his audience – most likely a feeling of radicalism and vexation towards the Conspiratorial Enemy, making the Unite or Perish myth appealing. There is, thus, evidence, not for the first time, of Nkrumah’s emotionally charged rhetoric; which is an integral feature in the creation and promotion of a political mythology.

Despite being a powerful word in itself, ‘liquidation’ is sometimes pre-modified by the adjectives ‘complete’, ‘total’ and ‘final’ or a combination of these words (lines 1, 2, 6, 7) to further heighten the emotional appeal being elicited and to intensify the ideological impact and rhetorical effect of the approach to be adopted in dealing with the Conspiratorial Enemy. In lines 1 and 13, the liquidation of colonialism in Africa in elevated to a global discourse on colonialism of peoples everywhere in the world. This can be seen as an argumentation strategy that realizes a discourse universalization function in which the attack on colonialism is warranted not only on the basis of its usefulness to Africa and the establishment of a Union Government of Africa but to the whole world since it is claimed that ‘World peace is not possible without the complete liquidation of colonialism’ (lines 1). Reiterating this train of thought, the United Nations is called upon via the topos of appeal to authority (Wodak et al., 2009) to walk the talk by seeing to it that ‘its own declaration on the liquidation of colonialism is given practical effect without further delay’ (line 5). Even though this assertion is supposed to be an appeal to the United Nations, the use of ‘without further delay’ subtly carries the force of a warning, an instruction and an accusation, reinforcing Nkrumah’s overall attitude to colonialism and imperialism as a Conspiratorial Enemy. By suggesting that the eradication of colonialism is not only important to Africa but to the whole world, the need for Africa to unite against this threat by forming a continental federation becomes even more necessary and convincing because, after all, colonialism is a global threat to which everyone must commit to defusing and nullifying.

The point must also be made that evidence from the corpus points to the view that Nkrumah considers colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism as the same thing from an ideological standpoint so that he treats neo-colonialism in the same way as he does colonialism and imperialism. For instance, in line 9, mention is made of the 'final overthrow of colonialism and the liquidation of neo-colonialist exploitation' and in several places in the corpus, the phraseological pattern 'colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism' appears as a cluster. In this way, all the characteristics and attributes that are attributed to colonialism and imperialism are also ascribed to neo-colonialism and even more because "the new colonialists are equally if not more dangerous and merciless in their comeback endeavors" (Nkrumah, 18/02/61) and because "the new colonialism is stronger and more dangerous than the old evils we are striving to liquidate from our continent" (Nkrumah, 04/06/62). In reality, however, there is a clear distinction between colonialism and neo-colonialism – for example, while it is possible to identify specific countries as (former) colonial powers, one is not likely to be able to do same for neo-colonialism. Nkrumah, however, seems to suggest that former colonial powers are necessarily neo-colonial powers, especially given his use of the phrase 'comeback endeavors'.

The attempt to treat colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism as one and the selfsame thing, thereby lumping them together, can be interpreted as a reductionist mechanism that understates the intricacies of these concepts and transforms them into simplicities for political gain. This is because although neo-colonialism is more abstract as compared to colonialism and imperialism, considering it on equal terms with colonialism and imperialism enables the determination of a specific target (i.e., former colonial powers) and to mobilize action against this target. It also enables a discourse of fear since there is every indication that the colonialists now turned neo-colonialists will commit worse evils given their track record coupled with the idea that they may be vengeful and, therefore, pursue a vendetta against their former colonies. Under the prevailing situation, it seems resorting to a Union Government of Africa, which we are told is able to deal effectively with neo-colonialism, is a logical option.

Kelsey (2015) argues that a myth's persuasive power is usually realized by the suppressions and simplifications that underlie it. Nkrumah's one-to-one mapping of colonialism/imperialism and neo-colonialism via a sameness strategy or his treatment of neo-colonialism as a natural build-up on colonialism and imperialism with little or no difference buttresses Kelsey's view and

contributes to a narrative framework based on a perceived reality. In addition, the intertextual link Nkrumah establishes between the past (colonialism) and the present and future (neo-colonialism) can be viewed as a way of creating a collective and popular social memory that functions ideologically in a way that exerts influence by placing certain events into the national consciousness while silencing or forgetting others. The communication of a shared social memory, according to Kelsey (2015), is important in the creation of a mythic discourse because it enables the myth promoter to project his or her personal ideals and values onto a social group and to demand particular actions from them or require a certain behavior from them.

The final point to be made is that Nkrumah's construction of the Conspiratorial Enemy is usually explicit and direct, giving an indication that he is an aberrant leader (see Geis, 1987, p. 28). So not only does he step forward to claim ownership of his ideas, but even more importantly, he overtly claims that they are also owned by all African leaders and by extension all Africans:

> (3) ***We have not moved from this promise nor shall we budge one jot from it until the final goal has been reached and the last vestiges of imperialism and colonialism have been wiped off this African continent***. ***We*** disdain to hide these aims and objects of ours. ***We*** proclaim them freely to the world. ***We*** have pride in our determination to support every form of non-violent action which our fellow Africans in colonial territories may find it fit to use in the struggle for their legitimate rights and aspirations. **We *make no apology to anyone and we will not allow ourselves to be deflected from this just cause, a cause wholly in consonance with the principles enunciated in the Charter of the United Nations***. (All-African People's Conference, 1958)

The use of involvement strategy linguistically realized by pro-forms such as 'we', 'our', 'ours', 'ourselves' and the lexical item 'fellow' is pervasive in extract above. This discursive strategy not only creates a sense of the collective, thereby imposing a moral imperative and a shared commitment on Nkrumah's audience, but also creates an 'us' vs. them 'discourse'. That Nkrumah blatantly owns his attack on the Conspiratorial Enemy and foists same on other African heads and the people of Africa is further emphasized by clauses such as 'We disdain to hide these aims and objects of ours', 'We proclaim them freely to the world' and ' We have pride in our determination to support anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism'. Such enunciation projects Nkrumah's credibility, enhances his ethos as a leader interested in the welfare of his people and commits his audience to a social contract to cooperate with him to defeat the Conspiratorial Enemy and to implicitly be in agreement with the formation of a Union Government of Africa. The promise being referred to in the first line of the extract is the promise of African liberation which had been

mentioned in the preceding lines. Thus, we see an isomorphic relationship between the need for African liberation and unification and Nkrumah's articulation of the Conspiratorial Enemy.

The force of the proposition in (3) is intensified via lexical choice and expressions such as 'not budging from our goal one jot, not moving from our promise', deontic modality 'shall' and the strong conjunction 'until'. To further demonstrate a direct ownership of the proposition communicated, Nkrumah makes use of a legitimation strategy in order to rationalize the need for (neo-)colonialism and imperialism to be vehemently opposed. He achieves this strategy through the topos of appeal to authority (Wodak et al., 2009) (that is, the United Nations), arguing that Africans' right to freedom is a legitimate one in sync with the principles enshrined in the 1948 United Nations Charter of Human Rights. Hence, the fight against the Conspiratorial Enemy of Africa, he suggests, is justifiable and reasonable. Having identified Africa's Conspiratorial Enemy, Nkrumah proceeds to construct himself as a Valiant Leader who makes it his duty to vanquish this enemy. That is, he claims to have the ability to tackle the negative conditions supposedly caused by the threat of Africa's Conspiratorial Enemy. This constitutes another component of the Unite or Perish myth as a discourse of resistance and is the focus of the next section.

4.3 The Valiant Leader

Geis (1987) explains the Valiant Leader mythic proposition as the attempt by a leader to construct an image of great courage and determination and to suggest that s/he is a potent leader. He cites two United States presidents, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Baines Johnson, whom he claims resorted to this discursive construction as a repair strategy for certain personal weakness: a "serious image problem" for Kennedy given "his inexperience and modest Congressional record" prior to his becoming president (pp. 38-39) and the "need for self-esteem" for Johnson owing to "a monumental inferiority complex" that stemmed from his poor background (p. 45).

In the case of Nkrumah, however, his mythic oratory of a Valiant Leader did not seem to stem from the need to 'fix' an image problem in his personality. On the contrary, it was a means of affirming his charismatic personage, leading to the promotion of confidence and (re-)assurance in his personal belief in the Unite or Perish myth and the projection of his values as a leader with integrity. His articulation of valiant leadership as a necessary component of the Unite or Perish myth can be found in proclamations such as "We prefer self-government with danger to servitude

in tranquility" (Nkrumah, 18/02/61)[40], depicting an image of fearlessness in a Valiant Leader who is leading a group of equally brave people. The self-acclaimed bravado in this assertion, though not verifiable, is suggested tacitly by Nkrumah to be obvious. We, thus, find language in the service of myth.

It is quite interesting that Nkrumah says the people of Africa prefer self-government with danger, especially when he had argued in several places that the pursuit for African freedom and unification was a pursuit for both continental and global peace. That is, colonialism, to Nkrumah, had to be expunged in order to rid Africa and the world of danger. Again, it will be rather surprising for one to believe that the people of Africa will naturally prefer perilous times to tranquility as is claimed by Nkrumah. Hence, his enunciation of this supposed shared belief in and acceptance of danger by all Africans functions simplistically and ideologically to project himself and the people of Africa as battle-ready to achieve their aims to the letter. This is necessary to give meaning and a sense of purpose to the Unite or Perish myth as a worthy cause as well as rationalize any challenges that will be encountered in the process of pursuing the dream of a Union Government of Africa. The acceptance of danger wholeheartedly also contributes to Nkrumah's discourse of emotionalization evident throughout the analysis by taking advantage of the mood in Africa at the time and which enables him to promote the Unite or Perish myth even if he does not advance a sound argumentation. That is, despite the challenge at hand, if Nkrumah's audience or Africans believe that they are being led by a gallant man, they may be persuaded into thinking that they can surmount every challenge.

From the analysis, it was found that Nkrumah's creation of an image of a Valiant Leader was achieved in three main ways: (1) oratorically asserting his courage and determination; (2) logically associating himself with God's work and (3) establishing a relationship with Ghanaians and Africans in a way that makes them pledge their loyalty, albeit they may be uncertain of the future. In terms of asserting his courage and authority, Nkrumah does this by his overwhelming focus on his identified Conspiratorial Enemy. With the assumption that this enemy is unappeasably dedicated to the destruction of his people and is, therefore, on an implacable advance to conquer, Nkrumah is presented with an occasion to display his courage by defeating this enemy. As already

[40] This statement was also the motto of the *Accra Evening News* founded by Nkrumah in 1948.

noted, the Conspiratorial Enemy of Africa identified by Nkrumah is (neo-)colonialism and imperialism. Hence, like his discursive construction of the Conspiratorial Enemy, the conceptualization of a Valiant Leader who will lead the people of Africa to the 'Promised Land' of the 'United States of Africa' comes to the fore as a result of Nkrumah's position against and attitude towards (neo-)colonialism and imperialism. The concordance lines of 'neo-colonialism', one of the derived frequent lexical words of the COND, have been used to exemplify Nkrumah's mythic creation of the Valiant Leader by asserting his authority.

Table 6: Sample concordances of ***neocolonialism*** in the COND

1	will be the devious ways of the **neocolonialism** by which the imperialists hope to
2	when insidious infiltrations of **neocolonialism**. The argument falls to the
3	and the present-day intrigues of **neocolonialism** have hammered home the conviction
4	for African states to beware of **neocolonialism**, which was associated with the United
5	in 1965 with the publication of **Neocolonialism** – the last stage of imperialism, I
6	steeped, we see the hydra-headed **neocolonialism** slowly but clearly emerging but that
7	Portugal is an example of early **neocolonialism** of the early 19th century. Once the
8	and the enemy is colonialism and **neocolonialism**. Let us be very clear about this
9	not coexist with colonialism or **neocolonialism**. There can never be coexistence
10	have to drive imperialism and **neocolonialism** out of our own borders. It is well

As already mentioned, apart from colonialism and imperialism, Nkrumah takes a stance against neo-colonialism, a term which he coined in his 1965 book, *Neo-colonialism: The last stage of imperialism* (Rahaman et al., p. 1) and which is referred to in line 5. This negative stance against neo-colonialism reinforces his image as a Valiant Leader and is expressed in the concordance lines in Table 6. Unlike colonialism and imperialism where there is direct military control of a territory, neo-colonialism refers to the situation where there is the use of capitalism, globalization and other political or cultural pressures (usually by former colonial powers) to control or influence affairs in former dependencies (Nkrumah, 1965). He explains that it "is the situation we find in a country where a colonial power grants nominal political independence to a territory; but sees to it that the control of the economic arrangements of the territory are still in the hands of the ex-colonial power, which is thereby able to dominate its economy and, indirectly, the state apparatus" (p. 86). So, in post-independence Africa, Nkrumah opposes this phenomenon and by this opposition portrays the image of someone who has great courage and is a potent leader.

The concordance lines reveal the treachery of neo-colonialism as a greater evil or as being more dangerous than colonialism. Consequently, Nkrumah warns independent African states 'to beware of neo-colonialism' (line 4) given its 'devious ways' (line 1), 'subtle and insidious infiltrations' (line 2) and 'intrigues' (line 3). This vigilant posture adopted by Nkrumah creates the impression that he is a courageous leader who has the supreme interest of Africa at heart; hence, he is neither afraid to reveal the machinations of neo-colonialism nor identify who they are. Specially, he identifies the United Kingdom and the United States (line 4) and Portugal (line 7) to be associated with neo-colonialism. The various attributions given to neo-colonialism also perform a predicational function (Wodak et al., 2009) in which specific words, epithets or descriptors are used to directly represent the values and characteristics of social actors and social concepts in order to malign (as in the present instance) or applaud them. Reisigl and Wodak (2001, p. 52) also point out that predicational strategies provide "the very basic process and result of linguistically assigning qualities to persons, animals, objects, events, actions and social phenomena". Hence, by assigning extremely negative qualities to neo-colonialism and by extension to whomever the neo-colonialists were, Nkrumah sets up the people of Africa against them by tacitly advocating the concept of alliance vs. opposition. The pejorative predication given to neo-colonialism is intensified by its designation with the epithet 'hydra-headed' (line 6).

Alluding to Greek mythology, this metaphorical assignation which likens neo-colonialism to a monster (for example, the Lernaean many-headed water serpent that Hercules had to kill as the second of his Twelve Labors) suggests that to Nkrumah, the Conspiratorial Enemy, neo-colonialism, was even more dangerous than colonialism and imperialism, albeit it appeared innocuous. Hence, rather than rest on his laurel of achieving Ghana's independence and spearheading the renaissance of African liberation on the Continent, Nkrumah's discourse reveals that he was more concerned with the hydra-headed neo-colonialism whose heads needed to be cut in order to consolidate the gains that had been made with respect to African freedom via the establishment of a Union Government of Africa. If neo-colonialism were a hydra-headed monster as Nkrumah claims, then a mighty man of valor with great courage and bravado like that of Hercules will be needed to vanquish it. Using the topos of history as teacher (Wodak et al., 2009), he adduces historical evidence (citing Portugal – line 7) to strengthen his argumentation against neo-colonialism before personifying neo-colonialism, just as he had done for colonialism and imperialism, as the new enemy (line 8) via category work.

Thus, as the Valiant Leader, Nkrumah suggests to his followers that it is of utmost importance that Africa does not lose sight of this target object; on the contrary, it must always be kept within shooting range and fired at. Nkrumah's identification of neo-colonialism as the 'new enemy' is important to the Unite or Perish myth because, first, it represents Nkrumah as a Valiant Leader with the ability to keep what he regards as Africa's only hope of survival alive. Second, it is important because without it, there will be no need for Africa to unite since it will be expected that the threat of the old enemy (colonialism) should naturally come to an end once self-government of all African states or African independence had been obtained. By establishing neo-colonialism as the new enemy, however, Nkrumah is able to advance the plot of African unity as an essential social narrative by transferring all the evil characteristics of colonialism onto neo-colonialism and to associate it with new evils, making a Union Government of Africa justifiable. As already argued, by considering colonialism and neo-colonialism to be similar as suggested by the cluster 'colonialism or neo-colonialism' (line 9) and 'imperialism and neo-colonialism' (line 10), Nkrumah adopts a sameness strategy that accentuates certain semantic aspects and conceals or eliminates others (see Linell, 1998) depending on how these semantic aspects serve his political motives.

Nkrumah's use of 'neo-colonialism' can also be analyzed as a neologism – that is, a word that has been formed, coined or couched by merging previously existing words or by exploiting word formation processes or by assigning new meaning to an existing word or phrase (Richardson, 2007, p. 69). I argue that this linguistic formation, together with other coinages of Nkrumah found in the corpus such as 'consciencism' and the 'United States of Africa', constitutes an intensely politicized social process with associative meanings of domination, slavery and oppression that relate to other discursive phenomena such as race, African identity and African security. All this positively evaluates the Unite or Perish myth and imbues a Union Government of Africa with super powers capable of resolving every conundrum on the Continent. As Kelsey (2015) finds in his discourse-mythological analysis of the 'blitz spirit' with the use of the term 'Londonistan', neologisms can function ideologically in political myth-making by enabling social and political actors to coin terms that serve their socio-political purposes even when the evidence from reality that supports their mythic proposition is inadequate or is completely unavailable. Thus, Nkrumah's use of 'neo-colonialism' and other coinages can also be seen as buzzwords (see Cheng, 2004) which help

Nkrumah to promote the Unite or Perish myth and to enable him to strongly, forcefully and effectively carry his message across to his audience.

The extreme manner in which Nkrumah personally asserted his courage, giving evidence of his projection of a Valiant Leader image, is reinforced in the extract below. Here, he uses the personal pronoun 'I' to underlie his personal involvement in and commitment to the pursuit of the African unification goal and to emphatically state that as a leader, he is bold and daring and fears no foe, especially colonialism and imperialism.

> (4) … ***For my part***, ***I*** must say that as long as ***I*** live, and as long as any little vestige of colonialism and imperialism remains in Africa, ***I shall*** prosecute a ***ruthless war on these monsters, a war in which there shall be no truce***. Colonialism and imperialism have no honor, no shame, no morals, and conscience. (Casablanca Conference, 1961)

Clearly, this statement directly invokes an image of a Valiant Leader by Nkrumah – perhaps exaggeratedly too – claiming that he is no coward and is, therefore, ever ready and determined to launch a brutal attack, so to speak, on colonialism and imperialism, the Conspiratorial Enemy of Africa, forming a central part of the measures being put in place to realize the all-important dream of African unity. The use of the personal pronouns 'I' and 'my' gives credibility to Nkrumah's valiant posture and this is reinforced by the prepositional phrase 'for my part' and the normative-deontic modal 'shall'. Further amplifying Nkrumah's credibility as well as realizing an intensification and a hyperbolic function, the conditional clauses 'as long as I live' and 'as long as any little vestige of colonialism and imperialism remains in Africa' give the connotation that Nkrumah is prepared to personally see to it that the independence of Africa and the subsequent unification of the Continent is achieved at all cost. Thus, Nkrumah again associates the Unite or Perish myth with the persuasive force of inevitability, irreversibility and inexorability in spite of the practical constraints associated with it. The solemn oath taken by Nkrumah and the allegiance he unwaveringly pledges to the concept of African unity, owing to his use of the conditional clauses, can be regarded as a way of motivating other African heads and the people of Africa to follow his example or toe his line in the ultimate interest of Africa. This buttresses Rodgers' (2003, p. 200) argument that as an essential social narrative, "myth forms to offer exemplary models for social life".

Typical of myth to provide explanations and justifications (Geis, 1987), Nkrumah tries to explain why colonialism and imperialism must be vanquished, evaluating them deprecatorily with a list of derogatory attributes ('no honor, no shame, no morals and conscience') and the monster metaphor which exaggerates the malicious intent of the colonialists and provokes fear and panic. In essence, the description given to colonialism and imperialism goes to suggest that the colonialists or imperialists are crazy in the head and are, therefore, capable of carrying out any conceivable or unthinkable evil. However, this mythical (and not empirical) explanation can be contested and may not be wholly true. Yet, it is presented as if it were absolute – as is expected of myth – and with the presupposition that the whole of Africa shares in it as well. It is this explanation or justification that validates the action that Nkrumah intends to take, as a Valiant Leader, against colonialism and imperialism: 'to prosecute a ruthless war on these monsters, a war in which there shall be no truce'.

Once again, an intensification strategy is employed by Nkrumah in that, despite the fact that the metaphorical expression 'war' is already powerful and invokes powerful images of bloodshed, violence and military action, it is modified by the attributive adjective 'ruthless' which also activates explicit images of brutality and mercilessness. In addition, the verb 'prosecute' has legal undertones, thereby legitimizing the declared war on colonialism and imperialism, and also expresses the notion to continue with a course of action with a view to achieving completion. The combined use of these words (i.e., 'ruthless', 'war' and 'prosecute') emphasizes, thus, the Valiant Leader image constructed by Nkrumah and the intensity with which he engages the Unite or Perish myth.

Another example from Nkrumah's declaration of Ghana's independence speech which illustrates his portrayal of a Valiant Leader image has been presented in (5).

> (5) … Also, I want to thank ***the valiant ex-servicemen*** who have so cooperated with me in ***this mighty task*** of freeing our country from foreign rule and imperialism … Today, from now on, there is a new African in the world, that new African is ready ***to fight his own battle*** and show that after all the black man is capable of managing his own affairs … ***We have won the battle and again rededicate ourselves to the struggle to emancipate other territories in Africa***. (Declaration of Ghana's Independence, 1957)

Nkrumah's use of the epithet 'valiant' to designate the ex-servicemen who played supporting roles in Ghana's independence struggle (evidenced by the predication 'cooperated with me') implies that he, as the principal actor, was certainly a Valiant Leader. This is reinforced by his use of

'mighty task' to describe the attainment of independence which implies that if a might task, then a mighty man of valor like himself was equally needed to execute it. Importantly, the independence of Ghana is linked with the emancipation of other territories in Africa as revealed by the statement 'We have won the battle and again rededicate ourselves to the struggle to emancipate other territories in Africa'. This not only foregrounds Nkrumah as a Valiant Leader who is not afraid to confront greater difficulties or tackle more severe problems but also projects him as a selfless leader who wants not just the wellbeing of Ghana but that of an entire continent. The use of the verb 'rededicate' connotes sacrifice and devotion to a worthy cause and in combination with words such as 'battle', 'fight', 'valiant' and 'struggle' emphasize the effort, courage and boldness necessary to ensure African emancipation and, subsequently, a political continental federation.

Using Ghana as a case in point, Nkrumah intimates that a Valiant Leader was still going to be needed in the post-independence period since Ghana/Africa would have to continue to 'fight battles' to consolidate the freedom and independence attained via "the creation of unity and community between the free African states" (Nkrumah, 08/12/58) and to prove her mettle to the world. In this way, he positions himself favorably before the people as that Valiant Leader whom they can trust or count on. By asserting that 'the new African will show the world that after all the black man is capable of managing his own affairs', I argue that a thesis motivated by a will to govern is communicated by Nkrumah which results in his being perceived as a strong and skillful political leader capable of making informed choices about external forces such as neo-colonialism and offering timely solutions (e.g., a Union Government of Africa) to such threats.

Gaining the confidence of the masses in this way, Charteris-Black (2005) notes, is a very effective component of political myth because "it encourages the public to rely on valiant leaders who are able to make the decisions necessary to ensure their wellbeing" (p. 154). Nkrumah's construction of the Valiant image then becomes a positive evaluation of the Unite or Perish myth that invites acceptance of drastic and dramatic change in the form of a 'United States of Africa'. Beyond this invitation, there is a subtle imposition on Ghanaians/Africans since the tone of Nkrumah's utterance suggests that the people of Ghana/Africa have embraced his vision and have already rededicated themselves to the greater task of emancipating the whole of Africa and later forming a Union Government. Interestingly, the noun phrase 'the black man' is used as a metonym for 'the

people of Africa', thereby extending the invitation – and indeed the imposition – to accept the Unite or Perish myth to all peoples of African descent both within and outside Africa.

Nkrumah's creation of the Valiant Leader image is also realized by his logical association with God's work. Given that the Ghanaian/African society is very religious and so the belief in one or more gods is prevalent, it will not be misleading to submit that a leader who identifies himself or herself with the acts of that deity or those gods stands to benefit a lot. To demonstrate this point, I have culled some examples from two speeches that epitomize Nkrumah's association with the work of God: the declaration of independence speech and the motion of independence speech.

> (6) But today, may I call upon you all that at this great day, let us all remember that nothing in the world can be done ***unless it had the purported support of God***. … Let us now, fellow Ghanaians, ***let us now ask for God's blessings*** and for only two seconds, in your thousands and millions I want to ask you to pause for only one minute and ***give thanks to Almighty God for having led us*** through obstacles, difficulties, imprisonments, hardships, and sufferings to have brought us to the end of our troubles today. (Declaration of Ghana's Independence, 1957)
>
> (7) Mr. Speaker, it is with great humility that I stand before my countrymen and before the representatives of Britain to ask this House to give assent to this Motion. In this solemn hour, I am deeply conscious of the grave implications of what we are about to consider and, ***as the great honor of proposing this Motion has fallen to my lot, I pray God to grant me the wisdom, strength, and endurance to do my duty as it should be done***. … ***Now God be thanked, who has matched us*** with His hour. I beg to move. (Motion of Independence, 1953)

The effect, if not the intent, of Nkrumah's association with God creates an image of Nkrumah as a Valiant Leader in that he indirectly states that God's work is Nkrumah's work. That is, by leading Ghana's independence struggle, Nkrumah suggests that he was, in fact, doing the work of God (thereby qualifying himself as a Valiant Leader). Consequently, he petitions God 'to grant me the wisdom, strength and endurance to do my duty as it should be done' (7). By this petition, he assumes the role of a High Priest and makes intercession on behalf of his people, thereby characterizing himself as a Valiant Leader. This intercessory role is expressly captured in the opening sentence in (7) where Nkrumah states that he is literally standing before his countrymen and before the representatives of Britain to ask the British parliament to give approval to Ghana's request for independence. His assertion in (6) that God has 'led us through obstacles, difficulties, imprisonments, hardships and sufferings …" when in reality he was the one who led the struggle equates him with God and foregrounds his image as a valiant warrior (or a Valiant Leader) whom

despite the adversity remained resolute. In this regard, the use of the expression 'purported support of God' in (6) somewhat de-emphasizes the role that Nkrumah claims God played in Ghana's independence struggle and projects his gallantry as a Valiant Leader who rather played the role of God. The reference to the difficulties, hardships, imprisonments, sufferings and obstacles encountered is worthy of note and can be analyzed as national narration of historical sacrifice (see Wodak et al., 2009) that makes it necessary for everything to be done to prevent such sorrows and miseries from recurring in the future.

To the extent that at the end of his speech, Nkrumah established a direct link between Ghana's independence and the independence of Africa, it can be inferred that the sorrows and miseries of Ghana's independence which must be prevented from recurring also apply to the rest of Africa. To buttress this position, immediately after Ghana's independence, Nkrumah, in analyzing the African situation, suggested the way forward if these hardships and sufferings were to be barred from occurring again anywhere in Africa. In one speech, he stated: "As I have stated elsewhere, there are three alternatives open to African states: firstly, to unite and save our continent; secondly, to disunite and disintegrate; or, thirdly, to sell out. In other words: either to unite, or to stand separately and disintegrate, or to sell ourselves to foreign powers" (Nkrumah, 06/08/60). Here, there is a definite and categorical communication of the Unite or Perish myth as the only preventive measure to any future sorrows and miseries in Africa and the persuasive force behind it is strengthened by the clause 'As I have stated elsewhere', which realizes a manifest intertextual function and which can be interpreted to mean that Nkrumah started to promote the Unite or Perish myth immediately after Ghana's independence. The analysis above together with Nkrumah's pontification on the three options available to Africa, thus, points to a Valiant Leader who identifies himself with the work of God, especially with the use of 'save', and, therefore, has the ability to save Africa from peril.

Even though Nkrumah does not specifically mention 'death' as part of the sufferings, hardships and difficulties referred to in (6), it is implied and, therefore, deducible from the extract. Hence, another point I wish to make pertaining to Nkrumah's use of national narration of historical sacrifice as it relates to his construction of the Valiant Leader image is his reference in his speeches to people like Patrice Lumumba and other African nationalists who died during the struggle for African independence or African nationalism. Of Lumumba, Nkrumah says: "Africa shall always

remember him as one of its greatest sons who laid down his life that Africa might be free" (Nkrumah, 14/02/61). And speaking of other African nationalists who had died such as Maurice Mpolo and Joseph Okito, Nkrumah says: "But their spirit is not dead, nor are the things for which they stood: African freedom, the unity and independence of Africa and the final and complete destruction of colonialism and imperialism" (Nkrumah, 14/02/61). Nkrumah's glowing tribute to these African nationalists can be analyzed as an elevation and a transformation of death into sacrifice through national remembrance, which is a very effective component of political mythic themes (Kelsey, 2015). The importance of this national narration of historical sacrifice to the myth Nkrumah promotes derives from the view that by stating that these individuals found the independence and unity of Africa to be extremely important to the extent that they were prepared to die for this cause, Nkrumah elevates the discourse on African unity to a level of sacrosanctity that suggests that it is worthy of all forms of sacrifice, including death.

Nkrumah's reference to this historical sacrifice of former African nationalists is even more important because it indirectly imposes an obligation on the rest of Africa to accept the Unite or Perish myth and to form the Union Government of Africa if for no other reason at all in honor of the memory of these valiant individuals. It can be asserted that to die for a cause one believes in is the highest demonstration of valiance or gallantry. Hence, by associating himself with and paying tribute to those who had died in the pursuit of African unity, Nkrumah equally constructs himself as valiant with the added extrapolation that being alive, he has the courage and determination to continue the work of those who have fallen in battle for Africa's freedom and unity. By positioning himself in this way, Nkrumah represents himself as one whom the people of Africa can bank on and put their hope and confidence in as far as their wellbeing is concerned.

One function of myth is to recount "stories that help remind us who we are collectively and individually" (O' Donnell, 2003, p. 238). In this regard, the national narration of historical sacrifice, it can be said, becomes crucial to the promotion of a political myth. Further, I argue that Nkrumah's mentioning of people like Lumumba, Mpolo and Okito has a rhetorical effect of nostalgia and, therefore, has a powerful rhetorical appeal given its emotional resonance for the people of Africa and the identification it creates between Nkrumah and his audience. This is an effective strategy in the creation and promotion of a political myth because the use of nostalgia "invokes an idealized, mythologized past to find/construct sources of identity, agency, or

community, that are felt to be lacking, blocked, subverted, or threatened in the present" (Tannock, 1995, p. 454 quoted in Charteris-Black 2005, p. 131). Nkrumah, thus, employed nostalgia to create an association with valiant leaders of the past.

Another way Nkrumah associated himself with God as part of his construction of the Valiant Leader image was through his invocation of biblical language or biblical allusion and frequent use of Christian clichés and symbolism. One example has been given below to explain the point.

> (8) My first advice to you who are struggling to be free is to aim for the attainment of ***the political kingdom*** – that is to say, the complete independence and self-determination of your territories. When you have achieved ***the political kingdom***, all else will follow. ***Only*** with the acquisition of the political power – real power through the attainment of sovereign independence – will you be in a position to reshape the vexations problems which harass our continent. (All-African People's Conference, 1958)

Using the metaphor of 'political kingdom' as the panacea to all of Africa's challenges (which he calls 'vexations', bringing to the fore the added meanings of irritability, frustration and exasperation), Nkrumah alludes to the biblical text that says, "but seek ye first the kingdom of God and its righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you" (Matthew 6: 33). Indeed, his adaptation of this verse "seek ye first the political kingdom and all else shall be added unto you" (Nkrumah, 01/01/60), as one of his famous sayings, substantiates this view. That is, to Nkrumah, the political independence of all African territories was a sine qua non to the economic growth, industrial stability and general transformation of the Continent. In other words, it is this political kingdom that will naturally culminate into a Union Government of Africa. By pontificating (via the use of 'only') that African liberation and unification was the sole means to Africa's progress, we see a kind of mythic thinking founded on an archetypical story that appears to hold a natural and an eternal essence (Barthes, 1972).

As stated earlier, one of the functions of political myths is to arouse emotions in a bid to bolster loyalty and create social cohesion. Hence, Nkrumah's use of 'only' can also be analyzed as a means of triggering fear in his audience to take pragmatic steps towards the direction of his goals. At the time of delivering this speech, Nkrumah had already achieved independence for Ghana, so he might be suggesting to his audience that he had already demonstrated courage, boldness and bravado by acquiring the political kingdom (i.e., political power). And was now charging other African leaders with the same mandate. It is worthy of note that he refers to the political kingdom

as ‘real power’, meaning that it is people who demonstrate a certain level of might, like himself, who can obtain such power. Therefore, ‘to aim for the attainment of the political kingdom’ (and actually achieve it), as Nkrumah puts it in the first line, can be interpreted to mean demonstrating valiant and potent leadership, especially since such an achievement puts a leader in good position to ‘reshape the vexations problems which harass our continent’.

The metaphorical use of ‘political kingdom’ is also important because it directly corresponds with the formation of the ‘United States of Africa’. For instance, at the founding of the Organization of Africa Unity, Nkrumah stated that “African unity is above all a political kingdom which can only be gained by political means [for] the social and economic development of Africa will come only within the political kingdom, not the other way round” (Nkrumah, 24/05/63). He then likened the African political kingdom (i.e., the Union Government of Africa) to the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Indeed, the proposed name coined by Nkrumah for the Union Government (i.e., the ‘United States of Africa’) is a direct adaptation of the United States of America. This neologism can be seen as a powerful manipulative social process in that it (un)consciously primes anyone who hears it, especially the people of Africa, to think that coming out of colonialism, the African situation was similar to the American situation and so a Union Government of Africa should definitely be on the cards. In addition, it gives the impression that the ‘United States of Africa’, when or if formed, was going to be a world superpower and as successful as the United States of America.

This direct comparison between the yet to be formed ‘United States of Africa’ and the United States of America can be seen as a manipulation of history in order to use it as a tool to validate future actions (Wodak et al., 2009). Phrased slightly differently, it presents a selective, simplistic and lopsided account of the past in order to advance the Unite or Perish myth. Apart from the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Nkrumah also makes historical and intertextual references to South America, India and China and establishes a direct or an indirect connection between the past, present and future as far as these countries on one hand and Africa on another hand are concerned with respect to his use of the political kingdom metaphor. The point to be made, though, is that the dynamics and the peculiar contextual factors of the African situation vis-à-vis these countries in terms of colonialism and the formation of a continental federation were quite different. By speaking in this manner, however, Nkrumah casts

himself in the frame of a Valiant Leader who, as shown in (8), is able to offer advice to the masses, assuage their fears and to assure them that all else will follow or every other thing will be added onto them once the political kingdom of a Union Government of Africa is formed. That is, the Valiant Leader that he is, he is in full control of the situation and is making concrete decisions that will safeguard their future and guarantee their welfare and prosperity. There is, therefore, no cause for alarm.

Finally, Nkrumah's depiction of a Valiant Leader is advanced by his construction of the masses or the public as dutiful and loyal followers who are willing to believe in him as he leads them into an uncertain future. He does this by either directly appealing for their support or imposing on them certain responsibilities. With respect to the latter, he indirectly calls on Ghanaians to place national interest above personal parochial interest, and be ready to contribute their quota to the development and betterment of Ghana and Africa. The extracts below illustrate how Nkrumah makes effort to establish a kind of relationship with the masses as is expected of any Valiant Leader.

(9) ***I am depending upon the millions of the country, the chiefs and people to help me to reshape the destiny of this country***. ***We are prepared*** to build it up and make it a nation that will be respected by every other nation in the world. ***We know we are going to have difficult beginnings, but again***, ***I am relying upon your support*** … ***We are going to demonstrate to the world, to the other nations***, young as we are that ***we are prepared*** to lay our own foundations. (Declaration of Ghana's Independence, 1957)

(10) Mr. Speaker, never in the history of the world has an alien ruler granted self-rule to a people on a silver platter. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I say that a people's readiness and ***willingness to assume the responsibilities*** of self-rule is the single criterion of their ***preparedness to undertake those responsibilities***. (Motion of Independence, 1953)

In these extracts, it can be inferred that Nkrumah takes on the role of a Valiant Leader and casts the people in the role of dutiful and faithful followers either by directly appealing to them for assistance or by indirectly tasking them with responsibilities he expects them to carry out. His use of constructions such as 'we are going to have difficulties', 'we are prepared to build', 'we are prepared to lay our foundations', 'we are going to see that we create', 'never on a silver platter' and noun forms such as 'readiness', 'preparedness' and 'willingness' are indicative of how a leader projects himself/herself as one who is very much aware of the herculean task ahead and yet remains undaunted by them, as s/he is ready to confront them head-on. That is, Nkrumah purports that he

does not shrink from responsibilities, but welcomes them; a gallant leader posture that is likely to appeal to the masses and make them pledge their support for and loyalty to him. The destiny of Ghana that Nkrumah refers to in (9) and which he says must be reshaped by having all hands on deck is tied up with the destiny of Africa because, to him, not a single independent African state coming out of colonialism could pursue a path of economic reconstruction all by itself. By linking the destiny of Ghana with that of Africa, Nkrumah is able to prepare the ground for the myth of the 'United States of Africa', and this is the narrative framework on which the destiny of Ghana and Africa hinges. The joining of the destiny of Ghana and Africa also means that like the people of Ghana, the people of Africa are constructed in the role of loyal followers whose support and action are required to reshape Africa's destiny. In carrying out the valiant task of neutralizing Africa's Conspiratorial Enemy, Nkrumah indicates that a complete deposition (and not a substantial modification) of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism is the only available option. Consequently, he is projected not only as a Valiant Leader, but also as a Noble Revolutionary who will revolutionize the whole of Africa. This reflects populist traits (will be extensively discussed in Chapter 6) and forms another aspect of the Unite or Perish myth as a discourse of resistance.

4.4 The Noble Revolutionary

Geis (1987, p. 30) defines the Noble Revolutionary myth as "the attempt to overthrow any oppressive government is per se justified", suggesting a conflictual relationship between opposing forces. It is my view, however, that it should not be limited to an 'oppressive government', and so should be extended to include purported oppressive ideas (like neo-colonialism in this study), repressive constructs, suppressive ideologies, unjust laws, etc. I also submit that the existence of a Noble Revolutionary results in the mythic creation of heroes and villains as will be demonstrated in this section of the analysis. I have, therefore, redefined this concept as "the attempt to overthrow any oppressive government or a law, a concept, an idea, etc. that one considers unjust is per se justified, and it invariably results in the creation of a heroic leader". The importance of a Noble Revolutionary derives from the view that the creation and promotion of the Unite or Perish myth entails the overthrow of an existing regime (i.e., colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism) and the formation of a revolutionary republic (i.e., the 'United States of Africa').

Thus, the thesis on which Nkrumah's formulation of the Noble Revolutionary hinges is a corollary of his identification of Africa's Conspiratorial Enemy and his construction of a Valiant Leader image such that they are effectively combined into a coherent narrative that vindicates the establishment of a Union Government of Africa. Accordingly, when Nkrumah mobilizes support against the Conspiratorial Enemy of Africa as part of his valiant leadership, he can be seen as promoting a social and political revolution against an evil government, a regime or social order in favor of a new system in the form of a continental federation. The frequent words derived from the corpus that throw light on the conceptualization of the Noble Revolutionary as it relates to the Unite or Perish myth include 'revolution', 'liberation', 'emancipation' and 'rebellion'. Some of the relevant clusters based on the collocates of these words include 'African revolution', 'African liberation', 'African emancipation', 'our revolution', 'positive rebellion', 'national liberation' and 'complete emancipation'. Some of these are further discussed.

Table 7: Sample concordances of ***African liberation*** in the COND

1	role being played by Ghana in the	**African liberation** movement I have decided to
2	our party as a vanguard of the	**African liberation** movement impose upon us increasing
3	of the greatest architects of the	**African liberation** movement. This library
4	as himself to the exciting task of	**African liberation** and African unity. I do not
5	his life to the noble struggle for	**African liberation**. Comrades, ladies and
6	the party and the government. The	**African liberation** struggle is gaining fresh
7	the effort to stay the advance of	**African liberation** and the march to unity. It is
8	your programs, the struggle for the	**African liberation** movement for freedom and

Nkrumah's emphasis on African liberation which results in his creation of a Noble Revolutionary that promotes the Unite or Perish myth can be seen in line 1 where the important role being played by Ghana towards African liberation is explicitly stated. That is, in order for the Union Government of Africa to be formed, a political revolution must, first, sweep across the continent "with African nationalism as the liberating sword" (Nkrumah, 15/06/61). In essence, African liberation, which Nkrumah says he and Ghana are spearheading and which is the solemn duty or vocation of the Noble Revolutionary, then becomes a precursor to African unity, as indicated in lines 4 and 7. Although reference is made to Ghana's contribution to the African liberation struggle in line 1, there is an immediate switch to the use of 'I' ('I have decided to create a Ministry of African Affairs') as if to suggest that Ghana and Nkrumah are the selfsame thing. This achieves a sameness strategy that realizes the ideological function of demanding the commitment of the

people of Ghana to the Unite or Perish myth. Nkrumah's qualification of the part Ghana/he is playing ('increasingly important' – line 1) and the use of the progressive 'being' (line 1) (indicative of continuous engagement) apart from intensifying and strengthening the force of his utterance give a subtle indication of his role as a revolutionary leader. That is, he and the people of Ghana are bringing about a complete transformation on the Continent by forcibly overthrowing the evil colonial government or regime and "to erect in its place a union of free independent African states" (Nkrumah, 27/01/62). Even though Ghana is mentioned, I maintain that it is Nkrumah that is indirectly foregrounded as the Noble Revolutionary because, clearly, the ordinary citizens of Ghana are not directly involved in the 'high level' meetings, discussions, deliberations, etc. taking place to bring about African liberation.

By deciding to create a Ministry of African Affairs when Ghana already had a Foreign Affairs Ministry, I argue that Nkrumah's discursive positioning as a revolutionist is further heightened. That is, he is very much committed to the noble cause of African liberation that he wants a special ministry to exclusively focus attention on and direct all their energies towards the realization of this goal. Indeed, the use of the expression 'I have decided to create' is enlightening in that it emphasizes an active engagement and an intentional involvement in a pursuit that one considers worthy. This information is likely to be (un-)consciously processed by the audience positively, making them, for instance, believe that they are being led in a positive revolution that will ultimately result in a Union Government of Africa. The audience, is therefore, primed (Hoey, 2005) to support African liberation and to accept any future action that will be taken to attain this goal as appropriate and legitimate. In line 2, it is claimed by Nkrumah that his party, the Convention People's Party, is at the 'vanguard of the African liberation movement', implying that he, as founder and chairman, is at the forefront of or is leading the way in the promotion of African liberation as a party ideology. Just as Nkrumah considers himself and Ghana as one and the same entity, he does same with the Convention People's Party, thereby naturalizing his ideology and mythology into the consciousness of the masses.

To Nkrumah, African liberation is an 'exciting task' (line 4) and a 'noble struggle' (line 5) and he pays glowing tribute to George Padmore as 'one of the greatest architects of the African liberation movement' (line 3). Thus, he presents the idea of African liberation in a positive light and directly and indirectly positions himself against any challengers or adversaries of this view, especially with

his use of the words ‘task’ and ‘struggle’. In the remaining lines (lines 6-8), Nkrumah picks on the (perceived) foes of African liberation and any ‘forces’ that want to prevent the advancement of this course, maintaining that African liberation is ‘gaining fresh victories every day’ (line 6), despite the challenges. The idea of a Noble Revolutionary is, thus, correlated with the construction of a Conspiratorial Enemy to highlight the importance of countering any forces standing in the way of Africa’s liberation, especially since it is Africa’s liberation that will prepare the necessary ground for a Union Government of Africa. Dynamic verb processes such as ‘massing their forces’, ‘stay the advance of African liberation’ and ‘gaining fresh victories every day’ emphasize the militant confrontational attitude towards the opponents of Africa’s liberation and the radical approach to be adopted against them, thereby suggesting that African liberation is a philosophy to be upheld, pursued and defended at all cost.

These verb processes, given their military or confrontational tone, also emphasize the use of force that is typically applied in a revolution, underscoring a conflictual situation between opposing forces and validating an attack on an oppressive force in order to defeat it. As mentioned at the outset of this section, the idea of a Noble Revolutionary justifies any attempt to overthrow any entity that is deemed suppressive, repressive and exploitative. Hence, Nkrumah’s use of expressions that connote warfare or actual combat can be seen as a way of building momentum and increasing morale among the people of Africa in order to ready them for the mission of toppling the colonial government, defeating neo-colonialism and establishing a new revolutionary republic, the ‘United States of Africa’. The use of ‘movement’ (‘African liberation movement’) in nearly all the concordance lines is also instructive in that it depicts the idea of a group of people (here, mostly Africans) working together to advance their shared socio-political ideas, which may not be in concurrence with some other groups of people (here, the West especially). Consequently, the notion of an alliance vs. an opposition (see Bhatia, 2015) which is necessary in igniting and leading a revolution is invoked. And since it is referred to as an ‘African Movement’, it presupposes that all Africans by default must pledge allegiance to this revolutionary movement and support its current objective of African freedom and its future goal of African unification. The use of ‘movement’ also implies the presence of a committed and spirited leader at the helm so that without necessarily saying it, the audience can take for granted that Nkrumah, given his positive evaluation of this movement, is one of such noble leaders of the campaign or crusade, if not the main or only leader.

Table 8: Sample concordances of ***African emancipation*** in the COND

1	to discuss the whole question of **African emancipation** and unity. The African leaders
2	African aspiration and progress, **African emancipation** and national unity. Our
3	and boldly into the struggle for **African emancipation**. We have proclaimed our firm
4	parties engage in the struggle for **African emancipation**. Its main task will be to
5	the Federation in the struggle for **African emancipation**. At this stage, it is
6	direct the freedom movement for **African emancipation**. I would like to mention that
7	of Africa play the struggle for **African emancipation**? What part can the women of
8	world play in the struggle for **African emancipation**? You must ask these questions

Nkrumah's framing of a Noble Revolutionary as an integral aspect of the Unite or Perish myth is evident in Table 8 as he calls on various groups of people and units within the African society to support a well-intentioned revolution by contributing their quota to the advancement of African emancipation. In this regard, he calls on 'other African heads' (line 1), 'African political parties' (line 4), 'the African Trade Union Federation' (line 5) and the 'women of Africa and of African descent' (line 7) to rally their support for the complete emancipation of Africa since this freedom portends well for the Continent politically, economically and culturally. This revolutionary emancipation of Africa must then logically lead to African unity as highlighted by lines 1 and 2. By charging these various groups with such a mandate and indirectly asking them to engage in a political revolution, Nkrumah communicates the ideological position that African emancipation is a laudable idea worthy of support and active engagement; hence, a semantic prosody of desirability. In other words, the pursuit of African emancipation, Nkrumah suggests, will revolutionize the Continent by deposing the colonial government, dealing with the threat of neo-colonialism and, most importantly, creating a Union Government of Africa. Also, Nkrumah's imposition of the responsibility of African emancipation on the various African groupings can be interpreted as a means of imbuing his mythology with shared values, beliefs and identities. The creation of such unity, solidarity and sameness of purpose, especially when it derives from a shared past or history, is necessary to make the myth believable (Flood, 2002).

The persuasive force of the Unite or Perish myth is strengthened by Nkrumah's assertion in line 3 that Ghana and he have 'proclaimed a firm stand against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism'. By suggesting that not only is he advocating a political revolution but is also actively participating in it, Nkrumah engages in self-promotion that lends credence to his credibility and is, therefore, likely to receive endorsement from his audience. Again, his declaration that Ghana

had taken a firm position against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism signals how the formulation of the Noble Revolutionary is effectively combined with the construction of the Conspiratorial Enemy to accentuate the Unite or Perish myth as a cohesive and an integrated narrative account. It will not be far-fetched to state that Nkrumah's promotion of African emancipation as a desirable concept indirectly projects him as a noble leader promoting a worthy cause. The concordance lines in Table 7 is strengthened by the historical information that Nkrumah believed that all Africans, irrespective of their socio-economic status, background and education, needed to be involved in the struggle for African freedom (Botwe-Asamoah, 2005; Biney, 2011).

Consequently, when he convened the First All-African People's Conference in December 1958 in Accra, Ghana, he invited diverse groups of people and organizations across Africa, including all known nationalist organizations, youth groups, women groups and trade union groups (Uhuru Spirit: The Pan-Africanist Journal, 2012/2013). Indeed, the name of the Conference itself (*All-African People's*) gives an indication of the target audience: it embraces all Africans – male and female, young and old, poor and rich, literate and illiterate. Thus, we see a leader who casts himself in the mold of one interested in the total welfare of Africa and is, thus, summoning all Africans to contribute their quota in bringing about what in his estimation will be a complete, dramatic and positive change on the Continent, beginning with African emancipation and culminating into African unification.

Table 9: Sample concordances of ***African revolution*** in the COND

1	upsurge in Africa must be viewed. The **African revolution** represents a revolt against
2	Africa wherever they are needed. The **African revolution** is unalterably opposed to
3	feel pulse and intensity of the great **African revolution** taking place in our time
4	freedom and national unification the **African revolution** will not have completed
5	unity. His is the duty to guard our **African revolution** and see that it moves forward
6	and yet democratic governments in our **African revolution**, we must guard against the
7	and the tremendous unfolding of the **African revolution** which has spread with
8	but because of the strength of the **African revolution** which has already transformed
9	edition of Consciencism in 1964, the **African revolution** has decisively entered a
10	and waving placards: Long live the **African revolution** Long live Kwame Nkrumah, long
11	freedom and all our efforts in the **African revolution** to achieve the total
12	the peoples of Africa suffer. But the **African revolution** triumphs. As I said in my

In these concordance lines, it can be observed that the African revolution is presented as a useful concept that is attempting to overthrow an oppressive one (i.e., colonialism), so it must be 'guarded against any dangers' (line 6) and it must be seen to that 'it moves forward in the right direction' (line 5). The force it carries is so strong that it 'has spread with remarkable swiftness' across the Continent (line 7), resulting in the independence of several African states. The predication 'spread with remarkable swiftness' activates visual imagery of a large, destructive fire that spreads quickly over woodland or brush. This reification of African revolution transforms it from an abstraction into a concrete force capable of actualizing the goal of African freedom and African unity. And by conceptualizing African revolution in terms of a destructive natural force like a wildfire, it is represented as an unstoppable and inevitable force and, therefore, implying that a continental federation of all African states into a single nation is bound to happen come what may.

Such power of inevitability and inexorability attributed to African revolution in support of the Unite or Perish myth is important because over-the-top language, according to Thompson (1985), is one of the main persuasive features of a political mythology. The integration of the Noble Revolutionary with the Conspiratorial Enemy to advance the ideological position communicated by the Unite or Perish myth is again noticeable in that 'the African revolution represents a revolt against the inhuman exploitation and spoliation of Africa' (line 1) and is 'unalterably opposed to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism' (line 2). The use of 'revolt' also connotes violent action against an established system, reinforcing the aggressive approach to be implemented in the African revolution against any opposing entity. That is, the force that is applied in ousting the perceived oppressive colonial government and neo-colonialism in order to establish a Union Government of Africa that will dramatically turn around the fortunes of Africa is justifiable.

The African revolution is also described as a 'strong' ideology with 'transformative' power (line 8) and as innovating with events taking place at the time (line 9). We, therefore, get the sense that to Nkrumah's understanding, African revolution bodes well for Africa and accrues several advantages to the Continent, especially economically. So, African revolution will be 'long lasting' (line 10), 'continue to triumph' (line 12) and ensure 'the total liberation of the Continent' (line 11). Importantly, this revolution must necessarily result in 'national unification' of Africa without which it 'will not have completed its destined task' (line 4). Nkrumah's use of expressions such as 'spread with remarkable swiftness', 'already transformed most of Africa', decisively entered a new

phase', 'tremendous unfolding' and 'unalterably opposed' in reference to 'African revolution' positively evaluate the revolution, thereby making it justifiable, and indirectly ascribe certain positive attributes and outstanding qualities such as selflessness, fearlessness and inventiveness to the front-liners of the revolution; himself included. The intensification function realized by these syntactic forms is made even more compelling when reference is made to the 'pulse and intensity of the great African revolution' (line 3). The lexical choice of 'pulse' is, particularly, striking because of its strong personification effect which suggests that the African revolution is alive and kicking and very much on course to achieve African unification. Like the use of 'movement', the word 'revolution' suggests the presence of a mastermind of the revolution and again listeners are likely to assume that Nkrumah is the one, thereby reinforcing his framing of the Noble Revolutionary on an assignment to emancipate and unite Africa.

As indicated at the outset of this section, this thesis contends that by engaging in a rhetoric that advocated a revolution against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism in favor of a new system (a Union Government of Africa), Nkrumah not only portrayed himself as a Noble Revolutionary and a transformational leader but also created a heroic (and so villainous too) mythology. In so doing, his actions and those of Africa are represented as forces of good (i.e., heroic) in sharp contrast with those of the (neo-)colonialists and imperialists that are depicted as forces of evil (i.e., villainous). Thus, an examination of Nkrumah's discourse reveals an archetypal structure of a heroic leader who sets out on a journey or mission from humble beginnings, facing challenges and achieving triumphs along the way (Lule, 2001).

The central thesis on which this heroic myth is based is the view that Nkrumah was not seeking a self-serving or even national (i.e., Ghana's) interest in his fight against colonialism, but was the epitome of altruism that would liberate Africa, in general, from oppression, injustice and barbarism. This can be realized in his declaration of Ghana's independence speech where he remarked that "the independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent" (Nkrumah, 06/03/57). One inference that can be made from this declaration is that Nkrumah projects himself as a man on an important assignment and is, therefore, determined to defy the odds, fight against any adversaries and overcome trials and tribulations in order to secure Africa a much needed Union Government of Africa. Consequently, he constructs mythological heroism through his oratory by discursively positioning himself as the

Commander-in-Chief of the Africa armed forces, leading the battle against (neo-)colonialism and imperialism.

In Nkrumah's discourse, rhetorical strategies and linguistic resources such as metaphor, contrast, hyperbole, rhetorical question and repetition played a dual pragmatic role of increasing emotional tension and subsequently garnering public support for his ideas and instigating positive action in their direction. This was vital to the extent that it helped him to create confidence in his ideas as well as confirm his identity as a successful (or heroic) leader. The rhetorical strategies, thus, constituted resources and mechanisms that he used to advance his beliefs, create solidarity and achieve social cohesion rather than for the conceptualization and development of a specific political policy. It is against this backdrop that in this study I have characterized Nkrumah's employment of these resources as heroic myth – that is, a myth in which Nkrumah is promoted as the champion of the African liberation struggle and the principal proponent of the African unification concept. A couple of extracts are given below to explain this point.

> (11) The devastation *which* ***they have wrought in Africa*** is without parallel anywhere in the history of the world, but now Africans have arrived on the scene. ***We have arrested their progress*** and are determined to give battle with the forces at our command ***until we have achieved the total liberation of the African continent***. And have ***built a strong Union of the African States***. (Casablanca Conference, 1961)

In this extract, Nkrumah demonstrates his and other African leaders' heroism by vehemently attacking his (perceived) opponents of African liberation. Using war metaphor evidenced by lexical choices such as 'arrested', 'give battle' and 'forces at our command', Nkrumah does category work (Leudar et al., 2004) and predication (Wodak et al., 2009) on his rivals, classifying their activities as a devastation of unquantifiable proportions on the African continent. This negative process of categorizing the activities of the colonialists in the worst possible terms can be seen as an ideological mechanism to attract compassion and understanding for the people of Africa and indignation for the colonialists. The exaggerative expression 'without parallel anywhere in the history of the world' apart from intensifying the attribution Nkrumah assigns to his opponents also invokes a feeling of anger in his audience, the other African heads and the people of Africa in general, against the (perceived) opponents. Thus, he again emotively appeals to his audience. Although, no evidence is given in support of the allegation that the devastation the colonialists have wrought in Africa is without parallel anywhere in the history of the world, it is used to

legitimize the Unite or Perish myth by suggesting that Africa's failure to unite will result in more devastation on the Continent. This process of a myth being self-evident and, therefore, not needing substantiation is argued by Bell (2003). According to Lule (2001, p. 119), "Myth celebrates dominants beliefs and values [and] degrades and demeans other beliefs and values that do not align with those of the storyteller". This means that mythological propositions justify certain ideological standpoints, as illustrated by the extract above by the denigration of colonialism and imperialism and the promotion of African unity.

In consonance with the earlier findings already discussed, Nkrumah constructs an 'us' vs. 'them' discourse and uses the expression 'forces at our command' to metaphorically draw the battle lines between 'us' and 'them'. In addition, the contrastive expression 'but now Africans have arrived on the scene' symbolically paints a picture of a conflict being enacted on a stage with the African freedom fighters as protagonists (i.e., heroes) and the imperialists as antagonists (i.e., villains) who were having a field day until the African freedom fighters made their entrance onto the stage. Having resisted what he considers to be a violation of the human rights of other individuals, Nkrumah proceeds to promote the Unite or Perish myth which he instantiates to be a commonly shared ideal by all Africans via the clauses 'until we have achieved the total liberation of the African continent' and 'have built a strong Union of the African States'. Thus, he projects his personal belief onto his audience, creating a mythic discourse based on perceived shared values, beliefs and identities. The use of 'until' also connotes irreversibility as far as the mission to liberate and unite Africa is concerned, echoing archetypal traits of mythological heroism. In this extract, it is patent how Nkrumah highlights the apparent heroic deeds of the African leaders, but it must be mentioned that his use of 'we' is more of a face-saving mechanism of respecting his audience. A deeper, yet subtle, interpretation is that he is the main hero, especially since his audience is very much aware that he is the originator of the African unification concept.

> (12) … ***we*** shall make ***our*** advance. ***We*** shall accumulate machinery and establish steel works… ***we*** shall link the various states of ***our*** continent with communications by land, sea, and air. ***We*** shall cable from one place to another… ***we*** shall drain marshes and swamps… ***We*** shall harness the radio, television, giant printing presses to lift ***our*** people from the dark recesses of illiteracy. (Inauguration of the Organization of African Unity, 1963)

Nkrumah's portrayal of himself and other African heads as the (would be) heroes of Africa is again highlighted in extract (12) where Nkrumah maintains that with the formation of a united political

federation, Africa will maximize the resulting productive capacity and pool resources to achieve outstanding feats. This is mainly achieved through repetition and reiteration. Again, even though Nkrumah's use of 'we' seems to be referring to all Africans, a more revealing analysis is that Nkrumah is ascribing the future achievement of these successes (which can also be referred to as heroic deeds) to himself since their attainment is contingent solely on African unity of which he is the originator. It can, therefore, be stated that the implicit reason here is to link specific Nkrumah or personal goals with general African hopes and aspirations in order to elevate the idea of African unity from the personal to the heroic, from the mundane to the spectacular, from the normal to the phenomenal. This reflects populist sentiments and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

By using 'we', however, Nkrumah is able to present this personal belief as a commonly shared vision of all Africans, thereby creating social cohesion and unity and a homogeneous identity, which are needful for the promotion of a myth. Also, the use of 'we' constructs Nkrumah as man of the people and a voice for the voiceless. Such populist discourse, according to Kelsey (2016), constitutes one of the main ideological mechanisms by which mythological heroism is created. Of repetition and reiteration, Charteris-Black (2005) writes that its effect "is to convey conviction, persistence, and obduracy in a way that is memorable" (p. 36). In the extract above, the combination of repetition and parallelism results in a persuasive and rhetorically effective use of reiteration. This takes place at the level of individual words and at the level of syntax and results in the repetition of 'we' (implying solidarity and oneness in objectives) and 'shall' (which, doubtless, foretells the future) plus specific heroic feats. And they are expressed via the syntactic configuration:

WE + SHALL + POSITIVE MATERIAL VERB + HEROIC FEATS.

The net effect of this is that Nkrumah is able to engage in generalization from his personal aims to African goals, in general. The use of the verb 'harness' in 'We shall harness the radio, television, giant printing presses to lift our people from the dark recesses of illiteracy' is, particularly, salient. This is because it is has an underlying meaning that represents Nkrumah and the other African heads as strong and skillful and capable of making informed decisions about Africa's resources and to control and utilize these resources for Africa's productivity. This is an essential component of political mythic propositions because it provides a motivation for the masses to depend on strong leaders who have said they have the capacity and aptitude to make the right decisions necessary to

ensure the masses' welfare (Charteris-Black, 2004). The positive prospects that a Union Government of Africa holds for Africa's future and which underlies Nkrumah's heroic status is further developed as an argument in the extract below.

> (13) Do we have any other weapon against this design but ***our unity***? Is not ***our unity*** essential to guard our own freedom as well as to win freedom for our oppressed brothers, the Freedom Fighters? Is it not ***unity alone*** that can weld us into an effective force, capable of creating our own progress and making our valuable contribution to world peace? ***Which independent African State, which of you here 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*** substantial measure of disappointment and disillusionment in its agricultural and urban development? (Inauguration of the Organization of African Unity, 1963)

A form of indirect speech act, rhetorical questions may be loaded with ideologies. Hence, by asking those questions whose answers can be assumed by his audience and asking them in an intentional chain-style, Nkrumah projects onto his audience the myth that without a continental union of all African states, African did not stand any chance of impacting the world. Thus, without actually saying it, Nkrumah still communicates to the other African heads via indirection that the serial rhetorical questions have an obvious answer: "Africa must unite or sink" (Nkrumah, 24/05/63). More important here is his combination of rhetorical questions with parallelism and repetition to create the heroic myth that he was not pursuing a self-seeking or even a national interest, but was genuinely interested in Africa's contribution to the world. Rhetorical force is achieved by this strategy, strengthening the Unite or Perish myth. All the questions Nkrumah asks are supposed to be his personal positions, but he uses 'we' and reiteration, like before, to equate these personal aims with universal African hopes and ambitions.

An affirmative response to even one of the questions can be considered a heroic achievement; not to talk of a positive response to all six questions. Yet, Nkrumah imposes an implied negative answer on his audience, claiming that without the acceptance of his African unity idea, none of the feats can be achieved. To state it slightly differently, he corresponds the realization of these ostensible African dreams to his postulation of African unity, making himself Africa's conquering hero or the African hero – even if potentially. Discussing the ideological role and rhetorical power of myth, Barthes (1972, p. 3) submits that myth relies on "what is visible, it organizes a world which is … without depth, a world wide open and wallowing in the evident, it establishes a blissful

clarity". This process of simplification can be seen in extract (6) owing to Nkrumah's suggestion that once a Union Government of Africa is formed, the six potential heroic achievements listed in the form of rhetorical questions will suddenly become possible. The reality, however, is that the formation of a continental federation does not necessarily mean that those feats will be achieved since the establishment of such a Union Government also comes with its peculiar challenges and complexities. These challenges and complexities are, however, ignored by Nkrumah because as (Kelsey, 2016, p. 971) maintains, "Mythological conventions function to suppress ideological, historical and contextual complexities". That is, myths serve to flatten the complexity by presenting a simplistic and univocal social narrative (Bell, 2003). By identifying Africa's Conspiratorial Enemy and asserting that he has the courage and skill to defeat this enemy as well as engineer an economic and a political transformation of Africa, Nkrumah positions himself as Africa's Messiah. This constitutes the final component of the Unite or Perish myth as a discourse of resistance.

4.5 The Messiah

In addition to the saving abilities that the Unite or Perish myth ascribes to Nkrumah, he is seen to possess prophetic abilities or insights, enabling him to consistently make predictions of a glorious African future or forewarn the Continent of (imminent) danger. Nkrumah's messianism is evident in his prophetic declaration for Africa to unite or perish, unite or disintegrate, or swim or sink. That is, he casts himself in the role of a savior on a messianic mission of rescuing the African continent from potential damnation, making him the 'African Messiah'.

Via his utterances, Nkrumah can be viewed as a prophet-messenger declaring a divine injunction 'Unite or Perish' akin to Jesus' (see Luke 13: 3) and John the Baptist's (see Matthew 3: 2) declaration of "repent or perish". I suggest that his use of 'perish' (see John 3: 16) and 'sink' (see Mark 4: 38-39) as an inevitable consequence if a Union Government of Africa is not formed identifies him with Jesus or a prophet like Moses and the rest of Africa as the chosen people whom he has come to save or rescue. Hence, "whosoever believes in Him" (Jesus/Nkrumah), as John 3: 16 says, "will not perish but have everlasting life" (in the case of Nkrumah, a prosperous and successful Africa). Nkrumah's presentation of a messianic discourse is made evident by his transformation of the Unite or Perish myth from a political ideology to a divine vision. That is, it is his radical stance on African unity as a do or die issue that projects him to the people of Africa

as their Messiah. Some of the frequent words from the corpus that shed light on Nkrumah's messianism in relation to the Unite or Perish myth include 'unity', 'union', 'salvation' and 'redemption, with relevant collocations such as 'African unity', 'Africa union', 'Africa's salvation' and 'African redemption'. The concordance lines of 'African unity' has been presented below to illustrate Nkrumah's mythic evocation of the Messiah.

Table 10: Sample concordances of ***African unity*** in the COND

1	we reaffirmed our faith and belief in **African unity** as the most reliable safeguard
2	only be resolved within the context of **African unity**. At the Lagos Conference of
3	and with the major and basic issue of **African unity**, which alone can clear the way
4	our policies of African independence, **African unity** and the maintenance of world
5	always said that for me the issue of **African unity** came before any other thing
6	our well-being. Unless we establish **African unity** now, we who are sitting here
7	then do we need to come together in **African unity** that alone can save us from the
8	is unity. There is no alternative no **African unity**. Unless we can achieve this
9	all the maneuvers will fail. Out of **African unity**, life will be full and abundant
10	and seeing of our cherished dream of **African unity**. By the signing of the Charter

There is evidence in Table 10 of Nkrumah's messianic role via his proclamation of the African unity gospel as the only means to Africa's salvation. For instance, in line 1, not only does he re-affirm his, other African heads and the whole of Africa's 'faith and belief in African unity', but also claims that such a unity is 'the most reliable safeguard against neo-colonialism and the balkanization' of the African continent. This position is restated in line 7 and echoes the view that African unity 'alone can save us from the clutches of neo-colonialism and imperialism'. Even though these statements are presented as complete truths, they are, in actuality, questionable and unverifiable claims which hint that Nkrumah is indulging in mythic thinking. The power of salvation attributed to African unity in lines 1 and 7, it can be said, indirectly confers redemptive abilities to Nkrumah and at the same time triggers fear by implying that Africa's failure to unite will, as a matter of certainty, spell doom for the Continent. The deliverance prowess that African unity is claimed to have and the accompanying fear which it produces are accentuated by the warning 'There is no alternative to African unity' (line 8) and 'we who are sitting here today shall be the victims' (line 6) unless a Union of African Government is established.

The use of 'we' and 'our faith and belief', as already noted, foregrounds the notion of competing voices or forces – as it pits two camps (Africa vs. the (neo-) colonialists) against each other – and

echoes the idea that the African camp will be rescued from the schemes of the (neo-)colonialists if and only if it accepted Nkrumah's gospel (i.e., the good news) of African unity. As well, the use of these inclusive pronouns imposes a sense of obligation on Nkrumah's audience to side with his position, creating a sense of unity, solidarity and identity that derives from ideals that are supposedly shared by a homogeneous group. And the derivational morpheme '(-re)' in 're-affirmed', the superlative 'most' in 'most reliable' and the adverbials 'only' and 'alone' in lines 2 and 3/7 respectively intensify the African unity mythology used by Nkrumah to assert his messianic status. The advantages and benefits that will accrue to a united Africa are also hinted at by Nkrumah, including a 'resolution' of conflicts on the Continent (line 2) and 'clearing the way' (line 3) for the establishment of a powerful industrial and economic structure in Africa. Ultimately, 'life will be full and abundant' in a new Africa (line 9). Thus, in his messianic role, Nkrumah constructs a glorious and a prosperous future for Africa via these lines; a blissful future that can only be realized within 'our cherished dream of African unity' (line 10).

In line 4, Nkrumah pledges his full support and that of his country (Ghana) to the idea of African unity, noting that the three basic aims of 'Ghana's foreign policy are African independence, African unity and the maintenance of world peace'. Thus, as can be found in several places in this thesis, he imposes the notion of African unity as Africa's lifeline to a bright future on all Ghanaians as a common ideal worthy of pursuit. This notion of irresistibility and compulsive concurrence as far as the Unite or Perish myth is concerned is amplified with the use of phraseology such as 'unless', 'alone', 'now', 'save' and 'no alternative'. What is clear from the concordance lines in Table 10 is that Nkrumah formulates a messianic disposition that helps to advance his mythology by claiming that his African unity will rescue Africa from the shackles and doldrums of colonialism and imperialism as well as act as a total security 'antivirus' to the threat of neo-colonialism.

Consequently, in Table 10 and in several others places in the corpus, he assumes the role of an apostle who preaches the concept of African unity as a kind of gospel akin to the way Jesus propagated His gospel of salvation to humanity. Therefore, it will not be far-fetched to assert that in his messianic role, Nkrumah uses his mythic oratory as a vehicle for indoctrinating the masses. And his envisioning of a united Africa can be seen as a messianic goal of leading his people, like Moses, to the 'Promised Land' – an ultimate destination of redemption. The salvific role taken on

by Nkrumah as a result of his entrenched position on African unity as the only means of Africa's prosperity is intensified by statements such as "I feel confident that in time our African compatriots will come to see our line and know that Africa's salvation lies only in a political union of African states" (Nkrumah, 01/07/60) and "African union could be one of the greatest forces in the world as we know it" (Nkrumah, 06/08/60). Such enunciation seems to carry the pontifical force of an encyclical which elevates the Unite or Perish myth from the mundane to the divine or sublime and, subsequently, vests the speaker of those words with supernatural qualities and abilities of a savior.

It is important to state that Nkrumah was nicknamed *Osyagyefo* (a Ghanaian chieftaincy title meaning 'savior', 'redeemer' or 'deliverer' and also used as an accolade for God, especially in prayer-cum-sermon) and was often introduced with messianic terms at political rallies. Although some people are of the opinion that he bestowed this title upon himself[41], the point remains that the use of such an honorific term substantiates the argument being made here that Nkrumah mythically created an image of a savior (and hence a Messiah) via his discourse. Indeed, till date, he is referred to by this title, as it has become part and parcel of his name. In addition to *Osagyefo*, other sublime accolades accorded Nkrumah, which contribute to the idea of messianism his discourse invoked include: 'a God-sent savior' (Botwe-Asamoah, 2005), 'the Black Star' (Davidson, 1973), 'the pride of Africa' (Cudjoe, 1995, p. 322), 'Africa's man of destiny' and 'initiator of African Personality'[42] as well as 'the ONE and ONLY founding father of Ghana'[43].

It can be observed from these assignations that they carry an element of the 'supernatural' and suggest that the one being described, apparently, is single-handedly carrying the hopes and aspirations of an entire people, race or continent. This has populist undertones (which will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 6) and brings the notion of chosen-ness to the fore, suggesting that Nkrumah is the chosen one to lead the African people into a glorious and prosperous future. From the above, it can be asserted that Nkrumah's creation of a messianic identity as a core aspect of his creation of the Unite or Perish myth was a social process (rather than a solitary activity) in which language played a primary (but not an exclusive role). As stated early on, this reinforces the position of this thesis that mythic discourse and, especially political mythic themes, can be better

[41] See http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/23/opinion/23iht-edzimmerman.1.12271903.html
[42] See http://nkrumahinfobank.org/article.php?id=312&c=47
[43] See https://www.modernghana.com/news/528220/kwame-nkrumah-the-one-and-only-founding-father-of-ghana-201.html

understood within a socio-cultural and historical context, and not only via its linguistic realization. The messianic parallel or Messiah-typology that this thesis claims can be associated with Nkrumah's rhetoric is noticeable in an article published in the *Evening News* of March 7, 1960 that stated among other things:

> Some people call [Nkrumah] the Second Christ, coming just at the time when children in the womb all over the globe are suffering from the atom bomb's strotinum 90, as foretold in the Bible. Others call him Son of God, the Messiah, the Organizer, the Redeemer of Men, the Positive Actionist … yet Kwame Nkrumah puts it simply to every follower: 'I am one of you; I belong to you and Africa. I am flesh of your flesh, son of an ordinary woman and a goldsmith of the village of Nkroful' (Addo, 1997, p. 110).

The messianic identity projected by Nkrumah can also be seen in his use of a form of language that connoted the idea that he was adopting the messianic role of a prophet. Take, for instance, his speech of 1960 in honor of Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia wherein he says, "Ladies and gentlemen, I give you the toast of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie, the First, Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, Elect of God, Emperor of Ethiopia". Such ritualistic discourse, I suggest, equates Nkrumah to an Old Testament prophet like Samuel (see I Samuel 16: 1-13) in the performance of a religious ceremony of anointing Haile Selassie as king, making him the anointed, chosen and elect of God. And with prophet-like authority, he equates Haile Selassie with Jesus, referring to him with the same description given to Jesus in the book of Revelation: 'Lion of the Tribe of Judah' (Revelation 5: 5). This kind of ritualized instantiation combined with Nkrumah's increasingly charismatic language is likely to make him be perceived by the masses as an aberrant messianic prophet-messenger, or a spiritual leader of a sort, instead of a conventional political leader.

In furtherance of the prophetic messianic posture created by Nkrumah, a close analysis of the data showed that he performed a series of prophetic functions in a manner that can be described as ritualized. These include: (1) predicting the future, (2) forewarning of (looming) danger and (3) creating an imaginative better Africa in the future. The extracts below exemplify these functions.

(14) I can see that you are here in your millions, and ***my last warning to you*** is that you ought to stand firmly behind us so that we can prove to the world that when the African is given the chance, he can show to the world that he is somebody. (Declaration of Independence, 1957)

(15) We are called upon to exercise statesmanship of a high order, ***and I would repeat, if I may, my warning of October***, that 'every idle or ill-considered word-will militate against the cause which we all have at heart'. (Motion of Independence, 1953)

In these examples, we see a messianic injunction of Nkrumah as a prophetic leader forewarning the people of Ghana of possible adverse repercussions if they fail to stand firmly with him, their prophet (as seen in (15)), or if they demonstrate irresponsibility in their words (as in (15)). Such forewarning, especially when Nkrumah implies in the examples that he has given similar and other warnings, creates a highly persuasive myth whereby the people may assume that the propositions Nkrumah puts across are completely true and in their supreme interest. On the continental level, Nkrumah's prophetic warnings were inextricably linked with his promotion of the mythology of African unity. That is, in nearly every instance where he talked about African unity, he never hastened to add that failure to achieve this unity, from the standpoint of his prophetic vision, spells doom for the Continent.

For instance, he says in one speech, "as I see it (therefore qualifying himself as a seer), African states must unite or sell themselves out to imperialist and colonialist exploiters for a mess of pottage, or disintegrate individually" (Nkrumah, 07/01/61). Indeed, Nkrumah's use of the expression 'as I see it' is evident in a number of places in the corpus. In another speech, he says, "… there are three alternatives open to African states: firstly, to unite and save our continent; secondly, to disunite and disintegrate; or thirdly, to sell out" (Nkrumah, 06/08/60). It is this attitude or position that culminates into his famous warning "Unite or Perish"; "Unite or Disintegrate"; "Swim or Sink". This he explained to mean that until Africa united, there would continue to be extreme difficulties and disturbances on the Continent "until we are colonized again and become the tools of a far greater colonialism than we suffered hitherto" (Nkrumah, 22/05/63). This unverifiable and improbable explanation or assertion clearly gives rise to a mythical proposition based on the notion that the one speaking these words has the spiritual gift of a Jewish prophet for which reason he is God-sent to deliver a people from current bondage and impending danger. Failure then to heed to the warning of the prophet and to carry out his or her pronouncement (in

the case of Africa, to form a Union Government of Africa) will result in severe consequences. Aside forewarning danger, Nkrumah's messianic role is seen in his painting of a vivid picture of the future of Africa under a Union Government:

(16) ***Only a unified economic planning for development can give Africa the economic security essential for the prosperity and well-being of all its peoples*** … We can go on to multiply the advantages of a Continental Union. Frontier problems disappear in a Continental Union. Irritating customs and other formalities cease to be barriers separating brother from brother. We can think of the great economic advantage of a common currency and a common market. (Africa Liberation Day, 1964)

(17) With our continental liberation and unity, ***Africa will become a powerful force that will carry its total impact in the councils of the world*** …we are ready to build a united Africa, united in our conception of its importance and our common desire to move forward together in a triumphant march to the great kingdom of the African Personality, where ***we shall have a common purpose and a common objective in working for the destiny of our Continent as Africans*** …Out of African unity a new Africa will arise, ***life will be full and abundant; our culture and the arts, so long suppressed under colonial domination, will blossom again and flourish***. (Ratification of the Organization of African Unity Charter: Speech to Ghanaian Parliamentarians, 1963)

In the words of Charteris-Black (2005), "the spiritual powers that are implied by messianic myth include the ability to make predictions in the form of visionary dreams" (p. 62). This is what Nkrumah does in (16) and (17) with his imagined united Africa with a single parliament, which he refers to as a life-long dream in other speeches. Nkrumah enumerates the future benefits of a united Africa in (16), including economic security, prosperity and the disappearance of border disputes and customs related problems. Also, Africa will become 'a powerful force' to be reckoned with globally, 'life will be full and abundant' (17) and all aspects of the African society, including arts and culture, will blossom and flourish. The choice of lexis such as 'abundance of life', 'fullness of life', 'blossom' and 'flourish' has religious connotations of heaven or paradise and brings to mind the idea of a land flowing with milk and honey similar to the one mentioned in the Bible and which was promised the children of Israel.

Consciously or unconsciously, Nkrumah, thus, makes use of religious and/or biblical imagery to communicate a prophetic vision of a better future that makes a Union Government of Africa "An indispensable precondition for the speediest and fullest development not only of the totality of the Continent but of the individual countries linked together in the Union" (Nkrumah, 1963). The

enjoyment of this kind of future also implies that whatever struggle is needed to achieve it is reasonable because, after all, as Apostle Paul puts it, "the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed" (Romans 8: 18). Nkrumah's linguistic communication of a progressive, prosperous and glorious Africa in future, it can be said, creates a powerful myth that is likely to give meaning to the life of many an African. In the end, they are likely to pledge their support and loyalty to his leadership, even if he does not give them a rational basis to do so.

The monolithic picture painted by Nkrumah about the likely success of the 'United States of Africa' can be analyzed as a simplistic representation of the African situation that serves the purpose of a political mythology. This makes it possible to downplay any realistic challenges or practical difficulties that such a Union Government could have and enables Africa to be depicted as being in grave danger, with African unity being the only way of dealing with this danger. By suppressing any speculation about the possible failure of African unity, Africans are made to play a passive role of a people in captivity needing deliverance from a savior. This makes the idea of African unity binding on them since they have no choice but to wholly accept this social narrative in order not to perish. The simplifications that function through the Unite or Perish myth can also be observed in Nkrumah's suppression of the logistical constraints that needed to be resolved and the challenges that needed to be navigated in order to propel the 'United States of Africa' into reality. That is, the hard questions that needed to be asked and tackled as well as any dissenting views on African unity that needed to be addressed were not given much attention or enough textual space by Nkrumah in his speeches. And when he did, he often (and, perhaps, conveniently) attributed such views to the neo-colonialists and the people he described as their 'African puppets'. This attests to Kelsey's (2013, p. 95) view that "myth does not raise questions since its role is to define and clarify".

Important issues such as the ethnically diverse nature of Africa with its several languages, the different religious beliefs in the various countries and their subscription to various political faiths and economic doctrines, among other issues, were hardly considered extensively by Nkrumah. And when he did, he only made brief comments about them or discussed them in passing, which gave the impression that these were lighter issues in the face of the weightier matter of forming a Union Government. By giving less attention to the aforementioned issues, this thesis maintains

that Nkrumah purports to present an accurate account of future political events in Africa that suppresses less popular, yet extremely important, aspects of the events he predicts. It can be said that his suppression of these important aspects demonstrates the ideological implications or impact that myth has. Thus, as Lule (2001, p. 119) explains, "Myth upholds some beliefs but degrades others. It celebrates but also excoriates. It affirms but it also denies".

4.6 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has critically examined Nkrumah's construction of the Unite or Perish myth and demonstrated that this narrative is interwoven around various components that project Nkrumah as a Messiah of a sort and as a Noble Revolutionary or a Valiant Leader who declares war against a Conspiratorial Enemy. It also accounted for the (socio-political) function of this myth as well as the discursive strategies, rhetorical mechanisms and linguistic resources exploited by Nkrumah in its creation. Casting himself as the champion of Africa's supreme interests, Nkrumah uses his speeches to tell a story that claims to give an accurate account of past, present and predicted political events in Africa, thus giving rise to mythic discourse. He is empowered by his position as party leader, prime minister and president of the first Sub-Saharan African country to gain independence as a result of which he is enabled to construct a strict 'us' vs. 'them' discourse (positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation) in which the in-group (Africans) are depicted as forces of good whereas the out-group (the (neo-)colonialists) are presented as forces of evil. Nkrumah utilized verbal processes, lexical choices and variation, ideological use of pronouns and reiteration, among other syntactic tools, to advance his arguments, prime his audience and, sometimes, to manipulate them to accept his views as absolute.

These lexico-grammatical resources were found to interact with other figures of language such as metaphor, recurrence, rhetorical questions and parallelism, and they were used by Nkrumah not only to compel his audience to accept his ideas as valid but, more importantly, to participate in their practical execution via a legitimation strategy that serves the purpose of promoting the Unite or Perish myth as a discourse of resistance and an emancipatory discourse. Further, Nkrumah deployed an array of discursive strategies such as nomination, intensification, predication, argumentation and stereotypical characterization that contributed to making his discourse powerful, persuasive and believable. These discursive elements together with the lexico-syntactic and semantico-pragmatic tools set the narrative tone of a comprehensible and recognizable story,

albeit in reality it was extremely complicated. At various points of the analysis, it was evident that metaphor is essential to Nkrumah's persuasive force. The next chapter is, therefore, devoted to a detailed analysis of Nkrumah's use of metaphor and its contribution to the Unite or Perish myth.

CHAPTER FIVE[44]

METAPHOR AND THE UNITE OR PERISH MYTH

5.1 Introduction

This chapter builds on the previous one by discussing the role of metaphor in Nkrumah's promotion of the Unite or Perish myth. By identifying, analyzing and explaining the metaphors and conceptual metaphors that can be found in Nkrumah's discourse, I aim to demonstrate how metaphor interacts with other linguistic features and rhetorical strategies in the creation and promotion of a political mythology. Geis (1987) is of the view that one of the ways of acting presidential is to talk like a president, which means that using language that creates an image of a valiant or courageous leader. To be able to demonstrate such courage, there must be something or someone to be opposed, resulting in the creation of real or perceived political enemies. Using Nkrumah's discourse, I illustrate, in this chapter, how metaphor offers politicians a persuasive mechanism to characterize the challenges they face in the strongest possible terms and to ingratiate themselves with the citizenry. By so doing, they are found to be frequently engaging in myth-evoking rhetoric, as is evident in Nkrumah's speeches. Given that the delivery of political speeches makes it possible for politicians to present an idealized vision of the social world (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 87), this thesis assumes that the choice of metaphor in political speeches will be intentional because the metaphors chosen will be aimed at communicating this idealized vision. In other words, Nkrumah's use of metaphor will enable him to frame the issue of African unity in a manner that aligns with his socio-political goals and serves his ideological agenda and, thus, provide a basis for rationalizing the idea of a Union Government of Africa (see Lu & Ahrens, 2008; Burgers & Ahrens, in press).

For a critical metaphor analysis of Nkrumah's discourse, I followed Charteris-Black's (2004) suggestion and first selected 20 key speeches[45] – based on my knowledge of Africa's history and

[44] Portions of this chapter have been published in Nartey, Mark. (2019). "I shall prosecute a ruthless war on these monsters …" A critical metaphor analysis of discourse of resistance in the rhetoric of Kwame Nkrumah. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 16(2): 113-130, Nartey, Mark. (2020). Metaphor and Kwame Nkrumah's construction of the Unite or Perish myth: A discourse-mythological analysis. *Social Semiotics* (in press) and Nartey, Mark. Metaphor and heroic myth in the discourse of Kwame Nkrumah. *Text & Talk*. Under review.

[45] These speeches include: Declaration of the Independence of Ghana (1957), Address at the All-African People's Conference (1958), The 'African Hurricane' Speech (1958), The 'Africa's Challenge' Speech (1960), Address at the United Nations Assembly (1960), Address at the 'Positive Action' Conference for Peace and Security in Africa (1960), Republic Day Speech (1960), Address on the Occasion of the 10th Anniversary of the Convention People's Party

my awareness of the social and political contexts of the speeches – in which Nkrumah specifically addressed the issue of African unity. These speeches are made up of approximately 30, 000 words, representing 10% of the entire corpus. I did a close reading of these speeches and manually analyzed them in order to identify candidate or potential metaphors which were confirmed or rejected during the second phase of analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004). To identify the candidate metaphors, I focused on words and phrases that can signal the presence of metaphor in a text (see Skorczynska & Ahrens, 2015) such as explicit signals (e.g., 'monster', 'enemy', 'freedom fighter'), copular similes (e.g., 'like', 'as'), verbal processes (e.g., 'grow', 'lift', 'pursue', 'stretch'), perceptual processes (e.g., 'beckon', 'look', 'see', 'strike') and symbolism forms (e.g., 'symbol/symbolize'). The candidate metaphors that were signaled by these expressions were then searched for in the entire corpus to identify all instances of usage and whether they had been used metaphorically or literally (Charteris-Black, 2004; 2014) (see Appendix 3). As already indicated in Chapter 2, this thesis construes metaphor in its basic sense of understanding and experiencing one thing in terms of another and functioning as a mechanism that encourages a reconceptualization and recontextualization of experience. In addition, it draws on Charteris-Black's (2004) definition of metaphor: "a linguistic representation that results from the shift in the use of a word or phrase from the context or domain in which it is expected to occur to another context …, thereby causing semantic shift" (p. 21). Having identified the metaphors, I categorized them into various source domains because an identification of the domain of the metaphor is useful in identifying the common social values associated with the domain (Charteris-Black, 2005). This is important in establishing how metaphor can be used to formulate political mythic themes. My identification of the metaphors and their source domains was based on the extant literature (see Charteris-Black, 2004; 2005; 2011; 2013; Ahrens & Zeng, 2017), the contextual usage of the words and their dictionary denotations. This was independently verified by two Ph.D. students who are metaphor analysts and any issues of discrepancy were discussed and resolved.

(1960), Address at the Conference of African Women and Women of African Descent (1960), Address at the Laying of the Foundation Stone and Inauguration of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute (1961), Address at the Casablanca Conference (1961), Address on the Occasion of the Convention People's Party 12th Anniversary (1961), Address at the Nationalists' Conference of African Freedom Fighters (1962), Address at the Inauguration of the Organization of African Unity (1963), Closing Remarks after Signing the Organization of African Unity Charter (1963), Speech to Ghanaian Parliamentarians on the Ratification of the Organization of African Unity Charter (1963), Address at the Opening of the 2nd Conference of African Journalists (1963), Address on the Occasion of the 1st Anniversary of Africa Liberation Day (1964), Address at the 4th Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference (1964), Challenge to our Survival: Address to the National Assembly (1965)

The critical analysis of the metaphors was combined with principles of the discourse-historical approach at various stages of the analysis in order to account for the role of historicity in Nkrumah's creation and promotion of the Unite or Perish myth. Before beginning with the analysis proper, it must be stated that although the analysis here draws on Charteris-Black's critical metaphor analysis, an aspect that is not applied is the quantification of the types of metaphors found in Nkrumah's discourse, as the present study was more interested in how the metaphors have been reconceptualized and recontextualized to contribute to an ideology (see Koteyko, 2014; Bhatia, 2015; Kelsey, 2015). As Charteris-Black (2014) notes, if the aim of the research is not concerned with metaphor frequency or distribution as is the case in the present study, a quantitative approach may not be necessary. The approach used here is, thus, more of a discourse-oriented analysis of small corpora used in applied metaphor research, as opposed to a more quantitative exploration of large corpora. In what follows, the key metaphors identified in Nkrumah's discourse and how they contribute to the Unite or Perish myth are discussed. They include metaphors of war and conflict, metaphors of religion and morality, journey metaphors and personification.

5.2 African independence as war

Nkrumah makes extensive and systematic use of metaphors of war and conflict based on a conceptual metaphor AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE IS WAR which can be seen as a derivative of the general conceptual key POLITICS IS CONFLICT (see Charteris-Black, 2004; 2005; 2011). Metaphors from this source domain included nouns and verbs such as 'battle', 'battalion', 'fight', 'forces', 'war' and 'weapon'. Discourses of war typically imply repetition of attack, endurance and the presence of a dangerous threat (Charteris-Black, 2005). The reconceptualization of a political issue such as independence in strong war-like terms by Nkrumah portrays the treachery of colonialism and imperialism (see Howe, 1988, p. 95) as well as the ruthless approach Nkrumah wanted Africa to adopt in the fight against these forces. It also highlights the position that to Nkrumah's mind, a great deal of personal sacrifice and physical struggle are required for Africa's independence to be achieved (see Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 66). That is, some form of temporary suffering or hardship is necessary for the attainment of the worthwhile and lasting goal of African independence and, subsequently, African unity. Through the various war metaphors, the African continent is conceptualized as the battleground, the people of Africa and the colonialists as opposing armies and colonialism and imperialism as Africa's arch-enemy. Therefore, the war

metaphors play the role of evaluating a socio-political situation to be detrimental to Africa, as the following extracts demonstrate:

(18) ***Who is the enemy? The enemy is imperialism, who uses as its weapons colonialism and neo-colonialism***. Let us be very clear about this. Let us also not lose sight of the real object which is the liquidation of colonialism and imperialism in all its forms – political, economic and ideological – and ***the political unification of Africa***. (Nationalists' Conference of African Freedom Fighters, 1962)

(19) If you cast your eyes across the continent and look to South Africa, Congo, Angola, South West Africa, Kenya, Central Africa and the other areas of our continent where colonialism still flourished, you will agree with me that our task is only just beginning. ***We have a duty to gird our loins strongly, to order our lives austerely and to clench our teeth grimly in order to enter the battlements of the enemy and smash them to pieces. This, we must do at all cost with African nationalism as the liberating sword***. (The Convention People's Party 12th Anniversary, 1961)

Nkrumah's construction of the Unite or Perish myth is based on the belief that, first, colonialism 'in all its forms must be destroyed' (18) and in its place, a Union Government of Africa must be established. Unsurprisingly, Nkrumah identifies colonialism as Africa's number one enemy that must be resisted 'at all cost with African nationalism as the liberating sword' (19). His ability to determine the enemy of an entire continent gives an indication of the power disparity between him and his audience and the influence he exerts as president of the first African country to gain independence. He is enabled by this powerful status to arrogate to himself the right to decide what is best not only for Ghana but the whole of Africa, as the extracts above indicate. The labeling of the colonialists as the enemy creates an immediate 'us' vs. 'them' polarity or in-group vs. out-group distinction in which the people of Africa are presented as forces of good and the colonialists are forces of wickedness. The portrayal of the enemy's behavior as violent and malicious in intent is depicted by lexical choices such as 'liquidation', 'smash' and 'liberating sword' and this is reflective of the unsympathetic approach to be adopted in the resistance against colonialism.

According to Lazar and Lazar (2004, p. 227), the enunciation of the 'enemy' is "pivotal to defining, establishing and maintaining a moral order, for the enemy is one who violates 'our' values" and it can be seen as a form of criminalization, an outcasting strategy that reduces complex socio-cultural constructs into simple causal theories and simple 'us' vs. 'them' binaries. Bhatia (2008, p. 210) also mentions that the attribution of the label of 'enemy' to the 'other' functions to determine a

target for missiles to aim at while at the same time creating a unity of purpose, solidarity and oneness of vision. This means that as a referential or nomination strategy, the classifying of the colonialists with the descriptor 'enemy' can be interpreted as contributing to a political myth that colonialism is inherently bad and its opponents are inherently good. Hence, there is the need for the opponents (here, the people of Africa) to unite against it by forming a Union Government of Africa, making an idea which in actuality is the vision of one person to suddenly morph to become the 'magic formula' for an entire continent. An expression like 'Let us not lose sight of the real object' (18) in conjunction with the definite article 'the' and the question-answer strategy represented by the rhetorical question 'Who is the enemy' (18) makes the identified enemy very targeted as the object of attack. Interestingly, Nkrumah also uses the phrase 'real object', emphasizing how he zeroes in on the enemy with specificity and with a devouring intent.

Further, the use of the determiner 'our', the deontic modal 'must', the pronouns 'we/us', the noun phrase 'African nationalism', the prepositional phrase 'at all cost' and the presupposition expression 'you will agree with me that our task is only just beginning' can be analyzed as grammatical resources that help to mobilize mass support for socio-political action and activate nationalistic sentiments for an idea. These lexico-syntactic devices can also be seen as a means of imposing a moral imperative on the 'good' people of Africa to arise in (armed) resistance against the 'ill-famed' colonialists whom have been identified by Nkrumah as the enemy forces. Therefore, it is of necessity that they 'gird their loins strongly, order their lives austerely and clench their teeth grimly in order to enter the battlements of the enemy and smash them to pieces' (19). As Hare (2001, p. 65 quoted in Bhatia 2007, p. 512) asserts, "our ultimate moral principles can become so completely accepted by us, that we treat them, not as universal imperatives, but as matters of fact; they have the same obstinate indubitability". It is such claim to factuality and absolute truth in depicting the African situation in terms of the need for Africa to unite or perish that gives rise to a form of mythic discourse that presupposes a simple causal relationship of events (Geis, 1987; Gastil, 1992).

In addition to the word 'enemy', other metaphorical expressions in the extracts above that contribute to the AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE IS WAR conceptual metaphor include words that connote conflict and danger such as 'battlements', liquidation' and 'weapons'. These words together with idiomatic metaphors such as 'gird our loins strongly' and 'clench our teeth grimly'

and the adverb ‘austerely’ buttress Charteris-Black’s (2004) argument that the use of conflict metaphors by politicians is indicative of the personal sacrifice, determination and physical struggle that politicians claim are needful for the realization of laudable social goals. It must also be mentioned that past mental frames and/or previous world knowledge about war and conflict entails an enemy whose personality is completely evil and of the soldier or army, the defender, who has solemnly sworn an oath to engage in combat with the enemy until victory is won. Hence, the use of the enemy metaphor and the other metaphorical expressions of war in the extracts above are likely to trigger this mental frame in listeners and, subsequently, impose a moral responsibility and obligation on them to vehemently resist colonialism and accept the African unification ideology being purveyed. This interrelationship between past and present frames can be seen as “a mental representation of our knowledge of the world, a data-structure that is located in human memory and can be selected or retrieved when needed” (Bednarek, 2005, p. 689). The extracts above together with statements such as “We must adopt a positive all-out anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist attack and this quickly for we cannot afford the luxury of delay” (Nkrumah, 04/06/62) can be regarded as the stratagem for colonial resistance and African unification. This militaristic tone and combative posture which I will later return to in the analysis are reinforced by the presence of expressions such as ‘battle tactics’, ‘holding guard’, ‘fighting banner’, ‘decimate our forces’ and ‘marshal’ found in the corpus and used by Nkrumah to talk about colonialism and a political federation of Africa.

The analysis above throws light on the nexus between the domains of politics (here independence) and war or conflict and provides evidence for a ritualized series of events realized in this politics-war relationship. First, there is a threatening situation that is likely to cause or is already causing damage, leading to the identification of an enemy. Then, the battlelines are drawn and a war is declared against the enemy, summoning allies to action. This is followed by engaging in combat with the enemy in order to achieve a conquest. Thus, war metaphors can be said to evoke a particular cognitive script (see Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 92). Based on the semantic orientation of the war metaphors identified in the Nkrumah corpus, I have grouped them into three sub-categories, which are subsequently analyzed: metaphors of attack, metaphors of defense and metaphors of struggle.

5.2.1 Metaphors of attack and defense

Metaphors of attack were realized in Nkrumah's discourse by expressions such as 'attack', 'onslaught', 'assault', 'eliminate', 'crush', 'smashing', 'defeat', 'destroy', 'decimate', 'eradicate', 'wipe out', 'termination' and 'offensive'. The word 'fight' was an attack metaphor when it collocated with 'against' and it was a defense metaphor when it collocated with 'for'. For the defense metaphors, words that are generally related to the notion of defense such as 'safeguarding', 'guard', 'holding guard', 'defend', 'protect' and 'resistance' were identified. The metaphorical expressions were subjected to collocational and concordance analyses in order to identify the semantic properties of the texts, the evaluative meanings they convey and how they contribute to an understanding of the Unite or Perish myth. Some examples of collocations of attack metaphors include 'fight colonialism', 'fight relentlessly', 'attack imperialism', 'wipe out neo-colonialism', 'crush colonialism' and 'fight ourselves'. An examination of their concordances shows that the attack metaphors have a double semantic prosody: first, a condemnation of colonialism and imperialism, hence an unfavorable semantic prosody of extreme negativity; second, an endorsement of African freedom and unity, hence a positive semantic prosody of desirability.

Thus, they provide evidence for the ideological position that colonialism is malicious in a permanent way; ergo, it is needful for Africa to continue to resist it and form a Union Government that will protect Africa from foreign domination and neo-colonialist machinations. As an attack on all aspects of colonialism is warranted in order to secure African freedom and unity, a discourse of resistance, as discussed in Chapter 4, is communicated accompanied by a political myth which provides explanations of certain events and justifies certain courses of actions (Geis, 1987, pp. 29-30). For the defense metaphors, some collocations that were identified include 'defend herself', 'protect Africa', 'preserve territorial integrity', 'resist imperialist attack' and 'safeguarding peace and security in Africa'. The general meaning deducible from the collocations of the defense metaphors is the need to defend a valued social goal like African independence because this will ensure the preservation of the territorial borders of Africa from colonial invasion and lead to a Union Government of Africa, hence a positive or favorable semantic prosody of desirability. The idea of defending a socio-political goal that is positively evaluated implies that this goal is under threat or actual attack from an opposing force (the colonialists) and African unification is presented as the only solution that will be able to neutralize this threat/attack. As already indicated, the

metaphor keywords were subjected to concordance analysis in order to get a sense of how they are used in the corpus in Nkrumah's creation of the Unite or Perish myth. To illustrate this, the concordances of 'fight' when it collocates with 'for' and 'against' are presented as instances of defense and attack metaphors respectively.

Table 11: Sample concordances of ***fight for*** in the COND

1	Our people supported us in the **fight for** independence because they believed that
2	and I know that only Africa can **fight for** its destiny. In this struggle, we
3	and be completely impossible to **fight for** independence. But to the dismay of Belgium
4	We are actively engaged in the **fight for** the total liberation and unity of Africa
5	in Africa, We shall continue to **fight for** our complete emancipation, assisting in
6	and they seriously threaten our **fight for** extending African emancipation from
7	so activities which support the **fight for** freedom and unity in Africa. Always, the
8	but we have a perfect right to **fight for** the birthright of freedom and the
9	color or creed are mobilized to **fight for** peace, progress and prosperity
10	Party and gave it the mandate to **fight for** independence. Under its banner, we fought
11	and his adult life a tenacious **fight for** African nationalism and independence and

The themes of African independence and African unity are developed concurrently in Table 11 using the fight metaphor via the topos of 'you cannot have one without the other' (Wodak et al., 2009). Consequently, the people of Africa will fight for 'independence' (lines 1, 10, 11), 'its destiny' (line 2), 'for emancipation/liberation' (lines 4, 5, 6), for the 'birthright of freedom and the ownership of our land' (lines 7, 8) and for 'peace, progress and prosperity' (line 9). Line 10 also pays tribute to George Padmore for his 'tenacious fight for African nationalism and independence'. However, not only will Africa fight for independence but also for African unity (lines 4, 7) in order to 'cure the ills of colonialism' (line 1). The use of 'banner' (line 10) is worthy of note, as it is likely to activate past mental frames of victory banner associated with the Second World War, in particular, and warfare, in general. As well, the use of 'birthright' and 'ownership of our land' alludes to issues of legality and morality so that the colonialists are stereotyped as thieves, exploiters and illegal occupants. The need for colonial resistance is, therefore, highlighted together with the urgent need for African unity.

Table 12: Sample concordances of ***fight against*** in the COND

1	inspiration to continue their grin **fight against** cruelties which are a disgrace to
2	so we gird and prepare ourselves to **fight against** it. Friends and comrades, I ask
3	so we all must prepare ourselves to **fight against** it for only with the interment of
4	and we are devoted to a relentless **fight against** colonialism and imperialism old or
5	fit themselves for the great freedom **fight against** colonialism and imperialism all
6	the people of Africa will relentlessly **fight against** this policy. Our delegation to
6	seeking the good of our motherland and **fight against** these evils of colonialism and
7	states has created a new factor in the **fight against** imperialism and its twin-tools
8	this is the meaning and purpose of the **fight against** colonialism, imperialism,

Unlike the concordance lines in Table 11 where 'fight' is used as a defense metaphor so that a positively evaluated socio-political objective is defended, 'fight' in Table 12 is used as an attack metaphor. Specifically, the attack is against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism (as is evident in all the lines) and these are portrayed as threats to African freedom and unity as found in the analysis on Nkrumah's identification of Africa's conspiratorial enemy in Chapter 4. Expressions such as 'cruelties' and 'disgrace to humanity' (line 1) and 'evils' (line 6) can be seen as an intensification strategy through the topos of threat (Wodak et al., 2009) where the actions of an out-group are characterized in the worst possible terms in order to garner support against them. Conversely, expressions such as 'prepare ourselves' (lines 2, 3), 'relentlessly' (line 6), 'devoted', 'relentless' and 'found anywhere on the continent of Africa' (line 4) and 'great' (line 5) can be analyzed as contributing to a positive self-presentation of an in-group. Therefore, there is evidence of how different social groups and social actors are classified for socio-political gain and ideological purposes. Furthermore, the use of the death metaphor 'interment of colonialism' (line 3) and the idiom 'rear its (ugly) head' (lines 2, 3) in addition to achieving a personification effect can be interpreted as a stigmatization strategy that presents colonialism as an extremely unpleasant situation that must not be given kid-glove treatment. On the contrary, it must be brutally dealt with (making the use of war metaphor effective) and a Union Government of Africa must be established in its place, giving rise to an ideologically marked narrative that purports to give a true account of past, present and future political events in Africa.

The persuasive force of the Unite or Perish myth is heightened by its depiction as a pursuit of liberty, freedom and justice. This makes it necessary for a social group to, as it were, insulate themselves from what they deem an attack on their freedom and dignity or what they perceive as

an external threat. The use of attack and defense metaphors, thus, becomes extremely important. Throughout the corpus, colonialism and imperialism are constantly referenced in the form of an invasive attack on Africa through a referential strategy of nomination. Some demonstrative examples are given in the extracts below.

(20) ***It is not out of any concern for civil liberty that they attack us. When they attack us, it is because we threaten their interest in Ghana and Africa***. All the rest of their pretensions are a hogwash. What is it of which they complain Of Ghana? That we oppose their control over our continent and that we wish to develop our own well-being and not their enrichment. (Challenge to our Survival: Address to the National Assembly, 1965)

(21) They see that Africa is on the threshold of a new life: they know that the success of the O. A. U. Conference at Accra this year will be a significant turning point in African history. ***By attacking us the neo-colonialists and imperialists are in fact aiming at the prevention of our unity in Africa***. (Challenge to our Survival: Address to the National Assembly, 1965)

(22) ***There is no doubt that the imperialist counter-attack against human freedom and progress is mounting in ferocity and volume throughout the world***. The imperialists are behind all the conflicts among the emergent and developing nations. They are set on a course which must spell disaster for themselves, but which can also work great havoc for humanity. Our solidarity therefore has become more important than ever before. (The 4th Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference, 1964)

In these extracts, the colonialists and imperialists are represented as wholly wicked and vicious in behavior since their chief aim is the prevention of African unity, an idea that is touted to be in the supreme interest of Africa. Nkrumah's use of attack metaphors both verbally and nominally in these extracts and throughout the corpus analyzed in this study realizes the topos of difference (Wodak et al., 2009) so that whereas it is used negatively when referring to the actions of the 'other', the colonialists, it has positive undertones or it is positively evaluated when describing the actions of Africa against colonialism. In this way, the metaphors of attack have a connotation of wickedness, cruelty and brutality when used in reference to actions of the colonialists. On the contrary, their usage to describe activities (to be) carried out by Africans has heroic and benefits-to-Africa connotations.

It can, therefore, be averred that Nkrumah's use of 'attack' in relation to the colonialists is an instance of negative other-presentation whereas in the context of Africa, it is used in a positive light as an act of self-defense. This indicates a presupposition of a better 'us' vs. a worse 'them',

a mythic discourse in which an individual's understanding of a rather complex situation from his personal point of view is presented as an absolute truth and as representative of the beliefs and values of a whole continent. In the extracts above, the colonialists are presented as aggressors and Africans are warned, rather exaggeratedly, that 'the imperialist counter-attack is mounting in ferocity throughout the world' (22). This assertion together with the phrases 'in fact', 'all the conflicts among the emergent and developing nations' and 'no doubt' achieves an intensification strategy that justifies the urgent need for African unity. Although the position communicated by Nkrumah seems explanatory and is presented as a statement of fact and an absolute truth about the African situation, it can neither be verified nor subjected to experimentation. It, therefore, reduces complex socio-political issues to simplistic terms and functions to popularize a myth to the masses.

According to Kelsey (2015, p. 6), the persuasive force of a myth is typically realized by the preferences, exaggerations, suppressions and simplifications that function through it. This is how the extracts above are couched, indicating a simplifying process that functions ideologically in the message they deliver (or exaggerate) and suppress. In the speech from which extract (22) was culled, Nkrumah did not provide hard proof that former colonial powers were, as a matter of fact, plotting against the independence and prosperity of former colonial territories across the globe. Neither did he adduce concrete evidence for his accusation that 'The imperialists are behind all the conflicts among the emergent and developing nations' (22). Yet, this mythic narrative that purports to be a truism induces a need for protection, making a Union Government of Africa the most legitimate option. Such a political unification of Africa seems justifiable and is claimed to be the only way to "imprint the seal of freedom, unity, progress, peace and prosperity on our people and on Africa" (Nkrumah, 04/06/62):

(23) This example of what has happened in Congo is a positive warning to all Africa ***to unite in action to defend and preserve*** the independence of Africa. (Conference of African Women and Women of African Descent, 1960)

(24) Only a continental government of Africa will give reality and purpose to African unity. Without it, African unity will remain an empty and a sentimental slogan … The unity of Africa [is] ***the single means by which we can promote the prosperity of this continent and defend it*** against the machinations of our enemies. (Opening of the 2nd Conference of African Journalists, 1963)

The importance of resistance against colonialism, in these extracts, is underscored by the use of expressions such as ‘a positive warning to all Africa’, ‘the machinations of our enemies’ and the topos of history as teacher (Wodak et al., 2009) realized by the noun phrase ‘this example of what has happened in the Congo’ (23). The metonymic use of ‘we/our’ in reference to the people of Africa is combined with expressions such as ‘all Africa’, ‘unite in action’, ‘independence of Africa’ and ‘this continent’, contributing to the strategy of unification and cohesivation and emphasizing solidarity and the will to unite or cooperate in the attainment of mutual interests, common objectives and shared dreams. In this way, the political unification of Africa, as seen in various parts of the analysis in Chapter 4, is transformed from an individual’s idea to an African ideal and is hyperbolically presented as the only viable alternative to colonialist and neo-colonialist attack, giving evidence of the power relationship between Nkrumah and his audience. Together, the metaphors of attack and defense echoed a wartime rhetoric in which colonialism is attacked and African freedom and unification is defended through Nkrumah’s speeches. The recurrence of such metaphors in Nkrumah’s discourse can be regarded as an incremental strategy in political discourse where certain terms or expressions are repeated in speeches to reinforce particular themes and ideologies (Howe, 1988; Charteris-Black, 2004).

Generally, previous studies (e.g., Ahrens, 2009; 2019; Semino & Koller, 2009) on metaphors of attack and defense demonstrate that their usage by female and male politicians differs. Whereas female politicians tend to use metaphors of defense to defend important values that they consider to be under attack or to protect the people/things they care about, their male counterparts often use metaphors of attack to lead attacks on their opponents and (perceived) political enemies. Hence, it is instructive that Nkrumah uses both metaphors of attack and defense because in doing so, he maximizes the political advantage and social capital that the two types of metaphors offer. Therefore, depending on what suits his purpose best at any given point, he is able to construct himself as the defender or protector of the African society as well as cast himself in the role of a figurative military leader for Africa who invokes the battlefields and rallies his like-minded people for warfare.

5.2.2 Metaphors of struggle

Metaphors of struggle in the corpus were realized by words associated with the general notion of struggle such as ‘battle’, ‘grapple’, ‘clash’ and ‘struggle’. They connote the idea of contention

between opposing parties and the need for force to be applied in order for the goal of African independence and a Union Government of Africa to be attained. The collocations of these metaphor keywords showed that they had strong negative semantic prosodies against all forms of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism and strong positive prosodies for African freedom and unification, as highlighted by the following examples: 'grapple with the monster of imperialism', 'battle for Africa's freedom', 'battle against colonialism' and 'struggle for African unity'. Thus, the semanticity of the metaphors of struggle emphasize a dual struggle which takes place in parallel: a battle for the political unification of Africa and a battle against colonialist and imperialist domination. That is, there is the criminalization of colonialism, hence an unfavorable semantic prosody of extreme negativity and the promotion of African freedom and unity, hence a favorable semantic prosody of desirability. This dual discursive positioning performs a singular function that suggests colonialism is intrinsically bad and must necessarily be countered through African unity, thereby lending credibility to the Unite or Perish myth. The concordance lines of 'struggle' when it collocates with 'against' and 'for' presented below highlight how metaphors of struggle help to purvey the Unite or Perish mythology.

Table 13: Sample concordances of ***struggle against*** in the COND

1	regions in Africa for continuing the	**struggle against**	colonialism, imperialism
2	advice based on our experience in the	**struggle against**	colonialism. I talk not from
3	not taken us long to discover that the	**struggle against**	colonialism does not end
4	this was only the first phase of the	**struggle against**	the forces of colonialism and
5	of Africa, and we shall continue the	**struggle against**	these forces of neocolonialism
6	indeed it is our struggle. It is a	**struggle against**	the strongest combination forces
7	flying the banner of the national	**struggle against**	imperialism, colonialism and
8	are forces of world tension. The	**struggle against**	neocolonialism and its ramification
9	as part of the vanguard in the	**struggle against**	all forms of imperialism in Africa
10	constant vigilance, for unrelenting	**struggle against**	the forces of imperialism and
11	a more effective force in the	**struggle against**	imperialism when a continental union
12	If unity is essential in the	**struggle against**	imperialism, how much more must it
13	Ababa, a turning point in our	**struggle against**	the final bastions of colonialism
14	Nations. Please note that our	**struggle against**	colonialism and imperialism is part

The concordance lines of 'struggle against' give proof of the strong negative semantic prosody of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. They present a monolithic picture of the treachery of these 'forces' (lines 4, 5, 6, 10) and a justification for their resistance. The power asymmetry between Nkrumah and his audience can be noticed when he asserts that 'I talk not from books but

from life and experience' (line 2) in relation to the subject of colonialism. This argumentative strategy of self-promotion and/or self-credibility reinforces Nkrumah's position as president of the first African country to gain independence and a pioneering Pan-African, increasing the likelihood of whatever advice or suggestion he was going to proffer to be taken seriously. The concordances show that African independence is not an end in itself, rather; it is a means to achieving the higher goal of African unity. Therefore, 'the struggle against colonialism does not end with the attainment of national independence' (line 3) since 'African independence was only the first phase of the struggle against the forces of imperialism and colonialism' (line 4). The more important objective is the formation of 'a continental union' (line 11) or 'African unity' (line 12).

The reference to the founding of the Organization of African Unity in 1963 in Addis Ababa is instructive, as it is said to be 'a crucial turning point in our struggle against the final bastions of colonialism in Africa' (line 13). This creates the impression that the Union Government of Africa is imminent, even though the facts on the ground at the time the speech was delivered proved otherwise. For instance by this time, the issue of the sovereignty of the independent African states within the Union Government was still a matter of contention. Also, the details of this Union Government in terms of defense and security or a unified military command, economic foreign affairs and diplomacy as well as the accompanying issues of an African citizenship, an African currency, an African Monetary Zone, an African Central Bank, etc. had not been worked out. The suppression of these issues helps to portray a simplistic view of a rather complex socio-political reality that feeds into a particular socio-political narrative or myth that serves an ideological purpose. Through a strategy of intensification that realizes a twofold function of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, hyperbolic expressions such as 'strongest combination of forces the world has ever seen' (line 6) and 'forces of world tension' (line 8) – even though no evidence is provided to support these claims – are used to categorize the actions of the colonialists. Conversely, positive epithets such as 'sustained effort and sacrifice', 'constant vigilance', 'unrelenting' (line 10), 'vanguard' (line 9) and 'our struggle against **all** forms of imperialism and neo-colonialism and **all** its ramifications in Africa' (lines 8, 9) are used to describe the activities of Africans.

It is also important to note that the struggle against colonialism and imperialism 'is part of the struggle for world peace' (line 14). Such elevated rhetoric through a strategy of logical association

results in a naturalization and/or universalization mechanism (Fairclough, 2010) that presents African independence and unity as necessary ingredients for global peace and stability. This imposes a solemn responsibility on the audience to take practical action in order to, as it were, save the world by the acceptance of a Union Government of Africa. Yet again, the past mental frame that accompanies the use of the lexical item 'flying the banner' (line 7), from a war perspective, is invoked, indicating that the struggle against colonialism will continue until victory is won – that is, until an actual political federation of Africa is established.

Table 14: Sample concordances of ***struggle for*** in the COND

1	Africa. It is also part of the **struggle for** the total emancipation and unity of
2	workers are the vanguard in the **struggle for** the liberation of our continent
3	women played glorious part in the **struggle for** independence. They were solidly behind
4	keep its economic freedom. The **struggle for** independence and unity must begin with
5	victorious pursuit of the **struggle for** African freedom and unity and liquidation of
6	and vanguard of the gigantic **struggle for** the total liberation of Africa and unity
7	revolution with regard to the **struggle for** the total liberation and unity of Africa
8	right in the front of the **struggle for** the total liberation of Africa and the union
9	enter a decisive phase in the **struggle for** the total liberation and unity of the
10	emancipation, assisting in the **struggle for** the liberation of Africa and political
11	to march fully with us in our **struggle for** the freedom and unity of Africa

Unlike in Table 13 where 'struggle' is used to indicate resistance so that a negatively evaluated socio-political construct is opposed, 'struggle' in Table 14 is used to express the need to contend and sacrifice for a worthwhile goal. This goal is 'the total emancipation and unity of the African continent' (line 1) and it is reiterated in the remaining concordances. The worthiness of this goal can be seen in the various groups of people who are said to be engaged with it. So, 'the workers of Africa are at the vanguard in the struggle for African liberation' (line 2), 'the women of Africa have played a most glorious part' in the struggle (line 3) and Algeria must be congratulated for 'marching fully with us in our struggle for the freedom and unity of Africa' (line 11). The adjectives 'total' and 'complete' used to describe 'liberation' intensify the importance of the struggle for Africa's peace and prosperity and the noun phrase 'gigantic struggle' (line 6) indicates the personal effort, sacrifice and determination required for a successful outcome to be realized. Consistent with the analysis in other places in this thesis, a polarized referential or nomination strategy can be identified in Table 14 where positively evaluated words such as 'vanguard' (lines 2, 6), 'solidly' and 'most glorious' (line 3) are used to refer to Africans whereas words that express

disapproval (e.g., 'liquidation' – line 5) are used to characterize the colonialists. This reinforces the strict 'us' vs. 'them' discourse found throughout the analysis and contributes to a (de)legitimation strategy that is essential for the creation and promotion of the Unite or Perish myth.

Closely related to Nkrumah's use of struggle metaphors is the militaristic tone that characterized his rhetoric, indicating a military struggle between contending parties. Military discourses, according to Bishop and Jaworski (2003), are usually indicative of the discourse of war and conflict and enable the creation of an enemy – that is, an identified threat in the form of an individual, a group or an entity. When combined with metaphors of attack and defense, the 'militarization' of Nkrumah's discourse legitimizes the Unite or Perish myth in that it emphasizes the need for the threat of colonialism to be dealt with in a strategic manner and for a Union Government of Africa to be logically formed. The use of military discourse in the corpus was evidenced by the presence of military jargons and phraseology such as 'phalanx', 'garrison', 'ranks', 'frontline', 'close formation' and 'stand in serried lines'. They were used to describe the strategic approach to be adopted in the battle or struggle against colonialism, as the extract below shows.

> (25) Now I come to the task of ***the fighters who are in the front rank of the struggle***. Unity, ***fellow freedom fighters, must be the watchword of those who are leading the masses into the battle for independence*** in the many parts of Africa which, alas, are still under the dragging yoke of colonialism. ***You must close your ranks and stand firmly together***. You must forget your theoretical differences … and ***come together in a solid phalanx to meet the enemy on a common front***. (Nationalists' Conference of African Freedom Fighters, 1962)

The extract above taken from only one paragraph of an Nkrumah speech highlights the strong militaristic tone of his discourse, albeit he was supposed to be addressing a deliberative socio-political issue (i.e., African independence and unity). The use of military or army terminology such as 'front rank', 'close your ranks', 'solid phalanx' and 'meet the enemy' is suggestive of the decisive military action to be carried out against colonialism, the enemy, in order for African unity to become a reality. These expressions, including 'phalanx' which refers to a body of troops standing or moving in close formation, trigger a number of war imagery, especially those of the First and Second World Wars – even the more since the speech was delivered in the 1960s. As "the invocation of war powerfully imposes a position against something" (Glover, 2002, p. 208), the past mental frames activated by war, including bloody images, traumas and triumphs, validate

whatever action is deemed fit to bring an end to colonialism and to establish a Union Government of Africa. Again, the power differential between Nkrumah and his audience is noticeable, as he is enabled by his influential social status and power to couch in highly technical language and specialized vocabulary. The extract also illustrates the point that military metaphors were seldom used in isolation in the corpus. Rather, they usually clustered to produce what Charteris-Black (2004, p. 92) calls "a battery of metaphors". In addition to the military terminology found in the extract above, other lexical items in the same speech from which the extract above was culled that project the idea of 'militarization' include 'battle tactics', 'battalion', 'battleground', 'serried lines 'and 'fifth column' This can be analyzed as an instance of 'metaphorical chaining' (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 92) in which the meaningfulness of various sections of a speech and indeed the entire speech is explicated by the conceptual metaphor AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE IS WAR.

Nkrumah's use of the military term 'fifth column' is worth commenting on given how it is reconceptualized for rhetorical effect in warning the African freedom fighters of the enemy that would want to infiltrate their ranks as a fifth column. Credited to Emilio Mola Vidal, a Nationalist General during the Spanish Civil War, 1936 – 1939), the term, refers to a "clandestine group or faction of subversive agents who attempt to undermine a nation's solidarity by any means at their disposal"[46]. This description presents the colonialists as forces of darkness and saboteurs of African unity and solidarity. It also implies that their activities are unlawful and destructive to an established or an existing system, especially a legally constituted government (in this case, the yet to be established Union Government of Africa) or a set of beliefs. This creates a mythic parallel of law vs. lawlessness. Although the term originally refers to enemy forces from within who undermine a larger group, Nkrumah recontextualizes and reconceptualizes it to serve his purpose of labeling and stereotyping outside/external forces (the colonialists), thereby justifying the need for colonial resistance and African unification. The final point to be made here is that military discourses can be seen as "effective pick-up devices in recruiting support" (Gandara, 2004, p. 347). In the case of Nkrumah, however, he not only garners support for the myth he propagates but also demands it through the invocation of fear and panic by suggesting that if his clarion call for African unity is not heeded, the consequences will be devastating – that is, Africa will perish. In the next section, metaphors of religion and morality are discussed.

[46] See https://www.britannica.com/topic/fifth-column

5.3 Colonialism/neo-colonialism as a religious/moral construct

Religion can reduce highly complex questions of social and economic behavior into simple issues of personal morality (Young, 1993). It is, therefore, not surprising that religious metaphors and metaphors that border on morality were found to contribute to the Unite or Perish myth. Metaphors from this source domain include 'evil', 'devil', 'sin', 'iniquities', 'monster', 'torment', 'salvation', 'redemption', 'blessings', 'faith and hope', 'crusade', 'sacred' and 'vision'. These metaphors can be grouped into two: those that conceptualize the malice of the colonialists and those that portray the 'righteous' intentions of Nkrumah for Africa. The metaphors of religion and morality were used to construct the colonialists as a thoroughly evil 'other', thereby legitimizing the idea of African unity as a solution to this evil. I, therefore, propose the conceptual metaphor COLONIALISM/NEO-COLONIALISM IS EVIL. In what follows, I, first, discuss the metaphors of religion and morality that depict the malice of the colonialists. This will be followed by a discussion of the metaphors that portray the 'righteous' intentions of Nkrumah for Africa.

5.3.1 Metaphors that conceptualize the malice of colonialism

The invocation of the correlational metaphor colonialism as evil describes the behavior of the colonialists as immoral or wicked in intent and vicious in effect or impact. More crucially, they are not merely associated with immorality and evil but they are also characterized as being the cause of immorality and evil. For example, Nkrumah says: "Oppressive forces breed frustration. Imperialism and colonialism are a twofold evil" (Nkrumah, 10/07/53). This statement can be interpreted to mean that if colonialism and imperialism are blatantly evil, then by implication, the actions of these 'oppressive forces' which 'breed frustration' are equally evil. This makes the perpetrators of colonialism (i.e., the colonialists) evil as described by Steiner (2002, p. 183 quoted in Bhatia 2007, p. 511):

> Thus evil acts, it's sometimes suggested, are necessarily the products of evil dispositions; or the evilness of states of affairs is a sufficient condition of the evilness of the acts that bring them about; or having evil dispositions is a necessary, and maybe sufficient, condition of being an evil person.

The choice of the word 'evil' is not merely hyperbolic since it invokes religious imagery deriving from religious-cum-spiritual notions of good and evil. As Kellner (2004, p. 8) explains, the metaphorical use of evil is indicative of a rhetoric of binary moralism that suggests that "'we' are

the forces of goodness and 'they' are the forces of darkness". That is, Nkrumah is defining the moral good and determining the moral order. This paired duality and metaphorical juxtaposition has, at least, two implications. The first, based on morality (i.e., right and wrong), is the (e)vilification of colonialism (Lazar & Lazar, 2004, p. 236) and the emotionalization of facts (Menz, 1989) via the topos of appeal to authority (Wodak et al., 2009) – here, a religious appeal to an external legitimate source of authority in whom there is no evil. This kind of religious judgment is likely to be effective and persuasive since religion is "the ultimate moral force within the societal order of discourse of the day" (Graham et al. 2004, p. 204). The pejorative label 'evil', it can be said, functions as a part of the strategy of (de)legitimation that imposes an obligation on the people of Africa to rise up (in arms) against the evil of colonialism by accepting the mythic proposition of a Union Government of Africa.

The second implication of the metaphoric correlation between colonialism and evil in black and white or good and bad terms highlights the notion of category-pair or standardized relational pair (Leudar et al., 2004, p. 245). In the words of Nkrumah, "It [The fight against colonialism] is a fight between **good and evil**, between **what is right and what is wrong**" (Nkrumah, 24/03/61). This category-pair portrays the colonialists as the evil ones and Nkrumah and the people of Africa as the good ones who possess all the positive traits that the evil ones are bereft of, reinforcing a political mythology. As Charteris-Black (2004) suggests, when one couches in antithetical terms using expressions such as right/wrong and good/evil, one "invites the hearer to ally himself to the speaker by identifying with those entities, ideas and policies that are labelled as right and just" (p. 61). Hence, by ascribing the descriptor 'good' to a particular group of people, their judgments, evaluations and actions are legitimated and a certain moral authority, integrity and superiority associated with the label 'good' is projected onto them. Further to this point, the category-pair produced by equating colonialism with evil implies that on the one hand, the colonialists and their current and future supporters are 'bad', 'vile' and 'unjust' and on the other hand, Nkrumah and the people of Africa are on the side of 'good' and 'justice'. This standardized relational pair, which also realizes the topos of comparison (Wodak et al., 2009) – i.e., 'we' are superior to or better than 'them' – denies the colonialists any (moral) right to an explanation, as they are an outright evil. Thus, Nkrumah defines and determines the moral order through the creation of an evil 'other', an undesirable and a deadly threat to Africa's peace and progress that can be neutralized if and only if Africa were to unite under a continental political federation.

In order to identify the evaluative meanings conveyed by the metaphors of religion and morality as well as how they contribute to the Unite or Perish myth, it was needful to subject them to collocate and concordance analyses. In terms of collocations, they were always found to be associated with strong negative semantic prosodies when used in reference to the colonialists and they had favorable semantic orientations when used to refer to Africa. This was evidenced by negative collocations and phraseological patterns such as 'iniquities of colonialism', 'evils of colonialist and imperialist intrigues' and 'sins that colonialists have committed' identified in the corpus. Conversely, positive collocations and phraseological patterns such as 'Africa's salvation', 'Africa's redemption and 'blessings from our unity' were associated with Africa. What can be deduced from these lexical patterns is that colonialism is evil-intentioned and ill-natured and the colonial forces are wicked nation wreckers whose activities have inflicted wounds on Africa. In sharp contrast, the people of Africa are the forces of good who have a legitimate reason to repudiate colonialism in order to enjoy the blessings that will flow from African unity. The narrative framework that colonialism is wholly evil and must, therefore, be expunged via African unity is further discussed using the concordances of 'evil' presented below.

Table 15 Sample concordances of ***evil(s)*** in the COND

1	of their first-hand knowledge of the **evils** of colonialist and imperialist intrigues
2	and granite resolve to liquidate these **evils** from the face of our beloved continent
3	success in her endeavor to undo the **evils** of colonialism in their country. It is
4	who are still waging war against the **evils** of imperialism and colonialism. We are
5	the casualties will be immense. The **evils** of Portuguese colonialism are felt by all
6	motherland and fight against these **evils** of imperialism, colonialism and set example
7	freedom to Africa. We all know the **evils** of colonialism but there are some of who
8	this is more dangerous than the old **evils** we are striving to liquidate from our
9	and want amidst plenty – all these **evils** are the legacy of colonialism can only be
10	youth in mortal combat against the **evil** forces of colonialism in a determined effort

The binary opposition created through the metaphor of evil and which contributes to the Unite or Perish myth is emphasized in the concordance lines above where 'evil(s)' invariably collocates with 'colonialism'. The colonialists are accused of 'intrigues' detrimental to Africa (line 1) and their actions are described as 'more dangerous' (line 7) in view of which Africans have demonstrated 'iron opposition' and 'granite resolve' (line 2) and 'are striving to liquidate these evils' (line 8). The opposition against colonialism is presented in positive light, so the Prime Minister of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) must be 'congratulated' and 'wished great success in her

endeavor to undo the evils of colonialism' (line 3). This positive evaluation of the actions of anti-colonialists is reinforced through an intensification strategy with the use of expressions connoting strength and courage such as 'granite resolve' (line 2), 'waging war' (line 4), 'wipe out' (line 10) and 'the best of our youth' (line 10). The evil metaphor is also integrated with figures of speech such as contrast (the use of 'beloved continent' in line 2) and metonymy (the use of 'we/our' as a substitute for Africa) to make the communicated ideological position more appealing. Further, 'the evils of Portuguese colonialism' are exaggeratedly and emotionally presented as been felt by 'all African states without exception' (line 5), not only Angola or Mozambique. Even though this may not really be the case, such an unsubstantiated assertion in conjunction with an emotive statement like 'We must stand in the supreme interest of our motherland and fight against these evils' (line 6) and the presupposition remark 'We all know the evils of colonialism' (line 7) foists a moral imperative on Africans to unite against colonialism and to unite in support of a Union Government of Africa.

This strategy of emotionalization of facts (Menz, 1989) and sensationalism is intensified by powerfully evocative expressions such as 'set an example of sacrifice, determination and courage' (line 9), 'locked in mortal combat' (line 10) and 'immense casualties' of colonialism (line 5). The exaggerated use of 'locked in mortal combat' is, particularly, instructive since it invokes an image of fighting to the death and the literal killing of persons in a fight. As far as Nkrumah is concerned then, the evils of colonialism, its remnants and legacy in Africa and the potential and vital threat of neo-colonialism 'can only be effectively removed if we unite under one Union Government of Africa' (line 9). The use of the conditional clause 'if we unite under one Union Government of Africa' realizes a presupposition function that creates the axiomatic impression that no other path of progress and stability is available to Africa. While this proposed solution, supposedly incontestable, may appear simplistic, it is far more complicated in reality. Thus, there is the promotion of a political mythology by reducing a highly complex socio-political issue to a simple issue of morality.

Apart from the conceptualization of the colonialists as downright evil, their correlation with the concepts of 'devil' and 'monsters' is worth discussing since this contributes to a (de)legitimation strategy in support of the narrative of a Union Government of Africa. This provides evidence for an underlying concept of COLONIALISM IS A DEVIL/MONSTER. In addition to the notion of

immorality that is attributed to the colonialists by the use of 'devil' and 'monster', these metaphors, more significantly, arouse fear and panic through the topos of threat (Wodak et al., 2009) and achieve a strategy of demonization. The use of the devil metaphor is, first, analyzed, followed by the monster metaphor.

(26) Once this stage has been reached, ***the devil of colonialism*** will put all its energies into establishing control over the foreign relations and policies of the new African States, and thus make it difficult or even impossible for the African people to work together to establish a Union of African States. (The 10th Anniversary of the Convention People's Party, 1960)

(27) They [The imperialists] are cruel, deceitful war-mongers because they find this the most effective means of economic exploitation. For the imperialist, human values count for nothing and are always subordinated to his quest for profit. When there is profit to be made from being cruel, ***the imperialist is a devil in human form***. (The 4th Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference, 1964)

According to the Judeo-Christian belief system, the devil is the supreme spirit of evil. Hence, ascribing the label of 'devil' to the colonialists can be interpreted as the highest form of demonization and (e)vilification. That is, the colonialists are not only evil in certain aspects of character; instead, they are the embodiment of everything evil so that all forms of evil (not only colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism) emanate from them. Against the backdrop that Nkrumah was strongly opposed to other socio-political constructs such as apartheid, capitalism and racialism, as found in his speeches, it will not be far-fetched to assert that his description of the colonialists in broad brushstrokes using the devil metaphor was an attempt to accuse them of several other 'vices' in addition to colonialism. This may be considered, in part, as a scapegoating strategy intended to blame the colonialists of all manner of wrongdoings.

The stereotyping of the colonialists using referential strategy linguistically realized by 'devil' is suggestive of the view that the colonialists are intrinsically and supremely wicked (i.e., devilish, demonic, satanic, diabolic, etc.), reinforcing a moral order. Unsurprisingly, they are further described as 'cruel and deceitful war-mongers and an exploitative group of people' (27) whose chief aim 'is to make the establishment of a Union Government of Africa an impossibility' (26). This moral evaluation and damning judgment is presented as a fact rather than an opinion and, therefore, contributes to the naturalization or universalization of an ideological position (Fairclough, 2010). Also, the noun phrase 'devil in human form' (27) is likely to activate other

idiomatic usage such as ‘devil in disguise’, ‘wolf in sheep’s clothing’ and ‘snake in the grass’, possibly enabling a mental network among listeners so that resisting the devil of colonialism and forming a Union Government of Africa is the logical and natural thing to do. Given Nkrumah’s predominantly Christian audience, the devil metaphor is likely to be effective and persuasive since it invokes a powerful religious imagery that aligns with a number of biblical verses, including “**Resist the devil** and he will flee” (James 4: 7b) and “The [devil] comes only to steal, kill and destroy” (John 10: 10).

The demonization of the colonialists via the devil metaphor is heightened by their association with the concept of ‘monsters’. This conceptualization presents them as the tormentors of Africa who have inflicted or are inflicting excruciating pain and torture on Africans physically, mentally and socially. The tormentor must, therefore, be destroyed and a Union Government of Africa must be formed.

> (28) For my part, I must say that as long as I live and as long as any little vestige of colonialism and imperialism remains in Africa, I shall prosecute a ruthless war on ***these monsters***, a war in which there shall be no truce. ***Colonialism and imperialism have no honor, no shame, no morals, and conscience***. (Casablanca Conference, 1961)
>
> (29) … we see ***the hydra-headed neo-colonialism*** slowly but clearly emerging, but ***that ugly head should be crushed***. (Speech in Honor of President Tito of Yugoslavia, 1961)
>
> (30) … but we alone can grapple with ***the monster of imperialism which has all but devoured us***. (All-African People’s Conference, 1958)
>
> (31) … may know the diabolical depths of degradation to which ***these twin-monsters of imperialism and colonialism*** can descend. (Laying of the Foundation Stone and Inauguration of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, 1961)

In addition to being described as monsters, the colonialists, in the extracts above, are liable for ‘diabolical depths of degradation’ (31) and they have ‘no honor, no shame, **no morals** and no conscience’ (28). There is, therefore, an interaction between the monster metaphor and ethical discourse for ideological purposes. Although, one can assert that the word ‘monster’ has similar characteristics as the word ‘(d)evil’ in terms of their metaphoricity, the word ‘monster’ activates other meanings and/or images such as ‘disgust’ and ‘vampire’, which are associated with the

colonialists. Fabiszak (2010, p. 95) writes that it is "only when we degrade the enemy to the level of animals, or construe them as alien to 'our way of life', can we draft soldiers for a kill". This makes the demonization of the enemy, the colonialists, necessary for the construction of the Unite or Perish myth since the demonization of colonialism makes the political unification of Africa a necessity. Nkrumah, therefore, casts himself in the mold of a Special Prosecutor or an Attorney General with purity of intentions who 'shall prosecute a ruthless war on these monsters' (28). The demonization of the enemy usually entails the de-personification of the enemy in that by considering the enemy as inhuman and non-human, it becomes unexacting and logical for one to promote an insensitive attitude towards them. Similar to a horror movie created to invoke fear and panic, dread and alarm, the monster metaphor provokes unsettling feelings of fright in listeners, making them petrified and, thus, keen on taking drastic steps – even if irrational – against the source of trepidation. Since a Union Government of Africa is presented as the only option of survival, this mythic proposition is likely to engage the attention of listeners and, possibly, obtain their endorsement.

Not surprisingly, the monster of colonialism is said to have 'descended diabolical depths of degradation on us' (31), 'devoured us' (30) and "has wrought devastation in Africa which is without parallel anywhere in the history of the world" (Nkrumah, 07/01/61). Such hyperbolic instantiation of an 'us' vs. 'them' polarity can be construed as forming a part of the strategy of unification and cohesivation realized by the topos of threat (Wodak et al., 2009), leading to an exaggeration of a threat in an attempt to mobilize support for and gain mass approval of an individual's belief. Alluding to Greek mythology, the adjective 'hydra-headed' and the nominal 'harpy' in the expression "… neo-colonialism is a latter-day harpy, a monster which entices its victim with sweet music" (Nkrumah, 15/08/64) can enable listeners to establish an isomorphic relationship between past and present frames (Bednarek, 2005) – for instance, the Hydra of Lerna, a multi-headed serpentine water monster that Hercules had to kill as the second of his Twelve Labors and a rapacious monster depicted as having a woman's head and body and a bird's wings and claws. This portrayal of colonialism as a poisonous blood-thirsty beast intensifies social fear in listeners – this invocation of social fear is vital, not peripheral, in the manipulation of people's attitudes, actions and behaviors (Rediehs, 2002). As myth is usually propagated by some amount of exaggeration (Thompson, 1985), the use of metaphorical representations and conceptualizations in the form of words such as 'evil', 'devil' and 'monster' can be said to play a key role in

Nkrumah's creation and promotion of the Unite or Perish myth. By activating fear through his use of metaphors of religion and morality, Nkrumah is able to represent himself as a bastion of morality that would rescue Africa from the clutches of colonialism and from the dangers posed by the 'immoral' and 'unjust' colonialists. This is the focus of the next sub-section.

5.3.2 Metaphors that portray the 'righteous' intentions of Nkrumah

From the analysis of metaphors of religion and morality above, it can be realized that Nkrumah creates the political myth that colonialism is inherently evil and those who oppose it are inherently good. This paired duality, like other binary oppositions such as life and death, day and night and light and darkness, can be viewed as a mythic archetype that evaluates human experiences as either positive or negative (Charteris-Black, 2005, p. 107). There is, therefore, a justification for a Union Government of Africa. That is, the Unite or Perish myth is presented as a potent antidote to the ills of colonialism and the dangerous schemes of neo-colonialism. It is also important to state that colonialism and neo-colonialism are often conceived as one and the selfsame thing throughout the corpus. This sameness strategy suppresses the complexity of neo-colonialism, establishes a simple causal relationship between it and colonialism and feeds into the narrative that says there is an urgent need for Africa to unite. In this vein, Nkrumah is found to use metaphors of religion and morality that elevate the idea of African unity from a secular socio-political idea to a divine injunction via the use of words such as 'salvation', 'sacred', 'crusade' and 'blessings'. By so doing, he presents himself to the masses as an ethical leader with purity of intentions for Africa, as demonstrated by the concordances of 'salvation' presented below.

Table 16: Sample concordances of ***salvation*** in the COND

1	swim or sink together, that our **salvation** lies in our own hands and it is only unity
2	no power on earth can halt her our **salvation** and strength and our only way out of
3	see our line and know that Africa's **salvation** lies only in a political union of
4	leaders realize this is their only **salvation**. Otherwise, I see nothing that can save
5	of our African unity as the only **salvation** for Africa. For my part, I stand resolutely
6	realize beyond all doubts that **salvation** for Africa lies in unity. Your Majesty,
7	Mr. Chairman, delegates, Africa's **salvation** lies in a continental national union
8	have said time and time again, the **salvation** of Africa lies in unity. Only a Union

The recontextualization of 'salvation' from the domain of religion to the domain of politics is evident in the concordance lines above, emphasizing the mythic proposition that a Union

Government of Africa will certainly be a redemptive blessing to Africa. That is, it will save Africa from the error and evil of colonialism and neo-colonialism. The use of the adverb 'only' in nearly all the lines not only intensifies and universalizes the mythology as a commonly shared ideal but it also evokes fear and alarm in listeners, which is necessary to influence the beliefs and attitudes of a group of people. This enunciation of fear and dread is reinforced by clauses such as 'we must swim or sink together' (line 1) and 'I can see nothing that can save Africa' (line 4). Again, the use of intensification strategy and hyperbole to promote the mythology is realized by expression such as 'no power on earth can halt her now' (line 2), 'I stand resolutely and inexorably by this conviction' (line 5) and 'beyond all doubts' (line 6). As well, the adverbial clause 'As I have said time and time again' (line 8) functions as a form of manifest intertextuality that achieves a recurrence strategy reiterating an ideology into the consciousness of listeners.

Religion plays a very important role in Africa, with most people professing to be either Christians or Muslims. Hence, the use of the concept of 'salvation' with its religious connotation of deliverance from sin and its consequences is one that Nkrumah's audience can relate to. The conceptualization of African unity in terms of salvation or redemption, further, implies the sinful nature of the colonialists; hence, the need for the people of Africa to be delivered from them. Conversely, it depicts Nkrumah as an epitome of morality that will save Africa from perishing at the hands of the colonialists, hence the conceptual key NKRUMAH IS A MORAL LEADER. I argue that it is this moral authority which he ascribes to himself that enables him to unequivocally state that if a Union Government of Africa is not formed, 'I can see nothing that can save Africa' (line 4). That is, he constructs himself as a Jewish prophet of a sort – laying claim to accuracy and authenticity – who predicts Africa's doom if a Union Government of Africa is not formed.

Nkrumah's use of metaphors of religion and morality also sought to give credibility to his ethical values by conveying the purity of his intentions and his moral uprightness, implying that political motives are religious ones. That is, he sought to suggest that his promulgation of a Union Government of Africa was not based on a self-seeking desire; instead, it stemmed purely from having Africa's supreme interest at heart. As Charteris-Black (2005, p. 136) argues, "the rhetorical objective of choosing words from the domain of religion [and morality] is to enhance the ethos of the speaker because they imply that political decisions are made on the basis of high principle rather than crude self-interest". Therefore, there is a transference of the situation being described

by Nkrumah to his actual ethos and behavior. In this regard, Nkrumah claims that his clarion call for African unity is a 'holy and righteous' call to save Mother Africa from destruction – this is exemplified by his use of the word 'sacred' in the following extracts.

(32) Fighters for African freedom, ***I appeal to you in the sacred name of Mother Africa*** to leave this conference resolved to rededicate yourselves to the task of forming among the political parties in your respective countries abroad a united front, based upon one common fundamental aim and object: the speedy liberation of your territories. Down with imperialism, let us say! Down with colonialism! Down with racialism and tribal division! (All-African People's Conference, 1958)

(33) ***We have been charged with this sacred task by our own people***, and we cannot betray their trust by failing them. We will be mocking the hopes of our people if we show the slightest hesitation or delay in tackling realistically this question of African Unity. (Inauguration of the Organization of African Unity, 1963)

(34) And to succeed – and succeed we must, for the sake of the masses, whose interests are our prime concern and whose welfare is our supreme law – ***you must each devote yourselves without stint of thought of self to this sacred cause of Ghana's and Africa's redemption***. Forward with the party! Forward to African unity! Forward to socialism! (The 13th Anniversary of the Declaration of Positive Action, 1963)

As already mentioned, religious metaphors have a pragmatic effect of creating a myth that equates political leadership to spiritual guidance. This is manifest in the extracts above, as Nkrumah charges his listeners with the spiritual mandate of African unity. Through the topos of appeal to authority (Wodak et al., 2009), 'the sacred name of Mother Africa' (32) is invoked, with the noun phrase 'Mother Africa' achieving a personification effect that serves an ideological function. Consequently, the expression 'I appeal to you in the sacred name of Mother Africa' which can be regarded as a variant of a popular African saying 'I beg you in the name of God' – and typically used to compel people to do something they would not want to do – puts Africa on equal terms with God. Like God, Mother Africa must be venerated and not disrespected, making listeners duty-bound to accept whatever ideology is being communicated to them in this name. The compulsion to act in support of African unity is emphasized by verbs such as 'rededicate', 'charged', 'devote' and 'resolved' and the presupposition remark 'we cannot betray their trust by failing them' (33). The lexical choice of 'task' and 'cause' is also instructive because its collocation with 'sacred' suggests that the quest for a Union Government of Africa is both a physical and a spiritual assignment that must be undertaken with conscientiousness, selflessness and sanctitude. Therefore, it must be carried out 'without stint of thought of self' (34).

Further, words such as 'trust', 'devote', rededicate' and 'hopes' which have religious connotations when combined with the conditional clause 'if we show the slightest hesitation or delay' (33) contribute to the emotional tone of the message being conveyed and reinforce the representation of African unity as the exclusive option for Africa's progress. The use of 'we/our' which is metonymic of the people of Africa can be interpreted here to include not only Africans who are alive but also those that are dead or yet to be born. Thus, the consequences of Africa's failure to unite is given an exaggerated importance in order to amass support for the Unite or Perish myth. Nkrumah's moral superiority, authoritative posture and the power-cum-status difference between him and his audience are reflected in his use of imperatives realized by a three-part list: 'Forward with the party! Forward to African unity! Forward to socialism!' (34) and 'Down with imperialism, let us say! Down with colonialism! Down with racialism and tribal division!' (32).

Metaphor is, thus, systematically integrated with parallelism to enhance the persuasiveness of the discourse and to articulate what Charteris-Black (2005) refers to as "a strategy of Conviction Rhetoric" (p. 161). Through the use of metaphors of religion and morality, Nkrumah minimizes the gap between the domains of politics and religion and is seen as claiming a divine or moral backing for the Unite or Perish myth. This is important because it presents him as a potent leader with the power to spark off an African (spiritual) renaissance and to save an entire continent from possible damnation. This envisioning of a supposed bright future for Africa enhances his ethos and character, projecting an image of a visionary with the supreme interest of Africa at heart – this is shown in his use of 'dream' in the extract below:

> (35) Nananom [Chiefs], fellow Ghanaians, the people of this country have a great future before them: ***I dream*** of cities of Ghana with large factories and cultural institutions; ***I dream*** also of the countryside dotted with large farms and flourishing farming communities and well planned villages; yes, ***I dream*** of a new Ghana and a new Africa with a happy, prosperous and progressive people. (Speech to the People of the Western Region of Ghana, 1960)

In the next section, Nkrumah's use of personification as a form of metaphor that conceptualizes colonialism and Africa as persons is discussed.

5.4 Political concepts and entities as humans

Personification makes it possible for a comprehension of experiences pertaining to non-human (i.e., abstract or inanimate) entities in terms of human motivations, characteristics and activities

(Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 33). The source domain of 'person' is, therefore, applicable. According to Charteris-Black (2005, p. 41), "Personification is persuasive because it evokes our attitudes, feelings and beliefs about people and applies them to our attitudes, feelings and beliefs about abstract political entities". The analysis of Nkrumah's speeches demonstrates that his rhetorical motivation for using personification was twofold: to encourage opposition against a group of people (the colonialists) or a construct (colonialism and neo-colonialism) that in his estimation was barbaric and to solicit empathy and support for a Union Government of Africa which to him was a noble goal. To achieve this, he associates colonialism with atrocious human attributes (e.g., deception, exploitation and theft) and he identifies African nationalism and unity with positively evaluated characteristics (e.g., grit, bravado and heroism). There is, thus, evidence for the conceptual metaphor COLONIALISM AND AFRICA ARE PERSONS, which is discussed in detail in the sub-sections below.

5.4.1 The personification of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism

As already noted, personification typically conveys value judgments and ideology by positively or negatively evaluating targets such as a country, a social or political group and an abstract entity/concept. This makes it a persuasive tool in the promotion of a political mythology, especially given its emotive and manipulative potentiality (Koteyko, 2014). In Nkrumah's discourse, colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism are always given a pejorative personification to portray them as villainous, thereby serving the political objective of harnessing the efforts of the people of Africa to unite against such a menace and to form a Union Government of Africa. The following extracts are demonstrative examples.

> (36) As a continent, we have emerged into independence in a different age, ***with imperialism grown stronger, more ruthless and experienced and more dangerous in international associations***. Our economic advancements demands (sic) the end of colonialist and neo-colonialist domination in Africa. (Inauguration of the Organization of African Unity, 1963)

> (37) I have frequently emphasized that imperialism in the present stage of African nationalism will employ many feints. ***With one hand it may concede independence, while with the other it will stir up the muddy waters*** of tribalism, feudalism, separatism and chicanery in order to find its way back in another guise.

In the extracts above, imperialism is negatively personified since it has 'grown stronger' and is 'more ruthless and experienced and more dangerous in international associations' (36). It is, thus,

conceptualized as a maniac on a senseless mission to steal, kill and destroy. Even though the adjective 'experienced' is usually used in a positive sense when describing humans (e.g., 'an experienced magistrate, academic or referee'), it is recontextualized here to reinforce the negative representation given to imperialism. It is also important to note the use of the derivational morphemes of comparison 'er' and 'more' (which is repeated) together with the verb 'demand', realizing an intensification strategy. Personification is carefully combined with a liquid metaphor 'stir up the muddy waters' (37) to suggest that the problems of Africa, both current and futuristic, are the creation of imperialism and specific charges (i.e., 'tribalism', 'feudalism', 'separatism' and 'chicanery') are laid against it. Interestingly, the words with which these accusations have been expressed can be contrasted with words like 'unity', 'solidarity' and 'oneness' which are promoted by the African unification concept.

It can, thus, be stated that in a subtle way, a Union Government of Africa is presented as an effective remedy to the undesirable situation presented by imperialism. The perfidious nature of imperialism expressed with the idea of imperialism having two hands is strengthened by lexical choices such as 'many feints', 'another guise' and 'chicanery'. Thus, Nkrumah's vocabulary choices in the process of categorizing imperialism (and by extension whoever the imperialists are) as established throughout the analysis are a discourse strategy to arouse empathy and sympathy for the people of Africa and open condemnation for the imperialists. On the contrary, in a strategy of positive self-presentation, Nkrumah makes use of manifest intertextuality via the expression 'I have frequently emphasized that …' (37) to give credence to his mythology. This also emphasizes his moral superiority and socio-political authority vis-à-vis his listeners.

According to Kitis and Milapides (1997), personification is "closely connected with traditional forms of myth, as it exploits the common tendency to ascribe (mythological) personality or agentive power to animate or inanimate entities" (p. 567). In the metaphorical structures discussed here, imperialism is portrayed as a malefactor with purely diabolic intentions. Hence, although imperialism is personified, I argue that the metaphor is not merely COLONIALISM IS A PERSON; it is much more specific, namely COLONIALISM IS AN ADVERSARY. This latter conceptualization is likely to be more effective because it not only gives a particular way of looking at and thinking about colonialism but, more importantly, a way of acting towards it. That is, Africans are likely to conceive of colonialism (and everything associated with it, including the

colonialists) as an enemy that can injure 'us', harm 'us', steal from 'us' and even cause 'us' to perish. The COLONIALISM IS AN ADVERSARY conceptualization, therefore, contributes to a legitimation strategy that provides a justification for Africans to rise up in strong resistance against this adversary. Moreover, it validates any present or future social or political action to be taken against colonialism: declaring war on colonialism, asking Africa to establish a Union Government, calling for physical sacrifices and determination, etc.

The persuasive force of personification lies in its ability to recontextualize ideological dissensions as actual conflicts between individuals or groups of people (Musolff, 2012). This enables an attack to be launched on tangible opponents that hitherto were intangible and invisible and to arouse negative sentiments towards them. Consequently, it can be asserted that personification helps in the construction of a perceived reality (i.e., a myth) that aligns with political motives, even though the evidence from reality may be little or entirely non-existent. This is found in Nkrumah's personification of colonialism and neo-colonialism and is instrumental in his formulation of a strategy of Conviction Rhetoric. An example is given below.

> (38) ***Imperialist plans must be frustrated by making it impossible for neo-colonialism to recruit agents and retain them in the seats of power***. This is no small task, but it is a task which we must tackle in the supreme interest of Africa. It is part and parcel of the greater task of achieving Africa's total independence and unification, the plan for the winning of which we are here to determine. (Nationalists' Conference of African Freedom Fighters, 1962)

'Imperialist plans' and 'neo-colonialism', in the extract above, are conceived as though they were persons planning meetings and holding interview sessions to recruit and retain personnel whose job description will be to thwart the efforts of Africa/Africans in their pursuit for total independence and unification. This representation is persuasive since it has the ability of stimulating intense passion and provoking negative emotion against a targeted group of people (the colonialists/neo-colonialists) and all who are in support of their activities. Although Nkrumah does not provide any hard proof that forces of neo-colonialism are about to enlist or are already enlisting agents to carry out the destructive intentions of their paymasters, this line of reasoning will logically come to his listeners. Admittedly, the statement may only be preemptive but even so, there is no gainsaying the point that it is capable of priming listeners (see Hoey, 2005) to accept a probabilistic situation as factual and to act accordingly. The personification of the conflict

between (neo-)colonialism and Africa is made more forceful by the lexical choices 'recruit' (instead of an alternative like 'employ' or 'hire') and 'agents' (instead of an alternative like 'people' or 'individuals').

The military connotation of these words creates the impression of warring factions, the presence of servicemen and the need for battle strategy against an opposition, which is subsequently highlighted in the last sentence of the extract. If (neo-)colonialism has a standing army and is reinforcing its artillery through vigorous recruitment, it seems commonsensical that Africa has a 'no small task' in dealing with this threat. Again, the word 'task' has military underpinnings and its combination with expressions such as the strong modal 'must', the noun phrase 'supreme interest of Africa' and 'no small' can be analyzed as a rhetorical means of imposing responsibility on Africans as well as rallying support for social action. The importance and solemnity of this task notwithstanding, it is only a microcosm of a grandiose dream, 'the greater task of achieving Africa's total independence and unification'. The binomial 'part and parcel', thus, realizes an inclusion strategy that logically associates the task of frustrating imperialist plans and preventing neo-colonialism's recruitment process by means of Africa's emancipation and unification.

Generally, associations that are made with life carry a positive conceptualization while those associated with death have an extremely negative value. This is because in all cultures, life is celebrated and death is strongly disapproved of. Unsurprisingly, colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism are often associated with death in Nkrumah's speeches, suggesting that they must not only be attacked but they must be put to death as well. This conceptualization (COLONIALISM IS A DEATH FORCE) can be said to be the highest form of negativity associated with the personification of colonialism, as exemplified by the extracts below.

(39) Friends and comrades, I enjoin you to let us close our ranks. For the day we stand in serried line, that day Colonialism in Africa is defeated. ***And we must bury that pernicious system with all the speed***. ***Only with the interment of Imperialism will Africa be free*** from menace and live and breathe in liberty, where men of color shall walk with head held high in human dignity. (Nationalists' Conference of African Freedom Fighters, 1962)

(40) ***May the deliberations of this conference of nationalists Freedom Fighters place the final nails in the coffin of colonialism and neo-colonialism*** in all their forms and manifestations, and imprint the seal of freedom, unity, progress, peace and prosperity on our people and on Africa. (Nationalists' Conference of African Freedom Fighters, 1962)

These extracts epitomize Nkrumah's anathema for (neo-)colonialism by associating it with death, creating an emotive link between the two concepts. In addition to the polar contrast between forces of good and evil that is created, there is also those of life and death: colonialism is represented as worthy of death while Africa is presented as fit 'to live and breathe' (39). Thus, personification is melded with contrast and antithesis to echo the death sentence against colonialism. The ideology put forward is that the life of Africa is contingent on the extermination of colonialism since the two are mutually exclusive and, therefore, cannot co-exist. This view is emphasized by expressions such as 'must bury', 'pernicious system' and 'all the speed', which also give indication of the sense of urgency that must be applied in carrying out the death sentence against colonialism. Also, the use of 'bury', 'interment' and 'coffin' invokes very graphic images of a funeral service which contributes to a strategy of emotionalization needful in the promotion of a mythology (Kelsey, 2017). This emotional appeal is intensified by phraseology such as 'men of color', 'human dignity' and 'menace', suggesting that colonialism has meted out ignominy and destruction to Africa. Hence, African remains in jeopardy insofar as there is any form of colonialism or neo-colonialism lurking on the continent.

The net effect of all this is the legitimation of the wiping out of colonialism and neo-colonialism 'in all their forms and manifestations' (40). This demise of colonialism and imperialism will then give birth to a Union Government of Africa that will 'imprint the seal of freedom, unity, progress, peace and prosperity on our people and on Africa' (40). Thus, a blissful monolithic picture of Africa's future is painted; one which is realizable only under a continental Union Government. Until then, Africa 'shall be unable to walk with head held high in human dignity' (39) and be unable 'to live and breathe in liberty' (39). Here, life and death metaphors are contrasted with each other to suggest that colonialism is a death force that must be obliterated in order for Africa to live, survive and thrive. The deliberations of the conference from which the extracts above are taken have been personified to execute this all important task of eliminating colonialism and neo-colonialism, which is a subtle imposition on the delegates at the conference to accept the Unite or Perish myth. This idea of discourse naturalization or universalization is explicitly captured in (39) where there is a shift from 'I' (Nkrumah) to 'we' (the conference participants) to 'Africa' (Africans all over the world), forming a trilogy that helps in the promotion of a particular ideology and/or mythology.

5.4.2 The personification of Africa

In the metaphorical structures examined in this thesis, the personification of Africa takes two forms. Firstly, Africa is represented as the victim of ruthless and reckless malefactors (i.e., the colonialists or imperialists); secondly, Africa is portrayed as a conquering hero who overcomes various adversities (i.e., colonialism). There is, thus, evidence for the conceptual keys AFRICA IS A VICTIM and AFRICA IS A HERO. The dual representation of Africa can be seen as a means of attracting sympathy and empathy for Africa and from Africans in support of the African unification goal (by 'playing the victim'). It can also be viewed as a way of increasing morale among Africans by demonstrating a Blitz spirit or a can-do attitude that suggests that Africa has the courage and determination to realize the objective of a Union Government of Africa. The personification of Africa, therefore, serves a positive self-presentation function that validates the Unite or Perish myth. The extracts below exemplify the AFRICA IS A VICTIM and AFRICA IS A HERO conceptualizations.

(41) ***Colonialism invented the system of indirect rule which menaces us*** … The essence of this system was that a chief appeared nominally in control while actually he was manipulated from behind the scenes by the colonial power. (Africa's Challenge: Speech to Ghanaian Parliamentarians, 1960)

(42) As the call sent out by the preparatory committee exhorts, "People of Africa unite! ***We have nothing to lose but our chains***. We have a Continent to regain. We have freedom and human dignity to obtain." (All-African People's Conference, 1958)

(43) We, however, are having to grapple with outside interventions. How much more, then do we need to come together in ***the African unity that alone can save us from the clutches of neo-colonialism and imperialism***. (Inauguration of the Organization of African Unity, 1963)

In these extracts, Africa is characterized as the victim of certain actions and political constructs. It suffers from the 'system of indirect rule' (41), 'the chains of colonialism' (42) and 'the clutches of neo-colonialism and imperialism' (43). The indirect rule system introduced in British territories in West Africa is described as a manipulative system that exploited African chiefs and was used to implement the evil agenda of the colonialists, as highlighted by phraseology such as 'menaces us', 'nominal chief' and 'behind the scenes by the colonial power'. The lexical choices 'chains' and 'clutches' activate images of physical pain, injury and casualty that Africa has experienced or is experiencing as a result of colonialism and imperialism. These words also trigger notions of

bondage, limitation and lack of progress which, further, reinforce the victimhood conceptualization associated with Africa. It is this conceptualization of Africa being in a debilitating condition because of colonialism that prepares the necessary ground for the promotion of the 'Africa must unite' myth.

Through manifest intertextuality evidenced by referencing the communique sent out by the 'preparatory committee on African unity' (42), a Union Government of Africa is presented as the most rational and sensible thing to do in the face of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. Nkrumah's claim that 'We have nothing to lose but our chains' (42) can be analyzed as a simplistic statement that suppresses the complexity of what a political federation of Africa in reality entails. For instance, contrary to Nkrumah's belief that they would only lose their chains, there were some African leaders who felt their independent countries will lose their sovereignties in a Union Government of Africa that will, most probably, be headed by Nkrumah (see Gebe, 2008; Olaosebikan, 2011). Therefore, Nkrumah's assertion that Africa has everything to gain when a Union Government is formed can be seen as an accentuation of some semantic aspects and the attenuation and/or elimination of others (Linell, 1998, p. 148).

To build on the argumentation being made, 'We have nothing to lose but our chains' is sharply contrasted on the same line with two antithetical statements: 'We have a continent to gain' and 'We have freedom and human dignity to obtain'. This depicts a beautiful future of the imagined 'United States of Africa', which 'alone can save us from the clutches of neo-colonialism and imperialism' (43). The use of the adverb 'alone' is worthy of note because it achieves an exaggeration effect which is necessary for the creation of a political mythology (Thompson, 1985) as well as highlights one of the main feature of mythic discourse, which is to present a certain worldview as self-evident and, therefore, unquestionable (Flood, 2002). Combined with other compelling words such as 'exhorts', 'need' and 'save', the persuasive effect of 'alone' becomes even more powerful. The ideological role of metaphor (here, personification) is also reinforced by its incorporation with metonymy. As Charteris-Black (2005) explains, metonymy "encourages us to think of the political actions of people in countries as a particular person in those countries" (p. 43). Consequently, the use of 'we' which is metonymic of Africa gives the impression that specific persons in Africa are "suffering under the yoke of colonialism" (Nkrumah, 02/05/63) and they

must take urgent, bold and drastic steps to extricate themselves from such peril. This concretizes the appeal for support for African unity and makes it more passionate and convincing.

Apart from being represented as the victim of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism, Africa is conceptualized as a hero who overcomes various adversities:

> (44) In the past Africa was the scene of slavery, colonial exploitation and oppressive rule. Today there is a new Africa and a new African; ***an African who refuses to succumb to the blandishments of the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists and rejects any policies inimical to the interest of the peoples of Africa. This new Africa is ready to fulfil its destiny and play its part in the establishment of the grand and peaceful new world order to which mankind is dedicated***. (The 6th Independence Anniversary of Ghana, 1963)

> (45) The Congo, as we all know, has been a Belgian colony for nearly a century. In all those years Belgian applied a system of calculated political castration in the hope that it would be completely impossible for African nationalists to fight for emancipation. But to the dismay of Belgium, and to the surprise of everyone outside the African continent, ***this dreaded nationalism appeared and within a lightning space of time, secured the independence of the Congo***. (The United Nations Assembly, 1960)

Here, metaphor is combined with contrast to emphasize the exemplary heroism of Africa/Africans in the face of adversities, including colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. In both extracts, an extremely unpleasant situation is first presented. This situation, unsurprisingly, is said to have been caused by colonialism and imperialism – for example, 'slavery, colonial exploitation and oppressive rule' (44) and 'a system of political castration in the Congo' (45). However, the unpleasant situation is immediately counteracted by the might and warrior-like actions of Africans, thereby 'holding their own in the face of colonialist, imperialist and neo-colonialist schemes' (44) and 'securing the independence of the Congo' (45). Through an intensification strategy, the heroic deeds of Africans are exaggerated via the choice of lexico-syntactic forms such as 'dreaded nationalism', 'within a lightening space of time' and 'to the surprise of everyone outside the African continent'. Positively evaluated verb processes such as 'refuse to succumb', 'rejects any policies inimical to Africa', 'ready to fulfill its destiny' and 'secured the independence of the Congo', further amplify the desirable attributes associated with Africans.

Not for the first time in this analysis chapter, the African unification idea is elevated to the level of world peace and logically associated with 'the establishment of the grand and peaceful new

world order to which mankind is dedicated' (44). Such elevated rhetoric, it can be said, imbues the African unification idea with a power of inevitability and indubitability and suggests that absolutely nothing will be able to prevent the 'new Africa' from achieving the grand objective of a Union Government of Africa. Based on the notion of implication, it is plausible to state that the positive qualities ascribed to a 'new Africa' and 'African nationalism' in the extracts can also be ascribed to Nkrumah and all the people of Africa. This makes Nkrumah and the whole of Africa a conquering hero identified with the acts of courage, bravery and fearlessnes. By associating the people of Africa with the Blitz spirit, Nkrumah can be seen as increasing the morale of his listeners, boosting their confidence and provoking a can-do spirit in a conscious effort to demonstrate via a Conviction Rhetoric that the dream to establish a Union Government of Africa is certainly attainable.

Unlike colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism that are associated with death, Africa is associated with life/(re)birth to reinforce the idea that like a person, African will live to accomplish its dreams. As already stated, associations that are made with life have a positive conceptualization while those made with death carry a negative value. Therefore, the personification of Africa using life/(re)birth metaphors positively evaluates Africa vis-à-vis the Unite or Perish myth. Some illustrative examples of such personification have been presented below.

(46) ***Your Excellencies, nothing could be more fitting than that the unification of Africa should be born*** on the soil of the State which stood for centuries as the symbol of African Independence. Let us return to our people of Africa not with empty hands and with high-sounding resolutions, but with the firm hope and assurance that at long last African Unity has become a reality. We shall thus begin the triumphant march to the kingdom of the African Personality and to a continent of prosperity and progress, of equality and justice and of work and happiness. (Inauguration of the Organization of African Unity, 1963)

(47) There is no time to waste. The longer we wait the stronger will be the hold on Africa by neo-colonialism and imperialism. A Union Government for Africa does not mean the loss of sovereignty by independent African States. A Union Government will rather strengthen the sovereignty of the individual states within the Union. ***A year ago, today saw the birth of the Organization of African Unity***. ***Let us resolve on this first anniversary that the second meeting of the Heads of State of the Organization of African Unity in Cairo will see the birth of the Union Government of Africa***. (Africa Liberation Day, 1964)

(48) ***After centuries of colonial exploitation and domination Africa has been re-born***. We have discovered our common identity, a force with which we can re-assert our African personality. We shall from now on think, plan and work together for the progress and development of our great Continent. In this way, we shall eliminate completely the handicaps, set-backs and humiliation we have suffered under colonialism and imperialism. (Signing of the Organization of African Unity Charter, 1963)

Africa and African unification are associated with birth or rebirth in the extracts above, thereby creating a political myth in which a Union Government of Africa and what Nkrumah refers to as 'our/the African Personality' (46, 48) are identified with a life force – i.e., AFRICA/AFRICAN UNIFICATION IS A LIFE FORCE. According to Hawkins (2001), the paired duality of life and death provides a fundamental evaluation scale in which life symbolizes positivity and death symbolizes negativity. It is, therefore, not unexpected that as a life force, African unification is promised to deliver to Africans 'a continent of prosperity and progress, of equality and justice and of work and happiness' (46). This will be preceded by its 'elimination completely of the handicaps and humiliation we have suffered under colonialism and imperialism' (47). In addition to being alive, strong and forward-looking, African unification is linked with an African Personality, which further strengthens the life force given to it. The use of the word 'personality' is instructive since it refers to the combination of characteristics or qualities that form an individual's distinctive character. Africa is, thus, likened to an individual with special positive traits who can 'think, plan, and work to bring about progress and development' (48) as well as 'triumphantly march into her victorious destiny' (46). The urgent need for Africa to unite is expressed in the statement 'There is no time to waste' (47) and even though it is claimed that 'The longer we wait, the longer will be the hold on Africa by neo-colonialism' (47), this is not substantiated. Instead, it is presented as obvious or commonsense knowledge or as an existing truth as is required of a political myth (Geis, 1987; Gastil, 1992).

Moreover, the Union Government of Africa is presented as though it were already in existence or was just about to be formed, as evidenced by declarations such as '… at long last African unity has become a reality' (46) and '… the second meeting of the Heads of State of the Organization of African Unity in Cairo will see the birth of the Union Government of Africa' (47). Meanwhile in reality, this was far from being the case because the details that needed to be worked out and a number of contentious issues that needed to be resolved with regard to the proposed Union

Government had been (fully) tackled. For instance, the ideas of the so-called Monrovia Group[47] (unlike the so-called Casablanca Group[48] which Nkrumah belonged to) which bordered on having a harmonious cooperation between the independent Africa states but without a continental political federation was still prevalent (see Chirisa et al., 2014). And although Nkrumah often dismissed this Monrovia bloc-Casablanca bloc distinction as the workings of the colonialists and neo-colonialists, the reality still remained that the heads of state that constituted the two groups had divergent views on Pan-African unity.

Tanzania's independence leader, Julius Nyerere, and his approach of gradualism as opposed to Nkrumah's radicalism in terms of Pan-African unity was also a dissenting issue coupled with the fact that other African leaders were skeptical of this idea (Chirisa et al., 2014). It is, therefore, an over-simplification for Nkrumah to assert that a Union Government of Africa had become a reality or it was going to be formed in one year's time as extract (47) suggests. Interestingly, Nkrumah also conjectures that a Union Government does not mean the loss of sovereignty of the independent African states but 'will rather strengthen the sovereignty of the individual states within the Union' (47). Again, this audacious and bold claim is presented as an undeniable truth and as statement of fact rather than an opinion and, therefore, needing no validation. The reality however, was that a number of African leaders were not willing to give up their presidencies for a Union Government that was likely to be led by Nkrumah (see Gebe, 2008; Olaosebikan, 2011). As Kelsey (2013, p. 95) intimates, "myth does not raise questions since its role is to define and clarify'. Thus, the simplifying process of Nkrumah's myth and how it functions ideologically in the message it communicates or conceals is evident. The metonymic use of 'we/our/us' as a substitute for Africa is also combined with the personification of Africa and African unification to suggest that Nkrumah represents the people and the people represent Africa; a metonymic chain that assigns attributes given to Africa to Nkrumah and the people of Africa.

The construction of Africa as a life force also brings to the fore a primary schema for consciousness that makes it possible to associate Africa with wakefulness:

[47] See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monrovia_Group
[48] See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Casablanca_Group

(49) In the horizon of Africa's future, I see clearly the bright dawn of a Union Government, the birth of a great Nation which is no longer the dream of a new Utopia. ***Africa, the sleeping giant, is now awake and is coming into her very own***. (Ratification of the Organization of African Unity Charter: Speech to Ghanaian Parliamentarians, 1963)

(50) Only African Unity can heal this festering sore of boundary disputes between our various states …Together with the rest of mankind, ***we have awakened from Utopian dreams*** to pursue practical blueprints for progress and social justice. (Inauguration of the Organization of African Unity, 1963)

Despite the obviously grandiose nature of a continental federation, Nkrumah maintains, in the extracts above, that it is neither a utopian idea nor an idealistic dream. On the contrary, it is very achievable and is, in fact, 'on the horizon of Africa's future' (49). The attempt to present a Union Government of Africa as imminent albeit actual evidence on the ground was limited (or even entirely absent) is again noticeable. In this way, metaphor or personification assists in the creation of a perceived reality or a mythology that corresponds with political motives. In spite of the fact that the African unification idea may be considered fuzzy, Nkrumah's use of 'I' in the statement 'I see clearly the bright dawn of a Union Government' (49) can be seen as a way of gaining credibility and presenting himself as a selfless and visionary leader who wants nothing but the best for Africa. The conceptualization of Africa being awake (and not asleep) means that traits such as alertness, consciousness and responsiveness that are naturally associated with wakefulness will be projected onto Africa and it is these qualities that have made Africa 'come into her very own' (49) and 'to pursue practical blueprints for progress and social justice' (50). The idea that Africa is now awake subtly contrasts with the unarticulated thesis that it was while Africa was 'asleep' that the colonialists sneaked in to wreak havoc on the continent. Even so, 'a sleeping giant' (49), referring to Africa, does not lose its might while asleep; hence, now awake, Africa will "tackle every emergency, every enemy and every complexity" (Nkrumah, 04/02/62).

The positive evaluation given to Africa as a result of the + animate feature is intensified by phraseological choices such as 'the bright dawn of a Union Government', 'the birth of a great nation' and 'the sleeping giant'. Similar to the dualism of life and death, sickness and health also function as mythic archetypes that assess human experience as either positive or negative (Charteris-Black, 2005). Not surprisingly, African unity is recontextualized in health terms (hence, a positive evaluation) so that it 'can heal this festering sore of boundary disputes between our various states' (50). Further, Africa's wakefulness and consciousness in pursuit of peace, progress

and social justice is aligned with the entire world's wakefulness and consciousness in pursuit of those same goals since Africa is on a mission 'together with the rest of the world' (50). As previously mentioned in this chapter, the strategy of logical association or inclusion rationalizes the Unite or Perish myth and upraises it to a level of global and universal importance. This gives listeners a more convincing reason to accept this myth because failure to do so implies that one will be letting down the entire world or the whole of the universe as well as miss an opportunity to, supposedly, make a truly global compact. Journey metaphors are discussed in the next section as the final type of metaphors contributing to Nkrumah's creation of the Unite or Perish myth.

5.5 African unity as a journey to freedom and prosperity

Journey metaphors are, generally, used to reconceptualize the objectives of social and political actors as the destinations of travelers (see Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Lakoff, 1993; Charteris-Black, 2004) with the assumption that there is a predetermined goal to be realized. Unlike personifications that construct mythic parallels in the form of antithetical terms such as right vs. wrong, good vs. evil, light vs. darkness, sickness vs. health, etc., Charteris-Black (2005, p. 46) submits that the ideological role of journey metaphors is to create solidarity in order to positively evaluate policies, ideas, programs, etc. that are assumed to have socially valued ends. This means that journey metaphors imply a necessary social effort towards the attainment of valuable goals and they motivate followers to accept temporary suffering and sacrifice for worthwhile lasting dreams. In Nkrumah's speeches, metaphors from the journey source domain included words such as 'step', 'step-by-step', 'march', 'forward', 'journey', 'path' and 'course' and they were used to positively evaluate the African unification concept based on a conceptual metaphor AFRICAN UNITY/AFRICAN FREEDOM IS A JOURNEY TOWARDS PROSPERITY. Nkrumah's use of journey metaphors was, therefore, goal-focused, making explicit reference to the desirable destination (i.e., a Union Government of Africa) in order to raise morale, galvanize support and arouse optimistic sentiments. The following extracts illustrate this point.

(51) ***As a first step***, Your Excellencies, a declaration of principle uniting and binding us together and to which ***we must*** all faithfully and loyally adhere … ***should*** be set down. ***As a second and urgent step*** for the realization of the unification of Africa, an All-Africa Committee of Foreign Ministers be set up now …Your Excellencies, ***with these steps***, I submit, we ***shall be irrevocably committed to the road*** which will bring us to a Union Government for Africa. ***Only*** a United Africa with central political direction can successfully give effective material and moral support to [Africa]. (Inauguration of the Organization of African Unity, 1963)

(52) ***The Charter of African Unity must be regarded as the last but one step on the road to a Continental Union***. Its provisions certainly challenge foreign political and economic domination of our Continent. The exploiters of Africa have grasped its implications. They realize that we are out to make ourselves masters in our own house and to drive out relentlessly from the length and breadth of our Continent those forces which batten upon us and keep us in political and economic subjection. (Ratification of the Organization of African Unity Charter: Speech to Ghanaian Parliamentarians, 1963)

In these examples, the target of Nkrumah's journey metaphors is a steady and sustainable progress towards the political objective of African unity and prosperity based, perhaps, on the mapping "Making Progress is Forward Movement" (Lakoff & Jonhson, 1999, p. 188). African unification is, therefore, positively evaluated as a worthwhile goal that must be successfully attained in order to ensure Africa's peace, progress and prosperity. That is, it will 'make ourselves masters in our own house and to drive out relentlessly from the length and breadth of our continent those forces which batten upon us and keep us in political and economic subjection' (52). As noted by Hunston and Thompson (2000, p. 14), "Something that is good helps to achieve a goal, while something that is bad prevents or hinders the achievement of a goal". Hence, Nkrumah's positive evaluation of African unity is not alarming. The rhetorical value of the journey schema derives from the fact that it enables a political actor to "represent himself as a guide, his policies as maps and to bring himself nearer to his audience by constructing them as fellow travelling companions" (Charteris-Black, 2005, p. 46). The use of syntactic structures such as 'as a first step', 'as a second and urgent step', 'as a last but one step' and 'these steps' in the extracts above buttresses Charteris-Black's assertion.

Thus, Nkrumah arrogates to himself the power to determine the blueprint for the Union Government of Africa and to propose it for consideration, acceptance and implementation at the inauguration of the Organization of African Unity without prior discussion with the other heads of state. So, towards the end of his speech, he said: "We must, therefore, not leave this place until we have set up an effective machinery for achieving African unity. To this end, I now propose for your consideration the following …" By this statement, Nkrumah, first, creates the mythical idea that suggests that it were possible to form a Union Government of Africa in one meeting/sitting. Secondly, he constructs the myth that he possesses the inalienable rights to divine the fate or destiny of an entire continent or to decide Africa's true interests.

This posture adopted by Nkrumah is intensified by his use of deontic modals such as 'must', 'shall' and 'should' – constituting an 'authoritarian language' indicative of moral toughness (Fairclough, 2000) – as well as his use of boosters such as 'faithfully', 'loyally', 'irrevocably', 'relentlessly' and the hyperbolic expression 'from the length and breadth of our country'. Consistent with the analysis in this chapter, the adverb 'alone' is also used to exaggeratedly indicate the exclusivity of African unity as the key to Africa's success. The net effect of all this is that the end point of the journey to Africa's Promised Land of Bliss is presented as desirable for which reason arrival at the destination is a must, whether the road to victory be long or short or whether it be rough or smooth. Thus, through the use of journey metaphor and its focus on a terrific terminus, a feeling of optimism for the African unification mythology is created and the people of Africa are given a reason to be hopeful of and confident about the future.

Another aspect of Nkrumah's use of journey metaphors is its focus on personal suffering and sacrifice that are required in the process of journeying towards the desirable destination. That is, the worthiness of the African dream of freedom and unity notwithstanding, movement towards this goal is difficult and requires some form of sacrifice and suffering in the short-term in order to prevail against opposition. The following extracts are illustrative examples.

(53) Fellow Freedom Fighters and Friends: the colonial struggle develops unevenly. ***It has to press forward*** wherever it was strongest to create a break in the international imperialist chain. Thus, this breaking of the imperialist chain at certain weak links has undermined the whole of the colonial system in Africa [as] the independent states that have emerged first have acted as a beacon light for the others. (Nationalists' Conference of African Freedom Fighters, 1962)

(54) It gives us the opportunity also to review our strength as well as that of the enemy and to reorganize our forces and our strategy in order to ***carry the struggle forward to victory*** … We have achieved some measure of success in this struggle for human freedom and dignity, but we still have ***a great task ahead***. (Nationalists' Conference of African Freedom Fighters, 1962)

Based on commonsense assumptions, journeys are typically correlated with the use of human effort and strength. This means that movement towards a valuable social goal is difficult and requires some amount of sacrifice and struggle. Such a conceptualization was needful in order to give meaning to the pain and suffering to be encountered in pursuit of the worthwhile goal of African freedom and unification. The idea of facing difficulties or challenges en route to the

formation of a Union Government of Africa is emphasized by lexical choices such as 'press forward', 'carry the struggle forward', 'a great task ahead' and 'our strength'. The use of 'press' (and the accompanying idea of 'pressing into something' or 'pressing on to victory') is, particularly, insightful since it is denotative of an exertion of continued and sustained physical force and momentum. Such resilience, toughness and determination are required, at least in the interim, 'to create a break in the international imperialist chain' (53) which will subsequently 'undermine the whole of the colonial system in Africa' (53). Yet again, the whole of the West and Anglo-America is described in broad brushstrokes as 'the international imperialist chain', which creates the impression of an actual network of countries across the globe working against Africa's interests. Although this group of countries is identified with definiteness (given the use of the definite article 'the'), no proof is provided of their actual existence and operations. Yet, it justifies the need for African solidarity and short-term suffering in order to achieve the long-term objective of a Union Government of Africa.

Despite the difficulties on the road to African unity and despite the great task that still lies ahead, a sense of purpose, assurance and reassurance is provided for the journey using the clauses 'We have achieved some measure of success in this struggle' (54) and 'the independent states that have emerged first have acted as beacon light for the others' (53). Thus, the enunciation of the progress that has been made is likely to provide energy and motivation 'to carry the struggle forward to victory' (54). The direct and explicit reference to the endpoint of the journey using the word 'victory' when combined with the predicate 'has to press forward' implies that the progressive movement towards the African unification goal is highly purposeful, methodical and intense and will inexorably lead to arrival at the predetermined destination. It also connotes a (military) tone of seriousness (as opposed to casualness) and organized or systematic activity which are ordinarily associated with journeys based on commonsense knowledge. Once again, the strategy of logical association is manifest so that an African struggle is equated to a universal 'struggle for human freedom and dignity' (54), making the ideology of African unity more appealing and any accompanying hardship for its successful attainment tolerable and endurable.

In addition to emphasizing personal suffering that is required for the attainment of the noble objective of African freedom and unification, journey metaphors in Nkrumah's speeches highlighted the irreversibility of the African effort. That is, Nkrumah sought to suggest that once

a journey has begun, it must necessarily be completed (no matter the cost) and that giving up was not an option given the value the destination promises. A similar finding is found in Charteris-Black's (2005, p. 47) analysis of the expression 'no going back' in the rhetoric of Winston Churchill. An extract from Nkrumah's speeches is presented below to exemplify this idea of irreversibility once a journey or an enterprise has been embarked upon.

> (55) ***Yet we are not prepared to retreat from the struggle one inch***. ***On the contrary, we are firmer than ever in our determination to carry it forward to a triumphant conclusion, whatever the cost***. For we are resolved that this continent shall not continue half-free, half-slave [because] the liquidation of imperialist-colonialism in Africa is in itself a profound act of peace, while the unity of this continent will constitute a great bulwark for the positive stabilization of world amity and concord. (Nationalist' Conference of African Freedom Fighters, 1962)

In this extract, Nkrumah integrates journey metaphor with metonymy (the use of 'we/our' as a substitute for Africa) and contrast (the use of 'yet' and 'on the contrary') to reject the idea of Africa retreating from her chosen path of progress and prosperity. To make his point even more forcefully and more emphatically, he intentionally contrasts two journey metaphors with each other – 'retreat' vs. 'carry forward' – and adds an audacious (if not a braggadocios) remark 'whatever the cost'. The disjunct 'whatever the cost' can be taken to mean 'whatever the cost in human suffering', reinforcing the analysis in the previous section that showed that suffering is a necessary component in the conceptualization of journey metaphors. Additionally, the use of 'whatever the cost' realizes an intensification function that contributes to an emotionalization of ideas needful for the creation and promotion of a mythology (Barthes, 1972). This arousal of powerful feelings is further heightened by syntactic structures such as 'we are not prepared to retreat', 'we are firmer than ever in our determination', 'we are resolved', 'we shall not continue half-free half-slave' and 'one inch', which also realize a hyperbolic function.

As before, the terminus of the journey is clearly mentioned and is described as 'a triumphant conclusion'. This emphatic pronouncement underscores the desirability of the destination and validates the reason why there must be an arrival at all cost as if to suggest that Africa could only go one way since it had 'no reverse gear'. A perceived reality (or a myth) that is in sync with Nkrumah's personal belief and value system is, thus, created and then presented as representative of the whole of Africa. Even so, a political mythic theme must be legitimated as a valid proposition

(Flood, 2002). In this regard, Nkrumah solemnly declares that 'the liquidation of imperialist-colonialism in Africa is in itself a profound act of peace'. This makes the idea of African unification honorable and, therefore, worth pursuing to its logical conclusion. Referring to it as 'a profound act of peace' is also noteworthy, elevating it from the mundane to the spectacular, from the normal to the sublime. It is not startling then that a Union Government of Africa, it is claimed, 'will constitute a great bulwark for the positive stabilization of world amity and concord'. The recurrence of the leitmotif that without a Union Government of Africa, global peace and stability will be undermined can be explained as a form of Conviction Rhetoric intended to convey obduracy in a way that is memorable (Charteris-Black, 2005, p. 36).

Similar to journeys, the putting up of buildings goes through various stages before completion. Consequently, Nkrumah's use of a building metaphor like 'foundation' goes to strengthen the conceptualization that his use of journey metaphors activates by implying that a strong foundation needed to be laid as Africa journeys to the Promised Land of a Union Government of Africa:

> (56) I am confident that by our concerted effort and determination ***we shall lay here the foundations for a continental Union of African States*** … ***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***. (Inauguration of the Organization of African Unity, 1963)

Apart from the conceptual metaphor AFRICAN UNITY IS A BUILDING realized by words such as 'foundation', 'superstructure' and 'erected', the use of hyperbole ('A whole continent has imposed a mandate on us'), modality ('shall lay') and presupposition ('It is our responsibility to execute this mandate') highlights the mythic discourse created. Here, Nkrumah projects himself as an architect and his ideas as a blueprint (note that he refers to it as 'the formula' in the extract) that will inevitably deliver a real political federation of Africa (which he refers to as 'the superstructure'). The adverbial phrase 'here and now', apart from communicating a tone of urgency and emergency that is manipulative, simplifies the complexity of the African unification concept. By so doing, it functions ideologically in the message it delivers and suppresses about the reality of a Union Government of Africa. Unlike Lu and Ahrens (2008) that found retrospective building metaphors and reconstruction metaphors in Taiwanese presidential speeches, Nkrumah's use of the building metaphor only has the ideological motivation of reconstruction or 'repair' to

use a term by Charteris-Black (2005). This conveys the assumption that Africa is a building that has been damaged or demolished by the colonialists and must be rebuilt by the African people via the formation of a Union Government of Africa.

An important feature of Nkrumah's use of journey metaphors is the notion of pace. Although journey metaphors are usually used by politicians to conceptualize long-term purposes (Moragas-Fernández, 2018), the analysis of Nkrumah's speeches shows that for Nkrumah, the amount of time taken to arrive at the intended destination is equally important (if not more important). He, therefore, clamored for a speedy development of Africa, as shown in the extracts below:

(57) Those who set the example of Europe as an illustration for the need ***to develop step-by-step in Africa*** do not seem to appreciate that Africa need not begin by imitating the mistakes of Europe. After all, what use is the experience of human progress if we who study its course fail to learn from its errors and muddles? ***As I said at Addis Ababa, this world is no longer moving on camels and donkeys***. ***Speed has become a new potent factor in the progress of the world. The progress of the modern man, like the agile Kangaroo, leaps and jumps***. (Ratification of the Organization of African Unity Charter: Speech to Ghanaian Parliamentarians, 1963)

(58) 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 ***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? (Inauguration of the Organization of African Unity, 1963)

Here, journey metaphors are integrated with argumentation, parallelism and rhetorical question to highlight the proposition that Africa's development, even if conceptualized as a long-term vision, must necessarily proceed at a blistering pace. Africa is also contrasted with Europe using the topos of history as teacher (Wodak et al, 2009) and modes of transportation represented by 'camels and donkeys' are contrasted with the swiftness of an 'agile kangaroo' to reinforce the importance of speed in the developmental trajectory of Africa. Manifest intertextuality is realized by the expression 'As I said at Addis Ababa' (referring to Nkrumah's speech delivered at the founding of the Organization of African Unity) and it achieves a recurrence-cum-reiteration strategy that conveys conviction and persistence in a striking way, especially when used in conjunction with the parallel structure 'talking about regionalism, talking about gradualism, talking about step-by-step'. The rhetorical question in (57) appeals to logic, forming an argumentation strategy, whereas the one in (58) appeals to fear through a sentimental discourse. Interestingly, in this latter rhetorical

question (‘Are you afraid to tackle the bull by the horn?’) which is negatively evaluated, there is a deictic shift from ‘we’ to ‘you’. This excludes Nkrumah from the target of the negatively evaluated proposition and gives an indication of the power asymmetry between him and his audience. The point to be made is that the pacy development promised by a Union Government of Africa is very simplistic and, thus, bereft of the complexities that should be expected of a continental development of such magnitude.

“The persuasive force of a myth”, according to Kelsey (2015, p. 6), “is typically realized by the preferences, exaggerations, suppressions and simplifications that function through it”. In a way, Kelsey’s assertion holds for the extracts above since they present a one-dimensional and, perhaps, a simple-minded view of African development which is necessarily linked to the establishment of a Union Government of Africa. Geis (1987, pp. 29-30) also mentions that mythic themes have a dual function of providing explanations of certain events as well as justifying certain courses of actions. This can be observed in the extracts above through the argument(s) Nkrumah puts forward as to why Africa should be on an extremely quick developmental trajectory. For instance, he claims that experts have estimated the Congo Basin to be able to produce enough food crops to feed half of the world’s population.

Although this communicated position seems explanatory, it is not verifiable – at least at the very moment of listening to the speech – thereby giving rise to a form of political mythology. Indeed, the generic use of ‘experts’ which conceals the identity of these experts or where they are based or when their said research was conducted makes it almost impossible to subject this explanatory thesis to experimentation. Yet, it is used in the creation of a perceived reality that serves the purpose of a political ideology via a strategy of legitimation. This legitimation strategy is heightened by its logical association with the progress of the world and by providing details of this phenomenal developmental agenda, including making ‘the Sahara bloom into a vast field with verdant vegetation for agricultural and industrial developments’:

> (59) … ***we shall*** make our advance. ***We shall*** accumulate machinery and establish steel works, iron foundries and factories; we shall link the various states of our continent with communications by land, sea and air. ***We shall*** cable from one place to another, phone from one place to the other and astound the world with our hydro-electric power; we shall drain marshes and swamps, clear infested areas, feed the under-nourished, and rid our people of parasites and disease. ***It is within the possibility of science and technology to make even the Sahara***

> ***bloom into a vast field with verdant vegetation for agricultural and industrial developments***. ***We shall*** harness the radio, television, giant printing presses to lift our people from the dark recesses of illiteracy. (Inauguration of the Organization of African Unity, 1963)

The final point to be made regarding Nkrumah's use of journey metaphors is that despite the general world knowledge that respite is sometimes taken during a journey, Nkrumah rejects this optional element of the journey metaphor (see Charteris-Black, 2005). This emphasizes the radical approach he adopts in the creation and promotion of the Unite or Perish myth and contributes to a Conviction Rhetoric, as expressed by a pronouncement such as "We shall continue to wage **a relentless war** against colonialism and neo-colonialism and **we shall not rest** until every inch of African territory is free and Africa is united" (Nkrumah, 24/12/61).

5.6 Chapter conclusion

Against the backdrop that metaphors can help us to comprehend how specific pragmatic goals are accomplished through reconceptualization and recontextualization, this chapter analyzed Nkrumah's use of metaphors in order to establish their rhetorical or ideological motivation and how they help in the creation and promotion of the Unite or Perish myth. Four main types of metaphors – war, religion and morality, personification and journey – were discussed and they were found to be combined with various figures of speech, including contrast, hyperbole, metonymy, parallelism, recurrence-cum-reiteration and rhetorical question, to present a monolithic picture of a fully liberated Africa, united, strong and forward-looking. The integration of metaphor and other figures of speech often resulted in metaphorical juxtapositions, creating mythic parallels such as good and evil, attack and defense, law and lawlessness and life and death which helped to define and shape Nkrumah's narrative about a Union Government of Africa vis-à-vis the political situation in Africa in the 1960s.

Metaphors play a vital role in realizing the discourse goals of political speeches because they have an emotional appeal that is relevant for the expression of political aspirations and they can be used in the creation of possibilities (or mythologies) to which the speaker must not necessarily be committed to their realization (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 87). Nkrumah's choice of metaphor, it can therefore be said, was not random or arbitrary but was systematically interwoven into his discourse to promote a mythology – a narrative framework that says Africa must unite as a matter of urgency or be forever doomed. Importantly, metaphor gave Nkrumah an argumentative

advantage (see Musolff, 2012, p. 303) that enabled him to disqualify a political development (i.e., colonialism and neo-colonialism) and to demonize or stigmatize a social group or certain individuals as being a threat to the identity, continued existence and welfare of Africa. Hence, rather than always substantiating his claims with factual evidence, which can be critically tested, verified and contested, Nkrumah invites his audience to access knowledge about the malevolence of colonialism and neo-colonialism and the necessity for their eradication by referring to diabolical conceptions such as 'devil', 'evil', 'enemy' and 'monster'. In so doing, he is able to make a popular appeal to the African masses in a manner that suggests that he represents their true interests and is at the forefront of promoting the general and sovereign will of the African people as a whole. This can be said to realize a form of populist ideology and is the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX[49]

THE UNITE OR PERISH MYTH AS POPULIST DISCOURSE

6.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4, we examined how Nkrumah deploys the Unite or Perish myth to construct a discourse of resistance that results in the creation of heroes and villains, protagonists and antagonists, and projects him as a valiant leader, a noble revolutionary and Africa's Messiah. Chapter 5 discussed how Nkrumah utilizes metaphor, especially, and other figures of speech to imbue his discourse of resistance with an affective value that raises the tension he creates between Africa and the West and heightens the persuasive force of the Unite or Perish myth. The analysis in Chapters 4 and 5, thus, shows that Nkrumah uses the Unite or Perish myth to foreground the African people's needs and concerns and to (claim to) represent their general and sovereign will in the face of the threat posed by the homogenized West. This thesis, therefore, argues that the Unite or Perish myth operates as a form of populist discourse. Hence, building on the two previous analysis chapters, this chapter illustrates various discursive strategies and pragmatic devices by which the Unite or Perish myth is framed by Nkrumah as a form of populist discourse, presupposing a homogeneous people or nation that is threatened by colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The chapter presents a systematic in-depth linguistic analysis of how certain lexico-grammatical and intertextual choices as well as rhetorical tropes in Nkrumah's presentation of the Unite or Perish myth display the typical features of a populist agenda and populist performance. And it illustrates how through the imposition of consent, Nkrumah uses the Unite or Perish myth to provide a strong, coherent and convincing narrative that encourages hatred for a system depicted as undesirable and recruits popular support for the establishment of a Union Government of Africa. The chapter, therefore, explores how Nkrumah exploits the Unite or Perish myth to construct a message of moral credibility that seeks to maximize consensus. By examining Nkrumah's representation of social actors, their actions and the argumentative structures and schemes of his discourse, this chapter aims to show how Nkrumah's creation and promotion of the Unite or Perish myth is ideologically anchored in populism, especially given his repository of topoi, and argues

[49] Portions of this chapter can be found in Nartey, Mark. Kwame Nkrumah's construction of 'the African people' via the Unite or Perish myth: A discourse-historical analysis of populist discourse. *Pragmatics and Society*. Under review.

that populism can be explicitly conceptualized as part and parcel of political mythology. It is also important to state that populism in this thesis is considered a discursive frame – that is, a construct that enables one to actively construct or convey a social reality and/or provide meaning to events and occurrences (Aslanidis, 2016) and is, thus, not viewed in the pejorative sense in which it is often used today (Elmgren, 2018). Therefore, in using the term 'populism' in this study, I refrain from making value judgements on the populist nature of the politician whose discourse is being analyzed.

Populism or populist discourse, as already mentioned in Chapter 2 (see section 2.6.1), can be defined as a set of ideas that is based on a hostile relationship between two homogeneous constructs (i.e., the 'good' people and the 'evil' elite or system'). It is "an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, 'the pure people versus the corrupt elite', and [it] argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people" (Mudde, 2004, p. 543). People-centrism and anti-elitism/system constitute the central elements of populism, meaning that populist notions centralize the people and lay stress on the idea of popular sovereignty (Mény & Surel, 2002a). The 'people' can refer to the nation, the electorate, the proletariat, peasants, etc. and they are presented as a single entity devoid of divisions and their will is argued to be the point of departure of all politics (Taggart, 2000). While celebrating 'the people', populist discourses simultaneously criticize the elite and/or the system, accusing it of arrogance, selfishness and sabotaging the welfare of the masses (Canovan, 2002; Laclau, 2005a).

The elite of the 'evil' system may refer to the political elite (e.g., political parties and politicians), the economic elite (e.g., bankers and the capitalist system) and the cultural elite (e.g., academics and writers). Given that the prevailing system is presented as bogus, populist ideology advocates its complete overhauling so as to guarantee the wellbeing of the people. As the analysis in the two previous chapters demonstrate, Nkrumah regards the system of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism as thoroughly evil and submits that the peace, stability and security of Africa can be ensured only by overthrowing and replacing them with a Union Government of Africa. In this way, he portrays himself as one mandated and sanctioned by the African people to represent their true interests, protect the African 'homeland' and restore power back to Africans. That is, his construction and promotion of the Unite and Perish myth can be seen to display the main features

of a populist ideology. In the ensuing sections, how the Unite or Perish myth is used by Nkrumah to communicate a populist agenda and the various discursive strategies that contribute to this populist style are extensively discussed. The populist traits in Nkrumah's discourse were identified via a close reading of his speeches and they were interpreted based on situational context, Ghana's/Africa's history, the diplomatic circumstances under which the speeches were given and insights derived from secondary sources.

6.2 Nkrumah's nomination and predication of social actors and actions

The identification of different social groups and their construction as in-groups and out-groups, insiders and outsiders, friends and foes via simplistic dichotomies enable a political leader to present herself or himself as a people leader in touch with the needs of her/his people (Demata, 2017). By his creation of the Unite of Perish myth, Nkrumah automatically identifies two distinct social groups – the people of Africa on one hand and the colonialists, imperialists and neo-colonialists on the other – and portrays each of these two groups as homogeneous in character, behavior and attitude. This idea of the people of Africa seen as a unified whole and an undifferentiated mass on whose behalf Nkrumah claims to speak and act can be considered a populist mechanism in which the people of Africa are projected as conferring authority on and giving legitimacy to Nkrumah in his battle against the detractors and enemies of the African nation.

> (60) When the first Congress of the United States met many years ago in Philadelphia one of the delegates sounded the first chord of unity by declaring that they had met in "a state of nature". In other words, they were not in Philadelphia as Virginians, or Pensylvanians, but simply as Americans. This reference to themselves as Americans was in those days a new and strange experience. ***May I dare to assert equally on this occasion, Your Excellencies, that we meet here today not as Ghanaians, Guineans, Egyptians, Algerians, Moroccans, Malians, Liberians, Congolese or Nigerians but as Africans – Africans united in our resolve to remain here until we have agreed on the basic principles of a new compact of unity among ourselves which guarantees for us and our future a new arrangement of continental government***. (Inauguration of the Organization of African Unity, 1963)

In this extract, Nkrumah, through the strategy of assimilation (van Leeuwen, 2008), strongly communicates the idea of Africa as a single nation instead of a continent made up of different countries. That is, Africa is a single entity with one will and one voice. This homogeneous and collective representation of the African people corresponds with classic populist discourses in which a strong connection is assumed between the masses and those who claim to represent them

(Taggart, 2000). Following typical populist strategy, Nkrumah claims to be speaking for and acting on behalf of the African people and the African nation. His use of the syntactic form 'May I dare to assert' is worthy of note as it portrays him as a bold, courageous and fearless leader who is willing to take the needed risk to ensure the welfare of his people. I propose also that his use of the verb 'dare' is motivated by a willingness and a passionate desire to lead the African people, so much so that he is constructed as strong, forward-looking and in control of making decisions about the future of Africa. This, I contend, is a very effective component of populist discourse because it encourages the people to rely on a strong and visionary leader who is able to make the hard but necessary decisions that will guarantee their well-being. In addition, by arrogating to himself the (moral and legal) right to dare to assert the homogeneity of the African people when the reality of a Union Government of Africa was very far from his ideal conception, Nkrumah can be said to be foisting a moral imperative on his immediate audience, the African heads of state, and by extension the people of Africa through the manufacture of consent (Richardson, 2007; Mulderrig, 2012b) to the extent where they must necessarily see the world from his point of view. Importantly, not only does Nkrumah communicate the underlying ideology that says 'we are one people with a common identity and a common destiny', but also attempts to rationalize it using the topoi of history and comparison (Wodak, 2015b) by his reference to the first Congress of the United States.

An instance of manifest intertextuality, Nkrumah's quotation and interpretation of the remarks by the Philadelphian delegate, particularly the expression 'state of nature', to serve his agenda can be analyzed as an argumentative structure which justifies the homogeneity of the African people and African nation. Therefore, there is evidence for the argumentative scheme and/or conclusion rule: if the people of the United States do not consider themselves as Philadelphians, Virginians or Pensylvanians but as Americans, then the people of Africa can also consider themselves as a homogeneous group and not as Ghanaians, Nigerians or Egyptians. To reinforce this logic, Nkrumah uses the adverb of comparison 'equally' and further argues that 'This reference to themselves as Americans was in those days a new and strange experience'. To Nkrumah then, there is a precedent for the homogeneity of Africa; ergo, even if the mention of it sounds new and strange at the present moment, it is still valid. As already noted in Chapters 4 and 5, the one-to-one mapping Nkrumah establishes between the United States of America and Africa as a justification for the Unite or Perish myth or a Union Government of Africa is both problematic and contradictory given the fact that the socio-political situation of the two territories post-

independence was very different. Consequently, it can be said that Nkrumah manipulates an aspect of history using exemplary reformulated or revisionist historical narratives via the topoi of history and comparison to legitimize the Unite or Perish myth and, ultimately, frame a populist discourse that emphasizes the oneness of the African people and projects Nkrumah as representing the general will of this social group. Thus, as is typical of populist performance, there is a celebration of 'the people' (Taggart, 2000; Laclau, 2005).

Nkrumah's explicit identification of two antagonistic homogenous groups – the 'ordinary' Africans and the 'corrupt' imperialists – prepares the necessary ground for him to characterize these social groups using nomination or referential and predicational strategies (Wodak, 2015b). Using the Unite or Perish myth, Nkrumah instrumentalizes the imperialists, especially those he believes to be the neo-colonialists, and the West, in general, as a dangerous threat to 'us' (i.e., our homogeneous African nation), while appealing to common sense anti-imperialist thinking. That is, he promotes an anti-system or anti-establishment rhetoric where 'system/establishment' refers to colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism and any other form of foreign domination. To put it slightly differently, the Unite or Perish myth in contributing to the populist notion of people-centrism entails a politically- and an ideologically-oriented evaluation in which Nkrumah 'offers an account or a critique of [an] existing order', pledges to 'provide a model of a desired future' and outlines 'how [and why] change can and should be brought about' (Heywood, 2000, p. 22).

(61) For our continent to develop along these lines, ***we must repel a host of enemies. Enemies whom we call imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists, in an attempt to categorize their activities, but enemies whose ends are always the same: the undermining and restriction of our independence. They work laboriously to impede and frustrate our economic development; they employ all manner of means to prevent our unity as a continent***. To destroy our political stability is the obvious method of attacking our independence. (Opening of the 2nd Conference of African Journalists, 1963)

(62) But the objective of African unity can be seriously undermined by tribalism, which provides ***one of the happiest hunting grounds for the colonialist and neo-colonialist enemies of African independence and unity***. ***The Congo is a typical example of how a country can be turned to the use of imperialist vested interests to subvert independence and lever off a most valuable part of the country for continued neocolonialist exploitation***. ***We all know the evils of colonialism … We know that the colonialists are past-masters in the policy of divide and rule***. They are quick to seize on tribal differences which they discover among us and use these to pit one group against the other. ***You must guard against it; guard against it by forging a common united from against the enemy***. (Nationalists' Conference of African Freedom Fighters, 1962)

Laclau (2005a; 2005b) notes that the construction of an enemy by proposing a cleavage between 'us' and 'them' and fostering a collective identity is an important precondition for populist mobilization. The identification of certain groups as enemies of the nation is, thus, a populist strategy used to incite action against a tangible adversary as well as sculpt a homogeneous identity for 'the people', who then view themselves in light of their enemies (Taggart, 2000, pp. 93-94). Such enemies are depicted as threats to the welfare of the people and the nation, and they are demonized since they do not conform to the populist description of a supposedly homogeneous collective (Demata, 2017). In the extracts above, Nkrumah's discourse takes on populist overtones (Mayaffre, 2013) in the sense that it attacks a specific social group, the imperialists, who Nkrumah sees as working against the interests and well-being of the African people. This group of people explicitly identified via a membership categorization and a nomination strategy (the use of 'enemies' and 'evils' to refer to them), according to him, are the ones responsible for 'the undermining and restriction of our independence' as 'they work laboriously to impede and frustrate our economic development' by 'employing all manner of means'. In other words, all of Africa's woes can be attributed to the activities of the imperialists. It is not surprising that Nkrumah attributes various vices to the imperialists because as Hofstadter (1966) submits, the enemy clearly delineated by a political leader is described as "a perfect model of malice, a kind of amoral superman: sinister, ubiquitous, powerful, cruel, sensual, luxury-loving" (pp. 31-32).

One of the most common observations about populist discourse is that it is "a [powerful] reaction to a sense of extreme crisis" caused by real or imaginary threats to the identity and continued existence of the 'heartland' (Taggart, 2004, p. 275; Aslanidis, 2016, p. 99). This is evident in the extracts as Nkrumah represents the imperialists in very negative terms and suggests that without repelling these threats to Africa's progress, African independence and African unity, Africa does not stand any chance of survival and development. He uses the conditional clause 'For our continent to develop along these lines, we must repel a host of enemies' to effectively make this point. Nkrumah's projection of an enemy can be related to the generation and intensification of a sense of adversity and distress, and it shows how a sense of crisis is fostered and the tension in Africa is raised by creating the sense of a conspiracy against the people of Africa. This sense of crisis is heightened by a combination of emotionally-laden framing, scare-mongering and aggressive language realized by expressions and predications such as 'undermining and restriction of our independence', 'working laboriously to impede and frustrate our economic development',

‘employing all manner of means to prevent our unity as a continent’, ‘hunting grounds for colonialist and neo-colonialist enemies of African independence and unity’, ‘past masters in the policy of divide and rule’ and ‘we all know the evils of colonialism’. The metaphor ‘hunting grounds’ depicts the imperialists as predators (e.g., a hound or a wolf) preying on Africa and the presupposition construction ‘We all know the evils of colonialism’ describes them as diabolical in character and in a permanent way.

Moreover, Nkrumah’s use of ‘enemies’, ‘evils’, ‘hunting grounds’ and ‘past masters in the policy of divide and rule’ can be analyzed as a spatial proximization strategy (Chilton, 2004; Cap, 2013) that seeks legitimatization of his actions, ideas and policies by alerting the people of Africa to the proximity or imminence of a phenomenon which is or can be a threat to them and, thus, requires immediate reaction. That is, he solicits popular approval of his ideas (and, therefore, the Unite or Perish myth or the formation of a Union Government of Africa) by placing the people of Africa close to the source of the threat of neo-colonialism or by perceiving this threat as close to them. By cognitively presenting neo-colonialism as directly and increasingly affecting the people of Africa in a negative and threatening way, Nkrumah encourages an attitude of zero tolerance for this phenomenon and legitimizes any counteractions (to be) taken to terminate its continued existence.

According to Hawkins (2009, p. 1043), “populism is a *Manichean* discourse (emphasis in original) because it assigns a moral dimension to everything … and interprets it as part of a cosmic struggle between good and evil”. In this regard, Nkrumah’s use of ‘evil’ as one of the attributes of the imperialists, as discussed in Chapter 5, is noteworthy since it presents them as profoundly immoral and wicked and functions as a populist strategy of political mobilization that realizes a typical populist style of political rhetoric (Betz, 1994). Reinforcing the populist idea of Africa as an undividable unity and a unified whole (Mudde, 2007), Nkrumah cites the Congo as an example of how imperialist vested interests can be used to subvert independence and perpetuate neo-colonialist exploitation, and suggests through the topos of comparison that the rest of Africa must be wary of events in the Congo. This implies that the Congo and Africa are one and the selfsame entity; hence, whatever evil is perpetrated in the Congo can be equally considered as being committed, at least potentially, in the rest of Africa. Through comparison, Nkrumah mobilizes the African people as an undifferentiated mass, enabling him to strengthen the intimacy already

existing between them as well as adopt a stance by which he claims to share their suffering and champion their cause against the iniquitous neo-colonialist system.

This thesis argues that as a constructed narrative, political myth-making functions as a form of evaluative discourse which qualifies and disqualifies political developments, policies, programs, etc. It is about assessing, based on one's belief, worldview or value system, whether or not a particular socio-cultural and/or socio-political situation is right/acceptable or wrong/unacceptable. This makes a political myth an effective medium for the realization of populist rhetoric that is based on the construction of oppositional roles as the extracts above exemplify. Using Wodak's (2015c) idea of a relational concept, the imperialists represented as the 'others' and the people of Africa represented as the 'heartland' can be seen as the two poles from which Nkrumah's populist performance derives its force and legitimacy. This creation of dichotomies, according to Laclau (2005), stems from the simplification of the political space and is at the core of populism.

Another inflammatory representation of the main actors of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism which serves the purpose of populist ideology is their portrayal as exploiters of Africa, saboteurs of the African dream and detractors of Africa's progress. Employing this referential and predicational strategy, Nkrumah constructs the colonialists and the West, in general, as devouring the African continent and, therefore, a menace to 'our' society.

(63) The Charter of African Unity must be regarded as the last but one step on the road to a Continental Union. Its provisions certainly challenge foreign political and economic domination of our Continent. ***The exploiters of Africa have grasped its implications***. ***They realize that we are out to make ourselves masters in our own house and to drive out relentlessly from the length and breadth of our Continent those forces which batten upon us and keep us in political and economic subjection***. (Ratification of the Organization of African Unity Charter: Speech to Ghanaian Parliamentarians, 1963)

(64) ***We have seen enough to know that the imperialists use decolonization as a maneuver for the greater exploitation of their former colonies. They do not accept it as a historical necessity to end a shameful and untenable period in human history***. In the face of stormy winds of freedom blowing through Africa, the colonialists have only veered their course; they have not changed it. ***Where once they ruled by force, they now manipulate to maintain their hold on Africa by cunning, bribery and subterranean violence***. (Opening of the 2nd Conference of African Journalists, 1963)

(65) There is now only one Africa with a common aspiration and common objective. ***Countrymen, in spite of the maneuvers and intrigues of the colonialists and their agents, the unity of the African Continent has become a reality. After years of colonial exploitation and oppression, Africa has been re-born***. From now on, we have a common identity and a common destiny. (Speech to Ghanaians after Signing the Organization of African Unity Charter, 1963)

The notion of plotting to do harm and betrayal by those who wield power which has been found to be key motifs in populist discourse (Mudde, 2004; Taggart, 2004; Aslani, 2015) can be seen in these extracts. Using a name-calling technique, Nkrumah refers to the imperialists as 'the exploiters of Africa', 'forces which batten upon us' and 'forces which keep us in political and economic subjection'. Charged with a certain affective value, these descriptions echo the view that the imperialists are wholly destructive and their sole aim is to keep the African people in subjugation and servitude. Furthermore, negative expressions such as 'maneuver', 'manipulate', 'intrigues', 'bribery', 'cunning' and 'subterranean violence' which are also emotionally-laden reiterate the derogatory characterization Nkrumah projects onto the colonialists and expresses the damage he believes has been done to Africa through imperialist rule. These lexical choices, including other negative collocations found in Nkrumah's speeches such as 'years of colonial devastation and ravages', 'years of colonial rule and despoliation' and 'centuries of colonial exploitation and oppression' can be regarded as an intensification strategy by which Nkrumah strengthens his argumentation against imperialism, especially neo-colonialism, (and the consequent fear of insecurity in Africa in the post-independence period) in order to enlist popular support for mass socio-political action.

Thus, it becomes imperative for the African people to become 'masters in their own house and to drive out relentlessly from the length and breadth of our continent the colonial forces' since this is the only way by which "we shall eliminate completely the handicaps, setbacks and humiliation we have suffered under colonialism and imperialism" (Nkrumah, 25/05/63). Nkrumah, therefore, sets up an inferential chain in which himself, other African heads and the people of Africa are in a better position than the colonialists to "reshape the vexations problems which harass our continent" (Nkrumah, 08/12/58). This discursive positioning can be analyzed as Nkrumah's attempt to legitimize his own worldview on the need for Africa to unite while concealing the potential challenges posed by a Union Government of Africa as well as his personal interests. Exhibiting one of the main features of populist performance, the idea of Africa as a homogeneous nation or

as a ‘homeland’ is re-echoed by Nkrumah, noting that ‘there is now only one Africa with a common aspiration and common objective’ and ‘we have a common identity and a common destiny’.

Nkrumah also uses deprecation and denigration as a strategy for maligning the system of imperialism and for preparing the ground for his creation of the Unite or Perish myth. I argue that such an anti-establishment rhetoric imbues the Unite or Perish myth as a populist discourse with legitimacy – and gives it an immediate and a conspicuous right to present itself as valid (or democratic) and as representing the will of the African people.

> (66) I have spoken to you on many occasions about the tragedy in Angola and the other territories under Portuguese administration. ***Portugal continues to pursue a senseless and barbarous colonial war simply because it is haunted by the specter of a past colonial glory***. ***Portugal refuses to accept the realities of the modern world and clings stubbornly to its inglorious colonial past*** … As a client state of the major NATO countries, Portugal as been able to obtain assistance from these countries to pursue its vicious policies in Angola, Mozambique and in other African territories under its domination. … T***he ultimate responsibility for the continuance of this criminal and senseless war in which peaceful citizens, including innocent children have been slaughtered, must rest at the door of the NATO countries***. (Africa Liberation Day, 1964)

> (67) ***For years and years, Africa has been the foot-stool of colonialism and imperialism, exploitation and degradation***. From the north to the south, from the east to the West, her sons languished in the chains of slavery and humiliation, and ***Africa’s exploiters and self-appointed controllers of her destiny strode across her land with incredible inhumanity, without mercy, without shame, and without honor*** … (United Nations General Assembly, 1960)

In these extracts, Nkrumah uses a number of negative words and vitriolic epithets to express his anger at the imperialists, to project an image of speaking for the African people and to indirectly make an emotional appeal to them. He refers to the imperialists represented by Portugal as ‘senseless’ (used twice in the same paragraph), ‘barbarous’, ‘criminal’, ‘stubborn’ and ‘vicious’ and extends this membership categorization strategy to the other NATO countries and the Occident, in general, by finding them culpable of mayhem in Southern Africa. The use of these words implies that the imperialists are an embodiment of wickedness and they are motivated by the desire to cause mayhem in Africa and inflict pain on Africans. As already mentioned, Nkrumah through his populist performance regards any prevailing situation in any part of Africa as having implications for the rest of the continent. Hence, the ‘senseless’ and ‘barbarous’ situation he refers to in Southern Africa is likely to elicit an emotional response from his audience, including fear and

hatred, and motivate a mass reaction against the imperialists. The derogatory characterization of the imperialists is intensified by the noun phrase ‘inglorious past’, the prepositional phrase ‘with incredible inhumanity’ and the list of three ‘without mercy’, ‘without shame’ and ‘without honor’.

The list of three, especially, exaggerates the malicious intent and unsympathetic nature of the imperialists and suggests that their exploitation of Africa was done with impunity and complete disregard to any humane feeling. When these lexico-grammatical choices are combined with the metaphorical expression ‘Africa’s exploiters and self-appointed controllers of her destiny strode across her land’, a very repulsive picture of reckless abandon on the part of the imperialists is painted, inducing indignation. It is important to note that Nkrumah uses the noun phrase ‘this criminal and senseless war’ in the same sentence with the lexical selection ‘peaceful citizens, including innocent children’ and chooses the extremely violent verb ‘slaughter’ instead of an alternative like ‘kill’ or ‘murder’ in referring to the death of these individuals. This intentional use of contrast and visual imagery of disgust can be seen as a means of intensifying resentment against the colonialists and neo-colonialists and reinforcing the populist ideology which Nkrumah’s discourse provokes.

Apart from condemning the colonialists with a salvo of insulting words, Nkrumah makes mockery of them using the caustic remark ‘haunted by the specter of a past colonial glory’. The sarcasm underlying this remark and the feeling of contempt and disdain it evokes are made even more conspicuous when in the next sentence Nkrumah states that ‘Portugal clings stubbornly to its inglorious past’, playing on the words ‘glory’ and ‘inglorious’. Achieving an intensification function, the prepositional phrase ‘for years and years’ and the assertion ‘I have spoken to you on many occasions about the tragedy in Angola and the other territories under Portuguese administration’ increase the argumentative and persuasive force of Nkrumah’s utterance (Charteris-Black, 2014) and contribute to a process of people-focusing or people-referencing (Sarfo, 2016) which is necessary in conveying a populist ideology. This is because “intensification expresses an interpersonal message in what might otherwise be taken to be a purely ideational statement [and] it signals personal commitment as well as truth and value judgements” (Lorenz, 1999, p. 24).

Whereas Nkrumah uses the Unite or Perish myth to portray the 'system' (i.e., colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism and their adherents) as destructive and damaging, he constructs the 'ordinary' people of Africa as the suffering masses and vulnerable victims who are being preyed upon and, therefore, in need of protection. By so doing, Nkrumah carves an identity as a protector and savior of the common people from global elites engaged in the imperialist enterprise, thereby displaying one of the classic markers of populist rhetoric (Das, 2018). Such a posturing highlights the topos of savior (Wodak, 2015b) which serves to realize the importance of a Messiah (i.e., Nkrumah) who saves 'us' from 'them' or delivers 'us' from evil.

(68) ***One characteristic of the imperialist revenge on Africa is the heartless manner in which the imperialists and colonialists drew artificial and arbitrary boundaries through African lands, forcibly breaking up families and tribes and bringing much misery and suffering to the indigenous people***. One such unedifying example is the case of the Ewe people, split between Ghana and Togoland. (Debate on Government White Paper on the Republican Constitution: Speech to Ghanaian Parliamentarians, 1960)

(69) ***Among the new states in Africa are some which, through fragmentation, have been left so weak economically, that they are unable to stand on their own feet***. ***This is the result of a deliberate policy of the withdrawing colonial powers, who have created in Africa several small, feeble and unstable and unviable states, in the hope of ensuring their continued dependence upon the former colonial power for economic and technical aid***. Indeed, the intention goes farther than that, and is more insidious. It is to produce a political atmosphere as dangerous to the safety and progress of African independence as that which followed the establishment of the many friable nations which were created in Eastern Europe by the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815). The underlying design is to induce national jealousies and rivalries such as nourished the outbreak of the First World War. (Nationalists' Conference of African Freedom Fighters, 1962)

The indigenous African people are said to be suffering and in misery, bringing to the fore the notion of victimhood (Turner et al., 2008). It is insightful that Nkrumah qualifies the African people with the attributive adjective 'indigenous' since this process reiterates the idea of a 'heartland', 'fatherland' or 'motherland' characteristic of populist discourse (Wodak, 2015b). The representation of vulnerability ascribed to Africa is also emphasized by words such as 'feeble', 'small', 'unstable', 'unviable' and 'weak' as well as the metaphor 'unable to stand on their feet'. To strengthen this argumentation, Nkrumah employs the topoi of comparison, history and history as teacher, citing Eastern Europe as an instance of how the presence of several so-called friable nations within a territory can produce a dangerous political atmosphere, induce national jealousies and rivalries and, ultimately, lead to a world war.

Not for the first time, Nkrumah adopts an intensification mechanism linguistically realized by his association of the presence of different nations within Africa with a potential world war. So, he claims that the colonial powers purposefully created small, feeble, unstable and unviable states in Africa not only to ensure their dependence on the West for economic and national aid, but also 'to induce national jealousies and rivalries such as nourished the outbreak of the First World War'. He gives another example which he describes as 'unedifying' and, thus, expresses the additional meaning of a situation that is distasteful: how the Ewe ethnic group has been split between Ghana and Togo, apparently, as a result of an imperialist revenge on Africa. These two examples can be analyzed as contributing to a populism of fear (Wodak, 2015b) in which a bad state of affairs is exaggerated in order to emotionally appeal for popular support. The victimization frame Nkrumah identifies Africa with is also conveyed by the expression 'forcibly breaking up families and tribes', which also carries an affective value. Thus, the idea of Africa as a single family and the people of Africa as brothers and sisters becomes evident. In this way, Nkrumah is able to reject any view of heterogeneity with respect to Africa and is enabled to perceive the continent, via the strategy of assimilation, as a collective. To him then, any boundaries or borders one finds in Africa are, in his words, merely 'artificial and arbitrary'.

Going by typical populist notions, a prevailing status quo that is presented as detrimental to the welfare of 'the people' must be totally overhauled, remade or substantially modified (Laclau, 2005). For Nkrumah, an alteration of the colonial system does not suffice given the damage it has caused the African continent. A complete revolution of the system which can only be achieved by the formation of a Union Government of Africa is, thus, what is required. Unsurprisingly, such reference to revolution suffuses Nkrumah's language as the extract below demonstrates:

> (70) ***The African press has a vital part to play in the revolution which is now sweeping over the continent***. Our newspapers, our broadcasting, our information services, our television, must reach out to the masses of our people – to the workers, the farmers, the trade unionists and peasants, to the university students, the young and the old – to explain the meaning and purpose of the fight against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. It must explain the necessity for, and the meaning and purpose of, a Union Government of Africa …… ***our revolutionary African press must present and carry forward our revolutionary purpose [which] is to establish a progressive political and economic system upon our continent*** … (Opening of the 2nd Conference of African Journalists, 1963)

The need for the corrupt and evil and system of imperialism to be revolutionized is categorically stated by Nkrumah. He challenges this system and adopts a populist mobilization strategy by which he charges the press in Africa with a mandate of making sure that 'the masses of our people' get to understand the need for an African revolution as well as the meaning and purpose of a Union Government of Africa. Instructively, he intentionally uses the word 'revolution/revolutionary' to emphasize the radical change that is required and he repeats the pronoun 'our' throughout the extract to indicate the African people's oneness and unity of purpose to overthrow the system. The repetition of 'our' also functions as an inclusive device that helps Nkrumah to create common ground with the African people even if some of them did not agree with his idea of a 'United States of Africa'. Typical of populist style, he makes specific reference to certain common or ordinary people, including 'the workers, the farmers, the trade unionists and peasants, the university students, the young and the old', as a way of identifying himself with their plight. That is, he casts himself in the mold of a man of the people or a people leader who "claims to stand for the 'common man' against the dominant power structure, and to be opening up new avenues through which the [African] masses could express them" (Nugent, 2009/2010, p. 37). This constitutes another discursive strategy in Nkrumah's populism and is the focus of the next section.

6.3 Nkrumah's construction of a man of the people image

Apart from the antipathetic relationship between 'the people' and 'the elite' or 'the system' around which populism is said to revolve, it thrives on the construction of 'a man of the people' image (Canovan, 2005; Stanley, 2008; Stavrakakis, 2015). That is, populist politics lays claim to a representation of the interests of the people against an elite or a system believed to be frustrating their legitimate demands while presenting these demands as an expression of the will of the people (De Cleen & Stavrakakis, 2017). This procedure is evident in Nkrumah's discourse in that by his formulation of the Unite or Perish myth, he indirectly does a character construction of himself that enhances his ethos or credibility as an individual with practical wisdom, goodwill and virtue (Charteris-Black, 2014). In this way, he is able to project an image of a patriot and of a caring, responsible and morally upright politician as well as present himself as protecting the needs and true interests of the 'good' people of Africa and as opposing anything and any person that will (potentially) stand in the way of Africa's welfare. Political power is not only rooted in abstraction, but also in the flesh and blood presence of a leader, making people appraise ideologies based on how they view the individuals with whom the ideologies are associated (Charteris-Black, 2005).

This makes Nkrumah's construction of a man of the people image extremely important as a way of encouraging acceptance of his ideals.

> (71) But Africa does not seek vengeance. It is against her very nature to harbor malice; ***over two hundred million of our people cry out with one voice of tremendous power – and what do we say? We*** do not ask for death for our oppressors, ***we*** do not pronounce wishes of ill-fate for our slave masters, ***we make an assertion of a just and positive demand***. ***Our voice*** booms across the oceans and mountains, over the hills and valleys, in the desert places and through the vast expanse of mankind's habitation, ***and it calls out for the freedom of Africa: Africa wants her freedom! Africa must be free! It is a simple call, but it is also a signal lighting a red warning to those who would lend to ignore it***. (United Nations General Assembly, 1960)

The fact that this extract is taken from Nkrumah's speech at the United Nations General Assembly is extremely significant. This is because this platform is, arguably, the biggest political platform politicians can get to propagate their ideas, represent their country and boost their image. Fully aware of the magnitude of this 'frontstage' (Wodak, 2011), Nkrumah capitalizes on it to explicitly sculpt an identity as 'Africa's main man' or 'the pride of Africa' (Cudjoe, 1995). It is important to note that Nkrumah's attendance at the Assembly was in his capacity as Ghana's president; however, he chooses instead to assume the role of or project the image of an African leader (possibly, Africa's would-be president) representing the African homeland. His assumption of such a role can be viewed as a populist strategy of political mobilization and ingratiating himself with the masses (Canovan, 2002). Consequently, using the idea of African freedom and unification, he conveys empathy for the Africa people owing to their misery under colonialism, addresses their anger and discontent and positions himself as their Messiah.

The argumentative scheme underlying the extract and indeed the entire speech implies that Nkrumah is the right leader for Africa as he is knowledgeable about the continent, knows what everybody wants, would act responsibly and would protect and defend Africa's interests (and the 'homeland'). He demonstrates this knowledge by indicating that the African people are not vengeful, despite the injustice they have suffered under colonialism, because it is not part of their nature to harbor malice. The personification of Africa as a loving and tender-hearted person who can never be resentful or bear grudge and the lexical selection of 'nature' – which implicitly connotes that the people of Africa are inherently good – achieve an exaggeration and intensification function and transfer same or similar attributes to Nkrumah. Thus, Nkrumah is presented as a selfless people leader with Africa's needs at heart.

As already noted at the outset of this chapter, a key feature of populist agenda is the representation of the needs and demands of the populace as an expression of the general will of the people. In this regard, Nkrumah employs contrast to rhetorical effect by juxtaposing what, in his estimation, is the ultimate desire of the African people with what is not: 'We do not ask for death for our oppressors, we do not pronounce wishes of ill-fate for our slave masters, we make an assertion of a just and positive demand'. Employing personification and a number of metaphors of nature that realize an exaggeration and intensification effect (e.g., oceans, mountains, hills, valleys, desert places), Nkrumah claims that this just and positive demand is being made by the 'over two hundred million of our people' as they 'cry out with one voice of tremendous power'. The phrase 'one voice' reiterates the populist idea of Africa as one people with a common destiny and the phrasal verb 'cry out' realizes an affective function that expresses a sense of desperation which Nkrumah professes the African people have for African freedom and unity. Their call for freedom is so strong that not only is it an assertion, but also a warning – that is, 'it is also a signal lighting a red warning to those who would lend to ignore it'. Nkrumah, thus, depicts himself as embodying the will of the African people and communicating on their behalf what he thinks are their real interests, values and opinions. By his enunciation, Nkrumah can be said to be engaging in a moral character construction that implies his prioritization of the needs and concerns of the people of Africa. That is, he appears to be 'having the right intentions', 'thinking right', 'sounding right', 'looking right' and '*telling the right story*' (Charteris-Black, 2014, p. 94) (emphasis is mine). Not surprisingly, Biney (2008) writes that "among African political activists and Pan-Africanists, Nkrumah was and continues to remain a revered hero, committed nationalist and Pan-Africanist deserving of high esteem and 'a true son of Africa'" (pp. 129-130).

Nkrumah's construction of a man of the people image is also revealed in his double positioning as savior of the people and representing the people as one of their own. Wodak (2015b) identifies this process as a major trait of right-wing populist politicians. Using expressions such as 'against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism', 'against apartheid', 'against racialism', Nkrumah communicates anti-establishment sentiments that portray him as 'being one of us' ('us' referring to the common people of Africa who are said to be reeling under the devastation caused by the afore-stated systems), as 'saving us from them' ('them' referring to colonialist, imperialist and neo-colonialist elements) and as 'knowing what we want' (realizing the unarticulated but shared common needs).

(72) To build Africa which must be Africa liberated from exploitation, Africa just and strong, ***we must build with the people and for the people***. Africa must win through to real independence; and the only road open to us is the one whose first station was the Summit Conference of Addis Ababa. ***We must now press on quickly to a Union Government of Africa. Those who say that a continental government of Africa is illusory are deceiving themselves. Worse, they are deceiving their people, who see in the unity of our continent the way to a better life***. They ignore the lessons of history. If the United States of America could do it, if the Soviet Union could do it, if India could do it, why not Africa? (Opening of the 2nd Conference of African Journalists, 1963)

Nkrumah does not only present himself as one who knows what the people of Africa need and as one who would protect African interests (and the 'homeland'), but he also indicates that it is his solemn duty and mission to address these needs, no matter the opposition, since he is aware of the imminent dangers and threats. Thus, he tries to give power back to the people and restore popular sovereignty (Mény & Surel, 2002a) using the topos of savior, threat, urgency and responsibility (Wodak, 2015b). Emphasizing the populist notion of the need for a politics of will and decision (Urbinati, 1998; Canovan, 2002), the assertion 'we must build with the people and for the people' is used by Nkrumah to foreground the people's concern (i.e., people-focusing). And in conformity with a populist style wary of compromise and accommodation (Taggart, 2000; Canovan, 2002), he uncompromisingly states the kind of 'nation' the people of Africa need: it must be an Africa liberated from exploitation and one that is just and strong.

As is typical of populist rhetoric, Nkrumah's presentation of himself as the man who knows what is ideal for Africa is communicated in absolute terms and with a passion and knowledge often difficult to rationalize (Kelsey, 2016). This can be seen in his intertextual reference to the formation of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa as the first station on the only road to African peace and freedom. The use of journey metaphors such as 'road' and 'station', as discussed in Chapter 5, provides energy and motivation for an arduous task by creating solidarity in order to positively evaluate policies, ideas and programs that are assumed to have socially worthy goals (Charteris-Black, 2005). In addition, it brings Nkrumah closer to the people by implying that everyone in Africa must accept temporary suffering and sacrifice for the long-term worthwhile goal of African unity. The sacrosanctity Nkrumah imbues the idea of African unity with reinforces his dual positioning as savior of the African people and as representing the true

interests of Africa against a destructive system. This is because he inextricably links African unity to Africa's promised prosperous future and creates the impression that he is determined to make sure that African unity is achieved at all cost.

In addition to presenting African unity as inevitable even though the reality was far more complicated, Nkrumah criticizes the (perceived) opponents of African unity, including other African heads who might not be in support of this idea. He considers them as 'deceiving themselves' (i.e., they are delusional), 'deceiving their people' (i.e., they are traitors or treacherous) and 'ignoring the lessons of history' (i.e., they are ignoramus). By describing other African heads/leaders who were not in support of a Union Government of Africa as 'deceiving their people', Nkrumah can be said to be exploiting 'the people' concept as is characteristic of populist discourse (Mény & Surel, 2002b). That is, whereas he is concerned about the welfare of the people and is championing their cause, those African leaders opposed to African unity are accused of seeking their own interests and being detached from the actual desires of the ordinary African.

Thus, as Barthes (1993) intimates, myth celebrates but also excoriates – Nkrumah achieves this twofold function of myth by focusing the African people's concern in a manner that is in agreement with classic populist notions. Based on his projection of an image of 'being one of us', 'saving us from them' and 'knowing what we want', this thesis argues that Nkrumah, through populist performance, suppresses social and political complexities about the formation of a Union Government of Africa by conveying a message aimed at evoking a sense of Africanness. Consequently, the Unite or Perish myth can be seen as a form of populist discourse concerned with the construction of a blissful future for Africa; a future touted as realizing a sense of the collective good (Hay, 2007, p. 2). Nkrumah's posturing as a people leader representing the African masses as one of their very own and as a leader determined to deliver the African people from an oppressive government is further discussed using Wodak's (2015c, p. 131) populist notions of 'authenticity' and 'charisma'.

According to Wodak (2015b), authenticity as an essential element of populist rhetoric implies and presupposes that politicians know and understand how the ordinary people they (claim to) represent feel, think and the circumstances under which they live. That is, politicians must be

viewed as part of the in-group, not strangers or distant to the people (i.e., as 'authentic') and as being able to appreciate the problems and needs of everybody. Nkrumah achieves this sense of authenticity and belonging by his dominant use of fraternal address terms such as 'brothers and sisters', 'fellow African freedom fighters', 'comrades-in-arms' and by conveying information that evokes a common identity with the African masses.

(73) ***Fellow African Freedom Fighters, Ladies and Gentlemen: As I look round this hall, my pride overflows at the sight of such a large number of African comrades-in-arms***, who imbued with the fervent desire to see Africa free, unfettered and united, have gathered here together on African soil for the first time in the history of the continent … ***The liberation of Africa is the task of Africans. We Africans alone can emancipate ourselves*** … ***we alone can grapple with the monster of imperialism which has all but devoured us*** … ***Fellow African Freedom Fighters still carrying the burden of Imperialism, pull together***. ***We who have won our freedom stand uncompromisingly behind you in your struggle. Take heart***. Unite your forces. (All-African People's Conference, 1958)

(74) ***Fellow Freedom Fighters, Comrades and Friends: We have shaped a destiny for ourselves, and no one can alter the course of that destiny***. It is the destiny of complete freedom for Africa - the total liberation of our continent and its political and economic unification. ***For today we must each see ourselves as part of Africa in order that we may face colonialist-imperialism and its new form, neo-colonialism, on a continent-wide front***. ***Africa is for Africans and unless those within our gates can accept the rule of the majority, they must either pick themselves up and go or be forced to surrender to our just demands***. The hurricane of change that is raging through Africa and razing to the ground many of the bastions of colonialism, is a warning that we Africans mean to be masters on our own continent … ***This requires some plain speaking, and for the sake of Africa, let us speak plainly***. (Nationalists' Conference of African Freedom Fighters, 1962)

By intentionally employing address and/or reference terms such as 'fellow African freedom fighters', 'African comrades-in-arms', 'fellow freedom fighters', 'comrades' and 'friends', Nkrumah demonstrates through his language that he is one of the people. Not only that, but he implies that he understands their needs, worries and concerns and is prepared to speak plainly and clearly to them and for them. These fraternal terms of address when combined with the extensive use of the first person plural pronoun 'we/us' help to achieve confidence and intimacy between the speaker and hearer (van Dijk, 1983). Therefore, their usage is likely to strike a chord with the audience. The connection Nkrumah establishes between himself and the African masses is also highlighted by expressions such as 'We who have won our freedom stand uncompromisingly behind you in your struggle' and 'Take heart'. Such enunciation gives the people confidence, hope

and reassurance, and restates Nkrumah's commitment to their cause. Moreover, he suggests that he is not disconnected from the people by communicating a position firmly rooted in commonsense opinions and beliefs: 'The liberation of Africa is the task of Africans. We Africans alone can emancipate ourselves … we alone can grapple with the monster of imperialism which has all but devoured us'. This exclusionary rhetoric (Wodak, 2011) helps to unite the African people and enables Nkrumah to directly associate himself with their predicament.

Wodak (2015b) explains that in presenting themselves as authentic, politicians do not only have to be perceived as (being) the representatives of the ordinary people. They must also construct themselves as having the necessary boldness and courage to say what the ordinary woman/man on the street thinks. In this regard, Nkrumah's language aligns him with the people and helps him to carve an in-group identity by, for instance, choosing the language of the street fighter. This can be seen in the aggressive tone of his discourse as well as his militant posture evidenced by his issuing a warning on behalf of the African people to the colonialists to either accept the rule of the majority (i.e., the African people) or 'pick themselves up and go or be forced to surrender to our just demand'. It is instructive that Nkrumah uses the phrase 'the rule of the majority' since it can be regarded as a cognate form of Rousseau's *volonte generale* (i.e., general will) (Hawkins, 2009). This populist notion of the will of the people as a whole assigns specific virtue to their views and opinions as they are seen as the overwhelming majority (Wiles, 1969). Thus, Nkrumah's assertion that the African freedom fighters are imbued with the desire to see Africa free, unfettered and united, supposedly, embodies the will of the African people as it tries to give power back to them and restore popular sovereignty (Abts & Rummens, 2007).

Another aspect of authenticity Wodak (2015b) mentions is the leader's resolve to directly and explicitly oppose the powerful, not bothering about the rules of political correctness and politeness. In doing so, s/he is able to boost the people's self-esteem and, hence, their sense of how they should be treated or what they deserve (Goethals, 2018). It is, therefore, not surprising that Nkrumah refers to the imperialists as monsters and slave masters and uses the destruction metaphor of hurricane to describe how they must be treated. This empowering rhetoric serves the purpose of increasing the people's morale, boosting their confidence and instilling in them a 'can do' spirit and mentality as part of the efforts to challenge and completely change the existing order.

The directness and explicitness with which Nkrumah confronts the system, thereby portraying himself as an authentic leader who understands what the people need, is clearly expressed in his declaration that '[the problem at hand] requires some plain speaking, and for the sake of Africa, let us speak plainly'. Even though Wodak (2015b) asserts that it is important for the political leader to speak the same language (i.e., the mother tongue) as the people s/he is representing as part of her/his authenticity, Nkrumah does not (and cannot) given the ethnic diversity of Africa. Importantly, however, Nkrumah recognizes this challenge of language barrier, acknowledges it and tactfully deals with it by suggesting that his and the African people's Africanness supersedes every other consideration, including language. So in one of his speeches, he says: "Although there are many here who speak English, French, Spanish or Portuguese; nevertheless, we are all Africans – Africans fighting for Africa's independence, Africa's unity, Africa's future" (Nkrumah, 14/06/62).

Charisma is another notion Wodak (2015b) discusses as being integral to a politician's populist performance because such leadership has the potential to galvanize political transformation and inspire devotion and loyalty in the people. Building on the work of sociologist Max Weber who considers charisma as a "quality of an individual personality" and as a "specific gift of body and mind" (Weber, 1978, pp. 24, 1112 quoted in Wodak, 2015b, p. 1333), Wodak includes the socio-political aspects of political leadership in her conceptualization of charisma. She submits that charisma, especially in politics, is socially constructed and has to be publicly recognized; a view to which the present study subscribes.

Combining the personality trait and socio-constructivist views of charisma, one can say that Nkrumah's charismatic leadership is, first and foremost, demonstrated in his unwavering belief in African freedom and African unity and in his overwhelming confidence in his ideas. According to Weber (1947), charismatic leaders maintain their authority by showing their strength in activities. That is, they gain legitimacy by winning an honorable war and offering economic benefit and material welfare (Gerth & Mills, 1991). By ambitiously putting forward the idea of African freedom (rather than the independence of Ghana only) and African unity, Nkrumah exhibits strength in character and offers the African people a better way of life. In other words, he tells the people exactly what they want to hear: peace, progress, prosperity, welfare, etc. Importantly, he

leverages his enviable position as the first African to lead his country to independence in order to accentuate his charismatic leadership, boost his personality and gain credibility for his mythology.

> (75) ***We are not waiting, we shall no more go back to sleep anymore. Today, from now on there is a new African in the world, that new African is ready to fight his own battle and show that after all, the black man is capable of managing his own affairs***. We are going to demonstrate to the world to the other nations … ***The independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with total liberation [and unity] of the African continent***. (Declaration of Independence Speech, 1957)

Here, Nkrumah shows his strength and power to motivate the masses by calling for independence across Africa and, later, a Union Government of Africa. More crucially, he submits that the African leader, in particular, and the people of Africa, in general, are not inferior to the Western colonialists or the people of the West, declaring that 'the black man is capable of managing his own affairs'. He, thus, suggests that Africans are able to replace the Western governors and diplomats and to govern themselves. Not only that, but Africa will prove her mettle and show to the world that the continent is a force to be reckoned with as evidenced by the assertion 'We are going to demonstrate to the world'. This instantiation can be interpreted as a compelling remark from a leader who inspires devotion in his followers. This remark in conjunction with the words of assurance 'We are not waiting, we shall no more go back to sleep anymore' presents us with the image of a leader who is strong in character and, therefore, likely to greatly appeal to the public. In effect, Nkrumah's readiness and willingness to confront imperialism across Africa head-on and the sheer audacity with which he puts forward the lofty political vision of African unity highlight the force of his personality and gives a sense of his charisma.

Nkrumah's charisma can also be observed in his creation and repetition of simple slogans and 'buzz catchphrases' (Cheng, 2000) that are likely to appeal to the public and get them enthused and enthusiastic about his campaigns. Examples of these expressions include 'Freedom Now', 'Self-government Now', 'Positive Action', 'Unite or Perish', 'Swim or Sink', 'Unite or Disintegrate' and 'United States of Africa'. In addition, he frequently and consistently used mottos and dicta that were pleasing to the senses; for example, 'We have the right to live as men', 'We have the right to govern ourselves', 'We prefer self-government with danger to servitude in tranquility' and 'Africa must unite' (Nkrumah, 1957, p. 94). These slogans and dicta, according to Iijima (1998, p. 180), appeared every day in the *Accra Evening News*, a newspaper founded by

Nkrumah. Thus, repetition as a rhetorical device can be said to be part and parcel of Nkrumah's rhetorical brand not only on stage, but also in the media. Such repetition (i.e., of arguments, slogans, dicta and ideological contents in varied forms), Johnstone (1987, p. 208) notes, entails various sound devices and other rhetorical tropes and they help to build 'rhetorical presence', 'make discourse sound elegant', contribute to 'the linguistic foregrounding of an idea which can serve to make it persuasive even without logical support' and 'make things believable by forming them into the affective field of the hearer and keeping them there'. Eatwell (2007, pp. 6-7) quoted in Wodak (2015b, pp. 133-134) identifies four leadership traits which must be fulfilled in order for a politician to be considered as possessing charisma:

1. Charismatic leaders have a mission, as savior of the people.
2. Charismatic leaders portray themselves as ordinary men, as merely obeying the wishes of the people, and thus also as having a symbiotic relationship with the people they represent.
3. Enemies are targeted, indeed demonized.
4. Charismatic personalities have great personal presence, which is frequently described as 'magnetism'.

As the analysis in Chapters 4 and 5 shows, in formulating the Unite or Perish myth, Nkrumah explicitly identifies the colonialists, imperialists and neo-colonialists as Africa's sworn enemy. He then proceeds to demonize and vilify this enemy while depicting himself as simply seeking the welfare of the African people. He is, thus, constructed as a man on a solemn rescue mission to save the African people and the continent from (imminent) destruction by defying the odds, overcoming difficulties and spearheading the establishment of a Union Government of Africa. The analysis in Chapters 4 and 5, therefore, reveals that Nkrumah manifestly displays the first three attributes Eatwell (2007) identifies with charismatic leadership. Regarding the fourth feature on rhetorical presence, Iijima (1998) writes that "Nkrumah obviously possessed a charismatic personality" [which was] "akin to that of the prophets of the African Independent Churches" (p. 171). Mensah (2007) adds that "Nkrumah's reputation was developed [through the presentation of himself] as charismatic, energetic, heroic, youthful and intellectual but ordinary … and was an icon to many, especially the younger population, who had developed a taste for populist conceptions" (p. 101).

Apart from the personality traits listed above, Eatwell (2007) mentions that charismatic leaders must have a unique bond with their people and have to be able to attract loyal supporters. In this

regard, Iijima (1998, p. 181) states that "Nkrumah's distinctive style of speech [and] his experiences as a lay preacher in Philadelphia, as a vice-president of the West African Students' Union in London … resulted in his gaining the support of the people just as the religious prophets had done". In emphasizing their authenticity and charisma as part of creating an image of a people leader, politicians claim that they are completely knowledgeable about the history of a people (Wodak, 2015b) and, thus, exploit it to validate their current and future actions. Such political appropriation of familiarity and history in Nkrumah's creation of the Unite or Perish myth and which serves the purpose of a populist agenda is subsequently discussed.

6.4 Nkrumah's exploitation of familiarity and historical memory

A common observation about populism, as already mentioned, is that it is a response to a crisis by claiming to represent the people against a corrupt or an unfair system and appeals to their emotions (Taggart, 2004, p. 275; Aslanidis, 2016, p. 12). It is, therefore, not surprising that Nkrumah presents imperialism as a despicable crime against Africa – and indeed against humanity – in order to underscore his identity as a good leader in touch with the plight of his people and who is prepared to bring them out of the prevailing appalling situation at all cost. It is the position of this thesis that Nkrumah appropriates imperialism, more specifically colonialism, as a culturally-cum-socially shared experience in Africa to evoke familiarity as a potent way of 'doing populism'. That is, Nkrumah's constant reference to Africa's familiarity with the treachery of colonialism, it can be said, corresponds with a populist valorization of a painful experience of the African people (Ylä-Anttila, 2017). By consistently (re-)echoing and historicizing this shared experience – and the accompanying notions of deprivation, destitution, exploitation, etc. – he bonds the African people together and imbues a populist argumentation with an emotional charge.

> (76) Legislation has turned many millions of Africans into helots in their own land. ***It will take all the tricks of expurgation and the greatest manipulation of truth ever fashioned to wipe out of the pages of history the dreadful things and monstrous wrong that have been inflicted on our people by those who came here, so they said, to bring their civilizing mission to this vast and great continent***. There is not one of us who has not, in a minor or major degree, ***felt the oppressive heel of colonial rule***. ***I am not making this point merely in order to harrow you with ugly memories. Many of you have been confronted only too recently with the shocking actualities of calculated oppression to be able at this moment to push them out of mind. I raise the point so that it will stay in your minds*** when you may be tempted by the seductive promises of neo-colonialism to forget the real character of colonialism, and be persuaded away from your own true interests and those of Africa. (Nationalists' Conference of African Freedom Fighters, 1962)

It is argued in this study that the exploitation of popular memory, collective experiences and a shared past for socio-political gains such as enemy construction and national identity creation (Kelsey, 2013) can be an effective means of populist argumentation in which a politician positions herself/himself as representing the people against a terrible regime. As can be observed in the extract, Nkrumah politically appropriates the familiar experience of colonialism in Africa to effectively claim to represent the African people's true interests in the wake of the new colonialism (i.e., neo-colonialism), noting that 'There is not one of us who has not, in a minor or major degree, felt the oppressive heel of colonial rule'. The lexical selection of the verb 'felt' (instead of an alternative like 'witnessed' or 'sensed') is noteworthy because it expresses the experiencing of an actual unpleasant emotion or sensation through an imagery of pain, physical torture and mental trauma. This inference is echoed by the use of the metaphor 'oppressive heel of colonial rule', which emphasizes harsh, cruel and authoritarian treatment.

It is also important to note how Nkrumah, via a strategy of assimilation and collectivization (van Leeuwen, 2008), suggests that every single person in his audience, and indeed every African, is well acquainted with the dreaded colonial experience – this can be seen in his use of the all-embracing or all-encompassing expression 'There is not one of us who has not …'. Such an appeal to a familiar experience instead of more abstract political conceptualizations such as values, according to Ylä-Anttila (2017), corresponds with the populist notion of valorizing the ordinary people. In order to bond the African people together, Nkrumah gives emotional charge to his rhetoric by providing specific details of the suffering their shared experience has inflicted on them, stating that many millions of Africans have been made helots on their own land and dreadful things and monstrous wrong have been perpetrated against Africans. The emotional appeal made is heightened by his declaration that the people of Africa will forever remember the tribulations of colonialism since they can never be wiped out of the pages of history.

Thus, he exploits historical memory (Wodak et al., 2009) to reinforce the collective experience he identifies the African people with. Hence, through recollections and appeals to historicity, Nkrumah warns the African people against what he describes as 'the real character of colonialism', thereby indirectly claiming to be fronting their needs and concerns. In addition, he exploits the notion of collective or popular memory (Wodak et al., 2009) as part of his 'familiarity frame', intimating that 'I am not making this point merely in order to harrow you with ugly memories [but]

I raise the point so that it will stay in your minds'. Thus, he ingrains the familiar experience of colonialism into the memories of the African people in order for it to be regarded as an essential aspect of the shared pool of knowledge and information of the African society. By so doing, he is able to make a popular appeal to the African people – or even place a demand on them – to endorse and actively support his challenge against the vested interests that control so much power and privilege to the detriment of the African people. It can, therefore, be said that Nkrumah's exploitation of familiarity functions as an inclusive strategy that helps to create common ground with the African people even if certain Africans did not agree with the idea of a Union Government of Africa.

Nkrumah's ideological appropriation of the familiar experience of colonialism in Africa in order to advance a populist argument or frame a populist discourse is given verve by its combination with a discourse or a populism of fear (Wodak, 2015b). Using the memory of colonialism (and sometimes apartheid, racialism and the slave trade) as well as the remembrance of the African victims of these systems, Nkrumah underlines the threat of neo-colonialism and the consequent fear of Africa's insecurity in the hope of enlisting popular support for the formation of a Union Government of Africa.

> (77) The problem of peace and security on this our beloved continent of Africa is not an academic question. ***Even while we deliberate today, men, women and children die daily as a result of military action or police massacre. The Algerian refugees are an ever present reminder of this grim tragedy***. ***At the southern end of the continent, the defenders of apartheid, the worst form of racial arrogance, have not only boasted openly of the new military equipment they are assembling to intimidate Africans who resort to non-violent positive action against that iniquitous system, but they have recently unleashed the murderous fire of Saracen tanks upon them, an action which has hit the conscience of the world***. In Eastern and Central Africa, ***our heroic leaders and thousands of our freedom fighters suffer detention and banishment for daring to ask to be free***. Fellow Africans: the violence and threats of violence of the present day are but the continuation of a pattern which has been developing during the past ten years with an intensity both cumulative and alarming. ***The memories of the tragedy of Sakiet and of the relentless harassment from ground and sky of the people of Kenya, are still vivid in our memory. At this juncture, Comrades, I would like to ask you to stand up and observe two minutes silence for all those Africans who have been the victims of colonial and racial brutality***. (Positive Action Conference for Peace and Security in Africa, 1960)

(78) ***Of late, atrocities of the worst possible kind have been perpetrated against Africans. The horror of Portuguese atrocities appalls all right-minded people. The massacres at Dembos, Gulungo Alto, Ambaca, Dondo, Cacuso, Libolo and others, will be to the eternal shame of the present Portuguese regime. Troops drafted into Baixa de Cassange to shoot down Africans demonstrating against abusive practices, killed over eight thousand innocent people. Planes bombed unarmed, defenseless men and women***. ***The Portuguese record in Angola, in Mozambique, Guinea, Sao Tome and Principle is a long, repetitive story of murder, robbery and active persecution of Africans***. The intensity of the new repression is illustrated by the recent flight of more than eighty thousand persons into the Congo. (Nationalists' Conference of African Freedom Fighters, 1962)

The promotion of fear and anxiety by Nkrumah in his appropriation of Africa's shared experience with colonialism as part of his populist performativity can be seen in his intentional and careful recounting of the horrible consequences of colonialism across the continent. Moving from the general to the specific, he speaks of 'atrocities of the worst possible kind that have been perpetrated against Africans' and zeroes in on massacres at Dembos, Gulungo Alto, Ambaca, Dondo, Cacuso, Libolo, troops drafted into Baixa de Cassange to shoot down Africans demonstrating against abusive practices and the tragedy of Sakiet. The choice of violent words and phraseology such as 'atrocities', 'brutality', 'killed', 'massacres', 'murder', 'murderous fire' and 'shoot down' to refer to the actions of the colonialists intensifies the misdeeds attributed to them. The emotive force of these expressions is further amplified by phrases such as 'the horror of Portuguese atrocities', 'a long repetitive story of murder, robbery and active persecution of Africans', 'the intensity of the new repression' and 'abusive practices' which are used to describe what Nkrumah refers to as 'the iniquitous system of colonialism'. In addition, the pejorative labels used in classifying the actions of the colonialists are juxtaposed with positively evaluated epithets such as 'thousand innocent people', 'unarmed defenseless men and women' and 'men, women and children', referring to the African people, in order to underscore the ruthlessness and mercilessness of the iniquitous colonial system.

Altogether, the use of these lexico-syntactic resources has a strong affective value that evokes an unpleasant feeling of terror and dread, fear and panic, especially when looked at in light of the exaggerated statement 'men, women and children die daily as a result of military action or police massacre'. It is worthy to note that Nkrumah believes the crimes committed against Africa as a result of colonialism, including the unleashing of murderous fire of Saracen tanks on innocent

Africans, should be entrenched in popular African memory as he intimates that 'these crimes are still vivid in our memory'. His mentioning of 'Saracen tanks' (i.e., the FV603 Saracen) is, particularly, significant given its crucial role in enforcing apartheid in South Africa (Ahluwalia et al., 2007). Remembrance or reminiscence is an integral aspect of historical memory (Wodak et al., 2009). Hence, by asking his audience to observe a two minute silence for all Africans who have fallen victim (i.e., died) to colonial and racial brutality, Nkrumah helps them to reflect on an awful experience and to identify with it, thereby provoking them to make a determined decision to withstand such a phenomenon or any other manifestation (e.g., neo-colonialism) it might have.

It is important to state that the events described by Nkrumah as colonial atrocities in the extracts above represent a shared knowledge and will, therefore, be transparent to his listeners. The tragedy of Sakiet, for instance, is in reference to Algerian-French conflict in 1958 during which the Tunisian city was bombed and the shooting down of Africans at Baixa de Cassange took place in northern Angola in 1961 owing to cotton farm workers boycott. Consequently, this thesis does not trivialize the gravity of these events. The point it argues, however, is that given Nkrumah's choice of words in discussing these events, he can be said to be ideologically exploiting a familiar and an unpleasant event in the past in order to construct a logical basis for the exceptional nature of the threat/menace to the nation state (i.e., Africa). Based on this argumentative scheme realized by the topos of exceptionalism (Agamben, 2005; Wodak et al., 2009), he is able to validate the anti-imperialist and anti-system strategy he proffers in the form of a Union Government of Africa. It seems then that he capitalizes on the afore-mentioned events and the strong feeling his audience may have for them to invoke a correlation between colonialism and evil. This helps him to, as Mensah (2007) submits, foreground an identity of a respectable leader committed to the predicament of his people.

The discursive processes of assimilation and collectivization which enable Nkrumah to associate Africa with a certain bad patch in history and to promote its entrenchment within the collective memory of the African society becomes the basis to exclude 'others' who do not have a similar experience and who, in the context of the present study, are deemed responsible for the harrowing experience the African people are identified with. That is, Nkrumah's exploitation of familiarity provides the necessary ground for instigating an exclusionary rhetoric or argumentation and a

stigmatizing narrative against a certain social group (i.e., the West) with the aim of eliciting the support of 'the people' (Wodak, 2015b).

(79) ***There are wide enough areas of mutual co-operation that should lead us to a Centralized Continental Union and give effective protection to our sovereign independence***. The Charter of African Unity must be regarded as the last but one step on the road to a Continental Union. Its provisions certainly challenge foreign political and economic domination of our Continent. ***The exploiters of Africa have grasped its implications. They realize that we are out to make ourselves masters in our own house*** and to drive out relentlessly from the length and breadth of our Continent those forces which batten upon us and keep us in political and economic subjection. (Ratification of the Organization of African Unity Charter: Speech to Ghanaian Parliamentarians, 1963)

(80) ***This is Africa and the land they settled upon is African land belonging to Africans whether they were there or not upon the settlers' arrival. Africa is not an extension of Europe and if Europeans want to develop a separate nation, then they must find a place on their own continent to do so. They cannot expect to remain here, to live upon and lord it over an African majority in a master-slave relationship that deprives our fellow Africans in the South of every human right and dignity***. Nor do we countenance the Central African Federation, forced upon seven million Africans for the benefit of three hundred thousand Europeans, determined to extend the arrogant assumptions of racial superiority over wider stretches of our continent. (Nationalists' Conference of African Freedom Fighters, 1962)

(81) ***I have often stressed the fact that Africa is not an extension of Europe or of any other continent***, and that the attempts to balkanize her is inimical to African unity and progress. (Positive Action Conference for Peace and Security in Africa, 1960)

The exclusionary-cum-stigmatizing narrative initiated by Nkrumah is expressed in constructions such as 'Africa is not an extension of Europe or any other continent' and 'if Europeans want to develop a separate nation, then they must find a place on their continent to do so'. The basis for this argumentation scheme is the shared experience of colonialism Nkrumah identifies Africa with and which can be seen in lexical choices such as 'the exploiters of Africa' and 'master-servant relationship'. Consequently, Nkrumah exploits the popular maxim 'in unity there is strength' by emphasizing the need for Africa to unite against an unwanted and a threatening situation, thereby stigmatizing the social actors and social group who are considered to be responsible for this situation. Underpinned by formulations such as 'This is Africa', 'This is African land belonging to Africans' and 'Africa is not an extension of Europe', the Unite or Perish myth and the ideology of African unification can be seen as an instrument of alienization (thereby making the imperialists

alien elements) – that is, a mechanism that makes certain individuals and social groups unassimilable and must, therefore, be excluded (DeChaine, 2009).

An important aspect of alienization that the formation of a Union Government of Africa brings to the fore is the fear and panic produced by the perception of dangers and threats, real or perceived, which are represented as coming from external forces or from outside the 'African nation'. This produces a narrative of insecurity associated with aliens (the neo-colonialists) who intrude into socio-political spaces and territories where they are neither welcome nor wanted (Africa) in order to cause havoc. In this way, the establishment of a Union Government of Africa, touted as the only means of eliminating the danger posed by the aliens and guaranteeing Africa's peace and security, becomes the foundation for an argumentation scheme which justifies the exclusion of the diabolical neo-colonialists. This scheme is realized by a topos of cause (Wodak 2015b) embedded in a causal scheme in which a cause (African countries not uniting) results in an effect (neo-colonialist exploitation and foreign domination of Africa).

Similar to DeChaine's (2009) notion of alienization is Reisigl's (2013) distancing dynamic, which can be argued to be essential to a populist agenda in the sense that populism utilizes a discursive strategy of distancing from 'others/them' and of proximity to 'the people/us'. Hence, by stressing the distinctiveness of Africa and how very different Africa is from Europe, Nkrumah dissociates himself from Europe/the West and ideologically aligns himself with the 'heartland', forming part of his populist performance. This form of identification is important because it helps a politician to be seen as "protecting the fatherland (or heartland, homeland) [which] implies belief in a common narrative of the past, where 'We' were either heroes or victims of evil (of a conspiracy, evil enemies, enemies of the fatherland etc.)" (Wodak, 2015b, p. 67). In the case of Nkrumah, the historical narrative he refers to is one of treachery and ill treatment, enabling him to connect with the African people in a very sensitive way. He demonstrates his readiness and willingness to protect and defend the 'fatherland' from aliens by declaring that 'we are out to make ourselves masters in our own house', 'we will drive out relentlessly from the length and breadth of our continent those forces that batten upon us' and 'we do not countenance the Central African Federation forced upon seven million Africans for the benefit of three hundred thousand Europeans'. These pronouncements coupled with Nkrumah's submission that he is prepared to oppose arrogant assumptions of racial superiority in Africa, through implication, convey a high

exclusionary force or reflect an aggressive exclusionary rhetoric legitimized via appeals to fear and security.

This thesis further contends that Nkrumah's use of familiarity aims to associate the people of Africa with a nationalistic socio-political agenda and identity by employing strategies that presuppose national sameness, unity and cohesion (Berezin, 2001; 2002). In this regard, Nkrumah suggests that since the dreadful experience of colonialism has given Africa a wrong identity, there is a need for the African identity to be recast or recreated. Consequently, he puts forward the idea of an 'African Personality' which reiterates the populist idea of Africa as a homogeneous collective as well as the strong bond that is assumed to exist between the people of Africa and Nkrumah, the one who claims to speak for them or represent their interests.

> (82) ***Some of us, I think, need reminding that Africa is a continent on its own. It is not an extension of Europe or any other continent***. ***We want therefore to develop our own community and an African Personality***. Others may feel that they have evolved the very best way of life, but we are not bound, like slavish imitators, to accept it as our mold. If we find the methods used by others are suitable to our social environments, we shall adopt or adapt them; if we find them unsuitable, we shall reject them. (All-African People's Conference, 1958)

> (83) I say that once Africa is free and independent we shall see a flowering of the human spirit on the Continent second to none. ***The African Personality in liberty of freedom will have the chance to find its free expression and makes its particular contribution to the totality of culture and civilization***. (All-African People's Conference, 1958)

Nkrumah writes in his book, *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-colonization* (1964), that "The African Personality is itself defined by the cluster of humanist principles which underlie the traditional African society" (p. 79). Thus, he arrogates to himself the power to define (hence the topos of definition – Wodak, 2015b) the parameters of Africanness and what it entails. His selection of the word 'personality' which can be found not only in these extracts but in several other speeches is revealing. In the present study, it is used to refer to a social group or a community of people rather than an individual's uniqueness and, thus, ideologically assigns a national identity to Africa. By so doing, Nkrumah rejects any foreign perceptions of Africa as he seeks to promote a peculiar African personae and national psyche. Identity always implies a tension between similarity and difference (Bradford et al., 2002, p. 104), so an African personality can be said to

be inclusive of Africans, people of African descent and, perhaps, the entire Black race and is simultaneously exclusionary of the Occident, especially Western Europe and America. This view is buttressed by Nkrumah's submission that Africa is a continent on its own and not part of Europe or any other continent, making it logical for Africa to have a unique national identity.

The specific mention of Europe but silence on the other continents supposedly thought of by certain people to have a stake in Africa or African affairs can be interpreted to mean that Europe, especially Western Europe, more than any other continent, is considered by Nkrumah to be the neo-colonialists. The clear-cut dichotomy he establishes between Africa and Europe in terms of national identity, contributing to his populist discourse, is made more explicit and forceful when Nkrumah makes it abundantly clear that Africa is not under any compulsion whatsoever to replicate the way of life, methods, practices, ideals, etc. of the West (whom he categorizes with the noun 'others'). In essence, Africa's shared history of colonialism is used by Nkrumah to encourage the populist view that 'they' are different from 'us', 'they' are culpable for all 'our' present problems and 'they' are still conspiring against 'us'. It is, therefore, of necessity that the African identity is reconstructed and redefined since it has been tainted with imperialist intrigues such as colonialism, racialism and the slave trade. Nkrumah's assigning of guilt to the imperialists as part of his exploitation of familiarity and historical memory leads to an emotionalized blame attribution and/or a scapegoating mechanism that sheds light on his populist discourse.

6.5 Emotionalized blame attribution

A key marker of populist discourse is the attribution of blame to a dangerous 'other' for most, if not all, current woes of 'the people', producing and maintaining in-groups and out-groups (Wodak, 2015b). Such blame appropriation is often realized through emotive language and negative descriptors and helps to associate ordinariness with vulnerability in a way that is likely to get the masses incensed and, subsequently, united to act against the source of their woes (Das, 2018). Nkrumah presents the system of imperialism as blameworthy by accusing it of a variety of offenses, ranging from very specific allegations to vague and wide-ranging ones.

(84) It is not enough to acclaim unity. We must work conscientiously and tirelessly for its attainment. ***All the evils that beset us in Africa: economic exploitation, boundary disputes, the existence of foreign bases on African soil, the intrigues, bribery, subversion, and cajolement of neo-colonialism, poverty, and want amidst plenty – all these evils that are the legacy of colonialism and imperialism can only be effectively removed if we unite under one Union Government of Africa***. I hope that 1964 will see a positive advance towards our goal of African unity. (New Year Message to the people of Ghana, 1963)

(85) ***The masses of the people of Africa are crying for unity***. The people of Africa call for the breaking down of the boundaries that keep them apart. They demand an end to the border disputes between sister African states – ***disputes that arise out of the artificial barrier raised by colonialism. It was colonialism's purpose that divided us. It was colonialism's purpose that left us with our border irredentism that rejected our ethnic and cultural fusion***. (Inauguration of the Organization of African Unity, 1963)

One can observe here a highly emotive framing of the ordinary people of Africa as the undervalued masses whose suffering is explicitly attributed to imperialism. Consequently, a salvo of accusations are brought against this system: poverty, economic exploitation, boundary disputes and irredentism, the presence of foreign bases in Africa, bribery and subversion, cajolement of neo-colonialism and ethnic and cultural disintegration. An issue over whether these allegations are wholly true or not does not arise since they are presented as self-evident. Realizing an intensification and exaggeration function, the adverb 'all' and the Manichean form 'evil' are used by Nkrumah to amplify the emotive force of his utterance and to exacerbate the misdeeds he attributes to the imperialists. Indeed, by stating that 'All the evils that beset us in Africa are the legacy of colonialism and imperialism', Nkrumah implies that all of Africa's present and future problems should be blamed on colonialism and imperialism. To him then, the behavior of the colonialists in Africa is reprehensible and (morally) indefensible, and they can never be extricated from culpability as far as the present and future problems in Africa are concerned. This position of Nkrumah can be viewed as a scapegoating dynamic in populist communication intended to provoke public outcry against an existing order and to justify why the status quo must be completely changed (Girard, 1989; Sanders, 2009).

It is insightful that Nkrumah refers to the charges he levels against colonialism and imperialism as their 'legacy' as this referential strategy suggests that the crimes of colonialism and imperialism against Africa are obvious for all to see and can, thus, not be denied. The idea/assumption that Nkrumah has been sanctioned by the African people to express their true desires can be seen in his

assertion that 'The masses of the people of Africa are crying for unity' and 'The people of Africa call for the breaking down of the boundaries that keep them apart'. Importantly, the personification of colonialism in the sentences 'It was colonialism's purpose that divided us' and 'It was colonialism's purpose that left us with our border irredentism' can be analyzed as a way of inflaming public feelings through an emotionalized blame attribution as part of a populist agenda. This makes the system being accused and its adherents deserving of outright condemnation. In effect, an emotionalized blame attribution together with a scapegoating dynamic helps Nkrumah to justify the formation of a Union Government of Africa and to make a passionate request to the people of Africa to support his idea. So, he affirms: 'It is not enough to acclaim unity. We must work conscientiously and tirelessly for its attainment'.

The instrumentalization of 'others' as dangerous and a threat to 'us' or 'our nation' using an emotionalized blame attribution and/or a scapegoating dynamic manifests itself as a discourse or politics of fear (Wodak 2015b, p. 2). Therefore, it becomes necessary for the cause of the fear to be dealt with, resulting in an ideological alignment with 'the people'. Nkrumah's endless accusations against the West as responsible for all of Africa's problems induces fear in the African people, legitimizes the Unite or Perish myth and helps to present it as a form of populist ideology aimed at shielding the African people from a vile and vicious system.

(86) ***Colonial rule has left a high degree of illiteracy among our people***, and we all know that in conditions of ignorance and superstition, it is easy enough to fan internecine feuds … ***Colonial rule has also left the masses of our people poverty-stricken and disease-ridden, while enormous quantities of mineral and agricultural wealth were drained out of Africa year in and year out***. From the labors of our people, vast profits have been wrung for industrial and financial monopolies. In the Portuguese colonies, in the Belgian Congo, in the Union of South Africa, in the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, Kenya and other settler areas, ***forced labor and slave conditions are the lot of millions of Africans, whose lands have been expropriated*** in imposing hut and poll taxes and bending the customary traditions of communal service to the needs of settler farmers, mining companies, and land concessionaries. (Nationalists' Conference of African Freedom Fighters, 1962)

(87) Now that African independence has been achieved over a large part of the continent and the national consciousness of Africans from north to south, from east to west, is adding momentum to the struggle for independence, ***every kind of means is being used by the colonialists to arrest its progress and defeat its objective. They are attempting many methods, some sinister, some beguiling, to wreck our efforts. They strike antipathetic postures. On one side, they perform acts calculated to strike fear; on the other, they try to***

> ***hoodwink us with fictitious gifts which superficially pander to our hopes and aspirations. They are the frenzied attempts to deflect our purpose, to weaken our determination***. (Nationalists' Conference of African Freedom Fighters, 1962)

Nkrumah, in these extracts, intentionally gives a damning verdict on colonialism and paints a horrifying picture of its aftermath in Africa in a way that gives the impression that the colonialists did not do a single thing to benefit Africa. Meanwhile, there is historical evidence to the effect that several major hospitals and schools in Africa, for instance, were built during the colonial period. The point then is while it is true that colonialism has adverse implications for Africa, it will be an oversimplification of the issues and a distortion of the facts for one to say that colonialism only brought Africa hardship and that all of Africa's problems (past, present and future) are attributable to colonialism. Such an argumentation scheme and a reductionist strategy can be said to align with the construction of revisionist histories which may blend all current woes into stories of treachery and betrayal by others (Wodak et al., 2015c, p. 67). This promotes fear and insecurity, making it necessary for the source of the fear to be confronted. This thesis maintains that Nkrumah's representation of colonialism as a terrible human reality (and nothing more) and his association of all the terrible features of colonialism with neo-colonialism (and even more) via the appropriation of blames serve the purpose of creating fear and anxiety in Africans in order to enlist popular support for his mythology. That is, his invocation of fear corresponds with a populist strategy of a politics of fear (Wodak, 2015b) and this becomes an effective way of uniting the people of Africa against a common enemy while claiming to be protecting them from (imminent) danger.

For instance, colonialism, not for the first time, is personified for rhetorical effect and is accused of making Africa an illiterate society and its inhabitants poverty-stricken and disease-ridden. The colonialists are also accused of siphoning enormous quantities of Africa's mineral and agricultural wealth to build financial and industrial monopolies in Europe as well as stealing African lands. Such vitriolic attack on the colonialists and neo-colonialists when combined with emotionally-charged metaphors such as 'fan internecine feuds' and 'were drained out of Africa year in and year out' presents the colonialists and neo-colonialists as deadly savages whom the African people must be mindful of and guard themselves against their machinations. Using nominal groups such as 'our people', 'the masses of our people', 'the labors of our people' and 'millions of Africans', Nkrumah exploits the notion of 'the people' conceptualized as a 'heartland' or 'homeland' and

communicates the idea that he is championing their true interests in the face of the much dreaded neo-colonialism. Apart from the specific charges which Nkrumah brings against the system of imperialism to evoke terror in the African populace, he also makes vague allegations against this system such as 'they are attempting many methods, some sinister, some beguiling, to wreck our efforts', 'they perform acts calculated to strike fear' and 'they try to hoodwink us with fictitious gifts that pander to our hopes and aspirations'. Altogether, these wide-ranging allegations, be they specific or vague, can be considered as emotional accounts that enable Nkrumah to express acute fear, suspicion and anxiety regarding neo-colonialism and to provide a motivation for African unity.

In addition to the creation and legitimation of fear by pointing to blameworthy sources (Altheide, 2002), an emotionalized blame attribution coupled with a scapegoating mechanism helps to produce and maintain moral distinctions between in- and out-groups necessary for populist argumentation (Das, 2018). Wodak (2015b) notes that this form of in-group favoritism vs. out-group hostility or 'the blameless us' vs. 'the culprit them' reflects one of the classic markers of populist rhetoric because it helps to show that 'the heartland' is opposed to or antagonistic towards others who are deemed liable for the afflictions of the 'heartland'. Therefore, by indicting the system of imperialism for various crimes against Africa, Nkrumah encourages an antipathetic relationship between Africa and this system while professing at the same time to be at the vanguard of the African dream and unity as well as Africa's security.

> (88) To destroy our political stability is the obvious method of attacking our independence. ***Hence, they try to corrupt our political institutions, our civil service, our police, [and] our army. Even our universities and judiciary are not exempt from their attempts to capture our constitutions for their own ends through bribery and corruptions*** … ***A more effective method of destroying our political stability is to intensify our poverty so that popular dissatisfaction will infect our states with treason and violence***. ***The legacies of poverty and backwardness, left by colonialism*** and which can be removed only by great sacrifices spread over long periods, offer fertile fields for such intrigue. (Opening of the 2nd Conference of African Journalists, 1963)

In keeping with the manifestation of populist performance as a rhetorical practice, Nkrumah's discourse depicts the system of neo-colonialism and its adherents as a destructive out-group and the ordinary people of Africa as victims and a vulnerable in-group whose frustrations must be given voice and whose interests must be safeguarded. Intense emotion ran through his choice of words as he calls on the African people to join him in 'taking down' the guilty neo-colonialists/out-

group who are portrayed as preoccupied and obsessed with the 'destruction of our political stability'. The representation of the neo-colonialists as purely motivated to 'finish off' Africa provides a strong and compelling narrative against the phenomenon of neo-colonialism and promotes hatred for the West in a way that panders to Africa's hopes and aspirations. The callous nature and insensitive attitude of the neo-colonialists and their desire to 'wipe out' Africa is highlighted by a number of serious blames which Nkrumah puts on them, including their conscious efforts to 'corrupt our political institutions, our civil service, our police, our army, our universities and our judiciary'. That is, Nkrumah suggests that the neo-colonialists are literally infiltrating every aspect of the African society and every sector of the 'homeland' with their disingenuous ways.

The emotional appeal that these allegations carry is increased by an even more serious allegation that there are attempts by the West to 'capture our constitutions for their own needs through bribery and corruptions'. In other words, the neo-colonialists are doing everything possible to disrupt Africa's political and economic stability. It seems improbable that the political institutions, civil service, police, army, universities, judiciary and constitution in one African country can all be corrupted by the neo-colonialists, let alone for this to happen in every single African country as Nkrumah suggests. However, this bold claim and emotionally-imbued accusation enable Nkrumah to produce a strict 'us' vs. 'them' discourse and to maintain a moral distinction between an in-group and out-group that serves the purpose of a populist agenda. Once again, poverty and illiteracy (replaced with the word 'backwardness') are mentioned as the legacy of colonialism and they are linked with possible treason (coup d'états) and violence in Africa to be caused by the people's dissatisfaction with this colonial legacy. Nkrumah also refers to the possible dissatisfaction among the African people as 'popular dissatisfaction', thereby demonstrating an awareness of popular sentiments and politically appropriating the notion of 'the people'. Hence, by positioning himself as fighting for the people against the unsympathetic neo-colonialists, Nkrumah, via an emotionalized blame attribution and a scapegoating dynamic, tries to unify the people of Africa against a system he believes to be evil and to provide them with a sense of direction. This view can be deduced from Kofi Batsa's (a Ghanaian political activist and writer) words in his recounting of Nkrumah's passionate ambition for a Union Government of Africa as a precondition for the survival of Africa and Africans:

> … he [Nkrumah] left his prepared script and pointing at each in turn, at Haile Selassie, at Tafawa Balewa, at Modibo Kaita, at Maga; he said: '*If we do not come together, if we do not unite, we shall all be thrown out, all of us one by one – and I also will go*'. *He said: 'The OAU must face a choice now – we can either move forward to progress through our effective African Union or step backward into stagnation, instability and confusion – an easy prey for foreign intervention, interference and subversion*.' (Biney, 2008, p. 137)

6.6 Chapter conclusion

The focus of this chapter was to illustrate how the Unite or Perish myth conforms to the populist notion of a hostile relationship between two homogeneous constructs – the 'good and pure' African people and the 'evil and corrupt' colonialists/imperialists/neo-colonialists – and of a politics that claims to be an expression of the general will of the people. The chapter intensively analyzed how Nkrumah's use of lexicalization and rhetorical tropes as well as intertextual choices reflects the main features of a populist rhetoric and performance. It examined how the Unite or Perish myth is exploited by Nkrumah to convey a message of hope and moral credibility aimed at building consensus for an ideology or socio-political agenda. To this end, the Unite or Perish myth is found to exploit the notion of 'the people' conceptualized as a 'heartland' or 'homeland', with this 'heartland' strongly opposed to the West by employing a distancing dynamic. Based on the argumentative structures and schemes of Nkrumah's discourse as well as his representation of social actors and their actions, four main discursive strategies that help Nkrumah to frame the Unite or Perish myth as a form of populist discourse were identified: the nomination and predication of social actors and actions, the construction of a man of the people image, the ideological appropriation of familiarity and historical memory and the exploitation of an emotionalized blame attribution/scapegoating dynamic. Together, these strategies promote an exclusionary rhetoric and a politics of fear that correlate with a populist ideology. They also provide a strong means for the articulation of a convincing narrative that encourages detestation for the imperialists and neo-colonialists and rallies mass or popular support for the founding of a Union Government of Africa. The analysis and discussion in this chapter point to the view that populism can be explicitly conceptualized as part and parcel of political mythology, thereby demonstrating that a theory of myth within the domain of politics must include populist notions. The next chapter is the concluding chapter of this thesis where I summarize the key findings of the study, discuss the study's implications and limitations and make suggestions for further work.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This thesis has examined the relationship between discourse, ideology and mythology, taking as a medium of investigation the discourse of Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first president and a pioneering Pan-African leader. It employed a combined framework of critical metaphor analysis and discourse-historical analysis to explore how Nkrumah created and promoted a political myth described in this study as the Unite or Perish myth. The study defines this myth as a univocal and an ideologically marked narrative that submits that Africa must, as a matter of urgency, unite into a continental federal state in the post-independence era or be doomed forever. Designed as a critical discourse study backed by rich corpus data, this study focused on the dual role of language in political actions: affirming or opposing dominant perceptions using collective symbols and metaphors, and defining group identity by articulating shared interests and common narratives (Townson, 1992). In this final chapter of the thesis, I first recap the main goals of the research in order to respond to the research questions that were asked at the beginning of the thesis. Having provided a summary of the findings, I proceed to discuss the implications of the study and its limitations as well as suggest areas for further work. I end the chapter with a closing remark.

7.2 Recapping the goals of the study

The overarching aim of this research was to examine how a combination of critical metaphor analysis and discourse-historical analysis sheds light on the nuances and ideological contentions that occur in Nkrumah's attempt to formulate a narrative that serves his political agenda and upholds his social ideals. To achieve this objective, three specific research questions were posed at the beginning of this study (see section 1.7) which sought to find out:

i. how the Unite or Perish myth is constructed by Nkrumah as an emancipatory discourse and a discourse of resistance;
ii. the role of metaphor in Nkrumah's construction and propagation of the Unite or Perish myth; and
iii. how the Unite or Perish myth operates as a form of populist discourse

Each of these questions are responded to in the following sub-sections, while summarizing the main findings of the study.

7.2.1 The Unite or Perish myth as an emancipatory discourse and a discourse of resistance

In formulating the Unite or Perish myth as an emancipatory discourse and a discourse of resistance, Nkrumah used the formation of a Union Government of Africa as a means of promoting the needs of a marginalized group (i.e., the people of Africa) and to advance what he believes to be agreed upon collective aims and shared interests. Thus, he deployed the Unite or Perish myth to communicate a radical anti-imperialist rhetoric that helps in the creation of a perceived reality that corresponds with political goals. This was made possible by his identification of the Conspiratorial Enemy of Africa and his depiction of himself as a Valiant Leader, a Noble Revolutionary and Africa's Messiah.

The Conspiratorial Enemy of Africa, referring to the colonialists, imperialists and neo-colonialists, is an embodiment of evil and an aggressive out-group plotting to commit diabolical acts and conspiring to harm the African people (Geis, 1987). There is, therefore, the need for a courageous leader with 'righteous' intentions who will wage war against Africa's sworn enemy in order to save the continent from (imminent) destruction. Through the Unite or Perish myth and the accompanying notion of the establishment of a Union Government of Africa, Nkrumah presents himself to be this leader. He is, thus, emboldened by his position as party leader, Africa's first prime minister and president of the first Sub-Saharan African country to gain independence to propagate a liberatory mythology (making him the liberator) aimed at ensuring the survival and solidification of the African continent against foreign domination and all forms of external aggression. An important aspect of Nkrumah's emancipatory discourse and discourse of resistance, this thesis finds, is his concurrent construction of heroes and villains, protagonists and antagonists, forming part of an ideological mechanism that illustrates archetypal traits of mythological heroism (Kelsey, 2016). In this regard, Nkrumah's promotion of the Unite or Perish myth and his language use, in general, cast him in the mold of a conquering hero or a warrior on a noble assignment for Africa. On this solemn mission, he is depicted as defying the odds, overcoming obstacles in his efforts to obtain freedom for Africa and ensure lasting peace, progress and security on the continent through the formation of a Union Government of Africa.

It was also realized that Nkrumah's framing of the Unite or Perish as an emancipatory discourse and a discourse of resistance was hinged on the thesis that failure to stop the aggressive forces of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism will lead to more aggression which will culminate in Africa's ruin – that is, Africa will 'perish'. From the analysis, it was found that Nkrumah exploited lexicalization and lexical variation, presupposition and implication, ideological use of pronouns, verbal processes and modality, among other lexico-syntactic resources, to strongly convey his anti-imperialist stance. These linguistic tools enabled him to employ a range of discursive and (de)legitimation strategies such as stereotypical characterization, membership categorization, positive in-group and negative out-group presentation (Wodak et al., 2009), etc. to rhetorical effect. Nkrumah's use of various linguistic tools was found to interact with a number of figures of speech such as metaphor, recurrence, rhetorical question and parallelism, resulting in a powerful and persuasive rhetoric. Among these rhetorical tropes, metaphor was found to be the most important. It was, therefore, needful to examine the role of metaphor in Nkrumah's creation and promotion of the Unite or Perish myth. This is discussed in the next section.

7.2.2 How Nkrumah exploits metaphor in his construction and promotion of the Unite or Perish myth

A critical metaphor analysis of Nkrumah's discourse showed that metaphor enabled him to achieve a twofold purpose: to characterize the challenges faced by the African people in the strongest possible terms and to present an idealized vision of the social world in a way that aligns with his world conceptualization (Charteris-Black, 2004). Four types of metaphor were identified in Nkrumah's discourse that contribute to his formulation of the Unite or Perish myth – war, religion and morality, journey, personification – and they were used to present a monolithic picture of a fully liberated Africa, united, strong and forward-looking. The metaphors of war and conflict utilized by Nkrumah were based on the conceptual metaphor AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE IS WAR which can be said to derive from the general conceptual key POLITICS IS CONFLICT (Charteris-Black, 2004; 2005). They were used by him to underscore the treachery of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism, and to foreground the ruthless approach he wanted Africa to adopt in the fight against these 'outside forces'. They were also used to emphasize the point that some form of short-term pain or suffering was necessary for the long-term worthy goal of African independence and African unity. Hence, through the various war metaphors, including metaphors of attack, metaphors of defense and metaphors of struggle, Nkrumah conceptualized the African

continent as the battlefield, the people of Africa and the colonialists/imperialists/neo-colonialists as warring factions and colonialism/imperialism/neo-colonialism as Africa's arch-enemy. With regard to metaphors of religion and morality, their usage was based on the conceptual metaphor COLONIALISM/NEO-COLONIALISM IS EVIL and they were used to conceptualize the malice of the colonialists/neo-colonialists on one hand and to portray the noble intentions and salvific power of Nkrumah on the other hand.

Based on the conceptual metaphor, COLONIALISM AND AFRICA ARE PERSONS, Nkrumah deployed personification to rhetorical effect such that he encouraged opposition against a group of people (the colonialists/imperialists/neo-colonialists) or a construct (colonialism/imperialism/neo-colonialism) that he thought was atrocious and to elicit empathy for the African people and support for a Union Government of Africa. As far as journey metaphors were concerned, they were used by Nkrumah to positively evaluate the idea of a Union Government of Africa, thereby warranting necessary social effort towards its attainment. Based on the conceptual metaphor AFRICAN UNITY/FREEDOM IS A JOURNEY TOWARDS PROSPERITY, journey metaphors enabled Nkrumah to provide a rationale to his listeners with respect to why they ought to accept temporary suffering and sacrifice for the worthwhile lasting dream of African unity. Consequently, his use of journey metaphors was found to be goal-focused and target-oriented, making explicit reference to a desirable destination (a Union Government of Africa) so as to arouse positive emotions, increase morale among Africans and galvanize support for his vision.

The analysis further revealed that Nkrumah employed metaphor in conjunction with other figures of speech such as contrast, hyperbole, metonymy, parallelism and recurrence. These were exploited through various representations, including (e)vilification, enemification, demonization, stigmatization, etc. and they resulted in metaphorical juxtapositions that created mythic parallels such as attack vs. defense, good vs. evil, life vs. death and law vs. lawlessness. Nkrumah's use of metaphor, thus, functioned as an argumentative strategy that enabled him to discredit a political development (colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism) and to construct a social group or certain individuals as a danger to the identity, continued existence and wellbeing of Africa. Nkrumah's use of metaphor can, therefore, be said to be purposeful (and not random) and the various metaphors were systematically interwoven into his discourse to serve an ideological purpose (rather than achieve a literary or stylistic effect) of promoting the Unite or Perish myth

and making it believable to the African people. In other words, Nkrumah makes a popular appeal to the African masses as he suggests that he is at the forefront of championing their general and sovereign will. To this end, the Unite or Perish myth can be said to operate as a form of populist discourse, which is subsequently discussed.

7.2.3 How the Unite or Perish myth operates as a form of populist discourse

The analysis revealed that Nkrumah's construction of 'the African people' via the Unite or Perish myth can be characterized as a form of populist discourse that signals a hostile relationship between two homogeneous social groups: the 'good and pure' African people and the 'evil and corrupt' colonialists. That is, the Unite or Perish myth was used by Nkrumah to underline the African people's needs and concerns and to (claim to) represent their supreme interest in the face of the threat posed by the homogenized West. In this way, the formation of a Union Government of Africa, although Nkrumah's idea principally, becomes an expression of the general will of the people (the African masses) (Hawkins, 2009). Displaying the typical features of a populist ideology – that is, people-centrism and anti-elitism/anti-establishment (Mudde, 2004) – the Unite or Perish myth enabled Nkrumah to valorize the 'ordinary folk' (Ylä-Anttila, 2017) and to convey a message of hope and moral credibility that sought to maximize consensus and elicit popular support for a socio-political agenda. Generally, a populist ideology presents a prevailing system as detrimental to the common people and advocates its complete overhauling, not only substantial modification, so as to safeguard the welfare of the people (Taggart, 2000). Such a purpose underlies the Unite or Perish, thereby projecting Nkrumah as one authorized by the African people to speak and act on their behalf, defend the African 'heartland' or 'homeland' from invaders and restore power back to Africans. He, therefore, employed a distancing dynamic to exploit the notion of 'the people' conceptualized as a 'homeland', with this 'homeland' in antagonistic relations with the West.

Based on the argumentative structures underlying Nkrumah's discourse, it was found that his populist agenda communicated via the Unite or Perish myth as well as his populist performance was realized by four main discursive strategies: the nomination and predication of social actors and actions, the construction of a man of the people image, the ideological appropriation of familiarity and historical memory and the exploitation of an emotionalized blame attribution or a scapegoating dynamic. Using referential and predicational strategies, Nkrumah instrumentalized

the colonialists, imperialists and neo-colonialists as exploiters of Africa, saboteurs of the African dream and detractors of Africa's progress, thereby appealing to commonsense anti-imperialist thinking. That is, he portrayed them as devouring the homogeneous African nation and, therefore, a menace to 'our' society. Conversely, the 'ordinary' people of Africa were represented as the suffering masses and vulnerable victims under attack and, therefore, needing protection. In terms of Nkrumah's construction of a man of the people image, the findings revealed that Nkrumah projected an 'authentic' image and a charismatic personality (Wodak, 2015b) that suggested that he was a selfless people leader with Africa's needs at heart. Based on this character construction, his credibility as a person with practical wisdom, goodwill and virtue (Charteris-Black, 2014) is boosted and his reputation as a patriot and a responsible and morally upright politician is enhanced. Exploiting familiarity and historical memory as a way of 'doing populism', Nkrumah politically appropriated colonialism as a culturally and socially shared African experience by which he established a bond of connection between the African people and gave an emotional charge to his populist arguments. His constant reference to Africa's history with colonialism, including issues of deprivation, destitution and exploitation, and the one-to-one mapping he established between colonialism and neo-colonialism was, thus, found to be in sync with a populist valorization of an agonizing experience of the African people (Ylä-Anttila, 2017). Regarding Nkrumah's use of an emotionalized blame attribution and/or a scapegoating mechanism, he presented colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism as liable for most, if not all, of Africa's problems. By so doing, he associated ordinariness with vulnerability in a way likely to get the African people enraged and motivated to rise up against the cause of their problems.

Through the various discursive strategies, Nkrumah promoted a stigmatizing narrative, an exclusionary rhetoric and a politics of fear compatible with a populist ideology (Wodak, 2015b) that indicates that the founding of an African Revolutionary Republic in the post-independence era is the only thing that will serve the true interest of the African people in the face of global elites engaged in the imperialist enterprise. Hence, by framing the Unite or Perish myth as a form of populist discourse, Nkrumah expressed the view that he knows what everybody in Africa wants, he knows what the African people need, he knows what is best for Africa and he will protect Africa's interests and the 'homeland'.

7.3 Implications of the study

The findings of this research hold implications for the theory of myth in politics and for methodology with respect to the combined analytic framework adopted. The study also has practical implications in terms of the role of language/discourse and (post-independence) leaders in political decolonization processes. I discuss each of these in turn.

7.3.1 Theoretical implications

With respect to theory, this study argues for an isomorphic relationship between political mythology and populist ideology, and submits that it is essential for any theory of myth in politics to include or account for populist notions. As has been demonstrated in this study, mythic themes help politicians to exploit the notion of 'the people' conceptualized as an undividable unity, an undifferentiated mass and a 'homeland' that is opposed to 'the establishment'. Such themes also enable a politician to (claim to) represent the general will of the common folk against an undesirable status quo. Therefore, this study, theoretically speaking, offers an enhanced conceptualization of myth within the domain of politics by highlighting an important aspect of political myth not often mentioned in the critical discourse analysis literature: populism. Although different studies in political science (e.g., Geis, 1987), journalism studies (e.g., Kelsey, 2015), historical studies (Thompson, 1985) and discourse studies (Charteris-Black, 2004) have discussed certain central elements and key functions of political myths, these studies did not typically associate political myth with populist discourse or populist performance. In general, therefore, populism is not explicitly conceptualized to be part and parcel of political mythology. Hence, by shedding light on the nexus between political myth and populist agenda and proposing that the two work together given their ideological orientation, this study furthers understanding on myth theory. It illustrates how political myth can, essentially, function as a populist strategy that realizes a typical style of political rhetoric (Betz, 2002) and can be used to mobilize and galvanize the masses as well as act as a medium for the expression of underlying populist ideologies. By illustrating the interrelationship between mythic discourse and populist discourse, this study not only makes a contribution to the scholarship on populist argumentation within the broad field of (critical) discourse studies and especially its noted emotional tendency (see Berezin, 2001; 2002), but also provides valuable insights for understanding the relationship between politics and populist argumentation. For instance, Nkrumah's deployment of the Unite or Perish myth as a form of populist discourse helps us to appreciate the difference between 'justification' and 'familiarity' in

a way that brings to the fore the nuances of populist argumentation. Thus, we observe that whereas 'justification' makes an appeal to shared values, 'familiarity' is an appeal based on an experience shared by a community or a social group (Ylä-Anttila, 2017).

7.3.2 Methodological implications

The methodological implications of the study derive from the integrated framework adopted for the analysis of mythic discourse in politics. This framework which combines insights from critical metaphor analysis and discourse-historical analysis presents a comprehensive approach that can be employed to unpack the complexities of how political myths are discursively constructed as well as aid in their crucial understanding. This study, thus, highlights the value of interdisciplinary discourse analysis owing to its linguistic, semiotic and historically oriented analysis. Such an analysis enables a detailed analysis of myth within a political, social and historical setting, resulting in a precise examination of not only the power and prevalence of myth in political communication, but also its form and potential effects. Although critical metaphor analysis (CMA) has been proposed as "a methodology for exploring how myths are systematically created and how their evaluations may be determined" (Charteris-Black, 2005, p. 26), it does not explicitly account for the important role of history in political myth-making. Consequently, issues such as historical or popular memory, appeals to historicity, the political appropriation of familiarity and exemplary reformulated or revisionist narratives which this study contends throw light on political myths are not given extensive consideration within CMA. Again, even though historical memory is mentioned as one of the twenty concepts in Kelsey's (2015) discourse-mythological analysis (DMA) toolbox for journalistic storytelling, this study argues that the concepts/tools found within the DMA can be applied to various forms of discourse analysis and/or CDA research (see section 1.6). Hence, the combined framework of critical metaphor analysis and discourse-historical analysis adopted in this study can be said to provide a more focused approach for analyzing political myth.

With specific reference to critical metaphor analysis, this study emphasizes the discursive significance of metaphor to CDA research. As Musolff (2012, p. 301) argues, figurative language, in general, and metaphor, in particular, contribute to CDA's account of how meaning is constituted within social contexts and societal or organizational structures. This study, therefore, demonstrates how cognitive linguists' identification of metaphor as an essential mechanism for

(re)conceptualization, recontextualization and argumentation can contribute to CDA as a discourse-pragmatic and functional approach that focuses on the creation and interpretation of meaning through indirect language. By pointing out the argumentative advantage that metaphor gives political actors so that they are empowered to (dis)qualify political phenomena and condemn individuals, social groups or propositions regarded as a threat to the identity, continued existence or welfare of another social group (Musolff, 2012), this study underscores the importance of critical interest in metaphor investigation.

7.3.3 Practical implications

Analyzing politics 'in action' in a type of discourse that has not been explored from the point of view of myth-making (i.e., the discourses on colonialism and imperialism), this study has practical implications as it illustrates the role of language and (post-independence) leaders in political decolonization processes as well as the role of leaders in promoting emancipatory discourses. In particular, the analysis confirms Nartey's (2019) assertion that the discourses on colonialism and imperialism, especially from the perspective of the colonized, can be considered as a potential site for resistance discourse. That is, they represent an effective medium for political self-expression and social action. As shown in this study, Nkrumah's representation of colonialism is wholly negative. He resists all forms of foreign domination by focusing on an African Personality that he believes will assert its authority on world affairs post-independence, and he places significant emphasis on a Union Government of Africa that he thinks will propel Africa in the direction of a speedy economic reconstruction and societal transformation. As the analysis revealed, Nkrumah also used the discursive space afforded by his speeches to do a critical appraisal of the colonial past, including slavery, apartheid and racialism, thereby giving indication of how political developments can be utilized in the construction of national identity, national remembrance and popular memory. Hence, this study highlights the practical role of leaders in offering a message of hope, strength, encouragement and inspiration in times of difficulty as well as how discourse can be practically deployed to champion the cause of oppressed groups and advance (agreed upon) collective aims. This study, thus broadens the scope of discourses on resistance to include colonial discourse as previous studies on such discourses have largely focused on the language of radical movements and militant or rebel groups such as Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab (see Chiluwa, 2012; 2015). Unlike a number of previous studies on political myth-making that have examined the rhetoric of Western (especially US and UK) politicians (see Gastil, 1992; Charteris-Black, 2004;

Kelsey, 2016), the present study's focus on an African leader is significant in that apart from making a valuable contribution to the growing studies on political myth-making, it widens the scope of such scholarship by including a study from Africa, a context underexplored in the literature. As well, by focusing on the language use of a pioneering Pan-African leader, this study offers insights into Africa's political history and presents a window into political and discursive realties of African political systems in the (post-)independence period.

7.4 Limitations of the study

Despite the theoretical, methodological and practical value of this project, it has some limitations, which have been presented below.

First, the concept of myth cannot only be found with the field of linguistics or discourse studies. Other academic disciplines such as cultural studies, historical studies, journalism studies, media studies, terrorism studies, sociology, etc. might be interested in this topic. This means that the theoretical, methodological and analytical approaches that can be used to explore myth are not confined to one field. It is, therefore, impossible for this thesis to account for all these frameworks. Hence, the combined framework of critical metaphor analysis and discourse-historical analysis employed in this study should be viewed as one methodological approach for understanding political myth. Hence, it cannot account for the broad scope of work that a topic like discourse mythology is likely to garner across various academic fields of inquiry and sociological influences. However, it is hoped that the analysis carried out in this study would be relevant and insightful to disciplines whose research agenda, even if centered on discourse mythology, transcend the scope of this thesis. A second limitation of the study, closely related to the first, is the fact that it is unable to account for the huge body of work that surrounds the various issues that this thesis is concerned with or that emerge from the analysis. This includes sociological phenomena such as race, history, ideology and colonialism as well as issues bordering on emancipatory discourses such as solidarity, nationalism, national cohesion, national identity and social equality. As this thesis cannot do justice to all these topics within the scope of this research, it is hoped that the suggestions made for further research will address some of them.

7.5 Suggestions for further research

Taking the discourse of Kwame Nkrumah as a medium of investigation, this study examined the relationship between discourse, ideology and mythology. It explored how Nkrumah's ideological position on the establishment of a Union Government of Africa (described in this study as the Unite or Perish myth) functions as a liberatory mythology aimed at ensuring the survival and solidification of the African society post-independence. Despite the significance of this study, further research could prove useful in extending the insights gained through the present study.

First, as the present study focused on one independence and Pan-African leader, it would be useful for other studies to investigate the language use of similar leaders from the point of view of myth-making. As revealed by the literature review of this thesis, the bulk of the scholarship on political mythology highlights Western perspectives. Therefore, future work that focuses on Asian or African politicians could facilitate a comprehensive description and understanding of myth not limited to a particular setting, and might provide newer insights into the content, form and function as well as the development of myth in politics. Future studies that analyze the discourse of other independence leaders or the discourses on colonialism from the point of view of the colonized would also help to throw more light on the argument made in this thesis that the discourses on colonialism and imperialism represent a potential site for the manifestation of various mythic themes. Second, comparative studies on mythic discourse in politics that center on an East-West or Africa-West or Africa-Asia perspective should be desirable. Such studies would illustrate any differences and similarities in the linguistic and pragmatic devices used for myth creation in different sociolinguistic contexts. These comparative studies would also be relevant in illustrating how political discourse might be conditioned by the local context within which it is conceived and produced, thereby highlighting how culture-specific politics can shape language and vice-versa. Finally, it might be beneficial for future studies to further explore the relationship between political myth and populist ideology discussed in this study as this could be relevant in the development of a comprehensive theory of myth in politics.

7.6 Nkrumaism and the Unite or Perish myth: A closing remark

This study has shown that an explicit goal of Nkrumaism is to produce a major economic, political and socio-cultural change in Africa. It aims to destroy colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism in Africa and replace them with a powerful Union Government of Africa that will give

Africa a voice in global affairs. As the main architect and chief animator of the African unification concept, Nkrumah expresses this socio-political thought as an ideologically marked narrative that says Africa must unite or perish in an attempt to naturalize his myth into the consciousness of the public. However, given that more than four decades after Nkrumah's death in 1972, a 'United States of Africa' has still not been formed, one can say that, perhaps, Nkrumah did not succeed with the naturalization of his myth. For instance, some political commentators have suggested that some African heads of state could not come to terms with losing their presidencies and forming a federal African republic that was likely to be headed by Nkrumah (see Biney, 2008). The lack of success of the myth and indeed Nkrumah's overthrow in 1966 may be attributed to the explicit manner in which he formulated the Unite or Perish myth since the indirect creation of mythic themes has been found to be more effective than the ones created overtly. As Geis (1987, p. 28) notes, "indirectly communicated propositions tend less to arouse (cognitive) defenses than do overtly asserted propositions". The explicitness with which Nkrumah pursued the African unification agenda is captured by Julius Nyerere, Tanzania's independence leader, in his address at Ghana's 40th independence anniversary in 1997. He asserted that one of the reasons for the failure of the Accra summit of 1965 to establish a Union Government of Africa as Nkrumah had hoped was because "Nkrumah, like all great believers, underestimated the degree of suspicion and animosity, which his crusading passion had created among a substantial number of his fellow Heads of State. The major reason was linked to the first: already too many of us had a vested interest in keeping Africa divided" (Biney, 2008, p. 147). By radically formulating the Unite or Perish myth and promoting it using confrontational and aggressive language, there is likely to be considerable opposition to it, especially by people who feel threatened by this proposal.

Notwithstanding the above, one can also argue that Nkrumah's myth was partially successful in that the Organization of African Unity (now African Union) founded by Nkrumah and other Pan-African leaders is a testament to Nkrumah's vision of a 'United States of Africa'. As well, there are several people in Africa today who consider themselves Nkrumaists and who believe that Africa must unite. At the 40th anniversary of Ghana's independence in 1997, Nyerere remarked that: "We of the first generation leaders of independent Africa have not pursued the objective of African Unity with the vigor, commitment and sincerity that it deserves. Yet that does not mean that unity is now irrelevant" (Biney, 2008, p. 147). And until the death of Libya's president Muammar Gaddafi in 2011, he was one of the main proponents of Nkrumah's conceptualization

of a unified Africa. That said, other African heads do not agree with Nkrumah's position because to them, Africa's struggle for independence has ended. As far as Nkrumah was concerned, however, there had to be an actual unification of all African states into a 'United States of Africa' for the continent to achieve full independence. Hence, at the present moment, the issue of whether Africa must unite, as Nkrumah had visualized it, remains a future dream. Only time will tell!

APPENDIX ONE: SPEECHES OF KWAME NKRUMAH

1. Declaration of 'Positive Action' in the Gold Coast, 1950
2. Motion of independence, 1953
3. Declaration of Ghana's independence, 1957
4. The 'African Hurricane' speech, 1958
5. Address at the All-African People's Conference, 1958
6. Address on the occasion of the 10th Anniversary of the Convention People's Party, 1959
7. 'Positive Action' Conference for Peace and Security in Africa, 1960
8. Republic Day speech, 1960
9. The 'Africa's Challenge' speech, 1960
10. Address at the United Nations Assembly, 1960
11. Address to the people of Ghana on arrival from the United Nations Assembly, 1960
12. Address at the Conference of African Women and Women of African Descent, 1960
13. Address to the people of Ghana on Ghana's trade policy, 1960
14. Address to the people of Ghana on United Nations Day, 1960
15. Address to the members of the Red Cross Society of Ghana, 1960
16. Address to the people of the Norther Region of Ghana on chieftaincy, 1960
17. Address at the official opening of Ghana College in Tamale, 1960
18. Address to the students of Tamale Women's Training College, 1960
19. Address to the people of Western Region of Ghana on national issues, 1960
20. Address at the official opening of Cocoa House, 1960
21. Address at the Conference of farmers of Ghana, 1960
22. New sporting era in West Africa, 1960
23. French atom tests in the Sahara, 1960
24. Sports and African Unity, 1960
25. Address on the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of Ghana's independence, 1960
26. Address to the people of Ghana on the 'Congo Situation' (I), 1960
27. Address to the people of Ghana on the 'Congo Situation' (II), 1960
28. Address on the occasion of the 1st National Founder's Day, 1960
29. Debate on government white paper on the republican constitution, 1960
30. Speech on the eve of a national census in Ghana, 1960

31. Speech to members of the diplomatic corps, 1960
32. Welcome speech to Emperor Haile Selassie, 1960
33. Farewell speech in honor of Emperor Haile Selassie, 1960
34. Republic Day speech to the Ghana Armed Forces, 1960
35. Broadcast to the nation on the 'Congo Situation' (I), 1960
36. Broadcast to the nation on the 'Congo Situation' (II), 1960
37. Address to the National Assembly on Ghana's investment policy, 1960
38. Address to the National Assembly on Ghana's education plan, 1960
39. Address to the National Assembly at the first meeting of the republican parliament, 1960
40. Address to the people of Ireland, 1960
41. Address to the people of the Volta Region of Ghana on the relationship between Togoland and Ho, 1960
42. Address to the people of the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana on the contribution of Ghana to African Unity, 1960
43. Address to the people of the Ashanti Region of Ghana on tradition and culture, 1960
44. Towards world peace, 1960
45. Towards African Unity, 1960
46. Farewell speech in honor of Lord Listowel, last Governor-General of Ghana, 1960
47. Address to parliament on the eve of Ghana becoming a republic, 1960
48. Address at the official opening of the Hall of Trade Unions, 1960
49. Address at the official opening of the college of administration of Achimota College, 1960
50. Address at the inauguration of the Convention People's Party Students' Union, 1960
51. Christmas message to the people of Ghana, 1960
52. The 'Africa must be free' speech, 1961
53. Address to the people of Ghana on building a socialist state, 1961
54. Address at the Casablanca Conference, 1961
55. Address at the closing session of the Casablanca Conference, 1961
56. Address at the laying of the foundation stone and inauguration of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, 1961
57. Address to the people of Ghana on Nkrumah's return to Ghana after a trip to the US and UK, 1961

58. Address to the people of Ghana on the death of Patrice Lumumba, 1961
59. Address on the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the Convention People's Party, 1961
60. Address to party members on assumption of office as general secretary and chairman of the Central Committee of the Convention People's Party, 1961
61. Address to the cadets of the Ghana Military Academy, 1961
62. Address to the National Assembly on the 'Angolan Situation' and other Portuguese colonies in Africa, 1961
63. Sessional report on the first session of the first parliament of the Republic of Ghana, 1961
64. Message to the secretary general of the United Nations on the 'Congo Situation', 1961
65. Address to the National Assembly on the Volta River project (I), 1961
66. Address at the official opening of the George Padmore Memorial Library, 1961
67. Welcome address to Josip Broz-Tito, president of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, 1961
68. Speech in honor of Josip Broz-Tito, president of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, 1961
69. Broadcast to the nation on home affairs, 1961
70. Broadcast to the nation on economic reconstruction, 1961
71. Address at the official opening of the Ghana External Broadcasting Service, 1961
72. Address at the inauguration of the University of Ghana, 1961
73. Address at the inauguration of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, 1961
74. Address at the official opening of the United States Exhibition, 1961
75. Address to the people of Ghana after the Conference of Commonwealth Leaders, 1961
76. Address to the people of Ghana after trips to the United Kingdom, United States of America and North Africa, 1961
77. Address at the Conference of Teachers Association, 1961
78. Christmas broadcast to the nation, 1961
79. Christmas message to ambassadors and ministers, 1961
80. New Year's eve broadcast to the nation, 1961
81. Address at the Nationalists Conference of African Freedom Fighters, 1962
82. Address at the official opening of the Ghana Police Headquarters, 1962

83. Address at the Conference on Legal Education and official opening of the Ghana Law School, 1962
84. Address at the official opening of the Accra Assembly, 1962
85. Address to the nation on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of Ghana's status as a republic, 1962
86. Address on receiving the Lenin Peace Prize, 1962
87. Address at the official opening of the British Science Exhibition, 1962
88. Address at a seminar at the Kwame Institute of Ideological Studies, 1962
89. Address at the official opening of Tema Harbor, 1962
90. Address at the official opening of the Canadian Trade Fair, 1962
91. Address at the Conference of the Farmers of Africa, 1962
92. Address to the people of the Ashanti Region of Ghana on foreign enterprise, 1962
93. Address at the laying of the foundation stone of City Hotel, 1962
94. Address at the Conference of the United Ghana Farmers' Council, 1962
95. Address at the Congress of the Convention People's Party, 1962
96. Address at the opening of the First International Africanist Conference, 1962
97. Address at the opening of the First Biennial Conference of the Ghana Trade Union Congress, 1962
98. Address to the people of Sunyani on new water works and electricity supplies systems in their city, 1962
99. Broadcast to the nation on the importance of public service, 1962
101. Broadcast to the nation on Ghana's seven-year development plan, 1962
100. Address to the people of Secondi-Takoradi on national strikes, 1962
101. Address at the inauguration of the Organization of African Unity, 1963
102. Closing remarks after signing the Organization of African Unity Charter, 1963
103. Address to Ghanaians on arrival at the Accra Airport after attending the Conference of African Heads of State and Government, 1963
104. Address to Ghanaian parliamentarians on the ratification of the Organization of African Unity Charter, 1963
105. Address at the opening of the 2nd Conference of African Journalists, 1963

106. Address to the people of Kumasi at the official opening of the Kwame Nkrumah market, 1963
107. Address at the official opening of Government House, 1963
108. Address at the official opening of the Unilever Soap Factory, 1963
109. Address to the business community in Ghana, 1963
110. Address at the University of Ghana convocation, 1963
111. Address to the nation on the eve of Ghana's 6th independence anniversary, 1963
112. Address to members of the diplomatic corps during Ghana's 6th independence anniversary, 1963
113. Address to the National Assembly on the Volta River project (II), 1963
114. Address to the youth of Ghana on the occasion of World Youth Day, 1963
115. May Day broadcast to the nation on national reconstruction, 1963
116. Tribute to Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, 1963
117. Tribute to John F. Kennedy, 1963
118. Address on the occasion of the 14th Anniversary of the Convention People's Party, 1963
119. Address to the youth of Ghana on the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of the Ghana Young Pioneers, 1963
120. Address to the nation on the occasion of the 13th anniversary of the declaration of 'Positive Action' in the Gold Coast, 1963
121. Address to the nation on National Founder's Day, 1963
122. Address to cadets at the Ghana Military Academy Passing-Out Parade, 1963
123. Sessional review of the third session of the first parliament of the Republic of Ghana, 1963
124. Address on the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of the United Ghana Farmers' Council of Co-operatives, 1963
125. Address on the occasion of the 4th anniversary of the Ghana Academy of Sciences, 1963
126. Address at the inauguration of the Accra Workers' College, 1963
127. Address at the laying of the foundation stone at the pre-fabricated concrete panel factory, 1963
128. Address at the official opening of Tema Oil Refinery, 1963
129. Address to members of parliament at the opening of the National Assembly, 1963

130. Address to the nation on United Nations Day, 1963
131. Address at the official opening of the Institute of African Studies, 1963
132. Christmas message to the nation, 1963
133. New Year message to the nation, 1963
134. Address on the occasion of the 1st anniversary of Africa Liberation Day, 1964
135. Address at the 4th Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference, 1964
136. Address in honor of Chou En-Lai, premier of the People's Republic of China (I), 1964
137. Address in honor of Chou En-Lai, premier of the People's Republic of China (II), 1964
138. Address to the National Assembly to launch Ghana's seven-year development plan, 1964
139. Address to the members of the diplomatic corps, 1964
140. Address at the Conference of Non-Aligned States, 1964
141. Address to the Ghana Armed Forces, 1964
142. Address at the 16th Annual New Year School on 'Understanding the New Africa', 1964
143. Address to members of parliament at the opening of the National Assembly, 1964
144. Address to the nation on the death of Jawaharlal Nehru, prime minister of India, 1964
145. Broadcast to the nation after a referendum, 1964
146. Broadcast to the nation on Africa Liberation Day, 1964
147. Challenge to our survival: Address to the National Assembly, 1965
148. Address at the inauguration of the Osagyefo Players, 1965
149. Address to the nation on the attempted assassination of president Hamani Diori, president of the Republic of Niger, 1965
150. Easter message to the nation on Ghana's economic situation, 1965
151. Address at the 4th Afro-Asia Solidarity Conference, 1965
152. Address at the inauguration of Ghana Television Service, 1965
153. Address at the closing session of the 3rd Organization of African Unity Summit, 1965
154. New Year message to the nation on the great task ahead, 1965

APPENDIX TWO: SECONDARY SOURCES

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APPENDIX THREE: EXCERPT OF METAPHOR IDENTIFICATION

Sentence containing metaphorical expression	**Metaphor source domain**
We must unite now or **PERISH**.	Life and death
I am confident that … We shall lay here the **FOUNDATIONS** for a continental Union of African States.	Building
The task cannot be **ATTACKED** in the tempo of any other age than our own.	Conflict
A whole continent has imposed a mandate upon us to lay the **FOUNDATION** of our Union at this Conference.	Building
It is our responsibility to execute this mandate by creating here and now the formula upon which the requisite **SUPERSTRUCTURE** may be **ERECTED**.	Building
As a continent, we have emerged into independence in a different age, with imperialism **GROWN STRONGER, MORE RUTHLESS** and **EXPEREINCED** and **MORE DANGEROUS** in international associations.	Personification
… and an **ONSLAUGHT** upon the independence of our sovereign African states.	Conflict
This is the great **DESIGN** of the imperialist interests that buttress colonialism and neo-colonialism, …	Building
Unless we establish African Unity now, we who are sitting here today shall tomorrow be the victims and **MARTYRS** of neo-colonialism.	Religion
It is true that we are now throwing off the **YOKE OF COLONIALISM** as fast as we can, but our success in this direction is equally matched by an intense effort on the part of imperialism to CONTINUE the exploitation …	Animal (burden)
How much more then do we need to come together in African unity which alone can save us from the **CLUTCHES OF NEO-COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM**.	Personification (pain)
The world is no longer moving through **HUSH PATHS** or on **CAMELS AND DONKEYS**.	Journey
We cannot afford to PACE our needs, our development, our security, to the gait of **CAMELS AND DONKEYS.**	Journey
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 ...	Journey
Our African unity can **HEAL THIS FESTERING SORE** of boundary disputes between our various states.	Disease
Together with the rest of mankind, we have **AWAKENED FROM UTOPIAN DREAMS** to pursue practical blueprints for progress and social justice.	Personification

We have been charged with this **SACRED TASK** by our own people and we cannot betray their trust by failing them.	Religion
The **FIRST STEP** towards our cohesive economy would be a unified monetary zone, with, an agreed common parity for our currencies.	Journey
With a common currency from one bank of issue, we should be able to **STAND ERECT ON OUR FEET** because such an arrangement would be fully backed by the combined national products of the states composing …	Personification
So many **BLESSINGS** must **FLOW** from our unity; so many disasters must follow on our continued disunity.	Religion and Liquid
… that our failure to unite today will not be attributed only to faulty reasoning and lack of courage, but to **CAPITULATION** before the **FORCES OF NEO-COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM**.	Conflict
For the first time, the **ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM MENACES** us is itself challenged by the irresistible will of our people.	Personification
and set us drifting further and further apart into the **NET OF NEO-COLONIALISM**, so that our union will become nothing but a fading hope and a the great design of Africa's full **REDEMPTION** will be lost, perhaps forever.	Fishing and religion
… but united in our common desire to **MOVE FORWARD** together in dealing with all the problems that can be solved only on a continental basis.	Journey
As a **FIRST STEP**, Your Excellencies, a declaration of principle uniting and binding us together … and laying the **FOUNDATIONS OF UNITY** should be set down.	Journey and Building
As a **SECOND AND URGENT STEP** for the realization of the unification of Africa, an all-Africa Committee of Foreign Ministers be set up now, and that before we rise from this Conference, a date should be set for …	Journey
Your Excellencies, with **THESE STEPS**, I submit, we shall be irrevocably committed to the **ROAD** which will bring us to a Union Government for Africa.	Journey
We leave here, having laid the **FOUNDATION** for unity.	Building
We shall thus begin the **TRIUMPHANT MARCH** to the **KINGDOM of the AFRICAN PERSONALITY** and to a continent of prosperity and progress, of equality and justice and of work and happiness.	Journey and Religion
This shall be our **VICTORY - VICTORY WITHIN A CONTINENTAL GOVERNMENT OF A UNION OF AFRICAN STATES**. This **VICTORY** will give our **VOICE** greater force … and enable us to THROW OUR WEIGHT more on the side of peace.	Conflict and Personification
… and [African Unity] will **LIFT** once and forever the **DEEPENING SHADOW** of global destruction from	Personification

mankind. Ethiopia shall **STRETCH FORTH HER HANDS UNTO GOD**.	
… and **ERECT** in their place a union of free, independent African States.	Building
Our deliberations must be conducted in accord and our resolutions must **FLOW** out of unity.	Liquid
Our **ENEMIES** are many and they STAND ready to **POUNCE UPON** and exploit our very weaknesses.	Conflict
I say that once Africa is free and independent, we shall see a **FLOWERING** of the human spirit on the Continent second to none.	Plant
The African personality in liberty of freedom will have its **FREE EXPRESSION** and **MAKE ITS PARTICULAR CONTRIBUTION** to the totality of culture and civilization.	Personification/Reification
Today, Africa is **CONVULSED** with the desire to be **FREE AND INDEPENDENT.**	Disease and Personification
… we see that, coupled with the **CONSUMING** aspiration for freedom S**PREADING LIKE A FOREST FIRE ACROSS AFRICA** today, there is an equally **IIRESISTIBLE CURRENT** which is rising higher and higher as the final day of …	Natural disaster
We welcome the expression of support from others, for it is good to know that we are wished well in our **STRUGGLE**; but we along can grapple with the **MONSTER OF IMPERIALISM** which has all but **DEVOURED** us.	Conflict and Animal/Beast
They use racial **DOCTRINES** as instruments of political domination.	Religion
FIGHTERS FOR AFRICAN FREEDOM, I appeal to you in the **SACRED NAME OF MOTHER AFRICA** to leave this conference resolved to rededicate yourselves to the task of forming …	Conflict and Religion
DOWN with imperialism, let us say, **DOWN** with colonialism, **DOWN** with racialism and tribal division.	Conflict (i.e. gun down)
Friends and comrades, I enjoin you to let us **CLOSE OUR RANKS**. For the day we **STAND IN SERRIED LINE**, that day, colonialism is **DEFEATED**	Conflict (Military)
We must alert ourselves to be able to recognize this when it **REARS ITS HEAD** and prepare ourselves to **FIGHT AGAINST** it.	Conflict (Personification)
Only with the **INTERMENT** of imperialism will Africa be free from menace and LIVE AND BREATHE in liberty, where men of color shall W**ALK WITH HEAD HELD HIGH IN HUMAN DIGNITY.**	Personification (Life and Death)
We, who have **WON OUR FREEDOM** stand uncompromisingly behind you in your **STRUGGLE. TAKE HEART**. Unite **YOUR FORCES**. Organization and discipline shall **COMMAND YOUR VICTORY.**	Conflict
All AFRICA SHALL BE FREE in this our lifetime.	Personification

FORWARD then to independence. To independence **NOW**. **TOMORROW**, the United States of Africa.	Journey
… to **WIPE OUT** of the pages of history the dreadful things and **MONSTROUS** wrong that have been **INFLICTED** on our people by those who came here , …	Conflict and Animal
I raise this the point so that it will stay in your minds when you may be **TEMPTED** by the **SEDUCTIVE PROMISES OF NEO-COLONIALISM** to forget the **REAL CHARACTER OF COLONIALISM** and be persuaded away from ...	Personification
Our **ENEMIES** are many and they **STAND READY TO POUNCE UPON** and exploit our every weakness.	Conflict (Personification)
The **HURRICANE OF CHANGE** that is **RAGING THROUGH AFRICA** and **RAZING TO THE GROUND** many of the **BASTIONS OF COLONIALISM** is a warning that we Africans mean to be **MASTERS** on our own continent.	Natural disaster
The instruments of **SLAUGHTER**, the harshness of the **REPRESSION**, the intensification of the **OPPRESSION** being brought against Africans as independence **ADVANCES** … place obligation on is to **MOVE OUR FORCES FORWARD**	Conflict and Journey
Let us determine what modifications are needed to adjust our **STRATEGY to COUNTER** the movements of the **ENEMY and OVERCOME HIM**	Conflict
It seems only intelligent, therefore, for us to **CLOSE OUR RANKS AND COMPACT OUR FORCES**.	Conflict (Military)
And standing at their **ELBOWS** are the neo-colonialist agents, **BECKONING THEM BACK WITH A SMILE INTO THE WEB OF IMPERIALISM**, though it may have a new look and offer the irresistible BAIT of immediate help …	Personification
… you will be faced with the practical problems of protecting that independence and securing your viability in order to **LAY THE FOUNDATIONS ON WHICH TO BUILD UP** economic and social development.	Building
They, like us, have suffered and are still suffering the **INIQUITIES OF COLONIAL OPPRESSION**.	Religion
For we have reposed so much **HOPE AND FAITH** in the emergence of the Caribbean isles as united states, free and progressive, federated in strength and purpose, and contributing substantially to the total success …	Religion
… we must endeavor to **ELIMINATE** all those trends that will hamper our **VICTORY** and number and **ENLIST** all those **FORCES** that can support and join our STRUGGLE for colonialism's **FINAL OVERTHROW** in Africa.	Conflict
Always the most oppressed, the slavery and misery of colonial oppression **STUNG** our African women into	Animal and Personification

action and they still remain at the **FRONT LINE OF THE BATTLLE** in ever-increasing numbers.	
Yet, we are not prepared to **RETREAT** from the **STRUGGLE** one inch. On the contrary, we are firmer than ever in our determination to **CARRY IT FORWARD TO A TRIUMPHANT CONCLUSION**, whatever the cost.	Conflict and Journey
Unity, fellow **FREEDOM FIGHTERS**, must be the watchword of those who are leading the masses into the **BATTLE** for independence in the many parts of Africa which, alas, are still under the **DRAGGING YOKE** of colonialism.	Conflict
You must **CLOSE YOUR RANKS AND STAND FIRMLY TOGETHER** … The **FORCES** that **MASSED AGAINST** you, as I have explained, are **MIGHTY** indeed, and though they …	Conflict (Military)
This is an aspect that we must examine most serious … clearing away such differences as we have and coming together in a **SOLID PHALANX, TO MEET THE ENEMY ON A COMMON FRONT**.	Conflict (Military)
What you have to do here is to examine all the aspects of your **STRUGGLE AND FORCES WITHIN AND WITHOUT AND PLAN FOR THE FINAL ASSAULT.**	Conflict (Military)
… just as in the course of **BATTLE** you must look for and learn to recognize the agents and the provocateurs whom the ENEMY sends out to **INFILTRATE YOUR RANKS AS A FIFTH COLUMN**.	Conflict (Military)
There may be among us **SPIES AND INFORMERS FOR THE ENEMY**, betraying their own people for a **MESS OF POTTAGE**.	Conflict and Idiom
Before you, comrades, lies the task of putting the finishing touches to complete the picture of a fully liberated Africa, united, strong and **FORWARD-LOOKING.**	Journey (Personification)
May the deliberations of this Conference of Nationalist Freedom Fighters place the **FINAL NAILS IN THE COFFIN OF COLONIALISM AND NEO-COLONIALISM** in all their forms and manifestations and **IMPRINT THE SEAL** …	Personification (Death)
Keep aloft, **FREEDOM FIGHTERS**, keep aloft the **FIGHTING BANNER**. Africa demands that we keep on **FIGHTING UNTIL VICTORY IS WON**. Now is the time to **FIGHT**. Now is the time to **WIN**.	Conflict
On this occasion, therefore, we **SALUTE THE GALLANT FREEDOM FIGHTERS** who are actively engaged in the **STRUGGLE** for the liberation of territories in Africa not yet free and independent.	Conflict
Portugal refuses to accept the realities of the modern world and **CLINGS STUBBORNLY** to its inglorious colonial past.	Personification
As I have said time and time again, the **SALVATION** of Africa lies in unity.	Religion

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