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**Kwame Nkrumah's Contribution to Pan-
Africanism from 1935 to 1972**

**Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for a Master's Degree in
Literature and Civilization**

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ملاحظة: لا تقبل أي شهادة بدون التوقيع والمصادقة.

Dedication

To my treasure, my children: Samar, Zakaria, Yacine and Ilyas.

To the friends indeed: K. Zahra and Ali Bouseloub.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the contribution of Kwame Nkrumah (1909-1972) to the Pan-African movement, starting from the year 1938 when he moved to America to study until his death in 1972, in Romania. The first chapter gives a short account of Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana (known as the Gold Coast during the colonial period). It was the first British colony to gain its independence in West-Africa in 1957, after a long struggle led by Nkrumah and his political party, the Convention of People's Party (CPP). The second chapter studies, briefly, the history of Pan-Africanism as a political, social, and cultural movement that aimed at the union and the solidarity of the Africans in the continent and the diaspora. The roots of Pan-Africanism date back to the struggle of the Africans against the transatlantic slave trade which would later develop into a revolutionary movement against colonialism. The third chapter is devoted to the exilic work of Kwame Nkrumah from Conakry, the capital of Guinea, after the military coup of 1966 that overthrew his government. It examines this enthusiastic African leader's Pan-African ideology and his dream of a united Africa. Moreover, the chapter attempts to refer to Nkrumah's writings about African issues and the Pan-African ideology while in exile. The thesis follows a descriptive and analytical approach to give an insight about the devoted work and struggle of Nkrumah, the leading figure who played a significant role in shifting Pan-Africanism from romanticism to a concrete union of the African states to raise and liberate themselves from colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Keywords: Pan-Africanism, Kwame Nkrumah, African unity, colonialism, solidarity.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AAPC	All African Peoples' Conference
AAPRA	All-African Peoples' Revolutionary Army
AAPRP	All-African Peoples' Revolutionary Party
ASA	African Students' Association
ASSA	African Students' Association of America
AU	African Union
CIAS	Conference of Independent African States
CPP	Convention People's Party
CYO	Committee on Youth Organization
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NCBWA	National Congress of British West Africa
NLC	National Liberation Council
TUC	Trade Union Congress
OAU	Organization of African Unity
UAS	Union of African States
UGCC	United Gold Coast Convention
WANS	West African National Secretariat

General Introduction

The roots of Pan-Africanism go back to the eighteenth century, when Africans were still being enslaved by the Europeans and transported across the Atlantic Ocean. They were kidnapped and sold to work in big plantations in the New World under inhumane circumstances. They were deprived from human basic rights of freedom and decent life. The awakened Africans initiated movements against slave trade and racism, mainly in America, demanding the rights of black people to live equally with the Whites, in addition to claims of ending European colonialism in the African continent. Those movements did not use the term Pan-Africanism until the London Conference, in 1900, where the West Indian lawyer Henry Sylvester Williams first referred to Africans' independence and unity using the word Pan-Africanism.

Pan-Africanism was promoted by the African descents in the Diaspora with a view to unifying the uprooted Africans around the world who had been subjected to injustice and discrimination for centuries, mainly in the New World and Europe. The movement was led by many important figures, such as Sylvester Williams, Alexander Crummel, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, James Aggrey, George Padmore, and Kwame Nkrumah, who all worked for its growth and propagation.

Kwame Nkrumah (1909-1972) was the first intellectual and Pan-African leader who moved the struggle for freedom and union from the diaspora to the African soil. He returned to Ghana (then, the Gold Coast under the British colonization), his homeland, carrying a project of independence for his country and advocating the union of the continent under the name of the United States of Africa.

Nkrumah supported Pan-Africanism by organizing conferences to convince the African leaders that the national independence of each country must be reinforced by the uni-

ty of the continent to achieve concrete liberation from neo-colonialism. He believed that the Europeans left Africa but the continent's wealth and resources were still exploited to enrich the West. He, therefore, delivered speeches and wrote vigorously about Pan-Africanism. He wrote, to cite but a few, *Ghana, the Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (1957), *Africa Must Unite* (1965), *Class Struggle Africa* (1970), *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism* (1964), in addition to many other books and pamphlets.

This thesis examines the influence of Kwame Nkrumah and his remarkable contribution to the Pan-African movement, following a descriptive and analytical approach. The research attempts to answer the following questions: What was Nkrumah's vision about Pan-Africanism? How did he contribute to the struggle? What was his plan to influence Africans in order to achieve the goals of Pan-Africanism? Was Nkrumah's project a success or a failure?

This thesis is divided into three chapters: The first chapter is devoted to a short biography of Kwame Nkrumah, while the second one focuses on his contribution to the Pan-African movement during the three important phases of his life: his studies in America between 1938 to 1945, his activism in England during his two-year stay there and his tremendous work at the Fifth Pan-African Congress of 1945, and eventually his vital work to bring Pan-Africanism home to Africa. The third chapter focuses on the exilic years of Nkrumah and his intellectual and literary contribution to promote the ideology of Pan-Africanism.

Chapter One:

A Short Biography of Kwame Nkrumah

1-Introduction

Kwame Nkrumah was one of the most important figures in the history of Africa. He endured a difficult life while struggling for the independence of his country and for the union of Africa. This chapter gives a brief account about this enthusiastic African leader.

2-From Birth to 1935

Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana (the former British colony of the Gold Coast) and a devoted Pan-Africanist, was born Francis Niwa Kofi Nkrumah on 18 September 1909 in Nkroful, a small village of Nzima region. He was given the name of Kwame (Saturday) following the traditions of the tribe of naming children after the day on which they were born. This tradition helped Nkrumah identify the exact day of his birth as they did not have official records at that time. In his autobiography *Ghana, the Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, he wrote "...the Saturday nearest to the middle of September in that year was the 18th. It seems likely, therefore, that I was born on Saturday, 18th September, 1909" (3). On the other hand, he explained the use of the 21 September as a birth date on official documents "The priest who later baptized me into the Roman Catholic Church recorded my birth date as 21 September, 1909. Although this was a mere guess on his part, I have always used this date on official documents" (*Ghana* 1).

Being the only child, Nkrumah lived a happy childhood with his mother in Nkroful, a typical African village located in Nzima district in the extreme south of the Gold Coast. His father, who did not live with them, was a goldsmith in Half-Assini, which is located on the borders between the French Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast, fifty kilometers from Nkroful. Nkrumah lived in a large family of fourteen members, including his half brothers and sisters from his father's other wives. Nkrumah enjoyed his close relationship with his mother who had been his first source of knowledge since his early life. Later, one of her statements, Oken wrote, "... metamorphosed into a prophetic utterance and a commentary

on human existence for young Nkrumah” (51), when he complained she did not give him a brother or a sister to play with. Nkrumah wrote that she pointed to the forest and said: “you see the big trees, they stand alone” (*Ghana* 2).

In *Kwame Nkrumah's Politico-Cultural Thought and Policies*, Botwe-Asamoah indicated that Nkrumah led his first positive action campaign when he was a 7-year-old pupil at the Roman Catholic Elementary School at Half-Assini. He urged his classmates to stay home during the visit of the Inspector of Schools to embarrass his class teacher (20). Nkrumah explained in his autobiography: “We were not fond of the teacher because of his frequent use of the stick (to flog them), often we thought without just cause” (*Ghana* 11). It is in the same period that he and his mother were converted to Catholicism by his guardian, the German priest George Fischer, who helped him financially during his elementary studies. Also, he later got him the position of a pupil teacher after completing the Standard VII examination (Middle School Leaving Certificate examination) (Nkrumah, *Ghana* 13). In this respect, Basil Davidson stated:

He [Nkrumah] had also showed a rare determination and self-discipline. No 'colonial child' could hope to stay the full elementary course, and then raise Even in the Gold Coast, an advanced colony' as things went in those days, a child of humble parents had to be an outstanding child if he or she were going to win any of the prizes offered by education. (21)

After one year of teaching, Nkrumah got a life-changing opportunity after being noticed by the principal of the Government Training College who visited the school in 1926 and chose him to study teaching at the college in Accra (later named Achimota College). It was there that Nkrumah got his first political influence and developed his nationalist awareness about the colonial issues through the speeches of Dr. James Kwegyir Aggrey, the assistant vice-principal of the Government Training College. Dr. Aggrey was an intellectual Gold Coaster who studied and worked as a teacher and a preacher in the United

States of America before returning to the Gold Coast with a view to developing the education of his fellow countrymen (Davidson 23).

Nkrumah was not taught by Aggrey but he drew inspiration from his speeches. In her book *The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah*, Ama Biney indicated that in one of the classes, Nkrumah interrupted his tutor who was dividing Africa's ethnic groups, in a complete disapproval because he believed in the principles of Aggrey that Africa was one where both Blacks and Whites should live in harmony (22). Aggrey introduced the students to the Pan-Africanist ideas of W.E.B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey.

Nkrumah started teaching at the primary school of Elmina in 1930, then he was promoted to head teacher of another Catholic school at Axim. It was during that period that he decided to travel to America, influenced mainly by Aggrey (who died in 1927), Nnamdi Azikiwe, the editor of *The African Morning Post*, and Mr. S. R. Wood, secretary of the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA), who strongly encouraged him to continue his studies at Lincoln University and wrote a letter of reference for him (Biney, *The Political and Social Thoughts* 13).

3- Nkrumah's Sojourn in the USA (1935-1945)

Nkrumah described his years in Accra as the happiest ones, though he lost his father and his mentor Dr. Aggrey, and he faced difficulties to save enough money for his trip to America. It was thanks to the generous help of his uncle that he could make it to Britain in October 1935 to sail from there to America.

Nkrumah arrived to America with only £ 40 in his pocket which was not enough to pay his admission fees to Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, so he was enrolled temporarily (Nkrumah, *Ghana* 19). His hard work won him a scholarship that helped him during his course, and he managed to increase his income by working as a library assistant and writing summaries of books for other students for one dollar each (Botwe-Asamoah 29).

Nkrumah graduated in 1939 with a Bachelor of Arts in economics and sociology from Lincoln University where he started working as an assistant lecturer in philosophy and studying at the same time. He studied hard to eventually get a Bachelor Degree in theology in 1942, and two Master's degrees in education and philosophy in 1942 and 1943, respectively, from Pennsylvania University where he became a full instructor in philosophy.

Nkrumah had to do different jobs in parallel to his studies to overcome his financial difficulties; he caught pneumonia working long nights in freezing weather. He was so close to death that he decided to return home as soon as he recovered (Nkrumah, *Ghana* 34).

4- London Days: May 1945 to November 1947

After ten years in America, Nkrumah sailed for London in May 1945 to study law and to complete his doctoral thesis in philosophy. Looking at the Statue of Liberty while leaving, Nkrumah promised: "you have opened my eyes about the true meaning of liberty. I shall never rest until I have carried your message to Africa" (Nkrumah, *Ghana* 48).

The only person Nkrumah knew in London was George Padmore, a West Indian journalist whose articles highly motivated him. Later, he met his friend and co-worker in the African Interpreter of the American days, Ako Adjei. It was a matter of weeks that Nkrumah found himself engaged in political activities. He joined the West-African Students' Union (WASU) which took care of the African students in London. He also wrote petitions to the Colonial Office in West Africa for better conditions there. He participated in the organization of the fifth Pan-African congress which was a big success because the participants were men of action (Nkrumah, *Ghana* 53).

One of the results of the congress was the creation of the West African National Secretariat (WANS), and Nkrumah was its general secretary. After finding an office, the WANS became a shelter for the first enthusiastic thoughts and ideas about African nationalism to claim the independence of the African colonies. The most passionate student

members called themselves “The Circle.” They were like a special group ready to start a revolutionary work against colonialism in any part of Africa. The WANS published the first issue of its newspaper *The New African* in March 1946, subtitled *The Voice of the Awaken African*, embracing the motto of Unity and Absolute Independence (Nkrumah, *Ghana* 56). Before the collapse of the paper because of financial issues, the WANS was able to call for a conference in London, gathering participants from Britain and also France who were convinced by Nkrumah to take part in it (Nkrumah, *Ghana* 58).

In 1947, Nkrumah received a letter from his friend Ako Adjei asking him to return home for a position of general secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) which was the first Gold Coast political party born at Saltpond on 4 August 1947. Though Nkrumah saw the opportunity to return home, he was hesitant until he met a tutor at Oxford University, Tony Maclean, who gave him a real assessment of the political views of the UGCC members. In Nkrumah’s words in his autobiography: “From what he [Maclean] told me I concluded that the sponsors of the movement were men whose political philosophy was contrary to the political aspirations of the people of the Gold Coast” (*Ghana* 62). After a long discussion on the matter with the members of the WANS, Nkrumah decided to return home with his friend Kojo Botsio.

5- Nkrumah’s Return to the Gold Coast (1947-1972)

Kwame Nkrumah sailed home on 17 October 1947, carrying enthusiastic plans to liberate the Gold Coast and West Africa. On the way, he disembarked in Freetown where he delivered speeches and lectures to awaken the youth, and privately, met the leaders there and came to an agreement to work for the objective of a West African unity. Then, he moved to Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, which was an independent country ruled by Africans. Nkrumah was wondering if it would join the union of West Africa since it was a free state. At that time a movement of decolonization started in China, India, Ceylon, Pal-

estine, Indo-China, Indonesia and the Philippines while in Africa, there were no signs of any kind of liberation movement though many territories were seething under the surface (Nkrumah, *Ghana* 67). His arrival in the Gold Coast also coincided with both the boycott of European and Syrian merchants organized by the sub-chief of the Ga State, Nii Kwabena Bonne, to reduce the prices of their goods in February 1948 and the peaceful demonstration of the Ex-Servicemen's Union on 28 February 1948 (Nkrumah, *Ghana* 75-76). The Gold Coast governors Frederick G. Guggisberg (1919-27) and Alan Burns (1941-47) introduced several political reforms by appointing locals in executive council, but all the reforms could not bridge the gap between the African intelligentsia and the governors, creating thereby a fertile ground that helped Nkrumah introduce his plan for independence.

Nkrumah started his job within the UGCC by an organizational work: he set up the office and suggested a three-period platform for the work of the Convention. The first period was devoted to the creation of branches and the consolidation of the existing ones all over the territory of the colony and looking after the membership of the different local organizations and societies within the UGCC to start education of the masses for self-government. The second period was intended to be marked by demonstrations throughout the country to test the organizational strength of the UGCC, whereas the third period was planned to be devoted to the increasing of pressure for self-government through strikes, boycotts, and demonstrations and drafting a constitution for independence (Nkrumah, *Ghana* 72).

On 28 February 1948, while the ex-servicemen were marching in a peaceful demonstration against bad life conditions, the police opened fire killing two and injuring five of the demonstrators which led to a big riot in Accra causing the killing of 29 Africans, injuring 237 others and a huge damage in buildings and stores (Mostefaoui 277). Immediately,

the UGCC requested the secretary of state to send a commissioner to hand over the interim government and to call for a constituent assembly.

The colonial authorities called for the arrest of the Big Six of the UGCC: Danquah, Ofori Atta, Akufo Addo, Ako Adjei, Obetsebi Lamptey and Kwame Nkrumah. They were imprisoned in Kumasi prison in Ashanti. Some youth under the command of Krubu Edusei planned to release them, so the authorities moved them, each into different destination. Nkrumah ended up in Lawra. It was during this prison time that he discovered a gap between his thoughts and those of his five companions. After long investigations and interrogations by the Watson commission appointed by the British Government after the riot of Accra 1948, the report of the commission was in favor of The Big Six and they were released after eight weeks in prison (Nkrumah, *Ghana* 79-87). In parallel, the Watson Report recommended a political reform in the Gold Coast. The British Government followed those recommendations and appointed an all-African committee on institutional reform called the Coussey Committee, named after its chairman Mr., later Sir, Justice Henley Coussey. It included six members of the UGCC except Kwame Nkrumah, who was discarded because he was then considered as a radical figure (Mostefaoui 279).

Some students and teachers were expelled after they went on strike to protest against the imprisonment of the Big Six. Therefore, Nkrumah persuaded the UGCC to open a school for them, “Ghana National College,” where the expelled teachers accepted to work for free since they had no funds to finance it. Commenting on this act, Nkrumah wrote: “From my salary of twenty-five pounds a month I spent ten pounds on kerosene tins, packing cases and boards to serve as seats and desks for the first batch of ten students” (*Ghana* 106). A year later, the college had more than two hundred students, and other secondary schools were created by Nkrumah all over the country, but the Working Committee of the UGCC did not agree with Nkrumah’s activities and plans for self-government, so they

suggested to him the position of the party's treasurer instead of general secretary (Mostefaoui 303).

On 3 September 1948, Nkrumah published the first issue of the *Accra Evening News* that reminded people of the struggle for freedom and the danger of imperialism. After his removal from his post as secretary of the UGCC, Nkrumah created the Committee on Youth Organization, with the motto "self-government now". The committee held a conference in Tarkwa in June 1949 where it was decided to break away from the UGCC and shift to a new political party, the name of which was to be the Convention People's Party (CPP). The birth of this party was announced on 12 June 1949 in front of an audience of sixty thousand persons where Nkrumah seized the opportunity to explain the need for backing their demand for independence with a program of positive actions and boycotts based on the principle of non-violence (Nkrumah, *Ghana* 102).

The Colonial Office called for meetings with Nkrumah and members of his party to discuss his plans about 'positive action' and to warn him that he would be taken responsible if any chaos happened or anybody was killed or hurt. After long negotiations with the Colonial Office about self-government, Nkrumah decided to start 'the political and social revolution' of Ghana by calling for a strike on 4 January 1949 (Nkrumah, *Ghana* 116). The Colonial Office called for meetings with the CPP, Trade Union Congress (TUC) and the ex-servicemen but in vain, leading to a series of arrests, banning of Nkrumah's newspaper, closing of the CPP headquarters, and eventually Nkrumah's arrest. After a long trial, Nkrumah was sentenced to three years. He was imprisoned but arranged to keep his mind fit and carry on his work from outside the prison (Nkrumah, *Ghana* 123).

The Coussey Committee proposed general elections to allow the population to vote for two thirds of the members of House of Assembly, the lower house of the Legislative Council (Mostefaoui 306). The elections were due on 8 February 1951. Nkrumah partici-

pated in them and eventually won; resulting in his release on 12 February 1951 to form a government holding five ministers from the CPP and himself as its leader (the title was changed into that of Prime Minister on 5 March 1952). In June 1951, Nkrumah discussed the independence of the Gold Coast with Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who claimed that there must be a consultation of the chiefs and the people before introducing the matter to Her Majesty's Government. Nkrumah's government demanded independence in his 'motion of destiny' adopting the motto of "freedom now" (Nkrumah, *Ghana* 171).

Determined to win the elections of June 1954, to increase the membership of the Legislative Assembly and to change its composition in order to give the country a larger measure of internal self-government, Nkrumah started his campaign touring the country insisting on "freedom now". The CPP won seventy-two out of hundred and four seats, and Nkrumah was asked to form the new government.

On 15 May 1956 the government adopted "The White Paper" containing its constitution, its statement on the Report of the Constitutional Adviser, and the Report of the Achimota Conference. The White Paper proposed the country should be renamed Ghana upon independence and should be a member state of the Commonwealth. Ghana gained independence on 6 March 1957. The main objectives of the triumphant Nkrumah-led government were to transform the inherited colonial economy and to work on the union of the African continent (Biney, *Intellectual Biography* 151). During the period between 1958 and 1966, Nkrumah reshaped the political and economic system of Ghana by embracing socialism. Nkrumah's ruling system created severe opposition and rejection among his people leading to several attempts to assassinate him in a bombing in 1961 and later in different occasions. He declared the country one-party in 1964, banning all kind of opposition

as he believed that multi-party politics was dangerous to the inherent egalitarian nature of African society (Biney, *Intellectual Biography* 185).

Nkrumah's policy brought him many enemies inside and outside Ghana as well, leading to his overthrow by a military coup on 24 February 1966 while he was in a peace mission in Vietnam. Basil Davidson wrote that historians would judge Nkrumah more favorably and appreciate his stature and overall importance for "he failed in trying to reach the right goal, and not, like many of his time and later, in trying to reach the wrong one" (207). Davidson added that Nkrumah wanted to see a developed Ghana in which citizens could pursue and achieve their potential in a united, strong and prosperous Africa, and that the years before independence "... shaped all the groundwork and achievement of his [Nkrumah's] life bringing his great success but also preparing his downfall" (158).

Nkrumah chose to live in Guinea though he believed that he would feel home in any African nation. He explained his choice of Guinea in his book *Dark Days in Ghana*:

Apart from the fact that Guinea and Ghana formed a union in 1961, and a strong bond of friendship exists between President Sékou Touré, the Political Bureau of the Guinea Democratic Party, the people of Guinea and myself, I wanted to go to a country as near to Ghana as possible.

This would leave no one in any doubt about my intention to take up the neo-colonialist challenge and to restore legal government in Ghana. Guinea is only some 300 miles from Ghana. Jet flying time between the two countries is a mere 30-40 minutes. From Guinea I knew I would be in a good position to carry on the African revolutionary struggle. (16)

Nkrumah was well received and given the title of president to honor him in a gesture of Pan-African solidarity. Nkrumah lived there trying to restore himself to power but he failed and focused on writing during his days in Conakry until he passed away in Romania on 27 April 1972.

6- Conclusion

Kwame Nkrumah, the great African figure who was among the few leaders who started their lives in poverty, could make his way to the leadership of his country. During his studies in America and Britain, Nkrumah got the necessary skills to lead the Gold Coast to independence and to move the Pan-African movement from the diaspora to the African soil. His success in liberating his country and promoting Pan-Africanism also brought his failure, after he fell into dictatorship by declaring himself president for life and banning all kind of opposition in Ghana. This led to his overthrow and exile in 1966. He had spent his last six years in Guinea before he passed away in 1972, in a Romanian Hospital.

Chapter Two:
Kwame Nkrumah's Contribution to Pan-
Africanism (1935-1966)

1- Introduction

The focus of this chapter will be on the history of the Pan-African movement and on the involvement of Kwame Nkrumah in it. After dealing briefly with the emergence and the development of Pan-Africanism, this second chapter presents the engagement of Nkrumah in the movement from 1935 to 1966.

2- Definition of Pan-Africanism

Pan-Africanism is a political, philosophical, economic, social and cultural movement that emerged in the diaspora before moving home to Africa, aiming at the union of the African nations. The term Pan-Africanism was first used by the West Indian lawyer Sylvester Williams in the congress held in London in 1900 “to signify the underlying unity of the African continent and the vision of an independent, united Africa” (Andrain 5). This conference, explains Mostefaoui: “... was the first attempt to form a worldwide pressure group constituted of black people to voice the black grievance” (17).

In 1919, during the First Pan-African Congress, W.E.B Du Bois stressed the goal of Pan-Africanism in the right of Africans to have equal political and social development as the white race; however, Marcus Garvey, Padmore and Nkrumah adopted the ideology of complete independence of African states and their unity. Padmore summarized the goal of Pan-Africanism in his book *Pan-Africanism or Communism*:

...Its perspective embraces the federation of regional self-governing countries and their ultimate amalgamation into a United States of Africa.

In such a commonwealth, all men, regardless of tribe, race, color or creed, shall be free and equal and all the national units comprising the regional federation shall be autonomous in all matters regional, yet united in all common interest to African Union. (379)

The history of Pan-Africanism can be divided into three periods: the first one under the leadership of Du Bois during the years from 1900 to 1945. The movement was supported by black intelligentsia from the United States, the West Indies, London and Paris calling for the abolition of racial discrimination of black people and claiming equal rights

with the Whites. The second era began after the Second World War and the emergence of nationalists in Africa. The goal then turned to the complete independence of African colonies. During this period, Andrain claims that "The congresses and conferences were more organized and widely supported by the masses" (13). The contemporary Pan-African stage after the end of colonialism in Africa is more concerned with developing a sense of community, solidarity, and organization to help solving the economic, social and political issues of the continent.

The first Pan-African congress, joined by fifty-seven representatives, was held in Paris in 1919 under the leadership of Du Bois. The congress did not mention African independence but only demanded the right of the natives for protection and education, abolition of slavery, and participation of the natives in the government. 'Having a voice in the local government' was the main resolution of the three following congresses: The Second Congress was held in London and Brussels in 1921, followed by the Third in London and Lisbon in 1923, and the Fourth one in New York in 1927. It was only in Manchester during the Fifth Pan-African Congress in 1945, where new figures appeared such as George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah, that the resolution about complete independence of African colonies was claimed (Legum 31).

Pan-Africanism was brought home to Africa by holding the First Conference of Independent African States from 15 to 22 April 1958 in Accra, gathering eight states (Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, the Sudan, Tunisia and the United Arab Republic) committed to the independence and unity of the African states. Nkrumah wrote in *Africa Must Unite* that this conference had moved Pan-Africanism home to the African soil where it belonged (136). Mostefaoui highlighted the aims of the conference and its historical significance in his thesis *The Evolution of Pan-Africanism and the Gold Coast Nationalism from the Origins to 1960*:

The main aims of the Conference were to exchange views on matters of common interest, consolidate economic and cultural ties between the participating African countries, and devise ways of helping the other African countries which were still under colonization. But the Conference had a more historical significance with regard to the Pan-African movement For the first time, African leaders met on the African soil to discuss matters concerning the present and future of their own continent, an event which had hitherto been possible only in the United States or Britain. (315)

The following Conferences of Independent African States adopted the same aims in: Addis Ababa (1960), Brazzaville (1961), Casablanca (1961), and Monrovia (1961).

By 1960, plans for Pan-African unions were initiated first by the government of the Ivory Coast by creating the Conseil de l'Entente, a union with Niger, Upper Volta (present-day Burkina Faso) and Dahomey (present-day Benin). The four nations agreed upon a common army, foreign policy, presidential regime and a custom union. A similar union was created between the Central African Republic, Chad and the former French Congo to share a common nationality, external defense policy and diplomatic representation. In 1961, the Union of African States and Malagasy was formed by twelve states: Senegal, Mauritania, Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Congo, Chad, Niger, Dahomey (Benin), Ivory Coast, Gabon, the Central African Republic, Cameroun and the Malgache Republic. Those unions sought economic goals while Ghana and Guinea adopted the Pan-African ideology of real independence and African unity (Andrain 7).

By the year 1963, Nkrumah sent representatives to the African nations explaining the necessity of a political African union to work against neo-colonialism and secure the economic and technological transformation of the continent, taking the USA, USSR and Europe as a model of a positive union (Biney, *Intellectual Biography* 230). Those efforts to convince the African nations in favor of unity led to the foundation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on 25 May 1963 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, by 31 states. This was a major step toward a united Africa in order to maintain the common African heritage and to

solve issues without interfering into the internal affairs of the different African states. The Organization had held yearly summits till 1999 when an extraordinary summit in Libya called for a reform of the OAU to a more effective organization capable of taking real decisions to promote the continent's politics, economy, culture, and security. Accordingly, the OAU was dissolved in 2002 and replaced by the African Union (AU). Ama Biney wrote that this transformation "... was a re-kindling of Nkrumah's ambitions for a United States of Africa ..., it appears that Nkrumah's economic, political and cultural thought continues to have a contemporary relevance to a new generation of politicians, scholars and African people around the world" (*Intellectual Biography* 19).

3- Nkrumah's Engagement in Pan-Africanism in the USA (1935-1945)

During his early age, Kwame Nkrumah was introduced to Pan-Africanism through the speeches of Dr. Aggrey at Achimota College. Then, he was greatly influenced by the philosophy of Marcus Garvey that he mentioned in his autobiography: "... of all the literature I studied, the book that did more than any other to fire my enthusiasm was *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*" (45).

Nkrumah experienced racism while in America where he pursued two main ideas. The first one was the end of colonialism that was experienced by all the Africans while the second one was his vision of a United Africa (Biney, *Intellectual Biography* 52). He started his first Pan-African activism by organizing the African Students' Association of America (ASSA) which was a small gathering of African students who met occasionally without achieving anything (Nkrumah, *Ghana* 43). Nkrumah managed to take the Africans living in America within the association. At the first conference of the ASSA, he was elected as president with the assistance of Ako Adjei (later one of the Big Six and a minister in the government led by Nkrumah in independent Ghana) and Jones Quartey. They published their first newspaper called the *African Interpreter* which aimed at raising the nationalist

spirit and solidarity among Africans in America. However, Nkrumah stated in his autobiography that an ideological conflict occurred between the Nigerian and the Gold Coast students (43). Nigerians believed that each occupied territory in Africa should fight on its own for liberation while Nkrumah and the Gold Coast students believed that without territorial solidarity of all Africans, the ultimate success would not be achieved. Nkrumah wrote about this: "We believed that unless territorial freedom was ultimately linked up with the Pan African movement for the liberation of the whole African continent, there would be no hope of freedom and equality for the African and for people of African descent in any part of the world."(*Ghana* 44)

Nkrumah's most significant introduction to the Pan-Africanist movement was during his participation in the Conference on Africa held in New York in 1944. The conference was organized by the Council on African Affairs¹. Nkrumah played a major role in preparing for the conference since he was already a leading member of African students in America. The resolution of the Conference was an appeal to the American government to promote efforts about self-government in the African continent (Mostefaoui 288).

Nkrumah got acquainted with different movements and committees in America to learn more about the techniques of organization, preparing himself to return to the Gold Coast well equipped to fight the colonial system there. He read Hegel, Karl Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mazzini who influenced his ideas about imperialism, mainly Marx and Lenin. The book that highly aroused his enthusiasm was *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* published in 1923 whose philosophy of "Africa to Africans" and "back to Africa" inspired black people in America in the 1920s. Nkrumah started writing the experience he

¹ The Council on African Affairs was founded by two politicians: Paul Robeson and Max Yergen. It aimed at providing and updating the African Americans in the United States about information on Africa.

gained in a pamphlet called *Towards Colonial Freedom* that he drafted in America but only published in London once he got enough money to do so (Nkrumah, *Ghana* 45).

Nkrumah's student days in America were very formative and developed his Pan-African awareness. In her book entitled *Kwame Nkrumah: An Intellectual Biography*, Ama Biney wrote that those days were shaped by Aggrey, Zik, Wallace Johnson, S. R. Wood and Kobina Sekyi. Nkrumah considered communism as "idealistic" and "impractical" (53).

4- Nkrumah's Pan-African Activities in England (1945-1947)

Nkrumah left America heading to England to study law and work on his doctoral dissertation in philosophy. There, he experienced racism like many African students living in London during the 1940s and 1950s. He could hardly find a place where to live because of his color until a certain Mrs. Florence Manley at Burghley Road accepted to rent him a room in her house (Biney, *Intellectual Biography* 57).

Nkrumah was introduced to the West African Students' Union (WASU) by his friend from the American days Ako Adjei. The WASU was a Pan-West African organization founded in 1925 by the Nigerian Yoruba student Ladipo Solanke. It gathered exclusively West-African students at the beginning before expanding its membership to include students from Africa studying in England. After establishing branches of the WASU in the Gold Coast, Nkrumah became a continuity of the Pan-West African project of unity initiated by Casely Hayford (Mostefaoui 290).

After a month in London, Nkrumah found himself busy with George Padmore, T. R. Makonnen (a gifted speaker) and Peter Abrahams (a colored South African writer) preparing for the Fifth Pan-African Congress in the town hall of Manchester in October 1945, under the joint chairmanship of W.B. Du Bois, an African American scholar and one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples (NAACP),

and Dr. Peter Milliard, a black physician from British Guinea practicing in Manchester (Nkrumah, *Ghana* 52).

The Congress was a turning point in the ideology of Pan-Africanism. It focused more on the African continent's independence and unity than on racial concerns of the Africans in other parts of the World. The Fifth Congress was attended by a new generation of the masses and just not the elites as in the previous congresses, a generation, which adopted a revolutionary tone, advising the Africans to organize themselves into parties, unions and co-operative societies to support the struggle for independence (Mostefaoui 293). The declarations of the congress written by Du Bois and Nkrumah condemned the capitalist domination of the imperialist powers and called for the awakening the colonized peoples to stand for their freedom (Nkrumah, *Ghana* 57).

After this Congress, Ashie Nikoe, Wallace Johnson, Bankole Akpata, Awooner Renner, and Kojo Botsio suggested the foundation of a West African National Secretariat (WANS) to call for a West African National Congress and to start a movement of liberation of the West African British and French colonies. The WANS was founded on 14 December 1945 under the chairmanship of Wallace Johnson while Nkrumah was its secretary. The main aims of the WANS were to put into practice the resolutions of the Fifth Pan-African Congress to achieve West African unity. The WANS launched *The New African* journal with the subtitle 'The Voice of Awakened Africans' and the motto 'For Unity and Absolute Independence'. The journal disappeared after eight months due to financial difficulties of the WANS (Mostefaoui 299). Ama Biney stated that:

The notion of The Circle being composed of dedicated revolutionaries indicates the extent of Leninist ideological and organizational principles that influenced Nkrumah. The Circle can be considered a practical application of Leninist organizational methods towards Nkrumah's long-term objective of a Union of African Socialist Republics. (*Intellectual Biography* 66)

Nkrumah had to leave Britain in 1947 after receiving an invitation from the leader of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) who offered him a position of General Secretary. After Nkrumah's departure, the Circle disappeared, and each member returned home and focused on its independence (Mostefaoui 300).

5- Nkrumah's Contribution to Pan-Africanism in Africa (1947-1966)

Nkrumah brought to Africa the ideas of Du Bois and Marcus Garvey about Pan-Africanism. Dr John Marah wrote:

Kwame Nkrumah embraced and put to practice the salient aspects of Marcus Garvey's continental and global Pan-Africanism, including the emphasis on science, technology, industrialization, acceptance of blackness, Afro-centric frame of reference, a high military command, and the Africa-centric study of African cultures and peoples. (251)

A few months after Nkrumah's arrival to the Gold Coast, the Accra Riots of 1948 broke out and reshaped the political situation of the colony. The people of the colony were awakened and demanded the improvement of their life conditions. Nkrumah started an organizational work of the UGCC to increase its popularity among the Gold Coasters. Later, after a disagreement with the Working Committee of the UGCC, Nkrumah created his own party called the Convention People's Party (CPP) which led the Gold Coast to independence in 1957 as the first independent state in sub-Saharan Africa, under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, after a long and painful struggle including his imprisonment. Nkrumah changed the name of the country to Ghana instead of the Gold Coast which was more a description than a name. During this struggle, Nkrumah had lesser activities on Pan-Africanism but he never dismissed the dream of a united Africa because he declared in his speech on the Eve of independence that Ghana's independence was meaningless unless it was linked to the total liberation of the African continent (Biney, *Intellectual Biography* 149).

The Ghanaian government adopted a non-alignment and positive neutralism as a foreign policy to keep distance from the Cold War and to focus on African issues. Nkrumah appointed George Padmore as his official adviser on Pan-African matters. Together, they started preparing for the First Conference of Independent African States (CIAS) in Accra, to put the Pan-African principles into practice (Biney, *Intellectual Biography* 251). The conference took place from 15 to 22 April 1958 with the participation of eight independent states: Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, the Sudan, Tunisia and the United Arab Republic in addition to observers from other African dependent countries. This conference aimed at the co-ordination of the African foreign policies. It was historically significant for bringing Pan-Africanism home to the African soil where it belonged (Mostefaoui 315).

Immediately after Ghana's independence, Kwame Nkrumah became a devoted Pan-African activist. He took major steps toward African unity. First, on 23 November 1958, Ghana and Guinea set up a union to be the nucleus of the continent's unity. Then, on 5 December the same year, All African Peoples' Conference (AAPC) was held in Accra. Delegates from 62 African nationalist organizations attended the conference to support independence and unity of the continent states. In November 1959, representatives of trade unions all over Africa met in Accra to organize an All-African Trade Union Federation. Again, and always in Accra, a conference to discuss Positive Action and Security in Africa was held in April 1960 to discuss the situation in Algeria and in South Africa, and to plan future action to prevent Africa being used as a testing ground for nuclear weapons. Later, the second conference of Independent African States was held in Addis Ababa, in 1960, in another attempt to achieve an affective African union (Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite* 136-138).

In 1961, Ghana along with Mali and Guinea established the Union of African States (UAS), which was declared open to every state or federation in Africa willing to join.

Charles Andrain described these three states saying that they "... have shown commitment to employ political means notably a strong centralized government and a single party to mobilize resources for the restructure of the society" (Andrain 9). After the second summit conference of UAS held in Bamako on 26 June 1961, a communiqué was issued to support the African peoples in their struggle for national liberation, particularly in Algeria, the Congo, and Angola (Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite* 143).

When Nkrumah was presenting his vision of a United Africa during the different conferences, a severe disagreement appeared between the so-called Casablanca and Monrovia groups of states. The Casablanca group was composed of Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Libya, Egypt, Morocco and the Algerian FLN. It was considered as a radical group which supported the political unity of the African continent, while the Monrovia group was a moderate one and comprised Ethiopia, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Togo and Tunisia. This group proposed a gradual union at the economic level only (Poe 124).

During Addis Ababa Conference, held from 22–25 May 1963, the Casablanca and Monrovia Groups put their differences aside, and the thirty-one African leaders present at the conference agreed on the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Zizwe Poe summarized the vision proposed and distributed by Nkrumah to the African leaders six months before the meeting, into four major points:

1. A common foreign policy and diplomacy
2. A common continental planning for economic and industrial development of Africa
3. A common currency, central bank, and monetary zone
4. A common defense system (124).

The OAU insisted on securing two main issues at least: state boundaries established by colonial powers and the sovereignty of each state, which meant non-interference in the internal affairs of other states (Yaichi 45). Although Nkrumah was the first to discuss the

issues of freedom and peace in the international framework and promoted a more effective unity during every conference, the majority of African leaders did not embrace his plans because they believed he was ambitious to lead the entire continent. Poe wrote about the suspicious attitude of the African leaders towards Nkrumah:

His historical awareness of the pitfalls resulting from loose federations and associations was not shared amongst his peer heads of states. None of them had shared his experience within the Pan-African movement or his training in the core of the greatest imperial center—the USA. Some of them feared Nkrumah's intentions and suspected that his ulterior motive was to usurp their positions of power. (125)

By the second OAU summit held in Cairo from 17–21 July 1964, the problems in Africa had become worse. Serious disputes had broken out between Ethiopia and Somalia; between Morocco and Algeria; and between Somalia and Kenya. Nkrumah raised these problems in his address to the conference, but the OAU could not solve them. The Organization displayed a weak approach in handling the continent's unity requirements (Poe 125).

The OAU was a major success of Nkrumah's quest for Pan-Africanism. Though it was not what he had really advocated, he could at least contribute to gather the African states under one organization.

6- Conclusion

Pan-Africanism was an anti-racism movement of solidarity among people of African descent that emerged in the New World. It aimed at protecting and defending Africans' rights of equality with the Whites. After 1945, the movement extended its objectives and advocated the independence and unity of the African nations. In this respect, Nkrumah made a significant contribution to achieve the goals of the Pan-African movement to unite the African states. He also worked hard to influence his fellow leaders to finally found the OAU in 1963.

Chapter Three:
Nkrumah's Intellectual Production and
Exile Years (1966-1972)

1- Introduction

Kwame Nkrumah was overthrown in a military coup in 1966. He accordingly moved to Guinea where he would live six exilic years till his death in 1972. During these years, Nkrumah reshaped his political thoughts and developed his ideology about liberation movements in Africa and the unification of its states under the umbrella of Pan-Africanism.

2- Following the Dream of a United Africa (1966-1972)

Nkrumah chaired the Organization of African Unity (OAU) from 21 October 1965 to 24 February 1966, when he was overthrown in a military coup d'état. General Emmanuel Kwesi Kotoka, Commander of the Second Infantry Brigade Group, announced then on Ghana Radio that: "The myth surrounding Nkrumah has been broken" (Rooney 340).

Along with General Kotoka were Major Akwasi Amankwa Afrifa of the Second Brigade and the police commissioner John Willie Kofi Harley. The three were the organizers of the coup while Kwame Nkrumah was abroad on a peace mission. He was on his way to Hanoi, at the invitation of President Ho Chi Minh, with a proposal to end the war in Vietnam. The rebels moved from Tamale to join others in Kumasi and eventually got control over the Flagstaff House, the radio station and other key places in Accra. The coup was almost bloodless, except for the killing of General Barwah who resisted arrest. There was no opposition in the country, and immediately the General Ankrah, who was dismissed by Nkrumah, was appointed head of the revolutionary Government of the National Liberation Council. The CPP was banned and replaced by a military-led group calling themselves the National Liberation Council (NLC). Social services continued to administer the country without any disturbance (Rooney 340).

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Many leaders welcomed Nkrumah and offered hospitality, but he chose Guinea, which he believed it to be suitable for him to carry on the African revolutionary struggle and restore his government in Ghana. He traveled from Peking via Moscow, Belgrade and Algiers, to finally, settle in Conakry the capital of Guinea. He was received, on 2 March 1966, by his friend President Sékou Touré in a public ceremony. Touré made Nkrumah a co-president in a gesture of Pan-African solidarity (Rooney 343). Like Nkrumah, Sékou Touré was a leader who was strongly committed to Pan-Africanism, with a shared belief that continental sovereignty reinforced the national security of states (Adeleke 78).

Once Nkrumah arrived to Guinea, Touré offered him Villa Syli, where he could live and carry on his work. Nkrumah was allowed to radio broadcast to Ghana through Radio Guinea's Voice. Nkrumah's broadcasts were meant to respond to the justification for his overthrow, spread to the Ghanaians by the military led National Liberation Council (NLC). He also used the broadcasts to reassure the Ghanaians of his return, to encourage the masses not to despair, and to engage in acts of civil resistance (Nkrumah, *Dark days* 150). Nkrumah received mails and messages of support and solidarity from Ghanaians and foreigners. Some of them even promised Nkrumah to organize a counter coup for his restoration. Those promises gave Nkrumah a false hope about the end of his exile (Adeleke 80).

Nkrumah spent the exilic years of Guinea in writing and publishing books and pamphlets about Pan-Africanism and the continent's independence. The military coup convinced Nkrumah that positive action could never liberate Africa from colonialism and neo-colonialism. He finally adopted armed struggle to free the continent, mainly after the crises in Congo and Rhodesia as well as the struggles in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau (Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path* 251). Exile reshaped Nkrumah's vision of achieving Pan-African plans for the continent's freedom and unity. Nkrumah no longer believed on democratic and constitutional approaches to political change which he had supported up to

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the late 1950s. He affirmed faith in Mao's political dictum that "power flows from the barrel of a gun" (Adeleke 88).

In 1972, Nkrumah moved to a Romanian hospital to receive treatment for cancer, but he did not survive the illness. He passed away on 27 April 1972. Davidson wrote in *Black Star* that Touré asked for Nkrumah's corpse to be buried in Conakry, where a state funeral was made ready to receive him (205). Davidson gave further details about Nkrumah's funeral:

But Ghana had changed in the meanwhile. Early in 1972, on 13 January, a group of officers led by Colonel Acheampong had ousted the parliamentary regime of Kofi Busia and his government

After lengthy negotiations with Guinea, conducted partly by Nkrumah's old companion Kojo Botsio, it was agreed that Ghana would give Nkrumah's burial the honours for which Sékou Touré had reserved it

Thousands of Ghanaians, led by Head of State Colonel Acheampong, filed silently past the body as it lay in state in Accra . . . , and Radio Ghana re-broadcast some of the ex-President's speeches and devoted special programs to the former leader. (205)

Since 1966, Nkrumah had been known to severely criticize the OAU of becoming the face of bourgeois nationalism (Herve 27). In *The Specter of Black Power*, Nkrumah wrote: "The OAU has been rendered virtually useless as a result of the machinations of neo-colonialists and their puppets. Yet it is being preserved as an innocuous organization in the hope that it may delay the formation of a really effective Pan African organization" (422). The second major idea expressed in Nkrumah's last thoughts on African Unity was that the African nations had gained political independence but were still under neo-colonialism as they were under Western economic and cultural control (Herve 27).

Nkrumah believed that national independence was only a first stage in peoples' revolutionary struggles. The next stage lay in fighting neo-colonialism to unify the continent, as explained by Tunde Adeleke: "Nkrumah defined the political independence of any

African state a beginning, albeit a critical step in the direction of securing the decolonization and unification of the entire continent” (76).

3- Kwame Nkrumah's Writings about Pan-Africanism

Published originally in 1962, but written between 1942 and 1945¹, his first book *Towards Colonial Freedom* was inspired mainly by James Aggrey and Ghandi. The publication of the book was when Pan-Africanism moved from conservatism to radicalism into the hands of a younger generation of Western-educated African people (Marah 225). Nkrumah was ambitious about self-government of Ghana (the Gold Coast at that time), and he was convinced that the Gandhian ‘Positive Action’ strategy, where all social groups would join boycotts and strikes, could fulfill political independence of the country (Biney, *Legacy of Kwame Nkrumah* 129).

In *Dark Days in Ghana* (1968), written upon his overthrow in the coup of 1966, Nkrumah wrote about the true reasons and the planners of the coup. He wrote the lesson learned from this event. He was finally convinced that the armed struggle is the only way to achieve the independence and the unity of Africa. Nkrumah exposed the nature of the military coup, setting it in the African and international frames.

In his book *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* (1969), Nkrumah used the word “unification” instead of “unity” when referring to the goal of Pan-Africanism. He explained that he wanted to return to Ghana where the infrastructure existed for putting Pan-Africanism into practice (Milne 38). Nkrumah divided the Handbook into two major parts “Book One: Know the Enemy”, and “Book Two: Strategy, Tactics and Techniques” for dealing with the situation. He proposed two institutions for a united Africa: An All-African

¹ In 1945, Nkrumah could not find a publisher in England for his first book *Towards Colonial Freedom*. He managed to print a few copies and distributed them privately to active Africans engaged in the movement of freedom and Pan-Africanism (Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path* 13).

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Peoples' Revolutionary Party (AAPRP), a single party that would unify the entire continent; and an All-African Peoples' Revolutionary Army (AAPRA) (Nkrumah 486).

Kwame Nkrumah's Pan-African nationalism could easily be seen in his book *Africa Must Unite*, published in 1963 before the historic foundation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in May 1963. The book, dedicated to Padmore, was targeted specifically to the African heads of states in an effort to convince them to unite politically and economically. It included Nkrumah's proposals for a political union of African States, the establishment of a continental government, continental economic planning, and an African common defense force. The proposals were rejected by the majority of African leaders. Nevertheless, *Africa Must Unite* remains to this day one of the most important plans for the transformation of Pan-Africanism into a concrete political project (Grilli, *A Historical Overview* 33).

In his 1961 paper entitled *I speak of freedom*, Nkrumah wrote: "It is clear that we must find an African solution to our problems, and that this can only be found in African unity. Divided, we are weak; united, Africa could become one of the greatest forces for good in the world" (2). Nkrumah warned the African states that refusing the union would make Africa face the danger of neo-colonialism which is worse than territorial colonialism.

In 1964, he wrote *Neo-Colonialism - The Last Stage of Imperialism*. It was in this book that he showed how foreign companies and governments exploited Africans and their resources. Commenting on this book, Charles Quist-Adade stated that it "...offered the most incisive indictment of the Euro-American Grand Imperialist Project. Nkrumah observed that Africa's natural resources were used to enrich non-African people in Europe and elsewhere" (103).

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The book *Consciencism* was published in 1964. Nkrumah explained his political philosophy. The focus of the book is the consideration that the African continent needed philosophy, meaning African “way of life”. The book is Nkrumah’s principal philosophical text, where he presented his advocated theories for the liberation of the continent (Grilli, *A Historical Overview* 33).

Revolutionary Path was published posthumously in 1973 by June Milne, Nkrumah’s research and editorial assistant since 1957. Milne was appointed a literary executrix by Nkrumah. She took over the control of Panaf Edition and kept publishing Nkrumah’s works (Grilli, *A Historical Overview* 35). The book contains scripts of his broadcasts, some of his speeches, and sections from his published books

Class Struggle in Africa was written in Conakry in 1968. It describes the phenomenon of class and elite in Africa. His conclusion was that neo-colonialist exploitation of the African economy was done through the bourgeois class created by the colonizer before leaving the country.

Challenges of Congo was published in 1967. This book provides a contemporary account of Congo's history. Nkrumah wrote about the events that led to the overthrow of Katanga, the murder of Lumumba and the foreign military intervention in Congo (“Challenges of Congo”).

Ghana: The Auto-biography of Kwame Nkrumah is the account of Nkrumah’s life till 1957. He published it on the day of Ghana’s independence. He wrote about his life and the hardship he endured during his activism for the independence of Ghana and African unity. The book is an important reference for the Pan-African movement during the period it covers.

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The six pamphlets written by Nkrumah were collected in a book entitled *The struggle Continues* published posthumously in 1973. They were also gathered in the book *Revolutionary Path. What I mean By Positive Action* was written in 1949, and the other five were written between 1966 and 1968 in Conakry during his exile. These were *The Specter of Black Power*, *Ghana the way out*, *The Big Lie*, *The Struggle Continues* and *Two Myths*.

What I mean by Positive Action was written after the launching of the Convention People's Party ceremony in 1949 where Nkrumah used the term Positive Action and was immediately accused by the Working Committee of the UGCC for advocating violence. Nkrumah started writing his pamphlet and distributed it to explain that Positive Actions meant strikes, boycotts and non-violent methods of struggle to achieve self-government (Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path* 85-86).

The ideology advocated in Nkrumah's publications is called Nkrumahism. It refers to his philosophy about the African personality, liberty and unity. Addressing the First Seminar at the Winneba Ideological School on 3 February 1962, Nkrumah said:

With this ideology [Nkrumahism] there should be a full-scale intellectual, educational and organizational attack on all aspects of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. These are not just mere words. They are concrete manifestations of a world outlook. Colonialism is that aspect of imperialism which in a territory with an alien government, that government controls the social, economic and political life of the people it governs. Neo-colonialism is the granting of political independence minus economic independence, that is to say, independence that makes a State politically free but dependent upon the colonial power economically. Imperialism is nothing but finance capital run wild in countries other than its own. (*Revolutionay Path* 172)

Nkrumahism was difficult to define due to Nkrumah's constant redefinition of his own ideology, adapting it to his political needs in Ghana and Africa. Nkrumah built his own ideology aided by George Padmore, based on Black Nationalist and Pan-Africanist thoughts (Grilli, *Imagining, Building and Living Nkrumaism* 160). Jeffrey Ahlman theorizes the existence of "multiple" Nkrumahisms, depending on the interpretation of Nkrumah

himself from one side, and the Africans from the other. In this respect, Ahlman wrote: “Nkrumahism provided a language with which Ghanaians and others could talk through and proactively and reactively address the changing role of Ghana and Africa in the construction of the postcolonial international community” (5). Nkrumahism is the set of practices and ideas put by Nkrumah to position the uncertain post self-ruled African states into the imperialist Cold War World (Ahlman 22).

The first aspect of Nkrumahism is African continental unity by establishing a central government charged with executing a continental economic plan. The second aspect aims at the establishment of a unified military and defense strategy. Finally, the united African nations must have a strong foreign policy and diplomacy (Poe 149).

During his exilic years, Nkrumah increasingly began to believe that the armed struggle marked the new phase of the liberation movement. He shared the views of Frantz Fanon who believed in the psychological necessity of violence for the oppressed to attain self-liberation. Nkrumah advocated revolutionary warfare as the only solution to the complete independence of the African states and the suppression of the partnership between the neo-colonial indigenous African elite and the West. Nkrumah's politics also increasingly moved towards an internationalist revolutionary position during this period (Biney, *Intellectual Biography* 306).

Nkrumah's ideology emphasized the revival and development of the 'African Personality' by awakening consciousness among Africans of their cultural and common bonds that united them. According to him, the African Personality was wiped from history by the colonists who claimed that Africa was without history or culture before the arrival of the Europeans. This myth, according to Nkrumahism, served as a justification for the imperialists to legitimate their capitalist exploitation of Africa and to provide an excuse for master-

servant relationships. Nkrumah was in quest of the total liberation and unity of Africa in order to find a meaningful expression of the African personality in the international community (Poe 154).

4- Conclusion

Kwame Nkrumah produced an important amount of literature during his exilic years in Guinea. Though the independence of Ghana is credited to Nkrumah and his party, he became a dictator but once in power. In 1966, his army overthrew him in a coup, so he moved to live in Guinea. During those years, Nkrumah wrote books and pamphlets to promote his ideology and to convince the African leaders about the importance of forming a united Africa. Nkrumah claimed that unifying the African states meant their protection against the western neo-colonialism.

General Conclusion

Beginning from the sixteenth century, the transatlantic slave trade had uprooted thousands of Africans. They were shipped to be sold as slaves to work in the New World plantations. They were deprived of their freedom and dignity. Slave trade stigmatized the black Africans as an inferior race, making the Whites their masters.

Africans in the Diaspora tied by the same origins (African continent) and the same cruel life conditions formed movements of solidarity to protest against slavery and racism. They claimed their rights to a decent life and equality with the Whites. These constituted the first basis of the Pan-African movement.

The term Pan-Africanism was coined by the West Indian Henry Sylvester Williams during the congress of 1900, held in London. The movement was mainly anti-racist, until the Fifth Congress of 1945. The latter was chaired by Du Bois, but it was organized by a new generation of leaders, such as George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah. A new resolution was adopted during this congress, according to which Pan-Africanism demanded, for the first time, the full independence and the union of the African states.

Kwame Nkrumah, the enthusiastic student, joined the Pan-African movement in London coming from America where he had spent seven years studying. There, he got the necessary knowledge for achieving his plans of independence for the Gold Coast, his country, and Africa as well. Nkrumah was the first activist who 'Africanized' the Pan-African movement and insisted on the fact that the national independence of each state was incomplete as long as it was not reinforced by a total unity of the continent.

Nkrumah led his country, the Gold Coast, to independence in 1957, and he changed its name to Ghana. Then he got engaged in the Pan-African movement to pursue his dream of the United States of Africa.

General Conclusion

Nkrumah claimed that the borders dividing the African states were set by colonialism. He believed that Africa was one entity and must return to that unification by the end of colonialism. This brought Nkrumah huge criticism from the African leaders who suspected his intentions to rule the continent on his own. After holding many Pan-African conferences in different African states debating about African unity, the African states were divided into two groups: the Monrovia Group, which was against the political union for fear of interfering in the internal affairs of the states; while the Casablanca Group was more enthusiastic about unity. Finally, the two groups put their differences aside in 1963, during the conference of Addis Ababa where the Organization of African Unity was created.

In 1966, Nkrumah was overthrown in a coup d'état while he was abroad. He chose to live in Guinea where he spent the last six years of his life without returning to Ghana. Though Nkrumah was perceived as a dictator after banning opposition in his country and declaring himself president for life, a significant contribution is credited to this enthusiastic leader for pursuing the dream of a unified Africa. He was the first to bring Pan-Africanism home, to the African soil where it belonged. He left major writings that are still serving as historical sources of knowledge about the African struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

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