

Kwame Nkrumah's Politico- Cultural Thought and Policies

*An African-Centered Paradigm for the
Second Phase of the African Revolution*



Kwame Botwe-Asamoah

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This book is dedicated to two great mothers whose wisdom and guidance changed the lives of their children. First, to Nkrumah's mother, Nyaniba, who dragged Nkrumah several times to school until he gave in to her demand. Finally, to my loving mother, Akua Awusiama, who also dragged me to school on two occasions. She died four months after I had left her in Ghana for the US in December 1993. I was all that she had in this world. Her living spirits, since her untimely death and that of my father, Ohene Kwaku Owusu Botwe, have been the driving force throughout the research and the writing of this book.

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Preface

Growing up in both Gold Coast, later Ghana, I witnessed much systematic campaign against Kwame Nkrumah's political, social and cultural thought and policies. In my elementary schools, some of my teachers openly condemned his alleged communist ideology in the classrooms. One particular teacher told us that with communism, we were "all going to wear khaki uniforms and line up everyday for rationed food with our parents."

The Odekro (owner of town) of my town Ettokrom in Dr. J.B. Danquah's (a founding member of the United Gold Coast Convention and a leading opponent of Nkrumah) constituency said that Nkrumah was an atheist; in addition, he denounced him for siding with Nasser in Egypt's war with Israel in 1956, whom he described as "the chosen children of God." In the intellectual community, Nkrumah was also accused of lowering the educational standards because of his policy on Africanization of the curriculum of the educational system in the country; this included his decree abolishing a pass in the English language as the sole criteria for obtaining the secondary school certificate. An added frequent accusation was an alleged toffee (candies) that Nkrumah frequently dropped from the ceiling into the hands of the Young Pioneers, which the Christian God could not do, when asked. Between 1955 and February 1966, his foes, both within and without Ghana engaged in vicious lies about him as well as a well-organized assassination attempts on his life.

In fact, no political leader or ruler in Ghana, to date, has experienced terrorist attacks in terms of constant bomb throwing, a face-to-face gun shot and ambushes as Nkrumah did. Furthermore, the kind of economic sabotage and political destabilization campaign against his government at the national and international levels is unparalleled in Ghana's political history. Yet, in spite of the hostile and violent environment in Ghana, the national unity as well as the rapid cultural, social, economic transformation and industrial development achieved for the country within the short span by Nkrumah's government will go down in African history as one of the most remarkable periods of post-independence achievements.

These positive acclamations notwithstanding, I saw the heroic struggle of Nkrumah and his adoration by the ordinary people, including the majority of the inhabitants of my village and neighboring towns and urban centers. He was viewed as a god-sent savior. While many Ghanaians praised and adored him as a great visionary leader, others continued to see him as Africa's inimitable leader.

Historically speaking, no African political leader, past or present, has more completely personified the political, economic and cultural liberation and unity of Africa than did Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. As the father of African nationalism, he advanced the cause of African liberation and engendered an understanding of the insidious nature of neo-colonialism. He stands forth as one of the few pivotal political leaders of the twentieth century. The formation of the African Union in South Africa in the summer of 2001, though a shift from Nkrumah's African-centered union government, to promote rapid economic

development of the continent is an attestation to the foresight and vision of Nkrumah's policy on Pan-Africanism.

Nkrumah's unparalleled accomplishments regarding African liberation as well as his incomparable leadership skills and achievements in terms of national unity, social, educational, economic transformation and industrial projects in Ghana came to be buried by the kind of systematic misinformation warfare following the CIA orchestrated military coup that overthrew his government on February 24, 1966 (Stockwell 1978:160 and 201). It is this politically orchestrated misinformation which has come to serve as a model for discourse on Nkrumah's political and cultural philosophy and policies by his foes and some of his admirers.

Studies on the nature of the political and cultural institutions of the Nkrumah era have been carried out without adequate reference to colonial legacies. Even when such a connection is made it has often ignored the contradiction between the thinking patterns of the European trained African scholars, and political and cultural activists in charge of the institutions one hand, and Nkrumah's African-centered vision, on the other. Also, the major error by Nkrumah's critics is their failure to acknowledge the fact that he was the only African leader at the time to formulate an African-centered socio-philosophical system as a guiding principle for post-independence Ghana and Africa's socio-economic transformation.

Nkrumah inherited a fragmented country besieged by an insidious colonial legacy, such as Eurocentric economic, judicial and educational systems, law enforcement and military institutions, civil service administrative superstructure, infectious diseases and uneven socio-economic development. Other aspects of the colonial legacy included illiteracy, ignorance, superstitions and undemocratic and violent behaviors of the embittered parochial and ethnic based political parties. All these were more difficult to combat than the anti-colonial struggle. Thus, the tendency of such critics to compare and contrast, *inter alia*, the ideas of African revolutionaries like Cabral and Fanon with Nkrumah's ideas at the anti-colonial stage and the post-independence politico-cultural philosophy and policies are thus inappropriate. Also, any discourse that lumps together the ontological nature of both the anti-colonial struggle and that of the post-independence socio-political and cultural revolution, especially in the context of the cold war politics, with respect to Nkrumah's Ghana, would be an intellectual aberration.

Another common error among scholars of post-independence socio-economic and cultural transformation in Nkrumah's Ghana has been the tendency to present them in a linear fashion. Rooted in Eurocentric perspective, this linear approach has tended to reduce Nkrumah's integrated educational, economic, cultural and Pan-African agenda into separate entities for abstract analysis. As a consequence, culture has come to be seen as an entity by itself having no place in African political, economic and social transformation. Theater, they say, should not be mixed with political ideology (Agovi, 1989:8). Not only is such a perspective an antithesis to African aesthetics, but it has also led to several false assumptions on the role of theater in socio-economic transformation in Ghana. In the final analysis, some politicians, and intellectuals in Ghana refer to Nkrumah's politico-cultural and economic theories and policies as outdated and of no use for the current dilemmas. Yet, while this same populace complain bitterly about the abrogation of Nkrumah's socio-economic and education services resulting from his

rational thinking, they ironically cry for a Eurocentric political system and Adam Smith's *laissez-fair* economic theories and policies formulated in 1776.

This book synthesizes and analyzes the relationship between Kwame Nkrumah's politico-cultural philosophy and policies as an Afrocentric paradigm for the second phase of the African revolution. It also argues for the relevance of his theories and policies in today's Africa. The book examines and analyses three aspects of Nkrumah's politico-cultural thought from a holistic standpoint. First, his socio-political philosophy returns to traditional African ethics, humanistic values and an egalitarian mode of production to formulate a new socio-economic system for post-independence Africa. Second, the institutional aspect of his cultural thought offered an African-centered framework for institutional development. Third, his thought on creative culture also provided for an African-centered perspective to undergird the intellectual and artistic endeavors of the School of Music and Drama, with specific reference to the National Theater Movement. This integrative cultural thought thus offered an African-centered prototype for the statutory cultural institutions in the society and in the academy. It is this holistic framework of Nkrumah's Pan-African politico-cultural agenda that is often ignored by several scholars and his critics.

In writing this book, I have attempted to analyze Kwame Nkrumah's politico-cultural philosophy and policies. In doing so, I realize my limitations as regards the data upon which the book is written. The research was based on qualitative, ethnographic and Afrocentric research methods. As the Afrocentric research scholar Kershaw (1989:47) puts it, "the unity between theory and praxis is possible only if praxis occurs before construction." Accordingly, the theory was developed during the data collection process or grounded in the data.

The data collection consists of primary and secondary materials as well as interviews. The primary materials included Kwame Nkrumah's major speeches and works, his government's policy statements, parliamentary instruments, committees' reports, documents on the Arts Council of Ghana, the Institute of African Studies and this researcher's personal experience as a student in the School at the time. The cognate secondary materials consisted of studies done by scholars on Nkrumah's political thought, his cultural policies, and the educational and artistic institutions of the era.

I interviewed renowned and well-informed Ghanaian scholars and cultural activists. They include those who were responsible for the implementation of Kwame Nkrumah's politico-cultural policies, and those who have headed theater institutions in Ghana. It provided me the opportunity of stepping into the minds of those persons who saw, participated in and/or experienced what is popularly described as the era of Ghana's cultural revolution. Critical among them were Professor Emeritus J.H.Nketia, Honorable Kojo Botsio and His Excellency Ambassador Kofi Awoonor. In addition, I interviewed two military officers who were members of the President Own Guard Regiment at the time of the military coup on February 24, 1966, and who have first hand information about Nkrumah's military support to the liberation fighters in Africa. Retired Colonel David Gbon Zanleringu, was the commander of the President Own Guard Regiment, and handled some aspects of the training of the African freedom fighters in Ghana. Retired Colonel Kwasi Oteng, a Second Lieutenant at the time, was the most senior officer on duty at the time of the coup, whose forces fought the invading forces till the arrival of his commanding officer, Colonel Zanleringu.

The advantage I had in the research is my familiarity with the political history, Nkrumah's political philosophy, language, and the cultural movement of the time. Also, I was one of the pioneering students at the School of Music and Drama, the performing arts wing of the Institute of African Studies. Prior to my admission into the School of Music and Drama in 1965, I was a Young Pioneer voluntary organizer responsible for the performing arts wing of the movement in Koforidua. Additionally, I was a member of the Eastern Regional Arts Council's Drama Club of Koforidua.

Many discourses on Kwame Nkrumah may continue to turn up, but without any depth in "African centered method," as he implored, such disquisition would be unavailing. This book thus provides an Afrocentric framework for further discourses on Kwame Nkrumah's socio-economic policies, his educational philosophy and policies, and his vision of a Pan-African socialist union government, embracing the Diasporan Africans.

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Me de Onyame ne nanamon da mo ase pii.

List of Abbreviations

ARPS	Aborigines Rights Protection Society
CE	Common Era
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CPP	Convention People's Party
CYO	Committee for Youth Organization
GCP	Ghana Congress Party
MAP	Moslem Association Party
NCBWA	National Congress of British West Africa
NLM	National Liberation Movement
NPP	Northern People's Party
POGR	President Own Guard Regiment
OAU	Organization of African Unity
UGCC	United Gold Coast Convention
UN	United Nations
WANS	West African National Secretariat

Chapter One

Introduction: The Raison d'Etre of Kwame Nkrumah's Politico-Cultural Thought

White domination a God-given right?
No, says Kwame Nkrumah.
Wrong to treat black men right?
Nonsense, exclaims Nkrumah.
And right to black men wrong?
No, shouts Kwame Nkrumah.
Enslaving, exploiting, oppressing,
Dehumanizing Africans—
Say all this our accursed lot?
Never! Vowed Kwame Nkrumah
Things wrong must be put right.

(Timothy, 43:1963)

Kwame Nkrumah was born on September 22, 1909 at Nkroful in the Western region of Ghana. On the eighth day of his birth, his father named him after a relative, Kofi Nwia. His parents were poor and illiterate. Though his father was a goldsmith, he was respected for his wise counsel by those who sought his advice about traditional issues and domestic affairs. Nkrumah's mother on the other hand was a petty trader. It was during his father's departure to Half-Assini, a seaport, for greener pastures that Nkrumah was born. His birth brought good fortune to both his parents. His father's commerce flourished while his mother's business became "bewildered at the amazing way in which she encountered success after success" (Ibid: 19).

Nkrumah, Timothy further indicates, accompanied his father, Kofi Ngolomah whenever he went on trek as he (Nkrumah) displayed great powers of observation. Consequently, his parents decided to supplement the monetary gifts presented to them at Nkrumah's birth "with the proceeds from their work with a view" of sending him to school (Ibid: 20). In 1915, his parents sent him to Roman Catholic Elementary School at Half-Assini. It was here that Nkrumah led his first "positive action" campaign to embarrass his class teacher as he urged his classmates to stay home during the visit of the Inspector of Schools (Ibid: 20). As Nkrumah (1957:11) explains, "we were not fond of the teacher because of his frequent use of the stick (to flog them), often we thought without just cause."

However, in the tradition of the Asona royal family, Nkrumah had to learn from his parents and the Elders of Nzima, from childhood, the history, traditions and customs of his people. In his *Black Star*, Davidson (1973:19) describes Nkrumah's early life as "a shy child who preferred to stand and listen to his elders rather than merely run with the crowd." As he brought himself "close to the customs of his people, he sucked in

knowledge of the challenges of life, and dreamed dreams about the power a man can have to meet and overcome them. It was a habit of mind that stayed with him" (Ibid: 19).

Though both his parents decided that he should go to school, the early source of influence on his view of life perhaps came from his mother. She dragged him there several times when he found his first day of school "so disappointing" (Nkrumah, 1957:6). Nkrumah describes his mother "as a most worthy and vigilant protector, her quite decisive moments...gave her a natural leadership" (Ibid: 5). When he complained to her one day for not giving him brothers and sisters as the only child of his mother, she pointed to the trees and said: "you see the big trees? They stand alone!" (Forward Ever, 1977:2).

His favorite delight during school break was gathering his class-mates under a shady tree for casual discussions. After Sunday school, Nkrumah would take a long walk with his friends to the beach under coconut trees and engage in a coconut feast while discussing current affairs. His special qualities at the Roman Catholic Elementary School attracted the attention of the Headmaster of the school, Reverend Father George Fisher. Hence, after completing the Standard VII examination (Middle School Leaving Certificate examination), he was made a pupil teacher at his alma mater. He was so small that he had to stand on a table to teach. While teaching at Axim, Nkrumah embarked on a substantial research into Nzima history. He was elected Secretary of the African Club, a literary and social organization; thereafter, he was elected the first General Secretary of Nzima Literature and Cultural Association.

After Nkrumah's one year of teaching Father Fisher sent him and his colleagues, Dominic C.Cobina and J.Edward to the Government Teacher Training College at Achimota in Accra. Due to his "unmanageable" behavior at Achimota, he was punished by the prefects and monitors. Yet, he paid great attention to his studies and participated in extra-curricular activities, such as concerts and sports. More importantly, "he delivered lectures and made persuasive speeches" (Timothy: 21).

It was while he was a student at Achimota Training College that Dr. Kwagyir Aggrey first aroused Nkrumah's cultural nationalism. Aggrey lectured the students about the great achievements of the African people long before the arrival of the Europeans. He constantly advised the young African students to study hard so that they could help liberate Africa from colonial rule. Nkrumah later decided to further his education in the United States, in order to devote the rest of his life toward the liberation of Africa from European colonialism. It was also Aggrey who introduced Nkrumah to the ideas and ideals of W.E.B.Du Bois and Marcus Garvey (Taylor, 1990:87).

But it was "the coming of Azikiwe," which became an "electric shock to the younger ranks of intellectuals, like Nkrumah" (Davidson, 1973:24). Nkrumah had left Amisano in December 1934 for a visit to Accra, where he met Azikiwe, who was then Editor of the *African Morning Post*; also, he met Wallace Johnson the Editor of the *African Sentinel* and founder of the Youth League. Azikiwe's lectures, speeches, and articles fired his imagination for the emancipation of the African from thralldom. Through private talks, Azikiwe urged Nkrumah to go to his alma mater, Lincoln University in the United States and "to come back with the Golden Fleece" (Ibid: 24). This led him to recapture Dr. Aggrey's prophesy and inspirational lectures to go to the land, which had produced such Pan-African pioneers like Aggrey, Marcus Garvey and Du Bois.

Consequently, Nkrumah went ahead to pursue further education at Lincoln University, where he obtained two Bachelors degrees in Theology as well as in Economics and Sociology. Additionally, he earned a Master of Science degree in Education and a Master of Arts degree in Philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania. While finalizing his doctoral degree in philosophy, Nkrumah abruptly left for England in 1945 to study Law at Gray's Inn as well as pursue a doctoral degree in Political Science at the London School of Economics (Nkrumah, 1957:51). It is common knowledge that with a few chapters completed, Nkrumah had a disagreement with his advisor on the content of his dissertation on ethnophilosophy; rather than write and publish material with which Nkrumah disagreed, he left the doctoral program. He had originally proposed "The Philosophy of Imperialism, with Special Reference to Africa," as the topic for his thesis, which his advisor Dr. Morrow at the University of Pennsylvania rejected (Sherwood, 1996:63).

While a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania, Nkrumah became instrumental in the establishment of an Institute of African Languages and Culture through his organizing skills. He sacrificed his academic work to build the institute on solid foundations. He also started translating "his dream of organizing all Africans in the United States" with the hope that they might one day return home to serve Africa. His dedication and intensive work led to "the first General Conference of Africans in America" held in September 1943 (Timothy: 32).

It was also while a student in the United States that Nkrumah started putting his thoughts on paper regarding the ruthless nature of colonialism on the African continent. By 1943, he had become immersed with politics delivering open-air lectures regarding the suffering of African people and the ultimate overthrow and extinction of colonialism and imperialism. What is more, Nkrumah started to envisage "a West African Federation, and, together with Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria and Durosimi Johnson of Sierra Leone, they planned on returning home" to step up strong agitation against colonial rule in the region (Ibid: 32–33). Nkrumah's boss at Sunship Building Dry Dock Company in Chester, Pennsylvania also confirms this when described him:

Kwame Nkrumah was the only African there. He was popular and well respected and had discussions with his colleagues about Africa. He had a vision of returning to the Gold Coast and in spite of the persuasion of friends, he insisted on returning to Africa. (Ibid: 26).

In Pennsylvania and adjoining states, Nkrumah forfeited social life and made it his [first] duty "to return to Africa and join in the struggle for its liberation from the tentacles of imperialism" (Ibid: 27). His popularity and commitment to return to Africa earned the admiration of his classmates at Lincoln so much that they voted him the "Most Interesting." They composed a little ditty in his honor for the class year book:

'Africa is the beloved of Nkrumah's dreams;
Philosopher, thinker with forceful schemes.
In aesthetics, politics, he's in the field;
Nkrumah's, "tres interessant," radiates appeal.' (Ibid: 27)

Thus Nkrumah's determination to fight against colonialism and imperialism in Africa became obvious to his classmates, professors and friends in the US.

Kwame Nkrumah's thoughts on colonialism lay the foundation of his political and cultural philosophy. He found colonialism crude and overt in terms of economic exploitation. Besides, it was also insidious as it dehumanized the cultural personality of the African. As noted by several writers (Agovi, 1990; Davidson, 1969; Ngugi, 1986; Okot p'Bitek, 1966; Rodney, 1981; Nkrumah, 1963), African culture and world view: epistemology, cosmology, aesthetics and axiology were severely attacked by the European Christian missionaries, tourist and anthropologists, during colonialism. The nature of education and the body of literature produced during colonialism invented "the so-called inferior traits" of the African (Diop, 1974:25). The self-proclaimed civilizing mission by European colonialists and the missionaries was depicted as a "duty of humanity" to raise the African to the level of "other men." It was this dehumanization campaign which, Diop (Ibid: 25) points out, "finally deeply affected" the cultural personality of the African. Thus, through psychological, coercive and brutal methods, the Europeans effectively dislocated the African from his cultural center and "placed him on the margins of their cultural context" (Asante, 1993:54).

Because culture carries rules for thinking, the European, during colonialism, introduced a type of educational system that transported total European cultural nationalism to their colonies in Africa. What they introduced, Rodney (1982:240) points out, was a new set of formal education which partly supplemented and partly replaced those which were in existence before the advent of colonialism. In the process, this system instilled a sense of affinity towards all things European. It was also a type that trained the African to assist the colonial administrators at the lowest rank and to staff privately owned European companies (Ibid: 240).

In effect, the educational system was characterized by absurdities in the transportation of Eurocentric education into Africa. In the British colonies like the Gold Coast (now Ghana) and Nigeria, the school system trained the students to be inferior copies and caricatures of the English man. Being dislocated, the African students became "neither fish nor fowl, as they were denied" information about "their African past and told they had no present" (Ibid: 205). In the schools that I attended, we were given instructions in plant life which I could not understand, even though my father was a well known-herbalist in our region. We were taught that Mungo Park "discovered" River Niger, while David Livingstone "discovered" Lake "Victoria," when in fact Africans led these two European tourists to the waters. The most absurd thing was the description of Africa as the "dark continent," which we had to learn. Our history lessons were about Europe and the white man's activities in Africa. We were made to believe that we had no culture and history to be proud of, and that our people had made no contribution towards human civilization.

From the onset, the educational system accorded high priority to Christian instructions. Operated by the Euro-Christian missionaries hunting for African converts, as Ani (1993:161) explains, the African heads were filled with devotional hymns, their psyches infused with submissive Christian attitudes. The missionary schools inculcated in the students Christian theology, cosmology, and western individualistic ethos, thereby dislocating their African identity, destroying their commitment to African collective or

communalistic ethos and erasing “their sense of patriotic responsibility to Africa” (Ibid: 161).

Church services or attendance was compulsory in the school system. In the schools that I attended and taught, Wednesday mornings were set aside for church service, in addition to daily morning devotion (particularly the Presbyterian Church) and Sunday church services. The Bible was used to urge the African to turn his cheek in the face of brutality and exploitation. It also drove home the message that everything would be good for the brutalized and exploited African in “heaven.” The African was associated with the biblical Ham, and the snake that tempted Eve. Both were used as favorite themes in some of the churches that I attended. Accordingly, accepting Christ as the Savior was to save the African from the alleged curses on the descendants of Ham (King, Jr., 1967:72–73).

The Christian God, Jesus, the saints, and all the apostles were presented as whites with blue eyes in the churches. African cosmology, religion, spirituality, medicine, music, dances and plastic arts were equated with the workings of the devil. Consequently, the African converts had to make confessions for observing these to Christian priests in order to be forgiven. Based on personal experience, students were punished by flogging for having participated in or watched any of the alleged instruments of the devil.

The creed of the Christian church in some parts of Africa was one of violent proselytization. Ani (1993:161) discloses that the missionaries burned down the Bwiti chapels in Gabon, “where this syncretistic religious movement was seen as a possible nurturing ground for African nationalism. By this violent behavior, the role of the church as an aggressor in the military and imperialistic pursuit during colonialism is made transparent. As Ani (Ibid: 161) further points out, the church’s “civilizing mission” was therefore a pretext.

The Christian missionaries as partners in the colonial enterprise were also made manifest in their preaching of “the gospel of heaven and hell” (Ogun and Irele (1978:17), whereby sin and evil were equated with the African culture and personality. To enter heaven thus meant that the African converts had to abandon their entire cultural heritage and inadvertently adopt European cultural nationalism. The Christian ideology was thus an “ideally fashioned weapon for the destruction of the self-image and value system of the African” (Ani: 162). In their proselytization, the missionaries convinced themselves that those they sought to convert had no religion. In setting new value systems in the colonies, the church stressed humility, docility and acceptance of whatever misfortune fell on the African.

As such, European cultural imperialism and Christian ideology were inseparable. The assumption of the missionaries was that if the African had to be a docile and loyal servant, his allegiance to Africa had to be broken. Total admiration for everything European had to be instilled in him, in addition to his unquestionable obedience to the white man. Thus, through the Christian missionaries’ proselytization, the African neophytes, at the time of independence, had been reduced to objects acted upon by the European colonizers.

Under the guise of their so-called “civilizing mission,” the European colonists and missionaries invented doctrines of African inferiority to rationalize colonialism and the holocaust of the enslavement, and to guide all European activities in Africa. These racist doctrines and colonial assimilationist policies resulted in “cultural isolation of the African past while they encouraged a deliberate sense of repudiation of the developed African

heritage,” Agovi (1990:1) explains. And as agencies responsible for the enforcement of the racist doctrines, the missionaries and their schools manipulated and shaped the cultural consciousness of the African on Western mores.

The invention of the doctrines of African inferiority based on the reports supplied by the early European missionaries and travelers were championed by racist European scholars. Prominent among such infamous European scholars were the eighteenth century Scottish philosopher, David Hume and the nineteenth century German philosopher, Georg Hegel. Hume writes:

I am apt to suspect the Negroes and in general all the other species of men to be naturally inferior to whites. There never was a civilized nation of any other complexion than white or even an individual eminent either in action or speculation, no ingenious manufacturers among them, no art, no science. (1875:252)

Referring to Africa, Hegel states:

This is the land where men are children, a land lying beyond the daylight of self-conscious history, and enveloped in the black color of night. At this point, let us forget Africa not to mention it again. Africa is no historical part of the world. (1956:99)

The characteristics of such views are not only aggressively ethnocentric, but they are also Eurocentric, hegemonic and dangerous; they relegate African culture and African thought to the status of non-existence. In effect, Hegel's influence in sociology, history, political science, and philosophy, Asante points out, remains prominent and insidious (Asante, 1990:35).

Regrettably, these doctrines, Nkrumah (1963:35) observes, came to be accepted by the European-trained African scholars. They had been conditioned to disbelieve in the importance of their culture; “they see only outdated religious practices, initiation symbols, ill-assorted and purely functional cult objects, folktales and proverbs, superstition and magic” (Sow, 1979:11). Thus, having lost self-definition of his cultural personality and identity during colonialism, the African, especially the “educated” one, became culturally dislocated, and has since walked in the shadows of the white man, Julius Nyerere once postulated. Location, Asante (193:57) explains, is “a process of explaining how human beings come to make decisions about the external world which takes into consideration all the attitudes and behavior which constitutes psychological and cultural place.” It also refers to a “place from which all concepts, ideas, purposes, and vision radiate” (Ibid: 53).

Nkrumah's views on racism as well as the Pan-African perspective can also be gleaned from his life experiences in the United States and England. His life in the United States was characterized by poverty. To combat this, he did odd jobs including selling fish in New York City and serving as a waiter on ships during vacations. In New York, he slept on benches, and in a subway train; in Philadelphia, he attempted sleeping in the train station and a public park with another African student.

Everywhere he went in the United States, Nkrumah noticed racism and the effect of Jim Crow Law on the lives of African Americans. On one occasion, he was refused a glass of water in a cafe in Baltimore because of his African features. "The place for you, man, is the spittoon outside," the white waiter told him (Nkrumah, 1957:42). His survey work in the African American communities, which took him to six hundred homes in Philadelphia, became an eye-opener for him regarding the "racial problem in the United States" (Ibid: 42).

In London, he was as short of money as he was in the United States. He used to go "round the dustbins of hotels and cafes to look for food. Sometimes, he found fish heads, which he took back to the office of the West African Students' Union and made a fish stew for himself and friends" (Forward Ever, 1977:10).

Shortly after Nkrumah's arrival in London, he and George Padmore of Trinidad became joint secretaries of the organizing committee of the Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester in England, October 1945. He wrote a declaration to the colonial people of the world, which was accepted by the Congress. Later, Nkrumah was appointed General Secretary with W.E.B. Du Bois as Chairman of the Working committee of the Pan-African movement. Shortly afterwards, he initiated the establishment of a West African National Secretariat and became its first secretary. The inner core of this secretariat formed "The Circle;" its goal was to "prepare for revolutionary work in any part of the continent" (Ibid: 9). It was at this point in 1947 that he was invited to return to the Gold Coast to serve as General Secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention.

Two political organizations, the Gold Coast League and Gold Coast National Party had merged and needed his kind of leadership to resolve the ethnic divisions between them. Subsequent to his arrival in Gold Coast, now the Republic of Ghana, civil disobedience activities erupted in the country. His non-violent "Positive Action" campaign in 1950 caused a major strike in the entire country, for which he was imprisoned; he was released after a land slide victory in the first national election in 1951. Here, it is imperative to point out that it was while in prison, observing and listening to the other inmates that Nkrumah concluded, "No man is born a criminal;" and that, it is society which turns men into criminals "and the only way to change things is to change social conditions" (Nkrumah, 1957:132).

By 1949, he had broken ranks with the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) due to strategic and ideological differences and formed his own political party, the Convention Peoples Party (CPP). He became Leader of Government Business, with the country still under colonial rule, in 1951. In 1953, in a major speech titled, "The Motion of Destiny," he demanded from the British government an early date for Ghana's full independence. In 1954, his political party won the second general election in the country. A third general election was held in 1956 and Nkrumah's party, again, won a decisive victory in all the regions of Ghana. On March 6, 1957, Ghana became an independent country, with Nkrumah as the Prime Minister. On July 1, 1960, Nkrumah was elected President when the country became a republic.

In 1945, Du Bois had invited Nkrumah to the membership of the international committee, which drew up the four resolutions on the colonial question for the United Nations; these resolutions became part of the UN's Charter on the Declaration of Human Rights. Also Kwame Nkrumah and Du Bois authored the two declarations at the fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester, 1945. These declarations provided the ideological

framework and plan of action for the decolonization of the entire African continent. Hence, on the eve of Ghana's political independence on March 6, 1957, Nkrumah enshrined the Pan-African project with a political will stating that, the independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa (Nkrumah, 1937b:107). And indeed, Ghana provided logistical support, financial, material and human resources (including civil service personnel and teachers) to some of the newly independent African states and the liberation movements, from Algeria to South Africa. Jomo Kenyatta acknowledged this at a public meeting in London, 1959, when he stated that the independence of Ghana had marked the end of the European domination of Africa (Esebede, 1994:106).

Nkrumah's aphorism that "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all other things shall be added," (Marais, 1972:204) should be understood as an indispensable step toward a total liberation of African people. Thus, without political independence, there was no channel the African could go through to transform the society. In other words, "if you are not free as a political agent, or if somebody else is telling you what to do," Awoonor explained in our interview on January 10, 1997, "there is no way you can determine your own direction as a nation."

Immediately after Ghana's independence in 1957, Nkrumah summoned the then seven independent African heads of state to a historic meeting that took place in Accra between April 15 and 22, 1958. In addition to resolutions on politics, economy and culture, Nkrumah urged the African leaders to assert their own African personality and to develop according to their own ways of life, customs, traditions and cultures (Esebede: 165). In December 1958, an All-African Peoples Conference was also held in Ghana. Diasporan Africans and the would-be leaders of the liberation movements within the continent attended this conference. Then, a series of meetings which took place between 1959 and 1963, amidst ideological differences, eventually culminated in the birth of the Organization of African Unity. Henceforth, the liberation of Africa from European colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism, the dignity and agency of African people in global affairs, dominated Nkrumah's life till his death in 1972.

In 1960, Nkrumah saw the need for resurgence in African culture and personality and the creation of institutions that would give expressions to the intrinsic values of Africa. He saw these "as part and parcel of the socio-economic emergency of Ghana, and later on, of course, of the African continent," Awoonor established in our interview on January 8, 1997. Nkrumah had a grasp of the perpetual Euro-American ethnocentric hegemony that had marginalized the African, and reduced him to an object. As Asante (1988:700) notes, "Nkrumah, more than any of his contemporary political colleagues," "wanted to see our views translated into political power."

In most of his work, Nkrumah criticized those who wrote about African history in which the African became an appendage of European history. He also pointed out that if such scholars paid any homage to Africa at all, they treated African experiences purely as "a dark long period of darkness for which our forefathers were redeemed by the benevolence of Europe," Awoonor pointed out in my interview with him on January 8, 1997. Nkrumah also addressed the dehumanizing nature of the European slave trade, colonial exploitation, institutional racism that had marginalized and pushed African people back, and the urgent need for the recovery of the African personality.

It was against the backdrop of the alleged African inferiority as well as the marginalization of the African that Nkrumah formulated his political philosophy, Consciencism—as an African-centered paradigm for the second phase of the African revolution. Various critics have misunderstood or devalued this concept; Diagne (1979:163) citing Marcien Towa, reinforces the idea that Nkrumah's attempt to formulate “a modern African political philosophy in his *Consciencism*” was merely “a Marxist discussion of philosophy and a critique of Western thought.” Though some aspects of the analysis can be found in Marxist social thought, a materialist conception of society, *Consciencism*, was an attempt at fashioning out an African-centered socio-political philosophy to supplant the legacy of colonial social thought. What is more, it came to serve as a guide to Africa's socio-economic transformation based on African ethics, humanist value and an egalitarian way of life, of which theater was to play a crucial role.

Critical to Nkrumah's political philosophy was his cultural thought and policies, which were aimed at restoring African cultural heritage and integrating them into the new Africa. These policies were meant to bring a complete fusion between African culture and politics through which the African personality could find its highest expression. To this end, he saw theater as an intellectual forum whereby the vital values in African heritage and African personality could be examined and recovered to influence the socio-economic aspirations of the new Africa.

In his inaugural speech at the Institute of African Studies, October 25, 1965, Nkrumah insisted on the resuscitation of the glories and achievements of the African past, in order to inspire the new generation with a vision of a healthier future. The speech spelt out his cultural thought as a guiding principle for all the cultural institutions in Ghana. He also pointed out that African studies developed in Euro-American universities had largely been influenced by the concepts of colonial studies, which were still under the shadow of colonial ideologies and mentalities (1992:13). And the need to combat them in terms of re-interpretation and a new assessment of the factors making up the African past was Nkrumah's primary concern. This necessitated the formulation of a new paradigm in all intellectual and creative endeavors, such as African history, culture, language and the arts “in new African centered ways,” (Ibid: 14).

Nkrumah, in his speech, “The African Genius,” clearly identified the School of Music and Drama, the performing arts wing of the Institute of African Studies, as the nucleus of the National Theater Movement. He urged the School to disseminate information on African arts through research and by developing new forms of dance, music, drama and creative writing that were consistent with the African traditions, and also expressed the ideas and aspirations of the people in post-independence Africa. Therefore, the cultural institutions and the National Theater Movement in Ghana were to take cognizance of the impact of the transplanted European cultural nationalism on the African, especially his dislocation from his culture and history. It also meant that the implementation of Nkrumah's politico-cultural policies was to take into account the insidious nature of colonial legacy in terms of European cultural ideology and theater tradition. Otherwise, colonial legacy, more than anything else, could become the major obstacle in the implementation of Kwame Nkrumah's cultural policies, in the context of socio-economic transformation. And the political fulcrum that Nkrumah addressed was the intellectual and ideological recovery of the African person, from which everything else would flow. It also meant that, “without struggling to free ourselves from being appendage to the

global economic systems, we would remain enslaved,” Awoonor summed up in our interview. This holistic perspective is important to stress within the work, life, times and the politico-cultural philosophy of Kwame Nkrumah.

Nkrumah lived a simple but disciplined and complex life. Before going to his office, he would get “up at four in the morning” and “exercise for the next 30 to 45 minutes, possibly five times around the track of Flagstaff house with his sorrowful security guards puffing reluctantly along with him.” This was followed by meditation, yoga, reading and answering correspondence...by 6:30 A.M.” Next, he would play tennis with friends like Dr. Shandorf, Sonny Provencal, Genoveva, his elder son Francis and his fiancée Margaret, who later became his wife (Kanu, 1982:72).

Before breakfast he would dictate his letters and then get ready for his office. His diet was very simple and vigorous. He ate very little meat, preferring juice and vegetables. For his breakfast, he would “add hot water to his fresh pineapple juice.” He liked Ghanaian traditional food, especially those with palm soup. When ambassadors from other countries went “to present their credentials” to him, he would make a “pretence at drinking a sip of sherry and champagne.” He simply reviled alcohol (Ibid: 22).

Because of his fear of the Western imperialists’ intrigues to undermine his determination to transform Ghana and unite Africa, Kanu points out, Nkrumah became impatient. This, perhaps, drove him not to leave work unfinished; hence, he would work himself and others...into a state of exhaustion, Kanu further evinces. Hard work was also motivated by his duty to fulfill his vision. For his recovery from fatigue, he would “go into an anteroom, and there do some yoga...standing on his head; then come upright.” This was followed by “a quick shower” and then returns to office within ten minutes to continue his work (Ibid: 29), Nkrumah had several days in every “month during which he fasted.” Additionally, he set aside days for meditation, which according to him was to discipline and invigorate his mind and body strongly. As to why he “was hurrying too fast for his people,” Nkrumah would say, “I must go on, Time is against me” (Ibid: 20), Hence, Nkrumah, Kanu intimates, “became a difficult man to get away from his work.” And “it became the be-all and end-all of everything,” sometimes spending eighteen to twenty hours a day in office with his staff (Ibid: 44).

Aside from all the hard work, Nkrumah loved conversation, music, literature, art, science, philosophy and politics. He also adored children, and derived pleasure from mingling with the children and became a father figure to all the children in the school he set up on the grounds of the Flagstaff House. “He was the real family man,” and “his children were something special to him,” Kanu (Ibid: 64–65) elucidates. Furthermore, Nkrumah “was an extremely polite man, honouring all his women friends and acquaintances, however tiring the practice might have been” (Ibid: 59–60). Besides, he had adoration for gardening (Ibid: 65).

Nkrumah’s return to the vanguard of the liberation of Ghana and Africa, after twelve years of intellectual and political education abroad, was marked with personal trials and sacrifices, including several attempted assassination on his life. While in prison with the rest of the “Big Six” for Nii Kwabena Bonne’s nationwide boycott campaign, the ex-servicemen’s peaceful demonstration, and the subsequent uprising, his colleagues (the Big Six) blamed him for the people’s unrest. They went to the extent of blaming “Ako Adjei for his part in recommending” Nkrumah to the group (Nkrumah 1957:82). He was singled out and rearrested for suspicious left wing leanings; while being taken away he

came “face to face with a squad of uniform police each pointing a gun at” him (Ibid: 81). Nkrumah’s declaration of Non-Violent Positive Action and civil disobedience, strikes, boycotts and non-cooperation with the British colonial government on January 8, 1950 was met with strong condemnation and charges by three forces. First, he was summoned to appear before the Ga Sate Council, with two ex-members of the U.G.C.C.’s Working Committee in attendance, to explain his action. Second, the Eurocentric kings, led by Sir Tsibu Darko and Nana Ofori Attah II, summoned him to Dodowa and subjected him to abuses “couched in such undignified language” (Ibid: 113), in the manner of a paternalistic reprimand. Third, the British Colonial government arrested him on January 22, 1950 for the Positive Action campaign against British colonial rule; he served one year in prison out of the three years sentence.

Systematic assassination attempts on his life as well as terrorism became the language of his political opponents. In his response to Nkrumah’s declaration of Positive Action, Dr. J.B.Danquah had this to say:

It is obvious that the law, as far as Kwame Nkrumah is concerned, must go according to him. In my opinion that those who go against constitutional authority must expect to pay it with their neck. (Ibid: 120)

Eventually, Danquah’s statement foreshadowed the most violent attacks on any president and members of his youth movement in the annals of Ghana. While Nkrumah was resting and working from his house with his secretary and others because of a terrible cold on the evening of November 10, 1955, the house was bombed. Between 1955 and 1958 there were several more assassination attempts on his life. Also, there was another plan to shoot him at the airport, as he was about to depart for a state visit to India (Forward Ever, 1977:47–48). On July 7, 1961, two bombs exploded in Accra, one wrecking Nkrumah’s statue in front of the Parliament House (McFarland & Owusu-Ansah, 1995:ix).

The most dreadful of all the attempts on Nkrumah’s life was the one that occurred at Kulungugu on August 1, 1962. Nkrumah was returning from a state visit to Upper Volta, now Burkina Faso, and had got out from his car to speak to the school children among the crowd who had gathered to greet him, when a bomb contained in a bouquet carried to him by a schoolgirl exploded. It “killed several and injured many others.” Nkrumah sustained serious injury” (Ibid: ix). The victims’ bodies bled from cuts caused by the splinters from the bomb. Nkrumah was rushed to the nearest hospital for surgery. In the process, Nkrumah refused to have any device to deaden his pain while the operation went on (Forward Ever: 47).

In August and September 1961, there were two separate bomb explosions on Nkrumah’s life. On September 9, 1962, another bomb exploded near the “Flagstaff House, the official residence of the President, when the Ghana Young Pioneers Orchestra Band was entertaining the audience to modern Ghanaian Music” (Tetteh, 1999:104). This explosion killed one person and injured others. On September 18, 1962, two bombs again went off in Accra killing and injuring several people. One of these bomb blasts occurred in Lucas House in Accra, where nine children fell dead on the spot as their intestines gushed out of their bodies (Ibid: 104). This was followed by another bomb explosion on September 22, 1962. Consequently, a state of emergency on Accra and Tema with dusk to dawn curfew was declared.

Again, another bomb exploded on January 23, 1963 at a CPP rally in Accra Sports Stadium shortly after President Nkrumah had left the scene. This explosion killed over twenty people and more than four hundred people were injured; among the victims were children of the Young Pioneers movement (McFarland & Owusu-Ansah: *ixi*). The question is, why the repeated bomb throwing at the Ghana Young Pioneers? In the words of Tetteh, the anti-Nkrumah forces saw in the Young Pioneers movement "the source of permanent power if allowed to last for at least one generation or 35 years" (Tetteh: 93).

Having failed in their attempts to assassinate Nkrumah through the bomb blasts, the Opposition, including senior police officers, posted a police officer Seth Ametewe on guard duty at the Flagstaff House on January 1, 1964, to shoot him. Nkrumah recounts the incidence as follows:

It was at 1 P.M. in the garden of the Flagstaff House. I was leaving the office to go for lunch when four shots were fired at me by one of the policemen on guard duty. He was no marksman, though his fifth shot succeeded in killing Salifu Dagarti, a loyal security officer who had run towards the would-be assassin as soon as he spotted him among the trees. The policeman then rushed at me, trying to hit me with his rifle butt. I wrestled with him and managed to throw him to the ground and to hold him there on his back until help came, but not before he had bitten me on the neck. (Nkrumah, 1968:41)

Eventually, the repeated assassination attempts on his life caused Nkrumah to remain "alone within himself" (Kanu: 40).

After Nkrumah's overthrow, many in the opposition party admitted having been involved in the assassination attempts on his life. During the Exemption Committee's hearings, Obetsebi Lamptey's name came out as having been involved in organizing several bomb explosions which caused "the death of thirty innocent people and seriously injured many others" (Ibid: 128). Prior to these acts of terrorism, there had been an abortive coup on November 20, 1958, carried out by Major Awhaitey; the coup was planned by R.R.Amponsah, (who later became a Minister of Trade in Busia's government), and others in the opposition party, to seize Nkrumah and certain members of his cabinet.

In addition to internal politics driving the assassination attempts on Nkrumah's life, there is well-documented evidence that his Pan-African crusade aroused consternation in the international political order as well, specifically in the West. Agyeman attests to this when he writes:

There is nothing new about assaults on Pan-Africanism. African leaders from Marcus Garvey through Patrice Lumumba to Kwame Nkrumah were systematically sought out and victimized precisely for reasons of their commitment to the cause of Pan-Africanism. Garvey was jailed in the United States on a trumpeted-up charge of mail fraud exactly when his Back-to-Africa movement was gathering steam; nothing about Lumumba caused greater consternation in the West and triggered Eisenhower's order for his assassination than his accord with Nkrumah to combine their two

countries of the Congo...and Ghana into a nucleus of a Union of African States; and Nkrumah's overthrow by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) came in the wake of a NATO meeting that his Pan-African exertions in such places as the Congo and within such structure as the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) threatened western interest. (Agyeman, 1997:3)

This revelation dismisses as speculative the accusation that Nkrumah was overthrown because of his absence from Ghana to become a peacemaker in Vietnam. Nkrumah, as Kanu (1982:41) points out, "knew that he was always in danger." ...which could "have paralyzed the faculty of any man." On the contrary, "Nkrumah's personality was only whetted by the knowledge of imminent danger." In this case, the overthrow of his government was only a matter of time.

The hideous thing after the CIA inspired coup, was the attempt by the coup makers to get his eighty years old "mother to say that Nkrumah was not her son," at gun point. She was dragged to a Commission of Inquiry and questioned whether Nkrumah was her real son. Though almost blind, she refused to tell such a lie; instead, she fearlessly told them she would stay alive to see her son return to her in Ghana (Ibid: 54). Another crude and immoral campaign to disgrace Nkrumah was the dragging of his niece, a high school student at the time, to the Commission to be "quizzed as to the real relationship between her and Nkrumah" (Awoonor: 212). Therefore, Birmingham's statement that Nkrumah's father was unknown and "was probably a Liberian" (1998:10) was part of the rumors that were said about him during and after the anti-colonial struggle.

Nkrumah as a victim of iniquitous lies, prior to the CIA inspired military coup in 1966, is noticeable when Komla Gbedemah, a former leading member of the CPP, told the CIA agents in London and Lome "that Nkrumah had murdered several of his ministers...and was on the brink of 'popular collapse'" (Mahoney, 1983:184). Joining the chorus of falsifiers was Professor K.A. Busia (then in Lome and other exile staging grounds) who provided a testimony to US senate subcommittee that "Ghana is the center for subversive Communist activities in West Africa" (Ibid: 185).

The greatness of a historical personality should not be measured by his achievements in an environment of peace, order and abundances; it should be measured against the grave difficulties in which the achievements were made. Kwame Nkrumah's unparalleled socio-economic, educational, industrial, scientific, technological, agricultural and cultural accomplishments in the post-colonial Ghana, as well as his unmatched contribution towards the African liberation struggle, was carried out in the environment of systematic internal and external destabilizing campaigns, terrorism, death threats on his life, external economic sabotage and the absence of decolonized African thinkers and brainpower. As Agyeman concludes, Nkrumah was "Africa's most champion of political integration" (1997:22). In Genoveva Kanu's summation,

Kwame Nkrumah was never a god; he was an astute politician, an indefatigable leader, an able statesman; above all, he was human, he was a man with a dream, a man with vision for Africa-a great man. (Kanu: 143)

But, to understand the energy of his ideas and thoughts, “we must return him to the context of global history of which he was a keen student of the power play of forces,” Awoonor urged in our interview on January 8, 1997. In 1954, The World Veterans Federation awarded its 1954 World Peace Prize to Nkrumah. He also received Lenin Peace Prize for 1961. The choosing of Nkrumah in December 1999 by the African listeners of the British Broadcasting Corporation as Africa's “Man of the Millennium” (Poe, 2002:15) affirms his greatness. Yet, operating from personal vendetta, a constricted black cultural nationalism and a Eurocentric paradigm, most of his critics ignore and overlook these facts in their discourse on Kwame Nkrumah and his politico-cultural philosophy and policies.

Chapter Two

Critical Discourse on Kwame Nkrumah's Life and Works

It is common knowledge that Kwame Nkrumah was one of the world's historical personalities in the twentieth century. He has been titled, among other things, the "Black Star" (Davidson 1973) and the "pride of Africa" (Cudjoe, 1995:322). In Cabral's estimation, he was "one of the greatest men mankind has seen this century" (1980:114). James (1977:63–64) cites him as one of the four men including Lenin, Gandhi and Mao Tse-Tung "who have substantially altered the shape and direction of world civilization in the last fifty years of" the twentieth century. "He was," James continues, "one of the greatest leaders of African struggles whom Africa has produced" (1996:573).

A study on Kwame Nkrumah's politico-cultural thought is very difficult to locate. Similarly, I have not come across any study on the correlation between his politico-cultural thought and cultural policies or cultural institutions, specifically his vision of African personality and its restoration through a theater movement. The few fragmented literature of the era tends to play down the place of culture in socio-economic transformation in Nkrumah's Ghana.

In fact, it will be difficult to understand Nkrumah's politico-cultural thought [without] linking it with his political and economic ideas. In other words, his politico-cultural thought is inextricably linked to his Pan-African political agenda. As this study shows, Nkrumah's socio-economic theory was rooted in African culture, namely African ethics, humanism and an egalitarian way of life. A holistic approach is, therefore, necessary for a fair assessment of the implications of his politico-cultural thought,

Writing in *Kwame Nkrumah: A Study of His Intellectual Development In The United States 1935–45*, Nelson states that themes in Nkrumah's writings were influenced by Western thoughts in general and United States in particular. They included the academic segment and his life experiences (Ibid: 5). At Lincoln University, he won various prizes; his fellow students voted him the "most outstanding" among them. His paper on "Labor Problems in Africa" won him the "Robert Fleming Labree Memorial prize in Social Science" (Ibid: 68). He was also cited for Robert Nassau Prize for being the best candidate in his class at the theological department. Delivering the graduation oration class of 1939, Nkrumah chose for his topic, "Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth Her hand Unto God" (Ibid: 71–72).

At the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Selwyn Robert's criticism of United States institutions of learning impacted Nkrumah's thinking and inspired him with a concept of purpose and method of theoretical criticism of education. The former believed that "education should prepare the masses for their various confrontation in society," Nelson (Ibid: 82) writes. It was at the College of Education that Nkrumah was seriously exposed to the philosophy of Marx, Hegel, Lenin and Engels. For instance, in his response to

Hegel's philosophy, Nkrumah "wrote to Dr. Bunche of his efforts to construct a rival system" of thought and his plan for the future of Africa (Ibid: 82–83).

The re-emergence of Garvey and the hardships of the depression years formed the social and intellectual fabric of the society of Philadelphia, where Nkrumah spent most of his time. His socio-historical experiences in the United States were based on his interaction with the American social environment. It was this direct experience, formal and informal education, which became a major factor shaping Nkrumah's intellectual foundation and forming the basis of his conceptual views of colonialism, socialist development and African unity. Thus, these external environmental factors and his early upbringing in Ghana informed "his holistic outlook on life" (Ibid: 110 and 113).

Nelson (Ibid: 243) posits that Nkrumah's Philosophical Consciencism regards socialism with African unity as the definition of "desirable society in Africa." It also provides the theoretical basis for the concept of socialism inclusive of African unity. Consciencism becomes a rediscovery, in modern terms, "of that communalism which is the basis of traditional African society so that African unity is definitely intertwined in an organic sense with Nkrumah's concept of socialism" (Ibid: 241). It follows that communalism manifests itself in African unity and "responsibility of many for one;" thus, socialism "can and is the defense of the principles of communalism in a modern setting" (Ibid: 241), with Philosophical Consciencism serving as the intellectual instrument of socialism in Africa.

Writing in *Kwame Nkrumah: The years Abroad 1935–1947*, Sherwood (1996:13), states that the political activities of the early African nationalists and anti-colonial movements in Ghana informed Nkrumah's nationalist thought before his departure to the United States. He took with him a legacy of intellectual and political ferment from Kobina Sekyi, S.R. Wood, I.T.A. Wallace Johnson, Nnamdi Azikiwe and Kwegyr Aggrey (Ibid: 25). Other legacies were the political agitation movements of the Aborigine Rights Protection Society, the National Congress of British West Africa, The African Academy at Sekondi and the cocoa farmers holdup, all occurring during the decades of youthful Kwame Nkrumah (Ibid: 13–14).

The African Academy, for instance, aimed at challenging Europe's evaluation of its superiority. At its inaugural meeting on July 27, 1930, E.T Tackie emphasized that:

It is no longer possible to regard Western Civilization as a just and permanent testimonial to the superiority of a Colour, Race, Nation, a Governor or a Religion... For who does not know that some of the eminent fathers and Writers of Primitive Church, Tertulian Augustine (the Bishop of Hippo), Clemens, Alxeandrinus, Cyril were Africans?...that Solon, Plato, Pythagoras and others of the Master spirits of ancient Greece performed pilgrimages to Africa in search of knowledge? (Ibid: 16)

Sherwood further indicates that the influences that were added to this legacy during Nkrumah's twelve years in United States and Britain resulted from his involvement in several political and social activities in Philadelphia, New York City and his university education, especially at the University of Pennsylvania (Ibid: 16).

Three major themes appeared in all of Nkrumah's speeches to students, his public speeches, church sermons, namely immediate independence of Africa, creation of United

States of Africa and socialism. Speaking to undergraduate students at Howard University in February 1943, Nkrumah "made a fervent plea for the immediate independence of Africa" (Ibid: 80). He also advocated for the creation of "a commonwealth of all nations, that all may be free, [would] ensure world peace...this is a people's war of national liberation," Nkrumah further declared. Thus, "peace cannot be expected if half are freed and half are enslaved. Africa of yesterday is gone forever. The youth of today will build a new Africa as there are already many united youth movements under the leadership of natives trained in the US." Hence, "we must begin with Federation of States of West Africa," Sherwood cites from the "The Afro-American" (Ibid: 80).

In his cautionary note, Dr. Morrow, Nkrumah's doctoral dissertation advisor at the University of Pennsylvania, informed Dr. Flowers that "No matter what a paper was supposed to be on, Nkrumah always twisted it around to write on Africa freedom and anti-colonial struggle. Otherwise, his papers were excellent. He could have been a brilliant scholar if he'd stuck to the topic" (Ibid: 63). A manifestation of his commitment to African liberation is contained in a letter he wrote to Dr Morrow suggesting "The Philosophy of Imperialism, with Special Reference to Africa" as his doctoral degree dissertation. Nkrumah rationalized the topic he had suggested by stating that "for many years, I have accumulated material to that effect, and consequently should like to make a more detailed study of it with reference to the major thought-trends of Europe in the 19th and 20th century" (Ibid: 63).

Though he had attended meetings and participated in conventions of Marcus Garvey's UNIA and West Indies National Council in New York, Nkrumah chose Marxist socialism as his guiding light (Ibid: 81). "Ray Logan thought that the Philosophy of Marx and Lenin," Sherwood quotes, "impressed Nkrumah as being the best adaptable to the solution of colonialism." Nkrumah, thus, "supported the concept of West African unity as a prelude to a Pan-African Movement for the liberation of the whole continent" (Ibid: 83).

Another manifestation of Nkrumah's uncompromising stand on African liberation, based in an interview Dabu Gizenga had with Professor Newton Hill in 1974, concerns the part of a Nubian slave in a play he reluctantly accepted to act. "He read the part with distaste as the passages selected by Professor Hill;" but he happily agreed to play the part when he discovered that, at the end of the play, the Nubian took over the ship after a mutiny (Ibid: 33).

Sherwood's work provides new and rare bibliographical materials on the social, political and private life of Nkrumah. However, she fails to establish the place of this legacy of African nationalism that he took with him to the United states and what was added abroad, in Kwame Nkrumah's major speeches and writings on political ideology, cultural thought and African personality. The book contains some presumptuous and misleading statements. According to her, Nkrumah never acknowledged the legacy of Sekyi, Wood, Wallace Johnson, Azikiwe, except Aggrey; "it was there," she says, "it is what formed him and must have shaped his thinking about the future of Africa" (Ibid: 25). She also dismisses as romanticizing the statement of Ms. Jean Hutson, a retired curator of Schomburg library, that Nkrumah "used to smell of fish," on those days he visited the library." Miss Hutson who only worked at the library for a very few weeks in 1936," she writes, "it is possible that both informants, undoubtedly having read Nkrumah's autobiography, have conflated and somewhat romanticized their memories of

those long-ago days.” Thus, while claiming to be filling in the gaps Nkrumah was unable to recollect in his autobiography, in the midst of the anti-colonial struggle in Gold Coast, Sherwood appears to be a guardian of morals.

The fact is that Nkrumah himself acknowledged the legacy of those early African nationalists on his political life. In 1932, he accredited S.R. Wood, the then Secretary of the National Congress of British West Africa as the one “who introduced me to politics.” According to Nkrumah (1957:21), “Wood knew more about Gold Coast history than any other person I have ever met and we had a long conversation together.” He wholeheartedly supported Nkrumah’s idea of furthering his education in the United States and “wrote me a testimonial, which I still possess, to help me gain admission to Lincoln University” (Ibid: 21).

Sherwood was not mindful of the fact that it was while Nkrumah was teaching at the Roman Catholic Seminary at Amissano, in 1934, and was contemplating on becoming a member of Jesuit Order, that “articles in *The African Morning Post*” edited by Namdi Azikiwe revived his African nationalism. After hearing Azikiwe’s speech and meeting him in Accra that Nkrumah became “greatly impressed by him” and was “more determined than ever to go to America” (Ibid: 22). Wallace Johnson might have written some of the articles. Nkrumah, however, accredited, “Johnson as the first Labour organizer in West Africa by forming the Youth League” (Ibid: 22). What we need to bear in mind is that Nkrumah was at the time an ordinary African young man trying to define his mission in life with his Teacher’s Certification. And it is his prerogative to identify those personalities, as indicated in his autobiography, which impacted his life immensely at the time.

In his “Kwame Nkrumah’s Ideology,” Afari-Gyan (1991:167) sees Nkrumah’s response to colonialism purely from an economic standpoint. Nkrumah’s political ideology, he argues “must be seen as a consequence of colonialism” and its attendant capitalist economic exploitation. Nkrumah, he notes, reiterated the Leninist position that colonialism resulted “from the need for raw materials to feed European industries.” The colonialist exploited, oppressed, circumscribed the human rights of the colonized African people and treated them “as inferiors in practically all aspects of life” (Ibid: 167). Consequently, the African people, Afari-Gyan continues, “came to be ridden with fear and apathy, and to adore things associated with the colonial masters” (Ibid: 168).

Accordingly, at the time of independence, the colonialists had “left behind immense obstacle to” socio-economic development. Aside from the lack of physical and social infrastructures for development, “the people were either uneducated or had been mis-educated” (Ibid: 168). Hence, Nkrumah, Afari-Gyan elucidates, sought to diversify the country’s economy in order to promote industrial growth and expand its educational system. But above all was the challenge to restore the people’s self-confidence, to develop a personality of their own, to “seize the initiative and become creative pioneers in their country’s development,” that Nkrumah set as his ultimate goal.

Nkrumah, Afari-Gyan (Ibid: 169) further indicates, did not only reject capitalism, but he also cautioned against an uncritical adoption of socialism pursued elsewhere. “There is only one socialism, and that is scientific socialism;” there are different paths to it “dictated by the specific circumstance and condition of a particular country at a given definite historical period,” he quotes Nkrumah. Socialism in Nkrumah’s view was not to recapture its structure, but the communal spirit in traditional African society. And

Philosophical Consciencism was intended to give a theoretical basis for his socialist ideology for a continental African government. It follows that in Nkrumah's assessment, the threat of the forces of neocolonialism was "too strong for any one nation to defeat alone" [Ibid: 169].

The danger in limiting Nkrumah's political philosophy to the analysis of colonial capitalist exploitation, as Afari-Gyan discusses, can result in limiting the solutions to colonial legacies to what Lenin once describes as "economism." Nkrumah recognized racism as the critical factor of the submergence of African personality. Racism, he argues, "is intricately linked with class struggle; the removal of one ensures the removal of the other" (1970:27). Like Cabral, Nkrumah understood the importance of culture in combating colonialism.

John Henrik Clarke's commentary on Kwame Nkrumah's political career can simply be described uncorroborated in terms of substance and facts of history. Besides its distortion of Ghana's history between 1482 and Ghana's attainment of political independence under Nkrumah in 1957, it turns Ghana's political history upside-down. First, his claim that "the Golden Stool of the Asante" is "equivalent to the Ark of the Covenant to Africans of Ghana" (Clarke, 1991:79) results from his lack of knowledge as regards the ethnic composition in Ghana, specifically the bitter rivalry between the Asante kingdom and several other Akan kingdoms as well as centuries old disputes with other ethnic groups in the country.

The Fante, from which Casely-Hayford hailed, collaborated with the British regarding the capture and exile of the Asante's King Prempeh, because of the latter's wars of expansionism. The Fante also fought with the British in the Yaa Asantewa's War of 1900. It is therefore a serious misrepresentation of facts when Clarke asserts that Casely-Hayford, a Fante, "converted the demand for the return of their [Asante] royalty into a demand for their independence."

Secondly, Clarke's statement that, "from the beginning of European" encroachment, "as reflected in King Asa's [Ansa] speech to the Portuguese in 1482, the indigenous rulers of this country suspected foreign rule and found different ways to fight against it through nearly 500 years of its presence, from 1481 to 1957," is not only an exaggeration, but it also does not measure up to the facts of history. For instance, on July 25, 1503, the paramount king "of Efutu and a thousand others were baptized on Santiago Hill," outside King Kwamina Ansa's township, Elmina (McFarland & Owusu-Ansah, 1995:xx). In fact, King Ansa's people, the Fantes, were the first in today's Ghana to totally embrace Euro-Christian religion and, Western traditions and cultural values. The most infamous Elmina Castle, where many African captives were inhumanly kept before the middle passage, was situated on King Ansa's ground. Also, the exiled Asante King Prempeh was kept in this infamous castle for three years before his deportation to Gambia and Seychelles Island respectively.

Third, Queen Yaa Asantewa was not the queen of Asante; she was the queen of Edweso, and thus could not be a relative of King Prempeh as Clarke claims (1996:79). The main Akan adversaries of the Asante after 1700 were the Brong (Bono), Fante, Dwaben (founding member of the Asante union) and Akyem. For instance, the Akyem were the first to defeat the Asante in the War of 1717, during which the latter's king, Osei Tutu, was captured and beheaded by the former (McFarland & Owusu-Ansah: xxiv). It must be pointed out that the grounds for the Yaa Asantewa war of 1900 included, *inter*

alia, the return of the Asante's exiled king, Prempeh [and] the resumption of the European slave trade (Ibid: xlv).

The National Congress of British West Africa was formed by Casely-Hayford in March 1920 (Timothy, 1963, 154) at a time when Asante was not a part of the British Gold Coast Colony. Also, Casely-Hayford could not have passed on the "mantle of responsibility" "to Joseph Danquah" as Clarke further (1991:80) claims. Casely-Hayford's African-centered vision of Pan-African nationalism, race pride, and the return to and the study of African civilization were diametrically opposed to those of Danquah. The fact is, it was Nkrumah who actually built on Casely-Hayford's vision and ideas and made several references to the them in his political speeches and writings.

Clarke further alleges that Danquah, as an old schoolmaster of Nkrumah, was "now among the opposition, did not oppose the independence of Ghana, but he opposed some of the radical methods being used by Nkrumah" to bring about Ghana's independence (Clarke: 80). In the first place, Dr. Joseph B. Danquah was a British trained lawyer who returned to the Gold Coast in 1931 to practice law in a Eurocentric judicial system. He was neither a school teacher nor a headmaster of any school. Nkrumah on the other hand was a "Head Teacher of the Elmina Catholic School from the early part of 1931" for a year, and "then transferred to take charge of the Catholic Junior School in Axim" (Timothy: 21). Therefore, how could Danquah have become Nkrumah's teacher, or headmaster, as stressed by Clarke? Second, with the arrest of Nkrumah by the British Colonial government for sedition in respect of the Positive Action campaign in 1950, Danquah gladly said that "the wolf had been driven away" (Birmingham: 34). But because Nkrumah was in touch with the aspirations and the revolutionary zeal of the masses, the CPP was flocked with the common people enrolling in it to demand for his release from prison in order to lead them to political freedom.

Clarke's other statements, for example, that Danquah's *The Akan Doctrine of God and Obligation in Akan Society*...were an intellectual preface to Ghanaian independence and after..." and that Danquah "was considered the country's intellect was unfortunate on the eve of independence" (Clarke: 80) are misinformed. The record shows Danquah's *The Akan Doctrine of God and Akan's Laws and Customs and Akim Constitution*, had no impact on the independence movement. The first two books discuss Akan cosmogony and modus operandi in the Akan society (McFarland and Owusu-Ansah: 34). As a multi-ethnic society, these Akan phenomena and the Akim (Akyem) Constitution could not have served as a preamble to Ghana's independence. Danquah and his Western-educated and elitist comrades as well as their pro-Western political and economic ideas were the basis for the enmity between them and Nkrumah. The UGCC, led by Dr. J.B. Danquah, was a party of elitist professional lawyers, intellectuals, merchants, wealthy cocoa farmers and some conservative Chiefs 1 (Krafona, 1986:24). A manifestation of their elitism is represented by Danquah's distaste and contempt for "this thing of masses," whom he viewed as "only individuals" and dismissed their aspirations, as emotions (Wright, 1954:220). It needs to be pointed out that Danquah was a member of the then privileged Provincial Members of the Colonial Legislative Council in 1946, made up of two intellectuals and wealthy "Chiefs" (Reindorf, 1966:346).

But according to Clarke, J.B. "Danquah was an African traditionalist" while Nkrumah "seemed to have forgotten these traditions,... some of his values and political ideology was European based" (Clarke: 82). In the first place, Danquah was a devoured Christian

and was not a traditionalist in terms of his political philosophy and life style. As Thomas Hodgkin indicated, the political ancestor of Danquah's "UGCC are Lorke and Burke" of Europe (Bankole, 1963:66), The underlying political economic theory and political ideology UGCC was based on Adam Smith's theories of *laissez-faire* free enterprise, the same European theories that were the bases of African colonization. Nkrumah's political ideology, as the subsequent chapters will unfold, was rooted in African humanist values and an egalitarian way of life.

Nkrumah's belief in the African tradition was manifested in the libation he performed at the tomb of his real former teacher at Achimota College in Ghana, Dr. Aggrey, at Salisbury, North Carolina in 1943. As a consequence, the Dean of Theological Seminary at Lincoln University wrote a stern letter to Nkrumah expressing his utter surprise at his former student's participation in a non-Christian rite (Timothy, 1963:33). Another example was the ritual ceremony after Nkrumah's release from prison on February 2, 1951; "a sheep was sacrificed to cleanse" Nkrumah's "feet after the contamination of prison, at the Accra arena" (Birmingham, 1998:36). In fact, it was Nkrumah who introduced African drumming, dancing, and libation at public functions, affirming clothing, aesthetics, motifs and ceremonies into Ghana's body politic.

In my small town of Ettokrom, twelve miles away from Danquah's hometown, the people including cocoa farmers, peasants, agricultural laborers and some of the traditional rulers in his constituency, saw him as a black man hidden in white mask." In fact, my grandfather, the chief farmer in our village, admonished us little children in 1956 for going to the Odikro's palace to listen to Danquah, whom he described as "a black-white man, who boasts of his eloquence in the white man's language and wears suits whenever he visits the area." In fact, the Odikro's Okyeame proudly introduced J.B.Danquah to us children, and two adults present, as a highly British-educated black man "who speaks brofo (English language) for the white man to nod his head." This perhaps explains why he (Danquah) as the leader of the Opposition did not win the national elections of 1954 and 1956 in his own Abuakwa constituency. But Nkrumah on the other hand, did not go to his Nzima constituency, about 300 miles away from Accra, but stood for elections in Accra New Town and won them all.

In fact, Clarke's commentary on Kwame Nkrumah is so strewn with fallacies and misinformation that he would accuse Nkrumah for attempting "to participate in the unity of African before he could achieve unity in Ghana" (Clarke: 82). Nkrumah inherited four territories loosely joined together as the Gold Coast in 1951. From this time on, Nkrumah strengthened his nationwide political party to defeat the forces of separatism and devolution, which were launched against the CPP's nationalist agenda. It was therefore not surprising when Nkrumah successfully became President "in a unified nation complete with political freedom" (Birmingham, 1990:37-38). Yet, Clarke ignores the fact that, it was Danquah's parochial NLM and the ethnic-based Northern People's Party (NPP) which, after loosing the election of 1956, "sent a resolution to the secretary for Colonies" in Britain "demanding separate independence for Asante and the Northern" (McFarland and Owusu-Ansah: Ixiii). What is more, Danquah's own wife, Mabel Dove Danquah worked with Nkrumah on the *Evening News*, and remained a supporter of Kwame Nkrumah.

Some background information regarding Danquah's arguments against the Local Government Ordinance of 1951 as well as his advocacy for federalism would be useful in

the foregoing discourse. First, Danquah was a member of the Kyebi dynasty, the center of colonial oppression in the three Akyem states. His opposition to the local government ordinance thus served the interest of his brother, Nana Ofori Atta II, the Omanhene of Akyem Abuakwa. During the constitutional debate, Ofori Atta II himself argued for a military power in favor of his status as Omanhene (Paramount King) of Akyem Abuakwa as opposed to "a judicial origin of the Akim state" (Simensen, 1975:26). His predecessor, Sir Ofori Atta I served in the Legislative Council from 1916 till his death in 1943, after he had been appointed to the Governor's Executive Council in 1942. Simensen (Ibid: iii) points out that it was through Akyem Abuakwa that the British local government administration, Indirect Rule, was put to a special test. Both Ofori Atta I and II were the key collaborators "of the British and had a considerable influence on administration and legislation, not only in the field of 'native affairs,' but also in constitutional policy in general" (Ibid: iii).

That Danquah's arguments for a federalist form of government was unrealistic can be ascertained by the Akyem traditions. First, in contrast to the divisional authorities, there was no extensive land attached to the Paramount stool. But with the Indirect Rule, political power became the main source of wealth for the Kyebi dynasty. Ofori Atta I introduced his own financial policy through tribunal income and various forms of political tribute in connection with installation of kings and queens, festivals and other forms. Second, there was no unity of the state and harmony between different components in the Akyem land. There was a "latent antagonism between Kibbi (the seat of the Omanhene) and the rest of the Akim Abuakwa state," Simensen (Ibid: 29) notes.

In 1879, a dispute over stream right between Osiem and Fankyereko led to bloodshed. In 1860, there were several violent clashes, including the one "between Kukurantumi and Asafo/Asiakwa, which the Omanhene failed to settle" (Ibid: 29). Third, there were frequent conflicts between the Kyebi dynasty and the commoners including some of the traditional kings of Akyem. A case in point, was the Asafo (Peoples Militia) of Akyem Kotoku's violent revolt against the Omanhene, Sir Nana Ofori Atta I "leading to the fall of a large number of chiefs and on two occasions came close to toppling the" Omanhene himself (Ibid: vb). During my interview with Osabarima Nana Adusei Peasah IV and his elders of Tafo in July 1998, I learnt of a civil war in the 1930s between the Kyebi dynasty and Tafo Awansa, the original seat of Omanhene in Akyem. The saying in Tafo is that "Abuakwa be too Akyem" (before the Abuakwa arrived from Adanse there was Akyem). Hence, Danquah could speak of rehabilitating the image of Abuakwa to the exclusion of Akyem. Therefore, Danquah's *Akim Abuakwa Constitution* only "expressed ideals of the ruling elite" of Kyebi (Ibid: 28).

Fourth, Danquah as the leader of the Opposition was defeated in the elections of 1954 and 1956 in the Akyem Abuakwa constituency by the CPP candidate, Aaron Ofori Atta of Tafo. Given the above, how were he and the dynasty of Kyebi going to turn Akyem Abuakwa into a federal state? Therefore the defeat of the Opposition in both local (Danquah in Akyem Abuakwa) and national elections was partly due to its collaboration with the British colonial government in the oppression and exploitation of the commoners and partly due to Nkrumah's CPP nationalist agenda. As indicated above, J.B.Danquah served on the Legislative Council during colonialism.

This brings us to C.L.R.James' "The Rise and Fall of Kwame Nkrumah." Unfamiliar with the devastating impact of the Eurocentric education as well as the anti-African

curriculum on the attitudes of most Ghanaian intellectuals at the time and the political history of Ghana, James asserts that “the struggle became extremely bitter between the educated middle classes whom his party denounced as stooges of British Government, and Nkrumah’s band derisively labeled veranda boys” (1996:574). First, he discounts the fundamental ideological and tactical differences between Nkrumah, and the so-called middle class during the anti-colonial struggle. The struggle was not between the middle class and Nkrumah; it was a bitter battle between the Conservative and Elitist UGCC-NLM, and Nkrumah’s CPP, whom the latter branded as “hooligans,” “veranda boys,” “riff-raff” and “Communists” (Timothy: 67).

Unfamiliar with the Ghanaian society, James goes further to say that “you cannot govern a backward country without the cooperation or at least benevolent neutrality of a part of the middle” (James: 54). He adds, “The ablest, the most qualified and the intellectuals of finest character turned their backs on Nkrumah” (Ibid: 578). The real question is, how was Nkrumah to cooperate with the intellectuals who sought every means possible, with the blessings of the British colonial government, including violence, to make the CPP dysfunctional and the country ungovernable by his government? Second, the idea of a “benevolent neutrality” segment of the “middle class” as a social construct, is a misnomer in the country.

As a matter of fact, Nkrumah offered to reconcile with the few educated class and elites, even though they constituted the core of his bitter opponents with respect to his politico-cultural thought and policies. For instance, Dr. K.A Busia, in 1951, turned down the invitation to become a member of Nkrumah’s cabinet (Timothy: 107). Those who accepted his reconciliation gesture included Sir Tsibu Darku, who had bitterly opposed and condemned Nkrumah for the Positive Action campaign and his CPP, became Chairman of Cocoa Marketing Board. Sir Quist, a former member of Accra Town Council on the National Democratic Party ticket, was appointed Speaker of the House while Nana Ayirebi Ackwah, Omanhene of Winneba and who had previously sided with the Colonial administration, was made Chairman of the National Educational Trust. Nkrumah also appointed Sir Charles Tachie Mensah, a one time member of the Executive Council in Governor Burns’s administration, and an opposition member of the Legislative Assembly after 1951, Chairman of the Civil service Commission. Two prominent Judges Nkrumah appointed were Nii Armah Ollenu and K.A. Bossman, Vice-President and General Secretary respectively of the National Democratic Party, and who had stood in the Accra election of 1951 against the CPP candidates, Nkrumah and Thomas Mills, as well as UGCC candidates Obitsebi Lamptey and Ako Adjei (Bing, 413–14). In fact, no elected government, to date, has appointed bitter opponents to positions of authority as Nkrumah did.

Perhaps, had he brought himself to study the nature of the Eurocentric cultural outlook of the alleged “the ablest” intellectuals,” he would have rather berated their strong opposition to Nkrumah’s crusade on the rebirth of African Personality, the underlying traditional African values of his socio-economic, politico-cultural thoughts and policies, and African-centered education in post-independence Africa.

James’s criticism of Nkrumah’s dismissal of Chief Justice Arku Korsah after his acquitting of Ako Adjei and Tawia Adamafio for their involvement in the attempt to kill President Nkrumah at Kulungugu on August 1, 1962, was again a manifestation of his (James’s) lack of knowl-edge of the pre-independence political alliance in Ghana. Arku

Korash was one of the two Africans appointed to the Governor's Executive Council during colonialism. The other African appointed to the Executive Council was Sir Ofori Atta I of Akyem Abuakwa. Sir William Ofori Atta I, a brother of Nkrumah's bitter rival, Dr. J.B. Danquah, was the most powerful agent of colonialism through the Indirect Rule in the Gold Coast. One of the Supreme Court Judges on the case, Erick Akuffo-Addo (one of the Bix Six and a member of the Opposition) was the brother-in-law of William Ofori Atta, also the son of Sir William Ofori Atta I. The acquittal of the two accused Ministers in Nkrumah government were not original members of the CPP. But Nkrumah brought them into the CPP government in his bid to include the "ablest intellectuals". And as Kanu (1982:129) reveals, Adamafo, a lawyer and as the Minister of Information normally sat next to Nkrumah in the same vehicle; but, "by a strange coincidence... Adamafo had not accompanied Nkrumah in his car on this particular day."

What is startling was James' statement that it took Nkrumah "six years to win independence by 1957. He could have gone on to independence in 1951. He decided to wait...but, today I am of the opinion that he should have gone ahead" (James: 574). Clearly, James writes from social milieu and geographic locations that make his perspective unreflective of the political history and geo-politics of the Gold Coast colony. First, pre-independence Ghana consisted of four fragmented regions. Aside from the Gold Coast colony, Asante was a "conquered" state, the Northern Territory, a protectorate, while the Trans-Volta was a United Nations Trusteeship Territory, all being administered as adjuncts of the British Colonial Government. It was after Nkrumah's third election victory in 1956 that the four segments became one nation on March 6, 1957, mainly through the political organization and vision of Kwame Nkrumah. Second, the election of 1951 was contested on the basis of Coussey Constitution guaranteeing for a Legislative Assembly. The election was not between the British colonial government and the CPP; rather it was contested by four internal political parties, namely the UGCC led by J.B. Danquah, the National Democratic Party led by Dr. Nanka Bruce, and Asante Kotoko, which stood for the independence of the traditional Kingdom of Asante (Timothy: 70). Third, the CPP formed on June 12, 49 as a mass movement comprising disillusioned, unemployed middle school leavers, peasants, fishermen, agricultural laborers, petty trades, mine and railroad workers, some traditional rulers and a very few intelligentsia, was not a vanguard political organization. Nkrumah was imprisoned for his 1950 Positive Action campaign and was only released after winning the 1951 election. Considering these factors, it was unrealistic, if not a [left-wing revolutionary infantile disorder of Trotskyite's tradition] for James to suggest that Nkrumah should have gone for independence in 1951. The CPP victory in 1951 made Nkrumah Leader of Government Business, with the British Governor holding key ministerial positions, namely, Foreign Affairs, Defense, Justice and Finance.

Ronald Walters' (1993:124-125) comments about James' criticism on Nkrumah are worth citing here. He notes that "in a frank critique of the Nkrumah regime—among the many which have been written by various kinds of detractors—C.L.R. James, an admirer of Nkrumah and one of the great Pan-Africanists," concludes that Nkrumah made some intractable errors. Walter's caution is that "those who played various roles in support of the policies of Nkrumah's government, then, were also destined to be judged guilty" (Ibid: 125).

Walters expounds that while “the quest for a functional Pan-Africanism cannot in itself be assailed...it carries an awesome responsibility.” Thus, “many of the roles played by African Americans in Ghana were significant.” They include “the initial role of George Padmore in the Pan-African Bureau, to that of DuBois and Hunton in initiating the *Encyclopedia Africana* (and in giving Nkrumah general advice in other matters).” There were also Shirley DuBois, who served as Ghana’s first Director of Television Program, Julian Mayfield’s role in administration and propaganda and several other professional expertises in medicine, economic development and education. Even though these roles were “seldom traceable to the shaping of the specific policies or political strategies...” they did provide crucial support for general administration of policy” Walters (Ibid: 125) elucidates.

Walters (Ibid: 125) finds no credible “evidence of the struggle between Nkrumah and the African Americans over direction of the government.” With Ghana’s independent course of action, “the African American community, the Ghanaians and outside supports,” first “viewed Nkrumah’s Pan-African thrust toward the liberation of the continent as correct, since it was grounded in the history of the movement since 1900 and in the more recent nationalist movement for independence” (Ibid: 125). And being the “first Black African country in a wave of emerging states after the break-up of the colonial system,” the leaders of Ghana “were new to the development of managing the state. As such, African Americans could not have advised Nkrumah; while the political opponent of Nkrumah had only the political doctrines and policies of the Western powers “as their models. Under these circumstances, Walters concludes, “to suggest that C.L.R.James’ hint of inevitability of disaster was correct is a gross understatement” (Ibid: 125).

Kwame Ninsin’s discourse, “The Nkrumah Government and the Opposition on the Nation State: Unity vrs. Fragmentation,” identifies the political geography of Ghana as the most critical factor that underscored strong opposition to Nkrumah’s CPP government. From the moment Nkrumah’s CPP formed the government in 1951, he explains, the Opposition persistently accused the CPP as anti-democratic for its stance on a unitary nation-state. The demands the Opposition put forth to accomplish its goal included “protection of chieftaincy as a viable indigenous institution for local government; diffusion of state power from the centre to regional political organs; and control over cocoa revenue” (Ninsin 1991:220). And once chieftaincy became synonymous “with the defense of liberty,” the ensuing anti-CPP campaign was amplified and developed into the ideological basis of the struggle to achieve fragmentation of the state structure as a means to restrain a perceived “dictatorial regime” (Ibid: 221).

Another condition the Opposition sought to realize its objectives was an alleged “historical and cultural evidence of nationhood as common history, language and culture” as represented by traditional communities. J.B. Danquah, the leader of the Opposition, constantly returned “to the greatness, glory and power of the Akim (Akyem) Abuakwa state” (Ibid: 222). In his letter addressed to Seth Appiah of the Akim Abuakwa Youth Association, he bloated about Akyem Abuakwa as “the largest State in the Colony” and thus “they must also be the greatest in the Land.” He said, “I am determined to have the Abuakwa name rehabilitated and make Abuakwa lead the nation” (Ibid: 222).

The Opposition’s association of federalism with chieftaincy in its demand can further be noted when Danquah “proclaimed that any attack on chieftaincy was also an attack on

the states" (Ibid: 224). In his letter to Sir Henry Coussey regarding the Local Government Ordinance of 1951, Danquah expressed his detestation saying "that...one direct result of the Enactment (the Local Government Ordinance) will be to obliterate Chieftaincy and tribal loyalties, and the State as such will cease to be" (Ibid: 223). Besides, Danquah, in his bid for federalism passionately argued for the Gold Coast "colony to assert its 'residual political sovereignty in the chiefs and people' to set up a constituent assembly" (Ibid: 226). For his part, Nene Azu Mate Kole asserted that the land question, as contained in the Local Government Ordinance, was inseparable from "the civil rights of our people." But, as Ninsin indicates, the interests of the powerful "chiefs" and that of the Opposition were complementary, as the former demanded "for a second legislative chamber which would be reserved mainly for chiefs." The aspiration of the non-chief elements of the Opposition as regards to a federal system of government lay in a "territorial political framework within which they would exercise for hegemony," in terms of regional state power and economic gains (Ibid: 222).

The 1951 constitution prepared by the Sir Phillipson Commission, on the other hand, had stipulated that the creation of regional administrative governments with "considerable autonomy and a wide range of powers would be an unnecessary impairment of the unitary character of the Ghanaian" nation-state. Rejecting suggestions for a federal government, the Sir Phillipson Commission recommended regional councils as "essential outlying parts" of the central government (Ibid: 227). Still by 1953, the Opposition viewed fragmentation of the state power as indispensable weapon against what they perceived as "the creeping dictatorship" of Nkrumah's CPP (Ibid: 227). But the real anti-CPP's stand of the Opposition can be understood in terms of its fear of imminent political demise which the CPP government had come to represent (Ibid: 224). Redemption for them thus lay in the creation of regional centres of political power in a federal institutional framework as a bulwark for civil liberties.

For the duration of the 1954 electioneering campaign, the Opposition's agitation for a federal system of government erupted into a full-scale rebellion, of almost a civil war kind (Ibid: 226). Ninsin identifies two factors that accelerated the federalist explosion in 1954. The first factor was the defeat of the Opposition in the first general election of 1954, both at the national and local levels. The Opposition at the time viewed popular democracy as "a perversion of the civilized and orderly government" (Ibid: 224). Essentially, they had negative attitude toward the great masses of the African people. Just like the colonial officials, the Opposition sought the support of the Chiefs against popular sentiments. As pointed out above, they viewed the masses as individuals and dismissing their aspirations in modern politics "as mere emotion" (Ibid: 224). Hence, they emerged from the elections as a weak ethno-regional group.

In its attempt to win the support of the cocoa farmers, the Opposition misrepresented the Cocoa Duty and Development Ordinance of 1954 "as fixing for cocoa farmers a maximum price of 72 shillings per 60 Ibs of cocoa," when in fact, "the government had rather assured cocoa farmers a minimum price of 72 shillings" (Ibid: 228). The Opposition desperately mobilized some cocoa farmers in the Akyem Abuakwa area and Asante for what was, in the words of Ninsin, "crystallized as a grievance—an unsatisfactory producer, to promote their political and economic aspirations." This is noticeable in the report of National Liberation Movement's House Select Committee on a

federal system of government that “in a federation each unit would be able to formulate its own fiscal and economic policy (Ibid: 228).

The CPP government saw revenue from the sale of cocoa as a common national property which ought to be centrally controlled and utilized for common benefit. The Cocoa Board should be “reorganized in order to ensure effective government control and direction of its policies through a responsible minister” of state. It follows that “if cocoa revenue and land could be legitimately considered as private property rights then whenever there was the slightest sign of violation of their private enjoyment the grounds for ‘rebellion’ became incontrovertible” (Ibid: 226). During the debate on the Local Government Ordinance of 1951, the Opposition led by Danquah, also condemned the management of stool lands through the new local government organs, and characterized it “Confiscation of property-Communism naked and unashamed” (Ibid: 224–225). The agitation for a federal type of government and bicameral legislature underscoring the philosophical view-point of the Opposition becomes understandable. The same philosophy was to inform the events preceding “the formation of the National Liberation Movement (NLM),” Ninsin (Ibid: 226) explains.

During the debate on the Motion for Constitutional Reform, Nkrumah's government categorically stated its total steadfastness to upholding and defending the territorial integrity of the country. It also declared its commitment to finding an amicable and democratic solution to the Trans-Volta question. Even though the CPP government gave assurance to “all the traditional territorial entities of its respect for their respective integrity,” the Opposition decided to pledge themselves to defend and safe-guard the traditional territorial entities “as basis of democratic representation of government” (Ibid: 227). Hence, the Opposition persistently demanded for federalism even after it had again been rejected by the electorate in the 1956 election.

After the attainment of independence in 1957, the Nkrumah's government immediately took measures through the “Avoidance of discrimination Act” to undercut the centrifugal tendencies which produced the NLM and the bloody strife of 1954 and 1956. This eventually gave birth to the United Party, thereby laying the foundation for the development of a non-ethno-regional opposition. Yet, the Opposition's ambition to wrest power from the CPP government between 1957 and 1960 was manifested in “the Togoland Disturbance, the Ga Shifimo Kpee and Awhiatay-Amponsah-Apoloo conspiracy of 1958,” Ninsin (Ibid: 229) points out. Prior to Ghana's independence, the Opposition had given a strong warning to the British government of the dire consequence if Ghana should attain independence under the CPP administration. Judging from this statement, the 1966 coup can thus be understood as the culmination of the Opposition's long struggle to topple the CPP government by any means possible.

In his “Kwame Nkrumah's Leadership Style: An Assessment from a Cultural Perspective,” Hagan posits that Nkrumah's organizational and personal abilities to mobilize the mass of the people were based on “the use of organizational devices, ideas and methods sensitive to the culture of the people” (1991a: 182). These qualities distinguished him from the “conservative colour of” J.B.Danquah and other members of the UGCC. One of these virtues was his “capacity to achieve results” that the people desired in their leaders. Another virtue Africans associate with their leaders was Nkrumah's perception of his leadership “both as sacred and profane” (Ibid: 184).

Nkrumah, Hagan (Ibid: 184) further postulates, “became a leader by his adept use of the instrumentalities of mass communication in the cultures” of the people. He discerned that political education in a culture in which communication was “mainly face-to-face” had to be a “face-to-face,” phenomenon or communicating ideas through direct contact.

He had to see and touch the people and the people had to see and touch him...he himself was a willing medium of the spirit of independence. He loved to meet the people, and he loved to draw the crowd. (Ibid: 185)

Another African cultural heritage associated in Nkrumah's leadership was his understanding of Ghanaians sensibilities toward external symbols of collective and individual identification (Ibid: 187). The people's “intuitive traditional understanding of the meaning of colors and symbols” as used by the Asafo was employed by Nkrumah's political party. For instance, the Convention People's Party (CPP) chose as its totemic symbol the cultural aesthetic associated with the red cockerel. His use of the color white and horsetail were not only proverbial, but they were also consistent with the authority of the traditional priests (Ibid: 189).

Hagan posits that Nkrumah made himself into a symbol of the people's physical, mental and spiritual force, by his concealment of myopia and use of contact lens. Traditionally, a leader such as king and queen should have no deformity (Ibid: 189). Mystique and charisma that enveloped Nkrumah, Hagan points out, had a peculiar cultural undertone. During the struggle, he reinforced the beliefs of his spirituality by retreats in secluded areas (Ibid: 194).

While his use of dramatic element and histrionics won the heart of the people, they gave the impression that “the road ahead could be full of adversity.” A manifestation of this was when he “once told a gathering of dancers that they were dancing their way to self-government” (Ibid: 190). The CPP deployed vans throughout the country painted with the party's colors and symbols playing music, just as the gong-gong player goes about communicating the king and queen's messages to the people.

Nkrumah's CPP gave “themselves an ethos and solidarity more or less like the Asafo or the clan complete with its songs and rituals and priest.” The party transformed the political culture of the Gold Coast into Mass Rally” (Ibid: 195). The rallies had people on their feet singing, dancing and joking. Besides, Nkrumah was able to mix characters of different social and cultural background in which “each played for all and all for each” (Ibid: 193).

The leadership style of Nkrumah as an international statesman, however, differed from the traditional ruler (Ibid: 198). Through his trip to Hanoi, he learnt the truth in the Akan proverb that “the wandering child does not witness her mother's funeral” (Ibid: 200). As indicated in chapter one, Nkrumah's government was overthrown by the military on February 24, 1966, while he was on his way to Vietnam.

But for Nkrumah, the new political consciousness he inculcated in the people of Ghana was the consciousness of a distinctly African identity, unity and ideology. It meant the abrogation of Western democracy in favor of one-party system through legislation rather than through persuasion (Ibid: 201). The CPP College at Winneba, in Hagan's view, lowered the party's interest in mass education of the people, especially the rural population. Nkrumah became isolated speaking through the radio and television, thereby

confining his voice to the urban areas; "he changed from a leader to become a ruler" (Ibid: 207).

Hagan's identification of Nkrumah's leadership style with those of the traditional Africa throws new light on how he won the support of the oppressed and under-privileged people in the Gold Coast. However, some of his statements appear simplistic and inconclusive. How, for instance, could Nkrumah have persuaded the hostile Opposition parties to merge or abolish all parties in support of his argument for a one party system? Was it to be done through persuasion or legislation? The party's college, Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute at Winneba, had as its objective the training of party cadets, whose role was to go round the country to educate the masses on government policies and organize them for social action. Besides, Nkrumah as head of state had a bigger and different role than his former role during the anti-colonial struggle. The problem was not his use of the electronic media to communicate to the people; it was rather his use of the English language as his medium of communication. The fact is, the political impasse in the country was a crash of ideas, visions and policies that could not be reconciled.

Hagan's other statement that Nkrumah saw the need to posit an ideology or a "myth of African consciousness" undermines the fulcrum of Nkrumah's call for re-assessment and re-interpretation of African history and culture. Consciousness, whatever form it takes, is based on a group's historical and cultural experience. Having been dehumanized as well as conditioned into believing that they (Africans) have no history, cultural or religion to be proud of by the European enslavers and colonizers, it was more than justified for Nkrumah to posit an African-centered ideology. Nkrumah's political ideology was quintessentially Pan-African breaking those implanted during colonialism.

Also, Hagan's reference to the traditional African priests as "fetish" is anti-African; it has no place in any African language. The word, "fetish" is etymologically a Portuguese word (Hegel, 1965:94) for "doll" or "toy," meaning an insignificant phenomenon. Therefore, his use of "fetish" is an imposition of European derived word to define an African phenomenon. In effect, the idea of "fetish priest" or "paganism" carries with it a hegemonic racist connotation that does not only insult the dignity of African ancestors (like Okomfo Anokye of Akwamu) and humanity, but it also rationalizes the European slave trade and colonialism.

In "Kwame Nkrumah's Cultural Policy," Hagan sees Nkrumah's speech, "The African Genius," a clear manifestation of his cultural philosophy. It spells out, he elucidates, Nkrumah's cultural objectives and the ramification of that philosophy for the stratagem "of study and of creative cultural activity needed to regenerate and develop African culture" (1991b: 22). Perhaps, his cultural thought could best be understood in his policy toward educational decolonization. And as Hagan postulates, Nkrumah saw the problem of the African mental dislocation as "largely the result of the educational system (Ibid: 4). Educational policy aside, Hagan finds in Nkrumah's book, *Africa Must Unite*, first published in 1963, an implicit cultural policy on African unity; and that the book only "explains his political philosophy based on his conviction of the need for freedom and unification of African" (Ibid: 3).

Though the cultural effects of the centuries of colonialism have been more enduring and not less damaging than the political and economic, Nkrumah gave intimation of this awareness in no clear terms. (Ibid: 4)

Here, Hagan's argument does not go into the cultural thrust of Nkrumah's political philosophy. As Esebede (1994:5) points out, the Pan-African policy that underlined Nkrumah's political agenda was itself a historical and cultural phenomenon. Nonetheless, Hagan further intimates that Nkrumah, in another chapter, makes assessment of the colonial origin of Africa's cultural disorientation, as an indispensable foremost "step to the determination of policy objectives" (Ibid: 4).

Hagan presents another puzzling statement with respect to the lack of a clear policy for sustaining the cultural institutions. Nkrumah, he notes, created cultural institutions "for the discovery, interpretation, evaluation, preservation and development of the African heritage," but they "lacked a clear cultural policy to sustain them" (Ibid: 7). Hagan again observes that Nkrumah had big visions and constructs, "often leaving it to others to work out the details. However, Nkrumah, Hagan acknowledges, is the only political leader "who demonstrated his awareness of the cultural effects of colonialism and what the cultural problems demand by way of policy" (Ibid: 24).

What is more, Nkrumah's association of African personality with African genius, Hagan further indicates, embodies certain cultural attributes including communalistic social values, efficient institutional structures, and a humane attitude to all humans. It was on the basis of this that "Nkrumah proceeded to explain his development strategy with reference to culture" (Ibid: 22). Hence, Nkrumah "saw his educational policy as the centerpiece of his cultural policy and aim of the development of African personality," Hagan (Ibid: 5) asserts.

According to Hagan, Nkrumah's concept of African personality resulted from "his conviction that we are all Africans;" and that this has always been there only waiting to be restored (1991:18). "If there is any reality to African personality," Hagan postulates, "it is the African genius" which Nkrumah saw as a step towards determining the strategy for the "cultural institutions to use to restore the African glory and bring about African unity" (Ibid: 19)].

While a comprehensive cultural policy might not have been spelt out in his major policy statements, a systematic review of the government laws, clearly articulated policy guidelines for each of the cultural institutions. The Arts Council of Ghana, established in 1958 by law, for instance, was made the cultural wing of the Ministry of Education with clear guidelines. The Institute of Arts and Culture, established in 1962, had detailed policy guidelines. The guiding principles for the Institute of African Studies, and by extension the School of Music and Drama, were contained in Nkrumah's inaugural speech, "The African Genius." By 1964, the government had expanded the thrust of the Institute of Arts and Culture with policy guidelines similar to the other Ministries. Moreover, a clear cultural policy could not have been the sole factor in combating the cultural effects of centuries of colonial indoctrination on the African personality. What the cultural policy lacked was a systematic educational decolonization colloquium for the leading scholars and artists responsible for the implementation of the policies initiated by Nkrumah's government.

When Ghana became a republic, Nkrumah promised a university that would reflect African traditions and culture, Robert July (1987:164) writes. In his *African Voice*, July (Ibid: 185) interprets the place of culture in Nkrumah's policies as furthering "his political aims." He sees Nkrumah's concept of African personality as embodying the "desire for the liberation of Africa from the cultural entanglement of the West" (Ibid: 181). But it transcended political and economic freedom to achieve as well an independence from the ethical and aesthetic standard of Europe, and to revive traditional African values in post-independence Africa. Likewise, as Nketia pointed out in our interview on December 26, 1996, Nkrumah's idea of African personality was a liberating and creative concept, which he brought into focus as African alternatives to European cultural and aesthetic values, and institutions imposed on African people during colonialism.

In July's view, Nkrumah's "devotion to a renascent African culture" was not new. What were new "were his favored elements from Marxist socialism, missing in the pronouncements of earlier pan-Africanists." Besides, he was determined to direct "all activities, cultural, or otherwise to the service of political action" (Ibid: 184). In London, Nkrumah, July asserts, politicized the recreational activities of the Gold Coast African students' union whose members often came together on occasions like Christmas or Easter and organized activities like "songs and dances of the old country" (Ibid: 184). Also, Nkrumah, he claims, "managed to have himself elected secretary of" the student union, endowing it with politics that distressed those who were concerned primarily with the diversion of social intercourse" (Ibid: 185). The Gold Coast Students Union, like the West African Students Union (WASU), was a nationalist fraternity. The political character of the WASU, for instance, is evident in its public condemnation of British colonial methods as unrealistic, prior to the arrival of Nkrumah in 1945. In its resolution on April 4, 1942, WASU (Including most Gold Coast students) "demanded for British West Africa immediate internal self-government with a definite guarantee of complete independence within five years after the Second World (Imperial) War (Esedebe, 1994:9). According to Armah (1965:7), the activities of WASU "carried into every movement for colonial freedom a new and militant radicalism which rejected the ideologies of the West as a solvent for African problems."

Nkrumah saw the need for education and entertainment, desiring that a network of theaters be established throughout the country for renaissance of the arts in Africa. As a consequence, he became interested in Efua Sutherland's work at the Drama Studio, visiting there when work was underway (July, 1987:75). And when he became the head of state, Nkrumah "continued to utilize cultural activities to further his political aims" (Ibid: 185). The fact is, Nkrumah set up a committee including Phillip Gbeho and Mawere Opoku to organize cultural activities, such as traditional music and dancing to mark Ghana's Independence Day celebrations across the country. On the international level, Nkrumah, July claims, "dispatched performers abroad on repeated international tours as the peaceful arm of his global politics and diplomacy" (Ibid: 185). But as Opoku told this author on January 4, 1997, the international tours were part of cultural exchange programs between nations. Opoku further explained that Nkrumah saw the revival of the traditional dance forms as a visible manifestation of African personality.

According to July (Ibid: 187), Nkrumah's government funded the Institute of African Studies' activities, yet he "never interfered in such internal affairs as program priorities or

staffing appointments,” and also “never insisted upon curriculum definition.” Regarding the objective of the School of Music and Drama, July says that the curricula were designed to train teachers for the national school system as well as performers in musical ensembles and orchestras; and that the emphasis on the school's performance and composition stressed African materials.

Robert July's statements can mislead readers who are not familiar with the life and work of Kwame Nkrumah. In the first place, Nkrumah's attempts to place culture at the core of Ghana's socio-economic transformation, was contrary to Marxism. While a student in the United States, Nkrumah was inspired by the teachings of Marcus Garvey regarding an independent, strong and proud Africa. He also gained some experience in organizational work with several political parties and movements, which brought him into contact with African American political activists. He had read several books by Marx, Lenin, Engels and others for revolutionary ideas, but “of all the literature that I studied,” he said, “the book that did more than any other to fire my enthusiasm was the ‘Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey’” (Nkrumah, 1957:45).

Therefore, his urging of the African students in London not to forget their duty toward African decolonization cannot be seen as purely politicizing the recreational activities of their union. Also, the statement that Nkrumah managed to have himself elected secretary of the student union appears presumptuous. That fact is that, he had acquired considerable experience on the colonial question during his ten years in the United States of America. For instance, it was while a student that he helped set up an African Studies center at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. It was also at this university that he began to organize the African Students Association of America and Canada and became its president. And it was also while a student in the same university that he drafted his first booklet, *Towards Colonial Freedom*. He had been on several public platforms and participated in conferences demanding unconditional and immediate political liberation of Africa from colonialism. Before his departure to Britain in 1945, he was invited by W.E.B Du. Bois to participate in the Council on African Affairs conference regarding the future of Africa. Nkrumah (Sherwood 1996:86) “was a member of the committee which drew up the conference's four resolutions” on the colonial question for the United Nations. In 1943, Nkrumah was invited to an international conference on Africa in New York, following his involvement on the proposals for the “The Atlantic Charter and Africa from an African Standpoint” (Ibid: 87).

It was due to Nkrumah's depth of knowledge on the colonial question, his political ideology and practical experiences in organizing, that Botsio returned to the Gold Coast with Nkrumah in 1947. He had become convinced that Nkrumah had the answer to ending colonialism on the continent and a united socialist Africa.

In his next narcissistic, Eurocentric and racist statements, July makes the following claims: “it has been said that Nkrumah was not the most Cartesian of thinkers. He created no philosophical systems. He envisioned no Platonic society. Master politician, he was an indifferent administrator, and his thinking was intuitive rather than logical” (July, 1987:165). Certainly, July makes these assumptions without an in-depth analysis of the holistic nature of Nkrumah's policies in the context of colonial legacy. It would have been helpful if he had cited any philosophical systems created by any European head of state, especially in the aftermath of a foreign domination. In effect, these statements resonate the hegemonic ideas of the European colonialists, and that of Hegel who equated

the brains of African men and women with those of [European] children. Africans, they believed, were not endowed with intellectual qualities; they only express emotions. In fact, there was no need for Nkrumah to be a "Cartesian thinker" in order to salvage the people of Ghana from the ravages of colonialism. His seminal book, *Consciencism*, as well as "The African Genius" speak to the extraordinary African problems, to which no European philosophical system can offer any solution. It must also be added that Nkrumah aimed at creating an egalitarian society, which was in direct contrast to a platonic master-servant society.

Robert July's next assertion that music and drama graduates were prepared to be "performers in musical ensemble and orchestra...and drama troupes" (Ibid: 191), is rather misleading. It is also incorrect that the School, with exception of the Dance section, stressed African materials in its instructions. Based on my personal knowledge as a student of the period, most of the students in music and drama were teachers on study leave and were thus more eager in returning to the classroom. Those who were not teachers saw teaching as the only respectable profession, that they were also zealous in entering after graduation. The national dance company, Ghana Dance Ensemble, was not born out of any collaborative efforts by the entire program of the School as July alludes to; it was born out of the program of the Dance section. Also, the association of the School and Efua Sutherland's Drama Studio and Experimental Theater was not a programmatic relationship; aside from the initial preliminary courses for the members of the Experimental Theater at the Drama Studio, the association remained technical and administrative relationship.

Adinku (1994:1) posits that the desire to introduce traditional (arts) form into new creative development in Ghana was in fulfillment of the concept of the National Theater Movement. The concept was based on the "notion that schooled-educated personalities, the symbol of change in the new artistic community envisaged for the country, should become aware of traditional aesthetic forms." And that the use of the traditional models for new development, he posits, was "to meet the growing aspirations of the people." This was to forestall the continuing reliance "on foreign artistic forms...which in the long run, would be detrimental to the progress of artistic-conscious Ghanaians" (Ibid: 1).

Thus, the establishment of the Ghana Dance Ensemble, Adinku explains, was in fulfillment of the concept of the National Theater Movement. Quoting Prof. Mawere Opoku, the idea of the national dance company, "came from the first President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah." which was congruent with "his concept of the cultural emancipation of Ghana and Africa." Nkrumah believed in bringing the traditional achievements to bear on the present, Adinku (Ibid: 6) explains.

Kennedy (1973:56), who responded to Nkrumah's call for a close relationship between the Institute of African Studies and Diasporan Africans notes that, "when Nkrumah spoke specifically about the people and the National Theater Movement, he was not only a thinker and a visionary leader, but also a human being interested in the culture and the arts of his people." According to Hammond, the National Theater Movement, since its inception, aimed at bringing "into existence a theater that will derive its vitality and authenticity from roots firmly planted in the true traditions of the people" (1977:70). It was assumed, Agovi (1990:3) posits, that "literary theater had been fairly well established in the country and that the only thing it suffered from was a severe sense of alienation." The most significant thing, therefore, was to create more and more

institutions and get them to function within defined ideals and goals. The aims and objectives, Agovi (Ibid: 3) postulates, "seemed beyond reproach, except that there were also dire assumptions which were not readily apparent." These assumptions did not reflect the facts on the grounds. The planners of the theater movement did not take the colonial legacy, in terms of theater, into account seriously. In other words, the approach did not sufficiently take into account the inherent complexity of colonial legacies. Nobody, Agovi again points out, quite fully understood the depth of antipathy toward African cultural activities created by the colonial mind-set.

In his "Education in Ghana, 1951–1966," Haizel (1991:68) posits that Nkrumah was not the type of person who waited for an ideal condition before acting on matters of education. Education, for him, was a right which had been denied to the majority of the children, especially in the northern part of the country. The first measure his government therefore took in 1951 was to assume full responsibility for educational policies and practices. Though challenged in and outside parliament, the government not only barred the Christian missions from future expansion in their primary schools, it also asked them to give up their existing ones. Accordingly, a private school "could be closed down by law if it was found to be potentially dangerous to the physical and well-beings of the pupils," Haizel (Ibid: 61) notes.

Between 1951 and 1961, there had been an enormous expansion of primary and secondary schools all over the country. Secondary school facilities were expanded for the older schools under the Ministry of Education, while the Ghana Education Trust, was "established to build Ghana Schools and Colleges." Nkrumah commended the Trust in his speech to teachers on April 6, 1961 for, building more "secondary schools from thirty-nine in 1960 to fifty" in 1961 (Ibid: 68). Contradicting Elliot Commission's report that argued its case against a university in the West African region, Hazel points to the three universities that had been built in Ghana by 1961, with a fourth one proposed for agricultural science.

With Ghana as an independent country, Nkrumah found education to be "the academic focus of national life, reflecting the social, economic, political and cultural aspirations of the people" (Ibid: 71). But the paradox was that Nkrumah, in 1959, came to find the University of Ghana the "breeding ground for unpatriotic and anti-government elements" (Ibid: 70). Thus, the government would no longer watch unconcerned while the university, supported by millions of pounds out of the sweat and toil of the common people," continue to be the center of anti-government activities. Instead, "we want the University College to" relate its activities to the needs and the interest of the nation, and the well-being of the people (Ibid: 71).

On scientific culture, Nkrumah contemplated the creation of a special scientific community where scientists of the Ghana Academy of Sciences from different fields would leave and work, Haizel indicates. Nkrumah's concern was not to explore the moon or Mars; his primary interest was "here on earth where so much needs to be done to make it a place fit for human efforts, endeavor, and happiness" (Ibid: 75). The philosophy of Nkrumah was that, it is only through the union of theory and practice that the lives of the people can gain "the highest material, cultural, moral and spiritual fulfillment in the service of his fellow man," Haizel (Ibid: 77) cites.

Another dimension in Nkrumah's educational policy, Haizel elucidates, was the creation of Mass Literacy and Mass Education program in 1951; its purpose was not only

to teach people how to read and write, but also how to live a productive life. But the irony Haizel finds is that, this same non-formal education which had done so much to improve the quality of life of people was used by the military junta which overthrew Nkrumah's government in 1966, to eradicate the image of Nkrumah in the rural areas. At the same time, the military "government invited experts from UNESCO to advise the Department on the eradication of illiteracy" in the country (Ibid: 80).

During Nkrumah's period, Haizel evinces, "the economists had discovered education," and "education and economic growth had become a credo in development planning" (Ibid: 83). Responding to Jones Quartey's assertion that the rapid expansion of education became "one of the media of party ideological propaganda," Haizel points out that:

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah deserves to be judged also on his idea of the democratization of education put forward when he presented the Seven-Year Development Plan to Parliament. But at least the Ghana Educational Trust schools stand as concrete evidence that Nkrumah was not only engaged in rhetoric. (Ibid: 86)

While Hazel presents insights as to the thrust of Nkrumah's democratization of education, he says very little about the content and nature of the curriculum of the educational programs. Likewise, he does not reveal whether there was any attempt to re-educate the teachers brought up by the missionary institutions. As pointed out earlier, the Arts Council of Ghana founded in 1958 was made the cultural wing of the Ministry of Education. Yet throughout his discussion, Hazel makes no reference to culture and the National Theater Movement in Nkrumah's educational objectives.

While the above studies provide valuable insights into Nkrumah's vision of African culture, as well as his government's role in setting the agenda for cultural emancipation of Africa, they offer very little or no thorough discourse on his politico-cultural thought and the restoration of African personality through theater. My conclusion is that Nkrumah had an African-centered vision, philosophical ideas and policies, regarding the restoration of the African personality through theater as agent for socio-economic transformation of Ghana and Africa. Unfortunately, Nkrumah's untimely overthrow by the military coup on February 24, 1966 that had the backing of the CIA, adversely affected his Pan-African project, as well as his politico-cultural ideas and policies in Ghana.

Chapter Three

Kwame Nkrumah's Politico-Cultural Thought

What man and animal have in common is the sensory skills, sight, sound, smell, touch and taste. Yet between animal and man there is a difference of nature and essence, The former acts on instinct in order to preserve and maintain life in relations to nature, while the latter acts by rationalism in different stages at a given time and space to build civilization. Secondly, man is the only two-handed animal that laughs and weeps (Douglas, 229:1992). Accordingly, one of the manifestations that distinguish man from the other species, in my view, is thought process as well as development of cultural institutions.

According to Cabral, (1980:139) when Dr. Goebbels, the brain behind Nazi propaganda, heard the word "culture," he reached for his pistol. He understood the value of culture as a critical factor of resistance to foreign domination. Thus, the desires to dominate other people as well as the resistance to domination are both acts of culture. The latter proceeds from the knowledge of one's cultural personality, history and aspirations to build a better society. Society is the "bearer and the creator of culture;" while culture on the other hand, is the result of a people's history (Ibid: 143).

Every thought is epistemic. It arises out of a people's culture and in their attempt to define the universe, their environment, their society and themselves. The study of the cultural thought of any historical personality thus requires the ability to discern and analyze his or her total worldview; it also requires an in-depth understanding of factors that impacted his or her total life. Such factors include the social milieu, social forces and his or her place in the society. Therefore, every social being has a culture, which results from one's heritage or civilization.

This chapter synthesizes those aspects of Nkrumah's politico-cultural thought in his writings and major speeches that came to serve as guiding principles for the politico-cultural institutions and programs in Ghana. The scope of this synthesis includes the ontological aspects of culture, namely, his socio-political thought, institutional perspective, his concept of African personality, creative productions [theater] in the context of socio-economic liberation and reconstruction in post-independence African countries.

It must, however, be pointed out that a comprehensive discourse on politico-culture does not appear in any of Nkrumah's published works. He wrote on decolonization of Africa, neocolonialism, political economy, theory and praxis of African liberation, Pan-Africanism, African socio-political philosophy, social analysis and history of Africa. Conceivably, his book, *Consciencism* and speech, "The African Genius" inaugurating the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana at Legon in 1963, manifest his political and cultural thought. Nevertheless, it is possible to see in his major works and speeches, vital aspects of his political and cultural perspectives that can be synthesized into a coherent thought process.

Definition of concepts, terms or constructs is contextual, and culture is no exception. Culture is understood as constituting the core of any group's humanity; yet there is hardly any precise definition of the concept. The variance of its definition, in most cases, depends on the discipline of the scholar and the nature of his or her scholarship. The concern here, therefore, is not so much what culture is as to its ontological aspects.

Culture, according to Gyekye, "refers to patterns of thought and ways of acting and behaving that have been created, fostered, and nurtured by a people over a period of time and by which their lives are guided." It results from their accumulated knowledge about their universe, their society, and themselves reflected in their beliefs, values, morals, law, and the techniques and habits they have acquired in their efforts to meet the challenges of their environment. It includes the "people's religious beliefs, their methods of production and economics relations, their systems of values, manners, etiquette and fashions" (1994:2-3).

Culture "at its most inclusive," Abraham explains, refers to "public and private, of the life of a people." Accordingly, culture comprises "the whole of knowledge, the arts, science, technology, religion, morality, ritual, politics, literature, even etiquette and fashions, and such things as whether people clean their teeth three times a days or once" (Abraham, 1962:12-13).

J.H.Nketia identifies four aspects of culture. One is the material aspect including implements, clothing, housing, artifacts, utensils etc. The second characteristic is the institutional aspect of culture whose development may be considered in terms of scope they give for social and political action, and the extent to which they facilitate economic emancipation. Next is the philosophical aspect manifested in the realm of ideas, concepts, beliefs and values. Lastly, there is the creative aspect of culture including literature, visual and performing arts; this aspect can, in their own right, give scope to the development in other spheres (1965:5).

But cultures, Ngugi wa Thiong'o notes, "do not always develop out of the workings-out of contradictions within themselves or with the other features of a society. They also develop in an external environment of contact with other societies. This contact can be one of hostility, indifference, or mutual give and take" (Ngugi, 1993:27). However, the ontology of culture is a transposition of the ideology of a given society at different epochs. And to a free and sovereign people actuated by the will to progress, there evolves a corresponding revolutionary culture as well as revolutionary ideology (Touré, 1973:70-73). Thus, whatever the ideological characteristics of its expression, culture is the critical element of a people's history (Cabral: 142).

There is a reciprocal connection between the cultural and socio-economic factors in the behavior of human society. At every moment of the life of a society, culture is the result of the economic and political activities; it represents the dynamic expression of the type of social relations prevailing within that society. The nature of culture as an element of resistance to colonial domination lays in the fact that African culture was the vigorous manifestation, on the ideological level, of the material and historical reality of the colonized African people (Cabral: 141).

The liberation struggle in Africa, Cabral further explicates, was preceded by an upsurge of cultural manifestation, which progressively hardened to assert the cultural personality of the dominated people of Africa. Whatever the conditions of colonial oppression in Africa, it was always within the cultural factor that the people found the

germ of challenge, which led to the structuring and development of the national liberation movements. Accordingly, the national liberation movements were the organized expression of the people's culture (Ibid: 143). The national liberation movement, Cabral (Ibid: 150) further explains "goes beyond the conquest of political independence." The second most important task was for the movement "to put itself on the superior plane of the total liberation of pro ductive forces and the building of the people's economic, social and cultural progress" (Ibid: 150).

Touré (1976:73) also affirms Africa's resistance to colonialism as an act of culture, in that it proceeded "from the knowledge of her own personality and of all the values there attached." It expressed Africa's will and determination to abolish centuries of European domination and unite for a better use of her developmental potential. Hence, the primary condition of culture is to abolish oppressive conditions and establish a better relation with nature, society, and the people. Touré (1976:97) advances that "the real and the total independence is the first condition for a real and total development of culture." Accordingly, a selective analysis of the people's cultural values must be done as a first step toward socio-economic transformation in post-independence Africa.

Culture, Nkrumah asserts, is the core of political revolution; however, he views the attainment of national independence as the first measure toward the restitution of African humanity. His emphasis on the struggle for political independence as a first principle meant that, "without the first political revolution, we would never have been in a position to plan for the future," Abdallah explained in our interview on January 5, 1997. In other words, political power is reciprocally the inescapable prerequisite to economic, social, and cultural renaissance.

What is discernable from the above is that culture as a product of a people's history has an ideological dimension. Nkrumah's politico-cultural thought is historical, in terms of Africa's unfavorable experience with Europe. To combat the legacy of European colonialism after the attainment of national independence, in his view, required a new cultural and political thought. This meant a resurrection of Africa's past genius and cultural values to bear on the new Africa, in terms of socio-economic transformation.

SOCIO-POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

As Awoonor's pointed out in our interview on January 8, 1997, Nkrumah's cultural thought could only be comprehended within the framework of his political philosophy. This refers to a broad spectrum of ideas that came to constitute his political agenda. "One of the things so peculiar about Nkrumah was that, of the few African leaders," Awoonor continued, "he was the one who constructed a whole theoretical system to support his political and economic agenda for a united Africa." In 1960, he saw the need for the resurgence in the intrinsic values in African culture as part and parcel of the total liberation of Africa from the colonial and neocolonial economic exploitation of Africa. Thus, since culture is an organized expression of the people's past experience, the leadership of the national liberation movement in Africa must possess a clear idea of the value of culture as the ideological framework for the struggle. They must also have a profound knowledge of the culture of their people, whatever the level of economic development and social consciousness (Touré: 173).

It is Fanon who said that “each generation must out of relative obscurity discover its mission, fulfil it or betray it” (1996:253). For Nkrumah, it meant preferring “self government with danger to servitude in tranquility (1973:10). He understood life not just as a product of history, but also one’s commitment to the historical traditions of African people. In doing so, he emerged as the epitome of the African anti-colonial struggles, in terms of human and material resources as well as ideological direction. In other words, Nkrumah was what Asante (1993:26) refers to as “keeper of the flames of the ancestral proactive response” to colonialism and neocolonialism in Africa.

Nkrumah’s vision of African culture as the core segment of Africa’s political freedom and socio-economic transformation resulted from his understanding of history. He made manifest his historical conscience in his speeches and published works. The relevant ones for this discourse include: *Toward Colonial Freedom*, the “The Motion of Destiny” speech delivered to the parliament in 1954, “The African Genius” and *Consciencism*, a book on political philosophy for the new Africa. Nkrumah’s *Towards Colonial Freedom* drafted while a student in the United States and completed in Britain, offers decolonization strategies as an act of culture. It gets to the core of the primary objective of culture as explained above. It also explains his cultural thought process pertaining to the African situation during the second European world war. Nkrumah writes:

In 1942...while I was a student in the United States of America, I was so revolted by the ruthless colonial exploitation and political oppression of the people of Africa, that I knew no peace. The matter exercised my mind to such a degree that I decided to put down my thoughts in writing and to dilate on the results of some of my research concerning the subject of colonialism and imperialism. (Nkrumah, 1962:xiii)

In this booklet, Nkrumah analyses colonial policies, and the colonial mode of production and distribution of imports and exports. Through colonialism, the African was robbed of his land, by extortion and forced concession. Nkrumah critiques the exploitative nature of colonialism in Africa, such as its economic and political policies and practices. He notes that “the policy underlying the economic situation in the colonies is that of monopoly control, forcing the farmer and peasant to accept low fixed prices by eliminating open competition, and forcing the same colonial farmer and peasant consumer to buy at high fixed prices” (Ibid: 17). The philosophy of capitalism, Nkrumah further points out, forced the colonized African to labor under colonial governments “with uncomplaining satisfaction” (Ibid: 18). He writes:

The imperialist powers need the raw materials and cheap labour of the colonies for their own capitalist industries. Through their system of monopolist control they eliminate native competition, and use the colonies as dumping grounds for their surplus mass-produced goods. In attempting to legitimize their presence they claim to be improving the welfare of the native population. (Ibid: 18)

This form of economic exploitation, he found, was not compatible with the core values in African culture, specifically the egalitarian way of life or “the concern for all,” as Cabral

(1980:151) puts it. The highest value in African cultures, Nkrumah understood, is embedded in interdependence, interrelationship, and collective responsibility.

As pointed out earlier, some of the major writings of Nkrumah focus on political philosophy, the dangers in neocolonialism and imperialism as a guide toward socio-economic transformation in a united Africa. Yet underpinning his thoughts are the core values in traditional African societies. They include African ethics, humanism, and communalistic ethos.

During his student days in the United States, Nkrumah saw himself as one of those ordinary Africans, who were animated by African national consciousness, and sought knowledge as an instrument of national emancipation and integrity (Ibid: 4). He observed in Western philosophy "opposition of interest," or "social opposition between 'inside and outside' (as) dialectical in nature which can be used to explain the course of many societies, including Africa." But in traditional Africa:

This was reduced by making the visible world continuous with the invisible world. For them heaven was not outside the world, but inside it. African societies never accepted transcendentalism. (Nkrumah, 1970a:12)

Nkrumah argues that philosophy is "one of the subtle instruments of ideology and social cohesion." It provides a theoretical basis for the cohesion, and "performs this ideological function when it takes shapes as political philosophy or as ethics" (Ibid: 66). Thus, such a philosophy must take cognizance of the African situation as it was then and blend them into African philosophical thought pattern. Within that framework, Nkrumah, according to Cudjoe (1995:338), "sought to reconcile the traditional African humanist values, which he saw as a socialist manifestation with insights of Marxism."

Nkrumah's socio-political thought, Philosophical Consciencism, for the emerging African nation-states was based on African egalitarianism, ethics and humanism. It was also based on African "situation...at the return of political independence" (Nkrumah, 1970a:68). He says:

There are three broad features to be distinguished here. African society has one segment, which comprises our traditional way of life; it has a second segment which is filled by the presence of the Islamic tradition in Africa; it has a final segment which represents the infiltration of the Euro-Christian tradition and culture of Western Europe into Africa, using colonialism and neo-colonialism as its primary vehicles. These different segments are animated by competing ideologies. But since society implies a certain dynamic unity, there needs to emerge an ideology, which genuinely catering for the needs of all, will take the place of the competing ideologies, and so reflect the dynamic unity of society, and be the guide to society's continual progress. (Ibid: 68)

In effect, the working out of this contradiction in Nkrumah's thinking is how they fit into the African personality. He evinces that traditional African human value includes "an attitude towards man which can only be described, in its total manifestation, as being socialistic. He explains:

This arises from the fact that man is regarded in Africa as primarily a spiritual being, a being endowed originally with a certain inward dignity, integrity and value. It stands refreshingly opposed to the Christian idea of the original sin and degradation of man, (Ibid: 68)

It should be emphasized that the theoretical basis of Nkrumah's argument for socialism lies in the highest in African cultures, which is collective ethos. This is also manifested "on the social level, in terms of institutions such as the clan, underlying the initial equality of all and the responsibility of many for one." It was this cultural value as well as the communal ethos in traditional Africa which "was impossible for classes of a Marxian kind to arise" (Ibid: 69). In Marxist class society, there is a disproportion of economic and political power struggle between them. In such a society, the classes "are crushed, lacerated and ground down by the encumbrance of exploitation. One class sits upon the neck of another" (Ibid: 69).

Nkrumah sees capitalism as a development by refinement from European feudalism, whereas feudalism is a development by refinement from slavery. And the development which capitalism marks over slavery and feudalism in Europe consisted as much in the methods by means of which labor is coerced as in the mode of production. Therefore, "capitalism is but the gentleman's method of slavery," he (Ibid: 72) explains. In contrast, the welfare of the people in the pre-colonial African society was supreme. There was no sectional interest, which could be regarded supreme, nor could the legislative and executive power aid the interest of a particular social strata (Ibid: 69).

Nevertheless, colonialism, according to Nkrumah, came and negated all this. It created a cadre of Africans, who, by their European education, became infected with European cultural values and "ideas, which they tacitly accepted as being valid for Africa. Nkrumah notes with serious concern the seduction of the "colonial students by Western philosophers" who gave them "a philosophical account of the universe that they surrendered their total personality to them (Ibid: 3). Armed with such a fraudulent universalistic philosophy, the African students carried away with them an attitude at variance with the concrete reality of their people and their struggles. In addition, the Africans were introduced to Greek and Roman history as the cradle history of Europe; they were to treat this European ancient history "together with the subsequent modern European history as the only worth-while portion" of world history. This kind of pedagogy, Nkrumah points out, "was anointed with a universalistic flavoring, which titillates the palate of certain African intellectuals agreeably that they become alienated from their own immediate reality" (Ibid: 5).

Nkrumah's argument is that because post-colonial Africa was no longer the old society of authentic African values, but rather a society enlarged by Islamic and Euro-Christian influences, a new harmony becomes imperative. This harmony should be an ideology that solidifies "in a philosophical statement," and at the same time uphold the original humanist principle of Africa. Nkrumah explains that:

Such a philosophical statement I propose to name philosophical consciencism, for it will give the theoretical basis for an ideology whose aim shall be to contain the African experience of the Islamic and Euro-Christian presence as well as the experience of the traditional African

society, and, by gestation employ them for the harmonious growth and development of that society. (Ibid: 70)

What Nkrumah attempts to achieve with this ideology is to harmonize the three segments so that they fit into the African personality submerged during colonialism. Secondly, he views the social-political practice of consciencism as thwarting “the emergence of classes as in Marxist conception of class structure” (Ibid: 98).

But, in its 1964 editorial, the *Legon Observer* notes that with Philosophical Consciencism, “Nkrumah revises Marxism to give it a particular reference to African needs and traditions.” This means re-interpreting the Marxist philosophy in the context of the new Africa, and enunciates a new social, political philosophy and ideology for a total decolonization and development of the mind. Nkrumah, however, explains in *Consciencism* that:

The evaluation of one's own social circumstances is part of the analysis of facts and events; and this kind of evaluation is as good as a starting point of inquiring into the relations between philosophy and society. Philosophy calls for an analysis of fact and events, and an attempt to see how they fit into human experience. (1970a:2)

Here, Nkrumah establishes the relevance of his philosophical thought to the African reality. According to Hountondji (1983:210), the term *Consciencism* suggests that the new collective consciousness as advanced by Nkrumah “would be not only cognitive but also practical, consciousness in the most political sense of the term, as well as the definition of a new cultural identity.”

As a student of philosophy, Nkrumah understood the nature of phenomena; he knew the primacy of matter, meaning it remains in a motionless state unless acted upon by an external force. Nkrumah finds his concept of materialism directly opposed to “Newton's denial of the physical activity of matter...incapable of intellectual action, neither thinking, perceiving nor feeling” (1970a:81). Matter, he explains, is not inertia; rather it is capable of self-motion, both in the sense of change of relations, and in the sense of change of property (Ibid: 81). Though matter is capable of dialectical change, Philosophical Consciencism does not assert the sole reality of matter. It rather asserts the ordinal reality of matter.

For Nkrumah the minimum assertion of materialism is the absolute and independent of matter. Matter, however, is also a plenum of forces which are in antithesis to one another, and which is thus endowed with powers of self-motion (Ibid: 79). This is where we get an inkling of the influence of Marxist dialectical materialism on Nkrumah's thought. As Politzer (1976:95) explains, for dialectics, “nothing is final, absolute, sacred. It reveals the “transitory character of everything and in everything; nothing can endure before it except the uninterrupted process of becoming and of passing away (Ibid: 95).

Nelson (1985:87) also makes a remarkable observation on Nkrumah's paper on dialectics of materialism and sociology written while a student at the philosophy department at the University of Pennsylvania on the relationship between philosophy and sociology. Nkrumah, he cites, found “in that special area of philosophy as epistemology,...the origin of consciousness and the mind, the relationship of mind and

body, the nature of thought, language and logic and the influence of society labor on the individual and social thinking.” The fundamental proposition set forth by Marx’s epistemology, according to Nkrumah, are “that matter is primary, that the mind and consciousness are secondary and derivatives, and that mental processes and consciousness itself are products of specially organized matter in the form of the brain and nervous system” (1970a:90). According to Nkrumah, “Marx and Engels regarded materialism as the true form of science, the final overthrow of idealism” (Ibid: 92).

As a political philosophy for social policy, Nkrumah’s assertion on the primacy of matter is a Marxist social supposition. This has some implications for social conditions of life. According to Marx, it is the anti-social sources of crime, and not the individual, which must be removed. As a social being, each human being must be given social scope for the vital manifestation of his being. As cited in *German Socialist Philosophy*, Marx theorizes as follows:

If man is shaped by environment, his environment must be made human.
If man is social by nature, he will develop his nature only in society, and the power of his nature must be measured not by the power of separate individual but by the power of society. (1997:102)

Similarly, Nkrumah, while in prison for the Positive Action in 1950, concluded that criminality is not hereditary, but the upshot of social conditions; thus, the only way to change criminal acts is to change the social, as well as material conditions of life.

Philosophical Consciencism asserts the interaction of mind and body. It has no room for parallelism on this issue; rather it retains the two categories as found in Marxist philosophy. In *Marxist Social Thought*, Freedman [ed.] cites Marx as follows:

The real world is not a philosophical concoction but is rather the world of direct engagement, in which mind and body interact with human society and physical nature. (1968:xxxiii)

Thus for Nkrumah, Marxist materialism holds that sociological theories that separate the mind from the brain, or which deny the primacy of the brain and nervous system are unscientific.

Nkrumah writes that the cardinal ethical principle of philosophical consciencism is to treat each man as an end in himself and not merely as a means. This principle is fundamental to all socialist and humanist conceptions of man, Nkrumah observes. From his standpoint, this principle of ethics found in the nature of man agrees with the traditional African idea of the absolute and independent existence of matter, and the idea of its power of self-motion. However, matter, he says, does not imply “dead weight, but alive with the forces in tension.” Thus to the African, everything exists as a complex of forces in tension (Nkrumah, 1970a:88).

One clearly sees Marxist influence on Nkrumah’s social-political thought, as he acknowledges the primacy of matter over spirit. In human society, this refers to the material conditions of life as opposed to metaphysical interpretation. This materialist philosophy regards the environment and nature of social relations in the mode of productions in every society as the factor that determines one’s conditions. Here, one

notes Nkrumah's conceptualization of post-colonial Africa from a materialist conception of society.

It must be pointed out Nkrumah's statement that there is "in the African philosophy the absolute and independent of existence of matter" is inconsistent with Mbiti's interpretation of traditional African worldview. As Mbiti (1970:2) writes "there is no formal distinction between the sacred and secular, between the religious and non-religious, between the spiritual and the material areas of life." In effect, there is "no line drawn between the spiritual and the physical (Ibid: 6).

Nkrumah, Taylor (1987:48) indicates, disagreed with a Russian Africanist, Ivan Potekhin who challenged the claims by African political leaders "that African society is largely classless." Potekhin's argument was that "there is a widening gap between the African national bourgeoisie and the developing proletariat," and that a class conscious was necessary for the transition to socialism. But Nkrumah, Taylor points out,

Does not deny the existence of classes in African; rather he denied the existence of Marxist-Leninist class struggle by insisting that Africa could avoid class antagonism. Nkrumah's denial of class antagonism is attributable to his contention that classes have the tendency of dividing Africans. (Ibid: 48)

Keto (1994:80) notes that "elements of Marxist theory that claim to predict future development in human affairs through a special insight into the 'universal laws' of social change, profoundly is incompatible with an Africa centered perspective." Thus "when Marxist and neo-Marxist theoreticians claim 'unqualified universalism' or the conceptual derivations from their metatheory of history which are based largely on the study of the European experience, they are simply extending, under the guise of a 'radical program' and dimension, the application of a hegemonic Europe centered perspective" (Ibid: 80–81). But Marxist theory, Keto maintains, has "an analytical aspect that can interact with an Africa centered perspective of history" (Ibid: 80). For, Marxism, he writes:

[Provides] a significant social critique of the class conflict and other economic and social factors associated with the social organization for production that accompanies the development and maturation process of mercantile and industrial capitalism that began in Europe, insights from such historical critiques of society are helpful for analyzing social change terrain as areas of the world occupied by Africans become affected by that process of industrialization and urbanization under capitalism. (Ibid: 81)

Accordingly, the ultimate intellectual response to the effects of capitalism on Africa emerging from colonialism will depend on how one analyses specific historical experiences and the high ideals in traditional African society "where acceptable trade-offs can be made and how a society defines such acceptable social trade-offs" (Ibid: 82). As Welsh Asante (1993:16) points out in her Nzuri conceptualization, "African aesthetics as keeper of traditions will be able to absorb influences, progress and cultures as long as it is located and its development, including influences and amalgamation, is on its terms." The argument one can present is that when an "outside theory" is modified to fit one's

cultural confines, it ceases to be foreign. Similarly, Nkrumah references Marxist thought to enrich Philosophical Consciencism. This is where he defers from Nyerere.

Nyerere's argument, on the surface, seems to authenticate Nkrumah's position. "In our traditional African society," he explains, "we were individuals within the community and the community took care of us. We neither needed nor wished to exploit our fellow men." It was colonialism which "introduced different and wrong headed attitude, such as the principle of private land ownership, which led to inequality, and the creation of a class, social parasites." Therefore, in post independence Africa, this meant a return to the traditional customs of land holding (1968:6–12). But while this, in Nyerere's view, meant the creation of African socialism, Nkrumah argues for scientific socialism in the context of modern technology (1973a:439).

From Nkrumah's argument, it is the recognition of the restoration of Africa's humanist and egalitarian principles of society, which calls for scientific socialism. This means remolding African society in the socialist direction, and reevaluating it in such a manner that the humanism of traditional African life reasserts itself in a modern technical community" (Ibid: 439). Thus, "socialism in Africa," he advances, "introduces a new social synthesis in which" contemporary technology is reconciled with African human values, in other to avoid the staggering social malefactions and deep schisms in the capitalist society.

It is in this context that Gyekye's disagreement with the premise of Nkrumah's Philosophical Consciencism must be examined. According to Gyekye (1997:148), Nkrumah's assertion that "there is a continuity of communalism with socialism is oversimplification" and "false." In fact, Gyekye's quotation of Nkrumah is incongruent with the full tenet of Nkrumah's Philosophical Consciencism. Notwithstanding elements of social hierarchy as well as private ownership of property, often by a family in precolonial Africa, Nkrumah explains:

what social thought in Africa must recapture is not the structure of the traditional African society but its spirit, for the spirit of communalism is crystallized in its humanism and in its reconciliation of individual advancement with group. (Nkrumah, 1973a:441)

This is a moral as well as ethical value—social justice, equality, fraternity, humanity and a healthy form of the public life—found in traditional African society. Philosophical Consciencism is a search for rational methods of social and cultural development, and social order in the aftermath of enslavement by foreign capitalist countries. Thus, Nkrumah's conceptual framework concerning communalistic ethos as the ancestor of scientific socialism is largely based on Africa's historical and cultural experience with Europe. As Cudjoe (1995:34) explains, "the social-political ancestor of socialism is African communalism in Africa, and one does not go that far to recognize that this historical unity was dislocated by colonialism and could be reconciled only through scientific socialism."

Nelson's (1985:242) conclusions on dialectical conception of African history better clarify Nkrumah's argument. First, the European exploitative society with its antagonistic class cleavages in slavery, feudalism and capitalism is alien to traditional African society. His second conclusion is that scientific "socialism and traditional African society could

be seen as having a common conceptual lineage," and not a continuity of the former with the latter, as Gyekye alleges. For, every revolutionary thought as a conscious movement cannot develop without drawing from the cultural values of the people, which contributed to their survival during oppression (Touré, 1976:102).

Yet, in his *Class Struggle in Africa*, written after his government's overthrow by the military on February 24, 1966, Nkrumah alters his previous supposition that class has the tendency of dividing Africans. At the core of the military coups and the outbreak of civil wars is the class struggle (Nkrumah, 1970b:9–10). The social category, class, he defines, "is the sum total of individuals bound together by certain interests" which "they try to preserve and protect" Class conflicts, he continues, result from the rise of private ownership of the means of production; thus the moment "capitalists start exploiting the workers, the capitalists become a bourgeois class," whilst "the exploited workers become a working class" (Ibid: 17).

Class struggle, Nkrumah maintains, is absent in every socialist state, since the government represents workers and peasants; whereas in the capitalist society the government represents the capitalist. Hence, a ruling class, Nkrumah adds, "is cohesive and conscious of itself as a class. It is conscious of its objective interests, position and the threat posed to its continual domination "by the rising tide of working class revolt" (Ibid: 19). Freedom, to the capitalist class means "the absence of restraint, of *laissezfaire*, free enterprise," and of "economic Darwinism;" in this case, the government sees its role as protecting the private property and private ownership of the means of production and distribution of goods and services. Furthermore, capitalists, Nkrumah explains, confine freedom to the political sphere without any relevance to economic issues. They equate capitalism with economic freedom. Secondly, "the bourgeois" conception of freedom is the bourgeois worship of 'law and order' regardless of who made the law" and in whose interest the law protects, Nkrumah (Ibid: 24) maintains. Therefore, inequality, from his stand point, can only cease by the obliteration of classes.

In pre-colonial Africa, Nkrumah explains, "there were embryonic class cleavages, and did not surface until colonialism appeared on the continent. During the anti-colonial struggle, between eighty and ninety percent of the population consisted of peasants and agricultural laborers in Africa, while the industrial and urban workers represented five percent. Therefore, "conflicts between the African peoples and interests of neocolonialism, colonialism, imperialism and settler regimes concealed all other contradictory forces." This, to some degree explains why class or vanguard parties have been so long emerged in Africa" (Ibid: 19).

But because different classes joined together during the anti-colonial struggle, sharp class cleavages were blurred. In the 1960s, the drive for a nationalist front was deemed necessary in order to defeat the colonial oppression and exploitation and its local compradors. This, according to Nkrumah (Ibid: 10), prompted some African leaders to proclaim that the communal and egalitarian way of life in traditional Africa "made any notion of class struggle out of question." As in Ghana, this fallacy became transparent at the time Nkrumah's government began to make known its socialist program.

In Africa, the bourgeoisie tends to emulate the standard of living of "the old colonial ruling class, which is not necessarily the way of life of European bourgeoisie;" rather, it is "the way of life of a racial group in a colonial situation" (Ibid: 25). In this way, the African bourgeoisie perpetuates master-servant relationship in a post-independence

Africa. Their Eurocentric conditioning is identifiable by their habits, value system, dress, institutions and fraternal organizations. Associations such as professional chambers of commerce, stock exchanges, rotary clubs and masonic societies are identified with them; just as co-operative and trade unions are organizations associated with the peasants and working class. And these Western educated "white-color" personnel can best be classified as petty bourgeois, "African bourgeoisie" or elite. In Ghana, this elite class found their interest threatened by Nkrumah's socio-economic and cultural ideas, policies and the non-capitalist system path of development.

It is true that African societies have not always been homogenous, but his previous statement that class structure began to develop with clearly identifiable classes of proletariat and bourgeoisie is inconclusive. The special interest group at the era of colonialism in Ghana held no real political and economic power; rather, it was through the Indirect Rule that a few paramount "chiefs" enjoyed absolute authority over their citizens. Majority of the population consisted of peasants and laborers, and only the small mining and railroad workers can be said to be proletariat as in capitalist countries. Therefore, the kind of class struggle that emerged in post-colonial Africa was not exactly between Marxian proletariat and bourgeoisie.

Nkrumah finds the concept, African socialism, meaningless and irrelevant. It is a myth "used to deny the class struggle, and to obscure genuine socialist commitment by those African leaders who are compelled to proclaim socialist policies, but who are at the same time deeply committed to international capitalism" (Ibid: 26). Nkrumah writes:

While there is no hard and fast dogma for socialist revolution, and specific circumstances at a definite historical period will determine the precise form it will take, there can be no compromise over socialist goals. The principles of scientific socialism are universal and abiding, and involve the genuine socialization of productive and distributive processes, Those who for political reasons pay lip service to socialism, while aiding and abetting imperialism and neocolonialism, serve bourgeois class interests. Workers and peasants may be misled for a time, but as class consciousness develops the bogus socialists are exposed, and genuine socialist revolution is made possible. (Ibid: 26)

These statements dismiss the notion that there is a form of socialism applicable to Africa that derived from purely communal and egalitarian aspects of traditional society. As pointed out earlier, Nkrumah drew from the spirit of traditional African egalitarianism and humanist values and not the communal structure to formulate his Philosophical Consciencism. With the revision of the first edition of *Consciencism*, Nkrumah's political philosophy should be seen as a progressing political thought. And I agree with Hountondji when he counsels that "*Consciencism* must be read with an essentially critical eye, as evidence of a particular stage in the development of Nkrumah's thought...and avoid treating it as the author's last word in philosophy" (Hountondji: 142), Writing in August 15, 1969, after his overthrow by the CIA orchestrated coup on February 24, 1966, Nkrumah modified *Consciencism*, especially in Chapter Three and said:

Since the publication of the first edition of *Consciencism* in 1964, the African Revolution has decisively entered a new phase, the phase of armed struggle. In every part of our continent, African revolutionaries are either preparing for armed struggle, or are actively engaged in military operations against the forces of reaction and counter-revolution. The issues are clearer now than they have ever been, The succession of military coups, which have in recent years taken place in Africa, have exposed the closed link between the interests of neo-colonialism and the indigenous bourgeoisie. These coups have brought into sharp relief the nature and the extent of the class struggle in Africa. Foreign monopoly capitalists are in close association with local reactionaries, and have made use of officers among the armed forces in order to frustrate the purpose of the African Revolution. (1970a)

Nkrumah's political thought thus identifies ideology as an expression of "class interest and class consciousness" He finds "liberalism, individualism, elitism, and bourgeois democracy" as "examples of bourgeois ideology." Socialism and communism on the other hand "are ideologies of the working class, and reflect its aspirations and politico-economic institutions and organizations" (Nkrumah, 1970b:23). Therefore, every system of government "whether parliamentary multi-party, one-party or open military dictator, reflects the interests of certain classes in" a given society. In other words, the state "is the expression of the dominant class over other classes" Nkrumah (Ibid: 17) elucidates. It follows that a one-party socialist system of government denotes classlessness; likewise, wherever there are sharp class cleavages in a society with multi-parties, there is a government by single party. The Republican and Democratic Parties in the United States as well as the Conservative and Labor Parties in Britain, for instance, can both be classified as a single party, since they represent a single class, Nkrumah (Ibid: 18) further argues.

Nkrumah's thought about a one-party system of government should be understood in the context of his socialist ideas. His argument for the evolution of new forms of government quite different from the Western pattern but no less democratic in their protection of the individual and his inalienable rights, is also rooted in the traditional African political structure. He explains that, "because of Africa's egalitarian society, the development of one-party democratic system becomes natural and understandable (Nkrumah, 1973a:372)." And the multi-party system in Western countries is, in fact, a reflection of a social cleavage, and a type of class system, which does exist in African societies. Thus,

A one-party system of government is an effective and safe instrument only when it operates in a socialist society. In other words, it must be a political expression of the will of the masses working for the ultimate good and welfare of the people as whole. (Ibid: 372)

The implication here is that a one-party system of government can only function for the good of all in the framework of a socialist state or state with a socialist program in post-independence Africa. He saw it as a means of building a new post-colonial nation with

very little hindrance in the way of progress. But a one-party system of government in a neocolonial country, subject to external pressures and control, Nkrumah cautions, can quickly degenerate “into the most dangerous forms of tyranny, despotism and oppression” (Ibid: 372). It was against this background that he conceived the construct, neo-colonialism, and ceaselessly campaigned against it, in order to establish a one-party system of government for the evolving socialist Ghana.

INSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS OF NKRUMAH'S CULTURAL THOUGHT

Post-independence African cultural thought and institutions fall under what Diagne (1979:125) describes as cultural renaissance. Touré points out that colonial domination broke the normal process of development in the African societies, and plunged the whole continent into the same political, economic, social and cultural situation (1976:96). As a consequence, the cultural thought of African nationalist leaders, emerged primarily as a tool for re-conquering African people's optimum cultural space. It was an attempt to bring culture up to date, and to integrate it into the new Africa. It was also a reaction against the European ethnocentric ideology and cultural imperialism, which had curbed the national cultures of the African continent.

Karenga (1990:XI) opines that the key crisis and challenges in the African American communities is one of culture. Likewise, the root of socio-economic problems in post-independence Africa lies in the cultural dislocation of the African. The task, as seen by some of the African leaders, therefore, was to “rescue and reconstruct the best of ancient African culture and use it as a paradigm for a renewed modern African culture,” to borrow Karenga's phrase. Thus, it is by taking this challenge that Africans can retake control of their destiny and daily lives, shape them in their own image and interest; it also meant stepping back on the stage of human history as a free, proud and productive people. This was thrust of Kwame Nkrumah's cultural thought.

As defined by Nketia, institutional aspect of culture gives scope for social and political action and facilitates socio-economic development or heightens the organization of cultural activities. Combined with the philosophical aspect of culture, institutions may stimulate and create intellectual environment for institutional developments.

Ani (1994:1) views intellectual decolonization as a prerequisite for an effective “creation of successful decolonization and cultural reconstruction strategies. She explains that the success of Europe's political imperialism “can be accredited not so much to superior military might, as to the weapon of culture. The former ensures immediate control but requires continual physical force for the maintenance of power, while the latter succeeds in long-lasting dominance that enlists the cooperation of its victims” (Ibid: 1).

Nkrumah, in his writings and speeches, uplifted the spirit of his ancestors and advanced their culture of struggle. He embodied what Touré (1976:104) refers to as “all the aspiration of his people, aspiration to conquer all the material and immaterial values, aspiration to permanent progress, aspiration to reach the valuable scale of mankind and who efficiently contributed to the continued progress of the people.” The core of the institutional aspect of Nkrumah's cultural thought is manifested in African classical

history. Thus, the claim to African historical achievements cannot only rehabilitate the African people, but they can also draw inspirations from the genius of their ancestors towards a genuine political independence and socialist socio-economic development.

In *Consciencism*, Nkrumah dismisses the history of Africa by Eurocentric scholars as encumbered with malicious myth, especially the denial of Africans as historical people. Accordingly, while the “other continents had shaped the world history and determined its course, Africa had stood still, held down by inertia” (Nkrumah 1970a:62). The continent was only propelled into history by the European contact. And that Hegel’s infamous scholarship had “lent to the ahistorical hypothesis concerning Africa” (Ibid: 62). Thereafter, African culture and society were presented as being rudimentary and primitive and that colonialism was a duty of Christianity and civilization (Ibid: 62). “Africa’s sophisticated culture,” Nkrumah points out, “was said to be simple and paralyzed by inertia, hence subjugated politically” (Ibid: 62–63).

This distortion and omission of African personality and civilization propelled Nkrumah’s demand for an immediate and unconditional independence of Ghana and Africa from colonialism. Addressing the national assembly on July 10, 1953, Nkrumah justifies his demand for Ghana’s self-government in the light of African past glories. He reminded his audience as follows:

Before the Christian era, and before England had assumed any importance, our ancestors had attained a great empire, which lasted until the eleventh century, when it fell before the attacks of the Moors of the north. At its heights that empire stretched from Timbuktu to Bamako, and...the Atlantic. It is said that lawyers and scholars were much respected in that empire and that the inhabitants of Ghana wore garments of wool, cotton, silk and velvet. There was trade in copper, and gold and textile fabric, and jewels and weapons of gold and silver were carried. (1957:198)

Nkrumah’s argument was that the achievements by ancestors of Africa “give us confidence that we can create, out of the past, a glorious future.” “Just as the future moves from the past so the present has emerged from the past,” he further explains [Ibid: 199]. The theorem of Nkrumah’s demand for unconditional independence of Ghana can be found in the words of Padmore; thus, “when the Gold Coast African demands self-government today they are, in consequence, merely asserting their birthright which they never really surrendered to the British” (Ibid: 199).

Because culture is the result of a people history, and because it is from history that people draw inspiration to build a happy future, Nkrumah viewed the African renaissance as necessitating the rewriting of African history. From his intellectual standpoint, the rewriting of African history should focus on the history of African society, and not as the story of European adventures. In other words, it should be treated as enjoying its own integrity, or a mirror of that society, so that the European contact is seen as interference in African historical and cultural mission. In this regard, African history “comes to guide and direct African action” (Nkrumah 1970a:63) in terms of intellectual and artistic products.

As Fanon (1996:238) said there is dignity, glory and solemnity to gain from African past. Arguing for the cogency of African past, he writes:

The claim to a national culture, history in the past does rehabilitate that [African] nation and serve as a justification for the hope of a future national culture. In the sphere of psycho-effective equilibrium it is responsible for an important change in the native. Perhaps we have not sufficiently demonstrated that colonialism is not simply content to impose its rule upon the present and the future of a dominated country. Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the natives brains of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed, and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it. This work of devaluating pre-colonial history takes on a dialectical significance today. (Ibid: 238)

Here, Fanon does not only recognize the rebirth of Africa past as a worthy cause, but he also provides some insights into the nature of the estrangement of African culture and history during colonialism. For this reason, a successful African renaissance should proceed from a critical examination of the cultural estrangement characteristic of the colonial period. The most significant was the aggressive psychological warfare the colonialists designed "to convince the native that colonialism came to lighten their darkness." In this regard, colonial administrators, who never cease calling the African "negro as a savage" also sought to push into the heads of the Africans that if the Europeans were to leave "they (Africans) would at once fall back into barbarism, degradation, and bestiality" (Ibid: 238).

The European condemnation of Africa was continental in scope. In the eyes of the colonialist, "the 'Negro' was neither an Angolan nor a Nigerian; he simply spoke of the 'Negro.'" Therefore, any African-centered program in any academy should be straight away continental in its breath. Likewise, the African intellectual who desires to combat colonial misinformation and distortion of African phenomena ought to fight on the field of the whole continent. As would be discussed below, Nkrumah shared Fanon's discourse on the role of the African intellectual in combating colonial legacy. Nkrumah's vision of African culture is two-fold. One is the manifestation of African culture, which shows up as part of the African genius, identity and achievement in the past, Nketia indicated in our interview on December 31, 1996. The other is the institutional aspect of African culture. Based on his background in the United States, Nkrumah had come to see African culture as the basis of African-centered education. He was disillusioned by the set up of the University of Ghana, which was very much like Oxford and Cambridge universities, or "very much like the colonial culture and he wanted to change it." But, the plan to establish "the Institute of African Studies had so much opposition as he was trying to make it a university within a university and by approving twenty eight Fellows," Nketia indicated.

As indicated earlier, Nkrumah's cultural thought can only be comprehended in the light of his Philosophical Consciencism. He made manifest his cultural thought with respect to institutional development in several speeches and writings, the most seminal in the views of Awoonor, Hagan, Nketia, Abdallah and Anyidoho was "The African

Genius." This speech, marking the inaugural ceremony of the Institute of African Studies, on October 25, 1963, represents an affirmation and restitution of African culture which colonialism sought to destroy. The title of the speech itself is a philosophical statement asserting that the future of Africa can only advance from the knowledge of its glorious past. It outlined a new aggressive and African-centered approach to intellectual and artistic pursuits in the new Africa. To this end, he raised philosophical questions as to the relevance of the Institute in terms of its specific contribution to the advancement of knowledge about the people and cultures of Africa through past history and the contemporary. Here, we discover for the first time Nkrumah's statement on African-centered perspective to the study of African phenomena in post-independence Africa.

One essential function of this Institute must surely be to study the history, culture and institutions, languages and arts of Ghana and of Africa in new African centered ways—in entire freedom from the propositions and presuppositions of the colonial epoch, and from the distortions of those professors and lecturers who continue to make European studies of Africa the basis of this new assessment. By the work of this institute, we must re-assess and assess the glories and achievements of our African past and inspire our generation, and succeeding generations, with a vision of a better future. (1992:14)

This passage reflects Nkrumah's thought on the need to infuse the educational and artistic creation with an African-centered historical and cultural content. This, for Awoonor, meant that the struggle for independence was not purely the anti-imperialism, anti-colonialist struggle and independence from the British, 'with everything following automatically.' It called for a conscious effort to reconstruct and energize the new African operating from his historical and cultural experiences.

As Carter G. Woodson (1994:1) noted, the educated African Americans were "taught to admire the Hebrew, the Greek, the Latin and Teuton and despise the African." The cause of this was rooted in the content of the education they received from the Black "colleges and universities where the 'Negro' is thought of as the race or studied only as a problem or dismissed as of little consequence." Diop has also explained that, "The West has modernized but it has maintained its closeness to its classical source. It is inconceivable to imagine modern Europe cut off from this long-live past," (July: 139). If one looks "at the Western history, legal system, sociology, or philosophy," July cites Diop, they are "all rooted firmly in Greco-Latin culture" (Ibid: 139). Therefore, "any African historian who evades the problem of Egypt is neither modest nor objective... He is ignorant, cowardly, and neurotic. To ignore Egypt is comparable to a Westerner writing a history of Europe without reference to Greco-Latin origins" (Ibid: 139). Diop in his *Civilization or Barbarism* takes the position that:

We must underscore the abyss that separates us from those Africans who believe that it can be enough to flirt with Egyptian culture. For us, the return to Egypt in all domains is the necessary condition for reconciling African civilization with history, in order to be able to construct a body of modern human science, in order to renovate African culture... For a look

toward Egypt of antiquity is the best way to conceive and build our cultural future. In reconceived and renewed African culture, Egypt will play the same role that Greco-Latin antiquity plays in Western culture. (1991:3)

Here, Diop sees the “historical factor as the cultural cement that unifies the disparate elements of a people to make them into a whole by the particular slant of the feeling of historical continuity lived by the totality of the collective people” (Ibid: 212). Thus, it is the historical conscience that allows a people to distinguish itself from others. Again, through the feeling of cohesion that it creates, historical conscience constitutes the safest and the most solid shield of cultural security. This means that the essential thing for a people is “to rediscover the thread that connects them to their most remote ancestral past” (Ibid: 212).

Noticing Nkrumah's cultural thought as including science culture, Abdallah argued that, the products of scientific culture and civilization are not the monopoly of any nation or group of people. It is a process in which, at one point or another, different nations and peoples have been custodians, and that science, “was initiated by the original thinking of our people, called ancient Egyptians,” Abdallah added.

It is in this context that Robert July's criticism on Nkrumah's call for re-assessment and re-interpretation of the Africa's glorious past is evaluated. July (1978:130) posits that, “by all odds the most genuinely revolutionary of Africa's nationalist leaders, Nkrumah sought to create a new Ghana and a new Africa, in the process of destroying the old ways that the new were designed to replace.” He adds that the “chiefs were far too conservative for the dynamic Doctor Nkrumah; for them the world changed but slowly and the past had immediacy that made it sometimes indisquishable from present” (Ibid: 130). These statements invite some responses. First, the idea of re-assessment and re-interpretation of African past glories and achievements did not amount to “destroying the old ways.” It meant returning to the pre-colonial African cultural and historical achievements in order to inspire the new generation. Second, it implied the rewriting of African history distorted and omitted from world history by Hegel and other European missionaries and scholars.

In the first place, the so-called “chiefs” were themselves divided between Nkrumah's immediate and unconditional demand for independence and Danquah's gradual approach to independence. For example, Nana Sir Tsibu Darku stood on the UGCC ticket in his own traditional area as the Paramount king, and was defeated by the CPP candidate Pobee, a locomotive engine driver, trade unionist (Bing: 142). On a larger scale, Nii Kwabena Bonne II, Mantse of Osu Alata, (a Ga divisional king) organized a nationwide boycott of European textiles and merchandize in February 1948 in response to rising prices and threat of inflation. “Believing that the work, which I am doing, is one, which will help my country, I am prepared to die if only it will make the Gold Coast a better place,” the king declared (Nkrumah, 1973b:4).

Another example that disputes the alleged conflict between Nkrumah and the traditional rulers is the case of Omanhene of Esikado, Nana Dr. Kwabena Nketsia. In 1948, he refused to allow the celebration of the British “Empire Day” at the public park in Sekondi, in protest against the imprisonment of Kwame Nkrumah. Through the “gong gong,” he announced that the ground where the Empire Day was usually celebrated

would not be available on May 24, 1948, He could not see the validity in going to salute a [British] flag under which the people were nothing "but poor slaves." The teachers and schoolchildren obeyed his orders, and there was no Empire Day celebration that year (Ibid: 9).

In a speech titled, "Forward With the People," cited in *Political Awakening of Africa*, Nkrumah expressed his thought on the need to adapt the traditional political institution to the new society inherited from colonialism (1951:112). Speaking on "African History Through African Eyes," Nkrumah viewed democracy for Africa not as "a matter of techniques, but [as] a matter of socialist goals and aims," which "we lost due to European education" (1962:26). His appointment of Adontenhene of Akyem Abuakwa, Nana Kena II as Ghana's High Commissioner to India was a manifestation of his vision of the new role the traditional leaders could play in the new Africa. Nkrumah also appointed Nana Ayirebi Ackwah as the Chairman of the National Education Trust, and his former foe Nana Sir Tsibu Darku to the position of Chairman of Cocoa Marketing Board. It must be recalled that Nkrumah himself was enstooled a king in his mother's kingdom at Nkroful (Hagan, 1991b:9). The fact of the matter is that, both the intelligentsia and those privileged traditional rulers found Nkrumah and his political "party as *parvenus*, and potential usurpers of power from the legitimate heirs to the British" (Arhin, 1991:31).

In view of this, was Nkrumah's statement on re-assessment re-interpretation of African civilization an "appeal to the past," in terms "of traditions and ancient culture, much of which was healthy and virile, and highly resistant to political fashions that now decreed its demise?" as alluded by July (1987:130). On the contrary, Nkrumah's consciousness of the importance of historical factors in the liberation of Africa from the shackles of colonialism, was the most efficient cultural weapon with which the African people could arm themselves to rediscover their personality. Also, Nkrumah's reference to Africa's past did not amount to destroying the traditional institutions, but rather to draw inspirations and lessons from the achievements of African ancestors to bear on post-independence Africa.

The call to African past served as a reminder of African history and personality that the Europeans sought to destroy. It was also meant to rescue, restore and reconstruct the core values in Africa's classical culture to bear on the present. As Noire Diop wrote in his "Unite' Cultural de l'Afrique," it is "only a real knowledge of the past that can give one the sense of a historical continuity" (Ibid: 135). In effect, it meant that if the African was being born under the age of this political time, Awoonor elucidated in our interview, he should be a new African who was not cowed down by the distortion of his history, but one who should raise his head up and assert himself." As he recalled "we as individual young people at that time, were all inkling around and writing so fast" to capture the experiences of the African from a new intellectual framework. "We were like the foot soldiers of Nkrumah in the cultural field." As a consequence, writers association, The Writers Workshop, the Drama Studio, *Okyeame* magazine and some others came into existence.

In Nketia's view, Nkrumah's statement was meant to find a new way of interpreting African history. In other words, it was meant to recognize the fact that some studies had been made; there were a lot of scholars in the African studies field, but they were all mostly using the paradigms that they were accustomed to. "They might not have had any bad intention of twisting the historical fact; but those were the paradigms they knew."

Among them were a few that were trying to find an African orientation, which fell in line with Nkrumah's stand on combating the old colonial inheritance. As Nketia affirmed, African centered perspective is the only way to overcome colonial legacy.

For Opoku, Nkrumah's cultural thought meant refuting the "lies told about African past" by European scholars, and he wanted the post-independence African scholars to reassess those distortions. Thus, since "every nation has got something that needs to be discovered," Nkrumah, Opoku recalled in our interview on January 6, 1997, insisted on unraveling "the untruths" that had been told about African past. As a consequence, "we, in the Institute, were more turning away from the Western documents to other documents, And that was how we came to organize the collection of Arabic manuscripts. It was part of the new orientation," Nketia clarified. For instance, the collection of oral traditions, Nketia disclosed, "was in the direction of getting new interpretation, which was African-centered."

In Nkrumah's thinking, any uncritical pursuit of a Eurocentric educational program is inimical to a genuine political independence. His thought process was that just the opposite would occur, that by embracing Western culture, Africa would lose its intellectual and artistic freedom, He stressed that the mere achievement of national sovereignty could not ensure cultural independence, unless it is rooted in African people's historical and cultural experiences. By implication, the re-interpretation and the new assessment of the factors making up the African past, must note the following:

That African studies, in the form in which they have developed in the universities and centres of learning in the West, have been largely influenced by the concept of the old style 'colonial studies,' and still to some extent remain under the shadow of colonial ideologies and mentalities. (1992:13)

This statement by Nkrumah was meant to abrogate "the study of African history as a minor and marginal theme within the framework of [the British] imperial history" (Ibid: 13). Nkrumah further demonstrates his African-centered perspective when he admonishes the subordinated nature in which the study of African social and culture was done "to maintain the apparatus of colonial powers." In this regard, he stressed the need to combat the "tendency to look to social anthropologists" in British institutions of higher learning "to provide the kind of knowledge that would help to support the particular brand of colonial policy known as Indirect Rule." Indirect Rule here refers to the undue powers the British colonialists gave to the African kings to oppress their own people in contrast to the underpinning Seven Cardinal Virtues of Ma'at—Justice, Harmony, Balance, Righteousness, Reciprocity, Truth, and Order—of pre-colonial political institutions and structures in Africa.

Nkrumah was mindful of the Western orientation of the professors and research Fellows when he called for an African-centered interpretation and assessment of African experiences. The Western universities, where they had attained their academic laurels, had largely conditioned their intellectual outlook. For this reason, the new assessment and the ideological perspective of the foreign intellectuals also became the primary concern in Nkrumah's vision for a new Africa.

We appreciate, however, that their mental make-up has been largely influenced by their system of education and the facts of their society and environment. For this reason, they must endeavour to adjust and reorientate their attitudes and thoughts to our African conditions and aspirations. They must not try simply to reproduce here their own diverse patterns of education and culture. They must embrace and develop those aspirations and responsibilities, which are clearly essential for maintaining a progressive and dynamic African society. (Ibid: 14)

For Nkrumah, an African university cannot serve the society unless it is rooted in the indigenous social structures and cultural institutions. Secondly, it would not be able to reach the people in the society without a firm grasp of the philosophical principles that had guided African people throughout history. The irony, however, was that the Institute was part of a university, whose academic board was made of people, whose mental make-up had largely been influenced by the system of education imported from Europe. These were people responsible for the approval and disapproval of the curriculum of all programs. Also, his concerns on the ideological orientation of the foreign intellectuals, in the light of his demand for an African-centered perspective in scholarship in an African university, were insufficient. The mere expression of his concern could not simply alter their Eurocentric intellectual and cultural values. A critical examination and a complete reversal of the mission and cultural character of the entire university would have been appropriate. Otherwise, the Institute of African Studies, as a unit within the university system, alone could not combat the cultural character of the imported education.

As Ashby (1964:11) observes, the universities of Ghana and Ibadan “were exported from Britain on the old assumption about social function.” In content, the curriculum of these institutions followed the English pattern through Cambridge, Oxford and the University of London [Ibid: 33]. The thrust of such curriculum was noted in India where the British governor Macaulay hoped “to create in India a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in moral and in intellect” (Ibid: 2).

Giving his commencement speech at Fisk University in 1933, on “The Field and Function of the Negro College,” W.E.B. Du Bois (1973:92) maintained that the African American problem had to “be the center of Negro university.” He evinced that the teaching of African American students in racist America, and their experiences should be at the core of their education. He explained further:

upon these foundations, therefore, your university must start and build.... A university in Spain is not simply a university. It is a Spanish university. It is a university located in Spain. It uses the Spanish language. It starts with Spanish history and makes conditions in Spain the starting point of its teaching. Its education is for Spaniards, not for them as they may be or ought to be, but as they are with their present problems and disadvantages and opportunities. (Ibid: 93)

Du Bois's further argument also has some direct bearing on the situation to which Nkrumah addressed in his speech. Spanish university, Du Bois pointed out, “is founded and grounded in Spain, just as... French university is French.” But there were some

“Negro” scholars similar to those found at the University of Ghana at the time, who had difficulty in apprehending this very clear truth. In the view of such people, “French university,” for example, “is in a singular sense universal, and is based on a comprehension and inclusion of all mankind and their problems,” Du Bois added. On the contrary, “the problems of French people are its major problems and it becomes universal only so far as other peoples of the world comprehend and are at one with France in its mighty beautiful history” (Ibid: 93).

It is in the same spirit that an African university in Africa must begin with African people's experiences. President C.W.Eliot of Harvard understood this when he wrote that:

A university...must grow from seed. It cannot be transported from England or Germany in full leaf and bearing... When the American University appears, it will not be a copy of foreign institutions,... but the slow and natural outgrowth of American social and political habits. (Ashby, 1973:3)

This statement dismisses the notion of the so-called universalistic nature of a university. As the old adage goes, “charity begins at home.”

Therefore, Nkrumah's call for African-centered curricula and mission of the Institute of African Studies in Ghana, in a university founded on the principles of European cultural traditions, was inadequate. He made no mention of the need to develop a conscious and sustained evolution of a corresponding African-centered paradigm for the entire university. Thus, simply urging the scholars, mostly products of Europeans universities, “to develop, amplify and apply these in relation to the actual possibilities that present themselves to you” (1992:18) underestimated the depth of colonial legacy. As Ashby notes, one of the symptoms of British cultural nationalism, was an invisible confidence of British education for export.

Casely-Hayford foresaw this negative impact of colonialism on the African in his proposal for an African university. In his “Ethiopia Unbound,” Casely-Hayford emphasized that an African university must not be a “mere foreign imitation,” but should be African in orientation in order to train the African “to preserve his national identity and race instincts” (Anyidoho, 1992:5). In his vision, an African university should make it expedient for the revision of the distorted and erroneous ideas about Africa and its people. What is striking was his vision of an African university as a center “of national conservancy and evolution,” and which “would preserve in the (African) students a sense of African nationalism” (Ashby: 13). Edward Blyden, though could not distinguish between modern Western civilization and Greco-Roman literature, maintained that an African university should be free from the grip of the “despotic Europeanizing influences which had warped and crushed the negro mind” (Ibid: 3).

In *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*, Ngugi analyses at length the organic relationship between language and culture. “Language,” he explains ‘has a dual character, it is both a means of communication and a carrier of culture’ (1986:13). Thus, “language as culture is the collective memory bank of a people's experience in history” (Ibid: 14). For instance, “Hegel's statement that there was nothing harmonious with humanity to be found in the African character,” Ngugi further

points out, "is representative of the racist images of Africans and Africa such a colonial child was bound to encounter in the literature of the colonial language" (Ibid: 18). As is commonly held, it was through the promotion of European languages by European missionary's schools that the European trained African scholar developed special affinity to European classical history, philosophy, law and literature.

The reversal of this trend in Nkrumah's perspective meant the study of African languages and other relevant non-African languages containing African classics. For the Institute of African Studies, this meant co-operating with other institutes and centers of African studies in other African states to produce what Nkrumah described as "an extensive and diversified Library of African Classics." He envisioned the library to house "editions, with translations and commentaries or works—whether in African, Asian or European languages—which are of special value for the student of African history, philosophy, literature and law" (1992:14).

According to Nketia, Nkrumah's interest in putting together what he described as African classics meant literary forms cultivated in African societies; they included materials emerging from those forms which are passed on from generations to generations, but which also served as models for creativity. And the simplest kind of materials one would think of were the folk tales and epics. It must be pointed out that Nkrumah also viewed the collection of oral traditions and documentation of African classics in Arabic and Hausa languages as positive steps toward the rebirth of African history (Ibid: 15). He found works undertaken by some of the staff in the Institute consistent with his concept of African studies.

I also regard as important the work, which you are doing in the collection of stool histories and other forms of oral tradition—of poetry and African literature in all its forms—of which one admirable expression is Professor Nketia's.... 'Folks Songs of Ghana,' and Kofi Antubam's latest book on African culture... I must also mention here Ephram Amu whose work has created and established a Ghanaian style of music and revived an appreciation for it. Our old friend, J.B.Danquah, has also produced studies of Akan culture and institutions. (Ibid: 15)

According to Nketia, Nkrumah, in fact got some people together to think of collecting folktales, from which selections could be made, translated and published as models of African classical. It included the epics and anything that could be replicated by a succession of generations into publications. This was also a manifestation of the African genius. In other words, what the African genius was able to produce in the past should form the basis of the new Africa. We note that Nkrumah's stand on African languages in the academy was not new. While working at the African Studies Center at the University of Pennsylvania as an instructor, he published "Native African Tongues," a comprehensive listing by names and pronunciation of African languages with special emphasis on West Africa (*Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 27th of June, 1943, Sec. 5. E25).

AFRICAN PERSONALITY

Kwame Nkrumah's conceptualization of African personality is intricately linked to his cultural thought. His conception, in many ways, differs from other proponents of African personality. Kambon defines it as "the system of psychological...and behavior traits that are fundamental to African people." Also, it is "the African cultural reality manifesting itself in the basic psychological disposition and behavior of African people" (Kambon, 1992:213). By "psychological traits" he means the "spiritual, cognitive emotional, biochemical constitution, whilst cultural reality refers to "collective psychogenetic" of African people. In order not to get into the polemics of his conception of African personality, it must be pointed out that this biogenetic and biochemical stance is inimical to that of Nkrumah.

Writing on "The Concept of African Personality: Sociological Implications," Tembo refers to African personality as "the manifestation of uniqueness among Africans as reflected in their behavior, social norms, customs, values, beliefs, religious zeal, attitudes, explanations of the cosmos and the supernatural, social and political systems historically and in contemporary times" (1990:193). This definition comes close to Nkrumah's conception in terms of its cultural and political content. However, his citation of Kaunda's discourse on psychology in support of what he refers to as "proAfrican school" rather affirms Plato's equation of non-Greek aristocrats with emotions. According to Kaunda, "the Westerner has problem-solving mind, whilst the African has a situation-experiencing mind" (Ibid: 193-194). In effect, Plato's supposition views mind and body as polar opposites. It holds that "reason is a higher principle" while emotion is associated with lower capacity" (Ani, 1993:32).

As cited in chapter one, the idea of African personality had, prior to Nkrumah, been used by "the caliber of O.Awolowo, Nnamdi Azikiwe and Jomo Kenyatta" (Diagne, 1978:161). Historically, it was Edward Blyden who first used "the term of African personality," and said "Africa is struggling for a separate personality" (Legum, 1962:20). But it was not until the November 1958 "All African Peoples Conference" in Accra that Nkrumah gave the concept, African personality, its prominence and political significance. Here, it must be pointed out that Diagne's seeming equation of the concept of African personality with Fanon's "idea of a "National Consciousness," Nyerere's "Ujama", Touré's "Africanity" and Mobutu's "Authenticity" is questionable. For example, Touré's and Mobutu's concurrent use of the concept "authenticity" with "African personality," as he implies, can be misleading. Mobutu, he quotes, defines authenticity as "the duty to think and to act independently" (Diagne, 1979:170). Toure's conception of authenticity, he cites, is:

That colonialism has produced a falsification in (inauthenticite') and a depersonalization of the colonized people's way of thinking. Therefore Authenticity means partly becoming reconciled with one's heritage and one's particular reality. As a step towards a renaissance, it implies destroying the colonial structures and replacing them with new structures

corresponding as closely as possible to the requirements of our development and our new needs. (Ibid: 170)

By comparison, Mobutu's idea of authenticity, and that of Touré are at variance. They belong to different philosophical and ideological schools as the post-independence African history has shown. The differences in their political actions and economic practices are common knowledge to historians as well as students of post-independent Africa. The most important thing is not the use of term; what is significant is the essence of a concept a person uses. Therefore, Diagne's assertion that all the "African renaissance ideologies" (Mobutu's Authenticity included) were "always to liberate the African and to restore his identity and creativity," cannot be taken as an accurate representation of the core tents of African personality.

African personality emerged as a socio-cultural construct arising from the cultural and historical experiences of African peoples unknown to any specific humankind. In other words, post-independence African historical as well as cultural consciousness owes its origin to the inhuman and ruinous nature of the European slave trade, colonialism and neo-colonialism. As Diop explains, cultural personality consists of historical, linguistic and psychological factors. It holds that, any discourse on post-independence African personality should not be limited to just psychological and/or social inquiry; it should be extended to cover historical and cultural (including linguistic) investigation (Diop, 1991:211–215).

Nkrumah's African personality refers to "the cluster of African humanist principles which underline the traditional African society" (1970a: 79). His conceptualization is not just "the mind of ideas and attitude which are identical and equally important in all of the otherwise different African cultures" (Diagne: 162). It is the revival of "the cultural and spiritual unity of the African people," and "our heritage, so that the African personality would become a strong driving force within the African revolution, and would at the same time become a factor to be reckoned with in the international community" (1973a:205). For Nkrumah:

African personality is merely a term expressing cultural and social bonds which unite Africans and people of African descent. It is a concept of the African nation, and is not associated with a particular state, language, religion, political system or colour of the skin. For those who project it, it expresses identification not only with African historical past, but with the struggle of the African people in the African Revolution to liberate and unify the continent and to built a just society. (Ibid: 205)

Noting that African personality is the driving force within the African revolution, Nkrumah points to how the imperialist Europe and their intruding tourists forgot that "we are a historic people responsible for our unique forms of language, culture and society" (Ibid: 208). Thus, it was time African people were treated as agents and not as spectators in the international community. Nkrumah's conceptualization of African personality is rooted in his conviction that "we are all African people" (Hagan, 1991b: 18). But, Nkrumah, he explains, "was convinced that it was a reality which had always been there, only waiting to be restored [Ibid: 18]. He saw the African personality in the context of his

strategy for determining the program of a key cultural institution as a model for other cultural institutions.

One finds in Nkrumah's identification of the dialectical poles in the African cultural situation the bearings that should determine Africa's quest for freedom and respectability. It holds that the re-assessment and re-assertion of African past glories and achievements serve as a reminder and rediscovery of African personality, a potent agency for building a new Africa. In other words, African personality dwarfed during colonialism "can only be retrieved if we make a conscious effort to restore Africa's ancient glory." In addition, it is only in the environment of total independence from foreign control and independence that Africans would find real fulfillment of their wishes and aspirations, "and the African genius finds its best expression," Nkrumah (1992:17) enucleates.

Addressing the first Conference of Independent African States in Accra in April 1958, Nkrumah expressed his thought on the many years that Africa had had to speak through the voices of Europeans. Therefore, African personality in international affairs meant Africa making its own impact in the world through the voices of Africans themselves. It also meant the readiness and ability of all Africans to manage their own domestic and international affairs. In his book, *I Speak of Freedom* Nkrumah made clear that it is through international peace and security that Africa would be able to assert its "own African personality and to develop according to our ways of life, our own customs, traditions and culture" (1973b:128).

Nkrumah's identification of African personality with African genius, meant "something different from Negritude, something not static, but dynamic" [1992:16]. Negritude, he explains:

consist in a mere literary affection and style which piles up word upon word and image upon image with occasional reference to Africa and things African. I do not mean a vague brotherhood based on a criterion of colour, or on the idea that Africans have no reasoning but only a sensitivity. By the African genius, I mean something positive, our socialist conception of society, the efficiency and validity of our traditional statecraft, our highly developed code of morals, our hospitality and our purposeful energy. (1992:16)

Like African personality, African genius is a composite of certain cultural characteristics. They include communalistic social values, efficient institutional structures, and a humane attitude to all humans. As pointed out earlier, it was from the attributes of African genius that "Nkrumah proceeded to explain his development strategy with reference to culture" (Hagan: 19). Because the mind is dynamic, he continues, the culture of the African cannot be seen in inert archetypes; and the way to nurture the "African genius is to infuse the educational system with the right cultural content" (Ibid: 19).

It is, therefore, inexact when July (1987:3) attempts to equate Nkrumah's thought on bringing traditional culture to bear on the new Africa with "Negritude movement's romantic appeal to African past." Also, Essien-Udom's attempt to lump all trends of Black Nationalism in the United States and Negritude together with African personality is misleading. Writing in *Black Nationalism: A Study For an Identity in America*, he considers black nationalism and Nkrumah's African personality as "the sense of cultural

incompleteness and subtle attraction to the center of white power.” According to him, “the idea of African Personality espoused by President Nkrumah of Ghana at the first Conference of Independent African States in 1958 as well as the cultural movement of Africans in French territories suffer from the same dilemma” (1989:62). Certainly, Essien-Udom’s observation amounts to what Touré (1976:196) describes as “depersonalization and alienation of the human values of the Black man.”

Negritude, according to Touré (Ibid: 196), is a product of history,” born out of colonialism and imperialism. “The theoretical justification of imperialism,” he points out, is a product of colonial and imperialist exploitation of African peoples. The theoretical justification of imperialism is thus “a denial of all human faculty to Africa, to the African, whose company is obviously degrading.” Thus, “giving proof of an odious racism, the white colonizers fostered among the colonizing nations a negrophobia.” Accordingly, Negritude “is a kind of denial of ourselves.” By Negritude, they gave the Europeans new weapons to destroy Africans and hold “us in contempt by going so far to assert that if reason is Hellenic, emotion is” to the African (Ibid: 198). But a revolutionary, as a conscious man, he explains, never fights on the enemy’s ground; he fights on his own ground. Touré further clarifies:

It is a lack of revolutionary conscience therefore that led to the creation of the concept of negritude. With the inferiority complex in us and convinced that we had neither civilization nor culture, we came to believe that we could not climb the rungs of the cultural ladder, but by defining ourselves in relations to those who are alienating our personality. (Ibid: 198)

The crusade on African personality or Black Nationalism at the turn of this century, Touré further explains, was as old as the capture and enslavement, and the colonization of African peoples. It was not driven by a sense of cultural imperfection and perspicacious “attraction to the center of white power,” as Essien-Udom claims. The voice of Africans in the century was a part of the African ancestral resistance to the denial of African humanity and what Asante (1990:14) refers to as the treatment and placement of African people at the fringes of Europe. Therefore Nkrumah’s speech, “African Personality” at the first “Conference of Independent African States” was a search for African agency. It is thus pointless to notice any dilemma in Nkrumah’s call for the newly independent African states to define African problems and solutions based on African historical and cultural experiences.

African personality, in Nkrumah’s view, manifests itself in all compartments of life. Opoku recalled Nkrumah identifying a clear manifestation of his concept of African personality in African dance. Quoting Nkrumah, Opoku said: “you see the African personality clearly in his dance, music and everything.” This was based on a scene in a documentary film which Opoku and Nkrumah watched together, Opoku indicted. The wife of a drum maker had brought him some food, and as the woman was leaving, the man hit her buttocks and Nkrumah exclaimed: “that’s so African!”

Nkrumah was convinced that through theater, Africans would be able to bring out things that were African, especially, the African Personality. Understanding it as embodying the intrinsic African values and system of thought, statecraft, and system of hospitality, Nkrumah envisioned African personality as capable of recovery, not only in

symbolic, nor in going back as it were, but bringing them to bear upon the new African situation. As Awoonor pointed out, Nkrumah "by Ghana's independence was sharply aware of the fact that the disintegration of the African personality was a clear manifestation of some of the important outcome of colonialism or the consequences of colonial experience. He was sharply aware of the relationship between the psychology of the colonialism and the culture of the colonized that Frantz Fanon (1996:238) talks about. Recognizing the negative impact of the colonial psychology on the psyche of the colonized African, therefore, meant that part of the first task of his government was to embark on a process of reintegrating the African personality, Awoonor explained.

It was for this reason that Nkrumah established the cultural institutions towards a psychological and intellectual emergence of a new African because of the trauma of the colonial experience or the disintegration of his personality during colonialism. This meant that scholars and artists had to contend themselves with undoing the distortions and negation of African history, religion, civilization, and worldview by the European historians, anthropologists and theologians. And part of the process was to be carried out by the Institute of African Studies, and by extension the School of Music and Drama as the nucleus of the National Theater Movement.

CREATIVE ASPECTS OF NKUMAH'S CULTURAL THOUGHT

Jegede posits that, "a people's perception of what qualifies to be art, in form, content, import and usage, varies from one culture to another" (1993:238). In the colonial days, dramatic activities formed part of the British Empire Day. "There were a lot of variety shows," Opoku indicated, and "all the artistic performances had nothing to do with us; it was all about European culture." The church was very anti African drumming and dancing. They "would say this is fetish, ancestral worship," he pointed out in our interview.

For Nkrumah, the rebirth of African culture meant the abrogation of the colonial legacy in respect of African arts in the academy. He saw African art forms as an inseparable component of the struggle against colonial legacy. Just as African socio-economic, agricultural and industrial developments were generally viewed from European exploitation, African music, dancing and sculpture were labeled primitive art. Nkrumah continues:

They were studied in such a way as to reinforce the picture of African society as something grotesque, as a curious, mysterious human backwater, which helped to retard social progress in Africa and to prolong colonial domination over its people. (1992:13)

In this regard, the Institute of African Studies situated in Africa, Nkrumah stressed, "must pay particular attention to the arts of Africa, for the study of these can enhance our understanding of African institutions and values, and the cultural bonds that unite us" (Ibid: 17).

Inaugurating the African Art Exhibition at the British Council in Accra, March 1956, Nkrumah (1973b:61) spoke of the contributions and the place of African arts in global

communities. "African art, music and dancing," he points out, "have played a significant part in the artistic revolution which has taken place all over the world in recent years." The traditional dances in Ghana, for instance, have "gone into the making of High Life, Calypso and many others," Nkrumah explained. He maintained that appreciation of African art should be "something more than a mere curiosity;" it should open the door to the understanding "and respect of the mind of the Africans" (Ibid: 61).

Nkrumah underscored the importance of arts in human life when he said that, "without the desire to create, man would soon become stagnant and uninteresting" (Ibid: 61). Notwithstanding this, the African scholar, he cautioned, should not be content with the accumulation of knowledge about the arts; their researches must stimulate creative activity towards the development of purposeful African-centered arts. Their creative work, he urged:

must contribute to the development of the arts in Ghana and in the other parts of Africa, they must stimulate the birth of a specifically African literature, which, exploring African themes and the depth of the African soul, will become an integral portion of a general world literature. It would be wrong to make this a mere appendage of world culture. (1992:17)

Welsh Asante shares Nkrumah's stress on the need to develop African-centered arts speaking to the material and spiritual conditions of life in post-independence. In her "The Aesthetic Conceptualization of Nzuri," she posits that "the cultural dynamics of a people create a specific aesthetic complexion" (1993:2). For, an artist in traditional "African society does not view society as an impartial observer in order to create, rather society actively gives vision and perspective from which to express one self" (Ibid: 2).

Theater in the new Africa, from Nkrumah's standpoint, should serve as an intellectual forum, artistic stimulus and driving force behind the cultural renaissance of Africa. Furthermore, he expressed that "a work of art is not the record of a bare matter of fact but the projection of the artist's inspiration, his emotions, preferences and sense of value." Consequently, the ideal of modern art is to express the traditional African values and not to imitate those of the Europeans. The contention is that art is a social documentation of the time that produced it. In other words, all arts are the product of time, place and space. Inaugurating his theater group, "Osagyefo Players" on January 24, 1965, he said:

Art in all its forms is expressive of the social conditions and social values of a people. The artist and therefore his creation as well were products of his time, In a series of artistic creations is mirrored the history of a people. The Akan people had no written record of their history and yet history is preserved in songs, dances, folk tales, dramas, music, and sculpture. Whenever there has been a significant change in the social attitude of a people, it has been reflected, directly or indirectly, in the mirror of art. (Osagyefo Players program, 1965)

In effect, Nkrumah's position on the social relevance of arts in post-colonial Africa was not unknown in the traditional societies. This relationship [between theater and society]

has existed in traditional Africa since the beginning of human civilization on the continent (Botwe-Asamoah, 1991:1). They include: "The Triumphant of Horus" [Fairmount, 1974] in Kemet [classical Egypt], epics of Sundiata of Mali, Mwindo of Angola, Osidi of Igbo, the legend of Kofi Gyemprem of Akyem Tafo, Olodumare creation story. Popular theater on market days in the Savanna region in West Africa, story telling theater and festivals [masquerade included], were and still are "live-out art forms."

Therefore, the arts have always been "integral to life and man's well being" (Jegede, 1993:238) or celebration of life. In the Sande society, for instance, singing facilitates the clitoridectomy ceremony, while dancing is a requirement for the entire ritual drama (Boone, 1986:65). Ceremonial drama in palaces, for instance, involved court musicians and dancers whose work "was part of a divine order," Welsh Asante (1993:2) points out. They have expressed African people's worldview, and their absence creates "an obvious but uncomfortable vacuum" (Jegede: 238).

Nkrumah's thought on the social function of the arts in the old African society negates Kant's discourse on art for art's sake. Defending Bowling's position on "political inscription as an inseparable ingredient of 'cultural context' producing the artist, Douglas writes as follows:

The artist, in turn, affirms his own being and relationships in a contextual world through his art. To those who would snicker from their critic's tower built upon the analytical doctrine of "form," I hasten to say that commitment to form is also an ideology steeped in narrow bourgeois politics born of "quasi-Kantians" precepts of value for its own sake. Kant's concepts of beauty, which most formalists adopt [consciously or not] as their "grande posture" of art for art's sake, were intended by Kant as an attempt to establish a terminal value disconnected from reward and motive. Those formalists who adopt it as their "grande posture" of art for art's sake fail to realize that as a critical posture their formalism limits the investigation of the art project as a product of a society that encourages, guides and often demands its peculiar formation. (1993:159)

Likewise, Nkrumah saw theater not only as a forum for intellectual discourse, but also as a medium for restoring African personality and history submerged during colonialism. In addition, his thought on the importance of the arts in the socio-economic transformation in Ghana was based on their ability to foster unity and harmony among different ethnic groups. His view on the inability of colonialism to destroy the rich African cultural heritage in art, music, dance, paintings and sculpture was rooted in the African artistic and aesthetic values. Thus, the African "culture and traditions have survived because they possess a special in-born power, a peculiar cultural image which we must now take upon ourselves to cultivate and develop," Nkrumah urged (Osagyefo Players program: 1965).

In "The African Genius," Nkrumah enunciated the importance of the university linking itself to the larger society, so that they could feed upon each other. "And that is why, when Efua Sutherland was working on the Drama Studio," Abdallah indicated, "Nkrumah said that it should be off campus into town, "so that there would be cross-fertilization." That meant feeding the results of the research into the community, and

getting feed back from the community into the university. "It is this kind of interchange that helps in the growth and development of culture," Abdallah explained.

For this reason, Nkrumah entreated the School of Music and Drama to provide the Institute of African Studies "with an outlet for creative work, and for the dissemination of knowledge of the arts through its academic endeavors and creative productions. Consequently:

This institute, in association with the School of Music and Drama, will link the University of Ghana closely with the National Theater Movement in Ghana. In this way the institute can serve the needs of the people by helping to develop new forms of dance and drama, of music and creative writing, that are at the same time closely related to our Ghanaian traditions and express the ideas and aspirations of our people at this critical stage in our history. This should lead to new strides in our cultural development. (1992:18)

Clearly, Nkrumah envisioned the "School of Music and Drama" to be the vanguard of the National Theater Movement in Ghana. Accordingly, the School was implored to develop models of excellence out of the traditional society for the new society. By traditional African society, he was urging the School to research into the origins and ideas that informed the African arts. For, Nkrumah "a comparable study of musical systems or the study of instruments, drum language, or the oral traditions that link music with social events, may illuminate historical problems or provide data for the study of our ethical and philosophical ideas" (Ibid: 17).

This statement summarizes the functions of the arts. First of all the arts are integrated into the social and cultural life; therefore, they are an essential part of culture reflecting "our institutions, mode of thinking which embody our philosophy," Nketia explained. The arts can contribute to the search for African personality, in terms of the intellectual faculty that is transmitted from generation to generation. For, "tradition is history with its customs and rituals..." it changes and "serves as both foundation and continuity of a society as progression occurs" (Welsh Asante, 1993:6).

The idea of research into the arts in the traditional African society, therefore, raises the question of artistic and aesthetic standard of the people. Kariamu Welsh Asante (1993:6); Robert Thompson (1974); Maulana Karenga (1993:397) Leroy Morrissea, Ntozake Shange (1979) and Larry Neal [1975] have discussed at length on the social relevance of African arts. Karenga, for instance, contends that for African "art to be real and relevant, it has to have three basic characteristics, namely functional, collective and committing" (1993:397).

Since "functionality is the normative in traditional African aesthetic (Welsh Asante, 1993:2), Nkrumah envisioned the scholar-artists to see their creative work not only as a forum for the restoration of African personality, but also as inspiring the Africans to make new strides in socio-economic and cultural advancement of Africa. Hence, the National Theater Movement that emerged in Ghana from 1955, and reached its height in 1960, was not to revive the African arts "for art's sake;" the movement was viewed as integral to the social, economic and cultural revolution in Ghana and Africa.

CONCLUSION

Nkrumah's socio-political philosophy is, in fact, culture bound. It is rooted in the pre-colonial African ethics, human values, egalitarian way of life and communal mode of economic activities. It was formulated in response to colonial exploitation, Eurocentric social thought and cultural hegemony that had dehumanize the African. His book, *Consciencism*, emphasizes the highest ideals underlying the traditional African society, and argues for the restoration of the spirit of classical African cultural values to bear on the new Africa. His premise is that scientific socialism has characteristics common with the spirit of communalism in traditional Africa, just as capitalism is linked with European feudalism. Therefore, "socialism can be and is the defense of the principles of communalism in a modern setting" (1970a:73). He acknowledged the contradiction between Euro-Christian and Islamic traditions, and the traditional African collective worldview. He said that Euro-Christian tradition and that of the Islam should be viewed only as an experience of the traditional African society. Hence, *Consciencism* suggests methods by which they could be harmonized to fit into traditional African cultural values, and for that matter African egalitarianism.

Nkrumah's politico-cultural thought was manifested during the struggle against colonialism. Because he understood the anti-colonial struggle as an act of culture, he wore and popularized African clothes, such as kente, batakari, and danced with the people. Wherever he went to campaign for independence, he waived the horse-tail to the people, employed African aesthetic through the use of colors and symbolic configurations, and encouraged for the first time the pouring of libation to African ancestors at political rallies (Hagan, 1991a:189). These, in effect, attest to his vision of African culture towards the reconstruction of post-colonial Africa.

Since the pre-colonial African personality was submerged during colonialism, Nkrumah saw its restoration as prerequisite for the socio-economic transformation in the new Africa. Also, he saw its revival as an important component of Pan-Africanism. African personality, he maintains, "finds its expression in a re-awakening consciousness among Africans and peoples of African descent of the bonds which unite us—our historical past, our culture, our common experience and our aspiration" (1973a:205). For Nkrumah, African personality is intrinsically socialistic; and that when socialism is true to its purpose, it seeks a connection with the egalitarian and humanist past of the people of Africa (1970a:78).

The question was not so much the idea as to the method of combating the colonial legacies. One method was formal education, but that was seen as part of the long-term strategy. African-centered theater, he envisioned, has the most vivid, potent and immediate way of restoring the African personality needed for socio-economic transformation in Ghana. An example of this medium was later to be seen in Kenya, where Ngugi wa Thiong'o, his colleague Ngugi wa Mirii and the people in Kamiriithu founded the Kamiriithu Community and Education and Cultural Center. Here, the people collectively created an African-centered theater, through which they developed social consciousness and discovered what Nkrumah would call their African personality (Ngugi, 1986:42–62).

Nkrumah's politico-cultural thought should thus be seen as holistic in nature and content. Though not clearly articulated, he understood culture as containing different

parts; "it was not only an integral, but it also was a vital or central part of the general project, socio-economic transformation, of moving a people forward with their history," Anyidoho reflected on Nkrumah's cultural thought. Since his first objective was in breaking down the colonial structures and ideology, Nkrumah realized that it was impossible to tackle that problem without the cultural factor, Anyidoho added.

A manifestation of this awareness dawned on him during his education in the United States. For instance, speaking to schoolchildren in Douglas Junior High School in Philadelphia in 1943, Nkrumah spoke on Africa, education, economics, politics and development. As part of his speech, he sang two traditional African songs, all in an attempt to dispel the widespread negative image of Africa in Western popular culture, media and books (Sherwood, 1996:79). For him, issues in politics, economics, philosophy and arts could not be separated; they are all manifestations of culture.

Nkrumah, in fact, understood the link between the manifestation of his politico-cultural thought and his cultural policy, with the performing arts becoming a part of the academy. In this regard, he envisaged the School of Music and Drama not only as an artistic and intellectual training ground for artists, but also saw its graduates providing leadership for the National Theater Movement towards the restoration of African personality. Thus, by rescuing the African personality through critical knowledge of Africa's glorious past and profound appreciation of African aesthetic and the arts, Africans would regain their dignity and agency in the context of socio-economic transformation. A manifestation of this awareness can be gleaned from the speech inaugurating his theater group, "Osagyefo Players." He said: "it is only when there is complete fusion between African culture (in this case the theater) and African politics that the African personality will find its highest expression" (unpublished document: 24th January 1965).

Chapter Four

The Political Policies of Kwame Nkrumah

The vision that I see...in that vision I see a parapet, and upon that parapet I see the mother of African unity and independence. Her body besmeared with the blood of the benighted of the race. On the same parapet I see the heroes of the race both living and dead, in unison, singing one national anthem. On the same parapet, I see cities in Africa springing up becoming the metropolises of art and learning and science and philosophy; and I hear, beyond that parapet, mortals resounding the rejoinder: "Seek ye first the political kingdom and liberty and all other things will be added unto it." (Timothy, 1963:130)

This excerpt from a speech that Kwame Nkrumah delivered at the Centennial Pavilion in Monrovia in January 1953, recited both by Awoonor and retired Colonel Oteng during our interviews, underscores his political policy and Pan-African project. In effect, the statement made Ghana the battleground and the centerpiece of Nkrumah's Pan-African project. Earlier, the founder of the National Congress of British West Africa, J.E.Casely-Hayford, had espoused a similar Pan-African vision, but was unable to attain political independence mainly because of the weakness of the Congress as an elitist organization.

Nkrumah theorizes that "practice without thought is blind" and "thought without practice is empty" (1970a:179). It follows that to every theory there should be a corresponding praxis to ascertain its potency. Otherwise, it would remain an untested hypothesis and/or assumption. Thus, it is by the interaction between thought and praxis that society goes through transformation. While a student in the US and England, Nkrumah took active part in and played leadership roles in Pan-African political movements. In the US, for instance, he had contacts with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Universal Negro Improvement Association, Urban League and the Council on African Affairs, from which he acquired the modus operandi of organization.

The nation of Ghana was created in 1957 from the British Gold Coast colony, the British conquered state of Asante (including the Brong Ahafo Region and Asante-Akyem), the British Protectorate Northern Territories and the United Nations' Trust Territory of Togo, under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah. But long before he descended on the political scene in the Gold Coast, the social and political activism had been confined to protests, boycotts, constitutional reforms and lobbying by the various interest groups. With the exception of Wallace Johnson, according to A.B.Holmes, other nationalists such as Dr. J.B.Danquah, Kobina Sekyi and J.E.Casely-Hayford were unprepared to make sacrifices toward the attainment of political independence. They

were too embedded in the system they sought to change. Holmes identifies three factors contributing to their failures. These were “the nature of the political system, the influence of the societal differentiation,” that is class attitude, “and the availability of grievances on which to build anti-colonial protest” (Holmes, 1975:13). Nkrumah not only addressed these three factors, but he also put Lenin’s maxim that “organization determines everything,” into practice.

This chapter first discusses the human geography of Ghana and the early anti-colonial movements, as a prerequisite to understanding the dynamics of the country’s anti-colonial and post-colonial politics. Second, it proceeds with this data in mind to analyze the dynamics of Kwame Nkrumah’s anti-colonial policies. Political policies here refer to the definite course of actions devised by Kwame Nkrumah’s pre-independence and post-independence governments to guide and determine decisions affecting the desired objectives of Nkrumah, namely, a unitary government, socio-economic and cultural transformation, and the formation of a Continental Union Government of African.

HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

The aboriginal ethnic group in modern Ghana, the Guans, moved downward from its parent group Gonja in the North in about 1200 C.E., and reached the coastal areas in the later part of the thirteenth century (McFarland & Owusu-Ansah, 1995:xix–xx). They comprise the Anum-Bosso, Atwode, Awutu, Bole, Efutu, Krakye, Kyerepong, Larteh, Nkonya, Ntwumuru, Salaga and Senya Bereku (Ibid: 290). Today, these sub-groups can be found in the Brong (Bono), Eastern, Central, Northern and Volta Regions. The Akans and other major ethnic groups came later, fought and/or settled among them.

The Brong (Bono-Manso), the first Akan empire, was the founded by Asaman in 1298 (Ibid: xix). The Brong and Nzema groups were, perhaps, the first cluster of Akans to have left ancient Ghana to settle at their present locales. Nkrumah belonged to the Nzema kingdom. The migration pattern of the later Akans (Akanni) seems to have taken its course via Wangara along the Black Volta River, after the final defeat of the ancient Ghana by Mali in 1235, to the present Takyiman area. There are about twenty two Akan kingdoms. They include Abora, Adanse, Agona, Ahafo, Akuapem, Akwamu, Akyem Abuakwa, Akyem Bosome, Akyem Kotoku, Aowin, Asante, Assin, Banda, Bawle, and Bono. The others are Chokosi, Denkyera, Evalue, Fante, Gomoa, Gyaman, Kwahu, Nzema, Sefwi, Twifu and Wassa (Ibid: 290). Sections of these Akan kingdoms can also be found in Ivory Coast and Togo. Adanse and Akwamu were the most powerful kingdoms before Denkyira and Akyem (before the arrival Abuakwa from Adanse).

According to history, the Fante (meaning the part that separated from the main body) were the first among the later Akan group to migrate from the Takyiman area and settled at the present Central Region in the thirteen century, with Kwaman, and later on Mankesim as its capital. The remaining Akan groups are said to have migrated and settled around Lake Bosomtwe, in the present Adanse locale. The Akyem led by Okru Banin, a powerful king of Otapupuase, left Fomana and Kwaman (Reindolf, 1996:61) to settle on the bank of River Birem at Bunso, and later moved to establish its kingdom at the present Tafo Awansa. Reindolf s accoiunt indicates that Akyem was an equally powerful nation, on par with that of Denkyira. The Akwamu was in all probability a sister

group of the Akyem; the former established its kingdom at the Akyem-Peak and became the most powerful Akan state between 1500 and 1600s (McFarland & Owusu Ansah: xx) in the entire eastern and coastal regions until “a party of refugees, called Abuakwa, from Adanse led by Ofori Panin settled north of the” Birem River (Addo-Fening, 1975:64).

The Abuakwa, according to Tafo tradition as well as Reindolf’s account, begged “to migrate there, at which time they were a powerful kingdom” (Reindolf: 61). This is also confirmed by the Tafo maxim that “Abuakwa be too Akyem” (Abuakwa came to meet Akyem). Henceforth, the Abuakwa people were to emerge a powerful military force in the eastern region. At the turn of the twentieth century, the Kyebi dynasty was to become the most powerful junior partner in the British colonial rule. Because of their role in the colonial domination, some of the divisions and towns, especially Tafo, Osiem and Kukurantumi in Danquah’s constituency, rallied behind Nkrumah’s anti-colonial stand.

Around 1630, a faction of Adanse citizens, led by Oti Akenten, left the Adanse area of Lake Bosomtwe and settled about the trading town of Tafo (McFarland & Owusu Ansah: xxi). They later became known as Asante before the Asante-Denkyira war in 1700–1701. The etymology of the word, “Asante,” means Osa nti (Osa—war; nti—because of) came from “the King of Denkyira, Ntim Gyakari” when he “heard of the union of the five nations” (Busia, 1951:52). Later, Asante was to emerge the last aggressive and expansionist kingdom in Ghana’s history. After their defeat in the Yaa Asantewa war of 1900, Asante was conquered and annexed under the British administration on January 1, 1902 (Awoonor, 1990:97). The popularity of Asante in historical accounts was because they were the latest kingdom in the territory to which the British had to make concession. The Ga and Akwamu had earlier on fought and defeated some of the European settlers.

The Dagomba, Mamprusi and Nanumba kingdoms in the north came into existence in 1480 (McFarland & Owusu-Ansah: xx). The Mole-Dagbani-Gurense kingdoms in the northern regions comprise the Builsa or Kangyaka, Dagaba or Dagarti, Dagomba, Frafra, Gurense or Gurunsi, Kusasi, Lobi, Mamprusi, Mossi, Namnam, Nankani, Nanumba, Talensi and Wala kingdoms (Ibid: 291). The Gurma comprises Basare, Bimoba, Konkomba Kyamba Pilapila. The Grusi kingdoms also include Kasena, Mo, Nunuma, Sisala, Tampolense and Vagala. Sections of these kingdoms can be found in Burkina Fasso, Togo and Ivory Coast. On January 1, 1902, the northern part of the country was also commandeered by the British as its protectorate on the same day that Asante was annexed (Awoonor: 97). Until their annexation by the British colonist, the kings in the Northern Territories did not play major role in the Indirect Rule. They became indifferent to the political agitation in the colony. In contrast to the colony, local politics involving the traditional rulers determined their political alliance. That was why Nkrumah chose one of the traditional rules, J.A.Briamah to join his first cabinet in 1951. And his defection from the CPP resulted in the formation of the Northern Peoples Party (NPP) in 1954.

Fage pens that the Ewe-Ga-Adamgde groups migrated from the east in a number of waves, probably arriving earlier than the fifteen century. The Ga migrated from the east (Yorubaland) around 1300s (Fage, 1969:23), and had settled and built a kingdom under Ayi Kushi in the Accra plains by 1500s (McFarland & Owusu-Ansah: xviii). The sister group of the Ga consists of Ada, Krobo, Prampram, and Shai. Mention must also be made of the later Ga settlers in Aneho, now a part of the Eweland (Reindolf, 1966:73).

According to Adu Boahene, the Ewes escaped from the Kingdom of Nnotsie in Togo and arrived earlier than fourteen century (Adu Boahene, 1966:63) to settle in segments between Keta basin and Ahamansu. Tradition ties them with the Oyo, Ketu in Benin. They major kingdoms include the Anlo, Tongu, Mina, Ho, Sovie, Vakpo, Hohoe, Krepi, Kpando and Aggotime. The other category of the Ewe speaking kingdoms include the Adele, Akpafu, Akposo, Avatime (from Ahanta in the Western Region), Bowli, Buem, Lipke, Logba, Lolobi, Ntrubu, Nyangbo and Santrofi. Between 1885 and 1914, the Ewes were divided between British and German colonial governments, Later, some of the Ewes and other ethnicities came under British rule during the World War I, while those in the eastern Togoland, were placed under French colonialism. In 1956, a United Nations held a plebiscite in the Trans-Volta under British rule, and a majority voted to cast their lot with the new country of Ghana (McFarland & Owusu-Ansah: 82 and 290). Human geography shows that inhabitants in the Eweland are composed of Ewe and several non-Ewes ethnicities (Botwe-Asamoah, 1977:16-18).

As the ensuing discourse on political geography divulges, different kingdoms in these territories, were to serve as centers of opposition to and allies of Nkrumah's political policies. The two Akyem Abuakwa paramount kings, Nana Ofori Atta I and II, as indicated above, were to become mistrusted, collaborators and stooges of the British Colonial Administration (Addo-Fening: 61). Therefore, when Nana Ofori Atta II and his royal family, including Dr. J.B.Danquah, of Kyebi became the strongest opponent to Nkrumah's CPP in the Eastern Province of the Gold Coast, the forces of Akyem Abuakwa, New Juaben, Kwahu, Krobo, and Akyem Kotoku rallied behind Kwame Nkrumah's nationalist agenda. Of particular importance was the Adonten in Akyem Abuakwa, Dr. J.B.Danquah's constituency, which became one of the Nkrumah's strongholds in the region.

In Asante, the Asantehene, Nana Agyemang Prempeh II and the Ashanti Confederacy Council were to form an ethno-regional political party against Nkrumah's unitary form of government in the 1956 general election. While Nkrumah's CPP was to enjoy a strong support among the Ga-Adangme groups, the Ewes in the Trust territory were also to form an ethnic-based political party in opposition to Nkrumah's CPP. Similarly, a parochial political party was to be built and based among the northern ethnic groups in opposition to Nkrumah's CPP.

Starting probably from the 1890s, segments of these ethnic groups, in search of trading and commercial ventures, as well as employment opportunities in the mining centers, cocoa farming and cultivation, public services in the urban centers, and agriculture research stations in towns, had migrated and settled permanently in different parts of the country. Thus, settling in regions other than those in which they were subjects by kinship, they developed little or no real allegiance to their "foreign" kingdoms. It was these "stranger settlers," to borrow Busia's expression (Busia: 128), that found Nkrumah's nationalist ideas appealing, and, accordingly, became part of the bastion of the CPP.

EARLY ANTI-COLONIAL MOVEMENTS

The idea of Self-government in the Gold Coast Colony within the British Commonwealth, dates back to the formation of the Fante Confederacy in 1868

(McFarland & Owusu Ansah: 82). The conclusion of the Anglo-Fante Bond of 1844, following the Tripartite Treaty of 1831, had resulted in the consolidation of British colonial power in the colony. It was this Bond and the subsequent Poll Tax of 1852, enacted to meet the colonial administrative expenditure of the territory, that awakened the Fantes regarding “the nature of the protection they were buying at the cost of their sovereignty” (Awoonor: 83). The next factor was the 1869 Anglo-Dutch exchange of their possessions between West and East Suwiruw River, (which divides the area between Cape Coast and Elmina), and the subsequent Dutch-Komenda war in 1871. In October 1871, the intelligentsia of Fante formulated a comprehensive plan toward the improvement of the social life of the people, their defense and the attainment of political independence of Fante (Timothy: 152–153).

Meanwhile, threats of invasion by the Asantes from the north reached the colony. This new threat united the Fantes to form the Fante Confederacy as manifested by the Mankesim Constitution. The Charter provided for “a powerful force for social administration, economic development and defence” (Ibid. 153). Unexpectedly, the constitution and the desire of the kings and people of Fante to become an independent state on the West Coast of Africa alarmed the British Governor, Charles Spencer Salomon, especially at a time when the European nations were “scrambling for Africa.” Mr. Salmon found the Fante Confederacy a treasonous conspiracy devised to subvert the British power. He thus took drastic measures to abolish the Fante Confederacy; three cabinet ministers of the Fante shadow government, Messrs. James Hutton Brew, James F. Amisah, George Blankson, including Reverend Joseph Hayford were arrested for conspiracy and jailed thereafter. Thereupon, the Fante Confederacy ceased to exist (Ibid: 153). It, however, represented the first noteworthy political movement for a collective self-determination in the Gold Coast.

The germ of resistance swelled in 1898 with the birth of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society (ARPS). Its founders included John Sey, its first president, John Mensah Sarbah, J.B. Brown, Jacob Wilson and J.W. de Graft-Johnson. Its primary endeavor was to safeguard the interest of the aboriginal people in the Fante nation. The organization sought to maintain the sovereign rights of its citizenry and uphold constitutional government by kings. The society was successful in abrogating the Colonial Government’s Land Bill by which the lands under the kings and the people were to be converted into “Crown Lands, under the sole protection of the Governor. But the establishment of the Provincial Councils of Chiefs in 1926 heralded the death knell of the society. The orderly development of a constitutional government by the Fante kings was thus ruined (Awoonor: 91).

The Provincial Council of Chiefs was instituted by the Colonial Government to facilitate its Indirect Rule in the colony, and to deal directly with the Chiefs, rather than the indigenous democratic channel involving the commoners. This Council undermined the ARPS and characterized it as an isolated band of anti-British agitators and demagogic rabble-rousers whom the British power treated with manifest worthlessness and contempt. Because the scope of both the Fante Confederacy and ARPS was limited to the grievances of the Fantes, they were not truly nationalist organizations in the colony.

The next political movement to emerge after the Aborigines Rights Protections Society was the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA), which presented a united front against British colonialism in West Africa. Formed in May 1920 and led by

J.E.Casely-Hayford, the Congress demanded immediate constitutional reforms in the West African region. In this case, the Pan-African political thrust of the Congress infuriated the new governor, Gordon Guggisberg. The Governor dispatched to London Nana Ofori Atta's denunciation of the Congress as "a self-appointed congregation of educated African gentlemen" whose views did not represent the people and Chiefs of the Gold Coast (Awoonor: 125–126). Nana Ofori Atta's self-acclaimed principal spokesperson for the traditional African rulers attests to the degree to which the indigenous political institution had been undermined by its insalubrious alliance with the British colonialism. The failure of Nana Ofori Atta I and his brother Dr. J.B.Danquah to obliterate the position of the Congress in London in 1934 brought an unhealthy relationship between the kings and the intelligentsia. However, the popularity of Casely-Hayford faded as he went back to support the 1925 constitution, against which he had led a fight.

Succeeding the NCBWA 1930, was the Youth Conference, led J.B. Danquah. Probably because of his royal affinity toward Nana Ofori Atta I, the Youth Conference was able to improve the apprehensive and discomfited relations between the kings and intelligentsia on one hand, and the Joint Provincial Council of Chiefs and Aborigines Rights Protection Society on the other. This alliance was to constitute the core of the antagonistic forces against Nkrumah's political philosophy, strategy and policies toward unitary government and Pan-Africanism.

KWAME NKUMAH'S NATIONALIST AGENDA WITHIN THE UGCC

In his *Toward Colonial Freedom*, Kwame Nkrumah dissects the ontological aspect of colonialism and the strategy to defeat it in Africa. Before his arrival in the Gold Coast, he had fought toward the attainment of freedom from the colonial yoke from the outside. Now, he must devise political policies and put his organizing skills acquired in the United State and Britain into practice. Policies and organizational experience acquired from the outside world, however, can be helpful, but do not provide blueprint regarding the attainment of political freedom and post-independence reconstruction. The fundamental requisite for waging a struggle toward political freedom is based on ace leadership with a clear vision, knowledge of the strength and weaknesses of the enemy, knowledge of the society, the human factor in the society, especially their belief system, the level of social consciousness and their fighting spirit. The secondary prerequisite of the leadership include organizational, human relation and communication skills, determination, persistency, perseverance and willingness to commit revolutionary suicide, as Che Guevara once stated. These are the kinds of human qualities that distinguished Kwame Nkrumah from his predecessors and opponents.

The first political action Nkrumah undertook upon assuming the office of General Secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) was a threefold strategy. The immediate measure that he devised was a strategy toward complete political freedom and absolute independence from the control of any foreign government. The second strategy involved the realization of democratic freedom from political tyranny. The third strategy focused on the process of social transformation. This includes freedom from poverty and

economic exploitation and the improvement of social and economic conditions of the people (Timothy: 44).

Knowing that organization determines everything, Nkrumah devised some effective strategies to make the UGCC reflective of all and sundry. This he did by changing the UGCC constitution to bring into its membership both the intelligentsia and the ordinary people from the Asante, Northern and Trans-Volta regions. As a man who acts according to plan, Nkrumah urged the UGCC to develop a policy with clear and defined objectives. His goal was to make the UGCC a vibrant political movement. He wrote a circular letter dated February 20, 1948 to the working committee of the UGCC, proposing the setting up of a shadow cabinet for their consideration. The purpose was to enable the cabinet members study the duties of the many ministries in order to “forestall any unpreparedness on our part in the exigency of self-government being thrust upon us before the expected time” (Ibid: 46). The proposal also included a three-face organizational work. These proposals inspired the enthusiasm and determination of the members of the UGCC, to the extent of resolving to attain political power and placing it in the hands of the Africans (Ibid: 47).

The initial goal of the UGCC was to attain self-government in the “shortest possible time.” The British were comfortable with this because they thought it meant that the UGCC would proceed peacefully step by step and would not press for any immediate political change. But the position changed when Nkrumah began to call upon the people to demand “self-government now.” His strong political demand drew the youth societies in the country into the UGCC fold.

Unlike his conservative colleagues in the UGCC who took politics to be a hobby, Nkrumah traveled across the country starting from Tarkwa, a mining district to other towns, villages and municipalities explaining the aims of the UGCC to the people, and helped them to open branch offices. In the Northern Territories, he told a crowd that the people in the north and those in the colony, Asante and Trans-Volta were one, and urged them to ignore the territorial partitioning which had been imposed on Africans by foreign rulers (Ibid: 48). Whenever the old car given to him by the UGCC broke down, he walked on foot to reach his destination. Within six months he had succeeded in opening over five hundred chapters in the country (Forward Ever: 14). This travel allowed him to assess the level of unrest that lay beneath the surface. Sensing that Nkrumah’s demand for self-government and national unity would undermine their authority enjoyed under the colonial rule, some of the kings started to sabotage his work and began to dislike him (Timothy: 46). But the more they tried the greater the number which joined the UGCC because of his nationalist stand.

Though Dr. J.B.Danquah assured the people at a mass rally in Accra that “Nkrumah will never fail you,” the question of UGCC newspaper that Nkrumah had urged and the June 1948 political upheavals in the country began to set him and the rest of UGCC Working Committee apart. Nkrumah had repeatedly explained to the Working Committee that national liberation in the form of political action had never succeeded without a newspaper. To Nkrumah’s surprise, Ako Adjei presented a copy of the first issue of his (Ako Adjei) newspaper, *The African National Times*, to the Working Committee at its meeting at Saltpond. As discussed in Chapter One, a divisional king in Accra called Nii Kwabena Bonne had called on the people to boycott foreign shops because of higher prices. The ex-servicemen’s peaceful march to the seat of the Colonial

Government to demand the fulfillment of the promises assured them before the “World War” II, had resulted in violence and looting in the country.

The Watson Committee's report on the political unrest in the country in June 1948 blamed Nkrumah largely for the turbulence. According to the report, the UGCC did not get down to business until Kwame Nkrumah arrived (Ibid: 49). This was also made manifest when some of the arrested leading members of the UGCC, in connection with the June civil unrest, blamed Ako Adjei for recommending Kwame Nkrumah for the office of the General Secretary of the movement.

The political upheaval together with ideological, strategic and tactical differences between the other UGCC members and Nkrumah anticipated the birth of CPP. By this time, Nkrumah had become an idol of the youth of the country, and they supported his stand in vilifying the UGCC members on the Coussey Committee (Ibid: 54–55). At an open-air political meeting, Nkrumah condemned the five UGCC members appointed to the Coussey Committee set up to investigate the 1948 disturbances, saying that they would be less critical of the report. As fate would have it, the Working Committee took a drastic measure to remove Nkrumah from the office of General Secretary of the UGCC and make him Treasurer, This decision was without any reference to the branches of the movement. Furthermore, the protest from various branches of the UGCC against the removal of Nkrumah had a contemptuous reception by the working Committee.

The emerging popularity of Kwame Nkrumah at this stage can be attributed to, at least, three factors. First, his intensive speaking tour throughout the country expressing the wishes, aspirations and dreams of the underprivileged had the populace seething for political freedom and nationalism. His uncompromising demand for “self-government now,” amidst boycotts of non-African goods, slow-down work and the violence erupting from the ex-servicemen's march, was a landmark in the country's history. Second, his organizational genius had resulted in the setting up of strategies, tactics, detailed plan of action, levels of goals and objectives, including the establishment of several chapters in the country and a youth wing of the UGCC. Third, his oratory skills and charisma, his adept use of African motifs, symbols, aesthetics, person-to-person touching, and his sense of humor at public rallies appealed to the sensibilities of the people. All these were unknown in the country.

The questions we may ask are as follows: were the UGCC old guys not naïve that by ignoring the protest of the youth against Nkrumah's removal as the General Secretary they were, in fact, pushing them toward any plans that Nkrumah might be hatching? Did they not know that the Committee for Youth Organization (CYO) that Nkrumah had formed could easily be turned into a major political party? Or were they not aware that the notoriety of the party at the time was primarily due to Nkrumah's organizing skills and speaking tour? As suggested elsewhere, Dr. J.B.Danquah would not have endorsed the recommendation by Dr. Ako Adjei, had he known of Nkrumah's ideological persuasion. Danquah's regret for writing to invite Nkrumah to assume the office of the General Secretary of the UGCC was to have a psychological effect him, so much that he and his followers would resort to any means possible-including violence-to eliminate Nkrumah from the political scene in the country.

THE CPP: NATIONALISM AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

When the conflict between Nkrumah and the UGCC Working Committee became manifest, the youth organizations that had become ardent supporters of Nkrumah went to work directing their activities at discrediting the leaders of the UGCC. The Accra Youth Study Group's invitation of Nkrumah to speak at the King George Memorial Hall in Accra in December 1948 was to chart a new course of political action by the youth, under Nkrumah's leadership. This was authenticated by the activities of the Ashanti Youth Association in Kumase, the Ga Youth Association in Accra, all of which came under the umbrella of the CYO, which rallied behind Nkrumah.

The day of Kwame Nkrumah's removal from the office of the General Secretary of the UGCC on March 6, 1949, coincided with the launching of the *Accra Evening News* by Kwame Nkrumah to champion the cause of "full self-government, not in the shortest possible time, but now." It had as its motto: "WE PREFER SELF GOVERNMENT WITH DANGER TO SERVITUDE IN TRANQUILITY" (Nkrumah, 1973b:10). Working side by side with Nkrumah on the *Evening News* included such women as Akua Asabea Ayisi, (who later became a High Court Judge) and Mabel Dove Danquah (the wife of Dr. J.B.Danquah).

As the friction between Nkrumah and the UGCC leaders intensified, and the latter's resolute decision to demote the former to the position of Treasurer was affirmed, Nkrumah immediately launched the Convention People's Party. Initially, he had agreed through an arbitration to allow the CPP to become a junior political party within the UGCC, just as the Indian National Congress Party was allowed to function within the Indian National Congress; contrariwise, the leaders of UGCC did not consider the idea (Timothy: 56).

Attempts to discredit Nkrumah after his departure from the UGCC yielded negative results. For instance, at the UGCC meeting at the Palladium in Accra Obetsebi Lamptey referred to Nkrumah and the core of the CPP as "strangers causing trouble in Accra." This remark led to some confusion and uproar against Lamptey (Nkrumah 1957:105). Strangely, Danquah who was an Akyem and not a Ga was at this meeting. But, it demonstrated the kind of frustration and confusion that existed within the ranks of the UGCC. Nkrumah had all along been campaigning for national unity. The ethno-parochial thrust of the UGCC and the CPP nationalist platform would become the most critical, deciding factors in the outcomes of the pre-independence elections in the country.

The six-point program of action of the Convention People's Party was as follows:

- (i) To fight relentlessly to achieve and maintain independence for the people of Ghana (Gold Coast) and their chiefs.
- (ii) To serve as the vigorous conscious political vanguard for removing all forms of oppression and for the establishment of a democratic government.
- (iii) To secure and maintain the complete unity of the people of the colony, Ashanti, Northern Territories and the Trans-Volta/Togoland regions.
- (iv) To work with and in the interest of the Trade Union Movement, and other kindred organizations, in joint political or other action in harmony with the constitution and Standing Orders of the Party.

- (v) To work for a speedy reconstruction of a better Ghana (Gold Coast) in which the people and their Chiefs shall have the right to live and govern themselves as free people.
- (vi) To promote the Political, Social and Economic emancipation of the people, more particularly of those who depend directly upon their own exertion by hand or by brain for the means of life. (Nkrumah, 1973b:58)

That the CPP as a nationalist, as well as the first political party in the country with the objective of attaining political independence was marked by its multiethnic and class character. The membership consisted of several categories with different ideological perspectives. Some were disillusioned middle school leavers, petty traders (market women), farmers, farm laborers, trade unionists, victims of the Native Authorities obnoxious policies, divisional kings destooled by the more powerful kings in the Gold Coast Legislative Council and State Council and "stranger settlers" in regional capitals and employment centers. Perhaps, with a few exceptions, the members of the CPP did not have any notion of revolution at the national level outside the Gold Coast, and for that matter outside Africa. Also, they were indifferent to the scientific socialism, of which Nkrumah was very instrumental in declaring at the 1945 Pan-African Congress in Manchester in England, as the ideological framework for the anti-colonial struggle in Africa. Their militancy was essentially anti-colonial, anti-totalitarian, and anti-draconian policies of the state councils composed of powerful kings. This amorphous nature of the CPP membership, however, was to plague the party during Ghana's post-independence socio-economic transformation and cultural revolution. Against this backdrop, how was the party able to overcome major obstacles and succeed in achieving independence for Ghana and forging the community of African nations?

POSITIVE ACTION AS AN ORGANIZED NON-VIOLENT REVOLUTION

Nkrumah's declaration of Positive Action on January 8, 1950, was influenced by Mohandas Gandhi's non-violent revolution in India. It constituted the first major political action in the history of the country. It was to bring to an end British colonial rule not only in Ghana, but also in the rest of Africa. This campaign was to finally define the political landscape of the country, where the UGCC (composed of lawyers, merchants and British-trained scholars), the powerful kings and British colonial government constituted one political camp, and Nkrumah and the CPP the other. The non-compromising, non-violent Positive Action was also the second confrontation of this kind the British government had had to face after that of Gandhi in India years earlier,

The Coussey Report precipitated the Positive Action. The apprehension in the CPP camp as to the content of the final report, and the subsequent indignation, with which the CPP greeted the shortcomings of the Coussey Report, was sufficient enough for Nkrumah to embark on political action. Hence, the formation of the Gold Coast People's Assembly by Nkrumah to coalesce public opinion and to canalize it for effective action. The boycott of the public forum by the UGCC and Aborigines Protection Rights Society, in spite of representations from the Northern Territories, Asante, Trans-Volta and several organizations, was not without ground (Timothy: 85). The UGCC, for instance, was

confident that they could count on the Colonial Government's support, just as the latter had done for Nana Ofori Atta and his Abuakwa State Council, Nana Agyeman Prempeh and the Ashanti Confederacy Council and other similar state councils composed of major kings.

The displeasure and frustration of the UGCC against Nkrumah's hatched Positive Action was manifested in its attempts to silence him and the CPP. The first attempt came from the Joint Provincial Council of Chiefs, whose efforts at sabotaging the public forum proved futile. Secondly, the deputation they sent to the Ga State Council to summon and banish Nkrumah from Accra and suppress the CPP did not yield the results sought by the UGCC. Surprisingly, Dr. J.B.Danquah (a non-Ga) and other UGCC members, and non-members like Nii Amaa Ollenu and W.M.Q.Halm, were also present at the Ga State Council meeting. The meeting ended with a request from the Ga council for Nkrumah to call a public meeting and explain what he meant by Positive Action. The Ga State Council later approved Nkrumah's explanation (Ibid: 85). Rather than sabotaging the movement, the request instead provided Nkrumah the opportunity to further incense the people toward the Positive Action.

Nkrumah identified two strategies to attain self government namely, armed revolution and violent overthrow of colonialism or by constitutional and legitimate methods. Britain, for example, prevented the two German attempts to enslave her, while India liquidated British imperialism by moral pressure. Nkrumah chose the latter. Hence, Positive Action for Nkrumah meant "the adoption of all legitimate and constitutional means by which we can cripple the forces of imperialism in this country" (Nkrumah, 1957:112). Its non-lethal weapons consist of legitimate political agitation, newspapers and educational campaigns, "the constitutional application of strikes, boycotts and non-co-operation based on the principles of absolute non-violence" as used by Gandhi in India (Ibid: 112). Speaking to the crowd, he said:

We want self-government so that we can govern ourselves in our own country. We have the natural legitimate and inalienable right to decide for ourselves the sort of government we want and we cannot be forced against our own will in accepting or perpetuating anything that will be detrimental to the true interest of the people in this country and their chiefs. (Timothy: 91)

That this statement underscores Nkrumah's political policies will be made manifest in his one-party system of government in 1964. Here, it provides the rationale for the Positive Action.

In the early months of 1949, the Governor of the Gold Coast suddenly left for London. What followed his departure were the arrival of more British troops and the landing of more war planes "at Accra airport day and night." The belief was "that arms were being distributed to the Europeans" (Nkrumah, 196:15). The editorial column of the *Evening News* reacted as follows:

Bullets or no bullets, British troops or no British troops, there is nothing that can deter us from our determined march towards the goal of Self-Government and Independence. (Ibid: 15)

Kwame Nkrumah's proclamation of the Positive Action on January 8, 1950 with a general national strike commencing mid-night, finally prompted the Governor to declare a state of emergency and impose a curfew on January 11, 1950. With the instant outbreak of riots following the Positive Action, the Joint Provincial Council of Chiefs of twelve members and the Ga Native Authority sent messages to the English king welcoming the measures taken by the colonial government to restore order. The Ashanti Confederacy Council also wrote to affirm its loyalty to the colonial government (Awoonor: 142). The Joint Provincial Council of Chiefs' motion to deplore what it considered "grave disorders and acts of violence in certain parts of the country" brought by "some grasshopper leaders," through the "weapon of Positive Action," was introduced by Sir Tsibu Darku and passed on January 20, 1950 (Timothy: 94-95). Supporting the motion were: Nana Kwame Gyebi Ababio, Nii Amaa Ollenu, Dr. J.B.Danquah, Mr. E.O. Asafu-Adjaye, Nene Azzu Mate Kole, DR. I.B.Asafu-Adjaye, G.B.E., Mr. B.D.Addai and Colonial Secretary. Dr. J.B.Danquah particularly condemned the Positive Action as an act of treachery (Awoonor 142). His instant joy over the arrest of Nkrumah and other CPP leaders ended with the following words, "pataku (wolf) had been driven away" (Ibid: 148).

The arrest of the leaders of the CPP, including Kojo Botsio, Kofi Baako, Dzenkle Dzewu and Komla Gbedemah on January 21, 1950 and Nkrumah on January 22, 1950, did not halt the people's drive for self-government under Nkrumah's leadership. When Nkrumah was sentenced to three years imprisonment for inciting people to "strike under the terms of the Positive Action, in an attempt to coerce the Government of the Gold Coast," and "for publishing a so-called seditious article in the Cape Coast Mail," the CPP supporters rallied daily in front of the James Fort singing the party's anthem, "There is Victory for Us" (Forward Ever: 61). His imprisonment rather intensified the political work of the CPP, its supporters and community activists toward "self-government now."

Though the Positive Action did not succeed in bringing down the colonial government, it shook its foundation, from which it never recovered. The myth as regards the omnipotent colonial government of "big white men," its fears and weakness was confronted and exposed for the first time in West Africa by an organized African people. For one thing, the support the Joint Provincial Council of Chiefs and the Ashanti Confederacy Council regarding the measures taken the British Government in the wake of the Positive Action, marked the tradition of the divine African kings swearing their loyalty to the British government and any government, so long as their personal interests were guaranteed by that government. Dr. J.B.Danquah's actions and verbal attacks against Nkrumah, as well as the Positive Action, also marked the beginning of the former's bitterness toward the latter; this "bad blood" would culminate in Danquah's linkage with assassination attempts on Nkrumah's life in the 1960s, for which he (Danquah) was detained in prison on two separate occasions. Dr. Danquah's intention to have Nkrumah eliminated from the political scene, after the declaration of Positive Action, lies in his unapologetic statement that Nkrumah will pay with his neck. Danquah would later become an ally of the CIA.

FROM PRISON TO PRIME MINISTER

While in prison, Nkrumah managed to keep in touch with the outside CPP leading members released from prison. He wrote on sheets of toilet paper outlining the party's strategies on the next level of the struggle, which were smuggled out to the CPP headquarters by a friendly prison guard. His social philosophy that nobody was born a criminal resulted in the political committees that were formed among his fellow inmates, including political education sessions. In the landslide victory of the election of February 8, 1951, the CPP won thirty-four out of the thirty-eight elected seats thereby vindicating the thrust of the Positive Action and his stand on nationalism. It can be argued that Nkrumah's victory was not only due to his articulation of the grievances of the disenfranchised and disillusioned mass of the people, but was also due to the nationalist thrust of the CPP political platform. These were the unique qualities that Dr. J.B.Danquah and the UGCC lacked.

Nkrumah's release from prison in 1951 to assume the office of Leader of Government Business was without precedence. He was confronted with colossal contradictions and paradoxes inherent in the Coussey constitution. In a press conference, Nkrumah warned the Governor that he considered the Coussey Commission's constitution "bogus and fraudulent, and unacceptable as it does not fully meet the aspirations of the people of the Gold Coast." Since "the ministers were without power, it simply makes us half slaves and half free," Nkrumah (1961:23) protested. He would embark on a direct course of action aimed at changing what he called the "system of diarchy," and vowed to continue to fight until full independence was attained (Nkrumah, 1957:147).

That Nkrumah was ineffectual as Leader of Government Business was seen in the provision of the constitution, which empowered the Governor to appoint three ex-officio portfolios for Defence and External Affairs, Finance and Justice and Attorney General. In view of other independent candidate and territorial membership of the Assembly, Nkrumah appointed two non-CPP members to his cabinet. Among the three persons he invited to serve on his Executive Council, only two of them honored the invitation. These were E.O.Asafu-Adjaye, a lawyer and a representative of the Ashanti Confederacy Council, who became Minister of Local Government and Kabachewura J.A.Briamah a traditional ruler and a representative of the Northern Territories, who later became Minister of Communication and Works (Ibid: 139). The third invitee, Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia, turned down the offer (Timothy: 107). Dr. Busia had been defeated in election in Wenchi, where his brother was the traditional ruler (Bing, 142).

Consistent with his African personality, therefore, he pursued an "Africanisation programme," whereby the administration of civil service, the police, the judiciary, defence and external affairs and internal security would come under African personnel, instead of the Governor and British nationals (Nkrumah 1957:147). In order for Nkrumah's to address the grievances that drove the common people to the CPP as well as its social, economic and educational programs, some constitutional reforms became imperative. Two of the immediate concerns included the exploitation and disenfranchisement of the common people through the Indirect Rule, and the control of cocoa industry.

Before the advent of the Indirect Rule, there was a strong democratic aspect in the constitution of several traditional governments in Africa. Among the Akans in Ghana, for instance, the ordinary citizens, often called the commoners or Asafo (people's militia), were part of the decision making process. All able-bodied young men were members of the Asafo, and their consent was critical to the destoolment (process of installing) and destoolment (removal from office by popular action) of kings and queens; consequently, the contending candidates would have to campaign vigorously in order to win their support. Furthermore, the Asafo, along with the council of elders had the right to initiate the destoolments of kings (Simersen, 1975:37). Sometimes, the ordinary people emerged as the prime movers in destoolment actions.

Between 1940 and 1944, there had been at least thirty five destoolments of individual kings in Akyem Abuakwa. These destoolments were caused by the increased tribunal exploitation on the basis of the Colonial government's 1910 Ordinance, and the land sales without proper accountability of the profits. Again, between 1932 and 1933, another action by the Asafo was set off by the proposed Native Administrative Revenue measures given to the Akyem Abuakwa State Council, the power to impose levies on all people in the state. Under Ofori Attah I, corruption and extortion in the tribunals was the most direct form of exploitation the commoners had ever experienced. After the tribunals, fees and fines collected "were frequently excessive and divided on the spot among the tribunal members" (Ibid: 44). The corrupt practices underscoring the destoolment of all the main divisional kings by the Asafo, as well as the declaration of non-allegiance from two of the main wings of the state to Ofori Atta, should be understood in the context of the Indirect Rule. The non-allegiance to the Omanhene was also accompanied by some charges against him (Ibid: 40). Osabarima Nana Adusei Peasah IV of Tafo told this author of Tafo's move to create an independent Tafo Awansa State, out of the towns and villages in Tafo's jurisdiction, because of the abuses of power by the Omanhene at Kyebi.

In 1918, "the Asafo of the Amantow-Miensa, the towns surrounding Kyebi, marched on the capital to demand an account from the Omanhene for some of his commercial activities. Conversely, the Asafo group was severely beaten by the colonial Government's police; this was followed by punishment meted out to the leaders of the revolt, by the District Commissioner's Court (Ibid: 39). The development of the local protest thus seemed to be correlated to the commercialization process and the extension of colonial rule (Ibid: 38). Revenue from cocoa export, levy on the World War II fund, voted by the Akyem Abuakwa State Council to finance the Akyem Abuakwa contingent of the British Volunteer Royal Force during the military occupation in East Africa, maladministration and undue mobilization of communal labor were the prime factors causing the march on Kyebi (Ibid: 39).

In the conquered Asante territory there were in 1918 political disputes between the commoners and the traditional rulers at Ejisu, Juaben, Bompata and Obogo, including other divisions, over oaths fees being charged by the traditional rulers and "elders at hearing of cases which came before them," Busia (1951:189) discloses. These political disputes as well as general dissent reached its climax in 1920, and involved the traditional rulers of Bekwai, Offinsu, Kumawu, Agogo, Agona, and Wenchi; the Offinsu and Kumawu kings were mobbed and wounded, leading to the distoolments of the Kumawu, Offinsu and Bekwai traditional rulers. The colonial government, however, punished the rebels in these mob cases. Under the Ashanti Confederacy Council, "both the chief and

his opponents, in constitutional dispute, bribes were given to the chiefs, registrars, secretaries, Akyeame and others connected with the Council to enlist their support” (Ibid: 189). In addition, some residents in Kumase collected monies from litigants on constitutional disputes, which they promised to take to other kings or to the Asantehene. Some even became agents for influential traditional rulers, who collected the “presents” for the kings (Ibid: 190). It was these alien corrupt practices, associated with the Indirect Rule, more than anything else that underlined the constitutional disputes and the Asante Youth Association support for the CPP.

The next concern of the CPP was the issue of cocoa pricing, which was linked to the local politics discussed above. This increased awareness among the farmers played a significant role in the cocoa hold-up and boycotts of European goods in 1931 and 1937. By 1950, low cocoa pricing had resulted in the formation of farmers association. One of their reasons was also to wrest the monopoly of control of cocoa export trade from the European purchasing companies. The frustrated Asafo, mainly composed of farmers, now blamed the Colonial Government for higher commodity prices and the fallen cocoa prices, for blocking their participation in local politics, and for its backing of the traditional rulers through the Indirect Rule (Simensen: 42).

In 1951, a Local Government Ordinance was passed allowing for people’s participation in their local affairs. The debate on the ordinance, however, turned out to be the first constitutional contest between Nkrumah’s political policy and the position of the combined forces of the UGCC and the traditional rulers. As indicated above, Dr. Danquah saw in the Enactment of the Local Government Ordinance, an obliteration of Chieftaincy and ethnic loyalties to the State Councils. On the flip side, a greater number of the CPP members and supporters were either victims of or dissatisfied with the abuses of power by some of the traditional rulers through the British Indirect Rule.

Nkrumah’s government simultaneously addressed the concerns of the cocoa farmers by introducing a bill for state control of the Cocoa Marketing Board, under the 1951 Ordinance. This bill also became a bone of contention between the UGCC and CPP. Led by Danquah, the Opposition felt that the Cocoa Marketing Board bill was in violation of the full enjoyment of private property. Nkrumah’s government on other hand argued that the transformation of the Cocoa of Marketing Board from a trustee to controller and manager of farmer’s wealth would promote the development of the whole nation. But as Ninsin explains, “the government’s conception of a unitary nation state directed by one central government affected its attitude toward cocoa revenue” (1991:225). Though not a socialist government, Nkrumah’s socialist orientation would dictate that cocoa revenue was a common national property, which had to be centrally controlled and utilized for the common good of all citizens in the country. As a hub of the country’s economy, in terms of external earnings, the Cocoa Marketing Board bill was passed, allowing for the board to be reorganized toward effective government control and direction through a responsible minister of state. The local government policy was thus tied to the commoners’ desire to participate in local politics and cocoa revenue.

From 1951 to the 1956 election, the commoners’ conflicts with the kings would intensify as the Akyem Abuakwa State Council, the Ashanti Confederacy Council and other native authority bodies would constitute the bastion of the opposition to Nkrumah’s CPP, because of the local government ordinance and the centralization of the cocoa industry. But the majority of the commoners drawn into the CPP in 1949, would continue

to view the 1951 Local Government Ordinance as a renewal of their traditional participation in local politics through the local councils. This also explains why Nkrumah's government claimed direct mandate from its common electorate and transferred the control of stool lands like those in Akyem Abuakwa entirely to the local council.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM AND THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE

On March 5, 1952, the Governor addressed the Legislative Assembly and proclaimed the creation of the office of Prime Minister, subject to constitutional amendment. Though Nkrumah welcomed this office, he argued against the retention of the three ex-officio ministers, and stepped up the demand for full independence. The creation of another constitution, often called Nkrumah's Constitution, was followed by his 1953 "The Motion of Destiny" speech, in which he asserted the right of Africans to rule themselves. Perhaps, the argument, "were not our ancestors ruling themselves before the white man came to these shores," (Nkrumah, 1957:201) underscored the thrust of independent course of action advanced by Pan-Africanists before him.

The transition period between 1951 and 1957 was very climacteric in terms of the mounting frustration that beset Nkrumah's drive for full independence and unitary government. With the Governors' veto power and the three ex-officio British nationals in charge of Defence and External Affairs, Finance and Justice, the British colonial government held firmly to its political and economic authority over the Nkrumah's "internal" government. The 1954 election, under the Van Lare constitution, was intended to grant of political independence to Ghana, but the colonial government yielded to the intrigues of the Ghana Congress Party (the successor of the UGCC). Hence, the political landscape in the entire country was fragmented into a conglomeration of ethno-regional and sectarian claims supported by some traditional rulers, "intellectuals, and by the British colonial government" (Awoonor: 157).

There were nine political parties contesting the election of 1954. They included: CPP, Ghana Congress Party, Ghana Action Party, Northern People's Party, Ghana Nationalist Party, Oman Party, Moslem Association Party, Togoland Congress and three other regional parties in the Trans-Volta Togoland. With the exception of at least one party, the rest were in one accord against Nkrumah and his CPP. Having lost the 1951 election to the CPP and knowing that they had no hope for mass support, the ethno-regional, "national" assertion of each segment was to break the mass hold of the CPP, and then become the next government. In view of the fact that Nkrumah's government was under the control of the British colonial government, the Opposition embarked on a well-concerted offensive characterizing Nkrumah "a dictator, a Fuehrer" (the title of Adolph Hitler) and the CPP leaders as "corrupt dictators" (Ibid: 160).

Crisis and defection within the CPP camp became unhealthy phenomena in the history of the party. Awoonor points out that the crisis and defection gushed out when the party "sought to enforce obedience to party discipline to whip everybody into line" (Ibid: 158). In this case, the party leadership at times supported the less popular candidates for reasons which could only be on the personal whims and caprices of the local party bosses

and their patrons on the central committee in Accra” (Ibid: 159). But in the view of Nkrumah, the eighty-one members who “put themselves up to stand against official candidates,” were rebels. As party members, they knew “the rules of the game but they chose to put their own interest before those of the party,” Nkrumah (1957:209) explains. The result was that the less acceptable candidates went into rebellion and defection into the Opposition camp. This was the case of J.A.Briamah, (the then Minister of Communication and Works in the CPP government) who became one of the founding members of the Northern People’s Party (Ibid: 209).

As part of its political campaign, the CPP introduced African drumming and dancing, motifs, symbols, the pouring of libation alongside Christian and Moslem prayers at its political rallies. Some contemporary musical groups and dance bands, like E.K.Nyame and E.T.Mensah and Tempost Band composed popular songs in praise of Nkrumah. The *Evening News* carried cartoons, women’s column, pidgin English column, poetry, daily sayings, slogans, as well as popular features which attracted general readership, including illiterates, semi-illiterates and school children. Of importance was Nkrumah’s charisma and nationalist speeches regarding political freedom and unitary form of government. These were unknown in the annals of country. This strategy and tactics, as well as Nkrumah’s nationalist agenda led to another convincing victory for the CPP.

The CPP won seventy-two seats with 55.04 % percent of the popular votes. The combined opposition parties, on the other hand, won thirty two seats with 44.6 % of the popular votes. The leader of the main Opposition party, Ghana Congress Party, Dr. J.B.Danquah, lost the general election in his own Akyem Abuakwa constituency to Aaron Ofori Atta. Dr. K.A Busia won with a majority of eleven votes in Wenchi West. The CPP won in all the regions, with the exception of the north, where the NPP won eighteen seats (Awoonor: 160). This election was to lead Ghana into independence.

FEDERALISM VERSUS UNITARY GOVERNMENT: THE BATTLE FOR POLITICAL POWER

In August 1954, Nkrumah considered it necessary to arrest the frequent frustrations in the cocoa price paid to the farmers. The government’s bill on Cocoa Duty and Development Plan was passed with the backing of the opposition parties in the parliament. Provisions in the bill guaranteed the payment of a fixed cocoa price for four years, irrespective of how low the world cocoa price might fall during that same period. The objective was that “the fund accrued to the government would be used on expanding the economy of the country as a whole with special emphasis on agriculture” (Nkrumah, 1957:216–17).

The Opposition leaders immediately went into the offensive, after they had supported the bill in the parliament. The National Liberation Movement was instantly formed, providing another chance for the opposition parties to punctuate the attainment of independence, under the CPP government that year. Its main argument was that the money which the cocoa farmers were “pouring into Government’s coffers was being used in developing the coastal region or Colony.” Therefore, the Asante “cocoa farmers would be better off if they would manage their own affairs” (Ibid: 216–217).

According to their argument, the CPP government had used the resources of the Cocoa Marketing Board to give low interest loans to poor farmers, This policy thus deprived the

wealthy farmers including many of the traditional rulers in the Asante province who had for long run a lucrative “business by lending (money) to the poorer farmers” (Bing: 158). The poorer farmers and those looking for the government development that would open up more land for farms backed the CPP, Consequently,

The wealthy farmers lined up with the chiefs and to give the ‘Committee for Higher Cocoa Prices’ a more ethical look, it was transformed into the ‘National Liberation Movement.’ The chiefs would not allow this new organization to be called a ‘Party.’ Party politics were contrary to the tenets of traditional rule and as a price for their support they insisted it should embrace feudalism and also thus propose the redivision of the country into its old provinces which had existed as almost separate entities in the heyday of the (sic) Indirect Rule. (Ibid: 158–59)

The anticipated independence in 1956, as promised by the constitution, was thus bludgeoned with the birth of the National Liberation Movement (NLM) in the Asante Region. Amid the firing of muskets and the singing of Asante war songs, Bafour Osei Akoto, the chief Okyeame of Asantehene, ritually slaughtered a sheep to signify the birth of the NLM, of which he became the chairman (Ibid: 158). On September 19, 1954, the great oath of Asante was sworn to stamp out what they considered dictatorship and communistic practices of the CPP government. Consequently, some leading members of the CPP, like R.R.Amposah, Joe Appiah and Victor Owusu, defected and joined the ethnic-based NLM.

Among the ex-CPP members joining the NLM were the so-called Communists, Kurankyi Taylor and J.C.De Graft Jonhson, who allegedly left the CPP because of Nkrumah's anti-communist stand. But between July 12 and 17, 1956, the NLM and its allies called upon their supporters to reject what they called the “Communist (Convention) People Party” (Austin: 332). The Asantehene, Nana Agyeman Prempeh II, also declared his support for the NLM the day after its launching (Awoonor: 162). The backing of Asantehene and the swearing of the Asante oath, Awoonor explains, “signified the seriousness of the sectarian perspective of the Movement which seemed to be created only for the ‘sons and daughters’ of the Asante nation” (Ibid: 162). Henceforth, the “chiefs and elders would arrive and take their seats on the platform, to be followed by a succession of local speakers who” proclaimed their readiness to die for the Golden Stool while making demands for a higher cocoa price “(Austin, 1964:333).

Clearly, what the educated elite in the NLM, including the rich cocoa farmers in the Asante province in the NLM feared, was not communism “but the rough and ready democracy of the United States which they saw about to be thrust down their throats by the British administration,” Bing (1968:158) points out. The only option they saw “was to resurrect chiefly powers as a support for their” political party by purchasing “the support of the chiefs” in the Asante province (Ibid: 158). Three weeks after the launching of the NLM, “the chiefs in council declared their full support for the movement, again swearing the Great Oath, pledging £20,000 drawn from the Asantehene Palace Fund to support it” (Awoonor: 162). Strangely enough, but not surprising, “the NLM received support from the Cadbury and Fry, the British Cocoa-buying company,” who probably stood to lose by the cocoa bill, and “offered loans to farmers who supported the NLM (Austin: 343).

The irony was that, during the second imperialists' war (WW II), the Asante traditional rulers made financial contributions toward the three British warplanes. In addition, "the Chief of Adanse alone," as Busia points out, "gave £1,000.00 toward the third aeroplane that Ashanti contributed as its gifts for the prosecution of the war" (Busia: 110). If there was nothing wrong for the "Chiefs" and people of Asante to demonstrated their loyalty to the British Government by generous contributions to the (second imperialists) War Fund (sic), what would have been wrong with the CPP government using some of the cocoa farmers' money to develop the coastal region, especially the Tema Harbor?

Judging from the political policies and judicial practices of the Ashanti Confederacy Council, set up to facilitate the British Colonial exploitation of Africans, its inciting sentiments in order to contest national election appears suspicious and a ploy. History shows that until the Confederacy Council was birthed, there was a lack of political, administrative, economic and judicial cohesion among the divisional states in the Asante union. Busia notes that aside from "the bonds of clanship and the possession of common social and political institutions, language and religion, the Ashanti Union was, as far as can be ascertained, a loose confederation" (Ibid: 87). He further notes that "the strength of the Ashanti union was largely dependent on the fact that it was a group organized for wars" (Ibid: 191–192). There was little trade or economic bond between the states (Ibid: 89). In 1875, the state of Juaben revolted and fought to safeguard its independence. During the reign of Asantehene, Nana Mensa Bonsu, Kumawu, Mampong, Nsuta, Bekwai, Kokofu and Mansa-Nkwanta took similar steps to break away from the Kumase division. Furthermore, the states of Kumawu and Mampong, claimed that according to their traditions "they did not surrender the spoils they took in the war to the Asantehene" (Ibid: 87). For instance, the kings of Bekwai and Abodom signed formal treaties with the British Government in 1895, "without the permission of the Asantehene" (Ibid: 88–89).

When the Native Court Ordinance of 1935 established a parallel legal body within the Native Authorities, the commoners and some of the less powerful kings in Asante began to complain about the fraud in this court system. The abuses by the Ashanti Confederacy Council as discussed above also caused some of the divisions to secede from the union. Noteworthy was the 1945 decision of the Bekwaihene to break away from the Confederacy Council. According to Busia, it was commonly understood that other kings also held meetings with Bekwaihene, and agreed to secede too (Ibid: 190). Six months following the Bekwaihene's decision, trouble broke out in the divisions of four kings generally suspected to have attended the covert meetings with the Bekwaihene; two of them were subsequently deposed. One of the accomplice, the Kuntansihene, and also a member of the Confederacy Council was deposed after he had been found guilty by the Kumase Divisional Council of self-absorption in the Bekwai secession, Busia elucidates (Ibid: 191). The Asante union did not contain any customary administrative machinery. It was the Confederacy Council, created under the Indirect Rule that took the place of the union with legislative and judicial powers. As a foreign institution, it was not integrated into the community, but rather legislated directly by the colonial government to the commoners (Ibid: 194). The following are some of the common sentiments expressed by the commoners against the decrees by the Ashanti Confederacy Council:

Whenever the chiefs comes back from Kumasi they brings us laws to obey. Most of these are in their own interests... We must not hold funeral celebrations. We must not plant cocoa. We must pay a levy. When we ask why? They say 'they Council say so,' or 'Asantehene ruled it.' Today, we have too many masters, the District Commissioners, the Chief, the Asantehene, and they all make laws for us. When you serve too many masters, your head tears off (wo ti te). (Ibid: 193–194)

These sentiments thus demonstrate the lack of commoners' participation in their own local politics and the dictatorial policies of the Ashanti Confederacy Council. They also attest to the peoples' resentment toward the Ashanti Confederacy Council.

Were the rumors circulating that Nkrumah had demanded the sacred Asante Golden Stool, therefore, a ploy to incense the Asante people to go to war with Nkrumah and CPP (Awoonor: 162)? Was the governments' cocoa policy of 1954 the real grievance triggering the naissance of the NLM? Or was the birth of this movement a pretext to advance the political agenda of the old anti-Nkrumah opponents? Otherwise, why the drawing into its tepees the chief farmers in the Asante region, the CPP rebels, the Ga Shifimo Kpe, led By Obitsebi Lamptey, and the Togoland Congress, also led by S.G.Antor?

In December 20, 1955 issues of its newspaper, "Librator," the NLM accused the CPP supporters in Asante as "those who belong to no family or clan, those who are strangers, not properly trained to appreciate the value of the true and noble Akan" (Ibid: 163). Meanwhile, some of the Brong kings like Takyimanhene and Dormanhene formed the Brong-Kyempem to free Brong from Asante domination (Ibid: 164). The irony is that, the leader of the N.L.M., Dr. Busia, was a Brong from Wenchi, and not an Asante.

With the mounting support among some of the Asante kings, the NLM "plunged into a vigorous political agitation," saying, "forget about the cocoa price question conveniently and adopted open violence as its instrument of organization" (Adamafo: 9). Made up of the ethno-regional and parochial political parties and their conservative traditional rulers, the NLM quickly embarked on a vicious campaign to halt the independence, while demanding a federalist system of government. Adamafo further describes the situation in Kumase as follows:

Acts of extreme vandalism were perpetuated in Ashanti but particularly in Kumasi, where members of the CPP were chased and ambushed down like animals in broad daylight. Party adherents fled to Accra and other Southern towns and their houses were either dynamited, burned, or turned into places of public convenience. The NLM organized what they called 'Action Troopers. These were armed gangs who raided CPP strongholds and killed indiscriminately or destroyed property at will. Law and order had virtually broken down in Kumasi. (Ibid: 10)

These violent attacks seem to demonstrate the intolerant attitude of the Opposition toward Nkrumah and the CPP since the 1951 election. The government policy was either on their term or they would resort to violence to achieve what they could not attain through the ballot box.

The British Colonial Government, with the ultimate power to maintain peace and order in the country, simply stood neutral while the CPP members were being terrorized and murdered in the country. A CPP activist, Kofi Banda was shot dead at a rally at Ejisu. The Ejisuhene was tried and acquitted. Krobo Edusie's sister was shot in her yard, as she was preparing food for her children. It was around this time that Nkrumah's house was bombed in Accra. The CPP ministers and activists were threatened with death if they dared went to Kumase. As Bing notes, "the Asantehene Confederacy Council was employed to" arbitrarily destool all Chiefs who "supported the CPP" (Bing: 159). They include Juasohene, Bekyemhene, Juabenhene, Nifahene of Kumase, and Bamuhene also of Kumase (Nkrumah, 1957:219). Meanwhile, a CPP activist, Twumasi Ankrah was tried and executed in the colonial court for stabbing to death his personal friend Baffoe, an ex-CPP member. Baffoe and a gang of the NLM "Action Troopers" had chased him to a room, where he stabbed the former with a knife in self-defense (Adamafo: 10-11).

A similar incidence, well known to this author, occurred in Akyem Abuakwa involving one Sowa, a CPP activist of Akyem Tafo, and NLM Action Troopers. Sowa was sentenced to death in the colonial court in Koforidua, for allegedly killing an NLM Action Troupers, Kwasi Ampofo from Kyebi. In this case, Sowa went to the house of a known NLM member by an invitation, whereupon about six NLM Action Troopers, including Kwasi Ampofo, suddenly came out of a back room and physically assaulted him. During the scuffling, Ampofo was stabbed and later died at Koforidua central hospital.

The violent assault on the CPP in Kumase caused the closure of its regional office. After fourteen month the party decided to reopen it on one Saturday. But, on the day of its re-opening ceremony, the NLM struck that morning. According to Adamafo, (the NLM) jeep drove past the crowd that had assembled to witness the re-opening ceremony, and fired shots into the crowd and wounded several persons, killing a pregnant woman (sic.). The newly formed CPP Troopers "chased the terrorists and gave them a good dose of their own medicine," Adamafo (Ibid: 11) writes. Since then, the CPP Troopers met the NLM Action Troopers equally and contained the "bombast of its conduct and possibly outclassed them in the skill of street warfare. When the CPP supporters decided to speak the "language" of NLM Action Troupers, Nkrumah "stepped in with a warning to Party members to stop the fighting" (Ibid: 11).

Now, the CPP government had to deal with the complex issue of federalism, and the malicious rumors and the violence associated with it. The parliamentary Select Committee set up to examine the question of a federal form of government was boycotted by Dr. Busia and Modesto Apaloo, the leading opposition members in the Assembly; they insisted on the summoning of a Constituent Assembly to deal with the matter, even though the Select Committee had rejected the federalist idea. The Opposition also boycotted Sir Frederick Bourne, a constitutional expert sent down by the British government to resolve the impasse between the government and Opposition. The Opposition and its allies also rejected the regional assemblies contained in Bourne's report.

In the light of the violent opposition in the Asante province to the CPP government, the colonial government concluded that independence could not be granted. Nkrumah sought to avert another election, especially coming after its victory of the 1954 general election, by summoning an all-parties conference at Achimota. The NLM and NPP

refused to attend. The NLM and Asanteman laid down certain conditions under which they would attend, namely the repeal of the Ashanti State Councils Amendment Ordinance which allowed aggrieved chiefs to bypass the Asanteman Council to the central government for redress. This condition vindicates the government Ordinance to obviate the abuses of powers by the Ashanti Confederacy Council and Asanteman Council. It also seems to affirm Awoonor's statement, cited above, that the traditional rulers would swear their loyalty to any government, for as long as their interest was guaranteed by that government.

In order to resolve the constitutional impasse, another general election would be held for the people to decide whether they wanted a unitary government or a federal form of government. The government issued its constitutional proposal in the April White Paper, which the Opposition boycotted its proceedings. The Opposition issued its own proposals on Second Chambers and Council of State. One of its provisions was a House of Chiefs in each Region serving as Second Chambers. The government found the Opposition's proposals inconsistent with the government proposal, which had already been accepted by the three Territorial Councils. Conceivably, the reason why Nkrumah and the CPP yielded

To Britain's insistence on yet another election was the case of British Guiana where the internal independence of the country under Dr. Cheddi Jagan was cancelled by Britain in October 1953 with the excuse that the communists were poised to seize power. Britain sent in police to the territory for four years. (Awoonor: 166)

The 1956 election was held, and again the CPP won 71 seats in the 99 contested constituencies. The NLM and its allies won 33 seats in their respective region. The CPP won 11 seats in the North and eight seats in the Volta constituencies of 13. In Asante, the NLM and Muslim Association Party (MAP) won 13 seats with 8 seats going to the CPP. It must be pointed out that the CPP obtained 43 percent of the total votes cast in the Asante region. In the colony, the CPP won all the 44 seats. The CPP as the only nationalist political party was, once again, proven by its nation-wide triumph. Once again, Aaron Ofori Atta, later called Kofi Asante Ofori Atta, of Tafo defeated the "doyen of the Gold Coast politics," Dr. J.B.Danquah.

After the election, the NLM produced another theory. Its argument was that no constitution would be acceptable unless it was "favored by a majority of the people of every region into which the Gold Coast as at the present." Hitherto, Dr. Busia, leader of the NLM, had written to inform the Governor that:

In accordance with constitutional practice in the United Kingdom, the National Liberation Movement and its allies will expect Your Excellency to call upon Doctor K.A.Busia, their Parliamentary Leader, to form a Government should they win more than 52 seats at the election. (Nkrumah, 1957:272)

In other words, Dr. Busia and his party took the view that whichever party won the majority seats in Assembly would be entitled to introduce the particular constitution of its

choice. Yet, he would denounce the voice of the electorate and resort to terrorist and undemocratic methods to overthrow the democratically elected government of Kwame Nkrumah.

Back in August 1955, the NLM warned the British government of grisly aftereffects if the country should attain independence under the CPP; thus, “as far as we can see (this would lead to a road that) makes for the country (one) of riot, rebellion, revolution; the road long ago taken by those unhappy countries where one can change only the Head of State or the people who govern by armed insurrection after underground conspiracy and sabotage.” The Opposition’s boycott of the constitutional debate tabled by Nkrumah on August 3, 1956, must, therefore, be understood in the context of its intent to overthrow the CPP government by any means possible.

Dr. Busia would travel to London to make his plea to the British Government to deny granting independence to Ghana since, in his view, the country was not ready for parliamentary democracy. In his words:

We still need you in the Gold Coast... Your experiment there is not complete. Sometimes I wonder why you seem such in a hurry to wash your hands off us. (Nkrumah, 1957:279)

Such was the undemocratic tactics employed by Dr. Busia to undermine the voice of the people in the country. Earlier, Dr. Busia had told Richard Wright in an interview that he was British, “a Westerner...and was educated in the West” (Wright, 1954, 228). He also told the London Times that “Oxford has made me what I am today. I have had eleven years contact with it and now consider it my second home. Most of my friends are here” (Fitch & Oppenheimer (1966:62). His loyalty to the English Crown and culture did not yield any positive result; his desperate plea was thus denied.

The British Colonial Government accepted the CPP government’s request for independence, and subsequently agreed to grant the Gold Coast its independence on March 6, 1957. For the national flag, the government chose red for the blood of the martyrs, gold for wealth and green for the land and the black star in the center representing the freedom of Africans on the continent and in the Diaspora. Nkrumah’s African nationalist policies finally won independence for the new nation Ghana.

CONCLUSION

Colonialism was an evil system of economic exploitation. It emerged after the first phase of the holocaust of the European slave trade, and took from the Africans their right to self-determination and their cultural personality. Sooner, the Africans in the Gold Coast colony began to demand their freedom. But the Fante Confederacy, Aborigine Rights Protection Society and the National Congress of British West failed to achieve colonial freedom because of their limited scope, insufficient grievances, lack of political organization with clear objectives, strategy and tactics, and mass participation. These were necessary for the last two movements to combat both the colonial government and the Provincial Councils of Chiefs. Dr. J.B.Danquah’s Youth Conference compromised its

nationalist stand, when it sought an alliance with the dreadful Provincial Councils of Chiefs.

Until the arrival of Kwame Nkrumah, the UGCC was a loose movement without any national grievances and strategy, nationalist stance, mass participation, and strong agitation for an immediate political independence. It had as its strategy gradual transition to political freedom through the benevolence of the British government. But all that changed when Kwame Nkrumah arrived to assume the position of General Secretary of the UGCC. But, judging from his rich background, the impasse between him and other members of the UGCC was expected. Therefore, when he formed the CPP, he made a strong and relentless demand for political "Independence Now." His Positive Action and his fourteen-month imprisonment, and the CPP victory in the election of 1951 was primarily due to his organizational skills, nationalist stance and Pan-African vision.

Because of his popularity, large followers and the victory of the CPP in the 1951 election, some of the repulsive powerful kings, noted for their corrupt and undemocratic practices through the draconian Indirect Rule, hated Nkrumah. This was also true with the Danquah-Busia party who as "men of substance, the English-educated haute bourgeoisie—detested Nkrumah for having usurped their natural right" to succeed the British colonial government (Mahoney: 159). Hence, the Opposition used terrorist and undemocratic methods in an attempt to achieve their parochial and/or ethnocentric objectives. Austin notes that, "as the cocoa farmers in the colony listened to the propaganda coming out of the Ashanti Capitals and saw the preparation being made for the extension of the 'NLM into the colony, they saw the NLM not as farmers' friend but as the spearhead of a new Ashanti invasion of the south" (Austin: 344)). As indicated elsewhere, my grandfather was the Chief Cocoa Farmer and Chairman of the CPP in the small town of Ettokrom. The birth of the NLM as the "Hour of Liberation" was a myth. Ninsin authenticated this when he states that the aim of the NLM "was not to liberate the country but themselves (the Opposition) as a group from imminent political extinction" (Ninsin: 231). It is in this context that we can understand Dr. Busia's trip to London in a desperate attempt to halt the granting of political independence to Ghana under Nkrumah's leadership. Nkrumah's strong nationalist policies underscoring the victory CPP victories were thus clear to the British government. Yet, Dr. Busia failed to recognize the fact that the victory of the CPP in the 1956, across the country, truly represented the desire of the people in Ghana to become one nation.

The question is, was the Opposition prepared to accept the democratically elected government of Nkrumah, in post-independence Ghana? Ghana's attainment of political independence came as a result of bitter struggle between Nkrumah's CPP on one hand, and the combined forces of the colonial government and the Opposition on the other. In view of the terrorist and undemocratic character of the Opposition, the first major task of Nkrumah's government was the consolidation of power and the preservation of peace and order.

Chapter Five

Post-Independence Political Policies

Decolonization policies are the means of attaining political independence. Post-independence political policies are contingent on several factors. They include a clearly defined social philosophy and vision that accentuated the anti-colonial struggle, in the context of the material reality of the society, cultural and intellectual values acquired during colonialism, and the mental make-up of the people, Next are institutional changes in civil and public service administration, and a peaceful environment in which to embark on cultural, social, economic and industrial transformation of the country.

NATIONAL SECURITY AND CONSOLIDATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Consolidation of national unity, peace and order not only meant the creation of a congenial atmosphere for the new Ghana's social, economic and cultural transformation, but they also meant the creation of the requisite venue for Nkrumah's Pan-African project. Having compromised on the federal issues with the provision of regional councils, the CPP government found itself having to combat secessionist threats, rebellion and violence, A statement by the opposition leader, Dr. Busia, foreshadowed these developments. He had warned the British government that a CPP victory in the 1956 election would be disastrous for the nation, and that the NLM was prepared to seek any means possible, including terrorism and undemocratic means, to eliminate the evil CPP (Awoonor: 168). In March 1953, Dr. Busia debased "the CPP of being made up of agitators and revolutionaries, aided by a frantic band of propagandists who used imperialists as scapegoats to inflict the demagogy of the uneducated upon the country" (Ibid: 156).

Against this anti-democratic stance, was it surprising to see the relentless, systematically terrorist methods applied by the Opposition that culminated in the coup of February 24, 1966 that overthrew Nkrumah's government? Should not the government at that time have considered Busia's statement as a threat to national security, worthy of arrest by the law enforcement agency? Ghana was to witness the outcomes of this avowed violent statement by Dr. Busia, often referred to as the champion of democracy in Africa. As indicated in Chapter One, the Opposition's declared its vow to rid the country of the "Veranda Boys" or the "homeless tramps and jackals" took the form of several bomb explosion, assassination attempts on the lives of Nkrumah and the CPP followers. Earlier, Dr. J.B.Danquah had also issued similar threatening statements on various occasions.

During the electioneering campaign in 1956, the NLM supporters in the central Akyem Abuakwa constituency quoted the Omanhene Nana Ofori Atta II as saying that

there would be no peace in the country if the CPP should win the election. In fact, fears were constantly put into the people (this author, then a child, also head it) that the CPP strongholds in Akyem Abuakwa would be destroyed by the “oprem” (cannons) in front of the Omanhene’s palace. In our village, the NLM supporters vowed publicly that all “strangers settlers” would be chased out of Akyem leaving their cocoa farms behind, should the NLM emerged victorious; in addition, they vowed that the CPP supporters would be made to plant their plantains inside their houses. We the children from Ettokrom, who had to walk from Ettokrom to attend primary school at Osiem at the time, would run to hide in the bush, anytime we heard the approaching NLM Peugeot caravans, especially their resounding horns.

Kofi Awoonor’s analysis of the events at the time is worth citing here. After the CPP won the election, the NLM kept up some degree of agitation in which secession was invoked as the last result “to what it considered to be a constitutional impasse.” He continues:

The political unrest persisted in the opposition enclaves of parts of Asante, the Volta area, and Accra where the sectarian movements for secession, Ewe unificationist and Ga sectarian claims against “strangers” received more ominous and threatening support. (Ibid.188)

This situation posed a very grave threat to the political stability in the newly independent country, a serious factor sadly ignored by critics of Nkrumah policies. On the eve of Ghana’s independence, the Opposition enclave in the Volta region, the Ewe Unification Movement, actually went into the bush to prepare for an armed insurrection. Accordingly, “groups were set up armed with homemade shotguns” and “formed themselves into a ragged guerilla army prepared to go into battle for their cause” (Mahoney: 160). In the face of this, the “Queen’s governor-general in the Gold Coast was obliged to send troops” to the region to put down the “Ewe revolt against the new government” (Ibid: 160). Later, the leaders of the movement, S.G. Antor and Kojo Ayeke were arrested and jailed for masterminding the rebellion. The CPP government’s attempt to contain the unrest that erupted in Kumase, was prompted by the deportation orders, debated in the parliament, against Alhaji Amadu Baba and Alhaji Osman Lalam. These two non-Ghanaian Moslems “were accused of financing the NLM and its thugs” (Awoonor: 190).

Three months after the Ewe rebellion, Nai Wulomo (Ga Chief Priest) launched another anti-Nkrumah movement, the Ga-Shifimo Kpee, in Accra, with an opening prayer. As Awoonor indicates, “a sheep was slaughtered and oaths were sworn against all ‘strangers,’ including Nkrumah who was accused of encumbering a Ga Constituency seat. From then on the organization’s youth wing, “Tokyo Joes,” thronged themselves at vantage points in Accra, the seat of the government, hooting and jeering at Nkrumah and the CPP leaders. Strangely enough, J.B.Danquah, who had lost his bid in the election in Akyem Abuakwa Central, and S.G.Antor were present for the inauguration of what Awoonor characterizes “revanchist organization.” In order to buttress the Ga-Shifimo Kpee, taxi drivers and truck drivers went on strike in July 1956. This led to armed conflicts between the CPP youth, led by Oko Kolomashe, a fisherman of Bukom, “and the Tokyo Joes, who had the support of Ga leaders” (Austin: 372).

It was in response to these undemocratic and terrorist methods against national security interest that compelled the CPP government to seek the necessary legal measures, and rightly so, to consolidate the unitary system of government for which the people voted. Ninsin legitimizes the Nkrumah government's emergency measures as a choice to the realization of a strong national unity free from both ethnocentrism and the "danger of fragmentation," or national fragmentation and rivalry. With the voters' mandate, the CPP government "committed its energies to "forging national unity and making the nation strong" (Ninsin: 232). Nkrumah had urged that "in the highest reaches of national life, there should be no reference to Fantis, Asantes, Ewes, Gas, Dagombas, 'Strangers' and so forth;" in contrast, "we should call ourselves Ghanaians-the brothers and sisters, members of the same community-the state of Ghana" (Nkrumah, 1961:168). Continuing, he implored Ghanaians to purge from their own minds the ethnic chauvinism and prejudice of one group against the other. Otherwise,

We shall not be able to cultivate the wider spirit of brotherhood which our objective of Pan-Africanism calls for. We are all Africans and Peoples of African descent, and we shall not allow the imperialist plotters and intrigues to separate us from each other for their own advantage. (Ibid: 168)

Here, Nkrumah not only understood the Oppositions' continual undemocratic, conspiracies and terrorist methods as a threat to Ghana's internal security, but he also viewed them in the broader context of his Pan-African project.

Accordingly, the government issued a White Paper in 1959 registering its unadulterated vow "to the very existence of the state of Ghana by (not) allowing to go unchecked plots and conspiracies which might result in the destruction of the state itself" (Ninsin: 232). The government took two measures: (i) "the elimination of sectarian or sectional tendencies which militate against the unity and security of the Ghanaian state; and (ii) the elimination of the structural basis of the tendency toward national fragmentation" (Ibid: 232). This resulted in the "Avoidance of Discrimination Act" of 1957 which forbade "racial, tribal, regional as well as religious and political organization and propaganda." Through this legal measure:

The government was thus, in one stroke, able to undercut the centrifugal tendencies which produced the NLM and the bloody strife of 1954–56. It, above all, produced the United Party and thereby laid the structural basis for the development of Opposition and other political parties which would become national in character, and whose activities would thenceforth reinforce the unity of the nation-state of Ghana. (Ibid: 232–233).

In effect, this was the first major post-independence democratic policy by the CPP government. The other alternative would have been an outright proscription and the closure of the offices of the ethno-regional and parochial political parties.

The first duty of any government is to govern, Nkrumah points out; hence, the preservation of internal security becomes paramount (Nkrumah, 1961:113). The consolidation of national unity and security was thus strengthened by the parliament's

“enactment of the Nationality and Citizenship Act, 1957, (Act 1) and the Preventive Detention Act, 1958 (Act 17) (PDA).” The first one provided for the legal framework for the deportation of aliens found to be “engaged in activities inimical to the unity, security and stability of the Ghanaian state” (Ninsin: 233). The deportation act only renewed the powers previously possessed and exercised by the Colonial Government. The second one, PDA, “made it possible for the government to imprison, without trial, some Ghanaians whose activities” were found to be prejudicial to the state security and stability (Ibid: 233). These were the laws of the land by which the people, irrespective of one’s social status, profession, political affiliation or ethnic background had to live. On the contrary, the Opposition flaunted these laws and continued its vow to overthrow the CPP government by any means possible; the first of this behavior was the Awhiately-Amponsha-Apaloo conspiracy of 1958 (Ninsin: 229).

The question is, was it not Busia who warned the British government that “*the NLM was prepared to meet it as such and to take all steps in and out of the Legislative Assembly to mitigate the evil (CPP)?*” (Awoonor: 168). Also did Danquah not speak at the Balewashi coup plot? Did he not say that Nkrumah would pay with his neck for going against the law by declaring the Positive Action in 1950? Did he not join the voice of Nana Ofori Atta II, who threatened to bomb the voters in Akyem Abuakwa, that there would be no peace in the country, if they (the voters) should vote for the CPP? Was not Dr. Danquah on the CIA payroll at the time he went to the US Embassy to demand some explanation as to “why the funds his family had been receiving during his imprisonment had been cut after his release?” (Mahoney: 184). This caused His Excellency Mr. Mahoney, the new US Ambassador to Ghana to summon “the CIA chief of station to ask why he had not been advised of the agency’s association with Danquah. Dissatisfied with the explanation, Mahoney flew to Washington two days later and personally informed Kennedy about the matter” (Mahoney: 184–5).

The next perplexing intrigue is Komla Gbedema’s seeming complacency in the 1961 Takoradi workers strike, while Nkrumah was on state visits to the USSR and China. His contacts with the Central Intelligent Agency (CIA), and his plots to oust Nkrumah and seize power are contained in Mahoney’s (the son of the US Ambassador in Ghana at the time) account. The author evinces that Gbedemah, while serving on the three-man presidential commission ruling the country, during the Takoradi workers strike of September 1961, “saw his chance to seize power. Gbedemah had no problem in obtaining CIA backing for his conspiracy, but he wanted an official assurance of American support.” What is more, Gbedemah “approached Ambassador Russell on September 6, (1961) and told him of his plans,” and asked for US support. And “Washington gave an unequivocal yes” (Ibid: 172),

It must be recalled that when Nkrumah accepted the Soviet offer to train some of the Ghanaian military cadets, the US Secretary of State Dean Rusk predicted to President “Kennedy that if Nkrumah went through with his plans, Ghana’s British-trained officer corps might depose him” (Ibid: 171). In late August, Mahoney indicates, there was a conspiracy among the senior Ghanaian military officers, but the plot collapsed because of the death of the chief conspirator Brigadier General Joseph E. Michel in an “airplane crash in Ghana on September 1961” (Mahoney: 171). Was Gbedemah also involved in this conspiracy because of his anti-Soviet stand?

While preparations were underway for Presidents Nkrumah and Kennedy's meeting on the Volta Dam project, Gbedemah urged the US president to express with "great directiveness and force" his concern regarding Ghana's ties with the communist block. The Cold War politics regarding the Volta brought negotiations of the project to a stalemate. But while monitoring cable traffic from Ghana, the Under Secretary of State George Ball urged President Kennedy to stay on the Volta Dam project, because "there was a chance that Nkrumah might be overthrown in the next couple of weeks and a 'really solid government' would be installed." The State Department desired "to see if Gbedemah gets anywhere." Mahoney gives further evidence of Gbedema's heavy dependence on the CIA to oust and replace Nkrumah (Ibid: 173).

Gbedemah, however, proved to have little aptitude for intrigue. He seemed to want the Americans to do the work for him and spend as much time plotting with the CIA station in Accra as he did with other Ghanaian conspirators. Also assisting Gbedemah was the local agent of a New York diamond merchant, Leon Tempelsman and son. The son, Maurice Tempelsman, was a friend and political supporter of Adlai Stevenson and had a liking for mixing conspiracy in his African trade. A few days after Nkrumah dismissed him from the cabinet, Gbedemah sent a letter to Governor Williams detailing those involved in the plot and requesting money. (Ibid: 173)

This account clearly also gives an inkling to the collaboration between Gbedemah and some of the leading members of the Opposition party, especially since he went into political alliance with the Opposition leader Dr. Busia with the backing of the CIA (Ibid: 183).

The apropos of the preceding conspiracies and terrorist methods employed by Nkrumah's enemies should be taken into consideration in any discourse on Nkrumah's political policies. Such studies should also take into account the hundreds of innocent children and adults who were maimed and killed by the Opposition's terrorist's attacks. Otherwise, one would be suggesting that the lives of the more than three hundred innocent victims of the bombs are worth less than those persons imprisoned for violating the laws of the land. There is no doubt of some excesses that might have occurred in the enforcement of the law. However, could the Opposition's undemocratic and terrorist methods to achieve what they could not achieve through the ballot box, be excused?

On May 5, 1962, Nkrumah released many of the persons detained in prison under the Preventive Detention Act, in connection with the two bomb explosions in Accra on November 4, 1961. In addition, Nkrumah granted amnesty to political exiles. On June 20, 1962, another batch of the detainees, including Dr. J.B.Danquah was also released. For instance, Kojo Ayeke who was jailed in connection with the 1957 Ewe Unification Movement's armed insurrection, was released after appealing his case in court (MacFarland & Owusu-Ansah: 43). Less than one and a half months after Nkrumah's hope for serenity in the country, the Kulungugu bomb explosion occurred on August 1, 1962, this time leading to the arrest and imprisonment of some key CPP members, namely Tawia Adamafio, Ako Adjei and Azzu Crabb.

The question is, if those who made the attack on Nkrumah at Kulungugu on August 1, 1961 “were Northerners based at Lome” as Tawia Adamafio suggests (Adamafio: 131), why then did the Warrant Officer Edward Tetteh, a Ga, charged with supplying the grenade, commit suicide? Before joining the CPP, Adamafio was a fierce Ga-Shifimo Kpee (Awonoor: 200). Also, while a leading member of Dr. Busia’s Ghana Congress Party, Adamafio, in 1953, “offered conflagratory challenge to the CPP comparing Nkrumah to Adolf Hitler leading a band of illiterates against Congress which was led by intellectual giants” and which would salvage the country from “a one party evil, the evil of dictatorship” (Ibid: 156). The reader can judge as to whether or not Adamafio was an innocent victim of the alleged Nkrumah’s dictatorship.

In her letter to President Kennedy, Barbara Ward explained Nkrumah’s predicament over the Western press attacks on PDA as “incipient Dictatorship” and “destruction of due process.” She pointed out that “Ghana has real security problems and has done much better than many other newly-independent inexperienced governments. Thus it cannot fail to sense a core of hostility and cold superiority in Western reactions” (Mahoney: 160). Therefore, the view held by some critics that Nkrumah changed from a leader to become a ruler, amounts to shifting the burden of terrorism in the country from its perpetrators to the victims (Kwame Nkrumah included) of their acts of terrorism. Secondly, to overlook these heedless, systematic violence and terrorism perpetuated against the members of the Young Pioneers (children) Movement and Nkrumah himself by the lawless Opposition in Ghana between 1955 and 1966, and characterize him as “Nkrumah: The Leninist Czar” as Ali Mazrui does (Agyeman, 1992:20) is simply anomalous and inept.

REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT

Considering the fact that the CPP government accepted the 1957 constitution as a compromise, the government used its majority in the Assembly to amend it in 1959, and to modify the executive powers vested in the Regional Assemblies. The constitutional compromise that the CPP accepted in 1957, as Ninsin (1991:233) explains, was “to avert any further situation that might be used by the Opposition,” possibly the British government included, “to delay the attainment of independence.” He further elucidates that the constitutional “amendment served to remove once and for all the regional base of the Opposition” (Ibid: 233).

Independence corresponds to the control of the state apparatus by indigenous manpower. Yet until July 1, 1961, the three main instruments of the government of Ghana, namely, the military, police and civil service were in the hands of British expatriates. Lesser in ranks were a stratum of Ghanaian professional that had been deeply conditioned by the British mode of life, because of their Eurocentric education.

The 1957 constitution thus contradicted Ghana’s own historical experiences, and the true meaning of independence. Ghana after independence desired to pursue its own course of action, yet the commanding officer of its national army was an expatriate. When Nkrumah hinted on the idea of making the Ghana a republic, Her Majesty’s government in Britain was very displeased about it (Mahoney: 160). To this end, the Republican constitution was designed to free Ghana, once and for all, from the thumb of

the Queen's governor-general. It also guaranteed the Chieftaincy institution and the preservation of the Houses of Chiefs. The constitution was based on the idea of "one man, one vote and African unity, namely the political union of Africa" (Nkrumah, 1973b:206). Nkrumah became Ghana's first President on July 1, 1960, after winning the contested plebiscite held in April 1960.

Nkrumah as President also became the head of government and the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, in accordance with the constitution. In contrast to the US constitution, the President was assisted in the administration of the country by cabinet chosen from members of the Parliament. Under the 1957 constitution, he could sponsor the All-African People Conference in December 1958, and attend it in his capacity as the Chairman of the CPP. With his Presidential executive powers, Nkrumah was able to advance the African liberation struggle, African Unity and Africa's interest in the international community. That Nkrumah as Prime Minister had limited authority in the affairs of the country was authenticated when Awoonor said in an interview with this author that Nkrumah could not even enter the University College of Ghana until he became President. Therefore, the constitution was not designed to assert for the CPP ultimate and ambiguous control of power nor as a prelude to the one party system, as alleged by some critics.

ONE PARTY SYSTEM

The One-Party system of government that Nkrumah introduced is probably the most controversial political policy ever pursued. The contention that it is consistent with the traditional political system has been criticized in terms of the Western notion of democracy. Democracy has had several definitions, including (i) "a government of the people, by the people and for the people," (ii) "government with the consent of the governed," and (iii) "a form of regime that derives popular sovereignty in which ordinary citizens are endowed with the right and ability to govern themselves" (Osabu-Kle, 2002:1). These concepts do not define the characteristics or give operational definition of democracy. Despite the prevailing partisan political contest in the West, that democratic model should be viewed as a system by "the organized few that rule the majority comprising the unorganized" (Ibid: 2). No matter how we interpret it, the model has a dictatorship component. Therefore, what constitutes "the real, philosophical, ideal or essential meaning of democracy" as Osabu-Kle explains, is that "the actual practice of democracy may be said to be in the eye of the beholder" (Ibid: 1).

In the pre-colonial African political system, there was no sectional interest and no permanent opposing, political groups. Though there was no mass popular electoral process, decisions were reached by consensus, involving the commoners. Colonialism destroyed this "democratic" system through the British Indirect Rule. Like the old communal mode of socio-economic production in each community, the corresponding post-independence scientific socialism, Nkrumah asserts, should also be a one-party political system. In his supposition, "A multi-party system introduced into Africa results in the perpetuation of feudalism, tribalism, and regionalism, and in inordinate power struggle and rivalry" (Nkrumah, 1973a:372).

During the anti-colonial struggle, he emphasized the need for Africans to develop their own political and economic systems, according to their traditions, customs and way of life. It must be stressed that his policy on the one-party system is limited to a socialist state. So, for any critic to characterize Nkrumah's introduction of the one-party system in the country as draconian is to suggest that there is only one universal system of government for all social systems, irrespective of differences in cultural systems. Aside from the fact that the multi-party system varies from country to country, wherever it is practiced, the capitalist economic system as well as neocolonial exploitation of the less developed countries, through the WTO and globalization, remains essentially the same. The question is, does the multiparty electoral process ensure actual democratic practice as we witnessed in the 2000 presidential election in the US? Perhaps, the one questionable policy by the Nkrumah government was the replacement of the National flag, the symbol of national unity, with that of the CPP. By so doing, it indirectly eliminated the state, thereby defeating the purpose of the one-party system. If anything at all, the CPP flag should have rather been eliminated.

However, democracy must be measured by the quality of life of the majority of the citizenry as opposed to a privileged few, at a particular epoch in a given society. In Ghana, the main difference between the NLM and CPP were both political philosophy and ideology. In the view of the NLM, privatization of property such as cocoa and land was the basis for improving the standard of living of the people in the society. Based on Nkrumah's political philosophy and ideology, on the other hand, land and cocoa, and for that matter, all natural resources, as social products and must be used for the good of the whole society. Ninsin summarizes the CPP position as follows:

The measure which the government instituted to control land and cocoa revenue were aimed at ensuring the unencumbered realization of this goal (of the CPP). In this connection the massive investment in the development of social services, like education, health, and housing, which were made at the time are lasting monuments to the foresight and courage of that regime and its leader, Kwame Nkrumah. (Ninsin: 232)

The question is how did Nkrumah manage to overcome the unusual circumstances discussed above and still achieve major successes in that relative short time in the country's history?

For the sake of some left-wing critics of Nkrumah policies, especially Trotskyites like C.R.L James, and R.Flichter and M.Oppenheimer, I feel compelled to cite Trotsky's commentary on the Soviet Union in 1932.

The processes of great changes must be measured by scales, which are commensurate with them. I do not know if the Socialist society will resemble the biblical Paradise. I doubt it. But in the Soviet Union there is no Socialism as yet. The situation that prevails there is one of transition, full of contradictions, burdened with the heavy inheritance of the past and in addition is under the hostile pressure of the capitalistic states. (1932:15)

If the Soviet Union, with all of its advanced Marxists and the proletariat class, and Red Army was confronted with unimaginable contradictions, haunted by the legacy of the Czarist society as well as burdened with the rancorous persecutions by the capitalists in 1932, what could we expect from a post-colonial Ghana? While the change from a monarchy to a socialist template in Russia, was abrupt, there was no intervening period by a Foreign Monarch, nor did 400 years of European slave trading precede this political transformation. During colonialism for example, Africans were conditioned into identifying their destiny with their oppressors. Therefore, Czarist Russia was not, in any conceivable way, comparable to the multitude of Ghana's negative cultural and historical experience with Europe and the magnitude of colonial legacy, immediately after the attainment of political independence. Why Hegel's discourse on dialectics is a natural law of revolution, Karl Marx's dialectical and historical materialism is not applicable to Ghana and, for that matter, to any post-European slave trade and/or post-independence African country.

PAN-AFRICAN POLICY

Kwame Nkrumah's Pan-African statement on the eve of Ghana's independence that Ghana's independence was meaningless unless it was linked with the total liberation of the entire African continent was to bring to fruition the ideals of Pan-Africanism, which began in Chicago 1893. It was also to fulfill the visions of both Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. Du Bois. Based on Nkrumah's Pan-African statements during the national revolutionary stage, Ghana's independence was to serve as the catalyst for the ultimate economic freedom, African emancipation, African union government and universal African liberation. Therefore, the independence of Ghana meant a rededication to the struggle to emancipate other African countries. Otherwise, the failure to extend Ghana's independence beyond its borders "would have tragic consequences for other African territories striving toward independence" (Nkrumah, 1972b:105). Nkrumah approached the decolonization of Africa at five levels. First, he brought African heads of states and political activists together at conferences in Ghana in 1958. Second, he set up military training camps for the freedom fighters in Ghana. Third, he sent arms and ammunitions to other liberation camps in Africa. Fourth, Nkrumah provided material, financial and human resources to the African liberation movements and governments. Fifth, he made Ghana a haven for leaders of the freedom fighters and victims of colonial oppression, even outside the African continent.

AFRICAN UNION GOVERNMENT

Before Ghana attained its political independence, there were only seven independent African countries, These were Egypt, Ethiopia, Libya, Liberia, Morocco and Sudan. Other African territories were either under colonial rule or the European settler regimes. In accord with the resolutions concluded at the Pan-African Congress in Manchester in 1945, Nkrumah signaled the European powers that an independent Ghana was not going to tolerate the continual domination of Africa and its people. Hence, he shaped his

African policy primarily toward the total liberation of the remaining territories under colonial and settler regimes, and to unify Africa politically. This, he viewed, was a prerequisite for economic, industrial and cultural development of Ghana in particular and Africa as whole. Critical to his African policy was world peace, positive neutrality (in the face of the Cold War) and non-alignment.

It must be recalled that, before Danquah invited Nkrumah to assume the general secretaryship of the newly formed UGCC, the latter was the secretary of the London-based West African National Secretariat. And it was on the advice of the WANS that Nkrumah accepted the invitation (Esebedo, 1994:152). Nkrumah made manifest his plan for Pan-African unity on the African soil when he addressed the students at the Fourah Bay College, while he was on his way to the Gold coast in 1947.

Nkrumah's policy of a unitary government in Ghana was inextricably linked with his crusade for an African Union Government. As far as back in 1948, following his "inevitable removal as secretary of the UGCC," Agyeman (1992:38) points out, "Nkrumah set off on a visit to the Ivory Coast and Guinea in a continuing effort to commit other African leaders to the vision of a free and united Africa." Hence, the birth of CPP in 1949 came to give expression to Nkrumah's Pan-African mission. For instance, following his 1953 "The Motion of Destiny" speech, Nkrumah organized a Pan-West African conference in Kumase in December 1953, of which Nnamdi Azikiwe and Aminu Kano of Nigeria attended. The conference called for the establishment of "a strong and truly federal [West African] state capable of protecting itself from outside invasion, and able to preserve its internal security" (Davidson, 1973:164). Nkrumah's plan to hold a "conference of delegates from organizations all over Africa in August 1955" was, however, called off primarily because of the birth of the NLM and the subsequent political crisis in the country (Austin, 1964:284).

With Ghana's independence, Nkrumah gave a practical expression to the Pan-African liberation and unity of Africa by inviting, for the first time in African history, the heads of state of the seven independent African states for a summit meeting in April 1958, in Accra. At the conclusion of the summit meeting, the leaders agreed to support those African countries still under colonial rule and settler regimes to achieve their independence. They also expressed their determination to pursue a foreign policy based on non-alignment, positive neutrality and, the urgent need for economic development.

Inspired by the example of the thirteen colonies that came together to form the United States of America, Nkrumah held a series of meeting with Sekou Touré of Guinea and formed a Ghana-Guinea Union on November 23, 1958. Serving as the nucleus of a union of West African States, Sekou Touré announced on May 1, 1959 that the union was open to all African nations (Esebedo: 169-170).

The Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union later replaced the Ghana-Guinea Union, formed on April 29 1961 to serve as a future United States of Africa. Its charter declared its membership open to every African country or federation of African states that accepted its goals. Specifically, its goals sought "to strengthen and develop ties of friendship and fraternal cooperation between the member states politically, diplomatically, economically and culturally, and to pool their resources in order to consolidate their independence and safeguard their territorial integrity" (Ibid: 171). Other aspects of its aspirations spoke of working jointly to achieve the total liquidation of imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism in Africa, in order to form African Unity; and "to harmonize the domestic

and foreign policy of its Members, so that their activities may prove more effective and contribute more worthily to safeguarding the peace of the world" (Ibid: 171).

Earlier, William Tubman of Liberia, alarmed by the word, "Union" had invited Nkrumah and Touré to a conference at Sanniquelle on July 19, 1959, where the name Ghana-Guinea Union was dropped and replaced by Associated States of Africa. The conference adopted the name, Community of Independent African States, with "Independence and Unity" as its motto. But as associated states, its goals fell short of Nkrumah's vision of a political union of Africa. The difference was that the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union stood for a radical decolonization and speedy unification of Africa, while President Tubman preferred a cautionary and gradual approach (Ibid: 171-72). These differences in objectives signaled the divisions of what would later become the Monrovia and Casablanca blocks.

This early polarization of the Pan-African project precipitated the All-African Peoples' Conference in Tunis from January 25 to 30, 1960. It was at this conference that the establishment of an organization to organize all the necessary assistance and solidarity of all the independent African countries was set up. They also agreed on the sending of African volunteers to fight in the Algerian war of independence from France. Furthermore, the conference adopted a policy at furthering closer economic and cultural cooperation (Ibid: 173). Nkrumah's proposals for the establishment of an African common market, an African bank and a technical research institute were approved; but, his proposal on the political union of Africa was rejected.

The differences between the Monrovia and Casablanca blocks brought a division in the Pan-African project at the Addis Ababa conference in June 1960. The conservative Monrovia block, which favored a gradual approach, was led by Tubman of Liberia, while the radical pro-African political union group, the Casablanca block, was led by Nkrumah (Ibid: 174). Judging from the positions of the two blocks, the Pan-African project could not escape from the Cold War politics. United States Senator J.Dodd of Connecticut, in December 1962, began a campaign with a special focus on Ghana as a "center for subversive communism in Africa." As "vice chairman of the Senate Internal Security Committee," the Senator "reiterated the charge, saying Ghana is the first Soviet Satellite in Africa" (Walters, 1993:114). Earlier, the US government had regarded Nkrumah's support of Lumumba of Congo as tantamount to being pro-Soviet" (Mahoney: 163). For instance, when Nkrumah wrote and distributed copies of his book, *Neocolonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*, to the African leaders in 1965, the US State Department sharply criticized and protested the chapter which exposes "the activities of the Peace Corps, the US Information Services, the US Agency for International Development and to the World Bank" in Africa (Nkrumah, 1973a:310).

The mounting criticisms of Nkrumah as scheming to become the ruler of Africa or as being pro-Soviet could not deter him from his repeated call for a Union of African States. It follows that a loose amalgamation of African nations would only create loopholes for the former colonial powers and imperialists to manipulate the African nations to their advantage. It would also lead to situations in which "the resentment which overthrew colonialism will be used against us." Nkrumah further explains his theory of political economy when he points out that:

Political freedom is essential in order to win economic freedom, but political union is meaningless unless it is of a nature which enables the country, which has obtained it to maintain its economic freedom. (Esebede: 176)

This statement clearly elucidates what he considered to be the indissoluble relationship between economic and political freedom. In other words, political freedom is the forerunner to Africa's total social, economic and cultural freedom. It was with this in mind that he accepted the compromised constitutional reforms towards the attainment of political independence.

Esebede notes that, nearing the final conclusion of the Charter of Organization of African Unity (OAU), Nkrumah ignored "Selassie's counsel of caution and gradualism" and used the occasion to drive home his argument for the total liberation and immediate political unification of Africa. The question is, how was the OAU going to meet its commitment to the total liberation of Africa without formal political machinery? Or how was the OAU going to defend Africa without a unified foreign policy and military command? Answers to these questions are embodied in Nkrumah's proposed five commissions to serve as modalities for an African union government: a Commission to frame a constitution for a Union government; a Commission to draw up details for a Common Foreign Policy and Diplomacy; a Commission to produce plans for Common System of Defence and a Commission to make proposals for a Common African Citizenship. A Commission to work out a continental plan for a common economic and industrial program for Africa, included (i) a Common Market, (ii) an African Currency, (iii) an African Monetary Zone, (iv) an African Central Bank, and (v) a Continental Communication system. (Nkrumah, 1973a:246-47). Sensing that there would be insufficient support for the critical components of his proposals, Nkrumah drew attention to the fruitlessness of a compromised OAU charter that would result in making it an amorphous organization.

What are we looking for in Africa? Are we looking for Charters, conceived in the light of the United Nations example? A type of United Nations Organization whose decisions are framed on the basis of resolutions that in our experience have sometimes been ignored by member States? Where groupings are formed and pressures develop in accordance with the interest of the groups concerned? Or is it intended that Africa should be turned into a loose organization of states on the model of the Organization of American States, in which the weaker states within it can be at the mercy of the stronger or more powerful ones politically or economically and all at the mercy of some powerful outside nation or group of nations. Is this the kind of association we want for ourselves in the United Africa we all speak of with feeling and emotion? (Ibid. 244-45)

Certainly, the OAU was destined to become a loose association. The inevitable dissention among the member states can also be attributed to the behavior of most of the French speaking countries in the West Africa sub-region, who attained their independence within

the French Community; with the exception of Guinea and Mali, the rest appeared to favor the Organization of American States model.

The favorable vote on the charter of the OAU fell short of Nkrumah's vision of a political union government. It also fell short of Marcus Garvey's vision of a powerful Black nation with a strong army, pursuing independent of course of action. It also fell short of the objectives of Pan-Africanism, for which Dr. Du Bois pursued from 1893 to 1963. The charter of the OAU became what Nkrumah characterizes "a Charter of intent, rather than a Charter of Positive Action (Ibid: 247).

So, what looked like a reasonable proposal toward real African unity was met with opposition from the other member states. The issue of African High Command and African union government were rejected outright. For this reason, Nkrumah pointed to three choices available to Africa: "first, to unite and save our continent; secondly, to disunite and disintegrate; or thirdly to 'sell out' to foreign powers" (Esebedo: 176).

This awareness, perhaps, drove Nkrumah to denounce those he viewed as bent on blocking the path to African political union as imperialist protagonist and puppet leaders. For Nkrumah, political union meant a common foreign and defense policy, common currency, one citizenship, intercommunication system, as well as rapid social, economic and industrial development. Africa is endowed with incredible natural resources, yet the post-independence African nations were still dependent on the former colonial powers for simple goods. With an African Common Market of three hundred million producers and consumers, Africa could be in control of productivity and purchasing power on par with any of those trading and currency blocks which now rule the commerce of the world. Yet, most member States of the OAU did not see it that way.

Nevertheless, Nkrumah was not prepared to accept defeat. In the subsequent OAU meetings in Cairo in 1964 and Accra in October, 1965, Nkrumah reiterated his call for a continental African High Command. This time, he proposed setting up an OAU Executive Council to act as the executive arm of the Assembly of Heads of States and Governments. The boycott of the Accra summit meeting by five French speaking countries in the West Africa sub-region, however, caused the voting for the Executive Council to fall short of two votes. Unhappy about the rejection of his proposed Executive Council and African High Command, Nkrumah went further to reiterate his earlier warning that either the OAU move forward to development through an effective African Union or step backward into stagnation, instability and confusion, whereby Africa would become easy prey for foreign intervention, and insurrection, He asked:

Who is there to oppose or frustrate us, if we only have the courage to form an All-African Union Government. Can the industrialized nations do without our copper, our iron ore, our bauxite, our coffee, cocoa, cotton, groundnuts, palm oil or will they be running after us, as we have been running to them for trade on equitable terms? (Nkrumah, 1973. 307)

Again, his Pan-African vision, in terms of self-determination and independent course of action by Africans, fell on dead ears.

Was Nkrumah's struggle for an African political union government premature? Or was Nkrumah ahead of this time? Was the repugnance of the majority of the member states toward a union government and African High Command due to any imperial

design that Nkrumah might have had in mind? If so, how was Nkrumah going to achieve this alleged imperial design in order to become the head of the African union government? Was the choice of the head of the union government going to be decided by the Executive Council of the OAU as proposed by Nkrumah or by a general continental election? What benefits did African people derive from the gradual approach to a political African union government, as espoused by some of the leaders? Or was the aversion of those African leaders toward an African union government and African High Command due to their Eurocentric conditioning that had submerged their African personalities? Therefore were not the anti-Nkrumah proposals due as much to the Cold War politics and their lack of confidence in the ability of Africans to determine Africa's destiny? Answers to these questions, plausibly, explains Nkrumah's crusade on the recovery of African personality through an African-centered education and the theater.

THE AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE

If the summoning of the independent African Heads of States to the Summit meeting in Ghana in April 1958 by Nkrumah marked the turning point in African history, then Nkrumah's sponsoring of the historic All-African Peoples Conference in Accra in December 1958, marked the highest and the final point in both non-violent and armed struggles toward the total liberation of all African territories. It was the greatest coming together of thirtysix liberation movements and other Pan-Africans from England, USA and the Caribbean on African soil.

This historic meeting was originally urged by Dr. Du Bois through George Padmore to be the sixth Pan-African Congress. For strategic reasons, Nkrumah changed it to All-African People's Conference. Some of the notable participants were Nelson Mandela, Robert Mugabe, Patrice Lumumba, Julius Nyerere, Tom Mboya and Frantz Fanon (Krofana: 31), Amilcar Cabral, Joshua Nkomo and Holden Roberto (Mahoney: 163). Also in attendance were Horace M. Bond, a former President of Lincoln University, Marguerite Cartwright, an African American journalist, and Shirley Graham Du Bois. W.E.B Du Bois could not attend because of a restriction placed on his external travels by the US State Department (Esebede: 167).

In his speech read by his wife, Du Bois explained that "if Africa unites, it will be because each part, each nation, each tribe gives up a part of the heritage for the good of the whole" (Ibid: 168). The agreement at the conference was that freedom fighters should be provided with resources like material, military and medical supplies (Ibid: 168). Nkrumah called for the set up of volunteer armed forces to help in the freedom struggle, saying that "we will not tolerate interference from any country, and I mean any" (Nkrumah, 1973:348).

This meeting enabled Nkrumah to reinforce his personal relations with the nationalists. Ghana had become the "Mecca" of freedom fighters, who "began to look to Nkrumah for guidance and financial support to foment rebellion in their home countries." Patrice Lumumba was one of those delegates who returned to Congo with a determination to press for immediate independence in the Belgian Congo" (Mahoney: 163). When Congo became independent, Nkrumah sent doctors, engineers and civil servants to help the new country (Krafona: 38).

Nkrumah's first Pan-African positive action was the £10 million interest-free loan he gave to Guinea to stabilize its economy and provide administrative and technical assistance. It should be recalled that Guinea, under Sekou Toure, voted 'No' against General de Gaulle's referendum of September 28, 1958 on upholding the constitution of the French Community. As a retaliation against Guinea's negative vote, the French government withdrew its civil servants and equipment and everything France owned from Guinea (Esebedo: 169).

To further the course of the African liberation, Nkrumah created three new institutions in Ghana, namely, the African Secretariat, the Bureau of African affairs and the All-Trade Union Congress. "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, bequeathed by the British, was viewed with disfavor because it was suspected to be a secondary colonial interest" (Krafona: 30). According to Adamafio, Nkrumah regarded himself African first, and therefore disliked the idea of treating affairs pertaining to African nations as foreign affairs. Nkrumah was "Africa's African and he spoke, ate, smoked, drank, and sang Africa" (Adamafio: 96-97).

The African Affairs Secretariat was responsible for organizing conferences of independent African states and nationalist movements, while the Bureau of African Affairs served as a channel through which propaganda and material aid were provided to the freedom fighters. The All-African Trade Union Congress, on the other hand, was set up to organize a Pan-African Federation Union as 'the Vanguard of the Struggle for political freedom, independence and unity' of the African continent (Krofana: 31-32). These three entities became the vehicles for pursuing Ghana's African policy.

But, Nkrumah's African policy suffered a terrible defeat in the Congo crisis, after the Moise Tshombe-led secession in the Katanga province in Congo in July 1960, leading to the murder of Lumumba. This failure was partly due to Nkrumah's misperception of the situation and his overwhelming confidence in the British-born Ghanaian officer, General Alexander, who became Commander of the Ghanaian and UN Troops. At the request of Lumumba, Ghana sent two battalions to help avert a civil war and Nkrumah immediately placed Ghana's resources at the disposal of Lumumba. With the exception of Guinea, Congo received no support from any other independent African country.

The Ghanaian troops initially restored order by disarming the mutinous Congolese troops. By the time the Congo crisis resurfaced at a higher level, Lumumba had developed a very deep suspicion of General Alexander but Nkrumah would not withdraw him, because of an unimpeachable confidence Nkrumah had in the general. Little did he know that General Alexander "grew increasingly hostile to Lumumba whom" the Belgian and US "feared might become another anti-colonialist militant (like Nkrumah) in the heart of Africa" (Ibid: 40). Lumumba now accused "Ghana of treachery when the UN Commander using Ghanaian troops," denied him (Lumumba) "permission to broadcast on his own government radio at a time of serious escalation of tension in the Congo" (Ibid: 40). The Ghanaian Ambassador and the general had been sending conflicting messages to Ghana, and the upshot was the arrest and murder of Patrice Lumumba by the Chief of Staff of the Congolese Army, Colonel Joseph Mobutu on February 13, 1961 (Ibid: 39-44).

Lumumba's murder constituted a major, but a temporary set back to Nkrumah's African Pan-African policy, especially coming after the conclusion of a secret Ghana-Congo, (including military pact) accord between the two leaders on August 8, 1960. The

immediate dismissal of General Alexander was inconsequential; it came too late to uphold the Ghana-Congo accord. Nkrumah's summoning of "the new US ambassador, Francis H. Russell, with a chiding letter, "stinging, *aid mémoier* to President Kennedy" perhaps, marked a turning point in Ghana's attitude towards the US. So was his second letter to President Kennedy flatly accusing him "of bad faith" (Mahoney: 165). The root of the impasse, in the wake of the Cold War, also lies in his confidence in the UN and the British-born officer commanding the Ghanaian and UN troops. In the aftermath of Lumumba's murder, Krafona notes:

Mutual suspicions gave way to fundamental conflicts of interest. In the Western view, if the Congo were to become independent then, perhaps, a moderate leader who would pander to their interests was preferable. But the Ghanaians wanted a radical like Lumumba who would readily embrace their Pan-African crusade. Such a fundamental clash of interests, coupled with the fact Ghana was at this time beginning to tighten the screw on private enterprise in favour of 'socialism,' made rupture in Ghanaian-Western relations inevitable. A search for a new friendship began with the Eastern block, in particular the Soviet Union. (Krafona: 41-42)

This conflict of interest heightened the already mounting campaign, and assassination and coups attempts to rid Africa of Nkrumah. The drama of the Cold War politics would be played out in the upshot of the Angolan independence in the seventies, where the Western forces rallied behind Jonas Savimbi in opposition to the OAU support for Aogostinho Neto.

This major set-back notwithstanding, Nkrumah set up camps for freedom fighters to give them proper training in guerrilla activity and organization. All freedom fighters knew Ghana as their sanctuary. In the case of the Algerian revolution, Nkrumah saw armed struggle as the only solution. Nkrumah brought together liberation and political movements from French, Spanish, British and Portuguese colonial territories including the settler areas, and held discussions with them. He would formulate strategies for the African revolutions, discussing these with colleagues and officials, and "worked like a wounded tiger" (Adamafo: 103). Adamafo adds:

We received great supplies of arms, which we kept at Elmina Castle. Kwame and I (Adamafo) went with Madjitey, the Commissioner of Police, to inspect them. Driving back to Accra in Kwame's car, we talked and planned for Africa and shook challenging fists in the face of all oppressors of our continent. Kwame was so elated that he behaved like a boy who had just received a present of a toy gun at Christmas! I was glad too, for this was a positive manifestation of our will to act and a concrete demonstration of Ghana's leadership role in the African Revolution. (Ibid: 104)

Nkrumah, who had earlier embraced Gandhi's non-violent positive action, had now become a convert to the belief that armed struggle was the only means of defeating colonialism and settler regimes in Africa.

According to Retired Colonel David Gbon Zanleringu, Commander of the President Own Guard Regiment (POGR) between 1962 and February 24, 1966, Nkrumah's government gave substantial support to the liberation movements. One such logistic support was the setting up of military camps in two locations in Ghana, namely, "Half Assini in the Nzema area, and Obenemase in the Asante Akyem" area for training the freedom fighters. Some of the freedom fighters were recruited by the liberation movements from Belgian Congo (now Congo Democratic Republic), Angola, Rhodesia (now Zambia and Zimbabwe), Nyasaland (now Malawi)" and Belgian Congo and sent to the camps in Ghana. Secondly, the CPP government provided arms and ammunitions for the fighters. One Lieutenant Kabu-Davies of the POGR had the task "to escort the arms and other equipment to various destinations," Retired Colonel Zanleringu, said in response to my questionnaire on June 15, 2003. Some of the beneficiaries of the military supplies were Dr. Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe. Colonel Zanleringu, "believed that financial support was also provided to the fighters." Some of the arms and military equipment were also secretly sent to some of the freedom fighters' bases, especially in Sudan, of which Retired Colonel Kwasi Oteng, then a Second Lieutenant of the POGR, had some knowledge. In our interview on May 15, 2003, Retired Colonel Oteng revealed that he spent some weeks with the soldiers under him at Half Assini, guarding arms and ammunitions deposited there for the training of the freedom fighters.

As the Commander of the POGR, Retired Colonel Zanleringo indicated the trust and confidence that Nkrumah had in him (and General C.M. Barwah who was murdered in his residence by Colonel Kotoka when he refused to support the coup that overthrew Nkrumah government). He handled some aspects of the training and the distribution of arms and ammunitions to the camps. Though he was not directly involved in the affairs of the African High Command that the Casablanca block had established in Accra, he was charged to provide accommodation for the staff.

Nkrumah's support for the cause of African unity went beyond his campaign for political union, conferences, and support of the armed struggle. When Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) announced his Unilateral Declaration of Independence in November 1965, Ghana severed diplomatic relations with Britain on December 16, 1965. Additionally, the government introduced a Bill in the National Assembly under the certificate of urgency to "give the Government general powers to make laws necessary for mobilization" of Ghana's Armed Forces (Nkrumah, 1973a:361). I recalled discussing with a friend in Koforidua about joining the volunteer force called by the government at the time.

During the Algerian war of independence, Ghana provided logistical support to the National Liberation of Algeria. Sooner after the All-African People's Conference, Franz Fanon of the Front for National Liberation of Algeria, collaborated with Nkrumah to work in Ghana (McFarland & Owusy Ansah: Ivi). In a 1972 discussion of Ghana's role in the Algeria revolution, with J.E.Jantuah (now, Kwame Opoku Sanaa Jantuah), Ghana's ambassador to France at the time, indicated that his official residence in Paris became a safe haven for the Algerian citizens, who were being chased down to be slaughtered in

France. He said Nkrumah authorized the issuance of Ghanaian passports to those Algerians in his residence and on the Ghana embassy compound. In addition, Nkrumah sent a special plane for their evacuation from Paris to Ghana. By 1977, this author knew some Southern African nationals who held Ghanaian passports, which were issued during Nkrumah's Ghana. Retired Colonel Oteng also knew about South African students with whom they interacted on their arrival in Ghana.

Ghana's foreign policy was based on Dignity, Peace, Friendship, and Non-alignment. This policy was conceived in the context of the atomic arms race and the Cold War. However, Ghana's policy of non-alignment did not imply indifference to the issues in the world, nor did it mean isolationism. It also did not mean anti-Western or anti-Eastern blocks. As an African proverb goes: "When the bull and elephant fight the grass is trampled down," Nkrumah (1973b:143) cites. Thus, between war and peace, Ghana stood for peaceful solutions of disputes. The non-aligned movement was predicated upon this philosophy, which was initiated by Kwame Nkrumah after his visits to Egypt and India in 1958. Through these visits, "he laid the foundation of a non-aligned 'third force' in international affairs" (Mahoney: 163).

Nkrumah also sought other avenues of support for African liberation and self-determination. In 1960, Ghana managed to get the United Nations General Assembly to approve Resolution 1514 (XU), or the Declaration on the granting of Independence to Non-Self-Governing Territories and peoples. Ghana's vigorous voice in the UN, its active involvement in the UN conferences and advocacy for World Peace, disarmament, and specially Nkrumah's doctrine of "World Without Bomb," led to its being elected into the UN Security Council in January 1962 for two years. The recognition of Ghana's prominent position in world affairs was also manifested in the making of a Ghanaian diplomat, Alex Quasin Sackey, the President of the UN General Assembly (Krafona: 32). Addressing the UN General Assembly on August 10, 1961, Nkrumah focused his attention on world peace, disarmament, the illegal settler regimes in Africa and the war in Vietnam; in addition, he expressed his government's support for the admission of the People Republic of China to the UN (Nkrumah, 1973b:277).

Nkrumah saw his active role in international affairs as regards world peace, disarmament, fraternal relations with all democratic nations, non-alignment and Ghana's policy of positive neutralism in the context of Cold War, as fundamental to ensuring peaceful environment for Ghana's freedom, social, economic and industrial development. Secondly, any military alliance with any atomic power, in the view of Nkrumah, was a threat to the security of Africa and world peace. It was for this reason that he accepted Ho Chi Minh's invitation to go and mediate the conflict in Vietnam (Forward Ever: 53). Prior to this invitation, Nkrumah had been very instrumental in the formation of the Afro-Asia Solidarity Committee. The irony was that the CIA orchestrated military coup overthrew his government while he was on his way to restore peace in Vietnam.

The military coup of 1966 constituted a major set back not only to Ghana's social, economic, industrial and cultural revolution as contained in the Seven-Year Development Plan, but it also halted the entire Pan-African project. Inseparable from Nkrumah's Pan-Africanism was the place of the African's in Diaspora who began and advanced the Pan-African movement from 1893 to 1945. The liberation movements and Black Power movement in the US and elsewhere, Nkrumah elucidates, can only find consummation in

the political unification of Africa, the home of black people throughout the world (Nkrumah, 1973a:427).

For this reason, Nkrumah made a conscious effort to invite some leading Diasporan African political, social and cultural activists to Ghana's Independence Day celebration. They included Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Dr. Ralph Bunche, Asa Philip Randolph, Norman Manly of Jamaica, Mrs. Louis Armstrong and many others. Dr. Du Bois could not attend because of the confiscation of his passport by the anti-communist State Department of John Foster Dulles. During Ghana's Republican celebration, Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP, Professor Leo Hansberry and others honored Nkrumah's invitation (Walters: 97-98). Addressing a gathering of 7,500 African Americans in Harlem, New York in July, 1958, he explained that "Africans and African Americans were held together by 'bonds of blood and kinship;'" He ended his speech by appealing to those with expertise to go and help build Ghana. Among those who went to Ghana between 1958 and 1966 included Professor St. Claire Drake, Maya Angelou, Julian Mayfield, Professor Martin Kilson, Drs. Robert and Sara Lee, Dr. Du Bois and Shirley Graham Du Bois, George Padmore, CLR James, Bankole Timothy, John Henry Clarke, Alice Windom, Sylvia Boone, Tom Feelings and Robert Freeman, former President of the United Mutual Insurance Company. Most of them lived in Ghana till the US backed military forces overthrew Nkrumah's government. It is common knowledge that until Dr. Du Bois' death in 1963, Nkrumah spent countless hours with him seeking advice on a number of issues, including the political union of Africa (Marais, 1972:103).

Visits to Ghana by Africans in the Diaspora became common phenomena. Other notable ones like, Richard Wright, Mohammed Ali and Malcolm X were some of the Africans in the Diaspora who held special meetings with Nkrumah. Malcolm X, for instance, returned to the US in 1965 and urged African Americans to go Ghana and partake in the Pan-African struggle on the continent. Nkrumah repeatedly stated that until Africa was united under one socialist government, every black person everywhere lacked a national home. The Black Power movement, Nkrumah notes, "operates throughout the African Continent, in North and South America, the Caribbean, wherever Africans and people of African descent live. It was linked with the Pan-African struggle for unity on the African continent, and with all those who strove to establish a socialist society" (Nkrumah, 1973a:426). Therefore statements by some critics that Nkrumah shifted the spirit of Pan-Africanism to a geographical entity are simplistic and misleading.

Kojo Botsio told me in January 1997 that Nkrumah's campaign for a continental union government was also intended to make it possible for the Africans in the Diaspora to become African citizens. On the question of dual citizenship for the Africans in the Diaspora, he said Nkrumah started the process, but the military take-over stopped it. Nkrumah's government dissemination of information in Ghana about the Civil Rights and later the Black Power Movements in the US made the American government more unpopular in Ghana. And the "left" leanings of some of the Pan-African activists supporting Nkrumah course did not sit well by the US government.

In the light of hostilities, both internal and external, how did Nkrumah manage to embark on unprecedented massive social, economic, industrial and cultural developments in the country? At the time of Ghana's independence, "Nkrumah had left \$500 million of reserves, accumulated during the colonial period, in long-term, low-interest British securities," on the advice of the British, but "this great source of productive investment

was unavailable in 1959” (Mahoney: 161). Thus, political independence did not mean economic independence.

Between 1951 and 1955, Nkrumah’s administration raised the national income from £20 million to £65 million per annum, while expenditure rose from £14 million to £52 million. The country redeemed its external debts, whilst the country’s “assets from all sources” amounted to nearly £100 million by 1955 (Nkrumah, 1973b:45). The CPP government’s development concentrated on education, Africanization of civil and public personnel, construction of hospitals, health and sanitation, road and railways constructions. The Adomi Bridge, Tema Harbor and the present campus of the University of Ghana were part of this development plan.

Nkrumah’s economic policies were, in large measures, shaped by the planned and developmental economic ideas of John Keynes, often called “mixed economy.” Keynes’ criticism of *laissez-faire* economic theory was that an unregulated market system—private ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange of goods and services—“was likely to be chronically unstable and incapable of assuring the full realization of productive resources” (William Barber, 1967:237–250). His *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* thus advanced the need for active government intervention in the economy through savings and investment towards planning and development, as well as full employment (Ibid: 250).

In July 1957, the government established the Bank of Ghana to play a very important and decisive role in the national life, in terms of “the economic and financial self-government and independence” (Nkrumah, 1973b:111). The Second Five-Year Development Plan, code-named “Building A Welfare State,” was launched on July 1, 1959. The major components of the plan were industrial development, communication, power and water (Volta Dam Project) health and sanitation, tourist industry, arts and culture and employment. In the plan, Nkrumah saw education as “one of the main, if not *the* main pillar” (Ibid: 121). Though the development was based on mixed economy, the government was apprehensive about the emergence of strong free-market economy to impede Nkrumah’s long term socialist objectives. This explains why the industrial sector of Ghana’s “economy was mainly a joint venture between” foreign investors and the government. By so doing, “the government retained control of the economy and to ensure that foreign investment “fitted in with Ghana’s development” plan (Krafona: 34). Loan agreements for the country’s development plan were concluded on Ghana’s own fiscal policy. Hence, “Nkrumah rejected outright the loan agreement” on the Volta project “that Gbedemah had concluded with World Bank;” Nkrumah charged that “it was improper for the bank to dictate Ghana’s fiscal policy” (Mahoney: 169).

On March 11, 1964, the Five Year Development Plan was replaced by a Seven Year Development Plan. The goal was to “develop Ghana economically, socially, culturally, educationally, spiritually and technologically” (Nkrumah, 1973:185). Code-named, “Work and Happiness,” the aim, under the plan, was to transform Ghana into a socialist country, in which the government would accept full responsibility in promoting the well-being of the masses. Yet still, the economy remained a mixed one, in which the public and co-operative sector operated along with the private sector (Ibid: 191). And the development plan made room for all investors, including foreign investors, the central and local governments, and individual Ghanaians. The State retained control of certain

strategic sectors of the economy, such as public utilities, raw materials and heavy industry.

The total expenditure of the Seven-Year Development Plan was over a billion [British] pounds sterling, with a total government investment of four hundred and seventy-six million pounds. As a state in transition to socialism, the state enterprises were made to set up yearly financial and production targets, so that they would work towards definite objectives and goals. To achieve the goals of the plan, a National Economic Planning Commission was set up under the chairmanship of J.H.Mensah, then a Marxist oriented Economist.

In January 1966, the Volta Dam project, critical to Nkrumah's development plan was completed sooner than expected. At a special ceremony on January 23, 1966, Kwame Nkrumah switched lights to signify the flow of electricity from the Volta dam. He had achieved one of his dreams, which were once criticized as impossible and "prestigious projects" by his foes. The electricity generated from the dam was to set the stage for Ghana's industrial development. Unfortunately for the people of Ghana and Africa, the US government succeeded in timing the completion of the Volta project before its sponsored military agents went into action to overthrow Nkrumah's government on February 24, 1966. One of the arduous problems ignored by critics of Nkrumah government, specifically as it relates to the coup, is the fact that Nkrumah faced "tremendous difficulties entailed in the effort to bend the colonial bureaucratic and military institutions to the service of Pan-Africanism (Agyeman, 1992:40).

CONCLUSION

The unanswered question by most critics of post-independence Africa is, what would Ghana and Africa be in the twentieth century without Kwame Nkrumah's nationalist and Pan-African crusade? Nkrumah's policy in Ghana was Africa's policy, and Africa's policy was Ghana's policy; they were two sides of the same coin. The fulcrum of his return to the Gold Coast colony in 1947 was to advance the course of African liberation and unity through the decolonization of the Gold Coast colony. The CPP that he formed fulfilled his Pan-African objectives. His profound statement that Ghana's independence was an indispensable part of the African liberation was not without a cause.

But, this newly independent Ghana was threatened by armed rebellion, hostility and destabilizing campaign by the Opposition. Dr. Busia's unabashed warning he gave to the British government, that the Opposition would resort to any conceivable methods, outside the law, to oust from power, a government formed by Nkrumah, foreshadowed the incidence of orchestrated violence after Ghana's independence. But, in the thick of secessionist intrigues and acts of terrorism, Nkrumah's government was able to unite the country through its multifaceted policies and programs. They included education, youth and women movements, local and international sporting events, nationalist songs, Independence Day Celebrations, the theater arts and cultural centers. The accomplishment of his political policies in terms of one party system of government, with a socialist orientation, remains to be judged between his rapid socio-economic and cultural transformation of Ghana and those of the multi-party system currently being pursued in Ghana and elsewhere in Africa.

The achievement of Nkrumah's government at the economic, industrial, agricultural, educational and cultural levels, through the development plans, remained unparalleled in Ghana. Successive governments after his government have been unable to achieve a fraction of what he did for Ghana. These governments, especially Jerry Rawling and Kufour's governments have willfully surrendered not only the destiny of Ghana to financial institutions, but they have agreeably paved the way for foreign investors to recapture the natural resources of Ghana.

Nkrumah's pioneering role in the liberation of Africa from colonial rule and settler regimes, and his call for a political union of Africa is indisputable. These were quintessential Pan-African objectives of Nkrumah, as well as those of the Pan-African movement initiated by Sylvester Williams of Trinidad and later championed by Dr. Du Bois. Besides carrying through the resolutions concluded at the Pan-African Congress in Manchester in 1945, Nkrumah was also determined to realize the Pan-African vision of Marcus Garvey, specifically a strong Black Nation with a strong Black Army, Black-owned business (including Black Star lines). At the same time, the capitalist countries in the West became alarmed by his Pan-African policies, since the stableness of Western economies depends on Africa's fragmentation, "a principle, which underlay the nineteenth century 'Scramble for Africa'" (Krafona: 37). Also, in spite of his policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment with respect to the Cold War politics, he became the target of Western criticism.

At the 1963 summit conference in Addis Ababa, Nkrumah's opponents strongly rejected everything that he proposed, especially an African High Command and a Continental Union government. But the birth and existence of the OAU owes its name to Kwame Nkrumah and the people of Ghana. Nkrumah's prediction at the OAU summit meeting in Cairo in 1964 that African governments were going to be removed from office one after the other, by the neocolonialist and imperialist powers, should they fail to unite under one a continental government has come to pass. The succession of military coups after those of Nigeria and Ghana in January and February 1966 respectively vindicated Nkrumah's proposals for a continental union government. Secondly, the unknown carnage of the civil wars in the history of Africa, beginning with that of Nigeria between in 1968 to 2004, also proved correct Nkrumah's proposal for an African High Command. The heartrending phenomenon is that nearly all the victims of the civil wars (still going on) are the poor, women and children.

Though Nkrumah did not succeed in achieving the political unification of Africa, he laid the foundation for future Africa leaders to pursue it. Also, the liberation struggle he sparked in 1958 continued unabated after the untimely overthrow of his government by the CIA orchestrated coup. This military coup halted all that Nkrumah wished for Ghana, Africa and the Africans in Diaspora, especially his crusade on the recovery of African personality as an agent for Africa's socio-economic transformation, through African-centered education and theater.

Chapter Six

Nkrumah's Cultural Policies: The State and the Arts

The post-independence cultural renaissance that Nkrumah, and some Ghanaian cultural activists advanced, constituted a declaration of independence from what Freire [1972:185] calls the “culture of invasion” into the continent during colonialism. It also necessitated both intellectual decolonization policies and the creation of cultural institutions. What remains uninvestigated, therefore, is the effectiveness of the cultural policies of Nkrumah and the cultural institutions he established to combat colonial legacy in Ghana. The question is, how did Nkrumah's cultural thought, analyzed in Chapter Three, inform his cultural policies and cultural institutions? Did the policies take into consideration the legacies of colonial structures, institutions, and especially the consumed European culture that had shaped the personality of the African? Was Nkrumah's cultural thought and vision shared by those who served on the cultural committees as well as those responsible for the implementation of the said policies?

This chapter assesses the nature of Nkrumah's cultural policies and their impact on the establishment of cultural institutions in Ghana. They include the National Theater Movement concept, the Arts Council of Ghana and the Institute of Arts and Culture in the society. The chapter also discusses the cultural thrusts of these institutions, and the extent to which the planning committees took into account the nature of colonial legacies in Ghana.

Cultural policies, in this chapter, refer to the definite course of actions charted by Nkrumah's government to guide and determine decisions affecting projected cultural institutions and movement with desired objectives. The desired aims of these institutions and movement refer to Nkrumah's location of African culture at the core of Ghana's post-independence socio-economic development.

There are two levels of Nkrumah's cultural policies, namely, non-statutory and statutory. The non-statutory cultural policies consisted of practical activities that Nkrumah introduced into the body politics of Ghana during and after the decolonization process. The second level comprised the public policies formulated by the various committees he set up and the cultural institutions that emerged out of the recommendations by the former. It should, however, be pointed out that Nkrumah's non-statutory cultural policies were not unprecedented in the country. Nevertheless, it was when he came into the political scene, this author maintains, that we witnessed resurgence in African culture at the mass level.

The quest for cultural liberation in Ghana predated Nkrumah's cultural policies. They comprise the actions of individuals and organizations. Most of the actions were manifested in creative works, essays, articles and life styles. But while their actions were not far-reaching, in terms of rejecting all aspects of European cultural nationalism, they

were radical measures at the time. Some of the notables are Kobina Sekyi, Casely-Hayford, The African Academy, Ephraim Amu, Joseph Boakye Danquah, and Oku Ampofo.

Casely-Hayford's pro-African traditions, especially through his book, *Ethiopia Unbound*, were widely acknowledged in the West African region. He was perhaps the first African in the Gold Coast to recognize language as the carrier of culture. As cited in Chapter Three, he proposed an African university in which an African language would serve as the medium of instruction. Casely-Hayford was the first president of the National Congress of British West African.

By 1915, Kobina Sekyi had become an ardent advocate for the return to pre-colonial African political institutions, traditions and customs. His view was that the "conscious imitation of European manners and European society" were "social analogy of that physical monstrosity" (1974:viii). His play, *The Blinkards*, written and performed in Fante in Cape Coast in 1915, satirizes a kind of social pandemic that had characterized the personality of the Africans in the area. The satirized characters included those Western semi-educated and educated, who had come to repudiate African traditions in favor of the English way of life. As a practical manifestation of his pro-African traditions, Sekyi wore togas [very long knickers] and sandals to meetings and [European] lower court of law irritating some of the magistrates (Ibid: X). He was the last president of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society.

J.B.Danquah, the political opponent of Nkrumah, wrote on Akan traditions, especially the *Akan Doctrine of God*. He made demands "for the importance of African institutions and conventions" in the development of modern state (July, 1987:58). He wrote two plays in Twi and one in English, "The Third Woman" (Graham-White, 1970:285). The two Twi plays Danquah wrote were "Nyankosem" based on a Ghanaian folklore and "Osei Tutu," the founder of the Asante kingdom (Agovi, 1990:15).

Perhaps the most outstanding cultural crusader of the time was Ephraim Amu. After his return from Britain in the 1920s, he became impatient with what he saw as inappropriate European cultural accretion. Henceforth, he was to devote the rest of his life to the renaissance of African traditions, customs and language. His first action was the collection and study of the language and aesthetic of traditional African music. Out of this effort, he created an African choral music in Ghana that has since become a legacy in the country. Though it was to replace European hymns in church service, the motifs and themes in his innovated music reflect African nationalism and folklore. After its debut in the Presbyterian Church, some of the pastors [mostly Africans] considered the music "uncouth sounds and inappropriate to Christian worship." But, as he told July (Ibid: 86) in an interview, "I felt encouraged by the resistance they gave me."

While teaching at the Akropong Teacher Training College, he wore the kente cloth to preach one Sunday. Immediately after the service, the ministers confronted and ordered him to discontinue the practice; but since Amu would not yield to their demands, he lost his teaching position at the college. Amu used calabash for drinking and preferred speaking both Ewe and Twi to the English language. Based on my knowledge, he spoke these languages to those students [even during our African choral classes] who understood them. One day, he unconsciously asked a Ugandan student a question in Twi. During my student days, Amu wore *kyenkyen* [an authentic fabric material made from the bark of *kyenkyen* tree] and a pair of sandals.

His legacy of traditional music also includes the use of *atenteben* [six-tone bamboo flute] and *odurugya* [five-tone bamboo flute], which was introduced in the academy. He wrote all his songs in both Twi and Ewe languages. The popular one in Ghana is *Yen Ara Asaase Ni* (This is our land) has become Ghana's unofficial second national anthem.

The African Academy was a cultural organization, which aimed at re-asserting African intellectual agency. Led by Bankole Awoonor-Williams, they challenged Europe's claims of racial superiority over others. In addition, the group intended to assemble African arts, to encourage research in tropical diseases, and European diseases in Europe by African doctors and to aid in the publication of the works of African scholars, poets, composers and inventors (Sherwood, 1996:15).

Another Ghanaian cultural nationalist, whose immeasurable legacy is in visual art and pharmacopoeia, is Oku Ampofo. He combined his medical practice with visual arts (sculpturing). On his return to the Gold Coast in 1940, he organized the Gold Coast Arts Society, popularly called The Akwapim Six, and held the "New African Arts" exhibitions in 1944, 1946 and 1948. The kente cloth hanging at the United Nations as Ghana's gift, was the work of his weavers, led by E.Asare (July, 1987:55).

Ampofo's medical work also turned into studying and prescribing the traditional African medicine for his patients. He set up the Institute for Research in Herbal Medicine in his hometown, Akwapim Mampong. Today, the Tetteh Quashie Memorial Hospital at Mampong is the only known modern hospital in Ghana where herbal medicine is prescribed for patients.

These individual declarations of independence from European culture, especially in the arts, anticipated political action. As Emerson and Kilson (1965:7) point out, the full flowering of the African cultural awakening did not take place until the end of the European World War Two; "even the decades between the wars were little more than a preparation behind the scenes for what was about to come." It was after the entrance of Nkrumah to Ghana's political scene in 1947 that the proposition was put forward that colonialism was evil and must be overthrown now. Not only did he use African art forms, orature, aesthetics, motifs and symbols, during and after the campaign for national independence, but he also initiated policies and created cultural movements and institutions in Ghana.

NKRUMAH'S NON-STATURORY CUTLTURAL PRACTICES

First, Nkrumah's skillful use of the creative culture and what Yankah (1985:87) identifies as folk wisdom during and following the decolonization process was a major cultural policy at the personal level. His use of white handkerchief, horsetail and walking stick, for instance, was in keeping with the secular and religious roles of the traditional kings and queens. As pointed out earlier in Hagan's discourse on Nkrumah's leadership style, these practices were consistent with the authority of the traditional African priests (1991:189) like Okomfo Anokye of Akwamu, Okomfo Asare of Akyem Tafo, Krakyi Denteh of Ketekrakyi and Nana Oparebea of Larteh.

Another manifestation of Nkrumah's adept use of the traditions in post-independence African national politics was his "Dawn Broadcast." It is traditional for Akan kings and queens to make very important pronouncements at dawn. Conscious of this sacred

tradition, Nkrumah began broadcasting to the nation on important issues at dawn (Marais: 105 and Jones, 1976:106).

Kwesi Yankah (1985:87), in his "The Making and Breaking of Kwame Nkrumah: The Role of Oral Poetry," discusses the place of orature in Nkrumah's speeches, both in public and electronic media. "There was always," he writes, "a prelude of a well-articulated" and "inspiring appellation performances" to Nkrumah's speeches "often ending with the words: Kwame kasa, kasa, kasa (Kwame speak, speak, speak). The place of appellation performance in Nkrumah's speeches was also consistent with those of the traditional kings, queens and royalty in the Akan society. The appointment of Okyeame Boafo Akuffo as a state poet by Nkrumah was similar "to the traditional bard in apae performance" in front of the king and queen; and that his "performances were often a poetic capsule of Nkrumah's speeches that was about to follow" (Ibid: 88).

It must be mentioned that Nkrumah's reverence toward African traditions was anterior to his cultural policies in Ghana. For instance, during a memorial service for Okunini (Dr.) Kwagyir Aggrey in Salisbury, North Carolina in 1943, Nkrumah "took charge of the African ritual.

He said sacred prayers in the Fanti language and then poured libation to the Gods three times, each libation being preceded by a prayer. He cut a piece of sod from the grave, which was to be sent to Aggrey's memorial home for burial. (Sherwood: 97)

What was interesting is that Nkrumah had attained a degree from Lincoln University's Theological Seminary with a licentiate to preach. Hence, the dean of the Seminary, George Johnson condemned Nkrumah for conducting an "Animistic Service without Christian significance and contradictory to Christian teaching. To pray to heathen gods and to pour [libation] to them is directly forbidden in the Holy Scriptures." In his reply, Nkrumah stated that "the burden of my life is to live in such a way that I may become a living symbol of all that is best in both Christianity and the beliefs of my people. I am a Christian and will ever remain so, but never a blind Christian," Nkrumah (Ibid: 97-98) expressed in 1943.

National unity was one of Nkrumah's determined policies whereby the people would think of themselves as Ghanaians first, Fanti, Ewe, Asante, Frafra, Dagbani, and Gas second (Marais, 1972, 18). Like his predecessor Casely-Hayford, Nkrumah also pursued a course of "a racial affinity to the rest of the African people," which he saw as "definite values and must be placed before anything else," Marais quotes Nkrumah in her book, *Kwame Nkrumah As I Knew Him* (Ibid: 17).

Another manifestation of Nkrumah's cultural policy was the prominent position occupied by women in the country. The equality of women and men was seen in his educational policy as well as in political activities. He found support for his policies in the views of his early mentor Aggrey, who once said that:

No race or people can rise half-slave, half-free. The surest way to keep a people down is to educate the men and neglect the women. If you educate a man, you educate an individual; but if you educate a woman, you educate a family." (Smith, 1930:139)

In *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare*, Nkrumah also maintains that “the degree of a country’s revolutionary awareness may be measured by the political maturity of its women” (1969:91).

Takyiwaa Manu (1991:129) affirms this when she writes that Nkrumah enabled women, without necessarily being of royal birth, to occupy public offices. “This reflected a conscious desire to project women onto the political scene as well as a recognition of their roles in the anti-colonial struggle.” Furthermore, “the results of the educational, economic and social measure pursued,” she points out, “led to high enrollment figures for women in basic education” (Ibid: 129). Nkrumah was the man, Marais writes:

who gave African womanhood real meaning, a new dignity, for the first time in their history, it was typical with him, the literary lioness, the politicians eager to spread their female wings. In fact, Kwame Nkrumah created a new dimension for the African womanhood. There were female members of the parliament and a judge. (1972:88)

It must be stressed that these appointments, and elevation of women in Ghana by Nkrumah, were unknown during colonialism. The Legislative Council set up by the colonial government had no women representation. Also, we do not find the role of women in the early nationalist movements in the Gold Coast. Nkrumah’s newspaper, *Evening News*, for instance, had a women column on the front page in which Akua Asabea Ayisi, who later became a Judge, wrote on women issues. In fact, Asabea Ayisi and Mabel Dove Danquah, Manu points out, “worked side by side with Nkrumah on the *Evening News* (Ibid: 113).

It is common knowledge that women were more influential in the Convention People’s Party (C.P.P.) than their male counterparts. As Nelson (1985:26) indicates, the social forces significant to Nkrumah’s victory in the election “of 1951 were the workers, the market women and the stratum of youth with elementary school education. And throughout the entire decolonization process, it was expressed that “one market woman in Accra was worth any dozen Achimota graduates” (Ibid: 25). To mark Ghana’s Independence Day celebrations, the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development, in collaboration with the Independence Day Committee, organized Miss Ghana contests. Using the African aesthetics as the criteria, the winner of the contest in 1957, Miss Amekoafia, was plump (Maayan, 1990:23). The follow-up, Mrs. Addo, was thirty-eight years old. In 1958, Mrs. Agyei, who was four-month pregnant, won the 1958 contest (Yankah, 1990/91 19); she had “a pose with Kwame Nkrumah” (Maayan, 1990:24). As Mawere Opoku indicated in our interview, Nkrumah approved all the activities.

Consistent with his ideas on the resurrection of African arts. Nkrumah urged drumming and dancing at the Accra Sports Stadium and other public parks or facilities in the country and art exhibitions to mark Ghana’s Independence Day celebrations. In 1965, Nkrumah inaugurated his theater group, “Osagyefo Players,” and made it a part of his presidency. It was formed at his request through Genoveva Marais to other people, Awoonor recalled. This, according to the Awoonor, was in line with the practices in the traditional palaces. The opening ceremony began with libation. The group produced plays like Lorraine Hansberry’s classic play, “A Raisin in the Sun” and “Our Town,” also

written by another African American woman, Thornton Miller and "Arms and the Man." The group performed "Our Town" for the participants of the Organization of African Unity Summit in Ghana in 1965. The members included Kweku Bartels, Stephen Bekoe Mfodwo, Betty Bossman, A.E.Vanderpuye, Sandy Arkhurst, Anne Fredua-Mensah, George Andoh Wilson (the Director), Kofi Awoonor (Executive Chairman), Geneveva Marais (Secretary), David Longdon, Berylle Karikari (Treasurer), Charles Pattersen, [Research Reader] and Geormbee Adali-Mortty (Coordinator), Dr. Leticia Obeng, Lily Nketia and Dr. Robert Lee, The Advisers were Prof. William Abraham, Joe de Graft and Efua Sutherland (Osagyefo Players Opening Ceremony Program, February 1965).

According to Arkhurst, Nkrumah would occasionally show up during "Osagyefo Players" rehearsals at the Flagstaff House, give his comments and encourage us.

One day, he stopped us. He realized that there was too much tension in us. He then took us through some relaxation exercises on the floor. He showed us how to sink every muscle into the floor, and go blank [in the mind] without thinking about anything. From that moment, we learned how to relax. (Arkhurst, Interview: 1/14/97)

During rehearsals at the Drama Studio in Accra, Nkrumah would sometimes show up in casual clothes, Arkhurst disclosed in our interview. In the opening nights, he was there with his friends, Botsio and Awoonor recalled. "And if there was a dignitary passing through town, he would invite him" to see the performance by his group," they added. Based on Awoonor's experience, Nkrumah took a personal interest in artists involved in theater work. Awoonor recalled a note Nkrumah sent him through Marais Genoveva, when he was on admission at Achimota hospital, saying, "I wish you well."

Nkrumah's idea about the presidential theater group, the "Osagyefo Players," was a part of the national theater movement. Awoonor summed up his vision when he explained that:

The "Osagyefo Players" idea was virtually the icing of the cake in his realization of this grand vision, which was going to touch the grass root, the young right to the top; so that his own presidency became the ultimate expression of the personality and the character of the state. Because the state is a sacred entity, it is not an epitome of one religious entity. Therefore, if Nkrumah symbolized it at the time, he brought his vision to bear on it. This was also a manifestation of the character, the inner essence, and a high level of attainment.

Nkrumah's attitude towards African arts, Anyidoho pointed out, was "a direct challenge calling upon the scholars and artists on the ground to move in a certain direction." Consequently, "they had free access to Nkrumah personally; this was a time when security was becoming tight around the president. It was that easy for them as individuals and as groups to walk to the president any time more often than he sent for them."

STATUTORY CULTURAL POLICIES

Touré (1976:89) postulates that culture, while being unique and universal, takes the forms of intellectual and artistic expressions, adapted to the standard of historical development of every society. In post colonial Africa, it meant the conscious development of intellectual and creative institutions towards the resurrection and reconstruction of African culture and personality. In Nkrumah's Ghana, the restoration of African humanity began with the democratization of education, beginning from the elementary school system. As cited in Chapter Two, Nkrumah's educational policy was the hub of his cultural policy; and its objective was the restoration of African personality (Hagan, 1991a:5). Yet Nkrumah saw a national theater movement in its diverse forms as the potent activity for the rebirth of the subdued African personality. As disclosed below, the Ministry of Education instrumented the idea of a national theater movement.

Theater, as reenactment of life experiences, has always been an essential phenomenon in traditional African societies. At best, it is an integral part of social, economic, political and religious activities of the people. It welcomes a new baby into the world, initiates youth into adulthood, and facilitates wedding ceremonies, burials and funeral rites. Festivals for instance, are occasions for community solidarity and celebration of people's life experiences. They contain re-enactments of dramatic, historical or mythological events. The re-enactments consist of prayers and libation pouring, music making, dancing, chanting, and visual display. It is a "place where man searched out the meaning of his existence and location of his being in the comic infinity" (July: 59).

In many respects, African theater is a composite art form, comprising several genres, such as music, dance, verbal art, visual arts and miming. In some instances, one of these genres serves as the dominant mode of expression, as is the case of masquerade. These forms of African theater do not fit the European concept or definition of theater with its heavy emphasis on written text and proscenium or what Hatless (1964:25) calls "fourth wall," a psychological barrier separating the performers from audience. Whether by directing technique or Brechtian dramaturgy, proscenium (theater) leads to a detachment of audience from the ethos in the world of the characters. And the National Theater Movement of Ghana was to embrace these two forms.

The idea of a National Theater Movement in Ghana beginning from 1955 therefore raises critical questions in terms of conception. It also had some deeper implications for its nature, purpose and the traditional genres in a nation comprising several ethnic groups. Was its mode of expression to be found in the traditional society or a combination of what is effectual in the Western tradition and that of Africa? What purpose was the National Theater Movement to serve? These were some of the critical questions that needed answers by the committees that Nkrumah appointed to formulate policies to undergird the National Theater Movement. Otherwise, the movement would find itself in a web of contractions.

In his *Afrocentricity*, Asante (1988:31) posits that "any ideology for liberation must find its existence in ourselves...it cannot be imposed by those other than ourselves;" and that "it must be derived from our particular and cultural experiences." In other words, any theory and praxis for liberation cannot come from the oppressor other than the people

themselves. Similarly, the development of the National Theater Movement in Ghana should not just reclaim the artistic forms in the traditional African societies, but also should reclaim the core values of traditional African aesthetics and axiology. In addition, it should take into account the particular historical and cultural experiences namely colonialism and its legacies. As we shall discover below, the committee that Nkrumah set up to formulate policies for the National Theater Movement in Ghana ignored the insidious nature of colonialism and its legacies, in terms of conception, aesthetics and forms.

THE ARTS COUNCIL OF GHANA

The first major contradiction in Nkrumah's cultural policy occurred when the Ministry of Education, in 1954, contacted the British Council to set up a body to look into the possibility of creating a national theater movement (NAG/RG3/7246). Subsequently, the proposal of Brian Jones of the British Council recommended the establishment of a committee for promoting and developing appreciation of the arts, preserving and fostering the traditional arts and culture of the Gold Coast (NAG/RG3/7/:58). Early in 1955, the Ministry of Education appointed a ten-man committee charging them with the responsibility of examining the best way to develop a national theater movement. In its report published in March, 1955, the committee stated that "the people of the country (the Gold Coast) were too engrossed in other things to realize the threat to their traditional culture." In its opinion, "the main responsibility for reviving their dying culture" though "lay with the people themselves," the government should take the initiative.

The committee's recommendation favored a national (physical) theater that should be constructed to promote the arts. Another recommendation was about the establishment of an "Arts Council of the Gold Coast" whose duty was "to organize the arts and encourage their promotion" (NAG/RG 3/7/33). Subsequently, the Arts Council of the Gold Coast was set up in June 1955 as a statutory body to operate from public funds on the lines of the Arts Council of Britain. An Interim committee of thirteen members was appointed with Mr. Gbeho as its Chairman. Information as to its activities between 1955 and 1957 was unavailable at the time of the research. The plausible explanation to the impasse can, perhaps, be inferred from the political unrest between Nkrumah's political party, Convention People's Party, and the Asante based National Liberation Movement and other parochial parties at the time.

Earlier, the Asanteman Council had, through the initiative of Dr. Yaw Kyeremateng, established the Asante Cultural Center in 1951. What precipitated this action was that the culture of the people "was suffering from foreign adulteration and possible annihilation" (Okyerema, 1995:5). It was toward the preservation and a concrete manifestation of their culture that the center was built to house a museum, plastic arts, crafts and facilities for the performing arts. In 1954, "the Kumasi Municipal Council undertook the su-pervision of the project" (NAG/RG3/7/33). In 1964, when Nkrumah recognized "that the aims and the activities of the Centre were national in character, he declared it the Ghana National Cultural Center (Okyerema: 5).

At the national level, Nkrumah's cultural policy did not surface until Casely-Hayford raised the issue during parliamentary debates on August 20, 1958. "What is the

government cultural policy,” he questioned the Minister of Education, “to assure the preservation and demonstration of the character and traditions of the people of Ghana”? The Minister’s response was rather vague when he said that the government had always been interested “in the preservation and demonstration of the character and traditions of the people of Ghana (Hagan, 1991:5). He, however, cited the establishment of the Ghana Museum and Monuments Board and the opening of Ghana’s National Museum as evidence of this interest. He also expressed the government’s plan for the establishment and creation of a National Theater, National Art Gallery and National Theater Movement. The debate resulted in the passing of the Arts Council of Ghana Law, Act 43 on December 23, 1958, which took effect in April 1959 (NAG/Rg3/7/2:55).

The Arts Council was made up of ten members with Nana Kwabena Nketsia as its Chairman and Dr. Seth Cudjoe as the Deputy Chairman. Other members were: Mr. Philip Gbeho, Professor. J.H.Nketia, Mr. Eugene Koranteng, Mr. Kofi Antubam, Mrs. Efua Sutherland, Mr. J.C.de Graft, Miss E.J.A.Evans, E.N.O Cofie and Mr. W.P.Carpenter as the Executive Secretary (NAG/RG3/7/14:17). Nkrumah became the president of the Arts Council. “A small number of distinguished” citizens were invited “to become Patrons of the Council.” They Included Dr. J.B.Danquah, Sir Arku Korsah, the Chief Justice, Sir C.W.Techie-Mensah and all the six Regional Presidents of House of Chiefs (NAG/RG3/7/34:7).

At the macro level, Nkrumah’s government charged the Council to study the report of the ten-man committee, and to formulate and carry out a systematic policy for the National Theater Movement. Within this frame-work, the Interim Committee of the Council came out with a policy “to preserve, improve and foster the traditional arts and culture of Ghana.” In this regard, the Council was to awaken public interest by stimulating and inspiring the love and appreciation of the arts and “culture of Ghana in particular and of Africa and other parts of the world” (NAG/RG3/7/33:55). Again, the committee emphasized its basic aim as follows:

To examine practical ways and means to encourage a national theatre movement which at once reflects the traditional heritage of this country and yet develops it into a living force firmly rooted in and acclaimed by the modern Ghana of today, It aimed at stimulating an indigenous national theater movement aware of trends in dramatic expression elsewhere but firmly rooted in the past and drawing its strength and support from the people of Ghana whom it seeks to entertain, to stimulate and to inspire. (Ibid: 55–56)

The first task of the Interim committee was organizing the drumming and dancing that marked the anniversary of Ghana’s independence in 1958. At the time of independence Gbeho took his drumming and dancing group to perform at the Castle, the seat of the government, while Sutherland also took the Anansegoro (Storytelling group) from Atwia. Mawere Opoku, Philip Gbeho and Betty Hayford constituted the organizers for traditional dance and music performances from the regions at the Accra Sports Stadium. Palm branches were erected to serve as open theater. They had to arrange for their boarding, lodging and their well being according, according to each region. On one occasion, seven Asafo (militia companies) represented Cape Coast, created a big problem

for the organizers, in terms of logistics, Opoku recalled. It was these artistic performances that formed the basis of the objective of the Interim Committee in respect of the National Theater Movement, which Nkrumah approved. The philosophical perspective, which Nkrumah introduced, was the promotion of African personality through theater, Nketia explicated.

The National Theater Movement as conceived by Nkrumah gave birth to several performing arts groups across the country emphasizing new productions of traditional materials wherever they existed, under the auspices of the Arts Council of Ghana. It was "a fast stimulating new consciousness in theater based on our own traditional theater or its resources and concepts." It was called the movement because it was not based "on the idea to be carried out by isolated individuals, but by the idea shared by individuals, who would act on it, and create what one might call the movement," Nketia explained. It became a movement because it suddenly inspired and brought people with certain talents in the arts experimenting and working together. New drama and dance groups sprang up; the arts were also looking for new avenues, as associations were formed. "People talked about the arts more than they did before," Nketia summed up in our interview on December 31, 1996.

In addition to the national office, the Arts Council established eight regional committees throughout the country "in an effort to emphasize the underlying unity of the nation, and the equal importance of the contributions which can be made by her people in every region." The national staff consisted of: Mr. W.P.Carpenter as the Executive Secretary, Mr. F.Morisseau Leroy [a Haitian], the Organizer for Drama and Literature, Mr. G.E Akrofi, Organizer for Music and Dancing, Mr. J.O.Ansah, Organizer for Arts and Craft and Mr. E.A Hanson as the Drama Officer. The Regional Secretaries were: Mr. J.M.Averreyireh, Northern Region at Tamale, Mr. A.M.Bamford, Upper Region at Bolgatanga, Mr. L Ewusi-Emmim, Brong Ahafo Region at Sunyani and Mr. Osei Agyeman, Ashanti Region at Kumase. Others were Mr. S G.Damalie, Volta Region at Ho, Mr. Issac D.Riverson, Western Region at Takoradi, Mr. W.Bessa-Simon, Central Region at Cape Coast and Mr. A.O.Bartimeus, Eastern Region at Koforidua (NAG/RG3/7/33:66).

The Council also established Advisory Panels for Music, Drama and Literature, Arts and Crafts and Cultural Research. Besides the members of the Arts Council, the Advisory Panels included some prominent people in the country. They included: Dr. J.B.Danquah, a politician and private attorney, Dr. Laing of the University College, Mr. Tibu of Achimota College, Dr. F.K.Fiawo of Zion College, Dr. Kwapong of the University College, Dr. Oku Ampofo of Mampong, Akwapim. Others were Mr. Kofi Antubam of Achimota College. Mr. Saka Acquaye of Development Commission, Mr. J. Ghartey of Ghana Broadcasting System, Miss Pearl Tay of Achimota College, Dr. R.E.Lee, a dentist, Mr. Cobblah., Mr. John Botsio of Accra, Mr. Osie Bonsu of Asantehene's office, Mr. Kwadwo Bambir of Achimota College, Mr. Amon Kotei of Government Printing Press, Mr. Buama of Bureau of Ghana Languages, Mr. J.C.Okyere of Winneba Training College and Mr. J.S.Kaleem of Bureau of Ghana Languages (NAG/RG3/7/243). These advisory groups were to advise the Arts Council on matters affecting the categories indicated above.

In line with the National Theater Movement, the policy of the Arts Council at the regional level was, "to encourage and support artistic and cultural activities and

associations which are already in" existence, "rather than creating similar activities...provided that the Council was satisfied as to their objectives, quality and the integrity of those concerned with them." But where there was the need for the "establishment of an organization or for the promotion of an activity or project in the field of arts and crafts," then the Arts Council would take necessary measures to satisfy the need. In addition to leading such organizations to become self-supporting and independent, the Council offered them "in association" with the Arts Council of Ghana" status. This status conferred on organizations meant official recognition by the Council, providing them with grant-aid. Besides, the Council offered grants, bursaries and scholarships to promising individual artists, craftsmen and craftswomen, creative writers, musicians and dancers towards further studies (NAG/RG3/7/243). Additionally, it offered "assistance, through association with itself, to art and cultural societies whose aims were in line with its own." These were The Ghana Society of Artists, The Ghana Society of Architects, The Ghana Society of Writers, The Ghana Music Society, Agromma Players, Asante Cultural Center, Akwapim Six, Society of Artists, Ghana Experimental Theater and Gbeho Research Group (Ibid: 56).

In October 1959, the Arts Council held a press conference in Accra, informing the people of its "practical policy to provide facilities for the general public to participate actively in the performing arts by joining any of the following classes. These were "traditional drumming and dancing, traditional dances designed to enable dancers to learn variety of dances, choral music, pure drama, puppet theater, fine arts and orchestral music rehearsals." These classes were free. Similar classes were organized in the regions (NAG/RG3/733:19).

Each regional office of the Arts Council worked with leading artists and community leaders to establish theater movement committees at the regional and district levels. Similar committees were set up in the middle and secondary schools. The committees promoted drama, choral singing, traditional percussion and dancing, and Gooje [chordophone] performances. The Arts Council held annual competitions for these performing arts group to keep the National Theater Movement alive. Arts and Craft societies were also formed and held several exhibitions. The Regional Secretaries compiled calendars of festivals in their respective regions, with copies to the national office, as instructed. This led to the revival of some festivals banned during colonialism. The Secretaries worked diligently to promote several performing arts groups in the country (NAG/RG3/7/243).

The National Theater Movement began to bear fruit between 1960 and 1963. This period saw the emergence of several voluntary dance, music and drama groups across the country, some "with association" status with the Arts Council and its successor, the Institute of Arts and Culture. They were found in secondary schools, teacher training colleges, mass education circles, nursing schools, Young Women/Men Christian associations (NAG/RG3/7/33). Some people in the cities, urban centers, towns and villages also formed performing arts groups. Public establishments like the Ghana Farmers Council, Workers Brigade and The Ghana Young Pioneers Movement had performing arts programs.

The government's cultural policy was coordinated in the regions in accord with the National Theater Movement. This was manifested in the Council's activities involving artistic groups during the transitional period in 1961 before it changed into Institute of

Arts and Culture. It was also the period that the National Theater Movement was maturing in the regions with the emergence of several performing arts' groups in each region of Ghana.

The notable performing arts groups in Accra were: Obadzeng founded by Saka Acquaye, the Paradise Theatre Promotions, The Osu Youngsters Club, The African Theater Group, The Theater Club Group, The Unity Choir Group, The Good Samaritan Society and The Ghana Farmers Drama Group. There were also the Ga Adangme Cultural Society, Ayitee's Drumming and Dancing Club, Worker Brigade Concert Party, Workers Brigade Nungua Camp Orchestra, the Renaissance African Club and the Ghana Experimental Theater under Efua Sutherland (NAG/RG3/7/60). The Experimental Theater Players introduced Anansegoro [Spider Plays] into Ghana's theater traditions outside its traditional environment. They included "Anansesem," "Wohyee Me Bo" and "Mirididi Me Nyansa Ho" [unpublished Experimental Theater Players document]. In the case of The Osu Youngsters Club, for instance, E.A.Hanson directed their winning play, "The Rich Man and Death" in Ga on October 31, 1961.

In the Asante Region, there were groups like Westminster Choir, which won the third position in the National Festival of Music and Drama in Kumase on July 4, 1961, Kumase Dramatic Choir, Kumase Theater Club, Asawasi Methodist Choir and many others. Kumase was also the center of the annual National Festival of Arts organized by the Ghana National Cultural Center. The events covered the exhibition of fine arts, craft works, cabarets, and competitions in the performing arts and lectures on African history. In November 1961, the Asawasi Methodist Choir produced the play, "Onnyibi N'asem Nyame Na Odzi" by A.K.Mensah. The play was written and performed in Fante under the auspices of the Arts Council. In March 1961, the National Cultural Center in Kumase organized an exhibition of Textile Prints. In December 1961, the Kumase Brewery, in collaboration with the Arts Council, initiated and sponsored the first national High-Life dance competition in Kumase.

The Western Region was the home of the Sekondi Minstrel Choir. On January 1962, Bonsu Kyeretwie founded the Ghana Generic Cultural and Historical Society in Sekondi. It had membership from different parts of the country. The Central region had performing arts groups like The Africana Dramatic Society of Cape Coast, Elmina Vocal Band which won the second position in drama in Twi during the National Festival of Music and Drama in Kumase on July 4, 1961. As indicated earlier, some festivals were revived during this period. One example was the Abangyi festival of Oguia State. According to the Arts Council Secretary's monthly report, some of the festivals were abandoned as a result of "Western civilization and the great force of Christianity" (NAG/RG3/7/243:29). Though Abangyi could not be abolished because of its political and military character, a committee was set up to plan for its celebration on a grand scale in September 1961. The committee was also urged "to coordinate and resuscitate such festivals as Eguadoto, Ahobaa, Bakatue and others (Ibid: 29). Based on my personal knowledge, Nkrumah, the Ministers and District Commissioners at the time attended such festivals throughout the country; this has become a legacy in Ghana. It should also be pointed out that Nkrumah was a member of an Asafo company in his school days at Achimota College (Sherwood: 80).

The Upper Region organized sixty drawing and painting exhibitions of Sumani Omoru depicting scenes in Ghana. Besides organizing several dance groups like the rest of the

regions, the regional office organized drama competitions at the elementary school level. The Zuarungu Middle School came in first with its play, "The Refund," followed by Tongo Primary School with the play, "Mosore the Founder of Tongo." The third position was taken by the Girls Middle School with its play, "Monte Christo," while the Zuarungu Primary School came fourth with a play, "Bula Bugre" (NAG/RG3/7/243:61).

The Eastern Region had performing arts group like the Koforidua Drama Club, Abetifi Mass Education Female Group, [Akyem] New Tafo Young Women Christian Association Group, The Konkonsa Group at Mamfe, La Youngster Choir, and the Obawale Indigenous Music Lover Group. During the National Festival of Music and Drama in Kumase on July 4, 1961, the Mass Education Female Group of Abetifi won the first position in Twi drama competition. In Effiduase, a drumming school was established with fifteen students by February 1962. The Arts Council's regional office organized an International Arts Festival at Koforidua in October 1961 (NAG/RG3/7/246).

The performing arts group in the Volta Region included E.P.Church Dramatic Society, Catholic Dramatic society, JASICO Dramatic Society of Jasikan, Peki-Dzake Big Choir, Vakpo Gboxome Star Band and several others. The Catholic Action produced the play *Agbezuge* written in Ewe by S. J.Obiani in October 1961 (NAG/RG3/7/243:37). Drumming and dancing groups dominated the artistic activities in the region during 1961 and 1962, especially in the Anlo sub-region to the south. A Kente Weaver Association formed and held an exhibition. The Worawora International Social Club of Ghana, founded by J.K.Doodoo on November 20, 1961, sought an affiliation with the Arts Council of Ghana.

In the Northern Region, there were the Tamale Drama Club, The Northern Singers, Bagabaga Drama Club and several drumming and dancing and Gooje groups. Between May 18 and 32, 1962, a Gooje dance competition was organized in an old lorry park [public transport]. On August 31, 1962, the regional office organized Kente Weaving and Leather exhibition, Traditional Best Dressed Gentleman and lady competitions; additionally a Hair-Do competition was organized on December 30, 1963. It is interesting to note that, the Regional Secretary's reports of August 1962 contained the formation of The Northern Brushers Society [comprising painters, sculptors and pottery makers]. By February 1962, Pot Makers Association had also been formed at the village of Jakarayili. On December 9, 1961, Bambaya and Ewe residents dancing groups toured Ouagadougou in the then Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) as part of an exchange program (NAG/RG3/7/246:118).

The performing arts group that emerged in the Brong Ahafo Region included the Sunyani Amateur Dramatic Society, Kwatire Dramatic Group Arts and Drama Club, and some drumming and dancing groups. During Nkrumah's visit to the region between 26th and 28th in March 1962, the Arts Council's Regional Secretary introduced three members of the Arts and Drama Club to him. One of the members of the club presented "a miniature plane that works on dry cells batteries having the propeller working." Nkrumah was so much impressed with the miniature aeroplane that he asked the Regional Secretary to bring the exhibitor to his office in Accra; additionally, he referred him to the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development so that he could learn to read and write in both Twi and English (NAG/RG3/7/246:63).

Between July 1 and 4, 1961, the Ghana Broadcasting System in association with the Arts Council of Ghana organized the first Festival of Music and Drama at Prempeh Hall

in Kumase with plays in Twi and English. The competitors in *Twi Drama* category were the winners from Asante Region, Central Region and Eastern Region. They included Westminster Choir for Asante Region, Elmina Vocal Band for Central Region, and the Eastern Region's Mass Education Female Group, which won the first prize; the second position went to the Elmina Vocal Band, and the Westminster choir came in third.

The final competition in *Drama in English* took place at Achimota College Hall on Thursday on July 6, 1961. The Jasikan Dramatic Society from the Volta Region came in first, the Holy Child Secondary School of Cape Coast took second position, and third position went to Mfantsipim Secondary School of Cape Coast. Others were the Wesley Girls High School and the Methodist Girls Middle School of Cape Coast. The committee for the festival gave an award to the Method Girls Middle School for being the only middle school competitor in the national event.

July 5, 1961 was set aside for the national competition in *Choral Music* at Achimota College. Sekondi Minstrel Choir, representing the Western Region, came in first, and the Evangelical Presbyterian Training College Choir of Amedzofe, representing the Volta Region, won the second position. The third position was shared between Damas Male Voice Choir of Accra and Wesley College Choir representing the Asante Region. Other competitors were Alexander Choir of Cape Coast and Komenda Teacher Training College for the Central Region, Presbyterian Singing Band of Larteh for the Eastern Region, Evangelical Presbyterian Middle School of Wudome, Evangelical Church Choir of Amedzofe for the Volta Region, and Ewe Melody Singers for Accra area. According to the Central Regional Secretary's monthly report, the choirs in the Choral category "sang beautiful traditional songs, and in some cases were of a high standard." Every competition was broadcast live "and was heard by many thousands in their homes" (NAG/RG3/7246:16).

On July 8, 1961, the regional winners of the *Traditional Music for Dancing and Entertainment* competed for the finals at the Accra Sports Stadium. The competitors included Gogoyila Group of Tumu representing Upper Region, Baamaya of Tamale representing the Northern Region, Fiapre Odie Group from the Brong Ahafo, Agromma from Kumase for the Asante Region and Adenkum Group of Sekondi representing the Western Region. The rest were Turom Akonka Adenkum Group of Elmina for the Central Region, Manya Krobo Group and Odumasi-Krobo representing the Eastern Region, Ho Aflao Residents Union Atsiagbekor Group for Volta the Region and Aflao Atsiagbekor Group of Osu, for the Accra district. Ho Aflao Residents Union Group won the first position, Baamaya Group came in second and Agromma Group from Kumase took the third position.

The finals in the *Brass Band* division took place at the Accra Sports Stadium on July 8, 1961. The final competitors comprised the Nweremo Brass Band from the Brong Ahafo Region, Nyameani Brass Band from the Asante Region, Symphony Brass Band of Prestea for the Western Region, Agona Duakwa Brass Band representing the Central Region, Akyem Akroso Brass Band for the Eastern Region and Worawora Brass Band for the Volta Region. The Prestea Symphony came in first; Agona Duakwa Brass Band took second position, while Akyem Akroso Brass Band won third position.

In the Category of *Guitar Band Music*, we had Onyina Guitar Band of Kumase representing the Asante Region, J.T. of Half Assini for the Western Region, Essuekyir guitar Band for the Central Region, K.O's Band of [Akyem] New Tafo for the Eastern

Region, J.P's Guitar Band of Totoman-Buem for the Volta Region, and Dangbe Rhythm Band for Accra area. The winners were Onyina guitar Band in first place, K.O's of New Tafo, second, and Damgbe Rhythm Band came in third. The event took place at the Ghana Broadcasting House in Accra on July 8, 1961.

The last category in the National festival of Music and Drama was the *Dance Band* competition. This event occurred at the Ghana Broadcasting House on July 8, 1961. The finalists were the Revellers Dance Band of Kumase representing the Asante Region, Broadway Dance Band of Sekondi for the Western Region, Cape Coast Sunset Band for the Central Region, Casino Dance Band of Koforidua representing the Eastern Region and Joe Kelley's Dance Band for the Accra area. The Broadway Dance Band won the first position; Revellers Dance Band came in second, while the third position went to Joe Kelley's Dance Band.

There was also a collaboration between the Institute of Arts and Culture and some performing arts group. They included Kakaiku Concert Party, Agyekum String Band, Bob Cole and Bob Johnson and the Workers Brigade Drama Troupe. In August 15, 1962, the Institute sponsored the Workers Brigade Concert Party production of "Awo Nye Wo Yam," a musical comedy at the Arts Center. Felix Morrissea-Leroy, Bob Johnson and Bob Cole directed the play (NAG/RG3/7246).

The Workers Brigade followed a Concert Party tradition in Ghana initiated by Ishmael Johnson [Bob Johnson] in the 1920s. The *Two Bobs* involving J.B. Ansah, Charles B. Hutton and Johnson started a popular theater movement that became a model for several concert party groups in the country. The songs and dance forms in the performances of Teacher Yalley at Sekondi Optimism Club, the antics of Charlie Champion and the "Empire Day concerts mostly in songs like Mini the Moocher and the crowning of Cotton Queen," inspired the group. They kept the melodies of the songs, and composed new words to correspond to the dramatic purposes of their play-lets and comic acts born out of the social domestic scenes (Sutherland, 1970:8). Anasesem performed in speech and songs mode with isochronal re-enactment of scenes, female impersonation and cantata (Christian music and dance forms) also informed the mode of production of the *Two Bobs* (Ibid: 12).

By 1943, the theater of the *Two Bobs* had an enthusiastic patronage in the country. In 1935, Johnson toured Nigeria with a new group, Axim Trio, inspired by the *Two Bobs*. Others to follow in this tradition were Sam and His Party, Kaikiaku Concert Party, E.K. Nyame and the Akan Trio, Otu Larteh, Appiah Agyekum, Jaguah Jokers, Kwa Mensah, Bob Cole and His Trio and many others.

In 1961, the Arts Council, through the efforts of Efua Sutherland, established the Ghana Drama Studio. The cost of construction was £G7,500. The Ghana Government gave £G3,000, while Rockefeller Foundation provided £G2,000; the remaining £G2,500 came from the Ministry of Education's votes through an appeal by the Arts Council (NAG/RG3/7/33). The Ghana Drama Studio had three objectives. The first objective of the Drama Studio was "to create, stimulate and discipline the new Ghana theatre movement, and to provide opportunities for training artists through participation in dramatic productions and other related activities." The second aim was to provide opportunities and a venue for the meeting of theatre artistes: writers, musicians, producers, actors, choreographers, designers" and others. Finally, it hoped to "provide

talent, material and ideals for the programmes of the national theatre, when that institution is established" (unpublished Ghana Drama Studio document).

The Studio was opened on October 21, 1961 with the play *Odasani*, an adaptation of *Everyman*, by Efua Sutherland and performed by the Studio Players. The opening ceremony was presided over by Nkrumah. He said, among other things that, the Studio can provide the forum for bringing into life the power of literature and arts of Africa. With this example "plans can be made for theatres to be established throughout the country where the ordinary people can go and be assured of happy entertainment, where they can relax from their work and forget their troubles." He said that the arts could become one of the strongest bonds between Africans transcending the artificial barriers erected between them by the colonialists. Thus, henceforth, Africa must look inward into the African continent for its developments.

Nkrumah, however, regretted the failure of the Arts Council in making any impact on the Ghanaian society. He uttered the following words:

The Arts council which I helped to form with such high hopes has not, I regret to say, come up to my expectation. It may have had its difficulty but the truth remains that it has failed to make sufficient impact on Ghana society. It has failed to give people any vision of the rich store of art and music which we possess. I hope that the Ghana Drama Studio even if it remains independent will operate within the framework of the Ghana Arts Council. (NAG/RG3/7/60)

Perhaps, Nkrumah's disappointment stemmed from the fact that the Arts Council's creative productions were not consistent with his vision on the renewal of African past civilization and African personality through theater. Aside from this, the Council's performing arts activities were silent on the renewal and/or recreation of Anansegoro [Storytelling theater], ritual drama like *dipo* (Ga-Adagme puberty), *abofoo* (hunters) and *Asafo* (people's militia) dramatic performances and others in the new social context. I was part of the organizers of the annual Eastern Regional festival of the arts of the Ghana Young Pioneers Movement, which encouraged re-enactments of some of the traditional theater forms.

As expected, the Drama Studio became the venue for theatrical presentations by several groups. From January 11 to 13, 1962, the Theater Club presented a Pan-African play "*Doguicini*" by Morisseau-Leroy at the Drama, Studio. This was followed by Efua Sutherland's *Anansegoro* (Ananse plays,) "*Wohyee Me Bo*" (You Made Me a Promised) on October 27, and 28, 1961. Next in the series of theatrical performances was James Ene Henshaw's "*This is Our Chance*" from February 1 to February 24, 1962; Joe de Graft's "*Son's and Daughters*" from March 1 to March 24, 1962 and "*Foriwa*" by Efua Sutherland from March 29 to March 31, April 6, 7, 13, 14, 19 and 20, 1962. The Institute of Art and Culture sponsored the Africana Dramatic Society of Cape Coast in its production of "*Kofi Ba Bon*," an adaptation of Moliere's "*That Scoundrel Scapin*" at the Ghana Drama Studio [the Ghana Drama Studio program document]. In 1964, the Studio became University of Ghana Drama Studio.

Hagan (1991b:7) critiques the Arts Council of Ghana's law as falling short of making reference to "entering into cultural exchanges with other African States" towards the

unity of Africa. He also finds it disappointing as the Council's law failed to make reference to the concept of African personality as a guiding principle for the cultural institution. But the problem of the law was not just the lack of clarity of policy in the early years of independence as Hagan (Ibid: 7] suggests. It was also not the result of the enigma in respect of "the divisiveness of the tribal cultures and the reactionary leadership of the chiefs to whom the people owed traditional allegiance;" nor was it rooted in "Nkrumah's reaction to chieftancy, tribalism and *abrofosem*" (Ibid: 7). The main problem was rather the undeclared conception of culture, the National Theater Movement and their place in national life.

In fact, the initial request from the Ministry of Education to the British Council to assist in setting up a committee on a national theater movement demonstrated a lack of knowledge of the critical role of theater in transforming African personality. Second, it attests to some initial weakness in Nkrumah's government, in terms of underestimating the insidious nature of colonialism, and the power of the British Council as the center of British cultural nationalism on Ghana's soil. Third, this initial contact with the British Council compromised Nkrumah's, "The Motion of Destiny" on July 10, 1953. He argued:

Were not our ancestors ruling themselves before the white man came to these our shores?... To assert that certain people are capable of ruling themselves while others are not yet ready...smacks to me of imperialism than of reason. Biologists of repute maintain that there is no such thing as a superior race. Men and women are as much products of their environment—as of instincts and physical heredity. We are determined to change our environment, and we shall advance in like manner. (1957:102)

Next, the policies of the Arts Council of the Gold Coast and that of Ghana were silent on the social relevance of the National Theater Movement in the society. The recommendation of the ten-member committee in 1955 that an Arts Council "be set up to organize the arts and encourage their appreciation" (NAG/RG3/7/246:55) is an antithesis to the place of the arts in the lives of the people in traditional African society. In fact, the idea of "art appreciation" is an axiological posture associated with Western aesthetics—art for art's sake." As J.C.de Graft proposed in his memorandum to the Arts Council, "the Council must actively encourage artists to return to their Ghanaian 'roots' for artistic material and inspiration, and itself accept such orientation as necessary for the success of its work (NAG/RG3/7/33:50). What is unclear was the kind of research method used by the ten-member committee to conclude that the people "were too engrossed in other things to realize the threat to their traditional culture." The body never explained what they meant by "traditional culture." Also, the policy of the Arts Council of Ghana of 1958 "to foster, improve and preserve the traditional arts and culture of Ghana" was insufficient. Because there was no explication as to the role of the arts or the culture of the people in the context of the government's socio-economic transformation strategy, the policy suggests inertia like the collection of African visual arts in Euro-American museums. But culture like its creative products is dynamic; theater for instance "is a reflection of the time, space, place and social strata of those who produce it and those for

whom it is presented" (Molette and Molette, 1986:1). The creative productions must speak to the wishes and aspirations of the people and inspire them to greater heights.

Finally, the Arts Council did not engage the Ministry of Education to place African arts in the curriculum of the school system in the country as suggested by its member, J.C.de Graft. His criticism was that the Arts Council's work was not involved in shaping and "reshaping, of a whole nation's attitudes towards the arts;" de Graft believed that the Arts Council could achieve a lasting result by directing "a very serious attention to the new generation in school." This, he hoped could have led to a review of educational policy with regards to education in African arts (NAG/RG3/7/33:50). Otherwise, the participation of the schools was considered extra-curricula activities.

INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND CULTURE

Early in 1962, Nkrumah proposed that the Arts Council of Ghana be turned into an Institute of Arts and Culture with Nana Kwabena Nketsia as its Director (NAC/RG3/7/246:46). On March 1, 1962, the Institute was established to widen the scope of the work of the Arts Council "and give it more effective direction." The Institute was generally charged with the responsibility to coordinate the activities of the statutory bodies and other institutions "dealing with the preservation, promotion and dissemination of the arts and culture of Ghana." Initially, the statutory bodies were to function under their own Acts of incorporation. They included the Arts Council of Ghana, The Ghana National Museum, The Ghana Library Board, The Ghana National Archives and National Cultural Center at Kumase. On May 8, 1962, however, the Government placed The Ghana Library Board, The Ghana Museum and Monuments Board and The Ghana National Archives under the Ministry of Education (Ibid: 46).

On June 26, 1962, Nkrumah's government published Instrument number 22 for the formal incorporation of the Institute into a statutory board, absorbing the Arts Council of Ghana duties and repealing its act of 1958. On October 1, 1962, the Institute of Arts and Culture was lawfully incorporated. The direction, supervision and management of the National Cultural Center at Kumase were assigned to the Institute. The duties outlined by the Instrument of Incorporation were: first, "to promote and disseminate throughout Ghana appreciation and knowledge of all forms of arts and culture and, in particular to preserve, foster and develop the traditional arts and culture of Ghana." Second, "to act as a clearing house for all cultural agreements between Ghana, and other countries." Third, "to build up a central archive of sound and photographic material concerned with arts and culture of Ghana and Africa as a whole, as well as a collection of reference works and journals." Fourth, "to encourage, assist or promote research into the arts and culture and of Africa as a whole by establishing fellowships under which such work can be undertaken." Fifth, "to initiate cultural programmes when necessary for implementation by appropriate bodies under the Institute" (Ibid: 46).

The Institute's activities in the area of the arts included categories of Art and Craft, Drama and Literature, Traditional Drumming and Dancing, Choral Singing, Music and Puppetry. Here, we must take note of the distinction between "traditional" drumming and dancing, and music. There is no mentioning of "traditional" drama, oral tradition or

“traditional” choral singing like the Akan *nnwomkro*, in the Institute’s conception of art forms.

The Institute organized exhibition of art and craft works of various artists, and sponsored and presented productions of several amateur drama groups. They organized free classes in traditional dances, drumming, acting, playwriting and artwork for the public in the country. Its drumming instructors were constantly engaged in teaching other groups, especially members of dance bands who desired to include traditional African percussion in their repertoire. For instance, during the Republic Day Celebration of 1963, the Institute organized a traditional drumming and dancing program at the Accra Sports Stadium, which brought dancers from Ivory Coast. Besides, the Institute built a special studio in Accra for puppetry which, attracted workers and school children. Elder Dempster Ghana Independence Trust donated Puppet Theater Caravan for regional tours (Ibid: 47).

The most distressing thing that occurred was the Institute’s establishment of the New Ghana Orchestra for the cultivation of [European] classical music. To this end, the government provided grant money to employ an additional music teacher from Israel and purchase Western musical instruments for the Orchestra. In June 1963, the Orchestra gave a concert of works by Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and some African compositions arranged by Philip Gbeho, the composer of Ghana’s National Anthem. This raises some questions as to audience, aesthetic, social relevancy and the meaning of national independence. Thus, if, in fact, the people’s culture was dying as a result of colonialism, how was the Orchestra’s classical music going to preserve, foster and develop the African arts and culture? Was there a choice between assembling African musical instruments and those of the Western world to form an orchestra? Or was it an opportunity to become “modernized,” according to European standards? Was this not an affirmation of the attitudes of Europeans in general who believed “that Africans are becoming Westernized, convinced that they must accept modern civilization or perish” as Jahn (1970:11) writes? The audience for this kind of musical ensemble could only exclude a vast majority of the people in the country; aesthetically speaking, they simply would not enjoy it even if invited.

By 1960, the government had set up a National Theater Advisory Committee for the construction of a National Theater to accommodate the rapid proliferation of music, dance and drama performances in the country. The main function of the National Theater was to encourage the development of dramatic and dance companies, and provide the opportunity for choreographers, musicians, writers, producers, designers, actors and dancers to develop their talents. It was also to work with experimental theater groups in the country, assist in training, and serve as the focal point to dramatic and dancing activities in all parts of the country. Lastly, the National Theater was to arrange tours of the national companies to other parts of the country and other parts of the world to portray the African personality (NAG/RG3/7/33:79).

The project involved the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Works and Housing, Ministry of Construction and Communication, The Arts Council of Ghana and its successor the Institute of Arts and Culture, Engineers from the Development of Public Construction, Development Secretariat, Town Planning Development and Lands Secretariat. Norman and Dawbarn Architects and Nickson and Borgs were consulted for the construction of the project. The original scheme provided for two theaters sharing

common facilities for workshops and other things. The first one was to be an open-air amphitheater with a seating capacity of five thousand (5,000). This was to be designed along the traditional mode of presenting performing arts. The indoor one was to be a conventional Western and air-conditioned type of theater with a seating capacity of five hundred (500). Several sites were proposed for the two theaters. These were the current road from Nima to Accra central, North Ridge Hospital, George Padmore and Liberia Roads, and Barnes and Liberia roads, east of the then Ghana Farmers Hall. The Castle Road was also to be the site for an International Cultural Center desired by Nkrumah and a new headquarters for the Arts Council.

Another important part of Nkrumah's cultural policy was the role of Africans in the Diaspora in the intellectual and artistic rebirth of Africa. In his inaugural speech at the Institute of African Studies, Nkrumah stated that, while the research fellows' task should include the study of the experiences of the Africans in the Diaspora, they should also "seek to maintain close relations with their scholars so that there may be cross fertilization between" them (1992:14). The Institute played host to a number of Pan-African scholars, who came in and worked. "It became the base, for any African scholar who was talking about Africa at the intellectual and artistic levels," Awoonor recalled.

Those scholars who were in Ghana included Sinclair Drake, a sociologist, Naval Dawes of Jamaica, a novelist and a poet, and Liver Pool who went to the Law Faculty. Others were, McNeil Stewart, a poet from Trinidad whose poems were published daily in the *Ghanaian Times* in a column called, "The Poets Corner," and Moriseau LeRoy from Haiti, who became one of the directors in the National Theater Movement. W.E.B. Du Bois was invited by Nkrumah to embark on an Encyclopedia Africana project (Marable, 1986:208–208). He was very instrumental in Nkrumah's cultural policy development that culminated in the establishment of the cultural institutions, recalled Awoonor. As stated above, Nkrumah spent many hours discussing African unity with W.E.B. DuBois."

Scott Kennedy, a dramatist from the United States, joined the Institute later to direct the Drama section of the School of Music and Drama, because of Nkrumah's inaugural speech. Earlier, Nkrumah had personally contacted Paul Robeson in the US to become the head of the newly established School of Music and Drama at the University of Ghana at Legon (Sherwood, 1996:85). The promotion of Jazz concerts in Ghana was one of the policies of the Arts Council. In November 1958, the Arts Council arranged for the visit of Louis Satchmo into the country and to perform in Accra, Kumase, and Takoradi. George Tapps Dance Company and the Golden Gate Quartette of Philadelphia visited Ghana in 1961 and 1962 respectively. According to Sherwood (Ibid: 33), Nkrumah, while a student in the US, sometimes traveled with "the Glee Club when they went to sing Negro spirituals at Clubs and other venues." During such trips, Nkrumah would tell "stories of Africa, especially about life in Ghana...and often spoke of his dreams for a free Africa or a free united states of Africa" (Ibid: 34).

Nkrumah's policy regarding the National Theater Movement was not limited to Stage Theater. It also encompassed movie, radio and television theaters. He saw these as critical components of cultural institutions, severing as instruments of transmitting African cultural values "and asserting the personality of the African," Awoonor explained. Hence, his opening speech of the Ghana Television Station in 1965 discouraged commercialization of its transmitting services. From its inception the Ghana television embarked on presenting some of the fruits of the Theater Movement for the wider

audience. In the summer of 1965, the repertoire of the Dance Section of the School of Music and Drama, (which I watched at the Koforidua Community Center) was showcased on the television. As part of the cultural rebirth, Awoonor also hosted an evening variety show called "Seven Forty Five Special." He interviewed musicians, both African and the diasporan Africans, and played "a bit of their music;" additionally, he interviewed poets who had produced new poems." He "recalled interviewing Malcolm X when he was in Ghana early 1965.

Ansah (1991:95) points out that, Nkrumah understood the critical role the media could play in educating the "people, enlightening them on their national responsibilities and the need for development," especially "its potential as a tool for national unity." Hence, in 1963, Nkrumah proposed a Pan-African News Agency to correct the distorted image of Africa" being "projected in foreign media" (Ibid: 99). External affairs services broadcast in French, Portuguese, Arabic, Swahili, Hausa were designed to counter vile and vicious propaganda "cast on the ability of the Africans to manage their own affairs" (Ibid: 92).

The radio station also introduced programs "in various local languages." They included Twi, Fante, Ewe, GA, Hausa and Nzema, Awoonor indicated. The reason was that Nkrumah "was very interested in reaching the people across the borders; and once there was a broadcast "in Nzema, for instance, all speakers of the Nzema related languages in Ivory Coast were being reached by Ghana's Pan-African surge." This was also true with a broadcast in Hausa, which is not a Ghanaian language, but spoken by "the people of northern Nigeria, or all the northern segments all the way to Niger." Awoonor explained,

In Awoonor's view, Nkrumah's vision for building these cultural institutions in Ghana was totally unfocused, because it was a vision of Africa. "Ghana was only a microcosm of that African structure he was envisioning. He did not only articulate his vision of Ghana, but in the same breath, he spoke of the unity of Africans on the continent and those in the Diaspora as envisioned by Garvey, Awoonor and Botsio recalled. Awoonor recalled a script called *Across the Parapet*, a quotation from one of Kwame Nkrumah's Pan-African vision, which the Ghana Films Corporation, headed by Awoonor, produced. The quotation, as cited in Chapter Four, was chosen "in the context of the total framework of Africa's rebirth." The Ghana Film Corporation was an essential arm of the entire Pan-African cultural project, and so were the National Theater Movement and the Ghana Young Pioneers Movement. But "the intellectual store house," Awoonor further pointed out, "was going to be the Institute of African Studies. This was where the real think tank was to be located.

CONCLUSION

Nkrumah's cultural policies at the non-statutory level were effective in the decolonization process. The introduction of State Okyeame, officially called "linguist," and the pouring of libation (now under attack by Christian fundamentalists inside and outside the parliament house) at state functions alongside foreign religions was a reminder of the importance of African cultural practices in post-independence Africa. The wearing of Batakari and Kente as national costumes symbolized a break with colonialism. The use of symbols and motifs to identify political parties, traditional drumming and dancing during

political rallies reminded the people to cherish their African art forms and their aesthetic values. These marks of Nkrumah's Convention Peoples Party reconnected the people to their past, as well as restored their pride in things African.

Nkrumah's cultural policies attempted to recapture and reconstruct the values in traditional African society in which the state was all-inclusive, in the context of socio-economic transformation of Ghana. They were bold steps of the time, in view of colonial indoctrination of the people to associate things African with a so-called devil. The creation of the Arts Council of Ghana, the Institute of Arts and Culture, and the subsequent establishment of the Institute of African Studies and its School of Music and Drama resulted from Nkrumah's personal vision. In fact, they were great achievements of the time, since there were no models anywhere in Africa. The judging of traditional music and dance, during the Festival of Music and Drama in 1961, on their aesthetic and artistic values, regardless of their ethnic origins, was also a mark of nationalism.

Nevertheless, the objectives of the two cultural institutions with respect to fostering the art forms, failed to spell out their place in socio-economic development in Ghana. The concept and the objective of the National Theater Movement were never clearly defined. The aesthetic principles to undergird the movement were never clarified, thereby leading to several substitution performing arts productions (Welsh Asante: 7) that embraced any standard of judgement.

Also, the objective of the cultural institutions to enable the people appreciate their arts and culture perhaps resulted from the policy makers' positivist research method. It is common knowledge in Ghana that an Anlo-Ewe, regardless of his or her level of education and or social status, would grab a piece of cloth, get into the dancing arena and perform agbadza [music-dance form]. Therefore, the people did not need to be told to appreciate their arts and culture that had been central to their humanity. Another failure was its inability to view the art forms as instruments for fostering national unity and restoring the African personality, which Nkrumah advanced with passion.

As pointed out earlier, one of the shortcomings of the Arts Council and its successor the Institute of Arts and Culture was its indifference towards the formal educational system. There was no plan to formulate performing arts curriculum to permeate the educational system, in order to ensure continuity in the National Theater Movement project. The creation of cultural institutions "without taking effective steps to integrate them into educational system from primary school to the university level, was one of the fundamental mistakes of the New National Theater Movement," Agovi (1990:17) intimates. This impasse was to affect the School of Music and Drama, in terms of its inability to recruit promising students directly from the high schools.

Chapter Seven

Nkrumah's Cultural Policy: The National Theater Movement and the Academy

Speaking about African personality, Dr. Edward Wilmot Blyden urged that “the African must advance by methods of his own.” Specifically, the African must possess the capacity to carve his own culture quite distinct from the European.” Thus, “we must show that we are able to go alone, to carve our own way,” and not be satisfied when the “Europeans influence our polity, make our laws, rule in our tribunals and impregnate our social atmosphere” (Legum, 1962:20). Blyden made this observation in his presidential address at the opening of the Liberia College in 1881 (Ibid: 20). At the time of Africa's national independence, the agency of African people that Blyden advanced had been arrested by colonial legacy. Jahn (1961:11) attests to this when he notes that:

Europe is alleged to provide the model, Africa to copy it; Europe to be spiritually the giving, Africa the receiving partner. Since Europe is held to be the teacher and Africa the pupil, Europe is to decide.

These statements explain the racist ideas held by Europeans in general, and some Eurocentric African intellectuals, towards institutional development in post-independence Africa. According to this community, Africans have no choice but to follow European models. As pointed out in the previous chapters, Africa, they perceive, has no cultural, economic and political traditions of its own worthy of serious attention, “and certainly no history of glory in” the creative art (Roscoe, 1977:1). In this case, Africa must either accept “civilized” European art forms or crumbled.

According to Touré (1976:85), the particular culture of a people is the constant and living achievement of the abstract concepts of culture. It results from concrete answers a society devises to solve concrete problems. Culture encompasses the mental tools and practices that, express the essential, the particular and the vitality of the people. It also expresses the standard of intellectual, technological and creative arts created by the people to enrich their lives. But at every moment of the existence of the people, culture undergoes the law of change and development. On the contrary, the kind of intellectual tools institutionalized in Africa during colonialism were not devised by the Africans to address any concrete African problems. Rather, they were transplanted on the continent to promote hegemonic European cultural nationalism.

As Davidson (1974:25) notes, the Europeans were contemptuous of Africans. They “insisted on their own superiority and thought that Africans had no history and civilization of their own.” That explains why the Colonial Office in London referred to Phelps-Stokes' team as an advisory Committee on “Native Education in the Tropical Dependencies” (Agovi, 1990:5). Its report of 1925 led to some expansion in primary and

secondary school education in Ghana. Though the Colonial Government sought to participate and control the educational facilities, the schools remained in the hands of the missionary churches. Alongside this, the churches had an active unwritten policy of theater movement as part of their proselytization in the country. They established a tradition of religious plays, and between 1931 and 1932, there was a proliferation of dramatic cantata in Accra, Nsawam, Cape Coast and Sekondi. The popular plays included "The Rolling Season," "Nativity," "Esther the Beautiful" and "Bethlehem." The schools also produced secular plays, such as "Macbeth," "The Armada," and "Britannica Court." The last play was designed to show the lands forming the British Empire and their allegiance to the British Crown. The Methodist Church in Britain, for instance, established a West African Literature Society Committee in London to supervise the publication and distribution of "relevant" literature and drama for West African colonies (Ibid: 7).

Similarly, there was overwhelming dominance and stature of the missionaries in the development of what Agovi calls "literary" theater in Nigeria. There were those who attempted to create a secular base for the Nigerian "modern" theater outside the church. There were also those who did everything to return the theater to the church. But in Senegal, the William-Ponty College's attempt in 1933 to reform the colonial education in Dakar, through ethnographic research, led to a theater development. The students involved were required to write plays based on African folklore and history in French, which were performed at festivals marking the end of the academic year. The composition and performances of the plays, in the words of Traore (1972:33) in his discourse on Black African Theater, were incorporated, if not into the actual syllabus of William Ponty, at least into its organized activities. Eventually, the College became a center of theater education for the students in the West African French-Speaking colonies. The experiment led to "a gradual nurturing of a tradition of 'modern' theater that reconciled Africa to Europe" (Agovi, 1990:5). At the time, it was not easy for the students to foster a true African-centered theater in terms of themes and modes of productions. The idea of one of the exponents of this tradition, Keita Fodeba, was "simply to reconstruct certain characteristic moments of authentic African life, drawing of the ancestral past, now on the Africa of today," Traore (1972:37) cites.

This chapter focuses on Nkrumah's cultural policy with respect to the National Theater Movement in the academy. This refers to the major structural change in the University of Ghana leading to the establishment of the Institute of African Studies and its School of Music and Drama at the university. We must always bear in mind that Nkrumah's educational policy at the University of Ghana was crucial to his cultural policy, in terms of African-centered orientation towards intellectual and artistic pursuits.

THE NATURE OF COLONIAL EDUCATION AND AFRICAN CULTURE

In 1927, Governor Guggisburg founded the Achimota College. Interest in the development of an African curriculum at the time caused the College to set precedence for the study of African languages and culture. This was accomplished by the efforts of Diedrich Westernman, through whom Mawere Opoku and several others turned into the

study of arts. He created a common script for Twi and Fante. This included the “collection of folktales and oral historical traditions...native music and dancing” (Ashby: 35). Behind this commendable efforts was a deliberate attempt,

to ‘produce a type of student, who is Western in his intellectual attitude towards life, with respect for science and capacity for systematic thought, but who remains African in sympathy and desirous in preserving and developing what is deserving of respect in tribal life, customs, rule and law. (Ibid: 36)

Besides, the statement demonstrates Westernman's condescending and patronizing attitude towards African culture. The irony, however, was that the few educated Africans embraced his idea about education in tropical Africa. This “Lawyer-Merchant class of Africans,” as Agovi (1990:5) characterizes them, vehemently opposed the idea of African studies in the academy.

As Agovi (Ibid: 5) quotes S.K.B.Asante, “these aspiring entrepreneurial groups had set immutable standards and patterns for the rest of the population and in general had spearheaded the drive for modernity.” Their goal was to imitate the European and the desire to live up to what they considered “civilized standards.” As a consequence, they and their forebears, Agovi cites Robert Gardiner, were in the habit of wearing:

Heavy woolen suits, tail coats and high collars and were as correctly dressed as Englishmen would be in England...their madams spotted Victorian wardrobes complete with corsets and plumed hats. They organized clubs and local European style cultural societies such as lodges and magic lantern shows—programmes similar to those of parish gathering in England. There are accounts of Ladies' Clubs which imposed fines on those their members who spoke local languages or wore native dress in public. (Ibid: 5–6)

It was these types of Africans that Kobina Sekyi satirized in his play, “The Blinkards.” This group “controlled a vociferous press and their brand of nationalism.” Agovi observes, “only aspired toward a sharing of power” with the chiefs in the Legislative Council to oppose any pretensions toward Africanization of the educational curriculum (Ibid: 6). They held dearly to the idea of educational parity, believing resolutely that European type of education was worthwhile in order to achieve parity with the colonial elite (Graham, 1971:182). Any “special courses for Africans or Africanization of education,” in their view, constituted “an attempt to keep them in a subordinate intellectual and social position of inferiority” (Foster, 1965:167).

It is startling to note that both the kings and educated elite, including the author of *Ethiopia Unbound* Casely-Hayford, Foster points out, “were united in their opposition to the Africanization of the curriculum” (Ibid: 167). In fact, Casely-Hayford's words attest to his attachment to the British Empire. He said:

Now one more word as to what happens to be the feeling not only of this country, but of all British West Africa, and that it is that we feel that our

loyalty and cooperation with His Majesty's Government is no mere matter of sentiments; for we feel and realize that our interest as a people are identical with those of the Empire, and we mean, as in the past, in the present, and in the future, to stand by the Empire through thick and thin in every circumstance." (Emerson and Kilson, 1967:10)

In Nana Ofori Atta's view, any restriction of studies to the African scene would be unwise (Foster: 167). What these views demonstrate is that the consumption of European culture, in all its manifestations, was to explain the differences between the African-centered character of Nkrumah's cultural policy and that of elite and/or the European-trained African scholars in the country.

Therefore, at the time of political independence, there was the urgent need to incorporate African culture, or if not, to Africanize the content of education, into the entire educational system. The incorporation of African culture was to include the traditional political systems with their checks and balances; "its passionate identification with the soil through religion, customary law, the cultivation of crops and care of animals; its philosophical and codes of behaviour; its languages; its folklore and music and dance" (Ashby: 59). He cites examples of the clamor for the study of African humanities, such as African languages and literature in Nigeria. By 1955, for example, the *Lagos Daily Times*, "was advocating a faculty of Nigerian Languages at Ibadan" University (Ibid: 60).

Similarly, Nkrumah saw Ghana's "cultural problem as largely the outcome of colonial educational system" (Hagan 1991a:4). When he became the Leader of Government Business in 1951, he was eager to combat the Eurocentric education of what Ashby describes as "disrupting the stability of African society by alienating Africans from the core of their culture" (Ibid: 59). Dr. Busia, the Prime Minister of the second republic of Ghana, testified to the anti-African nature of British education, when he said:

At the end of my first year at secondary school [Mfantshipim, Cape Coast], I went home to Wenchi for the Christmas vacation. I had not been home for four years, and on that visit, I became painfully aware of my isolation. I understood our community far less than the boys of my own age who had never been to school. Over the years, as I went through college and university, I felt increasingly that the education I received taught me more and more about Europe and less than my own society. (Rodney, 1982:246)

What this testimony shows is that an African could graduate from an African academy and still be ignorant of his culture, especially his African environment, history and civilization.

To combat the Eurocentric nature of the educational system in Ghana, the government first took over from the missionaries the full responsibility of Ghana's educational policy and practice (Haizel, 1991:59). The government created an Accelerated Development Plan for Education to carry out its policies. It stated that:

In future no new primary school opened by a denominational religious body or by a person or group of persons will be eligible for assistance from public funds unless prior approval of the local authority concerned under powers delegated by the central government has been obtained. (Ibid: 60)

As a consequence, the missionary schools were not only barred from expanding their elementary schools, but they were also expected to give up the existing ones. This, Haizel discloses, was a “deliberate move to take over primary schools where church influence had been strong” (Ibid: 61). However, the schools continued to bear the names of the missionary churches. As noted above, there was no mention of changes in the content of the course taught to the African students. The government policy was simply an administrative change, in terms of material, financial and human resources.

The class periods set aside for civics in the schools, including the study of African history and traditions, was insufficient to combat centuries of British cultural nationalism in Ghana. Perhaps Nkrumah's educational policy, which Botsio was very instrumental in developing, was the mass education and the adult education designed to enable everyone to become literate. As Botsio established in our interview on January 1, 1997, those who had already passed the school going age had non-formal adult education designed for them. “We encouraged them to do higher studies,” he recalled.

In 1960, the government established the Ghana Education Trust for the expansion of secondary schools and teacher training colleges in the country. In all, the government built forty boarding and lodging secondary schools, including accommodation for the faculty, in each zone in the country. Hitherto, there were very few such schools in the country. In the Seven-Year Development Plan, secondary schools were going to be free and compulsory for all children living in Ghana (Haizel, 1991:68). As indicated earlier, Nkrumah in 1961, commended the work of the Trust that he established to build Ghana Schools and Colleges (Ibid: 68).

The expansion of the schools and colleges appeared linear. First, by 1961, there was no indication as to the principles for the Ghana Education Trust to Africanize the curriculum of the school system. Second, there was no manifestation of replacing the colonial course books with African-centered ones. Third, the government paid no attention to the cultural location of the teachers, who were products of the missionary training colleges. It is here that one notices the paradoxes and contradictions between thought and praxis.

Based on my experiences as an elementary school student at the time, we were taught that certain European tourists, came to discover rivers, lakes and mountains in Africa. Christopher Columbus was referred to as the person who discovered America. By 1959, elementary school children were being taught that Africa was the “dark continent.” One of the most popular and mesmerizing reading books in Twi we read in the elementary school was entitled, *Tete Romanfo Akokodrufo* (Brave Men of Ancient Rome). We read it aloud in the mornings with praises to what we thought was the most outstanding show of bravery in the world.

The little history we were taught about the European slave trade was romanticized. We were made to think that the capture of Africans in Africa and their enslavement in the Americas were a phenomenon that happened to some people quite remote from us.

Interestingly enough, the British were credited for freeing the “slaves” and settling them in Sierra Leone, with a capital called Freetown.

Our West African geography lessons consisted of Gold Coast, Nigeria, Gambia, and Sierra Leone, and I grew up thinking there were no other countries in West Africa, besides these four. Yet we could draw the map of Europe and indicate all the countries with their cities, rivers, and mountain ranges without reference to any atlas. By 1959, part of the geography lessons—in the hot afternoons—on the seasons of the year consisted of spring, summer, autumn and winter, and the topography of Europe. In the schools we sang songs in the afternoon like “In The Midst Blitz Winter” and “London is burning”. The irony was that it was not until 1978 in New Haven, Connecticut, that I first experienced a “blizzard.”

English was, and still is, the medium of instruction in all secondary schools and elementary schools. It must be recalled that Nkrumah's predecessors like, Casely-Hayford, Mensah Sarbah and Kwegyr Aggrey, strongly advocated for the use of African language as the medium of instruction in African schools and colleges (Smith, 1930:44). Sarbah and Casely-Hayford came to discern the “peril denationalization [of the] African by means of Western methods of education and, urged that the young” Africans should be trained in African languages “and be turned out men.” Otherwise, they would become “effete, mongrel product of foreign systems” (Ibid: 44). For his part, Aggrey insisted that an African language should be used from the beginning (Ibid: 139).

These early African nationalists questioned why the African Christian converts should not sing their African songs and play their “native airs in church.” “Why in the name of reason and common sense, should he not bear his own name and wear his native garments?” they asked. In addition, they protested vehemently “against the ignoring of African institutions and the attempt to deal with the people as if they had no past” (Ibid: 43). Sarbah and Casely-Hayford, for instance, reminded the missionaries that they should study the religious system of Africa before trying to improve it or introducing a new one (Ibid: 44). As discussed in Chapter One, education and Christianity worked hand in hand during colonialism. Yet, after the attainment of national independence, Christian prayers continued to be said at morning and afternoon assemblies in the schools that I attended and in which I taught. Wednesday mornings was set aside for devotional services in all the public schools.

Perhaps the most Afrocentric policy of Nkrumah's government was its edict in 1962, “that a pass in English is no longer necessary for a [high] School Certificate” (Ashby, 1964:92). Prior to this, a failure in English constituted a failure in the final examination conducted by the (British) West African Examination Council, regardless of outstanding grades a student received in all other subjects. But the Ghanaian intellectual cried foul and accused Nkrumah of lowering Ghana's educational standard.

According to Botsio, Nkrumah thought of convincing other leaders in the West African sub-region to adopt Hausa as a regional language. The rationale was “that whatever we did we would be able to express ourselves in our own languages,” Botsio recalled. However, “Nkrumah never finally decided what should be done about it,” he indicated. The idea was not farfetched if the Ghanaian intellectual was willing to study the example of the veterans of the so-called World War Two. They (including my uncle) returned from Burma after about two years singing and speaking Hausa thoroughly. Nkrumah's cultural policy in the area of language resulted in the establishment of the

School of Ghanaian Languages at Ajumako to train teachers, the Ghana Bureau of Languages and the Institute of Foreign Languages, including Hausa, Swahili and Arabic, outside the university. As the ensuing discourse shows, the Ghanaian intellectual strongly opposed Nkrumah's attempt to Africanize the University's curriculum via the Institute of African Studies. This paradox of being enamored of European cultural traditions, while ignoring their own African traditions was to affect the National Theater Movement, especially the Music and Drama Sections of the School of Music and Drama at the University of Ghana.

THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

Touré (1976:75) posits that it is through education that every generation consumes culture. It can take the form of human contacts in the society, cultural expressions through schooling, or both. Therefore, since Nkrumah's government had been unable to Africanize the curricula of the schools and colleges after independence in 1957, it should not have been surprising to him when, in 1959, the University of College of Gold Coast became the "breeding ground for unpatriotic and anti-government elements (Ashby: 79; Haizel: 70).

The anti-Nkrumah sentiments in the university community can, however, be understood if we look at the views expressed by its first principal. In his inaugural speech in 1949, Dr. David Mowbray Balme did not see why a university in Africa should be different from others elsewhere. He said:

The issue has been bedeviled by our careless use of the phrase 'European civilization.' It may be justified that the things which are studied at universities...are themselves the instruments of civilization. It happens to have started in Greece...and it spread first through Europe. But it is high time we stopped calling it European as though there were some other form which to distinguish it... I was astonished when I came here to find myself called European. I had never thought of myself as one before, and I don't now." (Ashby, 1964:37)

It is clear from his speech that there were some Africans who did not accept the view of a universal civilization. It is also clear that the appointment of Balme, (an Englishman and a former Cambridge Classics Don) as the principal of a new university situated on the African soil did not meet the approval of some of the African nationalists. In fact, there are contradictions in his statements. First, he dismissed the idea of "European civilization," yet he alleged that civilization "happens to have started in Greece" and then "spread first through Europe." Second, Balme admitted that within one universal civilization there are different national cultures, yet he doubted whether universities were concerned with national cultures or whether cultures could be kept alive through education. "After all, folk dancing is dying out in England and hand-looms have been replaced by machinery," he said. "I don't think we need weep when national traditions go...it is only a matter of pride in superficial things" he (Ibid: 37) concluded.

In fact, had Balme read the works of ancient European scholars such as Herodotus, Diodorus and Strabo without prejudice, including the accounts of Julius Caesar and those of Portuguese travelers to Africa, he would have known that Africa was advanced when Europe was "Dark." According to Poe (1997:6), "Europe's most dangerous predators were not the animals, but men." He further points out that "Tacitus, Strabo, Polybios and Julius Caesar have left us a vivid picture of Europe feral inhabitants, a picture that leaves little doubt as to why most Greeks and Romans steered clear of the northern forests" (Ibid: 6). According to these accounts, "cannibalism appears to have been widespread in Darkest Europe." For instance, "the Issedones of Eastern Europe devoured their own fathers when they died" (Ibid: 14). For the Celts, he continues, "count it an honorable thing, when their fathers die, to devour them, and openly have intercourse with their mothers and sisters" (Ibid: 14). By the twelfth century, "kings of one Irish clan still celebrated their coronation by engaging in ritual sexual intercourse with a horse" (Ibid: 6). The Gauls of France on their part, "were great enthusiasts of human sacrifice." By 1439 C.E., "the city of France was besieged by wolf packs that emerged from the forest en masse and devouring innocent wayfarers" (Ibid: 6). Conversely, the second Western Sudanic Empire, Mali, had declined in 1400 C.E. (Karenga, 1993:94). Also when the Portuguese led by Vasco Da Gama arrived in East Africa, they found civilization, cities, urban comfort, lavish wealth, commerce and navigation on high seas unknown in Europe at the time (Davidson, 1974:163).

Indeed, Balme either demonstrated his ignorance, or refused to acknowledge the fact that the so-called Greek civilization was transported from Africa to Greece by those natives of Greece who studied in Egypt (Herodotus 1964:18; James 1954:1-150; Diop, 1974:1-235; Diop 1991:231-309; DuBois, 1947:98-147). James (1954:3) in his seminal work, *The Stolen Legacy*, affirms this when he writes that the "Greek philosophers were not the authors of Greek philosophy, but the Egyptian Priests and Hierophants." The "Ethics," which the Greeks were forced to study, was borrowed from the Egyptian "Summun Bonum," or the "greatest good." This is also true of the command, "Know Thyself," which Socrates copied from the anterior of the Egyptian temples (Ibid: 3). Secondly, not only have the ancient European scholars such as Herodotus, Aristotle, Lucian, Apollodorus, Strabo and Diodorus, attested to this fact, but they also described the Egyptians as "black skin and kinky hair," documented in *General History of African; Ancient and Modern*, (UNESCO 1990:21-22). Herodotus, in his *Histories II*, pointed out that "almost all the names of the gods came into Greece from Egypt" (Herodotus 1964:139).

But as a hegemonic and Eurocentric scholar in European Classics, Balme did not hesitate to establish departments of classics and philosophy dedicated to the teaching of European philosophy and classics (July: 161). Enconced in his "intellectual cocoon," to borrow the words of Asante (1998:40), he made it impossible for his audience to conceive of another universe. In effect, the ethnocentric ideas and policies of Balme were to determine the mission and character of the University of Ghana. They were also to inform the intellectual outlook of the teaching staff and students of the university. It was therefore not by accident that Nkrumah's policies on university education and Africanization of its curriculum after 1960 were to be met with fierce resistance.

According to Awoonor, Nkrumah as Prime Minister could not visit the university unless a formal invitation had been extended to him by the university administration. But

in 1959, the C.P.P. students broke the university "barrier" by inviting Nkrumah to the university campus. "The imperialist refused to allow him in, so in my last year, we had a 'conspiracy' and brought him to the University of Ghana campus in connection with the inauguration of the National Association of Socialist Students," Awoonor disclosed,

In 1959, Nkrumah's office issued directives to the university college requiring changes in the deluxe passages to Britain, but the faculty and staff interpreted it as an infringement of academic freedom (Ashby: 60). "While I fully subscribe to the principle of academic freedom," Nkrumah stated, "a university must relate its activities to the needs of the society in which it exists" (Ibid: 58). This and other statements by Nkrumah were met with resistance. Among the opposition, Ashby observes, were some African intellectuals. He notes:

Some of the European trained African intellectuals, especially those educated in Europe resisted changes in curriculum or in pattern of course because they confuse such changes with a lowering of standards. They are accordingly suspicious of any divergence from the British pattern. Some of them are particularly allergic to proposals for incorporating African studies into the curriculum. (Ibid: 61)

The need to replace the administrators and faculty, especially those expatriates with their Eurocentric scholarship and the notion of academic freedom, with those sympathetic to the objectives of the Nkrumah's political agenda is manifested in the above speech. As Ashby (Ibid: 58) points out, "one manifestation of African nationalism," was the need to bring to bear upon the universities a pressure for relevance to the short-term needs of African society. This meant that any experiential curriculum had to aim at diminishing the menacing gap between the intellectual environment and the African society. Furthermore, Nkrumah's cultural policy expected an African university in Ghana to engage in intellectual decolonization. The desired objective was to produce graduates who could function in post-independence African society.

The University College, however, mobilized its defense, while the government, on the other hand, came to regard the university as the focus of dissent and a threat to the stability of the new nation. Politicians in Nkrumah's fold criticized the expatriate academic staff as doing "no work which was of the slightest use to Ghana, and worst of all to pervert the flower of her youth, filling their minds with pernicious non-African rubbish" (Ibid: 86).

Speaking on the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Convention Peoples' Party, Nkrumah expressed his dissatisfaction about what he saw as lack of productivity of the University of Ghana and the Kumase College of Technology. He explained as follows:

It cost as much more to produce a graduate at Legon than in many other universities abroad. We have provided with unparalleled lavishness all the facilities necessary. It is common opinion that our students are 'feather-bredded.' And what is the result? With few exceptions, the University College is a breeding ground for unpatriotic and anti-Government elements. But the students are not to be blamed. The staff bears a heavy responsibility for the anti-Government atmosphere which prevails. We do

not intend to sit idly by and see these institutions which are supported by millions of pounds produced out of the sweat and toil of the common people continue to be centres of anti-government activities. We want the University College to cease being an alien institution and to take on the character of a Ghanaian university, loyally serving the interest of the nation and the well-being of our people. If reforms do not come from within, we intend to impose them from outside, and no resort to academic freedom [for academic freedom does not mean irresponsibility] is going to restrain us from seeing that our University is healthily devoted to Ghanaian interest. (Nkrumah, 1973b:167)

Nkrumah's speech, specifically his intention to intervene and reform the university, "provoked a storm of protest not only within the college but from all over the world," Ashby (1964:87) notes. These were people who shared Balme's universal view of education, irrespective of Africa's time and place in history. These acolytes of Balme equated the study of European classics, philosophy, Euro-Christian religion, history, languages and literature at the University College of Gold Coast with universal human sciences. For the African students, this amounted to seeking higher knowledge for its own sake. On the other hand, those who supported Nkrumah's declared intention to reform the university not only viewed the acquisition of advanced knowledge as a means of improving the life chances of African people in a post-independence Africa, but also found the university as the cancer of the colonial legacy, which needed to be changed. A brief history of the University College will, perhaps, explain the choice that Nkrumah had to make.

In 1911, Casely-Hayford took up Dr. Africanus Horton's proposals for a West African University, and rather campaigned for a university for the Gold Coast. Nine years later, the National Congress British West Africa, led by Casely-Hayford, petitioned the British Government "to found a British West African University on such lines as would preserve in the students a sense of African nationality" (Bing, 348-349). This request yielded no positive response until 1945, when the Colonial Government finally embraced the idea of a university for the Gold Coast. This change of attitude was based on two separate reports submitted to the Colonial Government by Asquith and Elliot Commissions. Contained in the reports, the mission of the university was to train a new platonic Africa elite. In doing so, the two commissions "set their faces against creating anything except copies of the British "red brick universities of pre-war days" (Ibid: 350). As Ashby noted, the founders of universities in the British colonies in "Africa worked in the belief that the social function of a university in Africa was to create and sustain an intellectual elite" (Ibid: 351). The social function of a university as defined by the two Commissions was not without precedence in England. Bing writes:

The medieval clerical tradition had endowed the original English Universities, Oxford and Cambridge, with a form of academic self-Government, later to be adopted by the new English universities of the nineteenth century. Medieval universities had been ecclesiastical agencies, and their 'self-government' had followed simply from the autonomy of the clergy. Academic freedom in the nineteenth century at Oxford and

Cambridge had essentially been the right of College ruling bodies to impose their collective decisions as to whom they would admit and what they would teach. (Ibid: 351)

From Nkrumah's point of view, this social character of the University College of Gold Coast, founded in 1948 as an extension of London University, clearly compromised the fulcrum of Ghana's independence. By 1960, "the university and their graduates were isolated from the life of the common people in a way which had had no parallel in England since the middle Ages" (Ibid: 361). The contradiction also was that, after independence, in proportion to its *per capita* national income Ghana, Bing (Ibid: 364) explicates, was spending ten times as much as Spain and the government was excluded from any say as to how its university should be run. Yet Nkrumah's government's attempt to uncouple the university from its ecclesiastic tradition of medieval Europe, after the departure of Dr. Balme in 1957, was decried as interference of academic freedom.

What reforms the government intended "to impose from the outside" depended on the extent to which they combatted the European medieval social character of this public university, its anti-African mission and the preponderance of European faculty. With its status as an appendage of the University of London the University College of Gold Coast was managed in terms of its syllabus, examinations, and quality of teaching and administration. Independence, Nkrumah understood, meant self-determination and the University College of Ghana was no exception; it had to sever its relationship with the University of London.

Those who characterized Nkrumah's actions as interference in academic freedom failed to acknowledge that a free university education in post-independence Ghana was the people's investment, in terms of its returns in research and manpower development to improve their life chances. By 1959 there were hardly any daughters and sons of the masses, whose sweat and toil generated the financial resources for the faculty's salaries and the students' education, among the university student body. Therefore, the government's action to get rid of the persons found to be undesirable at the University College of Ghana was to ensure positive returns for the investors. The real obstacles were rather from those outsiders who considered Nkrumah's action as interference in academic freedom. What, for instance, would the British government have done if an African professor like Sheikh Anta Diop were to serve as the president of its leading publicly supported university, with a hegemonic African-centered curriculum, Wolof as the medium of instruction and ethnocentric African-centered intellectuals as the dominant faculty? This is a question, which we must pose to those who liken any attempt to Africanize an African university on African soil to interference in Academic freedom.

Shortly before the University of Gold Coast became independent from the University of London, a letter dated late May 1961 from Nkrumah's office stated that "all appointments of members of the academic staff will automatically be terminated." And that those desiring re-appointments had to do so by June 10, 1961. In another letter dated May 27, 1961, Nkrumah's government indicated that persons would be appointed without re-applying, but that it might "be necessary to terminate certain appointments and to revise the conditions of service of others" (Ibid: 87).

To unbound the university from foreign control, Nkrumah appointed an International Commission in 1960, chaired by Kojo Botsio, the Minister of Agriculture, with Daniel

Chapman as the Vice-Chairman. The purpose of the Commission was to advise the government on the future development of the University College of Gold Coast. One of the Commission's terms of reference was about the conversion of the Kumase College of Technology into a University of Science and Technology (Ashby: 89 and July: 169–70). This body included “three scholars from England, two from United States of America, one from the USSR and one African from Sierra Leone (Ashby: 89). Nana Kwabena Nketsia and Thomas Hodgkin served as joint Secretaries of the Commission.

In May 1961, the commission submitted its report, which was enacted into law by the Parliament on July 1, 1961 (July: 170). The statute stipulated two main principles regarding the relationship between the State and the University. On one level, the government urged the university to create curricula that “respond to the immediate and future needs of the community;” the second level gave the universities the “autonomy in their organization, teaching and research” (Ashby: 89). The most significant aspect of the new policy was that teaching should be based upon those areas “which are of special relevance to the needs and aspirations of Ghanaians, including the furtherance of African unity” (Ibid: 90).

In addition to these guidelines, the law created a new structure of government consisting of a Chancellor, the head of state, Vice-Chancellor, to be appointed by the president of the republic, and the University Council, as the governing body. The law also established a National Council for Higher Education and Research under the Ministry of Education “which would plan, coordinate and finance education and research throughout the country” (Ibid: 90). Nkrumah immediately appointed Nana Dr. Kwabena Nketsia who had served as a member of the International Commission Secretariat, as the Interim Vice-Chancellor.

Nkrumah's appointment of Nana Nketsia's successor, Conor Cruise O'Brien, was against the advice of Thomas Hodgkin (July: 173), who preferred an African. But Nkrumah, according to July, “greatly admired O'Brien's actions in Katanga affairs and clearly regarded him as a person of unimpeachable academic credentials who would also understand Nkrumah's own objectives in higher education” (Ibid: 173). According to McFarland & Owusu-Ansah, O'Brien was an “admirer of Nkrumah's socialism and anti-imperialism” (1985:135).

The question that arises, is how far did the new law lead to the intellectual decolonization that Nkrumah envisioned? How was the appointment of O'Brien reflective of national independence and the African unity agenda? How did this structural severance from the British tradition ensure an African-centered curriculum, in terms of the intellectual location of the British-trained Ghanaian professors? What purpose was served by retaining the Departments of Classics and English, and the so-called of Department of Modern Languages: French, Russian, and Spanish? Why did the new policy not lead to the creation of departments of African languages such as Hausa, Wolof, Zulu, Ga-Adamgbe, Yoruba and Kiswahili? Why did the governing body retain medieval British traditions, such as the administration of residential halls, “Trinity,” “Michaelmas” and “Lent” for the terms, the wearing of gowns to meet one's residential tutor and to attend high dinner on Sundays preceded by Christian grace (prayers), the attachment of Euro-Christian churches to every hall of residence, and maintenance of students' rooms by university staff? The answer to these questions can be found in the

following words of Macaulay: "a class of person" African "in blood, and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect" (Ashby: 2).

Was it then surprising when in 1964, the invincibility of British cultural nationalism and its attendant anti-Nkrumah's cultural policy within the university became apparent? The anti-Nkrumah's cultural policy in the campus that invited responses from the newspaper, the *Ghanaian Times* and a demonstration on the campus by the public evidenced the weakness of the government's stature of July 1, 1961. In its editorial, the *Ghanaian Times* charged that the universities "have become the fountain heads of reaction and fertile grounds for imperialist and neo-colonialist subversion and counter-revolution" (Ibid: 93). The editorial and probably Nkrumah's own public pronouncements generated a demonstration on the campus by people from the outside, including the market women. According to Abdallah, Nkrumah expressed his exasperation with the university "when he was talking to the market women in Accra." The women went with "brooms to sweep the people out of what they referred to as the backward institution," Abdallah added. Consequently, "six faculty members were deported for indulging in subversive activities" (Ibid: 93).

In Nketia's view, Nkrumah's emphasis on the importance of relating academic research to the African culture should not have led to a conflict between the government and university. What he understood Nkrumah as saying was that "the University of Ghana should not be an ivory tower organization," so that "the gowns [could] move to the town." In the United States, for instance, "what they do in the university reflects the culture and the achievement of the society; and what Nkrumah expected of us was to do the same," Nketia explained.

It was against this background that the creation of the Institute of African Studies and its performing arts unit, the School of Music and Drama at the University of Ghana must be viewed. As Nketia explained, the establishment of the Institute of African Studies resulted from the recommendations of the International Commission that Nkrumah set up. Whether or not the commission devised some guidelines for the Institute could not be ascertained.

THE INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES

It must be recalled that Blyden's discourse on African personality preceded that of Nkrumah. Blyden took note of the effect of colonial traditions obliterating those of Africans as though they had "no poetry and philosophy." Thus:

The songs that live in our ears and are often on our lips are the songs which we heard sung by those who shouted while we groaned and lamented. They sang of their history, which was the history of our degradation. They recited their triumphs, which was the history of our humiliation. To our great misfortune, we learned their prejudices and their passion, and thought we had their aspirations and their power. Now if we are to make an independent nation—a strong nation—we must listen to the songs of our unsophisticated brethren as they sing of their history, as they tell of their traditions of the wonderful and mysterious events of their

tribal national life, of the achievements of what we call their superstitions; we must lend a ready ear to the deities of the Kroomen who pull our boats, of Pesseh and Golah men, who till our farms; we must read the compositions, rude as we may think of them, of the Mandingoes and the Vegs. (Legum, 1962:21)

Here, Blyden recognized the irreconcilable differences between the historical and cultural experiences of the Europeans and those of African people. Second, it meant that the aspirations of African people were diametrically opposed to those who had once enslaved and colonized them. The third implication was that it would be counterproductive to try to restore African personality in post-independence Africa, through the worldview of the African oppressors. Therefore, the process of restoring the African agency that underscored Nkrumah's cultural thought was to be found in Africa's own creative culture. As Anyidoho indicated in our interview, Nkrumah's cultural policies aimed at "searching for African personality through African drama, dance and music."

Nkrumah's speech, "The African Genius," in many ways resonates some of Blyden's concerns. The core canons of his cultural thought, as discussed in Chapter Three, provided the guiding principles towards the intellectual and artistic pursuits of the School of Music and Drama. The relevant ones are restated here as a framework for the criticism that follows. First, Nkrumah called for a re-interpretation and a new assessment of African past and the abrogation of Eurocentric paradigms towards to the study of African phenomena. Second, he proposed the development of an Africa-centered paradigm in the intellectual and artistic pursuits of the Institute of African Studies and the School of Music and Drama. It meant that the School's creative endeavors should be free from the propositions and presuppositions of the Western world, in the context of the National Theater Movement. In this regard, Nkrumah urged the faculty to invalidate the distortions of those Eurocentric scholars who made European studies the basis of the new assessment.

Third, Nkrumah urged the Institute of African Studies and the School to fertilize the universities and the nation with their work. Their intellectual and creative work should seek to benefit the welfare of the people, in order to solve Africa's economic, cultural, technological and scientific problems. Fourth, he saw the School of Music and Drama linking the University of Ghana closely with the National Theater Movement in Ghana. The School, he stressed, should develop new forms of dance, drama, music and creative writing out of the African traditions, which, at the same time, express the wishes and aspirations of the people. Accordingly, the School should concern itself with diffusing their creative work "in a more popular form among a wider public" (1992:18). Fifth, Nkrumah emphasized the importance of the study of achievements in classical Africa; and said it was "our duty to give them their place in our studies here" (Ibid: 20). Finally, Nkrumah called to attention the study of African arts in order to uncover the African traditional institutions and values that unite the people. Such a study, he pointed out, could illuminate Africa's historical problems, as well as provide the data for the study of Africa's ethical and philosophical ideas.

The Institute of African Studies was set up in 1962 with Thomas Hodgkin as its first director. As indicated above, he served in the Secretariat of the International Commission that Nkrumah set up to look at the university and propose how it could become a self-

governing independent university. Because of his untarnished background in African politics, Hodgkin was appointed the director on an interim basis to carry out the recommendations of the Commission. In Nketia's view, it was also politically "wise and important to have Thomas Hodgkin as the first director because the university was opposed to a larger Institute of African Studies." Prior to that, the university itself had indicated some interest in setting up an office for African studies, which was just an administrative structure that would coordinate the academic work being done in the departments, Nketia further explained. However, the university's concept of African studies was different from that of Nkrumah. His idea, according to Nketia, was a greater kind of institute, and the report of the Commission leaned towards it.

In effect, the establishment of the Institute of African Studies in the academy was part of Nkrumah's fight for total independence of Ghana. It was an organic component of his educational policy, and Nkrumah envisaged African studies to be "the catalyst for change in the university," Nketia further brought to light. As indicated above, Nkrumah, while a graduate student in the United States, was very instrumental in the creation of the African Studies Center at the University of Pennsylvania. It was at the same time that he completed the work on "Native African Tongues," a complete listing of names and pronunciation of African languages.

Nkrumah's desire was to make the Institute of African Studies an independent institution or "a university within the university;" hence, his support for the immediate appointment of twenty-eight research fellows. Nkrumah "made it semi-autonomous with its own subvention and had the freedom to its own structure. Instead of departments, the Institute created sections for social studies, linguistics, performing arts, religion, history, literature; and that was how the Institute took off," Nketia summed up, in our interview on December 26, 1996.

In his "The African Genius" speech, Nkrumah defined the Institute of African Studies's mission as recapturing and invigorating Africa's classical traditions in philosophy, history, religion and the arts to bear on post-independence Africa. Casely-Hayford before him had articulated a similar mission of an African university on African soil. He said:

I would find in such university a Chair for history; and the kind of history that I would teach would be universal history with particular reference to the part Ethiopia [i.e. Africa] has played in the affairs of the world. I would stress upon the fact that while Ramses II was dedicating temples to God of gods and secondly to his own glory, the God of the Hebrews had not yet appeared unto Moses in the burning bush; that Africa was the cradle of the world systems and philosophies, and the nursing mother of its religions. In short, that Africa has nothing to be ashamed of its place among the nations of the earth. (Anyidoho, 1992:5-6)

Asante echoes Casely-Hayford's vision when he writes that the foundations of all speculation in religion, art, science, ethics, moral customs, and aesthetics are derived from systems of knowledge found in classical Egypt. It is this African foundation, rather than the Greeks, which made a lasting impact on the Western world (Asante, 1990:47),

Therefore, "classical references are necessary as baseline frames for discussing the development of African cultural phenomena" (Ibid: 12).

Writing in *The Black African Theater and its Social Functions*, Traoré (1972:17) states that there are myths of the gods and "all the elements necessary for the birth of African theater, in much the same way that the Greek theater was born out of the cult of Dionysus, and European theater from the Christian mysteries." Thus, "if we consider that theater finds its materials mainly from the folklore," namely "an aggregate of myths, legends, tradition, stories, then we can say that a specific African theater has existed since the beginning of African civilization" (Ibid: 7).

Kennedy (1973:54) also finds that theater "flourished with all of its ritual regalia and dramatic elements in classical Ghana; the splendor and pride of the empire was evident through its music, drama and ceremonial spectacles in the empire." He further notes that classical Malian empire was also noted for its ceremonial splendor and spectacle in ritual drama and theater (Ibid: 2). Citing Robert Corney's accounts by French travelers, missionaries and colonialists, Beik summarizes forms of African theater in the savanna region of West Africa as dance including, representational ceremonies, pantomime, praise singing, "epics by griots, games, storytelling puppetry, "buffoons," and Mandingo theatre in Mali. The Mandingo theater in Mali, she adds, embodied "stories enacted by male actors and musical accompaniment by an orchestra and a choir of women" (1987:9). Based on Labouret and Mousa Travele's citation of Ibn Batoutah's account, we find a great deal of evidence showing "Mandingo civilization which shone brightly in days gone by;" and that "one should not be surprised to see unique social institutions and artistic achievements worthy of study in the area which witnessed its glory" (Traore, 1972:7).

The artistic achievements in Mali, the account goes on, find their main expression in an abundant orature comprising myths, legends, folktales, short pieces in prose or verse, rhymed or free, and finally satires. Batoutah's exposé further states:

There is no mere puppet show or exhibition of conjurer magicians and animal's charmers, as is found in certain parts of Africa, but of real with a perfect sense of plot and unity, aiming through its actors, to develop a given theme. On these grounds it can be affirmed that a Malian theatre really exists. (Ibid: 7)

As further evidence of theater tradition in pre-colonial Africa, Traoré cites Delafosse's story as follows:

Once more we were studying a work dedicated to the dramatic adventures of the Fulbe Hore, Samba Guiladio Diégui, Equibea when [sic] the administrator, expressed some doubts as to the existence of anything pertaining to theatre art among Black Africans. The interpreter, Mousa Travele, who was present during the conversation, affirmed that this art was indeed practiced in Mali, and in support of this, he showed the administrator the scenario of a comedy which he had seen performed in his country. On 2 November 1915, he sent me a copy of the scenario. (Ibid: 8)

In addition, traces of theater in manuscripts including the “quadicas” verses written in Fulbe, Hausa, Songhai, in Arabic script and metre” found “in Futa Toro, and the Futa Jallon in Massina and in Nigeria, preceded colonialism (Ibid: 12). Puppet theater of a high degree of originality was popular among the Somonos in Niger, Senegal and the Akan type in Awa in Southern Nigeria (Ibid: 16–17).

Above all is the classical Egyptian drama and theater, from which the Greek's got their theater in honor of Dionysius. Herodotus' Histories affirms that Western theater resulted from Greece's contact with Egypt. Writing on “Ritual Mode,” Zaria Ife cites Badge's description of Osirian drama in the following words:

The Mysteries of Osiris and Isis were a series of Miracle Plays in which all the events of life, death, mummification, resurrection, and enthronement of Osiris as king of the Order World and God of the dead were produced mimically. At Abydos all these mysteries were directed by a chief priest who was, of course a learned man, and he was assisted by a number of priests of various lower grades. In some of the acts the public were allowed to take part, and thus the performance of the Osiris cycle of the Mysteries tended to the edification of all classes. (1993:41)

It is this centrality of the supernaturals in drama and theater in Greece that affirms its Egyptian ancestry. Herodotus, in his Book II, for instance, states that “the Egyptian first brought into use the names of the twelve gods, which the Greeks took over from them, and were the first to assign alters and images and temples to the gods, and to carve figures in stone” (1954:103). He also points out that “the names of nearly all the Gods [Heracles included] came to Greece from Egypt” (Ibid: 122). In the city of Meroe in Ethiopia, for instance, “the inhabitants worship Zeus and Dionysus alone of the gods” (Ibid: 113). Furthermore, it was Melampus, the son of Amytheon, who “introduced the name Dionysus into Greece,” together with festival, the phallic procession and sacrifice in his honor (Ibid: 122).

Like religion and philosophy, the models and history of African drama and theater had existed in classical Africa and in pre-colonial African societies. And Nkrumah's speech “The African Genius” gave a clear direction as to research into the African past in order to develop Africa's own models in drama and theater. His “vision was his ability to see things in a new light all the time,” Nketia concluded.

THE NKETIA FACTOR

Professor J.H.Kwabena Nketia became the director of the Institute of African Studies in October 1965. Graduating from Oxford University, he was the first person to be appointed by the university in 1952 as a Research Fellow in African Studies at the Department of Sociology. At the time, Professor K.A.Busia had proposed setting up a unit for African studies with special focus on archeology, history and sociology, but it was to no avail. In the midst of frustration, he asked for a research fellowship of which the university approved. It was out of these efforts by Busia that Nketia's appointment as

a Research Fellow was made possible. His status was the same as the rest of the teaching faculty.

The scope of Nketia's research covered the wider field in African studies with special reference to African music, dance and their related arts. He accomplished his research by tape recordings. His research culminated in the publication of his first book, *Funeral Dirges of the Akan People*, published in 1955. This was followed by *Drumming in Akan Communities*, *African Music in Ghana* and *Folk Songs of Ghana*. These publications preceded the establishment of the Institute of African Studies.

Performing the role of deputy director, Nketia was consulted and kept abreast of every development, including copies of all letters that Hodgkin sent to Nkrumah. Because of Nketia's scholarship, Hodgkin suggested that he create a section in the institute for the arts. This gave rise to the idea of creating a music program and its related arts in the institute, as well as the national dance company, as originally conceived by Nkrumah. It was also at the urging of Nana Kwabena Nketsia that Professor Nketia wrote to Nkrumah about their plans to set up a school of music and drama, which Nkrumah approved without hesitation. It was within this framework that the School of Music and Drama was established. Nketia assumed full administrative and academic responsibilities of the School until he became the Director of the Institute in 1965. He remained the director of the School, the Ghana Dance Ensemble and the Institute of African Studies.

THE OPOKU FACTOR

Professor Mawere Opoku was a trained artist and an art teacher. Prior to the establishment of the dance program, Opoku was frequently brought from the Kumase Institute of Technology to do extension work in drama and dance at the Institute. He hailed from the Mawere family in the Asante Kingdom; in this family, expertise in dance is extremely important. He grew up in an area where knowledge of the court was part of the training. That is why the Ghana Dance Ensemble was fed on traditional materials, Nketia explained. Opoku and Nketia used to observe Spanish dance and other dances when they were students in England. The "idea was not to take those dances and substitute them for our traditional dances. It was to see how other people express themselves in their own dance forms, including the use of space," Nketia recalled.

Therefore, Opoku, Nketia continued, had long had the mission of restoring the African dances. He began this at the Asanteman Cultural Center in Kumase, where civil servants and teachers went after work to learn Akan dances like Adowa and Fontonfrom. They mastered these dances so that they could perform them at funerals. In fact, an Arts Council's document shows that the Asanteman Cultural Center had proposed establishing a school in the African arts (NAG/RG3/7/246).

As indicated above, Opoku was part of the team responsible for the traditional African dance and music performances in connection with Ghana's Independence Day anniversaries. It was due to the success of the annual Independence Day performances that "Nkrumah had the idea of having a national dance company," Opoku told me. The problem that arose was whether or not the membership should reflect one ethnic or the national character. Mr. Philip Gbeho and Dr. Seth Cudjoe wanted the traditional performers to constitute each company. But Opoku and Nketia opposed the idea; they

opted for young men and women from different ethnic groups who had the aptitude for dancing so that they could be trained at the University of Ghana. Mawere Opoku, for instance, strongly opposed the idea of temporary ethnic dance companies, to “dismiss them and then bring in another group to perform for a while, as was the case of the Guinea Ballet,” he recalled.

Opoku's pioneering leadership in the national dance company also manifested itself in the location of the company. He convinced Nkrumah to situate the training and the administration of the company in an academic environment. “In order to have that, it has to be attached to a university or a place of higher learning,” he explained to Nkrumah. “Why?” Nkrumah asked. “Kwame, it is very simple. In the traditional African educational system, dance is a must for the highly educated person; he must be a good dancer. In songs and movements, the social etiquette, that is where you see these things,” Opoku further explained in our interview on January 6, 1997. “You're right,” he quoted Nkrumah. According to Opoku, Nkrumah wanted the company to be situated in Kumase, because of its centrality to the country. Once more, Opoku's idea prevailed after raising logistical concerns such as state events, where the dance company would be needed to perform.

The idea of an academic program in dance, Nketia disclosed, came after Nkrumah had requested the company to travel to Malawi in connection with its independence. With Opoku's background, it was possible to start a certificate course for some of the promising members of the dance company. In October 1964, Nketia and Opoku developed a curriculum for dance as a valid academic discipline for the academic board. A Certificate in Dance preceded a three-year diploma, with special minor thesis in African music and dance. The first successful candidates for the Certificate course included Ampofo Duodu, William Adinku, Helen Mensah, Lily Acquah-Harrison, Godfrey Odokwei Sackeyfio and Victor Klotey. In October, 1965, they proceeded to pursue the Diploma Course in Dance (Adinku, 1994:7–8).

Mawere Opoku's approach to the selection of dances from different ethnicities was “to unify the country” through the “dance forms, thereby underscoring Nkrumah's drive for a unified nation and a unitary government. Besides his background in Asante dances, he was introduced to other traditional dances at Achimota College, “where ethnic dances were encouraged, and Nkrumah was also a student there at the time,” Opoku disclosed. This was one of the reasons why the dance section of the School of Music and Drama was also fed on traditional dance forms.

THE SUTHERLAND FACTOR

Early in nineteen fifties, Efua Sutherland visited and spoke to Nketia and Busia at the Department of Sociology, as well as to J.B.Danquah and Michael Dei-Anang about the promotion of African writings and theater. She found an outlet in the New Year's School where she read her poems. It was at this time that Molson of the Ministry of Information published her collection of poems, which eventually led to the birth of the Ghana Society of Writers. It was also while she joined the research team at the Institute of African Studies that she helped found the *Okyeame* in 1963 as a literary magazine, Nketia explicated.

Efua Sutherland “came from a different background and had some knowledge about theater in the western form, yet she had a mission to produce African drama,” Nketia indicated. Like the Afrocentric scholars—Barbara and Carlton Molette—Sutherland saw the need to develop concepts that best suit African worldview, and avoid the confusion as to what is realism, tragedy, dark comedy, melodrama, dance-drama, surrealism and naturalism. She deftly enunciated the confusions that are created by imposing these Eurocentric concepts upon African dramatic expressions, describing them as clash of concepts which results from “...an insistence on using foreign terminology to describe African dramatic experiences. She explicated:

Each African language has precise and indigenous terms for its dramatic concepts and conventions. Outside of a small sprinkling of people, the words drama, theatre, stage, audience etc. are foreign words and incompatible in Africa. (Molette, 1986:73)

These statements were precisely what Nkrumah meant when he urged the Institute to carry out its intellectual and artistic work in African-centered ways. This also explains why Sutherland objected to the Eurocentric content of children's books. Hence, she decided to develop a body of dramatic literature for both children and the general public (July: 74–75). She had founded the Ghana Experimental Theater in 1958 alongside the Ghana Society of Writers. Also, she was very instrumental in the construction of the Ghana Drama Studio with the help of the government and started producing African drama. While serving as Senior Research Associate at the Institute of African Studies she helped create the Atwia Kodzidan (Theater) in the Central Region for its residents.

As part of the creation of the School of Music and Drama, Sutherland engaged herself in research on African drama. Her main interest was in applied research, Nketia pointed out. Materials resulting from her research had to be translated into creative productions. Secondly, she had some notions “about how drama courses should be taught, but she was more interested in the production aspect,” Nketia clarified.

Additionally, she requested people in Greater Accra to bring their children to the Institute where she taught them songs. It was with these children that she made the song “Opete Opete” popular, Nketia recalled.

Efua Sutherland, Anyidoho told me, experimented with what she called the “text production.” This was a production put together at the University of Ghana, which was then taken outside the campus to Aburi to be tested on the local people for its effectiveness. Because it was done in Twi, “the audience identified with” it “as coming from their own traditions;” they represented all the cross sections “of the community, including those with Western education as well as those with traditional education in the arts. The audience served as the jury,” Anyidoho further explained.

In the training of actors in the school, Sutherland (195:2) found that they were “faced with a serious frustration of their talents when they performed in English.” To this end, she saw the need to “build up their capacity to turn that language into a more natural vehicle.” But noting that the use of Akan language had led to the widespread popularity and patronage of the Concert Party in the country, Sutherland declared in her *The Second Phase: A Review of the National Theater Movement*, that “the time is Ripe ...for a bold

launching of new programmes in Theatre in Akan or another major Ghanaian language” (Ibid: 14).

Sutherland was one of the original members of the Arts Council of Gold Coast. She is popularly acclaimed the mother of the National Theater Movement of Ghana. In 1965, she wrote *The Second Phase*, a critical review of the National Theater Movement for the benefit of the performing arts institutions, and other establishments like the Ghana Film Corporation, Ghana Broadcasting and Television, and the Ministry of Education.

THE DE GRAFT FACTOR

Jeo de Graft was head of the English department at Mfantsipim Secondary School from 1955 to 1960. During this period, he developed a drama course and directed the school's Drama Laboratory (Agovi, 1992:134). As indicated in Chapter Six, he was one of the original members of the Arts Council of Gold Coast. In 1960, he took another teaching position in the English department at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in Kumase. It was around this time that Efua Sutherland arranged for him to travel to Accra to direct plays at the Ghana Drama Studio; he was appointed to the Institute of African Studies a year later. With his background, “we started thinking about how we could make drama a formal course.” Eventually, the Certificate course was developed at the Drama Studio, and was eventually made “an official university course,” Nketia explained.

But while Nketia and Sutherland were searching for an African drama, de Graft “was more interested in play analysis and interpretation,” Nketia said. It became a dominant thing for him, which was based on Western apparatus,” Nketia added. Because he “was not a traditional person,” his “concept of African plays,” Nketia indicated, “was having a modern set-up.” He disliked “all those traditional things in his plays.” This was manifested in his first play, “Sons and Daughters,” to which Nketia referred to as a “drawing room play.” The play is “set up like a drawing room,” with a “living room...contemporary furniture, radiogram with a built-in record player, radio and sound system.” In this case, “the players come to the stage with a tennis racket,” as though they are in England. The entire “scenes and actions take place in the living room like in Western plays; whereas in African life many things happen outdoors,” Nketia pointed out. His second play, “Through a Film Darkly”“ followed the same drawing room pattern, Nketia indicated. Unfortunately, this drawing room has become a legacy. The drama section of the School of Performing Arts, and the Ghana Broadcasting television theater have followed the model, Nketia regretted.

Agovi (Ibid: 135) affirms this when he writes that de Graft's “fondness for Shakespeare” became “a significant factor in his career.” Accordingly, he was “unmoved in his love for Shakespeare's plays, since he was still active in producing and acting in plays of the English classics, and School Certificate plays.” This, Agovi further points out, “prevented him from a total allegiance to the African theater;” hence, he was not affected by the strong nationalist aspiration of the National Theater Movement.

Though de Graft, in late 1960s, started developing sympathy for the aspirations of cultural nationalism, “he did so with caution and circumspection,” (Ibid: 135). But, while his work appeared to uphold “the aspirations of the National Theater Movement,” Agovi

(Ibid: 138) notes, his “personal convictions and ideas were completely at odds with the ideology of the movement.” Cited by Agovi, de Graft explained his philosophy of life as follows:

Modern dramatists are fundamentally individuals with a fierce pride in their individual effort, their unique ideas, their artistic integrity, and their achievement.... One must be able to come to terms with human life from one's own distinctive perception of it. To me, the important thing is not coming in solidly on the side of any particular movement. (Ibid: 136 and 138)

Certainly, this view is antithesis to the African collective consciousness and egalitarian mode of life that underscored the thrust of Nkrumah's cultural policy, specifically the role of the School of Music and Drama in the National Theater Movement.

THE SCHOOL OF MUSIC AND DRAMA

There were two issues in the conception of the School of Music and Drama. First, Nkrumah wanted to recognize the pioneering work of Dr. Ephriam Amu, “long before the Institute of African Studies came into being.” He called Amu and said: “I would like you to form a committee to plan for an Academy of African Music,” Nketia recalled. Nketia was a member of the committee that was set up. The committee met several times and sent its reports to the Flagstaff House. Had the proposal met with the vision of Nkrumah, he would have set up the first Academy of African Music. But Amu's ideas were too narrow for Nkrumah. According to Nketia, Amu's idea was to situate “the academy somewhere in the Akuapem area” instead of Accra, Nketia remembered. At the time, Amu was teaching at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology.

The other issue concerns the initiatives by the Arts Council of Ghana. On November 27, 1961, the Executive Secretary of Arts Council, Mr. Carpenter, invited Nketia, Efuia Sutherland and Kofi Antubam to meet with Nana Kobina Nketsia to discuss the possibilities of co-operation “between the Arts Council...and proposals for the establishment of a National Orchestra and an academy of Music and Drama” (NAG/RG3/7/33:1b). In addition, Mr. Carpenter, in a memo of June 3, 1961, raised the issue of the formation of a national dance company, stating that “a start can be made as soon as budget allocation is known.” The memo expressed concerns about the growing need for accommodation, classes and rehearsals in anticipation of the national dance company and the national orchestra. It also pointed to a request made to the Ministry of Education seeking a maintenance grant for boarding “and lodging at the university for the students” (NAG/RG3/7/33). In another letter, dated June 22, 1961, from Carpenter to the Ministry of Education, the Council arranged for two residential training courses to be held at the University College at Legon. One course was designed for stage lighting, stage management, and set design, while the other course was planned for choirmasters. The cost of boarding and lodging at Akafo Hall for approximately twenty-two weeks' duration totaled £G840 (Ibid: 2).

But Nkrumah's vision of African Academy of School of Music and Drama did not come to fruition until Nketia and others within the University of Ghana started agitating for a drama program that would be separate from the English department. Within this framework "some of us thought we should have a School of Music and Drama. Nana Dr. Kwabena Nketsia was then the Interim Vice-Chancellor." Thus, "Nana and I thought we could have the school. Nana came to me after we had managed to get the Academic Board to accept the possibility of an African drama course being set up in the Institute of African Studies," Nketia recalled. Within the arts section, a two-year diploma course in African music for people with impressive academic training in Western music, had been created. The first recruits included Asiama, Annin and Fiagbedzi. The drama and dance sections came later.

Prior to this, the English department had already proposed establishing a drama program that was to be independent of the English department. It was to continue with the Shakespeare tradition; "but, we in the institute," Nketia explained, argued for an African drama. The idea of recognizing African drama already existing in African society was a big problem within the academic community. Research on African drama to satisfy the academic board was not available at the time. But Nketia wrote a compelling curriculum on drama and theater studies course and presented it to the academic board, It had to justify African drama as a valid discipline, thereby making it possible for the proposed drama program for the English department to be a part of the school, On the basis of that argument, "the academic board agreed to create a School of Music and Drama with an African component." Subsequently, "I wrote to Nkrumah saying that we are setting up a School of Music and Drama, and he could be the patron. Without delay, the letter came back "approved" with Nkrumah's signature, Nketia proudly recalled.

Consequently, Nkrumah directed Nketia "to Oko and see what kind of funds could be made available; it was not easy," Nketia again recalled. "It was while we were working on it that Nana Nketsia was withdrawn from the university as the Interim Vice-Chancellor and was given another position as the director of the new Institute of Arts and Culture," he disclosed. Through the Institute of Arts and Culture under Nana Nketsia a subvention was devised by the government and was made available for the development of the School. Therefore, it was through the subvention, and not the initiative of the Institute of Arts and Culture that the School came under the former.

The School of Music and Drama was opened in October 1962 at the University of Ghana with three objectives, contained in the Institute of African Studies' "Regulation and Syllabuses for Non-Degree Courses." First, it was "intended to serve as school for University courses in Music, Dance and Drama." Second, it was to serve "as a place where the results of research into the arts of Africa undertaken in the Institute of African Studies can be applied, both in regular courses and in special training for the Institute of Arts and Culture." Third, it was to serve as a focus within the University for the performing arts.

Nonetheless, the Institute of Arts and Culture viewed the establishment of the Institute of African Studies and School of Music and Drama at the University of Ghana as strengthening its provisions. The provisions included the study of music, dance and drama in the School with an enrollment of eighty-five students, and the Institute of African Studies' Master of Arts degree in African Music, Drama and Literature (NAG/RG3/733:58).

In Nketia's view, the mission of the School of Music and Drama, like the Ghana Dance Ensemble, was to influence the direction of the National Theater Movement through its training programs. It meant that the School needed to create models for theaters in every village and town in order to give the highest expression of African personality. And through his speech, "The African Genius," Nkrumah expected the School to provide the movement with intellectual, artistic and technical leadership, Nketia stated.

At the time Nkrumah inaugurated the Institute with his speech, "The African Genius," the Institute had already been set up. In part, the speech reflected the kind of policy that had been worked out, and which was in line with the thinking of the International Commission members. It was also in line with what Nkrumah envisaged as the role of African studies in the university. But there was no model for what Nkrumah envisaged, Nketia explained. This, in Nketia's view, explains the shortcomings of the School of Music and Drama. The aftermath of colonialism, he argued, impeded the process of translating the people's experiences into something new. It was not easy for the Institute as well as the School to disengage itself totally from everything associated with colonialism, he pointed out.

One must also realize that Nkrumah was operating in an environment in which the importance of African culture, especially the place of African music, dance and drama in the academy was beginning to be acknowledged by some intellectuals in the country, Nketia pointed out. But the question is, did not most intellectuals who had studied Shakespearean plays in colleges, and probably listened to Beethoven and Bach's compositions on Radio Ghana around ten o'clock in the evenings, oppose the establishment of the School? Did they not resist the thought of African materials in the School's curriculum, which they and their students could not conceive as valid discipline in the academy? As Ashby (1964:61) indicates, some of the intellectuals, especially the British trained, "were allergic to the proposals for incorporating African studies into the curriculum. They said to disarm us intellectually was to substitute Arab and African languages for classics or to regard oral traditions as legitimate materials for scholarship."

CONCLUSION

July (1978:165) writes that "what is far less clear is that there was no intelligence at work, that Nkrumah was hopelessly muddled as to objective and the means to achieve it," during his administration. "That the shortfall was not more in the execution than the conception," he continues. "Ghana," he added, "may have collapsed under the weight of inexperience and incompetence." Perhaps, it would have been helpful to the course of African liberation had July directed these statements at the British colonial government that ruthlessly and unintelligently submerged the African personality and viewed Africans as ahistorical people. Second, it is clear from the above that there were systematic cultural policies in the attempt to combat the atrocities of colonialism in Ghana.

Even if Nkrumah's cultural policy between 1960 and 1966 was unable to Africanize the content of the curricula of the school system at the time, his educational policies gave opportunities to millions of children, including this author to excel in the field of

education. For instance, based on my official duty as a researcher in 1971, I discovered that the thirty-nine (39) engineers, who were managing the Akosombo hydroelectric plant, were trained at the Kwame University of Science and Technology. In fact, Nkrumah's projects and programs, or policies I uncovered during my research for this book, were based on committees' reports composed of experts. These unfair statements, therefore constitute grave insults to the integrity of the many respectable and dignified Ghanaians and Africans in the Diaspora, who played key roles in the formulation and implementation of Nkrumah's cultural and socio-economic policies. They include: Honorable Kojo Botsio, Dr. Frimpong Ansah, Nana Ayirebe Ackwah, Professor J.H. Nketia, Nana Dr. Kwabena Nketsia, Madam Efua Sutherland, Dr. Oku Ampofo, Phillip Gbeho, Professor William Abraham, Dr. Leticia Obeng, Justice Akua Ayisi Asabea, Dr. M.N.Tetteh, George Padmore, Rev. Dr. J.A. Stephens, Dr. Robert Lee, Honorable J.H.Mensah and Dr. W.E.B.Du Bois.

The establishment of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana was the first major indication of intellectual decolonization process in Ghana. It was also a major contribution to the works of the unsung philosophers and keepers of African oral traditions like storytellers, musicians, dancers, griots/Jele and akyeame. They include: Dr. Kwegyr Aggrey, Ato Ahuma, Dr. J.B.Danquah, Bankole Awoonor-Williams, Okyeame Bofo Akufo, Dr. Seth Cudjoe, John Mensah Sarbah, Dr. Oku Ampofo, Madam Efua Sutherland, Dr. Ephraim Amu, Professor A.Mawere Opoku and Professor J.C.de Graft, all of Ghana.

According to Nketia, an African-centered perspective "was our goal, discovering Africa." But in the School of Music and Drama, "we had problems because performing arts institutions existing in Europe did not only become the models; they became the choice." It was therefore not surprising that European derived theories of drama and texts came to serve as universal framework in the play analysis and interpretation courses. With the exception of a few music students like Moses Kena, Kojo Brew, Kwasi Aduonum, Asante Darkwa and William Komla Amoako, most of the music students were more interested in the practice of church hymns, and compositions by Mozart, Beethoven and Bach than African-centered compositions by Amu and Nketia. In fact, Amoako and Aduonum were the only music students found practicing African percussion instruments.

But, the lapses in the School's training program in the context of the National Theater Movement as conceived by Nkrumah, primarily resulted from the original conception of the university, and the legacy of its first principal, David Balme. It was he who originally conceived of the University College as a universal center of higher learning enshrined with the social function of a university in medieval Europe. Joe de Graft's indifference towards African drama manifested this legacy.

However, the shortcomings of the School of Music and Drama, by no means, invalidate the virility of Kwame Nkrumah's cultural policy. The repertoire of the Ghana Dance Ensemble and its performances, under the great and Africa's first Artistic Director of Dance Theater, Professor Mawere Opoku marked the highest expression of African personality that Nkrumah envisioned. The performances of the *Atenteben* Ensemble, under the visionary and Africa's first music scholar, Emeritus Professor J.H.Nketia, also marked the highest accomplishment at the time. Both Ensembles performed often together. Furthermore, Efua Southland's experimental, dramatic productions in the Twi language, as well as her Afrocentric story-telling theater at Atwia were unprecedented.

They were great models for the country. Madam Efua Sutherland, undoubtedly, was the Mother of the National Theater Movement.

Nkrumah's cultural policy also restored the value of African music, dance and drama as valid academic disciplines. In fact, the establishment of the School of Music and Drama as a unit in the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana was a major breakthrough. It defied the notion of a university education among some African intellectuals as exclusive of the performing arts. The Institute and School were viewed as "bastards" and "dondology" on the university campus as Awoonor recalled. But the revolutionary stands of Nana Dr. Kwabena Nketsia, Professor J.H Nketia and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah triumphed in making the university one of the leading intellectual and cultural centers in the world. I conclude this chapter with the words of Professor Mawere Opoku, which best affirms the fulcrum of Nkrumah's culture of politics. He wrote:

For a deeper insights to African culture, our labour, material culture, aspiration, history, social and economic conditions, religious and economic conditions, moments of festivity and sadness, life, soul and the realities, perceived, conceived or felt, that make us the people, are revealed to the serious seeker in our dance. (1967:9)

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

Today, Ghana, like many other African countries, is beset with complex social, economic and political problems. During the Kwame Nkrumah's era, the magnitude of control of the national economy and political decisions, since February 24, 1996, by international finance capital was not permitted. Since his era, no African leader has had his vision, in terms of the struggle against neo-colonialism, cultural basis of socio-economic and political transformation, political unification of Africa, and the restoration of African personality through the theater.

Yet, when this frightful situation causes some Ghanaians to reminisce the socio-economic advancement and the Pan-African cultural climate in Nkrumah's Ghana, the statement often heard is that "the man has died, and we should forget about his ideas." The irony is that these same people tend to argue for the 1776 Adam Smith's theory of "free market" *laissezfaire* theories. His seminal book, *Wealth of Nations* published in 1799 with its emphasis on eliminating geographical constraints for economic growth, became the driving force behind the colonization of African, and eventual submergence of the cultural personality of the African.

The categories of socio-political, education and theater constitute the ontological dimensions of Nkrumah's politico-cultural thought and policies. As discussed in the anterior chapters, Nkrumah had a holistic politico-cultural thought that was reflected in many of his speeches and major works. Unlike Eurocentric scholarship, Nkrumah's politico-cultural thought underscored his social, political, economic and Pan-African agenda. Any attempt to isolate them will, therefore, render Nkrumah's ideas and works incomprehensible.

As a nationalist leader, Nkrumah possessed a profound idea of the value of culture and the intersection of culture and politics in the anti-colonial struggle in Ghana. The primary thrust of culture, he understood, is to abolish oppressive conditions and establish a better relation with nature, society and people. He viewed his existence as a product of history, thereby keeping the flame of his predecessors' proactive response to European colonialism. The nationalist movement, the Convention People's Party he led, came to serve as the organized expression of the people's culture. Thus, his party's resistance to colonialism was an act of culture, since it proceeded from the knowledge of African personality and all the values there attached.

Following Ghana's national independence, Nkrumah saw an urgent need for the resurgence of the intrinsic values in African culture in the context of socio-economic liberation of Africa from the Western capitalist mold. The socio-political or philosophical aspect of his cultural thought resulted from this cultural resurgence. In *Consciencism*, Nkrumah took cognizance of the differences between the concept of humanity in traditional Africa and what he calls Euro-Christian dogma. Primarily, the human being in

traditional Africa, he contends, is regarded as a spiritual being endowed, not with original sin as in Christian doctrine, but with a certain inward dignity, integrity and value.

Nkrumah's theoretical argument for the construction of scientific socialism based on the original value of humanity, communalistic social relations of production in pre-colonial Africa is thus a natural progression. For, it was this communal and social relation of production in traditional Africa that made it impossible for antagonistic classes of a Marxian kind to arise. Therefore, the thrust of his Philosophical Consciencism is clearly not a Marxist critique of colonialism as concluded by some critics. Rather, his conceptual framework concerning scientific socialism is largely informed by the ethical and humanist values in traditional Africa, with Marxist social analysis as enrichment. Secondly, it also draws from Africa's experience with Europe, in terms of the impact of capitalist exploitation of the Africa as well as Europe's anti-African personality warfare.

Philosophical Consciencism thus resulted from centuries of struggles against alien cultural and ethical values which Nkrumah found to be an antithesis to those of traditional Africa. First, the principles, which inform capitalism, are in conflict with the humanist values and egalitarianism of the traditional African society. Second, this new social thought, Nkrumah maintains, is rooted in the high ideals underlying the traditional African society, in terms of interdependence, collective responsibility and concern for all as opposed to individual and sectional interest. Third, its intellectual perspective finds its weapon in the environment and living conditions of the African people. Fourth, the Western and Islamic segments must be accommodated only as experiences of Africa and not an African experience. Therefore, Philosophical Consciencism opens up all the questions of ethical basis of society, of the relevance of its inherited institutions and of the cultural basis of the nation-states. Above all, it courageously tackled the problem of ideologies that underscored the differing nationalist movements on the continent. Lastly, it marks the first major attempt at formulating scientific socialism based on Africa's experience with Europe.

Some critics have argued that Nkrumah's socio-political thought failed to offer a convincing scientific analysis of the social structure and economic foundations for a united Africa. In doing so, they fail to offer any alternative model to Nkrumah's insistence on placing Africa's humanist and ethical values, and egalitarian social relations at the center of post-independence social analysis. In fact, Nkrumah's socio-political and cultural panorama fit well with the new African national cultural agenda that Fanon, Toure and Cabral so well articulated. Culture, they argued, constitutes an accumulation of immaterial and philosophical tool for liberation, mastering of nature and building a better society. Nkrumah's position was that the restitution of African humanist principle of society lies in socialism. Thus, under socialism, the study and master of nature has a humanist impulse directed not toward profiteering, but the affording of ever-increasing satisfaction for the material and spiritual needs of the greater number of the African people (Nkrumah, 1970a:76).

That there was class struggle in Africa after independence is manifested in the attitude of the African elites, some paramount "chiefs," the top echelons of the civil service administration, armed forces, police services, trading and mining firms, merchants, lawyers and the intelligentsia. The interest of this indigenous bourgeoisie lay in the preservation of the capitalist social and economic structures, which they enjoyed during colonialism; hence, they found Nkrumah's politico-cultural philosophy and policies very

repugnant. Though they were numerically small, and lacked the financial and political strength, their close tie-up with the finance capital and business interest in the highly industrialized countries gave them an illusion of being economically strong. Many of these were employed by foreign firms and thus had a stake in the continuance of the economic exploitation of Africa.

As the antecedent discussions show, Nkrumah's socio-political and cultural thoughts are inseparable. The core values in African culture underscore the thrust of his socio-political philosophy, while the latter was inextricably linked with his cultural agenda in Ghana. Furthermore, any discourse on the historical aspects of his politico-cultural thought should be understood in the context of his Pan-African political project.

For Nkrumah, the mere attainment of national independence could not ensure cultural emancipation, unless it is rooted in Africa's historical and cultural experience with Europe. His politico-cultural thought negates the subordinate status to which the African phenomena had been reduced by the aggressive ethnocentric and hegemonic ideology of Europe. Central to this aspect of his politico-cultural thought is his conceptualization of African personality. He took cognizance of the impact of Eurocentric denial of African humanity on the African. Nkrumah decried as a malicious myth the Eurocentric scholarship that had distorted and omitted Africa from world history. Of particular concern is Hegel's denial of African humanity in his *Philosophy of History*, which, in the words of Ngugi (1986:31), "gives historical, philosophical and rational legitimacy to every conceivable European racist myth about Africa."

This brings us to the institutional aspect of his politico-cultural thought, which gives scope to intellectual strategy for social and economic development. Combined with his social philosophy, the institutional aspect of Nkrumah's cultural thought stimulated and created intellectual atmosphere for the establishment of the Arts Council of Ghana and Institute of Arts and Culture in the society. Second, it also led to the establishment of the Institute of African Studies and its School of Music and Drama at the University of Ghana in 1962. As the study has shown, his speech, "The African Genius," offered a new aggressive and an African-centered approach to intellectual and artistic pursuits. His emphasis on the re-interpretation and new assessment of Africa's past glories and achievements was meant to inspire the new generation of Africa to make strides in all human endeavors. Also, the rescue and reconstruction of African past and achievements was to serve as a reminder of the potency of African agency. Deifying Blyden's African personality concept with a political will, Nkrumah pushed forward its restoration as a driving force in the African cultural renaissance as well as a force with which the international community must reckon. The effective forum for this task, in his vision, was the theater.

The third aspect of Nkrumah's politico-cultural thought is the relevancy of theater in the rekindling of African humanist values and resurrection of African personality. The rebirth of African culture, for him, meant the abrogation of the European association of African arts with primitivism, paganism and barbarism. He stressed not only the importance of African arts in post-independence Africa, but also viewed them as offering the key to understanding African institutions, values and the bond that unites African people. The fact that African culture and traditions survived the onslaught of European cultural nationalism, Nkrumah noted, meant that they possessed an in-born power.

Hence, theater, from Nkrumah's perspective, is an intellectual forum, artistic stimulus and a driving force behind the African cultural revolution. It was to this end that Nkrumah urged the School of Music and Drama, as the nucleus of the National Theater Movement, to develop new African-centered art forms that closely relate to the African traditions. His "The African Genius" speech offered clear principles for an African-centered university education.

The ontological aspect of Kwame Nkrumah's anti-colonial struggle was new in the country, and perhaps in Africa. Ghana's independence thus resulted from his African-centered vision, Positive Action, articulation of national grievances, nationalist agenda and uncompromising demand for "Self-Government now." Hitherto, past political activists in the Gold Coast had pursued the quest for freedom as a hobby. The UGCC, for instance, believed that the British were preparing them and their ally, the Provincial Council of Chiefs, for self-government. They also thought that through their gradual approach, the British would simply abandon their colonial ambition in the colony and hand over the country to them on a silver platter. This was a delusion, because colonialism, like the capture and enslavement of Africans in the Americas, was based on economic exploitation and the plundering of African human and natural resources for the benefit of Europe. The notion that the European colonists would end their colonial rule in Africa only when the Africans were ready to rule themselves, was not only a myth, but it was also racist, bigotry and an insult to the humanity of African people. Hence, Nkrumah pointed out in his "The Motion of Destiny" that Africans were ruling themselves before the advent of European adventures in Africa.

Through Ghana's elections of 1951, 1954 and 1956, the people repeatedly expressed their wish for a unitary form of government and a united country under Nkrumah's leadership; yet, the opposition parties refused to accept the people's verdict. Having lost their case through the ballots, they resorted to acts of terrorism, intimidation, undemocratic methods and irrational arguments to advance their parochial and ethnocentric objectives. As Nkrumah noted, "the Opposition sometimes criticized simply for the sake of causing disagreement" (1973b: 81). Prior to the 1956 election, different members of the Opposition, especially Dr. J.B. Danquah and Dr. K.A. Busia, had "associated themselves with the name Ghana and their short-lived parties had included this name in the titles," yet they turned around to attack the name Ghana when Nkrumah formally proposed it, after their defeat in the 1956 election (Nkrumah, 1957:266).

The Preventive Detention Act passed by the Parliament, and affirmed by the British Governor-General, to combat terrorism in the newly independence Ghana was a natural measure to maintain law and order, and for the consolidation of the authority of the CPP government. Alternative to this law would have been a civil war, since the NLM and NPP were bent on secessionism. The case of the armed rebellion by a faction of the Northern Ewes on the eve of Ghana's independence is a case in point. If there had been civil wars, the enormous and unparalleled social, economic, industrial, the constructions of teaching hospitals and health centers would have been impossible. The construction of several secondary schools and teacher training colleges, universities (including the current site of the University of Ghana's campus) all with accommodation for the staff, faculty and students, roads, public corporations, cultural institutions and programs, the higher level of athleticism in the country, the Akosombo Hydro-Electric Plant and its Dam achieved by Nkrumah's government, would have also gone into oblivion. Certainly, the liberation of

the rest of Africa from colonial rule, settler regimes and African unity in the twentieth century, would have been unattainable. This is manifested in Jomo Kenyatta's statement in London that Ghana's independence ended colonialism in Africa.

Nkrumah's foreign policy (outside Africa), positive neutrality and non-alignment (West and East dichotomy) were centered on Africa's interest. His policy on foreign investment was pursued in the context of Ghana's development plan. Critical to his foreign policy were his theories of "World Without Bomb" and "Hands off Africa," and his policy on Disarmament and World Peace. But, because his African-centered theory and policy appeared to threaten the capitalist objectives in Africa, Nkrumah's government became the target of Western assault in the media, as well as politico-economic destabilization campaign. His book, *Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* outraged the US government.

Nkrumah's vision and campaign for a political union of Africa was to safeguard and pool the resources of African for the benefit of African people. However, due to selfishness and a sense of insecurity and inadequacy (without their colonial masters) on the part of some of the Africa leaders, their colonial mindset, and their manipulation by imperialist forces, Nkrumah's proposals were rejected. If the failure to achieve a continental African government was due to Nkrumah's pre-mature proposals, his offensive statements and capacity to excite envy and distrust, why did it take thirty six years for African leaders, through the initiative of Muammar Qathafi of Libya, to return to his campaign? Though vindicated by the signing of the African Union government of 2001 in South Africa, the document suffers from the lack of African-centered objectives put forth by Nkrumah in 1960s.

Nkrumah's African-centered proposals for an African union government were intended to seek African solutions to African needs. Manifestations of this were Ghana's monetary and human resources to sister African countries like Guinea and Congo. Another manifestation was the training of African of freedom fighters on Ghana's soil. The open arms of Ghana to the Africans in Diaspora as well as the frequent visits by some of them, was the first of its kind in a post-independence African country. Thanks to Nkrumah's Pan-African vision, Dr. W.E.B.Du Bois' soul continues to reign high from the African soil.

Nkrumah's politico-cultural policy also resulted from his vision of the National Theater Movement, as a powerful medium for restoring African personality. The levels of his cultural policies, namely non-statutory and statutory developments, discussed in the preceding chapters were unprecedented in the history of Ghana. As noted above, the former did not require the setting up of any structures and statutory enactment; it was thus less complicated and effective.

The first level of Nkrumah's cultural policies encompassed his adept use of African symbolism and aesthetic configurations that he introduced into Ghana body politic, and which has since become a legacy in the country. His use of white handkerchief, horsetails and walking stick was in keeping with the divine role of the traditional rulers. They were also consistent with the authority of the traditional priestesses and priests. Like the Akan kings and queens, Nkrumah made very important pronouncements at dawn (known at the time as the Dawn Broadcast). He also introduced the state Okyeame and pouring of libation during public functions. National unity and the elevation of women into high offices, since colonialism were some of the cherished African cultural values Nkrumah

re-introduced in Ghana. In keeping with divine kings and queens, Nkrumah established his own theater group, "Osagyefo Players," and made it part of his presidency.

The second level of Nkrumah's cultural policies demonstrates a systematic institutional development intended to put his politico-cultural thought into practice. It illustrates in detail systematic cultural policies with the National Theater Movement as the guidepost. His vision was to have the statutory bodies resurrect and reconstruct the glorious African past, the traditional African cultural values and the restoration of African personality through theatrical presentations.

The Arts Council's regional offices emphasized the underlying unity of the country. In line with the National Theater Movement, they promoted, encouraged and supported artistic and other cultural activities in their respective regions. It held annual competitions, which culminated in the First National Festival of Music and Drama, initiated by the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, in July 1961.

The National Theater Advisory Committee set up by the government to construct a national Theater to accommodate the rapid proliferation of performing arts groups in the country did not come to fruition. Meanwhile, Efua Sutherland, working through the Arts Council of Ghana, instrumented the construction of the Ghana Drama Studio. It was during the studios' opening ceremony that Nkrumah took the opportunity to express his regret on the failure of the Arts Council of Ghana. Of particular concern was the Council's inability to impact the society with respect to his vision on the renewal of African past civilization and the African personality through the theater.

The replacement of the Arts Council of Ghana by the Institute of Arts and Culture on October 1, 1962, through Nkrumah's proposal, was to widen its scope and give it an effective direction. The institute encouraged, assisted and promoted research into the arts and culture of Ghana and Africa. It also initiated cultural programs for implementation by statutory bodies, and served as the clearinghouse for all cultural agreements between Ghana and other countries. The National Cultural Center in Kumase was among the many cultural programs that came under the umbrella of the Institute of Arts and culture.

As discussed in Chapter Seven, the School of Music and Drama at the University of Ghana resulted from the restructuring of the university and the recommendations from the International Commission to establish the Institute of African Studies. In his capacity as a research fellow and the deputy director, Nketia developed the School of Music and Drama as the performing arts component of the Institute, based on his previous research on African folklore and music at the Sociology Department. In addition to music, he cogently argued for the study of African drama with emphasis on theater studies to replace the proposed Eurocentric drama component at the English department. The role of the school, as Nkrumah enunciated, was to develop manpower for the National Theater Movement through its academic instructions. Another critical function of the school was not only to create new forms of artistic expression through research into the traditional forms as models for the entire nation, but also to recapture African genius and glorious past, ethical and human values to bear on the post-independence socio-economic transformation.

Regrettably, the African ethical and humanist values as well as the egalitarianism that informed Nkrumah's socio-economic policies have, since his ouster from office, have been replaced by Western ideology of individualism. The eventful outcome is the culture of "get rich quick," which has become the dominant mode of life in today's Ghana. The

absence of African cultural values in national policies has thus led to several social vices. Unprecedented mass misery, high unemployment, corroded health care for the people, and a sense of hopelessness have led to armed robbery, under-age prostitution and narcotic drug abuse and trafficking, which were unknown in Nkrumah's Ghana. According to Mr. Asamoah Mensah of the United Nations Drug Control Programme in 1999, "Ghanaians and Nigerians drug trafficking continue to dominate the drug scene" (ghanaweb.com/NewsArc, 4/14/99).

This tragic situation has arisen precisely because successive governments after Nkrumah have viewed culture, social, economics, politics and education as separate entities. They have since "perceived Africa's problems exclusively in the economic mold" (Agovi, 1989:6). For instance, Anyidoho noted that with the setting up of the cultural commission "one would have thought that Rawlings' government was genuinely interested about culture, but his government and those before [and after] him have not been able to make available to culture fiscal and material resources as was the case of Nkrumah's government." The policies of the National Commission on Culture and the socio-economic policies of former President Rawlings and his successor President Kufour have become polar opposites.

Absence of African cultural values in national policies has led to an unprecedented proliferation of Hollywood's violent and sexual oriented films on public televisions. There is also an unprecedented proliferation of "born-again" Christian churches with massive followers. These churches and some elected officials find the pouring of libation during public functions, especially in the presence of foreign dignitaries, embarrassing, and have called for its abrogation.

In 1998, teachers in the public schools were telling parents to speak English to their wards at home. A case in point is Osabarima Nana Adusei Peasah, IV, the king of Akyem Tafo, who told this author in August 1998 of his displeasure when one of his children's teachers urged him to speak English to his children in the palace. On April 10, 1999, one Mr. Michael Essandor was quoted as saying "that the frequent use of vernacular language at offices is not facilitating effective management." Accordingly, he "slammed a ban on the use of" Twi "at all offices in the Adansi West district in the Asante region" (ghanaweb.com/newsArc, 4/10/99). What is more, President Kufour's government, on June 20, 2002, "signed an agreement with the French government on effective learning and teaching the French language in all first cycle institutions in the country" (ghanaweb.com/newsArc, 6/20/2002) at the expense of Ghanaian languages. This policy was and still is out of sync with the objective as regards the establishment of Alliance Française in the colonies. Explaining its purpose, the French Foreign Minister at the time, Eugene Etienne stated that the extension of French language into the colonies was "a measure of national defense." Its founder, Pierre Foncin, added that "it is necessary to attach the colonies to the metropole by a very solid psychological bonds, against the day when their progressive emancipation ends in a form of federation as is probable, that they be and they remain French in language, thought and spirit" (Rodney, 1982:259). This self-imposed foreign cultural imperialism is far marginalizing the vital values in African culture in Ghana. Surprisingly, the National Commission on Culture has become insensitive to this downward trend.

The years between 1960 and 1966, Awoonor noted, were Nkrumah's most productive period. It was during this period that the forces of reaction said, "if you allow this man to

continue, he will turn things upside down not only in Ghana, but the whole of Africa,” Awoonor clarified. Therefore, Nkrumah “had to be overthrown, not because he abused white people, jailed Obitsebi Lamptey or there were shortages of sardines,” but, because “he was upsetting the imperialist agenda, so far as Africa was concerned,” Botsio and Awoonor indicated.

According to Awoonor, “the first thing the coup makers and the foreign co-conspirators [CIA] did after the coup of 1966 was to destroy the Atomic Energy.” The imperialists, he added, saw that Nkrumah was not only a man of ideas, vision, politics, but above all, he was a man of culture. Because he had drawn up the intellectual emancipation strategy to liberate the African people from the shackles of their own self-perception, inferiority complex as a people, or racial inferiority, in addition to constructing the African renaissance, they had to remove him, Awoonor elucidated. Furthermore, “since he left the scene, who has appeared on the African scene? Who has got that clarity of his time?” he asked. Awoonor’s further exegesis on the military overthrow of Nkrumah’s government, perhaps, affirms the panic of the author of the Nazi doctrines, Dr. Goebbels, who reached for his pistol upon hearing the word, culture.

At the OAU summit in Cairo 1964, Kwame Nkrumah warned his colleagues saying that:

if we do not forge the forces of unity, the structure of our unity may sooner than later be destroyed, and all of us are going to be taken up one by one; consequently, our African unity project could be destroyed. Barely two years after Nkrumah’s warning, his government was thrown out of office by the military. This was because global imperialism saw that if anybody has to be overthrown, it has to be Kwame Nkrumah. He was not talking essentially of a communist agenda; he was talking about African agenda whereby the Africans would decolonize not only their minds as a first principle, but their resources as a follow up. (Awoonor, interview: January 8, 1997)

The CIA sponsored military coup on February 24, 1966, was the result of the systematic campaign against Nkrumah’s government, especially coming after the formal opening of the Akosombo dam. According to Retired Colonel Oteng, the coup makers might not have succeeded had his counterpart at the Ghana Broadcasting Station not been pressured to surrender. Until the arrival of the Commander of the POGR, Colonel Zanleringu, Colonel Oteng was the most senior officer on duty at the time of the coup, with his men bent on defending Nkrumah’s government. Later, under the command of Colonel Zanleringu, the small band of the soldiers fought and defended the Flagstaff House, the official residence of President Kwame Nkrumah. But as Colonel Oteng further explained, they surrendered at the suggestion of the Commander of the POGR at ten o’clock on the morning of February 24, 1966. With the announcement on Ghana’s radio that Nkrumah’s government had been overthrown by Ghana Armed forces, no commander of any military unit could have successfully mobilized his forces to resist the take over. This has been the case with all military coups overthrowing civilian governments in Ghana.

With the C.I.A. sponsored military action coup of 1966, the great promises of the country’s Seven-Year Development Plan that would have totally transformed Ghana’s

social, economic, industrial, agricultural, educational and cultural programs came to a sudden halt. Perhaps, had the humiliation of the Asantes by the capture and deportation of Prempeh, I, and the subsequent Yaa Asantewa war, for instance, been presented on the stage or turned into a motion picture, Major Afrifa perhaps would have been the first to support Nkrumah's diplomatic action against Britain over Ian Smith's unilateral declaration of independence in Zimbabwe in 1965.

The current African Union, while it falls short of Nkrumah's socialist union government of Africa, has vindicated Kwame Nkrumah. As Cabral, in his homage to Nkrumah, indicates:

The African peoples and particularly the freedom fighters cannot be fooled. Let no one come and tell us that Nkrumah died from the cancer of throat or any other sickness. No, Nkrumah died from cancer of betrayal which we must tear out by the roots in Africa, if we really want to liquidate imperialist domination definitely from this continent.... But we, Africans, strongly believe that the dead remains living at our side. We are societies of the living and the dead. Nkrumah will rise again each dawn in the heart and determination of freedom fighters, in the action of all true African patriots. Nkrumah's immortal spirits preside and will preside at the judgment of history on this decisive phase in our people's lives, in lifelong struggle against imperialist domination and for the genuine progress of our continent...we are certain, absolutely certain that framed by the eternal green of the African forest, flowers of crimson like the blood of martyrs and of gold like the harvest of plenty will bloom over Kwame Nkrumah, for Africa will triumph. (Cabral, 1980:117-118)

Cabral gave his homily speech in 1972, and the last vestiges of colonialism in Africa came to a close with the release of Nelson Mandela in 1991. Yet, Africa is still clogged in the imperialist and neocolonialism mew. Kwame Nkrumah characterized this exploitative socio-economic arrangement, after the attainment of independence, as capitalism at its highest stage, with devastating impacts than classical colonialism.

The politico-cultural philosophy and policies that Nkrumah formulated and operationalized were to serve as an African-centered paradigm for the second phase of the African revolution. Critical to safeguarding the political independence was the full attainment of political union of Africa. This meant the formation of an African High Command, an African Common Market, a Common Currency, an African Central Bank, one African Citizenship, and an Inter-Continental Communication. Since Nkrumah's crusade on political unification of Africa has been revisited in the current African Union charter, then it will be wise to also revisit his African-centered politico-cultural philosophy and policies. Such an approach will allow for a realization of his vision of an African union government that embraces the Africans in the Diaspora.

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