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“Diffusion of Nkrumah's Socio-Cultural and Political Ideas
in Ghana and Other African Countries.”

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On my honour as a student of the Diplomatische Akademie Wien, I submit this work in good faith and pledge that I have neither given nor received unauthorized assistance on it.

ABSTRACT

Kwame Nkrumah's ideologies have continued to exert a noteworthy influence on the political, economic, and social landscapes of Ghana and other African nations, even posthumously. His aspirations for a self-sufficient and cohesive Africa, rooted in African socialist and Pan-Africanist ideologies, remain a source of inspiration in contemporary times. Nkrumah's leadership, scholarship, and Pan-Africanism have had a significant impact on the discourse surrounding development, freedom, and African unity. The ideals championed by Nkrumah possess a universal applicability that extends beyond the borders of Ghana, encompassing the entirety of Africa and the wider developing world. Undoubtedly, Nkrumah's objective of attaining political and economic autonomy for Africa remains pertinent in contemporary times and constitutes a pivotal point of contention for numerous individuals within and beyond the African continent. This explains the resilience of his ideas over time. Several scholarly investigations have examined the wider impact of Nkrumah's ideas, yet few have specifically focused on the diffusion of his ideas within Ghana and other African countries. This study places significant emphasis on the examination of the various entities that contributed to the diffusion of Nkrumah's ideologies, including but not limited to individuals, groups, political factions, cultural and educational institutions, media outlets, and international organizations. The study determined that Nkrumah's resolute beliefs and steadfast commitment to his Pan-Africanist and African vision struck a chord with the vast majority of Ghanaians and other Africans, motivating them to become enthusiastic advocates of his ideas.

ABSTRAKT

Kwame Nkrumahs Ideologien haben auch nach seinem Tod noch einen bemerkenswerten Einfluss auf die politische, wirtschaftliche und soziale Landschaft Ghanas und anderer afrikanischer Staaten ausgeübt. Seine Bestrebungen für ein autarkes und zusammenhängendes Afrika, die in den sozialistischen und panafrikanistischen Ideologien Afrikas verwurzelt sind, bleiben auch in der heutigen Zeit eine Quelle der Inspiration. Nkrumahs Führungsqualitäten, seine Gelehrsamkeit und sein Panafrikanismus haben den Diskurs über Entwicklung, Freiheit und afrikanische Einheit maßgeblich beeinflusst. Die von Nkrumah vertretenen Ideale besitzen eine universelle Anwendbarkeit, die über die Grenzen Ghanas hinausgeht und ganz Afrika und die sich entwickelnde Welt umfasst. Zweifellos ist Nkrumahs Ziel, politische und wirtschaftliche Autonomie für Afrika zu erlangen, auch in der heutigen Zeit noch relevant und stellt für zahlreiche Menschen innerhalb und außerhalb des afrikanischen Kontinents einen zentralen Streitpunkt dar. Dies erklärt die Beständigkeit seiner Ideen im Laufe der Zeit. Mehrere wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen haben sich mit der allgemeinen Wirkung von Nkrumahs Ideen befasst, doch nur wenige haben sich speziell auf die Verbreitung seiner Ideen in Ghana und anderen afrikanischen Ländern konzentriert. Diese Studie legt einen Schwerpunkt auf die Untersuchung der verschiedenen Akteure, die zur Verbreitung von Nkrumahs Ideologien beigetragen haben, darunter Einzelpersonen, Gruppen, politische Fraktionen, Kultur- und Bildungseinrichtungen, Medien und internationale Organisationen. Die Studie ergab, dass Nkrumahs entschlossene Überzeugungen und sein unerschütterliches Engagement für seine panafrikanistische und afrikanische Vision bei der großen Mehrheit der Ghanaer und anderer Afrikaner Anklang fanden und sie zu begeisterten Verfechtern seiner Ideen machten.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated my dear grandfather, Paul Nuamah, whose unrelenting drive, and financial support enabled me to complete my high school education.

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Dr. Charles Amo-Agyemang, my revered tutor during my bachelor's degree, was instrumental in introducing me to the incredible ideas of Kwame Nkrumah, and I would want to take this opportunity to convey my sincerest gratitude and respect to him. I first encountered Kwame Nkrumah as a larger-than-life personality in his lectures, and I was immediately captivated. His deep understanding of Ghanaian foreign policy and his extraordinary capacity to convey intricate issues in a straightforward and interesting way tremendously boosted my academic development. I owe him a great deal of gratitude for enlightening me to the ideals and philosophies of Kwame Nkrumah, a pioneering figure in Africa's political history. I learned a great deal about Nkrumah's philosophy, Pan-Africanism, and his vision for Ghana and the African continent through his insightful lectures and writings, which I was introduced to, thanks to his tutelage.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

All-African People's Conference (AAPC)

Association of African Students (AAS)

African Union (AU)

Nkrumah and the Conventions People's Party (CPP)

European Economic Community (EEC)

Ghana News Agency (GNA)

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)

National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA)

National Liberation Movement (NLM)

Organization of the African Union (OAU)

Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA)

Young Pioneer Movement (YPM)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a comprehensive overview of the study's rationale, objectives, research inquiry, design, theoretical framework, research approach, and methodology. It offers an in-depth overview of the fundamental components of the research that constitute the master's thesis. Also, it establishes the context for the subsequent chapters, which concentrate on the particulars of the research by further exploring the themes introduced in this section.

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

One of the lasting consequences of colonialism is acculturation, which has had a devastating effect on distinctive cultures in Africa. The point must be made that Africa as a continent persisted and survived on the strength of unique African philosophies and cultures even before the first European ship docked on the shores of Africa. Unfortunately, the phenomena of acculturation with complementary manipulative strategies currently characterizes Africa's social, political, and economic existence. The phenomena of acculturation became ingrained in Africa not because Africa as a continent took alien ideologies and cultures hook, line, and sinker. Rather the phenomena have been entrenched through unconventional coercive imposition by colonialists and neocolonialists. After granting independence to most African countries, colonizers when leaving the shores of Africa left a farewell gift to the Africans, which is known as "Neocolonialism". Numerous African philosophers were motivated to write about the conception of African ideology because of the challenges posed by neocolonialism. They believed that neocolonialism was a bane to Africa's developmental goals, thus forging an African ideology will be the panacea to Africa's developmental woes.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first president, stands out as the most notable of these figures. After publishing "*The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*"¹ in 1957 as testimony to African capacity for independence, Nkrumah, a man of boundless self-confidence and pride, felt compelled to publish a second book titled "*I speak of freedom*"² in 1961, in which he pleaded the difficulties

¹ Nkrumah, Kwame. 1957. *The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*. New York: International Publ.

² Nkrumah, Kwame. 1976. *I Speak of Freedom*. London: Panaf Books.

attendant upon the building of the nation. Then, in 1963's *"Africa Must Unite,"*³ he advocated for African unity as a means to accomplish the job at hand, and in 1964's *"Philosophical Consciencism,"*⁴ he provided a theoretical foundation for African socialism. Yet, many of the things he championed have made little to no headway, notably his ultimate ambition of African union. As he sees it, neocolonialism is to blame for all these problems.

In a book published by Thomas Nelson in 1965, Nkrumah inferred neo-colonialism to “represents imperialism in its final and perhaps its most dangerous stage”.⁵ By this Nkrumah meant that colonialism was never obliterated and that it persists as an African problem. Expressing his thoughts further, Nkrumah posited that “existing colonies may linger on, but no new colonies will be created. In place of colonialism as the main instrument of imperialism we have today neo-colonialism”.⁶ To him, ending colonialism and imperialism in Africa was the driving force behind his political and cultural philosophies. As far as he was concerned, colonialism was not just a form of capitalist’s plunder but a means of maligning the traditional identity of the people of Africa. The colonial assimilationist practices and doctrines of African inferiority supported a purposeful rejection of established African heritages while reinforcing the cultural isolation of Africa's past, and colonialism's educational institutions also actively attempted to mold Africans' cultural identities in accordance with Western norms.

Many African leaders, like Nkrumah and Tanzania's Julius Nyerere, were encouraged to undertake expeditions to set up systems centred on communitarianism, solidarity, or socialism, which they saw as a fundamental mental stance. The reconstruction of African traditionalism was a movement that, despite its many various manifestations across the African continent, shared a common goal. African socialists, in their view, put greater weight on reverting to a certain mentality and approach to development, setting it apart from other forms of socialism. The system operates under the principle of legal governance as opposed to the tyranny of classes, is democratic rather than totalitarian, and fosters a sense of community rather than a sense of belonging to a group. African socialism is rooted in centuries-old communal practices, making it considerably older than its Western counterpart.⁷ Nkrumah's entire line of reasoning boils down to the point

³ Nkrumah, Kwame. 1963. *Africa Must Unite*. London: Panaf Books.

⁴ Nkrumah, Kwame. 1964. *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-Colonization*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

⁵ Nkrumah, Kwame. 1965. *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*. New York: International Publishers.

⁶ See (Nkrumah, Kwame 1965 p.1).

⁷ Bonaventure, Ozoigbo. 2016. “African Theories of Development and The Reality of Underdevelopment.” *International Journal of Development and Economic Sustainability* 4 (4): 2053–2202. See p.14

that returning to the precolonial African Society is not a good idea, but that the philosophy and humanist purposes behind many fundamental structures of African cultures at various points in history showed a certain communalism that is worth recapturing.⁸

However, Nkrumah's ideas have received a lot of criticisms in the literature. For instance, Chuba Okadigbo argues in his book *"Consciencism in African Political Philosophy"* that Nkrumah contradicted himself by fusing African values and Marxism, being too biased to provide a balanced analysis of the causes that shape the African conscience, and so failing to provide a proper analysis of the African conscience.⁹ Nkrumah's philosophical consciencism as an ideology, he concluded, was not conducive to Africa's progress. Kwame Nkrumah was a supporter of Africa's progress in line with a materialist philosophy.¹⁰ The religious reality of African society appears to be at variance with Nkrumah's philosophical consciencism, which is an approach to philosophy that emphasizes the value of consciousness.¹¹ Consciencism is flawed because it falsely assumes that all political systems are inextricably linked to one metaphysical theory. If political theories are to be acknowledged as having some degree of credibility, then they need to be justified using the same level of discourse. To put it more clearly, introducing metaphysical ideas into conversations about politics is fraught with potential problems. In addition, putting Nkrumah's ideology into practice presents a problem in and of itself. But for Nkrumah, "colonialism and its attitude are die hard, like the attitudes of slavery, whose hangover still dominates behaviour in certain parts of the western hemisphere," as he said in his book *Africa Must Unite*.¹² This makes one wonder if Nkrumah's philosophical consciencism is more than just a theoretical construct that will fall short in practice. Consciencism as a concept and in practice is linked to all these issues.

Several Western nations, notably the United States and the United Kingdom, endeavored to undermine Nkrumah's government due to his socialist-oriented policies. There were concerns among certain parties that Nkrumah might align himself with the Soviet Union, which was perceived as an especially perilous adversary during the Cold War. Consequently, they

⁸ Akomolafe, Akinola Mohammed. 2011. "Kwame Nkrumah's Socialism: A Philosophical Appraisal" in *The Nigerian Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 1, pp. 52-64, University of Lagos

⁹ Chuba Okadigbo. 1985. *Consciencism in African Political Philosophy*. Fourth Dimension Publishers

¹⁰ (Nkrumah 1964)

¹¹ Bamikole, Lawrence O. 2012. "Nkrumah and the Triple Heritage Thesis and Development in Africana Societies." www.semanticscholar.org, 2012.

¹² See (Nkrumah 1963)

categorized him as a communist. Moreover, during that period, the majority of African leaders were primarily focused on consolidating their respective nations rather than promoting the concept of Pan-Africanism, which advocates for the unification of the African continent. There was concern among certain individuals that Nkrumah's proposals would be detrimental to their personal interests, resulting in their reluctance to support his initiatives. Nkrumah's endeavors to consolidate and emancipate Africa were impeded by the absence of support from his African counterparts. Nkrumah's ideals were not only rejected by Western countries and other African leaders, but also by the Ghanaian populace. The Nkrumah regime was overthrown in a coup d'état in 1966 due to a segment of the Ghanaian populace rejecting his ideologies.

Regardless, a fresh breeze is stirring things up in Africa. A reawakening of Nkrumah's ideas has been recognized on all continents. Scholars and thinkers have not only taken an interest in Kwame Nkrumah again, but they have also questioned why his views were ignored for so long. There have been campaigns to include his work in the curricula of African institutions. Nkrumah's legacy continues to loom big in modern Ghanaian politics, to the point where even political groups that were formerly hostile to his views are now seeking accommodation with his convictions. Also, today's youth in Ghana and across Africa are reviving his ideas as a radical counterpoint to neoliberalism. With this newfound and widespread curiosity on Nkrumah's ideas comes a fascinating question that is begging for an answer. This study explores how Nkrumah's ideas diffused in Ghana and Africa at large.

1.2 OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The objective of this master's thesis is to conduct an analysis of the diffusion of Kwame Nkrumah's ideas across Ghana and other African regions. The purpose is to examine the influence of Nkrumah's commitment to Pan-Africanism and socialism on the political and social movements in Ghana and other African nations.

The study will be grounded on the subsequent research questions:

1. What was the reaction of the Ghanaian population towards the policies and ideologies espoused by Kwame Nkrumah during his presidency?

2. What were the causative elements that resulted in the proliferation of Nkrumah's ideology beyond the territorial confines of Ghana, and what were the modalities that expedited its assimilation in other African nations?
3. What are the ramifications of Nkrumah's legacy and how did his viewpoints impact the political and societal movements of his time and the present day?
4. What is the historical and current significance of Nkrumah's ideology in relation to the African struggle for independence and unification?

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTION

How did Nkrumah's idea diffuse?

1.4. ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

This study comprises six fundamental Chapters. Chapter One introduces the research problem. Chapter two provides an overview of the research methodology employed, establishes a theoretical framework for the study, and conducts a comprehensive review of pertinent literature. Chapter three furnishes a historical context for Nkrumah's perspectives by scrutinizing his socio-cultural and political ideologies and delineating the principal origins from which they originated. Chapter four provides a detailed analysis of Nkrumah's endeavors to disseminate his ideologies across Ghana. Chapter five of the research investigates the diffusion of Nkrumah's idea beyond the borders of Ghana and assesses the response to Nkrumah's ideas across Africa and internationally. Finally, the seventh chapter concludes by providing a summary of the primary findings, implications, and relevance of the research for the field of African studies.

1.5. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.5.1. *Theory of Resonance*

In the light of Schudson's discourse, resonance is a term employed to explicate the functioning of culture, or the underlying factors that account for the varying degrees of success of particular

messages, discourses, and cultural objects.¹³ This phenomenon can be attributed to the fact that such messages correspond more closely with the cultural worldviews that are already held by the target audience. Cultural relics that are resonant possess the capacity to influence not only the dialogue but also the cognitive processes by which individuals comprehend and interpret their environment. Snow contend that social organizations induce individuals people take part in protests and other kinds of group action using cultural objects that appeal to the public's widespread understanding of social concerns.¹⁴ Sewell defines resonance as the process through which an actor assimilates or adapts a particular approach to comprehend a novel circumstance or issue. The occurrence of resonance is contingent upon the compatibility between cultural objects and the worldviews of the actors involved.¹⁵

In accordance with the findings of McDonnell, Bail, and Tavori, the concept of resonance is often accompanied by the occurrence of "circular reasoning".¹⁶ Hence, the genesis of any cultural phenomenon can be attributed to its initial source, as stated by Benford.¹⁷ In essence, cultural phenomena achieve success not solely due to their resonance, but also owing to their track record of success. In the work of McDonnell, Bail, and Tavori, the relevance of contingent, "processual" relationships between cultural objects and their audiences has been overlooked by scholars who have examined resonance solely from the perspective of congruence.¹⁸ The resonance of cultural objects is not inherent, but rather is perceived as a dynamic phenomenon that develops over time as the cultural message becomes increasingly compatible with its intended audience. The phenomenon of resonance can be attributed to the interplay between various entities such as individuals, objects, and surroundings, as posited by Emirbayer and further supported by McDonnell, Bail, and Tavori.¹⁹

¹³ Schudson, Michael. 1989. "How Culture Works: Perspectives from Media Studies on the Efficacy of Symbols." *Theory and Society* 18(2):153–80

¹⁴ Snow, David A., E. Burke Rochford, Jr., Steven K. Worden, and Robert D. Benford 1986. "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation." *American Sociological Review* 51(4):464–81

¹⁵ Sewell, William H., Jr. 1992. "A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency and Transformation." *American Journal of Sociology* 98(1):1–29.

¹⁶ McDonnell, Terence E., Christopher A. Bail, and Iddo Tavori. 2017. "A Theory of Resonance." *Sociological Theory* 35 (1): 1–14. See p.2

¹⁷ Benford, Robert. 1997. "An Insider's Critique of the Social Movement Framing Perspective." *Sociological Inquiry* 67(4):409–30.

¹⁸ See (McDonnell, Bail, and Tavori 2017, p.2)

¹⁹ Emirbayer, Mustafa. 1997. "Manifesto for a Relational Sociology." *American Journal of Sociology* 103(2):281–17; McDonnell, Bail, and Tavori 2017).

Several scholars, such as Benford and Snow, Gamson, and Schudson, contend that resonance of objects occurs when they are associated with the socially situated context, cultural motifs, and narratives of the audience.²⁰ This assessment is a crucial element in the defining resonance. However, it is deficient in its inability to distinguish between familiarity and resonance, as noted by McDonnell, Bail, and Tavori in 2017.²¹ According to the two scholars, cultural treasures lack significance unless they can be utilized to resolve a particular issue. In their view, the resonance experienced by actors is a result of their exertion of emotional and intellectual effort, which leads to the generation of new insights that can be applied towards addressing real-world issues. Resonance is a phenomenon that exhibits an ongoing evolution rather than an instantaneous occurrence. Comprehending resonance as not only a connection between historical events and contemporary times, but also as a propelling influence in the global sphere, is of utmost significance. The authors, McDonnell, Bail, and Tavori have taken the pragmatic route to depict actors as individuals who strive to resolve issues by comprehending their surroundings through their engagements with it.²² Thus, the crux of comprehending resonance lies in acquiring the proficiency to resolve problems. Resonance has the potential to stimulate a reassessment of objectives and opportunities by emphasizing potential avenues of pursuit.

The theoretical framework of resonance will be employed to investigate the diffusion and uptake of ideas among a populace. The term “resonance” pertains to the occurrence when a message or concept aligns with an individual's distinct values and experiences, resulting in a deeper understanding and assimilation of said message. Diffusion is a phenomenon that pertains to the dissemination of an idea or message across a population, often facilitated by social networks and cultural norms. The confluence of these theories provides insight into the intricate mechanism through which concepts, particularly those with ramifications for political ideology or cultural values, are assimilated and integrated into the fabric of ordinary existence. An analysis of the diffusion of Nkrumah's ideas in Ghana and beyond through resonance and diffusion may provide insights into the factors that contribute to the success or failure of social and political movements.

²⁰ Benford, Robert D., and David A. Snow. 2000. “Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 26:611–39; Gamson, William A. 1992. *Talking Politics*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press; (Schudson 1989)

²¹ (McDonnell, Bail, & Tavori, 2017).

²² McDonnell, Terence E., Christopher A. Bail, and Iddo Tavori. 2017. “A Theory of Resonance.” *Sociological Theory* 35 (1): 1–14

Acknowledging the importance of cultural, political, and social factors is imperative in comprehending the ramifications of Ghana's propagation of Nkrumah's ideologies. The ideology of Pan-Africanism and anti-colonialism espoused by Nkrumah resonated culturally with numerous Ghanaians who had engaged in protracted struggles against British colonial domination. Nkrumah's political ideology, which centered around the concepts of national unity and self-determination, garnered significant backing from the Ghanaian populace who had become fatigued with external domination. Nkrumah's ideology served as a catalyst for a previously inactive segment of Ghanaian populace, providing a platform for historically marginalized groups such as women and agrarian communities to express their views. A comprehensive understanding of the enduring influence of Nkrumah's message in Ghana and beyond necessitates an examination of the intricate interrelationships among cultural, political, and social factors.

Nkrumah's views have significance beyond the borders of Ghana, as was revealed by this analysis. Nkrumah's political beliefs and methods inspired and motivated African independence movements across the continent. Furthermore, many African nations' post-colonial politics may be traced back to Nkrumah's ideology of Pan-Africanism, which emphasized the necessity of continental unity and collaboration. Nkrumah's views were influential outside Africa, notably in the anti-colonial struggles in the Caribbean and other regions of the Global South. Thus, Nkrumah's impact and inspiration in the fight for justice and equal rights has spread far beyond the limits of Ghana, thanks to his contributions to African political philosophy.

1.5.2. *Weakness*

Despite the apparent potential of resonance in elucidating the diffusion of concepts throughout a given society, some individuals remain skeptical regarding its applicability in the contemporary world. There exist individuals who hold the perspective that resonance's approach is excessively idealistic, as it may oversimplify the intricacies involved in the propagation of culture through its actions. Some scholars argue that resonance analysis of successful and unsuccessful ideas is oversimplified and does not adequately consider the intricate dynamics of power relations and cultural politics. There have been inquiries regarding the capacity of Resonance to conform to contemporary technological advancements and cultural shifts in the 21st century. Notwithstanding these critiques, resonance remains a significant theoretical paradigm for examining the complex societal mechanisms of cultural diffusion. Resonance has the potential to serve as a valuable instrument for assessing social development and cultural dynamics in contemporary society.

However, its efficacy can be enhanced through the efforts of researchers who possess a comprehensive understanding of its advantages and limitations.

1.5.3. Conclusion

To conclude, the utilization of the resonation concept provides a valuable perspective to analyze the diffusion of Nkrumah's ideologies within Ghana and beyond. This theory expounds on the relationship between ideas and the norms and ideals of a particular community. It highlights the role of shared experiences, emotions, and identities in shaping the reception and adaptation of these ideas. Resonance has been observed to manifest across various levels, encompassing individual experiences, as well as the broader sociopolitical context of national and international discourses. This has been demonstrated through the analysis of multiple case studies. It was also noted that resonance could potentially facilitate the emergence of novel concepts and advancements, while concurrently reinforcing established power structures and predispositions. The significance of resonation as a conceptual framework extends beyond the specific case of Nkrumah and Ghana and has the potential to inform future investigations into the dynamics of cultural and intellectual exchange, as well as the influence of agency, networks, and institutions. To summarize, resonation has the potential to serve as a means of investigating the interaction among concepts, civilizations, and communities. Additionally, it can provide valuable understanding of the dynamic evolution and persistence of culture across various temporal and spatial contexts.

1.6. METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative research strategy to better grasp the issue at hand and delve into its many complexity and nuanced aspects. The researcher will use different methodologies and data sources (triangulation) to strengthen the credibility of the results.²³ The researcher will access archives containing governmental records, diplomatic exchanges, and primary sources, to gather relevant historical data for the research topic. A comprehensive review of the literature will be undertaken, encompassing significant subjects in the fields of history, international relations,

²³ Denzin, N. K. (1978). Triangulation: A Case for Methodological Evaluation and Combination. *Sociological Methods*, 339-357

political science, and sociology. This review will establish a strong foundation for the interdisciplinary approach by delineating significant concepts, theories, and controversies from each field that will influence the trajectory of the research. Qualitative techniques like theme analysis and content analysis will be used to examine the archives. Using historical methods, this study will determine what has happened, what the historical trajectory has been, and what the long-term trends have been that are important to the research issue.

The methodology of textual analysis will be utilized to scrutinize pertinent written materials, including global accords, official directives, public addresses, and scholarly works. The utilization of this approach will facilitate the identification of discourses, ideologies, and power dynamics that are associated with the research topic, by drawing upon frameworks from the fields of history, international relations, political science. To investigate the diffusion of Nkrumah's ideas in Ghana and beyond Africa, case selection is an essential method. This research is based on selected situations in Ghana and Africa at large where Nkrumah's views were influential to gain insights into the unique processes and circumstances that aided the diffusion of Nkrumah's ideas across Ghana and beyond.

The study employs post-colonial interpretation, a framework that scrutinizes the enduring impact of colonialism and imperialism on individuals' identities and perspectives. From this standpoint, Nkrumah's concepts elucidate his efforts to steer Ghana through the post-independence period by regaining authority over the nation's resources and political program. Also, this study employs the interpretive framework of social constructivism, which prioritizes the impact of language, social norms, and cultural practices on individuals' attitudes and actions. Through this lens, it is evident that Nkrumah's concepts served as a cornerstone for mobilizing the Ghanaian populace and creating a fresh national identity grounded in socialist principles. Finally, discourse analysis is employed to ascertain the divergent interpretations of Nkrumah's ideologies that are upheld by different factions both within and outside Ghana. These methodologies facilitate a comprehensive understanding of the dissemination and reception of Nkrumah's perspectives among diverse individuals across time.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter examines the writings on Kwame Nkrumah's ideas and present an overview and critical analysis of the relevant material. The analysis and highlighting of literature from diverse fields such as history, politics, African studies, and postcolonial studies is undertaken. Also, this chapter provides the evolution of research on Nkrumah's perspectives, which has been influenced by the changing historical and political contexts that have necessitated a reassessment of his ideologies. Again, this chapter of the master's thesis offers a comprehensive analysis of the academic discourse surrounding Nkrumah's perspectives, as well as a comprehensive review of the pertinent literature on Nkrumah. The objective is to stimulate further scholarly inquiry into Nkrumah's perspectives within the framework of African history, political theory, and international relations, through enhancing our comprehension of his intellectual accomplishments.

2.1.1 *Divergent Perspectives Regarding Nkrumah's Ideas in The Literature.*

Several scholars documented the revolutionary transformation of the Gold Coast during the late 1940s. Scholarly work by Chase Arnold titled "*The Cat's Paw of Dictatorship: Police Intelligence and Self-Rule in the Gold Coast, 1948-1952*" demonstrates the underlying depth of the revolutionary change during this time span²⁴. In his paper, he delves into the political tensions brought on by the Gold Coast's shift to diarchy, as well as the history of that espionage network. It tells the story of how the British government determined that its West African colony required a sophisticated security system managed by the British Security Service, and how that apparatus was used to impede Kwame Nkrumah's attempts to form an independent Ghanaian state. This explains why there is a lot of published research on the topic in that period. The book titled "*The Road to Independence: The Gold Coast, 1919-1957*" authored by F.M. Bourret in 1949, is considered one of the pioneering works that delved into the emancipation of Ghana from the rule of the British²⁵. Apter's literary work titled "*Gold Coast in Transition*"²⁶ published in 1955 offers further analysis on the matter, with a particular emphasis on Nkrumah and the Conventions People's Party (CPP) as the principal catalysts of transformation. Apter's edited works titled "*Ghana in Transition*

²⁴ Arnold, Chase. 2020. "The Cat's Paw of Dictatorship: Police Intelligence and Self-Rule in the Gold Coast, 1948-1952." *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, June

²⁵ Bourret, F. M. 1966. "Ghana: The Road to Independence 1919-1957. By F. M. Bourret. London: O.U.P. 1960. 246 Pp. 30s. Net." *Journal of African Law* 10 (03): 180

²⁶ Apter, David E. 1957. "The Gold Coast in Transition." *The Journal of Politics* 19 (1): 151-54.

(1963)"²⁷ and "*Ghana in Transition* (1972)"²⁸ further provide examination of the ideology of Nkrumahism and its execution in Ghana. His publication is widely recognized as a prominent work on Nkrumah's ideology and its impact on the Ghanaian state and society. This is noteworthy given the numerous authors who have contributed to the examination of Ghana's independence processes. Bankole Timothy's "*Kwame Nkrumah: his Rise to Power*" is regarded as the earliest biography of Nkrumah.²⁹ The text provides astute evaluations of the Nkrumah's non-democratic principles. Furthermore, the work of Dennis Austin titled "*Politics in Ghana*" sheds light on Nkrumah's confrontations with the opposition, particularly the traditional leaders.³⁰ This source is crucial in understanding the progression of Ghana from its colonial past as the Gold Coast to its present status as an autonomous nation. Austin held a positive view of Nkrumah's anti-colonial passion and his vision for African unity. However, Austin lambasted Nkrumah's work "*Africa must Unite*" for its disorganized presentation of political analysis and lack of logical coherence. Numerous scholars have extensively examined Nkrumah's presidency from 1957 to 1966, with a particular emphasis on his policies, ideas, and perspectives on African socialism.³¹ During this period, Nkrumah's concepts were incorporated into several significant analyses that mapped the progress of Pan-Africanism.

The ousting of Nkrumah in February 1966 due to a coup sparked debates among scholars in the fields of history, journalism, and political science, resulting in a surge of publications during the mid-1960s.³² The predominant focus of these authors was on Nkrumah's literary works and the potential of Pan-Africanism, as evidenced by their writings. In 1966, Bob Fitch and Mary Oppenheimer authored a book titled "*Ghana: End of an Illusion*," wherein they presented a Marxist critique of Nkrumah's administration, offering a scathing evaluation of the government's policies.³³ Two publications in the same year, namely "*Nkrumah: the Leninist Czar*"³⁴ authored by renowned African political scientist Ali Mazrui and "*Did Nkrumah Favour Pan-Africanism?*"³⁵ written by liberal scholar Russel Warren Howe, were released. Nkrumah's endeavors to uphold Pan-

²⁷ (Apter 1963)

²⁸ (Apter 1972)

²⁹ Timothy, Bankole. 1955. *Kwame Nkrumah: His Rise to Power*. Internet Archive. Evanston, Ill.] Northwestern University Press

³⁰ Austin, Dennis. 1965. "Politics in Ghana: 1946–1960." *African Affairs*.

³¹ (Austin 1965)

³² Grilli, Matteo. 2019. "A Historiographical Overview of Nkrumah's Ideology and Foreign Policy." *Journal for Contemporary History* 44 (2): 29–54

³³ Fitch, Bob, and Mary Oppenheimer. 1967. "Ghana: End of an Illusion." *American Political Science Review* 61 (3): 827–27

³⁴ Mazrui Ali. 2023. "Nkrumah: The Leninist Czar." *Transition: An International Review*. 2023.

³⁵ Howe, R. 2018. "Did Nkrumah Favour Pan-Africanism?" *Transition: An International Review*.

Africanism as a political objective for Africa served to elucidate why, according to Mazrui's perspective, he was a commendable African but an unsatisfactory Ghanaian. Mazrui suggests that Nkrumah's post-independence indulgences in his country resulted in a tragic outcome, leaving him with a sense of inadequacy in his pursuit of becoming a distinguished Ghanaian. Russell expressed dissent towards Mazrui's evaluation of Nkrumah as a distinguished African leader. Russell highlighted that Nkrumah's African policy has been subject to criticism since Ghana's independence, as any attempts to foster cooperation and solidarity among Black Africans have been met with opposition.³⁶

In the same year, the military regime responsible for the overthrow of the Nkrumah government compiled two booklets utilizing materials from the Bureau of African Affairs archive.³⁷ The purpose of these booklets was to defame Nkrumah and legitimize the coup, thereby garnering support from moderate African states who were not in favor of the coup. Colonel Akwasi Amankwaa Afrifa, a prominent figure in the National Liberation Council, documented his recollections of the coup, elucidating the underlying reasons that impelled the military to undertake such an endeavor.³⁸ In contrast, Henry Bretton expressed a critical stance towards the deposed government. He published a book titled *"The Rise and Fall of Kwame Nkrumah: A Study of Personal Rule in Africa."*³⁹ The writer presented a multitude of justifications for the emergence of Nkrumah's government as a regime and conducted a thorough analysis of how Nkrumah utilized ideology to rationalize his personal, unrestricted authority. One year subsequent to the publication of the works mentioned earlier, a thought-provoking discourse among academics ensued. Mazrui for instance authored *"Towards a pax Africana,"* wherein he meticulously analyzed the importance of Nkrumah's ideology within the framework of African political thought.⁴⁰

The early 1970s, numerous scholars produced literature regarding Nkrumah's one-party state approach, which was subject to criticism from many of his opponents who believed that he intended to expand this model to encompass the entirety of Africa. Peter Omari's publication in 1970 titled

³⁶ Howe, R. 2018. "Did Nkrumah Favour Pan-Africanism?" *Transition: An International Review*. 2018.

³⁷ Grilli, Matteo. 2017. "Nkrumah, Nationalism, and Pan-Africanism: The Bureau of African Affairs Collection." *History in Africa* 44 (January): 295–307.

³⁸ Afrifa, A. A. 1967. "The Ghana Coup, 24th February 1966." *International Affairs* 43 (3): 594–95. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2613789>

³⁹ Bretton, H. 2019. "The Rise and Fall of Kwame Nkrumah: A Study of Personal Rule in Africa." 2019.

⁴⁰ Mazrui, Ali A. 1969. "Towards a Pax Africana: A Study of Ideology and Ambition. ." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 2 (3): 390–91.

"*Kwame Nkrumah: The Anatomy of an African Dictatorship*" is encompassed within this context.⁴¹ Further, there exists a literary work authored by Prosperetti and Woronoff draws a comparison between Ghana under the leadership of Nkrumah and Ivory Coast under the governance of Félix Houphouët-Boigny.⁴²

2.1.2. *New Zeal for Nkrumah's Ideas*

A significant portion of the scholarly literature on Nkrumah after the Cold War era aimed to debunk the notion that he was a paragon of virtue or a celebrated figure. In her 1993 publication titled "*Quills of the Porcupine*," Jean Allman chronicles the rise of Asante nationalism under Nkrumah's leadership, with a particular emphasis on the establishment of the National Liberation Movement (NLM), a political organization rooted in Asante culture, and its subsequent opposition to Nkrumah's policies.⁴³ The author has identified the nationalist project as a topic of great success in the study of African history in recent times. Additionally, she has presented a fresh perspective on the correlation between traditional authority and politics in post-colonial Africa. Similarly, Richard Rathbone's 2000 publication titled "*Nkrumah and the Chiefs*" offers a comprehensive analysis of Nkrumah's approach towards Ghana's customary leaders and the eventual triumph of Nkrumahism over tribalism.⁴⁴

In the '90s, scholarly publications featured fresh biographical accounts of Nkrumah. Sherwood's 1996 publication entitled "*Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad*" is a highly captivating piece of literature.⁴⁵ The content produced by Sherwood provided readers with a novel viewpoint regarding the experiences of Nkrumah during his time spent overseas. The author's extensive focus was directed towards Nkrumah's political endeavors in both the United States and the United Kingdom, in addition to his affiliations with other Pan-Africanists situated in Europe and the United States. In 1999, June Milne authored "*Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*" drawing from her experiences and interactions with Nkrumah.⁴⁶ The publication provided insight into the underlying

⁴¹ Omari, T P. 2014. "Kwame Nkrumah: The Anatomy of an African Dictatorship,," 2014.

⁴² Prosperetti, Elisa. 2018. "The Hidden History of the West African Wager: Or How Comparison with Ghana Made Côte D'Ivoire." History in Africa. 2018. J. Woronoff. 2020. "West African Wager: Houphouët versus Nkrumah." 2020.

⁴³ Allman, Jean Marie. 1994. "Review of the Quills of the Porcupine: Asante Nationalism in an Emergent Ghana." *Journal of Third World Studies* 11 (1): 477–79

⁴⁴ Rathbone, Richard. 2000. "Nkrumah and the Chiefs: The Politics of Chieftaincy in Ghana 1951-60." *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines* 35 (2)

⁴⁵ Sherwood, Marika, and Internet Archive. 1996. *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad, 1935-1947*.

⁴⁶ Milne, June. 1999. *Kwame Nkrumah*. Panaf Books.

subconscious mechanisms that propelled most Nkrumah's endeavors. Nkrumah's extensive recognition in Africa is exemplified by his designation as the "*Africa's Man of the Millennium*" by the BBC in that same year.⁴⁷ In February 1996, a significant discourse took place at the University of Cincinnati involving two prominent personalities, namely Pan-Africanist Kwame Ture and Afro-Centrist Molefi Kete Asante.⁴⁸ The topic of discussion revolved around the enduring significance of Nkrumah in African politics and the global black community. The United Afrikan Organization organized the program that facilitated a discussion between two speakers on the subject of Pan-Africanism and Afro-Centrism.⁴⁹ The discourse centered on Kwame Nkrumah, as both interlocutors were impacted by his ideologies. Throughout the discourse, both contenders elaborated at length on the perspectives of Nkrumah. Ture posited that Nkrumah played a pivotal role in stimulating his cognitive awareness. Also, Ture expressed admiration for Muammar Gaddafi, alongside other Pan-African politicians of the 1990s. In that period, Gaddafi officially reintroduced Pan-Africanism in the guise of a new African Union.⁵⁰

During a lecture delivered at the University of Ghana in 2002, Ali Mauri asserted that Nkrumah's impact was significant in Libya.⁵¹ This claim was made following a recollection of a conversation he had with the leader of the Libya in 2000.⁵² The African Union (AU) was established with the aim of advancing the political unification process of the African continent, succeeding the Organization of the African Union (OAU). In 2005, Gaddafi asserted that had African leaders adhered to Nkrumah's proposals, Africa would have achieved parity with the United States of America.⁵³

Over the past two decades, there has been a growing focus on intellectual exchanges that transcend national and continental boundaries, both among the academic community and the general populace in Africa and beyond. Recent interpretations have shed fascinating light on Nkrumah's engagements with diverse Pan-Africanist figures in both Europe and the United States. Adi and Sherwood's scholarly work, namely "*The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress*", "

⁴⁷ "Kwame Nkrumah's Vision of Africa | BBC World Service," www.bbc.co.uk, September 14, 2000.

⁴⁸ ⁴⁸ Grilli, Matteo. 2019. "A Historiographical Overview of Nkrumah's Ideology and Foreign Policy." *Journal for Contemporary History* 44 (2): 29–54

⁴⁹ (Ibid)

⁵⁰ (Ibid)

⁵¹ (Ibid)

⁵² Grilli, Matteo. 2017. "Nkrumah, Nationalism, and Pan-Africanism: The Bureau of African Affairs Collection." *History in Africa* 44 (January): 295–307

⁵³ (Ibid)

Adi's *"West Africans in Britain 1900-1960: Nationalism, Pan-Africanism, and communism"* and *"Pan-Africanism and West African nationalism in Britain"* offer distinctive perspectives on prominent Pan-Africanists.⁵⁴ This subject has garnered the attention of historians in recent times. Adi's research also explores the topics of racism, advocacy for human rights, and resistance against colonialism on a worldwide level.

The Pan-Africanist vision and nationalist policies of Nkrumah endured a degree of expansion during the 2000s, following renewed discussions that were triggered by a distinct political climate. Ama Biney, a scholar of British-Ghanaian descent, has authored several highly impactful publications during the contemporary period. Her works span the fields of history, journalism, and political science. Biney conducted a comprehensive analysis of Nkrumah's ideology in her written works by reassessing his stance and impact. The 2011 publication titled *"The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah"* represents a critical reassessment of the life and ideology of Nkrumah, with a focus on the political controversies and disagreements that have enveloped his legacy.⁵⁵ Also, *"Kwame Nkrumah's Politico-Cultural Thought and Politics"* published in 2005 by Kwame Botwe Asamoah is a valuable resource for comprehending the political and cultural ideologies of Kwame Nkrumah.⁵⁶ This book analyzes Kwame Nkrumah's political and cultural perspective and initiatives as a paradigm for the African revolution following independence, with a focus on African-centered principles. The argument posits that the concepts and ideologies of Nkrumah remain relevant in contemporary Africa. The commemoration of the Golden Jubilee in Ghana during March 2007 constituted a noteworthy event that stimulated a resurgence of curiosity in Nkrumah beyond the confines of the academic circle.⁵⁷ The event served to reinforce both Ghanaian nationalist sentiment and the Pan-African connections that were solidified by Nkrumah during the 1950s and 1960s, owing to the painful recollections associated with the slave trade and the involvement of the African Diaspora.⁵⁸

In recent years, there has been a proliferation of literature on Nkrumah's foreign policy. Excerpts from Ama Biney's publication of 2011, centers on the underlying incentives that drive

⁵⁴ Adi, Hakim, and Marika Sherwood. 1995. *The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress Revisited*. London: New Beacon Books. Adi, Hakim. 1998. *West Africans in Britain, 1900-1960*. London: Lawrence & Wishart. Adi, Hakim. 2000. "Pan-Africanism and West African Nationalism in Britain." *African Studies Review* 43 (1): 69

⁵⁵ Ama, Biney. 2011. *The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah*. Palgrave Macmillan

⁵⁶ Kwame Botwe-Asamoah. 2013. *Kwame Nkrumah's Politico-Cultural Thought and Politics*. Routledge.

⁵⁷ Grilli, Matteo. 2017. "Nkrumah, Nationalism, and Pan-Africanism: The Bureau of African Affairs Collection." *History in Africa* 44 (January): 295–307

⁵⁸ (Ibid)

Nkrumah's involvement in foreign policy matters. Additionally, the author examines the outcomes of such policies, their reception among the populace, and the modalities employed in their execution, as posited by Biney.⁵⁹ Given that 2009 marks the centennial of Nkrumah's birth, numerous pan-Africanist groups held commemorative events to honor his life and achievements. Following the convening of the Thirteenth Ordinary Session of the African Union's Heads of State and Government in Sirte, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya from July 1-3, 2009, a declaration was released to commemorate the centenary of Kwame Nkrumah's birth.⁶⁰ Several academic conferences were organized, including the inaugural, second, third, and fourth Biennial Kwame Nkrumah International Conferences, with the aim of advancing Pan-African development in the context of contemporary global trends.⁶¹

Last year, there was a significant corpus of academic literature pertaining to Nkrumah. The recently published work by Cyril Lionel Robert James, titled *"Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution,"* which became available in February 2022, places significant emphasis on the revolutions led by Nkrumah himself.⁶² The author posits that these events were the outcome of a widespread public uprising. According to James' book, the independence movement in Ghana was distinct from other revolutionary movements due to its emphasis on the African continent as the center of revolutionary action and its utilization of novel strategies that had not been employed in previous revolutions. Also, in November 2022, Michael Williams published *"The Pan-African Imperative: Revisiting Kwame Nkrumah's Vision for African Development"* as a response to the prevalence of neo-liberal ideology in discussions surrounding African development in recent years.⁶³ The book presents an analysis of Africa's development crisis and proposes a solution based on a Nkrumahist intellectual framework. The author articulated significant apprehensions regarding the advancement of Africa and the quality of life of its populace, scrutinizing Nkrumah's perspective on the pivotal function that Pan-Africanism ought to fulfill in the continent's progress.

2.1.3. *Identification of Gaps in The Literature*

⁵⁹ Ama, Biney. 2011. *The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah*. Palgrave Macmillan

⁶⁰ Union, African. 2009. "Declaration on the Celebration of the 100th Birthday Anniversary of Kwame Nkrumah." *Archives.au.int*. <https://archives.au.int/handle/123456789/326>.

⁶¹ "Third Biennial Kwame Nkrumah International Conference (KNIC3)." n.d. Kwantlen Polytechnic University. Accessed June 8, 2023. <https://www.kpu.ca/knic>

⁶² James. 2022. *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution*. Duke University Press

⁶³ Williams, Michael. 2022. "The Pan-African Imperative: Revisiting Kwame Nkrumah's Vision for African Development." Routledge & CRC Press. 2022

The works mentioned above fail to shed light on the mechanisms through which Nkrumah's ideas diffused or the initial reception they received. Research is required to examine the individual affiliations, political factions, cultural and educational establishments, media, and global associations that facilitated the diffusion of Nkrumah's ideologies. Most of the published literature focuses on Nkrumah's influence on Ghana and Africa, yet there is a dearth of comprehensive comparative analyses regarding the diffusion of his ideas across Ghana and Africa. A comprehensive recognition of the factors that facilitated or impeded the diffusion of Nkrumah's ideologies in Ghana and Africa can be attained through an examination of their diffusion patterns. Although it is a fact that Nkrumah did not receive unanimous support from the African population, there is a dearth of information regarding the extent to which his concepts were embraced, comprehended, and implemented at a granular level. The diffusion and implementation of Nkrumah's ideas were influenced by contextual factors, cultural dynamics, and local agency. A more comprehensive understanding of these processes can be gained by examining the reception and adaptation of these ideas.

The identification of the literature gap draws attention to crucial areas that require further investigation to enhance comprehension of the dissemination of Nkrumah's ideologies. Prospective investigations may address the existing gaps in comprehending the propagation, reception, and assimilation of Nkrumah's concepts at both local and global levels, their enduring influence on African nations, and the diverse viewpoints entailed. The investigation of the intricacies involved in the transmission of intellectual and ideological concepts in post-colonial Africa holds significant potential for enhancing our comprehension of these subjects.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF NKRUMAH'S IDEAS

The objective of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive and intricate depiction of Kwame Nkrumah through an examination of his life story, socio-cultural ideology, significant historical occurrences in Ghana that had impact on him, and the pivotal significance of Pan-Africanism in his visionary framework.

3.1 AN OVERVIEW OF THE LIFE OF NKRUMAH

Kwame Nkrumah, also known as Francis Nwia Kofi Nkrumah, is widely regarded as a significant figure in the African independence movement. Undoubtedly, Nkrumah was among the most impactful individuals of the 20th century. The individual in question has been bestowed with commendatory titles by esteemed scholars, such as Sertima and Davidson, who respectively referred to him as the "Black Star of Africa" and the "Pride of Africa".⁶⁴ Furthermore, according to Ama Biney, Nkrumah was bestowed with the title of "African Man of the Millennium" in a BBC poll conducted in December 1999.⁶⁵ Nkrumah is widely regarded as a prominent figure and role model for various groups, including historians, human rights activists, social analysts, and incarcerated individuals, who strive to uphold the noble objective of reinstating human dignity. Upon achieving its independence on March 6, 1957, Ghana became a prominent exemplar of independence on the African continent.⁶⁶ Following his tenure as Prime Minister, Nkrumah assumed the presidency and emerged as Ghana's preeminent leader. Nkrumah was born on September 21, 1909, during a time when Ghana was referred to as the Gold Coast and was under British colonial rule, boasting a prosperous economy based on cocoa, gold, and timber.⁶⁷ Prior to the onset of his ambitious aspirations, Nkrumah was poised to confront the realm of imperialism and rapacious exploitation, as documented by Okon Etim.⁶⁸ The mother of Nkrumah was engaged

⁶⁴ Davidson, Basil. 1973. *Black Star*. Lane, Allen; Sertima, Ivan Van. 1988. *Great Black Leaders: Ancient and Modern*. Google Books. Journal of African Civilizations. See p. 322; Also see (Botwe 2005, p.16)

⁶⁵ Biney, Ama. 2007. "Kwame Nkrumah: An Intellectual Biography. See p.1

⁶⁶ Yergin, Daniel, and Joseph Stanislaw. 2019. "Commanding Heights: Kwame Nkrumah | on PBS." Pbs.org. 2019

⁶⁷ Ghanaweb. n.d. "Kwame Nkrumah, Biography." [www.ghanaweb.com. http://www.ghanaweb.com/person/Kwame-Nkrumah-3265](http://www.ghanaweb.com/person/Kwame-Nkrumah-3265).

⁶⁸ Okon, Etim. 2014. "Kwame Nkrumah: The Fallen and Forgotten Hero of African Nationalism." *European Scientific Journal*, June.

in trading activities, while his father was involved in the craft of goldsmithing. Nkrumah hailed from a modest traditional household and received his education in his native village of Nkroful, where he was tutored by Catholic missionaries.⁶⁹

During the 1930s, Nkrumah resided in Elmina, Ghana, and held a teaching position at the Roman Catholic Junior School.⁷⁰ He earned a decent living and was widely recognized for his charm and appeal. During his tenure as an educator at the Catholic school in Axim, Nkrumah established the Nzima Literature Society and was acquainted with Mr. Samuel Richard Wood from the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA).⁷¹ Mr. Wood's numerous discussions with Nkrumah served as a catalyst in introducing him to the realm of politics and subsequently, he was convinced to enroll in the University of Lincoln. These experiences played a pivotal role in shaping Nkrumah's perspective on various issues. Nkrumah's inclination to pursue education overseas was instigated by his exposure to the political landscape and influential individuals in Gold Coast. His cultural nationalism was influenced by Dr. Kwagyir Aggrey, a renowned Pan-Africanist and faculty member at Achimota Training College. Dr. Aggrey frequently delivered lectures on the remarkable achievements of African peoples prior to the arrival of the first European vessel on African shores.⁷² Nkrumah, a bright young man, held Aggrey, who had been schooled in the United States in high esteem.⁷³ Nkrumah's sense of nationalism was initially stimulated by this individual: "It was through him that my nationalism was first aroused".⁷⁴ According to Onuorah, Nkrumah recognized the significant worth of Dr. Kwagyir Aggrey's speeches and motivational talks, which emphasized the importance of diligent studying and exploring the continent that birthed notable figures such as William Edward Burghardt Dubois and Marcus Garvey.⁷⁵

As per Davidson's account, Nkrumah's encounter with Nnamdi Azikiwe, the Nigerian publisher and Editor of the African Morning Post, and Isaac Theophilus Akunna Wallace-Johnson, the founder of the Youth League and Editor of the African Sentinel, during his journey from

⁶⁹ See (Yergin and Stanislaw 2019)

⁷⁰ Ama, Biney. 2011. *The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah*. Palgrave Macmillan

⁷¹ (Ibid)

⁷² Okon, Etim. 2014. "Kwame Nkrumah: The Fallen and Forgotten Hero of African Nationalism." *European Scientific Journal*, June.

⁷³ (Ibid)

⁷⁴ Nkrumah, Kwame. 1957. *The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*. New York: International Publ. See p.12

⁷⁵ Onuorah, Anselm. n.d. "Revisiting Kwame Nkrumah's Philosophical Consciencism for The Restitution of African Dignity: Towards the Condition Of Its Possibility

Amisano to Accra in December 1934, served as a source of inspiration for Nkrumah's aspiration to emancipate Africa from colonial subjugation.⁷⁶ “*Nkrumah's Autobiography*” details how Azikiwe served as a source of inspiration for him to pursue his aspiration of pursuing higher education in the United States. Nkrumah cited Wallace-Johnson, a prominent labor leader from West Africa, as a significant influence on his nationalist ideology.⁷⁷ What was the rationale behind Nkrumah's recognition of these individuals? Nkrumah was a youthful individual commencing his journey in life with a Teaching Certificate, and it is equitable to enumerate the individuals who exerted the most significant influence on his development up until that juncture in his existence.⁷⁸ Prior to his departure from Ghana, Nkrumah's nationalist ideology was shaped by the anti-colonial endeavors in Ghana and the nascent African nationalist movements in other regions of the continent. To clarify, it can be stated that Nkrumah was influenced by the intellectual and political movements of prominent figures such as Kwegyr Aggrey, S.R. Wood, Nnamdi Azikiwe, and I.T.A. Wallace Johnson prior to leaving Africa.

According to Biney, Nkrumah was able to embark on a voyage to the United States of America in 1935 through a combination of personal thriftiness and financial assistance from relatives.⁷⁹ As noted by Okon, Nyaniba, his mother, expressed discontentment as she was cognizant of the fact that it would take a considerable amount of time before she could reunite with her solitary child.⁸⁰ Rather than expressing discouragement, she extended her well wishes to him, invoking the guidance of God and his ancestors.⁸¹ Nkrumah stated that his sense of nationalism became more prominent upon receiving news of the Italian military campaign against Ethiopia while he was in London, awaiting an American visa.⁸² Similar to Liberia, Ethiopia is regarded as a source of pride and nationalistic sentiment for numerous Africans due to its successful liberation from colonial rule. The Italian's actions were aimed at terminating Ethiopia's sovereignty, which led to a political response from individuals of African origin and those with African ancestry. Upon his arrival in the United States in late October 1935, Nkrumah, very destitute, sought refuge among fellow West Africans.⁸³ According to his own account, he possessed a sum of forty pounds at the

⁷⁶ See (Davidson 1973; Onuorah n.d)

⁷⁷ See (Nkrumah 1957 p.21; Biney 2011)

⁷⁸ See (Botwe, 2013)

⁷⁹ Ama, Biney. 2011. *The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah*. Palgrave Macmillan

⁸⁰ See (Okon 2014)

⁸¹ See (Forward Ever 1977, p.5)

⁸² See (Nkrumah 1957, p.19; Biney 2011)

⁸³ See (Biney 2011, p.30)

time.⁸⁴ Subsequent to this, he presented himself for admission at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, where he sustained himself through scholarship and campus job.⁸⁵

Nkrumah derived comfort from the distinctive culture of the University of Lincoln, the oldest black college in the United States, established prior to the Civil War.⁸⁶ He engaged in physically demanding work during his time in college, including construction work in maritime environments and shipyards. Due to his profound understanding of theology and philosophy, Nkrumah was frequently invited to deliver sermons at churches in New York and Philadelphia. He was unanimously regarded as the top performer in his class by his peers, resulting in him being presented with several accolades.⁸⁷ Beverly Carter noted that Nkrumah was highly regarded among the foreign students at the campus. This was attributed to his unwavering advocacy for the liberation of African colonies, which some individuals perceived as idealistic.⁸⁸ He was also bestowed with the accolade of "most intriguing."⁸⁹ On a subsequent occasion, the scholarly output titled *"Labor Problems in Africa"* was bestowed with the Robert Fleming Labree Memorial Award in the field of Social Science, as reported by Nelson in 1985.⁹⁰ According to Botwe, Nkrumah was bestowed with the Robert Nassau Award for his exceptional academic performance in the theology department during his tenure. Robert T. Freeman Junior has asserted that Nkrumah expressed concern regarding the unification of African nations.⁹¹ Furthermore, he contended that Nkrumah had established his viewpoints prior to matriculating at the University of Lincoln and had not modified his overarching position throughout his tenure at the institution. According to his argument, Nkrumah's exposure to the institution did not significantly influence him beyond the realm of education.⁹²

In 1942, Nkrumah undertook a second master's degree in Education and Philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania as part of his quest for a comprehensive education.⁹³ During his time at the Faculty of Education at Penn, Nkrumah familiarized himself with the literary works of

⁸⁴ See (Nkrumah 1957, p.24; Biney 2011, p.30)

⁸⁵ See (Okon 2014)

⁸⁶ See (Yergin and Stanislaw 2019)

⁸⁷ See (Botwe 2005)

⁸⁸ See (Biney's 2011, p.37)

⁸⁹ See (Okadigbo 1985, p.1)

⁹⁰ See (Botwe 2005)

⁹¹ (Ibid)

⁹² (Ibid)

⁹³ See (Biney 2011)

renowned scholars including René Descartes, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Arthur Schopenhauer, Karl Marx, Friedrich Nietzsche, Friedrich Engels, and Vladimir Lenin.⁹⁴ Engaging with the literary works of renowned intellectuals was a personal source of pleasure for him, as stated by Beveley Carter. Despite frequently attending conferences organized by the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) of Marcus Garvey and the West Indies National Council in the United States, Nkrumah became drawn to Marxist and Leninist ideology as his primary intellectual framework.⁹⁵ Marcus Garvey's *"Philosophy and Opinions"* had a greater impact on him.⁹⁶ In his Autobiography, Nkrumah made a statement that his fervor was ignited by "Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, published in 1923," which he regards as the most influential literary work he studied.⁹⁷ According to Sherwood's assertion in 1996, Nkrumah arrived at the realization that the ideologies of Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin presented a more feasible solution for terminating colonialism. The Pan African movement, with the objective of achieving full emancipation for Africa, could potentially utilize the consolidation of West African nations as a strategic launching point. Upon his election as president of the Association of African Students (AAS) in 1942, Nkrumah advocated for West African unity. However, he encountered significant resistance from individuals such as Mazi Mbono Ojike, Kingsley Ozumba Mbadiwe, and Abyssinia Akweke Nwafor Orizu.⁹⁸ He intoned, "The idea of West African unity, which, of course, I strongly supported, became the accepted philosophy of the African Students Association."⁹⁹

As per the assertions of Kwame Botwe-Asamoah, during his time in the diaspora, Nkrumah's orations and religious discourses predominantly centered around the impending liberation of Africa, the establishment of a unified African continent, and the principles of socialism.¹⁰⁰ The oration delivered by Nkrumah in February 1943 at Howard University, wherein he implored for immediate African independence, is a quintessential illustration of this genre of discourse. He espoused the formation of a commonwealth encompassing all nations, in addition to the Federation of West African States, with the ultimate objective of securing emancipation for every member of it. The authors Yergin and Stanislaw assert that Nkrumah possessed a profound comprehension of the racial dynamics prevalent in the United States. In contrast to his

⁹⁴ (Yergin and Stanislaw 2019; Biney 2011)

⁹⁵ See (Botwe 2005)

⁹⁶ (Biney 2011)

⁹⁷ See (Nkrumah, 1957, p. 45)

⁹⁸ See (Biney 2011, p.83).

⁹⁹ (Ibid, p.83).

¹⁰⁰ See (Botwe 2005)

contemporaries from Africa, Nkrumah chose to immerse himself in the African American communities of the United States, rather than conforming to the ideologies of his Western instructors.¹⁰¹ During a time of political turmoil, he established connections with African American intellectuals who shared a keen interest in the continent.¹⁰² Nkrumah's observations and encounters within the United States served as the impetus for their contemplation and analysis of sociocultural and historical phenomena. His understanding of colonialism, African solidarity, and socialist progress was shaped by their formal and informal encounters.¹⁰³ His background in Ghana and his travels overseas shaped his outlook as a whole.

3.2. EXAMINATION OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF NKRUMAH

According to Mjiba Frehiwot, it can be argued that despite differences in ethnicity, location, and history, every nation and group of people possess certain characteristics. The author proceeds to assert that culture is pervasive in all aspects of human life and is in a constant state of evolution. Nkrumah's political agenda comprised a diverse range of ideas. In contrast to his predecessors, Nkrumah established a foundational theoretical framework to support his economic and political aspirations for a cohesive Africa.¹⁰⁴ Nkrumah recognized that achieving full economic liberation for Africa from colonial and postcolonial exploitation necessitated a revival of the fundamental attributes of African culture. African freedom requires a firm and unwavering understanding of the role played by the intellectual leadership of the movement, as culture represents a structured embodiment of the historical experiences of the people.¹⁰⁵ Touré contends that leaders of liberation movements must possess a profound comprehension of their people's culture, irrespective of the level of economic advancement or social awareness in their respective nations.¹⁰⁶

According to Nkrumah, the implementation of cultural transformation is a crucial factor in achieving political transformation. However, his perspective is that the attainment of African independence serves as a crucial initial phase in the process of reinstating the continent's dignity. Nkrumah's primary idea is that culture possesses an ideological dimension as it serves as

¹⁰¹ See (Yergin and Stanislaw 2019)

¹⁰² (Ibid)

¹⁰³ See (Botwe 2005)

¹⁰⁴ See (Awoonor 1997; Botwe 2013)

¹⁰⁵ See (Botwe 2005)

¹⁰⁶ (Ibid)

a reflection of the historical background of a given society. As per his perspective, the complete elimination of the consequences of colonialism in Africa would necessitate a comprehensive consideration of political and cultural factors subsequent to the attainment of the continent's independence. Consequently, the emerging Africa will leverage the magnificence and traditional principles of the past to advance its economic and societal progress. Nkrumah's leadership in Ghana is considered a notable instance of the concept, as he revitalized the notion of the "African personality".¹⁰⁷ He implemented a process of Africanization across all aspects of Ghanaian society. The University of Ghana is a renowned institution, notable for being the site of the inaugural African Studies Institute in 1961.¹⁰⁸ The African Studies Center served as a focal point for African agency and a model for other academic institutions seeking to explore, advance, and preserve African cultural legacy.

According to Frantz Fanon, every subsequent cohort of individuals must autonomously ascertain their reasons for existence and decide whether to wholeheartedly adopt it or abandon it.¹⁰⁹ Nkrumah serves as a paradigmatic illustration of the notion that an individual's being is a product of both their historical context and their commitment to the historical customs of the African populace. Nkrumah's concept positioned him as a representation of the African liberation movement in relation to human resources, material assets, and ideology.¹¹⁰ According to Kariamu Welsh-Asante, Nkrumah is regarded as the guardian of Africa's historical legacy of forceful opposition against colonialism and neocolonialism.¹¹¹

Nkrumah's historical acumen enabled him to focalize his perspective of African culture on the political and economic advancement of the continent. Through his speeches and writings, he successfully altered the negative elements of culture. The cultural aspect of decolonization is highlighted in his work *"Toward Colonial Liberation."*¹¹² According to Frehiwot, Nkrumah's independence movement was characterized by his rejection of tribalism and his embrace of

¹⁰⁷ Frehiwot, Mjiba. 2016. "(PDF) Kwame Nkrumah's Social-Political Thought and Pan-African Movement." ResearchGate. January 2016.

¹⁰⁸ (Frehiwot 2016)

¹⁰⁹ Fanon Frantz. 1996. *African Intellectual Heritage: A Book of Sources*. Edited by Molefi Kete Asante and Abu Shardow Abarry. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. See p.253

¹¹⁰ (Botwe 2005)

¹¹¹ Kariamu Welsh-Asante. 1994. *The African Aesthetic: Keeper of the Traditions*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. See p.26

¹¹² Nkrumah, Kwame. *Towards Colonial Freedom: Africa in the Struggle against World Imperialism*. London: Panaf, 2005

classical African history.¹¹³ There is a widespread consensus that historical factors exert a substantial influence on the realm of international politics and, consequently, on the formation of national cultures. Upon this realization, Nkrumah embarked on a mission to revise the historiography of Africa, which had been previously documented by colonialists following the abolition of slavery. Culture encompasses a broad range of phenomena, extending beyond mere artistic expressions such as music and dance, to encompass both individual behaviors and larger societal frameworks.¹¹⁴ Therefore, his cultural policies are indicative of his belief that culture can act as a transformative agent in shaping the perspectives of Ghanaians and the wider African community.

Cabral expounded on the exploitative nature of colonialism and its incompatibility with the fundamental principles of African society, which is founded on an egalitarian way of life.¹¹⁵ The individual came to the realization that the fundamental principles of African societies are based on mutual support, reciprocal relationships, and shared accountability. Nkrumah's political ideology is primarily informed by his theoretical framework, while his ideas are grounded on the ethical principles, humanistic values, and communal practices that are emblematic of traditional African societies. The theoretical foundation of Nkrumah's socialist argument can be traced back to the apex of African civilization, which is characterized by a collective ethos.¹¹⁶ At a societal level, this was manifested through the established principles upheld by institutions such as the clan system, were centered around the ideals of egalitarianism and shared accountability for the welfare of its constituents. The existence of a cultural ethic and a robust sense of community in African culture served as a hindrance to the development of Marxist-type classes.¹¹⁷

According to Nkrumah's perspective, the development of capitalism was a result of the refinement that arose from European feudalism, while the refinement that emerged from slavery led to the emergence of feudalism. The progression observed in European capitalism as compared to slavery and feudalism is evident in both the labor coercion techniques employed and the production mode utilized.¹¹⁸ Nkrumah posits that capitalism can be viewed as a refined form of

¹¹³ Frehiwot (2016)

¹¹⁴ See (Frehiwot 2016, p.4)

¹¹⁵ Cabral, Amílcar. 1981. "Unity and Struggle. Translated by Michael Wolfers. London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1980

¹¹⁶ See (Botwe 2005)

¹¹⁷ Nkrumah, Kwame. 1970. *Class Struggle in Africa*. Zed Books. See p.69

¹¹⁸ See (Botwe, 2005)

enslavement, as he states, "is but the gentleman's method of slavery".¹¹⁹ Colonialism had a detrimental impact on the preeminent wellbeing of individuals in pre-colonial African society. According to Botwe, the outcome of Western education on a group of Africans was the adoption of European ideals and concepts, which they considered appropriate for Africa. Upon receiving a European education, a significant number of African intellectuals became disconnected from their immediate realities.¹²⁰ The students were educated on the historical significance of ancient Greece and Rome, which are considered cultural incubators that gave rise to modern Europe. Additionally, they were instructed on the importance of European contemporary history, which was presented as a pivotal component of global history. Consequently, they carried a perspective that was incongruous with the actualities of their community and the obstacles encountered.

Nkrumah posited that authentic African values had been replaced by Islamic, Euro-Christian, and Traditional African values during the colonial era. Consequently, he advocated for the need to develop a new philosophy, as documented in Nkrumah's work in 1970.¹²¹ The coherence of this novel thought process must align with the fundamental tenets of African humanism, as posited by Nkrumah.¹²² Nkrumah's ideology endeavors to harmonize apparently incongruous currents, thereby facilitating their integration into the suppressed African identity that was shaped by colonialism. Moreover, in order to avert the emergence of hierarchical social classes, akin to the Marxist perspective on societal structure. Hence, it is crucial to reassess Marxism within the contemporary African context and formulate a new socio-political ideology that enables the holistic liberation of the African mindset. Nkrumah employs the resurgence of his philosophical consciensm to the actualities of the African continent. As per Hountondji's assertion, Nkrumah's understanding of consciousness would encompass not only the theoretical or cognitive aspects but also the practical or identity-forming dimensions of the term.¹²³

The assessment of capitalism's colonial legacy from an intellectual standpoint is contingent upon the extent to which one takes into account and defines the elevated principles of customary African society, as well as the particular historical contexts in which concessions were made.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ See (Nkrumah 1970, p.72).

¹²⁰ See (Botwe 2005)

¹²¹ See (Nkrumah 1970)

¹²² (Ibid, p.70)

¹²³ Hountondji, Paulin J. 1983. *African Philosophy*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

¹²⁴ Taylor, Samuel E. 1994. Kwame Nkrumah: A Case Study in Intercultural Leadership. Degree for the Doctor of Philosophy. Ann Arbor: United States International University. See p.82

Botwe contends that that some individuals may contend that an idea originating from a different culture cease to be "foreign" once it has been modified to align with the customs of a particular society.¹²⁵ Nkrumah's incorporation of Marxist concepts in his work, *Philosophical Consciencism*, serves a comparable objective. As per Kwame Botwe-Asamoah's analysis, this is the point at which Nkrumah diverges from figures such as Julius Nyerere.¹²⁶ At first glance, Julius Nyerere's reasoning seems to align with Nkrumah's assertion. The individual maintains that there was no attempt to exploit one another due to the shared membership within a group that provided mutual support. The author posits that the concept of private property ownership, which originated from colonialism, was a new and misguided notion that gave rise to social inequality, class stratification, and parasitic behavior. To Nkrumah, the root cause of Africa's problems can be attributed to the class divisions, corruption, self-centeredness, and emphasis on individualism that are inherent in capitalism.¹²⁷ Nkrumah maintains that every form of political authority is aligned with the interests of a specific class or society, rather than the interests of the laborers and peasants, which are advocated for by socialist regimes. Furthermore, it can be argued that the state is merely a reflection of the hegemony of a particular social class over another within a capitalist system, whereby the ruling government functions as the exploiting faction.¹²⁸

Following the attainment of independence, it is advisable for Africans to embrace their forefathers' customary practices regarding land tenure. Nkrumah espoused scientific socialism in light of technological progress, whereas Nyerere advocated for an African socialism. Botwe contends that Nkrumah's primary concern is the restoration of humanistic and egalitarian principles within African society, a goal that requires the implementation of scientific socialism.¹²⁹ To clarify, Nkrumah's objective is to revive African society with a socialist perspective and reevaluate it in a manner that allows for the resurgence of traditional African humanism within the framework of a modern technological society. The implementation of socialism in Africa could potentially mitigate the extensive societal disintegration and significant divisions that are prevalent in capitalist societies. This approach would involve a unique fusion of modern technology and African cultural values.

¹²⁵ See (Botwe 2013, p.46)

¹²⁶ (Ibid)

¹²⁷ See (Frehiwot 2016)

¹²⁸ (Nkrumah 1970, p.17).

¹²⁹ (Botwe 2005)

Nkrumah's asserts that the ethos of communalism is rooted in its humanistic values and its ability to maintain a harmonious equilibrium between individual advancement and communal welfare.¹³⁰ Therefore, it is imperative to revive the essence of African society rather than its framework. To Botwe, it has noteworthy ethical and moral ramifications.¹³¹ The African culture is characterized by justice, fairness, and a thriving communal existence. Philosophical consciencism aims to identify optimal approaches for promoting cultural progress and social stability, following centuries of subjugation by dominant global capitalist forces. Nkrumah's theoretical construct positing the communal ethos as the antecedent of scientific socialism is primarily based on the colonialism encounters. The assertion put forth by Cudjoe maintains that colonialism disrupted the historical coherence of African communism, leaving scientific socialism as the sole means of restoration.¹³² Toure asserts that the cultural values of a community were crucial to their endurance during times of oppression, and the emergence of any revolutionary ideology was contingent upon them.¹³³

Nkrumah's political ideology was anchored on the concept of "African socialism". Nkrumah employed this term in his written works to advocate for the consolidation of Africa, with the aim of revitalizing the continent's humanistic and egalitarian principles. According to Akomolafe, this enables him to contemplate the humanistic characteristics of conventional African culture and to deduce inferences regarding the African perception of humanity.¹³⁴ Accordingly, Africans believe that man was "endowed originally with some inward dignity, integrity, and value".¹³⁵ According to his perspective, it is advisable for the recently emancipated African nations to embrace socialist measures. His point is that the socialist ideology rooted in humanism bears the closest resemblance to the conventional social and political framework of Africa. Nkrumah believed that socialism is the most suitable philosophy that aligns with the humanist inclination of the African mentality.¹³⁶ This was a response made in relation to a call for African nations to exhibit a resolute dedication towards terminating exploitative and profit-driven practices. This

¹³⁰ Nkrumah, Kwame. 1973. *Revolutionary Path*. New York: International Publishers. See p.441

¹³¹ (Botwe 2005)

¹³² Cudjoe, Seth D. (1950). *Aids to African Autonomy: A Review of Education and Politics in the Gold Coast*. London: College Press. See p.34

¹³³ See (Botwe 2005)

¹³⁴ Akomolafe, Akinola Mohammed. 2011. "Kwame Nkrumah's Socialism: A Philosophical Appraisal" in *The Nigerian Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 1, pp. 52-64, University of Lagos

¹³⁵ (Nkrumah 1964, p.68)

¹³⁶ (Akomolafe 2011)

aligns with Nkrumah's conviction that concepts rooted in capitalism, such as "survival of the fittest," are incompatible with a Socialist society.¹³⁷ Nkrumah's conception of socialism involves endowing the populace with political agency, thereby enabling the articulation of the aspirations and capabilities of all citizens qualified to govern the nation. Notwithstanding the requirement for a modern-day implementation, Nkrumah's socialist ideology is intended to assist Africans in preserving the humanistic and egalitarian disposition that has historically characterized African civilization. He also appeared to propose the implementation of scientific methodologies across all domains of cognitive and artistic pursuits.

In line with Nkrumah's assertion, socialism is bound to generate a novel social amalgamation that can facilitate the attainment of a sophisticated society without the dreadful maladies and deep-seated divisions inherent in capitalist industrial society.¹³⁸ As indicated by Nkrumah's, Africa's socialist model aims to achieve a technologically advanced society while avoiding the inherent divisions of capitalist industrial society and significant social infractions. This model seeks to reconcile modern technology with traditional ethical values.¹³⁹ Hence, it is crucial to ensure genuine socialization of both productive and distributive processes in order to facilitate authentic economic and social progress in Africa. The assumptions and objectives of capitalism are incompatible with those of traditional African society, thereby betraying the identity and conscience of Africa.¹⁴⁰ Botwe contends that the principles that drive capitalism are inconsistent with the values of equality and humanism that are inherent in the customary African society.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, Nkrumah's social ideology is based on the fundamental principles that underpin traditional African society, such as prioritizing the welfare of the collective over individualistic pursuits, embracing communal responsibility, and recognizing the interconnectedness of individuals and communities. Further, he argues that it is imperative to recognize Western and Islamic movements as "experiences of Africa, rather than an African experience".¹⁴² The philosophical ideology of consciencism, as upheld by Nkrumah, presents a

¹³⁷ See (Akomolafe 2011, p.55; Nkrumah 1964)

¹³⁸ See (Nkrumah, 1973, p. 466)

¹³⁹ Nkrumah, Kwame. 1967. "African Socialism Revisited by Kwame Nkrumah 1967." Marxists.org. 2019.

¹⁴⁰ See Akomolafe (2011, p.57)

¹⁴¹ See (Botwe 2005)

¹⁴² See (ibid, p.167)

formidable challenge to the ethical foundations of society, the continued significance of its established institutions, and the historical origins of nation-states.¹⁴³

Nkrumah formulated a socialist philosophy, named Philosophical Consciencism, which was primarily based on his analysis of African issues and personality. The central thesis of Nkrumah's consciencism posits that the African consciousness in modern African society can be effectively tackled by advancing a distinct African philosophy. The philosophical framework that we adopt should derive its methods and strategies from the environmental and societal factors that are prevalent among the African populace. According to Nkrumah, the intellectual content of our philosophy must be derived from these circumstances.¹⁴⁴ Consistent with the principles of consciencism, a comprehensive and interconnected body of thought is required to achieve societal reconciliation. This body of thought must always consider the fundamental principles that form the basis of traditional African culture. Consciencism offers a theoretical justification for the adoption of scientific socialism as the principal ideology for the African Revolution. Similar to other ideological thinkers of his time who were responsible for formulating a conceptual framework for Africa's liberation, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah advocated for the incorporation of a metaphysical foundation to underpin the socialist policies. The author perceives consciencism as an all-encompassing philosophical framework that is applicable to various social or political objectives, beyond the consolidation of the three primary components of African heritage. As noted by Nkrumah, the existence of three distinct cultural influences, namely traditional Africa, Euro-Christian, and Islamic, has played a significant role in the identity crisis faced by Africa.¹⁴⁵ He reiterates this point. Even after independence, he maintained the belief that the enduring impact of colonialism would persist. Thus, Nkrumah's consciencism presents a possible resolution by amalgamating the three cultural strands in question. The primary objective of Nkrumah was to encourage Africans both within and outside the continent to engage in critical thinking and gain a deeper understanding of their surroundings. He believed that the key to achieving complete freedom, unity, and progress in Africa lies in the ability of Africans to comprehend philosophical consciencism, which involves examining issues from the standpoint of their fundamental reality.

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¹⁴³ (ibid)

¹⁴⁴ (Nkrumah 1964)

¹⁴⁵ (Nkrumah 1964 p.79)

¹⁴⁶ (Bonaventure 2016, p.14).

In all, Nkrumah's socio-cultural and political ideology had a significant impact on his engagements with Ghanaians, other African nations, the Diaspora, and the global community. The individual's philosophical beliefs had a significant impact on their pursuit of regional and continental unification, as well as their overall political trajectory. Although Nkrumah made endeavors to advance national and continental progress, he was cognizant of the possible ramifications of completely adopting Western capitalism. This describes the way in which he engaged with commercial entities, corporate establishments, and sovereign states that provided financial aid during his period of service.

3.3 SIGNIFICANT EVENTS IN GHANA'S HISTORY THAT HAD A PROFOUND IMPACT ON NKRUMAH.

Numerous pivotal occurrences in the history of Ghana exerted a profound influence on Nkrumah's political trajectory and ideological outlook. During the colonial era, Ghana experienced notable subjugation that had a lasting impact on its national identity. Apart from the exploitation of resources, the British Administration enforced rigorous governance over Ghana during that era, concurrently quelling any manifestation of nationalist sentiment. However, the emergence of a robust sense of nationalism in the 20th century coincided with the country's ascent as a formidable cultural and economic force. The movement had a significant impact on the empowerment of numerous Ghanaians who sought to assert their independence from British colonial rule. The genesis of nationalism in this era was a pivotal juncture in the history of Ghana, paving the way for subsequent leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah to assume leadership positions and strive towards the ultimate objective of establishing a sovereign state.

After being released from imprisonment in 1948, Nkrumah expressed dissatisfaction with the gradual pace of the independence movement led by the United Gold Coast Convention, which was primarily concerned with enacting constitutional changes. Following his departure from the UGCC, Nkrumah established the Convention People's Party (CPP) in 1949, with the aim of leading a more assertive and immediate political movement aimed at achieving Ghana's independence. The emergence of the CPP marked a pivotal moment in the historical trajectory of Ghana, as it assumed a formidable role in catalyzing transformative processes within the nation. The ideology of the political party was focused on attaining national unity and economic progress by means of industrialization. Through the CPP, Nkrumah successfully mobilized the youth and confronted the British colonial authorities, ultimately culminating in Ghana's independence after a

span of 8 years. For instance, in 1950, Nkrumah initiated the Positive Action Campaign, which enabled the CPP youth wings to instigate strikes, boycotts, and civil disobedience, thereby exerting significant pressure on the colonial government to expedite the process of self-governance. The endeavor proved to be efficacious in terms of augmenting public consciousness and mobilizing backing for independence. Therefore, the establishment of CPP denoted a pivotal moment in the history of Ghana, and Nkrumah emerged as a revered figure on a national scale, as well as a driving force for the Pan-African movement in Ghana.

3.4 PAN-AFRICANISM IN THE IDEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF NKRUMAH

The concept of Pan-Africanism has undergone a transformation in its scope, definition, and implementation over time. The pursuit of continental unity, albeit with an adverse connotation, is aimed at conferring visibility and significance to Africa. Pan-Africanism is widely debated as a worldwide movement that seeks to unify Africa and its populace in opposition to racial subjugation and exploitation linked to European dominance. In addition to providing the conceptual underpinning for African unity through the AU, Pan-Africanism calls for the mobilization of Africans against racism and colonialism. Pan-Africanism is a philosophy and a movement that, in the eyes of the AU, aims for the unity of all Africans. It is based on the idea that development in the fields of economics, society, and politics is inescapable without unity among people of African heritage. The ideology of Pan-Africanism, it continues, holds that all African peoples and nations share a common destiny.¹⁴⁷

According to Bujra's scholarly analysis, the origins of Pan-Africanism can be traced back to the 19th century, as he asserts obstinately in his work.¹⁴⁸ In accordance with his claim, the pan-African conferences that surfaced during the 20th century had shed their initial identity as a simple protest movement led by individuals of African descent residing in the Caribbean and the United States. Instead, they evolved into a potent tool employed by African nationalists in their struggle against colonial domination. Pan-Africanism has the potential to facilitate the self-determination of individuals of African descent who have been subjected to colonialism and imperialism.

¹⁴⁷ Kam Kah, Henry. 2016. "Kwame Nkrumah and The Panafrican Vision: Between Acceptance And Rebuttal." *Austral: Brazilian Journal of Strategy & International Relations* 5 (9). Kumah-Abiwu, Felix, and James R. Ochwa-Echel. 2013.

"Rethinking the Ideas of Pan-Africanism and African Unity: A Theoretical Perspective of Kwame Nkrumah's Leadership Traits and Decision Making." *The Journal of Pan-African Studies*, December. See p.124

¹⁴⁸ Bujra, Abdalla. n.d. "Bujra -from the OAU to the AU.pdf." www.academia.edu. See p. 108-109

According to Ratcliff, Pan-Africanism encompasses a multifaceted cultural, political, and social ideology, and represents a nuanced movement aimed at mitigating the dehumanizing consequences of the capitalist/Eurocentric paradigm of power.¹⁴⁹ Pan-Africanism serves as a response to the marginalization and economic oppression experienced by individuals of African origins. Pan-Africanism is perceived as a form of resistance against racial discrimination and the promotion of African identity as a source of dignity. Radcliffe's assertion suggests that African nations, by means of cultural, political, and social initiatives, were able to resist the colonial and neo-colonial practices of Europe, which have historically involved the exertion of power over other populations.¹⁵⁰ It is imperative for Africans to embrace Pan-Africanism as a means of combating racism and economic exploitation, by fostering unity instead of disunity.

Pan-Africanism, as understood by the diaspora community, aimed to elevate the status of individuals of African descent and functioned as a means of establishing political and cultural connections with Africa, a region with which they felt a strong emotional attachment.¹⁵¹ According to Momoh, Pan-Africanism functioned as a communal framework for the attainment of self-rule and arduous resistance against colonialism among the African populace residing on the continent.¹⁵² The author asserts that Pan-Africanism originated as a political movement that placed significant emphasis on the unity and identity of Africa. The theme of unity and resistance against colonialism is evident in the discourse at hand. However, the current focus has shifted from colonialism to neo-colonialism, which is deemed more pernicious than its predecessor.

Pan-Africanism is a philosophical concept that views Africa as the spiritual birthplace of a unified African populace, with a focus on promoting solidarity and fraternity among individuals of African descent. The concept of Pan-Africanism has elicited varying perspectives, with some scholars positing convergence while others divergence.¹⁵³ This is largely attributed to the distinct origins of the ideology in the political thought of African Americans, West Indians, and African elites who received education in Europe during the 19th and 20th centuries.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Ratcliff, Anthony. 2009. "Liberation at the End of a Pen: Writing Pan-African Politics of Cultural Struggle." *Open Access Dissertations*, May. See p.vi

¹⁵⁰ (Ibid)

¹⁵¹ (Kam Kah 2016, p. 145)

¹⁵² Momoh, Abubakar. 2003. "Does Pan-Africanism Have a Future in Africa? In Search of the Ideational Basis of Afro-Pessimism." *Afr. J. Polit. Sci* 8 (1). See p.32

¹⁵³ See (Kah, 2016, p. 146)

¹⁵⁴ Kathryn Sturman. 2007. "New Growth on Deep Roots' Prospects for an African Union Government." ISS Africa. June 7, 2007. See p.3

There exist various interpretations of Pan-Africanism beyond those previously examined, some of which do not align with Nkrumah's vision for Africa. Nkrumah demonstrated a nuanced understanding of various iterations of Pan-Africanism. His Pan-Africanist ideology was centered on advocating for political and economic integration.

The Call for Political Integration

Nkrumah argued that in order for Africans to effectively confront the challenges posed by the West, they must first achieve political unity. He maintained that all other manifestations of Pan-Africanism would follow suit. Nkrumah believed that enhanced political unity would enable Africa to assume control over its own fate. This statement implies that prioritizing the attainment of political power can lead to the acquisition of other desirable outcomes. Asante asserts that Nkrumah's vision extended beyond the realm of politics and encompassed cultural and philosophical aspects, with a strong emphasis on Afrocentric ideals.¹⁵⁵ Nkrumah's philosophy, which advocated for the establishment of an African personality and a nonracial African identity, was instrumental in advancing his vision of fostering African unity. Nkrumah possessed a keen awareness of the ramifications of a fragmented Africa. Kan posits that Nkrumah advocated for political cohesion in response to the nefarious conduct of European nations on the African continent.¹⁵⁶ Nkrumah observed that the Europeans' malevolent intentions in Africa could lead to inter-African conflict if Africans fail to take proactive measures and develop strategies for political unification. He warned that imperialists and colonialists could manipulate and exacerbate such conflicts from behind the scenes, resulting in devastating consequences for African nations. Nkrumah's observation was prescient as several African nations experienced internal strife in the decades following their attainment of independence. These nations include Burundi, Central African Republic, Libya, Mali, Nigeria, Somalia, and South Sudan. In a prophetic fashion, Nkrumah recognized the divergence of independent African countries and advocated for the consolidation of African resources and numbers to safeguard the continent from the perils of imperialism and neocolonialism. These appeals were disregarded, leading to the persistence of neo-colonialism in African nations. During that period, a significant number of African nations viewed Nkrumah as being motivated by personal interests in his efforts towards the advancement of Pan-Africanism.

¹⁵⁵ Asante, Molefi. 2012. "The Character of Kwame Nkrumah's United Africa Vision." *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 4 (10).

¹⁵⁶ See (Kam Kah 2016)

In May 1963, during a speech in Addis Ababa, Nkrumah emphasized his support for Pan-Africanism by advocating for the unification of African nations.¹⁵⁷ He asserted that failure to unite would result in expulsion, including his own. He urged the OAU to make a decision between advancing towards progress through the implementation of an effective African Union or regressing into a state of economic stagnation and political instability, thereby increasing the likelihood of foreign intervention. The topics of interference and subversion are being discussed. During the meeting, Nkrumah demonstrated a keen awareness of the destabilizing tendencies of Western nations and emphasized the importance of a cohesive policy and collective action for Africa's strength. He also highlighted the imperialists' reliance on the disunity of African nations for their own strength. The preservation of African people's freedom is contingent upon the unification of independent African nations. However, his peers did not pay attention to this urgent appeal. It can be inferred that Nkrumah possessed a remarkable foresight, as evidenced by the fact that his predictions have materialized, thus leading to the conclusion that he was ahead of his time by a century.

According to Lawson, the establishment of a United States of Africa could have safeguarded African nations from the dangers of balkanization and neo-colonialism, as well as prevented them from being manipulated as pawns in Cold War politics.¹⁵⁸ This unified entity would have possessed greater strength to determine its own path forward. Nkrumah ardently advocated for a Union Government under the banner of United States of Africa, with the aim of achieving economic, social, and political liberation of the African continent.¹⁵⁹ According to Kimaryo, Nkrumah argued that the attainment of comprehensive political and economic integration among the independent African nations is imperative for their mutual advancement. He further contended that the absence of such integration would impede the development of these countries.

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The call for Economic Integration

¹⁵⁷ Union, African. "Speeches & Statements Made at The First Organization Of African Unity (O.A.U) Summit," May 1963. https://au.int/sites/default/files/speeches/38523-sp-oau_summit_may_1963_speeches.pdf.

¹⁵⁸ Lawson, A. 2010. "Kwame Nkrumah's Quest for Pan Africanism: From Independence Leader to Deposed Despot." Semantic Scholar. 2010

¹⁵⁹ Olaosebikan, Aremu. 2011. "Kwame Nkrumah and the Proposed African Common Government." *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* 5 (4): 218–28. See p.218

¹⁶⁰ Kimarya, Leons. 2013. "Africa's Rocky Road to Continental Unity. Workshop to Commemorate 50 Years of OAU/AU," J.K Nyerere Hall, MUCoBS, May 24. See p.15

Africa was and continues to be abundant in mineral resources during the era of Nkrumah and the present day. Africa possesses a diverse range of minerals, such as asbestos, antimony, bauxite, chromite, cobalt, columbite, diamonds, gold, iron, manganese, phosphate, and tin.¹⁶¹ In addition to these resources, it is noteworthy that the continent boasts the largest reserves of uranium and water potential globally. According to Udida, all these factors were significant drivers of colonial expansion in Africa. Colonial powers engaged in the manipulation of economic exchange patterns to cater for their own needs. This involved the extraction of mineral resources and cash crops from their origins and their transportation to the ports for shipment. The colonial powers made significant endeavors to establish a state of dependence among their colonies on the exports from their respective colonizers. Consequently, the colonizers garnered significant economic gains, ensured employment for their populace, and maintained social stability. All these cultural practices were revived following colonization, albeit with reduced intensity. Udida opines that it became necessary to adopt an alternative strategy as the potential for African “happiness and development” was deemed bleak under both colonialism and neo-colonialism.¹⁶²

In keeping with Nkrumah, a crucial solution for Africa in this context was the implementation of centralized economic planning, involving the removal of trade barriers and the establishment of a unified African market consisting of 300 million producers and consumers.¹⁶³ Nkrumah held the belief that by doing so, Africa would be able to compete with European buyers who managed their dealings with foreign suppliers through alliances.¹⁶⁴ The establishment of a common market featuring a central bank, shared currency, and monetary zone would engender market confidence, thereby potentially attracting foreign investments.¹⁶⁵ Nkrumah expressed the need for a handout for African Common Market over that provided by the European Economic Community (EEC). He held the belief that the handouts provided by the ECC were created with the intention of preserving the longstanding connection between the continent of Africa, which primarily produces raw materials, and the industrialized continent of Europe. The key to Africa's salvation lies in the proactive efforts of its leaders to establish a government for the African union

¹⁶¹ See (Nkrumah 1963)

¹⁶² Undiyaundeye, Udida A. 2018. “Kwame Nkrumah and Pan African Consciousness: 1957 – 1966.” *Historical Research Letter* 44 (0): 1.

¹⁶³ (Ibid)

¹⁶⁴ See (Nkrumah 1963, p.162).

¹⁶⁵ (Ibid p.169)

and achieve complete economic integration at the continental level.¹⁶⁶ This, in turn, would enable them to break free from the manipulations of imperialist and neo-colonialist forces.

One of the aims of Nkrumah's Pan-Africanist ideology was to establish an African Personality by disentangling Africa from cultural entanglements with Europe and America. Nkrumah placed significant emphasis on the attainment of cultural hegemony and the cultivation of personal self-esteem among individuals of African descent, regardless of their geographical location.

¹⁶⁶ Undiyaundeye, Udida A. 2018. "Kwame Nkrumah and Pan African Consciousness: 1957 – 1966." *Historical Research Letter* 44 (0): 1.

CHAPTER 4

THE DIFFUSION OF NKRUMAH'S IDEAS WITHIN GHANA

This chapter delves into the various channels that facilitated the diffusion of Kwame Nkrumah's ideas and ideology throughout Ghanaian society. It sheds additional insight into the factors that contributed to the diffusion and prevalence of Nkrumah's ideologies through an examination of his educational and cultural initiatives, as well as his charismatic leadership approach and the influence of mass communication channels.

4.1. Nkrumah's Educational Policies

The diffusion of Nkrumah's ideas through educational revolution not only facilitated its dissemination, but also engendered a cohort of individuals who are capable of actively engaging in and perpetuating his vision for Ghana. Following the cessation of British colonial rule in 1957, Kwame Nkrumah, the leader of the Conventions People's Party, effectively utilized the Ghanaian educational infrastructure to disseminate his ideological tenets across the nation. Nkrumah's ultimate objective was to design educational programs that would mitigate inter-group conflicts, foster national unity, and promote equitable access to education. The proposition put forth by Nkrumah holds significant importance as it addresses the grievances of the common populace of Ghana in the aftermath of potent tribal associations that have resulted in sporadic outbreaks of violence, particularly in the northern region of the country. Nkrumah posits that Consciencism aims to restore the psychology of the populace by eliminating the colonial mindset and resolutely safeguarding the autonomy and well-being of the people.¹⁶⁷ The educational reforms implemented by Nkrumah played a pivotal role in fostering a sense of national unity and establishing a foundation for a collective consciousness in Ghana that prioritizes principles of egalitarianism and inclusivity.

Arhin mentioned that Nkrumah put forth the Education Act, commonly referred to as the Accelerated Development Plan, in 1961, with the aim of ensuring universal access to primary education for all pupils in Ghana. Nkrumah's political philosophy emphasized the importance of providing equitable treatment to all citizens of Ghana.¹⁶⁸ Graham asserts that Nkrumah's Educational Act initiative facilitated access to education for all Ghanaians, irrespective of their

¹⁶⁷ Nkrumah, Kwame. 1964. *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-Colonization*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

¹⁶⁸ Kwame, Arhin. n.d. "The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah." Goodreads. Accessed June 3, 2023.

gender or socioeconomic standing, and consequently, led to an increase in enrollment rates for girls and individuals from underprivileged backgrounds.¹⁶⁹ Similar to his mentor Aggrey, Nkrumah held the belief that providing education to the female population of a nation would yield positive outcomes for the entire country.¹⁷⁰ The 1961 legislation augmented the financial allocation for teacher education and facilitated the availability of educational materials to a broader spectrum of students.¹⁷¹ Nkrumah posited that the establishment of a strong basis in fundamental education and literacy was a prerequisite for expeditious economic and social advancement. Tsikata and Seni contends that the Nkrumah administration's implementation of free education in Northern Ghana was a deliberate attempt to redress long-standing regional biases.¹⁷² According to Emmanuel, a significant number of conflicts in the northern region were a result of severe economic deprivation. Consequently, a significant number of individuals, particularly in the Northern region of Ghana, fervently supported Nkrumah's proposition.¹⁷³

Nkrumah's strategy to mitigate the likelihood of grievances as a catalyst for violence encompassed the resolution of disparities in various regions of Ghana. As a result, the CPP government allocated significant resources towards the development of secondary education, recognizing its pivotal role in the advancement of the nation. According to Quist, the national secondary school initiative had a significant impact on the Northern, Upper East, and Upper West regions, which are characterized by poverty and geographical remoteness.¹⁷⁴ The initiative aimed to increase the enrollment of high school students, and it proved to be highly beneficial for these regions. The majority of conflicts in certain regions of Ghana are associated with grievances, including issues related to chieftaincy rights, land ownership, and ethnicity. However, as asserted by Collier and Hoeffler, it is important to note that grievances alone may not be sufficient to incite conflict. Given the relatively lower economic status of the Northern region, it was imperative for Nkrumah to prioritize the matter of inequality and accord greater significance to the advancement of the economy across Ghana in its entirety.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁹ See Davison. "EduSpots - How Successful Were Nkrumah's Education Policies (1951-1966) as a Tool for Peace-Building in Ghana?" EduSpots, 2017

¹⁷⁰ See (Biney 2011)

¹⁷¹ (Davison 2017)

¹⁷² Tsikata and Seni. 2004. 'Identities, Inequalities and Conflicts in Ghana'. Working Paper.

¹⁷³ Emmanuel, Anekunabe .K. "Northern Ghana: Ethnic Conflicts and Politics." GhanaWeb, 2017.

¹⁷⁴ Quist, Hubert O. 2005. "Secondary Education – a 'Tool' for National Development in Ghana. A Critical Appraisal of the Post-Colonial Context." *Africa Development* 28 (2). See p.190.

¹⁷⁵ Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Papers* 56 (4): 563–95.

Nkrumah required that Ghanaian tertiary institutions align with the state's interests and reflect the nation's values and objectives. Rather than pursuing self-interest, he ensured that Ghana's educational institutions gave precedence to the welfare of all citizens of Ghana. Consequently, he proceeded swiftly to quell the perceived disloyalty in these institutions, resulting in the estrangement of many important academic figures. Nkrumah's educational endeavors were characterized as "double-edged," as the saying goes.

Nkrumah recognized the significance of national solidarity in the attainment of Ghana's objectives of industrialization and modernization. According to Fuller, Nkrumah's ultimate objective for enhancing political stability in Ghana was to eradicate tribalism from the country's educational system.¹⁷⁶ Additionally, the author posits that Nkrumah's vision was for the people of Ghana to prioritize their allegiance to the nation-state over their individual regions. The CPP has implemented several measures to ensure that the welfare of all citizens of Ghana is given precedence over the interests of any specific ethnic group. In 1958, the Avoidance Discrimination Act was enacted with the purpose of prohibiting any political organization or conduct that prioritizes tribal affiliations over national interests.¹⁷⁷

Because it aligns with what a traditional Ghanaian society aspires to achieve—community interest rather than individual interest—Nkrumah's educational principles were able to spread. In light of this, its opponents were frequently labeled "neocolonialists", a term that suggested they were driven by a lust for power and wealth.¹⁷⁸ The school system in Ghana also did a good job of promoting Ghanaian culture. For example, the first Institute of African Studies opened in 1962, the Arts Council of Ghana was founded in 1964, and the Ghana Museum opened in March 1957.¹⁷⁹

Nkrumah established the inaugural secondary school in the Northern region. in an effort to bring about his vision of a unified Ghana in which all citizens have the same rights and opportunities regardless of where they were born. He implemented the Northern Scholarship Scheme as an additional measure to address the educational inequality that exists between the Northern and Southern regions. Fees for graduation exams and meals were covered as well as tuition in this package.¹⁸⁰ By this, Tsikata and Seini argue, Nkrumah understood that the country's

¹⁷⁶ Fuller, Harcourt. 2014. *Building the Ghanaian Nation-State*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US.

¹⁷⁷ (Biney 2011)

¹⁷⁸ (Arhin 1992)

¹⁷⁹ (Botwe 2005)

¹⁸⁰ (Arhin 1992)

fundamental ontology of wealth may cause an explosion of conflict.¹⁸¹ Nkrumah saw clearly that addressing the root causes of poverty was necessary because of the lack of educational and occupational opportunities in the North, where farming was the main source of income, but the land was less fertile than in the Ashanti and Volta regions. Nkrumah understood that winning over the Northern population and convincing them to embrace the new national identity would be an uphill battle until he addressed the root reasons of discontent there. He saw once more that the basic causes of regional ethnic strife were to be found in the underlying systems of poverty, injustice, extortion, and inequality.

Nkrumah's "National Secondary School System" educational program encouraged internal ethnic migration, which helped spread his vision of creating a national identity. There were two main outcomes from implementing migration policy through education in schools. First, it helped pupils in Ghana learn more about the diversity of the country's regions, languages, and cultures. Second, there was a significant narrowing of the wealth and opportunity gap across different regions. Since no quota system was put in place to ensure that the Northern part of the country received a secondary education, there were major disparities in educational opportunity throughout the colonial era. The Nkrumah' Administration instituted a mechanism to ensure that young people from all around the country, regardless of where they were born, have access to boarding schools. This was an important tool for fostering harmony in Ghana by breaking down linguistic and cultural barriers across communities. This strategy led to inter-marriages and friendships, which helped to eliminate the concept of "other."¹⁸² Teachers were also frequently relocated to different parts of the country. The failure of subsequent administrations to implement these programs after Nkrumah's presidency has contributed several ethnic tensions till now.

Nkrumah saw the importance of education not only in fostering national unity and fostering peace, but also in ensuring the success of his economic programs. Nkrumah saw that he could educate a competent and technically qualified workforce and win over the hearts and minds of Ghanaians to the ideology of the CPP in order to bring about a second economic and social revolution in Ghana. According to Ama Biney, Nkrumah saw education as primarily an ideological endeavor with pragmatic benefits.¹⁸³ Education under Nkrumah's government was intended to do

¹⁸¹ (Tsikata and Seini 2004)

¹⁸² (Botwe 2005)

¹⁸³ (Biney 2011)

more than just produce qualified employees; it was also aimed to foster a sense of nationalist and socialist pride among the Ghanaian people.

Nkrumah believed investing in a country's youth is crucial to that country's long-term success. There were many young people living in pre-independence Ghana. Nkrumah established the Young Pioneer Movement (YPM) and the Nkrumah Ideological Institute as crucial organizations for the purpose of inculcating nationalist and socialist ideology of the CPP among the youth and the populace of Ghana during that era.¹⁸⁴ The YPM was established by the CPP with the aim of imparting political philosophy to the upcoming generation, while also addressing the issue of colonial mentality among educators and parents. The program seeks to promote the ideology of the CPP as a means of eradicating this mentality. For this reason, pledges were required of pupils at both the start and end of the school lessons: *"To live by the ideals of Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah, Founder of the state of Ghana, initiator of the African personality; to safeguard by all means possible the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state of Ghana from internal and external aggression, and to be in the first ranks of men fighting for the total liberation and unity of Africa, for these are the noble aims guiding the Ghana Pioneers."*¹⁸⁵ Scholarships to study in places including the German Democratic Republic, Israel, and the Soviet Union were granted to some of the students. As of April 1962, the organization had 500,000 members, of which 190,000 were women spread over 5,000 branches. By June of 1963, its membership was said to have surpassed 1 million people.¹⁸⁶

Notwithstanding their aim to promote ethnic integration, these policies were fraught with ethnic tensions pertaining to land and sovereignty that could not be resolved through migration.

4.2. *Nkrumah's Cultural policies*

Nkrumah cultivated a collective consciousness among his followers that espoused his ideological convictions. The extensive influence of Nkrumah in Ghanaian culture can be attributed to the resonance of his cultural policies with the populace's desire for a strong sense of national identity. On Ghana's Independence Day, Nkrumah delivered a speech to people of Ghana wherein he expounded his vision for establishing a fresh foundation and a novel African personality and

¹⁸⁴ (Ibid)

¹⁸⁵ Agyeman, Dominic Kofi. 1988. *Ideological Education and Nationalism in Ghana under Nkrumah and Busia. Library Catalog (Blacklight)*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press. See p.3. Also see (Biney 2005 p.102)

¹⁸⁶ Parliamentary Debates, June 25, 1963, 150.

identity. Upon realizing the profound impact of colonialism on the ideology of Ghana's ethnic culture, Nkrumah embarked on a cultural policy aimed at reversing the damage.¹⁸⁷ Following his inauguration as the President of Ghana, he opted to encircle himself with customary emblems of power. Nkrumah endeavored to serve as an exemplar for the cultural renaissance he advocated. He adopted a popular communication approach by incorporating Ghanaian cultural art forms that were already familiar to his audience. Nkrumah was a master at using cultural symbols for political purposes, according to Hagan's analysis of his leadership.

As part of his cultural initiatives, Nkrumah founded the National Theater Movement, the Arts Council of Ghana, and the Institute of Arts and Culture.¹⁸⁸ The endorsement of these institutions and organizations by Nkrumah is indicative of his post-independence vision for the socio-economic development of Africa. Following Ghana's attainment of independence, Nkrumah introduced novel and practical measures into the country's political framework.

Nkrumah's adept utilization of creative culture and folk wisdom in the aftermath of decolonization had a profound impact on the Ghanaian population, as noted by Yankah.¹⁸⁹ As an example, in order to adhere to the secular and religious responsibilities of the customary rulers in the region, Nkrumah frequently used a white handkerchief, walking stick, and horsetail during public assemblies. The leadership approach described by Hagan aligns with the authoritative style of prominent traditional priests who held significant esteem within the nation. Consequently, this approach garnered widespread acceptance among the populace. Within the Akan cultural context, significant proclamations issued by the kings and queens were customarily disseminated at dawn. The notion of "Dawn Broadcast" was implemented by Nkrumah during the political landscape of Ghana following its independence, as documented by Botwe.¹⁹⁰ This underscores the significance of the messages conveyed by Nkrumah to the populace. In line with the customary practice of the traditional rulers referred to as "apae", Nkrumah designated Okyeame Boafo Akuffo as a state poet who delivers a condensed poetic piece prior to his speeches.¹⁹¹ Again, Nkrumah exhibited a remarkable capacity to establish a connection with the populace by employing cultural icons that

¹⁸⁷ Yorke, Jerry, Emmanuel Amissah, Patrique Degraft-Yankson, and Joseph Essuman. 2017. "An Overview of Kwame Nkrumah's Cultural Policies on Ghana's Visual Culture." *Research Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies* 3 (3)

¹⁸⁸ Sutherland, Efua (1965). *The Second Phase: A Review Of The National Theater Movement*; Ghana. Legon: Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana

¹⁸⁹ K. Yankah. 2016. "The Making and Breaking of Kwame Nkrumah: The Role of Oral Poetry." *Journal of African Studies*. 2016.

¹⁹⁰ See (Botwe 2005 p.120).

¹⁹¹ (Yankah 1985 p. 88)

struck resonated with the Ghanaian people. The utilization of customary Ghanaian attire, such as the kente fabric, facilitated the projection of an authentic image.

The veracity of Nkrumah's pre-existing reverence for African customs prior to his cultural initiatives during his presidency holds, albeit not without precedent in Ghana. At a broader level, there was a resurgence of African culture. The struggle for cultural autonomy in Ghana predates the implementation of Nkrumah's cultural initiatives subsequent to the attainment of independence. Several notable figures in Ghanaian history, including Kobina Sekyi, Casely Hayford, Ephraim Amu, Joseph Boakye Danquah, and Oku Ampofo, were active prior to Nkrumah's era and opposed the elimination of European nationalism. A significant number of individuals have dedicated their entire lifetimes to the revitalization of African cultures and languages.

Ultimately, Nkrumah adopted a dialectical methodology for all of his initiatives upon recognizing the interconnected nature of social existence in Ghana. Ghana gained international recognition due to its cultural policy that prioritized African cultural values. The cultural distinctiveness of Ghana was highlighted, and its populace exhibited a sense of pride in their historical heritage.¹⁹²

4.3. *Nkrumah's Charisma*

Through his rhetoric and actions, he was able to galvanize the populace, and his charismatic approach to leadership aligned with the aspirations and goals of the Ghanaian citizenry. Nkrumah's oratory skills and his vision for Ghana's future were instrumental in garnering significant support and fidelity from the populace. Along with Nkrumah's remarkable oratory skills and infectious charm, his dynamic persona played a crucial role in disseminating his ideas across Ghana. The vast majority of Ghanaians were deeply moved and found resonance in Nkrumah's resolute convictions and steadfast commitment towards his vision of a united Africa, thus leading to their active support for the movement. Nkrumah was primarily recognized for his amicable demeanor and eagerness to interact with individuals from various backgrounds, resulting in his adeptness at establishing connections and fostering confidence among a wide spectrum of individuals and communities in Ghana. Through his adept communication abilities and capacity to establish personal connections

¹⁹² (Yorke et al. 2017)

with others, Nkrumah effectively communicated his message of liberation and garnered extensive support for the Pan-Africanism movement in Ghana.

The speeches delivered by Nkrumah were not merely verbal expressions, but rather potent communiqués that deeply connected with the general populace. Through his inherent capacity to engage with his listeners, he established profound rapport with the Ghanaian populace. Through his oratory skills, Nkrumah effectively communicated his vision for Ghana and successfully garnered support from the Ghanaian populace. It is fascinating that he dedicated significant time and resources towards instructing young Ghanaians in the art of public speaking, with a particular emphasis on developing their communication and oratory abilities. Nkrumah initiated the cultivation of a fresh cohort of leaders in diverse Ghanaian communities, with the aim of establishing them as catalysts for transformative action.

Nkrumah's charismatic personality had a positive influence on the youth of Ghana. He successfully encouraged them to increase their political engagement and strive towards enhancing their nation. He dedicated a significant amount of time to prioritizing the education and growth of young individuals, as he held the conviction that the future of Ghana was contingent upon their abilities and potential. The Ghanaian youth's political involvement was enhanced by the individual's charisma, which fostered a sense of pride and solidarity among them. Nkrumah's leadership and vision for a better Ghana served as a source of inspiration for numerous young Ghanaians who dedicated themselves to the pursuit of this objective with unwavering commitment.

Nkrumah's adept utilization of storytelling and symbolism during his rallies was a pivotal element in his ability to galvanize and motivate individuals, ultimately contributing to his success. He would frequently commence his orations with anecdotes and metaphors that would strike a chord with his listeners. For instance, he drew a parallel between the fight for Ghana's autonomy and a confrontation between a diminutive bird and a formidable eagle. In addition, he employed visual aids, including maps, flags, and posters, to convey their conception of a cohesive and thriving Ghana. Also, Nkrumah was recognized for his dynamic presentation approach that merged fervent oration with synchronized gesticulations and motions. Through the amalgamation of diverse components, Nkrumah successfully crafted a compelling and persuasive discourse that motivated his adherents to rally behind his movement and strive for their communal emancipation and self-respect.

The incorporation of traditional proverbs and idioms in his orations enabled him to establish a meaningful connection with the populace. Furthermore, his choice to organize extensive public gatherings in urban areas, as opposed to the conventional formal venues utilized by political figures, augmented his rapport with the populace. By virtue of his charismatic aptitude to establish a connection with the general populace, he successfully cultivated a robust support base and fostered a sense of cohesion around his ideology, ultimately facilitating the dissemination of his vision for a liberated and prosperous Ghana.

4.4. *Functions of the Media in the Promotion of Nkrumah's ideas*

The media functioned as a vehicle for diffusion, proliferating Nkrumah's communication to all regions of Ghana. Nkrumah adeptly employed media channels to consolidate his authority and amplify the resonance of his perspectives through narrative control and shaping of public discourse. The facilitation of the spread of his ideas among Ghanaians was made possible through political education and activism. Nkrumah, who initiated his professional journey as a student activist and political mobilizer, acknowledged the importance of mass media channels such as press, television, and radio in advancing his objectives of propagating political awareness and galvanizing the populace to engage in civic action in Ghana.¹⁹³ The establishment of the Ghana News Agency (GNA) in 1957 served as a platform for disseminating his ideologies and advancing the international image of Ghana.¹⁹⁴ Upon discovering that a significant proportion of the Ghanaian population lacked basic literacy skills, he made the strategic decision to utilize radio as the most effective means of disseminating his policies to the masses throughout the nation. Under Nkrumah's administration, there was a significant utilization of indigenous languages such as Ewe, Fante, Ga, Hausa, and Twi for radio transmissions in Ghana. In effect, the local population exhibited a high degree of receptivity towards Nkrumah's messages.

Nkrumah perceived the media as a mechanism to promote his political education agenda, spread his socialist principles, reinforce national cohesion, and augment Ghana's global standing. He made it quite clear that he plans to utilize the newly established Ghana Television Service (which began broadcasting in July 1965) as an ideological weapon in his quest to remake Ghana.¹⁹⁵ The Ghana Television Service was an important tool in his plan to create the new country he envisioned. He

¹⁹³ See (Biney 2011, p.114)

¹⁹⁴ See (Biney 2011)

¹⁹⁵ (Ibid)

made the TV channel a nonprofit public service station out of concern that commercials may corrupt the integrity of his messages.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁶ (Ibid)

CHAPTER 5

THE DIFFUSION OF NKRUMAH'S IDEAS THROUGHOUT THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

The comprehensive analysis of multiple significant elements is imperative in comprehending the extensive acceptance and diffusion of Nkrumah's ideas. This chapter scrutinizes the political atmosphere, economic development objectives of African nations, revitalization of cultural heritage, and the significance of education in generating and disseminating Nkrumah's ideas. This chapter not only enhances our understanding of the enduring impact of Nkrumah's ideas on the political and social terrain of Africa, but it also illuminates the historical circumstances that gave rise to them. Finally, the chapter examines the impact of Nkrumah's ideas on other African countries, the reception of his ideas beyond the African continent as well as the criticisms levelled against Nkrumah.

5.1 FACTORS THAT FACILITATED THE DIFFUSION OF NKRUMAH'S IDEAS BEYOND GHANA

5.1.1 The Political Milieu That Surrounded African Nations During That Particular Epoch

Nkrumah's promotion of African autonomy and Pan-Africanism garnered support from various leaders and advocates throughout the continent who were endeavoring to achieve self-governance and solidarity. The advocacy for decolonization and the formation of self-sufficient African states resonated with African political leaders, leading to a surge in nationalist movements and the eventual emancipation of numerous African nations. A crucial element that enabled the diffusion of Nkrumah's ideologies beyond the borders of Ghana was the political context that enveloped African nations during that era. The prevalence of anti-colonial sentiment and the struggle for independence were widespread across numerous countries, with a notable emphasis on the demand for African unity. Ayittey asserts that Nkrumah's concepts of Pan-Africanism, African socialism, and political freedom were favorably received and had a significant impact on numerous African nations striving for emancipation.¹⁹⁷ The circumstance facilitated the dissemination of Nkrumah's ideologies and strategies beyond the borders of Ghana.

The influence of Pan-Africanism was also crucial in spreading Nkrumah's ideas. Nkrumah was an outspoken supporter of African solidarity and independence from colonial rule. The Pan-

¹⁹⁷ Ayittey, George B.N. 1994. *Africa Betrayed*. [Link.springer.com](http://link.springer.com). Palgrave Macmillan New York.

African movement, which strongly took a turn in the 20th century, advocated for continental African unity and the value of African art and literature. The Pan-African ideals of Kwame Nkrumah found an audience among African intellectuals and political leaders, and his ideas quickly acquired traction across the continent.¹⁹⁸

Ghana's foreign policy played a pivotal role in the diffusion of Nkrumah's ideology beyond the territorial confines of Ghana. Nkrumah utilized Ghana's newly acquired independence to promote Pan-Africanism through the establishment of strong diplomatic ties with other African nations and non-aligned states. According to Gumede, the foreign policy of Ghana, which was based on Nkrumah's ideology of African socialism and anti-colonialism, had a significant impact on African leaders such as Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Robert Gabriel Mugabe of Zimbabwe, and Muammar Gaddafi of Libya.¹⁹⁹ In his capacity as the leader of Ghana, Nkrumah's foreign policy had a far-reaching impact in communicating his principles throughout Africa and other regions.

The synchronization of Nkrumah's involvement with the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was significant, as the objectives of promoting global harmony and opposing neo-colonialism were in line with Ghana's foreign policy following its decolonization.²⁰⁰ As a member of the leadership team, he was actively engaged in the organization's operations. The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) witnessed an increase in its membership as more countries joined, and the organization demonstrated a heightened dedication to advocating for the interests of developing nations.²⁰¹ This serves as an illustration of Nkrumah's commitment to advancing African autonomy and empowering the region to participate in global matters.

The adoption of Pan-Africanism by Nkrumah served as a unifying principle for the African continent and played a significant role in the propagation of his ideology beyond the borders of Ghana.²⁰² Nkrumah galvanized a coalition of African leaders and activists who espoused his ideology by emphasizing the criticality of a unified Africa. Furthermore, he established entities

¹⁹⁸ Akyeampong, E. 2000. "Africans in the Diaspora: The Diaspora and Africa." *African Affairs* 99 (395): 183–215.

¹⁹⁹ Gumede, Vusi. 2017. "(PDF) Thandika Mkandawire: Development, African Nationalism and Pan-Africanism." ResearchGate. 2017.

²⁰⁰ Das Gupta, Anirudha, and A.S. Shahid. 1981. "Ghana's Non-Alignment under Kwame Nkrumah." *International Studies* 20 (1-2): 401–9.

²⁰¹ (Ibid)

²⁰² Kumah-Abiwu, Felix, and James R. Ochwa-Echel. 2013. "Rethinking the Ideas of Pan-Africanism and African Unity: A Theoretical Perspective of Kwame Nkrumah's Leadership Traits and Decision Making." *The Journal of Pan-African Studies*, December

such as the All-African People's Conference (AAPC) to enhance communication and collaboration among African leaders.²⁰³ As a result of these factors, Nkrumah's concepts and impact were able to transcend Ghana and facilitate the progress of the independence movement throughout Africa.

5.1.2 The Economic Development Goals of African Countries

Nkrumah's prioritization of economic self-sufficiency, industrialization, and mobilization of resources resonated with other leaders who acknowledged the necessity of economic empowerment and liberation from the constraints of neo-colonialism. The concepts espoused by Nkrumah exerted a significant impact on the priorities of African governments, prompting the creation of policies and strategies that sought to stimulate economic development, decrease reliance on external powers, and enhance intra-African commerce. Nkrumah's ideas gained widespread dissemination across Africa and beyond due to the emergence of the international economic system and the proliferation of capitalism. His economic policies, particularly his goals of industrialization and nationalization, aligned with the objectives of economic development in various African nations. The economic policy of Nkrumah's administration was centered on prioritizing economic autonomy and central planning. The establishment of the state marketing board was intended to regulate the exportation and pricing of commodities, such as cocoa, subsequent to the nationalization of businesses by the government. The aim was to generate revenue for the advancement of the nation by harnessing its natural resources. Nkrumah's renowned declaration, "We prefer self-government with danger to servitude in tranquility".²⁰⁴

The widespread popularity of Nkrumah's ideas was partly attributed to the triumph of Ghana's industrialization during his tenure as a leader. During his tenure, the nation experienced unparalleled economic growth and advancement, serving as a model for other African leaders and advocates of anti-colonialism. It has been argued that Nkrumah provided compelling evidence that industrialization was a viable option for Africa and had the potential to result in significant economic progress. The demonstration of practical accomplishment served to enhance Nkrumah's credibility and extend his influence beyond the borders of Ghana.

The diffusion of Kwame Nkrumah's ideologies extended beyond the borders of Ghana through global trade accords. Upon its accession to the British Commonwealth in 1957, Ghana was

²⁰³ (Ibid)

²⁰⁴ See (Kumah-Abiwu and Ochwa-Echel 2013, p.134). Also see (Nkrumah, 1957)

granted access to substantial trade agreements with other member nations of the Commonwealth. Nkrumah was able to advocate for the unification of Africa due to Ghana's increasing commercial and diplomatic influence, which positioned him favorably. Nkrumah's extensive travels throughout Africa and other regions of the world facilitated the diffusion of his philosophical tenets well beyond the borders of Ghana, thereby supplementing the efforts of the media. Nkrumah garnered backing for his objective of African liberation and solidarity by means of his public orations and consultations with other figures and advocates who espoused his dedication to Pan-Africanism and socialism.

5.1.3 Restoration of Africa's Cultural Legacy

Nkrumah instilled a sense of pride and identity among Africans by emphasizing Africa's rich history, cultural heritage, and artistic expressions. The resurgence of African culture served as a unifying force for opposition against cultural imperialism and a retrieval of African identity. The resonance of Nkrumah's ideas with the cultural pride deeply ingrained in African people, as well as their desire to safeguard and commemorate their heritage, played a role in the diffusion of his ideas across the continent. The propagation of Nkrumah's pan-Africanist views was significantly facilitated by the dissemination of African literature and art beyond the borders of Ghana. African artists and authors played a significant role in advocating for civil liberties and emancipation within the continent. The narratives depicted the challenges faced by individuals of African descent and served as a source of motivation for individuals across the African continent and beyond. African literature has been widely acknowledged as a crucial medium for the propagation of the ideals of Pan-Africanism. The literary works of Chinua Achebe's "Things Fall Apart" and Ayi Kwei Armah's "The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born" served to motivate and educate a cohort of Africans who were eager to articulate their cultural and political identities.²⁰⁵

Restoring Africa's cultural legacy was central to Nkrumah's plan for the continent's modernization. He was convinced that this was necessary to win full freedom from Western rule. Nkrumah believed that a nation's culture reflected its own identity and espoused the importance of safeguarding and advancing the cultural legacy of Africa. The African personality and identity

²⁰⁵ Ayivor, Moses Geoffrey Kwame. 1998. "A Saga of Black Deglorification: The Disfigurement of Africa in Ayi Kwei Armah's Novels." Open.uct.ac.za. 1998.

must be revitalized, he said at the start of the inaugural All-African People's Conference in Ghana in 1958, so that Africans may once again take control of their own destinies.²⁰⁶

Nkrumah's views were able to spread beyond Ghana thanks in large part to the development of several Pan-African organizations and conferences. In 1958, Nkrumah organized a gathering of nationalist leaders from various regions of Africa known as the All-African People's Conference. The primary objective of this conference was to engage in discussions regarding strategies for achieving African unity and independence. The Conference served as an impulse for the establishment of additional Pan-African organizations, including the Casablanca Group and the Monrovia Group, which were formed to further explore the concept of African unification and Nkrumah's principles.²⁰⁷

The widespread availability of print media across the African continent facilitated the promotion of Nkrumah's ideas beyond the borders of Ghana. The diffusion of Nkrumah's Pan-Africanism message to other African nations was facilitated through the utilization of print media. According to Owusu-Ansah, the dissemination of Nkrumahism beyond the borders of Ghana was facilitated by the African newspapers and journals.²⁰⁸ This medium played a pivotal role in the diffusion of the ideology. The author posits that Nkrumahism was able to reach a wider audience due to the availability of this medium.²⁰⁹ Consequently, an increased number of individuals began to take notice of Nkrumah and his ideologies, thereby augmenting the proliferation of pan-African consciousness.

The popularization of Nkrumah's perspectives beyond the borders of Ghana was significantly influenced by the African American civil rights movement. The tactics of civil disobedience, grassroots organizing, and the use of media technologies to spread their message were not lost on Ghanaian nationalists. Nkrumah's movement received widespread publicity and support from prominent African Americans like as W. E. B. Du Bois and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

5.1.4 *Educational Factors*

²⁰⁶ (Nkrumah 1958).

²⁰⁷ (Kumah-Abiwu and Ochwa-Echel 2013)

²⁰⁸ Owusu-Ansah, David. 2005. *Historical Dictionary of Ghana*. Google Books. Scarecrow Press.

²⁰⁹ (Ibid p.64)

Through the allocation of resources towards education and the establishment of educational institutions, Nkrumah facilitated the acquisition of knowledge and critical thinking abilities among Africans, thereby cultivating a cohort of individuals who were equipped to engage with and advance his vision for the African continent. The alignment of Nkrumah's educational endeavors with the yearnings of Africans for intellectual and human advancement played a significant role in the extensive diffusion of his ideas. The establishment of universities and colleges in Ghana played a crucial role in disseminating Nkrumah's ideology beyond the national boundaries. These educational institutions facilitated the development of a group of highly educated individuals who subsequently disseminated Nkrumah's pan-Africanist ideology across the African continent. This was achieved through the provision of advanced educational opportunities to both domestic and foreign students. Kenneth Kaunda obtained his education at the University of Fort Hare in South Africa prior to assuming the role of Zambia's inaugural president and a prominent advocate for Pan-Africanism.²¹⁰

Nkrumah's conviction in the significance of investing in human resources and establishing a robust educational system led to the dissemination of his principles through education. Nkrumah established the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute in Ghana with the aim of instructing intellectuals in the propagation of his ideological perspectives. Additionally, he provided financial support for African education in Europe and America. Consequently, a considerable number of African students who pursued their education overseas returned to their home countries with robust sentiments of Pan-Africanism, socialism, and anti-colonialism, thereby propagating Nkrumah's perspectives throughout the continent.

5.2.THE INFLUENCE OF NKRUMAH'S IDEAS ON OTHER AFRICAN NATIONS

Many other African countries adopted Nkrumah's views on Pan-Africanism and the importance of African unification. President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya echoed these sentiments, arguing that Africans must work together for their progress. Julius Nyerere, the president of Tanzania, shared Nkrumah's hope for a united Africa. Nkrumah's ideals also influenced figures like Guinea-Bissau's Amilcar Cabral, who fought against Portuguese colonial rule. Nkrumah advocated for the unification of Africa and its liberation from European colonialism as a means to foster economic and social advancement on the continent. He made a prognostication that the presence of

²¹⁰ Mweene, Omedy. 2021. "Kenneth Kaunda and the African Humanist Philosophy." *Www.academia.edu*, January.

neocolonialism and capitalism would serve as obstacles to the progress of Africa and put forth socialism as a viable remedy. His perspectives had an impact on the struggle for independence and the approach to progress in various African nations.

Nkrumah was a fervent advocate of Pan-Africanism, which entails fostering collaboration and camaraderie among all African nations, and this ideology served as an impetus for different African leaders to follow suit. In 1963, Nkrumah proposed the establishment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) with the aim of promoting political and economic collaboration among African governments. This action exemplified his commitment towards promoting an Africa that is liberated from the influences of colonialism and external control. The ideals of Nkrumah had a direct influence on Pan-Africanist and African socialist leaders such as Julius Nyerere, Kenneth Kaunda, and Ahmed Sekou Toure.²¹¹

5.3. THE RECEPTION OF NKRUMAH'S IDEAS OUTSIDE OF AFRICA

Nkrumah's propositions, as articulated in his literary work "Consciencism," have exerted a significant influence that extends well beyond the African continent.²¹² The book has garnered attention and analysis from individuals of diverse backgrounds, as it presents Nkrumah's concept of African socialism. Carina Ray has referred to "Consciencism" as a "canonical text in postcolonial studies", indicating its significance in the field.²¹³ Numerous scholars have been impacted by Nkrumah's theories, particularly those who have endeavored to establish a connection between his ideas and current dialogues concerning development and globalization. The objective of this section is to examine the reactions of individuals residing beyond the African continent towards Nkrumah's perspectives. Nkrumah is widely regarded as a leading political theorist in Africa, and his concepts on Pan-Africanism, non-alignment, and development have exerted a noteworthy influence on the developing nations of the world. This section will examine the reception and interpretation of Nkrumah's ideas by individuals residing beyond the African

²¹¹ Emmanuel Kwaku Akyeampong, and Henry Louis. 2012. *Dictionary of African Biography*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

²¹² Nkrumah, Kwame. 1964. *Consciencism : Philosophy and Ideology for De-Colonization*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

²¹³ Ray, Carina E. 2017. "Crossing the Color Line: Race, Sex and the Contested Politics of Colonialism in Ghana." *Journal of West African History* 3 (1): 115

continent, through an analysis of his written works and the viewpoints expressed by distinguished scholars and politicians.

Despite being primarily focused on Pan-Africanism and decolonization, Nkrumah's views had a significant impact beyond the African continent. Nkrumah's convictions had a significant impact on the Black Power movement in the United States, which embraced his concept of Pan-Africanism as a means of combating racial inequalities. The advocacy for Pan-Africanism and African unification, as espoused by Nkrumah, holds relevance that extends beyond the African continent. According to Adom Getachew, a historian, the perspectives of Nkrumah may serve as a valuable resource for anti-colonial movements in Asia and Latin America. As noted by Adom, the relevance of his appeal for international solidarity in the context of Western hegemony extends to contemporary issues such as income inequality and climate change.²¹⁴ Pan-Africanism remains relevant to the African diaspora due to its objectives of promoting racial parity and enhancing the political, social, and economic welfare of black individuals. Pan-Africanism, as argued by Ewing, functioned as a unifying framework for global anti-colonial and anti-racist movements, and also served as a source of motivation for the American Civil Rights Movement.²¹⁵

Nkrumah espoused a staunch anti-imperialist stance and placed significant emphasis on the significance of global solidarity among marginalized communities. Nkrumah attributed Africa's poverty and underdevelopment to imperialism and advocated for international cooperation as a means to address this issue.²¹⁶ Nkrumah garnered support from numerous activists and intellectuals globally due to his anti-imperialist stance, which positioned him as a visionary leader and a symbol of resistance against Western hegemony.

Socialism has gained significant popularity in developing nations due to its commitment to eradicating inequality and exploitation. The successful implementation of socialist ideologies has been demonstrated in countries such as China and Cuba. Numerous leaders of developing nations drew motivation from Nkrumah's socialist ideology while endeavoring to liberate their nations from Western hegemony and institute more equitable communities. According to Nkrumah, socialism is the sole solution to the issue of human exploitation by other humans.²¹⁷

²¹⁴ Adom, Getachew. 2019. *Worldmaking after Empire*. Press.princeton.edu. 2019.

²¹⁵ Ewing, Adam. 2020. "Pan-Africanism: A History." *Journal of American History* 107 (1): 150–51.

²¹⁶ Nkrumah, Kwame. 1965. *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*. New York: International Publishers.

²¹⁷ (Ibid)

Kwame Nkrumah's advocacy for the collaboration among newly liberated nations in the Global South was a pivotal element in the emergence of the Non-Aligned Movement. Nkrumah's concept of "positive neutralism" advocated for a stance of impartiality towards both the Western powers and the Soviet Union, which brought about a fresh phase of global cooperation and assistance. The non-aligned countries, during their inaugural summit in Belgrade in 1961, formulated a consolidated position against colonialism, imperialism, and nuclear weapons, as a consequence of this approach.²¹⁸

In the opinion of David Birmingham, a historian, the advocacy for Nkrumah's ideologies of Pan-Africanism and liberation of Africa from colonialism was not limited to the African continent, but also had a following beyond its borders. The utterances of Nkrumah garnered significant backing from anti-colonialists across the Caribbean region. Activists in the United States were similarly motivated by his call for a united Africa. He asserts that Nkrumah's perspectives had a far-reaching influence that extended beyond the African continent and were well-received by advocates of liberation across the globe.²¹⁹

The response of the Western world towards Nkrumah and his ideologies was intricate. Simultaneously, his socialist ideologies were perceived as a threat to the economic system of Western capitalism, while he was also regarded as an emblematic figure of African opposition to colonialism and racial discrimination. The United States perceived Nkrumah's advocacy for non-alignment and Pan-African unification as a challenge to its Cold War foreign policy. However, Nkrumah's ideals continue to exert a significant influence on activists and leaders both within and beyond Africa.²²⁰ Initially, Western powers expressed skepticism and rejection towards Nkrumah's vision of African unity and freedom. Both the British and the French exhibited a degree of reluctance in relinquishing their respective territorial holdings in Africa. The message conveyed by Nkrumah was well-received and endorsed by several African leaders, as well as the Soviet Union. His theoretical contributions ultimately facilitated the process of decolonization in Africa and led to the attainment of independence by several states. The perspectives of Nkrumah had a significant impact on European socialist factions and scholars. The anti-colonial rhetoric and emphasis on self-determination were well-received by individuals on the political left who

²¹⁸ Das Gupta, Anirudha, and A.S. Shahid. 1981. "Ghana's Non-Alignment under Kwame Nkrumah." *International Studies* 20 (1-2): 401-9.

²¹⁹ Birmingham, David. 1996. "Decolonization of Africa Book." ThriftBooks. 1996. See p.312

²²⁰ Quidoo, Eric. 2010. "The United States and the Overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah." *Master's Theses*, November.

advocated for decolonization and socialism. The ideologies propagated by the Communist parties in France and Italy during the period under consideration were well-received, as evidenced by their significant influence.²²¹ The international standing of Nkrumah was enhanced by this development, thereby validating his message beyond the African continent.

During the peak of the civil rights movement in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s, Nkrumah exerted significant influence. The emphasis on unity among persecuted groups by him acted as a catalyst for African American civil rights activists. Nkrumah's leadership and ambition were lauded by numerous notable African American figures, including but not limited to Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X. Nkrumah was recognized by Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. as the individual who showcased the potential of African freedom and dignity, whereas Malcolm X held him in high esteem.²²²

Nkrumah's Pan-Africanism exerted a notable influence on the Black Power Movement in the United States. The objective of the movement, akin to that of Ghana under Nkrumah's leadership, was to enhance the status of individuals of African descent and cultivate a sense of racial pride and selfhood. The Black Panther Party was significantly impacted by Nkrumah's principles of revolutionary transformation and emancipation. The impact of Nkrumah's principles is extensive, exemplified by the Black Panther Party's global outlook and opposition to imperialism.

The postcolonial nationalist movements in Asia were influenced by themes such as non-alignment, anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, and Pan-Africanism, which were also prominent in Nkrumah's ideology.²²³ The establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) by Indonesian President Sukarno was a consequential outcome of the influence of Nkrumah, with significant implications for global politics during the Cold War era.²²⁴ Thandika Mkandawire and Soludo assert that Nkrumah was held in high esteem in India as a revolutionary figure and an emblem of Pan-Africanism in the context of the anti-colonial struggle.²²⁵ Nkrumah's Ghana, postcolonial

²²¹ Hargreaves, John D. 1986. "Africa under Colonial Domination 1880–1935." Edited by A. Adu Boahen. *International Affairs* 62 (2): 335–36.

²²² Umi, Ahjamu. 2021. "The Unknown Relationship between Kwame Nkrumah and Malcolm X." Hood Communist. February 25, 2021.

²²³ Young, M. Crawford, and Ali A. Mazrui. 1980. "The African Condition: A Political Diagnosis." *Political Science Quarterly* 95 (4): 716

²²⁴ Prasad, V. 2007. "The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World." Semantic Scholar. 2007.

²²⁵ Thandika Mkandawire, and Charles C Soludo. 1999. *Our Continent, Our Future African Perspectives on Structural Adjustment*.

Indonesia, and post-independence India share similar experiences with regards to colonial exploitation and struggles for independence, thereby exhibiting significant similarities.

Nkrumah played a pivotal role in promoting collaboration among nations in Africa and Asia. He believed that the attainment of freedom for any nation necessitated the decolonization of the entire world. Nkrumah advocated for solidarity between the two regions, recognizing similarities in their struggles against colonialism. The renowned Bandung Conference of 1955, which he played a role in organizing, served as a platform for African and Asian leaders to engage in discussions pertaining to issues of common concern.²²⁶

5.5.CRITICISMS LEVELLED AGAINST NKRUMAH

Nkrumah's administration has been frequently criticized for the excessive concentration of power in his hands. Throughout his presidential tenure, Nkrumah implemented a system of governance in which only one political party was allowed to operate, suppressed political dissidents, and curtailed fundamental civil liberties. Critics argued that the consolidation of power posed a threat to democratic values and impeded the exchange of political ideas. Mazrui's scholarly article titled "*Nkrumah: The Leninist Czar*" draws a comparison between Nkrumah and Lenin, positioning the former as an African version to the latter.²²⁷ Mazrui posits that Nkrumah's steadfast advocacy for the unification of Africa can be attributed to his adherence to Leninist principles. According to Mazrui's argument, Nkrumah aspired to embody the roles of both Africa's Lenin and Ghana's Czar.²²⁸ In the opinion of Mazrui, Nkrumah's acceptance of the title Osagyefo, which means Redeemer and was bestowed upon him by the Ghanaian royalty, was the strongest evidence of his authoritarian rule. Mazrui, known for his pragmatic approach and high tolerance for paradox, did not object to the idea that an individual could embrace both Leninism and Czarism, despite their apparent ideological differences.²²⁹

Likewise, The Nkrumah regime imposed significant limitations on the freedom of the press and suppressed opposition to its political agenda. The autocratic regime engaged in the practice of censorship and intimidation towards journalists, leading to the closure of newspapers that

Dakar Codesria.

²²⁶ Omari, T P. 2014. "Kwame Nkrumah: The Anatomy of an African Dictatorship," 2014.

²²⁷ Mazrui Ali. 2023. "Nkrumah: The Leninist Czar." Transition: An International Review. 2023

²²⁸ (Ibid)

²²⁹ (Ibid)

expressed dissenting opinions. The lack of press freedom and limited political space for alternative viewpoints has been a cause for concern among both domestic and foreign observers. This situation has been seen as detrimental to democratic norms and has hindered the exchange of ideas. Ansah's argument highlights the undeniable authoritarian influence on Nkrumah's media philosophy.²³⁰

Nkrumah implemented an extensive economic development program referred to as "Nkrumahism" or "African socialism." Nevertheless, his economic strategies, which prioritized state regulation and the acquisition of crucial sectors by the government, were subject to censure due to their ineffectiveness and absence of durability. The implementation of these policies resulted in a noteworthy escalation in the public debt, inflation, and economic downturn, ultimately imposing enduring financial obstacles on Ghana.

²³⁰ Owusu-Ansah, David. 2005. *Historical Dictionary of Ghana*. Google Books. Scarecrow Press

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1. Summary of the Main Findings and Their Implications

This study has effectively conducted a critical analysis of the diffusion of Kwame Nkrumah's ideas within Ghana and beyond. In doing so, Chapter two of the study explored the available material and highlight why Nkrumah's ideas are still relevant today. It examined Nkrumah's impact on contemporary debates over African nationalism, decolonization, and Pan-Africanism. It does, however, emphasize the need for a nuanced reading that accounts for Nkrumah's principles' positive and negative impacts on Ghana and Africa. The literature evaluation in this study paved the way for more in-depth studies of Kwame Nkrumah, a pivotal figure in African history, and his complex thoughts.

Chapter three expounded on the impact of Nkrumah's biography, sociocultural ideology, political philosophy, and significant historical events on his trajectory. The chapter's research indicates that Nkrumah's vision remains an important driver in the struggle for African solidarity, autonomy, and equitable treatment, despite being subject to debate and evaluation. The intricate interplay between Nkrumah's individual trajectory, his socio-cultural ideology, his political philosophy, and his enduring impact on the domain of Pan-Africanism constitutes a subject of considerable complexity. This review, therefore, represents a valuable reference point for forthcoming investigations, as scholars and researchers undertake more extensive analyses of Nkrumah's concepts and experiences.

Chapter four of the study undertook an analysis of the impact of Nkrumah's initiatives aimed at enhancing the accessibility and quality of higher education for the entire Ghanaian populace. Based on the findings of the study, Nkrumah aimed to cultivate a collective sense of national identity and a dedication to his progressive vision among the youth through the establishment of novel educational institutions, the enhancement of educational infrastructure, and the emphasis on education as a means of empowerment. Undoubtedly, this aided in the resonance of his views among the populace of Ghana. The study additionally determined that Nkrumah's cultural endeavors played a pivotal role in the restoration of Ghanaian history and the cultivation of a feeling of national pride. Nkrumah's objective was to reinforce his conception of a cohesive and culturally prosperous Ghana by enhancing the collective awareness through the advocacy of

autochthonous cultural expressions, the stimulation of innovative endeavors, and the revitalization of customary ceremonies. According to the study, Nkrumah's ability to exude personal charisma was a significant factor in the spread of his ideas. Nkrumah's adherents and advocates were motivated by his compelling rhetoric, his capacity to establish an emotional rapport with them, and his unwavering commitment to his convictions. The capacity to motivate allegiance and endorsement of his principles among his adherents constituted a significant element in the triumph of his vision in Ghana. The significance of the media in disseminating and augmenting Nkrumah's ideas and communication was disclosed in the concluding segment of the investigation. Nkrumah recognized the significance of leveraging the media as a tool to shape public perception. As such, he regularly engaged in radio broadcasts and contributed articles to newspapers. Nkrumah's leadership and vision were reinforced by his adeptness in communicating with and disseminating propaganda to the general public.

Chapter five examined the intricate web of factors that facilitated the dissemination of Kwame Nkrumah's ideas throughout the African continent. Amidst Africa's struggle for independence from colonial rule, Kwame Nkrumah emerged as a prominent figure, renowned for his leadership qualities and unalterable commitment to the cause of African nationalism. Numerous African nations drew motivation from his ambitious objectives of achieving political autonomy, fostering Pan-African solidarity, attaining economic self-sufficiency, and revitalizing cultural traditions. Through a comprehensive analysis of the intricate interplay of various factors, the study successfully elucidated the mechanisms that facilitated the diffusion and integration of Nkrumah's ideologies into the collective psyche of African nations. The study determined that Nkrumah's ideology gained traction due to the conducive political environment, which was facilitated by the rise of nationalist movements and the prevailing anti-colonial sentiment. The study revealed that Nkrumah's advocacy for economic autonomy and industrialization was congruent with the aspirations of African nations in the aftermath of colonialism. It was also observed that the dissemination of Nkrumah's ideas was facilitated by his determination to revitalize the cultural legacy of Africa. By analyzing the efforts to reclaim African identity, uphold native values, and resist the cultural dominance of colonial powers, we can identify areas of convergence between Nkrumah's ideology and the broader movement towards cultural renaissance. Lastly, the study also encompassed the significance of education in disseminating Nkrumah's ideologies. The results indicate that the propagation of Nkrumah's perspectives was facilitated by the establishment of

educational establishments, the integration of his ideology into the syllabus, and the participation of scholarly communities in formulating and preserving his vision.

All in all, Nkrumah's propagation of his ideas in Ghana was facilitated by his educational and cultural endeavors, his compelling leadership, and the media, all of which can be explicated through the theoretical framework of resonance. Nkrumah's vision for Ghana was in alignment with the values, aspirations, and necessities of the populace, owing to the potency of resonance. Consequently, his convictions garnered not only extensive backing from the populace, but also became deeply ingrained within the cultural fabric of Ghana. Also, the resonance theory offers a comprehensive framework for comprehending the diffusion of Nkrumah's ideas throughout Africa by means of political circumstances, economic development objectives, cultural legacy restoration, and educational factors. Nkrumah's ideas gained momentum by aligning with the values, aspirations, and needs of Africans, ultimately serving as a driving force behind movements for independence, economic development, cultural reclamation, and educational empowerment. Consequently, Nkrumah's sphere of influence permeated the entirety of the African continent, engendering a durable imprint on its historical, political, cultural, and developmental trajectory.

6.2. *The Implications of The Research for African Studies*

Nkrumah's impact on African Studies is evident through his perspectives and his influential position in the struggle for Pan-Africanism. Nkrumah espoused the notion that the unification of Africa was the key to unlocking the continent's emancipation and advancement. The basis of his proposal for a unified Africa rested on the principles of personal liberty, racial concord, and a singular African persona. The discourse surrounding the amalgamation of African nations and their progress is still impacted by Nkrumah's advocacy for a consolidated continent. It is imperative for African scholars to acknowledge and consider Nkrumah's significant contributions to these discourses. Moreover, conducting additional research on the dissemination of these concepts in Ghana and other regions can shed light on the challenges that Pan-Africanism has historically encountered. Nkrumah's theories on Pan-Africanism are a valuable resource for scholars of African Studies due to the intricate nature of the continent's political, social, and economic challenges.

The significance of Nkrumah's perspectives in contemporary Africa cannot be overstated. Numerous African nations' policies and strategies continue to be shaped by Nkrumah's vision of unifying Africa, achieving economic empowerment, and attaining political liberty. As an

illustration, the concepts proposed by Nkrumah regarding a consolidated governance structure served as a catalyst for the formation of the African Union in 2002. Further, several scholars have been prompted to reassess the significance of Western education in Africa subsequent to being exposed to Nkrumah's propositions for African autonomy and a syllabus tailored to meet the requirements of the African populace. The advocacy of industrialization by Nkrumah as a mechanism for achieving economic autonomy in Africa is receiving endorsement from the political leadership of the region. Each of these examples demonstrates the contemporary pertinence of Nkrumah's perspectives to the discourse surrounding Africa's advancement.

Conclusively, it remains important to look into Nkrumah's ideas, both within the borders of Ghana and in a global context. Several decades after his demise, Nkrumah's ideas continue to exert a significant influence on the political, economic, and social discourses in Africa. His innovative strategy for Ghana and Africa remains a model for other nations to emulate. Moreover, the dissemination of Nkrumah's ideas serves as a demonstration of the adaptability of African political ideology and the diverse approaches through which Africa is contributing to global intellectual discourse. The comprehension of the evolution of African cultures, the challenges they have faced, and the strategies they have employed to surmount those challenges can be significantly enhanced through an examination of Nkrumah's theoretical framework. Therefore, it is imperative for scholars and learners to continue exploring Nkrumah's heritage, not only to advance the domain of African studies but also to inspire the forthcoming cohort of African policymakers.

6.3. Research Gaps and Potential Directions for Future Studies

Ultimately, a comprehensive analysis of both Nkrumah's philosophy and the impact of social media is necessary to fully comprehend their pervasive influence on Ghanaian culture and beyond. While numerous studies have examined the role of social media in shaping political ideologies more broadly, none of the studies have zeroed in on Nkrumah's ideology and its diffusion through social media. Considering the ubiquitous presence of social media within contemporary political movements, it is imperative to conduct an analysis of the intersection between Nkrumah's ideology and this phenomenon. Furthermore, obtaining a more comprehensive understanding of the dissemination and reception of Nkrumah's philosophy through social media could shed light on the effectiveness of diverse communication strategies and inform endeavors aimed at advancing progressive social and political transformation in Ghana and other regions.

Likewise, the study is also required to examine how various social groups in Ghana and elsewhere have received and interpreted Nkrumah's ideas. The study of Nkrumah's ideology may be expanded to consider its significance in the postcolonial age, particularly in light of pressing global concerns like protecting the environment and social equity. Future studies of Nkrumah's ideology should use an interdisciplinary approach, incorporating historical, political, sociological, and cultural views, to fill up these gaps. Nkrumah's ideas and their influence on social transformation may be studied in novel ways with the use of cutting-edge research methods like digital humanities and network analysis.

6.4. Final Reflections and Suggestion

All in all, the study on the diffusion of Nkrumah's ideas has demonstrated that they possess the capability to foster a fairer and more equitable global society. Nonetheless, there is still a significant amount of research that needs to be conducted to comprehend how these concepts can be disseminated more efficiently to a broader range of individuals. To achieve this objective, it is advisable for scholars and activists to actively participate in the discourse surrounding Nkrumah's ideas and endeavors, and to make an effort to disseminate them through diverse platforms. One potential strategy is to facilitate the coordination of conferences, symposia, and related gatherings with the goal of exploring and disseminating the ideological tenets and values upheld by Nkrumah. On top of that, it is crucial to persist in examining the historical and contextual background of Nkrumah's concepts, and to establish correlations between his ideology and contemporary endeavors for societal fairness and impartiality. Ultimately, it is essential to acknowledge that the concepts put forth by Nkrumah constitute a singular component within the broader framework of worldwide equity and necessitate assimilation into a more comprehensive campaign for societal transformation to achieve enduring results.

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