

KWAME NKRUMAH: THE FALLEN AND FORGOTTEN HERO OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

Dr. Etim E. Okon

Senior Lecturer, Department of Religious and Cultural Studies,
University of Calabar

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to present an objective analysis of Nkrumah's distinctive contributions to African nationalism, especially his role in the Pan-African Movement. Nkrumah is a source of inspiration to all aspiring youths of African descent, both within the continent and in the Diaspora. Human right crusaders, social critics, prisoners of conscience and literary historians will always look on to him as a point of reference, and a paragon of circumspection in the sacred cause of redeeming humanity. Writing about Nkrumah is both a privilege and a meditation on history; It is hard to measure a giant.

Keywords: Kwame Nkrumah, Pan-Africanism, Nationalism, African Politics, Ghana Independence

Introduction

We have in Africa everything necessary to become a powerful, modern, industrialized continent... Far from having inadequate resources, Africa is probably better equipped for industrialization than almost any other region in the world. (Nkrumah, 1977:40).

In a study of this nature, one finds it very difficult to identify a specific area which can be treated in isolation as Nkrumah's bequest to Africa. The difficulty is not only because Nkrumah was a controversial personality, but because his biography shows that he was African nationalism-personified. There is no aspect of his life that did not have direct or indirect connection with the liberation struggle of African people. An unbiased observer will immediately discover a sense of vocation in Nkrumah's political career.

He was a rare combination of talent and charisma. Like other great men, there are many legendary stories that are associated with Nkrumah's

childhood. Some people have said that there was an exoteric, mystical dimension of Nkrumah's life which is ineffable. Okoye (1980:187) has aptly reported that many of Nkrumah's simple supporters believed that he:

Possessed extra-ordinary magical powers, by which he could, for instance, fly through the air unseen and pass through solid walls, while some sick persons have claimed that they felt better after seeing or touching him. Women jostled one another to absorb the abundant energy and magnetism that seemed to radiate from him.

Stories of this nature are not unexpected. The life and times of great men are always shrouded in mysteries to justify their imposing personality, charisma, and splendid feats.

Nkrumah's love for Africa knew no bounds. Nkrumah was among the first African elite to condemn the history of Africa as presented by European scholars, and accused them of propagating malicious myths in the name of history:

It was even denied that we were a historical people. It was said that whereas other continents had shaped history, and determined its course, Africa had stood still, held down by inertia; that Africa was only propelled into history by the European contact. African history was therefore presented as an extension of European history... In presenting the history of Africa as the history of the collapse of our traditional societies in the presence of the European advent, colonialism and imperialism employed their account of African history and anthropology as an instrument of their oppressive ideology (Nkrumah, cited in Okadigbo, 1985:15).

Nkrumah - a biographical sketch

Formative Years and Educational History

Francis Kofi Kwame Nkrumah was born in Nkroful village of Nzima district, south-west Ghana, near Ivory Coast border on 18th September, 1909. The mother's name was Nyaniba. The father was a Goldsmith in Half Assini. Nkrumah was the only child of his mother. According to family sources, he always complained to Nyaniba that she had given him no brothers and sisters to play with (Nkrumah, 1977:2). On one occasion, after much pressure, the mother pointed Nkrumah to the forest and said, "You see the big trees? They stand alone". That consolatory statement later metamorphosed into a prophetic utterance, and a commentary on human existence for young Nkrumah- who was pregnant with great ambitions. The world of

imperialism, and insatiable exploitation was already warming up to engage him in the battle of his life.

After elementary school in Nkroful, under missionaries, Nkrumah attended Government College, Achimota, where he studied under the tutelage of Kwegyir Aggrey, a distinguished Pan-Africanist and one of the finest teachers that Africa has ever produced. Dr. Aggrey was educated in America. Aggrey was a source of inspiration for Nkrumah – a promising child. In 1930, after his training, Nkrumah was offered a teaching appointment at the Roman Catholic Junior School, Elmina. After one year, he was promoted and transferred to head the Junior School at Axim, where he lived for two years. Through the counsel of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, he applied to Lincoln University in the United States for admission. When the news of Admission at Lincoln arrived, he was teaching at Amissane near Elmina, and Nkrumah was very happy, though there was no money to pay for fares to the States.

Before departure, Nkrumah sat the mother down all night explaining the purpose and future advantages of university education. Nyaniba was very uncomfortable to hear that it would take many years before she would see her only son, but then she did not discourage him. Early in the morning, Nkrumah packed his luggage to a canoe enroute Port Takoradi. On that fateful day, Africa's great son, and foremost nationalist started the long journey of his life that will culminate in global fame and service to humanity. As he parted with destiny to America, the mother wept profusely, but wished him well "May God and your ancestors guide you". She prayed (Forward Ever, 1977:5).

Nkrumah arrived America at the end of October 1935, and worked on part time, to pay his fees. He graduated from Lincoln University, with a Bachelor of Arts, combined - honors in economics and sociology and was voted the "most interesting" of his classmates (Okadigbo, 1985:1). In search of a comprehensive academic exposure, Nkrumah enrolled at the Lincoln School of Theology and simultaneously started a master's degree at the University of Pennsylvania which was 50 miles away. In 1942, he received his second first degree - Bachelor of Theology and a Master of Arts in Education from the University of Pennsylvania. In 1943, he received another Master of Arts in Philosophy, and started course work for a doctorate degree in Philosophy. He was unable to complete his doctoral program because of ill-health and financial constraints (Okadigbo, 1985:1).

As a post-graduate student, Nkrumah taught Philosophy at Lincoln University. In 1945, the literary magazine, *Lincolnian* named him "the most outstanding Professor of the year". Later in 1951, while on a state visit to United States as the leader of Government business of the self-governing

colony of the Gold Coast, his alma mater - Lincoln University conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws (*honoris causa*).

Nkrumah's intellectual preparation

To prepare himself adequately for the fight against colonialism, Nkrumah engaged in intensive reading of revolutionary materials. Nkrumah devotedly read Hannibal, Cromwell, Napoleon, Lenin, Mazzini, Gandhi, Mussolini and Hitler :

.... First, I could not understand how Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence could possibly be effective. It seemed to me to be utterly feeble and without hope of success. The solution of the colonial problem, as I saw it at that time lay in armed rebellion. How is it possible, I asked myself, for a revolution to succeed without arms and ammunition? (Nkrumah, 1957:vii-viii).

Nkrumah confessed that his aim for reading revolutionary materials was to learn the technique of organization, "...I knew that whatever the program for the solution of the colonial question might be, success would depend upon organization adopted. I concentrated on finding a formula by which the whole colonial question and the problem of imperialism could be solved" (Nkrumah, 1957:45).

Intellectual preparation is a vital necessity in revolutionary struggle. The mind must be trained to be courageous and resilient. Nkrumah commented on his intellectual preparedness:

But I think that of all the literature that I studied, the book that did more than any other to fire my enthusiasm was "Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, published in 1923. Garvey, with his philosophy of Africa for Africans and his "Back to Africa" movement, did much to inspire the Negroes of America in the 1920's (Nkrumah, 1957:45).

Nkrumah read Lenin profusely and endorsed the materialist conception of history and economics and Marxist weltanschauung :

People make their own history... What determines the motives of the people, of the mass of people, that is what gives rise to the clash of conflicting ideas and strivings, what is the sum total of all these clashes of the whole mass of human societies...What is the law of the development of these conditions – to all this Marx drew attention and pointed out the way to a scientific study of history as a uniform and law-governed process in all it

immense variety and contradictoriness (Lenin, 1967:16).

Nkrumah - the freedom fighter

As the wind of nationalism blew across the continent of Africa, the home front led by Dr. J. B. Danguah, Mr. Ako Adjei and others invited Nkrumah to return home. On his way to Gold Coast, Nkrumah visited Sierra Leone and Liberia. In Freetown, he had discussion with Wallace Johnson his old friend at the West African National Secretariat, London. Johnson later arranged for Nkrumah to address a mass rally at Fouray Bay College. In this emotion - laddened political homily, Nkrumah urged African students to be ready to pay the full price for the total emancipation of their fatherland. From there he moved to Monrovia and met with key politicians, and from there the ship landed at Takoradi. He traveled immediately to Tarkwa to see the mother. Nyaniba was now very old, and almost blind. From Tarkwa, he traveled to Salt-Pond, there he consulted with the prime movers of United Gold Coast Convention, and finally set up an office for the organization there.

After few weeks, he presented the working committee with strategies for campaign and mobilization of the masses. He recommended that the party should be linked at the grassroots with trade unions, cooperative societies, farmers, women and youth organizations. It was also his considered opinion that local branches be open in all the towns and villages. The working committee endorsed his proposal and provided him with an old car to facilitate his work. Before his assumption of office, there were two branches of UGCC, but after six months. Nkrumah opened over 500 branches.

The campaign slogan of UGCC was "self-government at the shortest possible time". As Nkrumah was putting in more effort to consolidate the party at all levels, two major conflicts erupted. A popular traditional ruler Chief Nii Kwabena Bonne had instructed the masses to boycott shops owned by foreigners on allegation of exploitation and inflationary tendencies. The boycott which was effective lasted for one month. On the last day of the boycott, as ex-servicemen staged a peaceful demonstration to Christiansburg Castle to present a petition to the Governor, Police opened fire and killed two men, while five were wounded. As a result, foreigner's cars, houses, shops and other assets were set ablaze. The conflagration led to the death of 29 persons, while 237 were injured. The colonial government attributed the riot to the propaganda of Nkrumah's UGCC. Five officers of the UGCC including Nkrumah were arrested and detained for six weeks in the northern part of the country.

The Aiken Watson Commission of Enquiry that was set up by the Governor to investigate the immediate and remote causes of the disturbances indicted Nkrumah of instigating and master-minding the riot. The Commission vaguely recommended that government should overhaul the political structure to facilitate the participation of Africans in the governance of their country. The Governor appointed a forty man committee under the chairmanship of a Ghanaian judge, Sir Henley Coussey to study the Watson Report and propose a new plan for the Government of Gold Coast. It was during this period that Nkrumah decided to publish a newspaper, *The Accra Evening News*. The maiden edition reached the news stand on September 3rd, 1948 and was happily received by the reading public. It was through this paper, that Nkrumah meticulously articulated the views of the ordinary people. He threatened to declare "Positive Action" if the recommendation of the Coussey Committee was unsatisfactory. Positive action means nationwide non-violent, sit-down-at-home strikes, boycotts and civil disobedience (Nkrumah, 1973:8).

The second obstacle was a rift between Nkrumah and key leaders of his party. Party leaders accused Nkrumah of impatience, unripe ambition for power and repudiated his plans for confrontation with the colonial government. While the leaders wanted gradual and peaceful transition, Nkrumah opted for force, pressure and minimal violence. Nkrumah has this to say on his ambition and strategy,

Independence for the Gold Coast was my aim. It was a colony and I have always regarded colonialism as the policy by which a foreign power binds territories to herself by political ties with the primary object of promoting her own economic advantage. No one need be surprised if this system has led to disturbances and political tension in many territories. (Nkrumah, 1957:vii).

Nkrumah interpreted the British proposal to grant Gold Coast “semi-responsible government” as a strategy to delay self-government. Speaking on July 10, 1953 in the Assembly during the Motion of Destiny Nkrumah said “The right of a people to govern themselves is a fundamental principle, and to compromise on this principle is to betray it. If there is to be a criterion of the people’s preparedness for self-government, then I say it is their readiness to assume the responsibility of ruling themselves. For who but a people themselves can say when they are prepared? Self – government is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end, to the building of the good life for the benefit of all, regardless of tribe, creed, color or station in life” (Cited in Uwechue, 1981:428-429).

Nkrumah went further to declare his intention to pay the price to make Gold Coast a model as an egalitarian society: “Our aim is to make this country a worthy place for all its citizens, a country that will be a shining light throughout the whole continent of Africa, giving inspiration far beyond its frontiers. And this we can do by dedicating ourselves to unselfish service to humanity. We must learn from the mistakes of others so that we may, in so far as we can, avoid a repetition of those tragedies which have overtaken other human societies” (Cited in Uwechue, 1981:428-429). The leadership of United Gold Coast Convention under Dr. Joseph Danguah collaborated, and endorsed the plan of colonial government. For Nkrumah the struggle for independence must yield immediate result. Nkrumah stated his position:

The idea that Britain, France or any other colonial power is holding colonies under “trusteeship” until in their opinion, the colonies become “capable” of self-government is erroneous and misconceived. Colonial powers cannot afford to expropriate themselves. And then to imagine that these colonial powers will hand freedom and independence to their colonies on a silver platter without compulsion is the height of folly (Nkrumah, 1957:47).

The formation of convention people’s party

In the Preface to his autobiography *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, Nkrumah recalled the history of rebellion against colonial rule in the Gold Coast. “There was that confederation of 1868 when certain chiefs came together to defend themselves not only against their tribal kin the Ashanti, but also against political encroachments from abroad” (Nkrumah, 1957:viii). Nkrumah avers that the greatest action for political cohesion and conscientization was the formation of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society by some chiefs and literate members of the Gold Coast to defend their land.

When the movement collapsed because of the rift between the chiefs and the elites, the latter joined forces with educated people in other West African territories and established the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA). NCBWA which was the first spark in West African nationalism, collapsed in 1930 because it did not have the support of the masses at the grassroots (Eluwa, 1971:12-20). The vacuum was filled by the formation of the United Gold Coast Convention, which suffered the same ideological shortcomings of NCBWA.

As the disagreement widened, Nkrumah along with the youth wing of UGCC formed the Convention People's Party and launched it on 12th June, 1949, before a capacity crowd of over 60,000 people in Accra with the motto

"Forward Ever – Backward Never". Nkrumah accused the UGCC of ignoring the interests of the masses, and justified the formation of Convention People's Party in 1949:

The CPP was not merely a mass movements, mass movements are well and good but they cannot act with purpose unless they are led and guided by a vanguard political party....Rallying round me all those who genuinely wishes for progress, I resisted both the opportunist element and the reactionary forces and sought to establish the CPP as the democratic instrument of the people's will and aspiration (Nkrumah, 1957:ix).

With the formation and consolidation of CPP, Nkrumah made public the political agenda and strategies:

The first objective then is political independence, for which I believe the organization itself must take two forms. First there is the period of positive action - a combination of non-violent methods with effective and disciplined political action. At this stage open conflict with the existing colonial regime is inevitable and this is a test of strength for the organization....The second stage is one of 'tactical action', a sort of contest of wits. (Nkrumah, 1957:x)

The political agenda of CPP was encapsulated in the desire for full independence at the shortest possible time. Nkrumah writes: "The ideology of my party may be formulated as follows: no race, no people, no nation can exist freely and be respected at home and abroad without political freedom...All dependent territories are backward in education in agriculture and industry" (Nkrumah, 1957:x). The CPP had a six- point agenda:

1. To fight relentlessly by all constitutional means for the achievement of full "self – Government Now", for the chiefs and the people of the Gold Coast;
2. To serve as the vigorous conscious political vanguard for removing all forms of oppression and for the establishment of a democratic government;
3. To secure and maintain the complete unity of the chiefs and the people of the Colony, Ashanti, Northern Territories and Trans – Volta;
4. To work in the interests of the trade union movement in the country for better conditions of employment ;

5. To work for a proper reconstruction of a better Gold Coast in which the people shall have the right to live and govern themselves as free people;
6. To assist and facilitate in any way possible the realization of a united and self – governing West Africa (Uwechue, 1981: 426:427).

The CPP benefited immensely from Nkrumah’s skill and ability to mobilize the masses. The Party within a short time became a grassroots mass movement. The strategy of CPP was clearly stated in the *Accra Evening News* on May 18, 1949:

The history of colonial liberation movements shows that the first essential thing is organization. Some may say unity, but unity presupposes organization. At least, there must be organization to unify the country; one person cannot do it, a few leaders cannot do it but when the masses and the leaders share common ideals and purposes they can come together in an organization, regardless of tribal and other differences, to fight for a cause (Uwechue, 1981: 427).

Positive action, imprisonment and self-government

Commenting on the structure and strategies of nationalist struggle in the Gold Coast from 1900-45, F. Agbodeka praised Kwame Nkrumah as the moving spirit, and political catalyst in the overthrow of British colonial rule in the Gold Coast. “...the radical groups themselves were not sufficiently united to bring about the downfall of imperialism until the arrival of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah on the political scene in 1949. He succeeded in overthrowing imperialism precisely because he understood that the formation of a united front by all radical groups was the strongest weapon of the nationalists against colonial rule (Agbodeka, 1971:32).

With the publication of the Coussey Committee Report at the end of October, 1949, Nkrumah in a swift reaction convened a meeting of Ghana People's Representative Assembly. Delegates came from all parts of Ghana to study the Report. After a brain-storming session, the Assembly unanimously passed a vote of no confidence on Coussey Report and declared it null and void. Nkrumah then issued the colonial government with a two weeks ultimatum to convene an Assembly of Ghanaian people to draw up a new constitution, or be prepared for the commencement of positive action.

The Colonial Secretary pleaded with Nkrumah to abandon such plans, or else accept full responsibility for all violent actions and consequences. Two weeks expired; Nkrumah declared positive action on 8 January, 1950, at a mass rally of workers in Accra. He proceeded to Cape Coast, Sekondi and Tarkwa where schools, shops, offices, factories and

workshops remained closed and public transportation stood at a standstill. The colonial government ordered the arrest and detention of Nkrumah and principal officers of CPP. The office of the "Accra Evening News" was raided and sealed. As Nkrumah was driven in a Police van to Tames Fort prison in Accra on 22nd January, 1950, he heard the announcement of his capture on the car radio.

Perhaps the greatest milestone in his political career was winning parliamentary election from the prison. Nkrumah directed campaign in the 1951 election from prison with the slogan “seek ye first the political kingdom and all things will be added unto it” and “self-governance now”. The outcome of the election shows that the CPP gave the UGCC a humiliating defeat of 33 seats to 3. Nkrumah, who was to serve a three year jail sentence, along with other members of the CPP, polled 22,780 out of 23,122 votes casted in Accra central constituency. About mid-day on 12 February 1951, the Governor, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, was compelled by reason and voice of conscience to release Nkrumah, with an invitation to form a government. Meredith (2005:17-20) in his *The State of Africa*, gave a lively picture of historical development in Gold Coast at the early hours of 9th February, 1951, especially the reaction of the Governor, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke:

Sir Charles Arden-Clarke awoke on the morning of 9th February 1951 to face the most difficult decision of his career. His problem concerned a 41 year-old prisoner in James Fort in Accra serving a three-year sentence for subversive activities. In the eyes of the colonial authorities, Kwame Nkrumah was a dangerous troublemaker...The dilemma facing Arden-Clarke was whether to release Nkrumah – a convicted criminal – from prison... he had threatened disruptive action unless the Gold Coast was granted immediate self-government. He could be as troublesome if set free, as if he was kept locked up.

Commenting on CPP's victory, Mkwugo Okoye said: “The CPP victory marked a turning point in the history of Black Africa under colonialism and its revolutionary sweep was to re-echo in other parts of the continent in the years that followed” (Okoye, 1980:190). Under the new arrangement, Nkrumah was made leader of government business, with seven CPP members as cabinet ministers, while the Governor appointed three British cabinet ministers in charge of foreign Affairs, finance and justice. As leader of the government Nkrumah brought a welcome urgency to a traditionally cautious and slow moving colonial administration. He speeded up Africanization, pushed education and development projects, reorganized

local governments which subordinated the chiefs to elected councilors and in 1953 proposed a new self-government constitution with an all African cabinet (Webster, Boahen and Idowu, 1967:325).

On 5 March, 1952, Nkrumah was declared the first Prime Minister of Gold Coast (Isichei, 1977:281-283). On 10 July, 1953, Nkrumah addressed the National Assembly in Accra with the title "Motion of Destiny" and demanded that the British government should fix a date for Ghana's full independence: "Our demand for self-government is a just demand. It is a demand admitting of no compromise. The right of a people to govern themselves is a fundamental principle, and to compromise on this principle is to betray it" (Forward Ever, 1977:27).

In the "Motion of Destiny", Nkrumah recommended that the number of members of the National Assembly should be increased and that all members of the cabinet should be members of the Assembly. At the end of the long speech, he received a standing ovation from an audience that was overwhelmed by Nkrumah's courage, fecundity and philosophical originality. The motion was vigorously studied for two days, and was unanimously adopted. The Governor decided to call for another general election to fill the new seats in the Assembly and also to carry out a referendum on the people's support for the motion.

The election came up on 15 June, 1954, and CPP won 72 out of 104 seats in the Assembly, the Northern People's Party 12, while Independent candidates won 20 seats. The colonial government then asked Nkrumah to form a government and all cabinet members was to come from the CPP. As soon as the new government was put in place, Nkrumah resumed the agitation for self-government. It was during this period that his detractors advocated for a confederation, instead of the unitary system which was inevitable under CPP's government. Nkrumah in a spirit of comradeship opted for dialogue and mutual understanding which his opponents rejected. Their unpatriotic strategy was to create an atmosphere of socio-political instability to give a reluctant colonial government a false impression that Gold Coast was not yet ready for self-government. Life became tense and vulnerable for Nkrumah and his followers. CPP members were terrorized everywhere; a bomb was planted in front of Nkrumah's house. When it exploded nobody was injured but all the windows in the house were broken.

The British government exploited this confusion and conducted another general election on 17 July 1956, which the CPP repeated their usual democratic popularity through a landslide victory over all opposition. The most unpatriotic act of this era was that of one Kofi Busia, who flew to London to stop the British government from granting independence. Busia failed and the independence was granted on 6 March 1957. On that historic occasion, Nkrumah filled with unquantifiable euphoria shouted "Today we

are free". He promised to assist all African countries in the fight against colonialism:

The African in every part of this vast continent has been awakened and the struggled for freedom will go on. It is our duty to offer what assistance we can to those now engaged in the battles which we ourselves have fought and won. Our task is not done and our safety not assured until the last vestiges of colonialism¹⁴ have been swept from Africa (Forward Ever, 1977:29).

Nkrumah and colonialism

Nkrumah was comprehensively opposed to colonialism. Exposure to Western education contributed immensely to his aversion of colonialism. Nkrumah knew from the onset that the struggle to overthrow colonialism in Africa shall be a tough fight against colonial oppressors. To Nkrumah, colonialism was not a blessing but a problem and a curse. Nkrumah was convinced that political freedom was a necessary option if Africa was to gain respect from other races.

It is impossible to talk of equality of races in any other terms. No people without government of its own can expect to be treated on the same level as peoples of independent sovereign states. It is far better to be free to govern, or misgovern yourself than to be governed by anybody else (Nkrumah, 1957:ix).

The purpose of colonialism according to Nkrumah is economic exploitation of the colonies. The nature and method of colonization is not important. The dependent territory may be called a colony, protectorate or mandate, in all, the underlying philosophy of colonization is economic exploitation. While James Africanus Horton argued persuasively in 1868 that "it is impossible for a nation to civilize itself, civilization must come from abroad" (qtd. in Davidson, 1978:145), Nkrumah had a different opinion.

To him colonies cannot gain any advantage from the status of dependency. The colonial territory cannot witness development and progress when it is subjected to massive looting and siphoning of valuable resources to the mother country. While Belgian Congo Yearbook in the colonial era carried the false propaganda message: "History shows that nations reach their zenith in their period of greatest colonial development" (qtd. in Davidson, 1978:73) Nkrumah debunked such claims as fallacious: "Britain may claim that she holds the colonies under trusteeship until they are capable of self-government, but it is not in her interest to relinquish her stranglehold. The African, however, was perfectly capable of governing himself before the

advent of the white man and should be allowed to do so again” (Nkrumah, 1957:46-47).

While colonial rulers viewed nationalists movements as irresponsible and unlawful organizations with the sole aim of fomenting trouble and social instability, Nkrumah had a different idea:

The national liberation movement in the African colonies has arisen because of the continuous economic and political exploitation by foreign oppressors. The aim of the movement is to win freedom and independence. This can only be achieved by the political education and organization of the colonial masses. Hence workers and professional classes alike must unite on a common front to further the economic progress and indigenous enterprise of the people which is at present being stifled (Nkrumah, 1957:47).

Nkrumah on several occasions and at the risk of repetition emphasized the economic motivations of colonial rule. The quest for free raw materials from conquered territories led Europe into the scrambling and partitioning of Africa. The aim of imperialism was not to transfer civilization, science and technology but exploitation of natural resources:

The imperialist powers need the raw materials and cheap native labour of the colonies for their own capitalist industries. Through their system of monopolist control they eliminate native competition, and use the colonies as dumping grounds for their surplus mass-produced goods. In attempting to legitimize their presence they claim to be improving the welfare of the native population. Such claims are merely a camouflage for their real purpose of exploitation to which they are driven by economic necessity. It is from this that the African people must constantly strive to free themselves (Nkrumah, 1957:46).

The eventual outcome of colonialism is stultification of the national psyche of the oppressed people. Colonialism according to Nkrumah was a successful strategy of the colonizer to keep the native in his primitive state and make him economically dependent perpetually.

To ensure increased efficiency in the local handling of the colonies' resources, the colonizer grants loans and invest capital in improving internal communications, social and welfare services, ostensibly to better the native. The big trade combines exert a rigid monopolist

control which effectively prevents the native from sharing in the capitalist profits, but without native labour such profits would never be made. The history of the colonies shows throughout that they have been mere pawns in the hands of the imperialist power, who have vied with each other in their race to acquire untapped resources. This has reduced the native population to economic slavery and degradation from which it must free itself (Nkrumah, 1957:46).

Nkrumah and socialism

Nkrumah did not only adopt socialism as a suitable socio-economic model for Africa but openly displayed aversion to capitalism:

Socialism stands to communalism as capitalism stands to slavery. In socialism, the principles underlying communalism are given expression in modern circumstances... If the underlying principles of communalism are not given centralized and correlated expression, class cleavages will arise, which are connected with economic disparities, and thereby with political inequalities. Socialism is a form of social organization, which, guided by the principles underlying communalism, adopts procedures and measures made necessary by demographic and technological developments (Nkrumah, 1964:68).

Nkrumah knew that political independence without concomitant economic autonomy and national self-reliance tantamount to perpetual, and slavish dependency which is the springboard for neo-colonialism: “The economic independence that should follow and maintain political independence demands every effort from the people, a total mobilization of brain and manpower resources. What other countries have taken three hundred years or more to achieve, a once dependent territory must try to accomplish in a generation if it is to survive” (Nkrumah, 1957:x). Nkrumah put up a strong argument to justify his adoption of socialism for Gold Coast, and the relevance of totalitarian policy:

Capitalism is too complicated a system for a newly independent nation. Hence the need for a socialistic society. But even a system based on social justice and a democratic constitution may need backing up, during the period following independence, by emergency measures of a totalitarian kind. Without discipline true freedom cannot survive. In any event the basis must be

a loyal, honest, hardworking and responsible civil service on which the party in power can rely. (Nkrumah, 1957:x).

Nkrumah and pan-africanism: the genesis of involvement

... Pan-Africanism rests on color-consciousness. Recognition of the unique historical position of black peoples as the universal bottom dog led to a revolt against passive submission to this situation. The emotions associated with blackness were intellectualized, and so Pan-Africanism became a vehicle for the struggle of black people to regain their pride, their strength and their independence (Legum, 1962:60).

Pan-Africanism is “a political and cultural phenomenon which regards Africa, Africans and African descendents abroad as a unit, and aims at the regeneration and unification of Africa and the promotion of a feeling of solidarity among the people of the African world” (Esedebe, 1980:14). The origin and historical development of Pan-Africanism can be traced to the New World, among West Indians and American Negroes. The movement had a boost when educated Africans had contact with great Negro activists like Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. Dubois. The pioneering voices of the Pan-African movement were James Johnson and E.W. Blyden (Ayandele et al, 1971:378-380). Pan-Africanism started as an intellectual protest against the ill-treatment of black people in America and West Indies, whose ancestors came from Africa.

It was the reaction of Africans against their conditions of hopelessness, helplessness and total frustration. Three inter-related events have been identified as causal factors of Pan-African movement: the slave trade, European colonization and race consciousness (Arifalo, 1982:127). During the slave trade, Africans were uprooted from their soil and loaded as cargoes to the New World to provide cheap labor to sustain the plantation economy. While in the New World, Africans were subjected to all forms of deprivation, marginalization, dehumanization and mental torture. Pan-Africanism was as Colin Legum puts it an expression of a desire for African freedom and unity:

The descendants of the Negro slaves in the New World felt they had been made 'homeless' by their transfer to foreign countries and subjection to alien cultures. They felt they did not 'belong' to the New World. They felt themselves as the orphans of Africa-aliens and strangers in a world of white people who were chiefly

interested only in their labor on the plantations and hardly at all in their personality as men (Legum, 1981:528).

Since Negroes were discriminated against even in the white man's church, they desired a separate church, where their cultures could be integrated through songs, dances and liturgical adaptation. The songs and poems later came to be known as "Negro Spirituals". Gradually, the plight of Negroes touched men of conscience who accepted the challenge to fight for their freedom. It was Henry Sylvester Williams, a Trinidad lawyer and convener of the first Pan-African meeting at London in 1900, that coined the word "Pan-African" (Arifalo, 1982:127).

In the United States, a great Pan-Africanist arose- Dr. William E. Burghardt Du Bois (1868 - 1963). Dubois was prolific, vocal and dedicated to the African cause. A founding member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples (NAACP), and editor of the association's journal "The Crisis" for nearly twenty years (1910 - 1934). He was the convener of four Pan-African Congresses (1919, 1921, 1923, 1927). Another important voice in the Pan-African struggle was the Jamaican born, Marcus Garvey, "a rough, tough, colorful politician.

Garvey joined the Pan-African struggle in 1916. He was the founder and President of Universal Negro Improvement Association. Through his weekly newspaper "The Negro World", public lectures and civil rights campaign, Garvey sensitized the conscience of blacks and advocated for a return to Africa. It was his considered opinion that a good future for Negroes will depend on their return to Africa. On this Dubois disagreed with Garvey. Dubois wanted the Negroes to fight to establish their rights in "exile". Garvey sourced large sums of money to establish the Black Star Line which will transport Negroes back to Africa. "Back to Africa Movement" was only to be a beautiful, but unachievable dream as Garvey died unsung and neglected in London in 1940.

The first meeting of the Pan-African Movement was held in July 1900 at London. It was presided over by Bishop Alexander Walters. It was attended by thirty-two delegates. The second meeting, which is now taken to be the first Pan-African Congress, was held in Paris in February, 1919. The Congress which was convened by Dubois had fifty-seven delegates in attendance. The 1921 Pan-African Congress took place successively in three sessions at London, Brussels and Lisbon. More than one-third of delegates came from Africa, forty-one from United States and only seven from West Indies. The 1923 Congress held at London and Lisbon. The fourth Congress was at New York in 1927. On the achievements of the Pan-African Movement, Arifalo (1982:131-132) writes:

.... the Pan-African Movement failed to make any significant contribution to the political education of Africans and peoples of African descent outside Africa ... They failed to evolve a defined, self-sufficient ideology which might have helped to give Pan-Africanism greater intellectual discipline. Instead, the congresses were dominated to a large extent by emotional lamentations about the sufferings of black people all over the world.

The Pan-African movement was not a total failure because for the first time Anglophone and Francophone Africa united for a common cause. Dubois himself wrote: “We have kept an idea alive, we have held to a great deal, we have established a continuity, and some day when unity and cooperation come, the importance of these early steps will be recognized” (Cited in Arifalo, 1982:132).

Nkrumah who went to the United States for studies later became actively involved in the struggle for the freedom of Afro-Americans. Through his motivations and support, African studies department was set up in Lincoln University. He was the founder and President of African Students' Association of America and Canada. He was the editor and leading writer of the Association's newspaper *The African Interpreter*. America of Nkrumah's time was a segregated society. Blacks were the under-dogs. On several occasions, Nkrumah pondered over strategies to redeem Africa:

It saddened him to see Africans suffering because they belonged to a different race, and were not considered to be equals of white Americans... Africans were not allowed to ride in the same buses as white people; and African children had to go to separate schools. On one occasion, Nkrumah was refused a glass of water in a cafe because he was an African. The white waiter told him to go outside and drink from the tap in the yard (Forward Ever, 1977: 8).

Nkrumah was not just a sympathizer of the injustices of segregation, but a victim. It was because of all these sad and inhuman experiences that made Nkrumah to be lion-hearted and determined to fight the African cause even at the risk of his life. That was the beginning of a life-time struggle. Through the advice of his bosom friend - Ako Adjei, Nkrumah left United States, with four academic degrees enroute London in May, 1945. His intention was to study law and also complete his doctoral thesis in Philosophy.

At London, he enrolled at Gray's Inn and simultaneously registered for lectures at the London School of Economics. It was at this time that he

was privileged to attend lectures of the famous British Political Scientist, Professor Harold Laski. Nkrumah was to register later at the University College, London, where he commenced doctoral thesis on logical positivism under Lord (Professor) Alfred Jules Ayer. Although Nkrumah did not achieve his ambition of being a lawyer and also completing his doctoral studies, he became committed in the struggle for the independence of Africa. He was the Vice President of West African Students' Union. It was during this period that Nkrumah came in contact with great and prolific minds like Isaac Wallace - Johnson, George Padmore, and Peter Abrahams, who equally influenced his life.

One of the most intimate political associate of Nkrumah was George Padmore. Born in Trinidad in 1903, to a botanist father, young Padmore worked as a journalist before proceeding to the United States for university education. When Ghana became independent in 1957, Nkrumah appointed Padmore his adviser on African Affairs. Through the active support of Nkrumah, Padmore organized the fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester in October 1945, which was attended by two hundred delegates. Nkrumah who was joint political Secretary of the Congress along with Padmore wrote the "Declaration to the Colonial Peoples of the World", which was adopted by the Congress:

We believe in the rights of all peoples to govern themselves... The peoples of the colonies must have the right to elect their own government, a government without restrictions from a foreign power. We say to the peoples of the colonies that they must strive for these ends by all means at their disposal (Forward Ever, 1977:9).

It was after this Congress that Nkrumah, along with other Africans organized the West African National Secretariat, which he was the General Secretary, and Editor of its monthly newspaper *The New African*.

While in the United Kingdom. Nkrumah joined the Colored Workers' Association which was set up to improve the working and living conditions of non-white workers in Britain. As a strategy to speed up the independence struggle, Nkrumah formed a new group "The Circle". Members took an oath of secrecy with a vow "to serve, sacrifice and suffer anything for the cause for which The Circle stands (Forward Ever, 1977:10). His ambition through "The Circle" was to work with all resources to achieve freedom and unification of Africa. This was not to be as Dr. J. B. Danguah and the leadership of United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) invited Nkrumah to join the home front as the nationalist struggle was gathering momentum. Nkrumah who was hesitant, later decided to go:

Before he left, he called a meeting of students and workers to tell them of his decision and to say goodbye. Many of them tried to persuade him not to go. But Nkrumah told them that the time had come to carry on their struggle on the soil of Africa. He said that he would never forget them nor let them down (Forward Ever, 1977:11).

On November 1947, he left England on board a ship called the "Accra", after twelve years in Europe and America. The time has come for Nkrumah to speak for his people and he was not only highly educated with intimidating qualification but ready and willing even to sacrifice his life for the freedom of his people.

It was Nkrumah who carried Pan-Africanism to African soil for the first time. In April 1958, Nkrumah convened the first Conference of Independent African States in Accra, and the All-African People's Conference in December of that same year. In his welcome address, Nkrumah said:

Today we are one. If in the past, the Sahara divided us, now it unites us ... In meeting Africans from all parts of the continent, I am constantly impressed by how much we have in common. It is not just our colonial past, or the fact that we have aims in common, it is something which goes far deeper. I can best describe it as a sense of oneness in that we are Africans (Forward Ever, 1977:30).

The Conference was attended by over 300 delegates including Patrick Lumumba of Zaire and Frantz Fanon. Immediately after the Conference, freedom fighters from all over Africa arrived Ghana and Nkrumah created training camps. Ghana became the training ground for anti-colonial struggle. Nkrumah hopefully anticipated that: "In a few years from now, we can envisage that all Africa will be free from colonial rule. Nothing can stem our onward march to independence and freedom" (Forward Ever, 1977:34).

The year 1960, was known as "African Year" because many African nations gained independence. By 1963, 32 African States have gained independence - and that was six years after the independence of Ghana, with only eight, prior to that period. Even after independence, many African States remained economically parasitic on the paternal benevolence of former colonial masters. That was the genesis of neo-colonialism and the culture of dependence. Nkrumah refused to believe that Africa which is the second largest continent in the world, with abundant natural, and human resources can be classified as a poor continent: "The essence of neo-colonialism is that the state which is subject to it is, in theory,

independent.... In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside” (Forward Ever, 1977:35).

Nkrumah and the formation of organisation of african unity

The unique characteristics of Nkrumah’s contribution to Pan-Africanism was his advocacy for a one-state option, that is a continental federal state that involves the surrendering of sovereignty by each state as the most effective strategy to crush imperialism and neo-colonialism in Africa. It was collectively rejected by African leaders, who opted for a functional cooperation among African states, instead of integration:

They held that because many African States were small and weak they needed assistance from the Western world in order to make economic progress.... They thought African political union to be a utopian goal. Instead of breaking economic ties with the West they wished to reinforce and expand them (Arifalo, 1982:136).

Nkrumah’s proposal would have reduced the new nation-states to mere provinces of the continental state. Ayandele et al informs us that “Until he was overthrown in February 1966, Kwame Nkrumah was regarded by all Ghana’s neighbors as an over-ambitious man suffering from an incurable megalomania and Ghana was regarded as the breeding ground for undesirable elements being trained to overthrow the legitimate governments of their countries” (1971:385-386). Elizabeth Isichei has described Nkrumah negatively as “ a controversial and in some ways a tragic figure” (Isichei, 1977:281).

In December 1958, Nkrumah and his bosom friend, Sekou Toure of Guinea signed a bilateral agreement for socio-politico-economic cooperation. In April 1961, Mali under President Modibo Keita joined Ghana-Guinea union. The purpose of the union was to strengthen African solidarity and freedom. Within a short time, post independent Africa was adversely divided into two opposing camps - the moderates led by Nigeria and Liberia, and the radicals" (Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Egypt, Algeria, represented by the GPRA and 'Morocco'). The split was attributed to the divisive strategies of colonial masters.

In January 1961, there was a meeting of "the radicals" (Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Egypt, Algeria, represented by the GPRA and 'Morocco') in Casablanca. In a communiqué after the meeting, the group adopted an African charter which called for the creation of an African Consultative Assembly, African Political Committee, and African Economic Committee, an African Cultural Committee and an African High Command. The group was later known as “the Casablanca Powers”.

In May 1961, the moderates" held their conference in Monrovia, which was attended by Nigeria, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Cameroons, Togo, Senegal, the Malagasy Republic, Gabon, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, the Central African Republic, Mauritania, Niger, Libya, Upper Volta, Tunisia and Congo (Brazzaville). The group was later known as "the Monrovia Powers ". In their resolution, the group accepted in principle that independent African States have the right to federate or confederate. Despite the apparent similarities in the resolutions of the two groups, the division deepened. Another remarkable attempt at African unity was in January 1962.

"The Casablanca Powers" which promised to attend did not show up on the grounds that they were not consulted as a group and that the provisional government in Algeria had not been invited to the conference. The Conference was attended by twenty-one independent African states. The Lagos Conference confirmed the decisions of the Monrovia Conference. It was left for the venerable Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia to convene another meeting in 1963 at Addis Ababa, which brought "the Casablanca Powers" and "the Monrovia Powers" together. The Organization of African Unity was born in 25 May 1963. Apart from being one of the thirty-two heads of state who signed the charter, Nkrumah was the original thinker on the possibility and gains of African unity. Although O. A. U. was not exactly what Nkrumah wanted, he said "we have proved at Addis Ababa, that we are ready to build a united Africa" (Forward Ever, 1977:37).

Nkrumah: the political analyst and theoretician

Francis Bacon, the 16th century English Lawyer, philosopher and statesman had said, "Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man". Nkrumah was not only a thinker, but a prolific writer. He was able to put down in print, his views and ideological predilections. He edited many newspapers during his political career. Nkrumah was a pragmatist. He fought all the values that constituted negation of humanism. He confronted the expanding frontiers of Western domination. The book *Africa Must Unite* was published in 1963, the year the Conference of 32 independent African states opened in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. In 1964, he wrote "Neo-Colonialism - The Last Stage of Imperialism". It was in this book that he showed how foreign companies and governments were exploiting Africans. The American government registered an official protest against the book, and 35 million dollars aid was furiously cancelled. Other publications of Nkrumah includes:

<i>Towards Colonial Freedom</i>	.....	....	....	.....	1946
<i>What I Mean by Positive Action</i>	.....	....	....	....	1950
<i>Ghana: An Autobiography</i>	....	.....	....	....	1957
<i>I speak of Freedom</i>	....	.....	....	....	1961

<i>Africa Must Unite</i>	.....	.....	....	....	....	1963
<i>Consciencism</i>	....	....	.....	....	....	1964
<i>Dark Days in Ghana</i>	....	.....	....	....	....	1968
<i>Voice from Conakry</i>	....	.....	....	....	....	1967
<i>Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare</i>	....	....	....	....	....	1969
<i>Revolutionary Path</i>	.....	.....	....	....	....	1972
<i>The Struggle Continues</i> (Published after his death) ...	....	....	....	....	....	1973

The main thrust of Nkrumah's writings was the liberation of Africa from colonial powers:

We must rid Africa of imperialism, capitalism and colonialism. Africa must be free from the tentacles of foreign domination ... The cause of the African is a just one. In the long run right will triumph over might. Education is the key to progress in Africa, for only knowledge can counteract ignorance (Timothy, 1974:2).

As a realist, Nkrumah held strong views on all issues. Okoye has summarized the economic philosophy of Nkrumahism as follows:

1. That national planning is the principal lever for all-round progress and the state must therefore play the dominant role in economic activity;
2. Foreign capital should be obtained but only in a manner that ensures diversification of foreign links and leaves full economic control in the hands of the emergent nation;
3. Some of the more deleterious social attitudes of the people, such as corruption and the habit of squandering large sums of money on social festivities, must be changed and the rise of a new privileged class prevented;
4. The party must play a decisive role in the social transformation and economic drive that was envisaged, and the inherited administrative machinery must constantly be under review.

(Okoye, 1980: 192)

Nkrumahism has become an interesting subject under political science in most universities within and outside Africa. Ideologically Nkrumah was a Marxist, and this has influenced all his works. Today Nkrumah's views are being resurrected in serious political and social discourse all over the world. On the content of Nkrumahism, Babatope (1982:4) writes:

An undivided Ghana-united in true independence. One united and indivisible continent of Africa ... Large-scale

socio-economic reforms to eliminate and eradicate all colonial institutions. The struggle for economic independence of African states based on socialist principles. Establishment of African High command to combat all imperialist and racist forces in Africa (and) the radical restructuring of the neo-colonial economy of most African countries in such a way that socialism is enthroned.

Conclusion

Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Great men are almost always bad men... There is no worse heresy than that the office sanctifies the bolder of it. John Acton (Hyman, 1962:9).

It was Bertrand Russell, the prolific English philosopher and mathematician who said "Of the infinite desires of man, the chief are the desires for power and glory" (Cited in Omotunde, 1988:10). John Galbraith in *The Anatomy of Power* has said that politicians are not always honest in revealing the purpose for seeking political power. Thus, personal interest can be cloaked in the garment of public interest and that enemies of the society always present themselves as friends of the masses (Cited in Omotunde, 1988:10).

Nkrumah finally manipulated power to his detriment. Within and outside Africa, Nkrumah trod on many toes. It was inevitable that the West must use all available means to topple his government, which they did. In a world that was polarized by cold war among the super-powers, he sided with the communist, and identified fully and openly with the ideologies of Marxist - Leninism. In most of his writings, he fought capitalism and Western domination. Thus, he became a target of destruction for the West. Although his approach on African liberation was not monolithic, Nkrumah did not accept any compromise in the struggle to overthrow colonialism. All these fetched him trouble from the West. Okoye (1980: 200) writes:

In fairness to Nkrumah... it would have been cowardly on his part to avoid acting in a revolutionary situation for fear of making mistakes or stepping on some people's toes. For there is no progress without action, and a streamlined revolution is an event of which our world has had no example. Struggle is the essence of life and development, as Marx insisted, is the struggle of opposites. Without political crises, the people will never know the truth of what is involved in the social struggle...

At a point, Nkrumah became power-drunk. He was accused of suppressing political opposition and depriving Ghanaians some of their fundamental human rights. The imposition of a one party - system created serious socio-political problems to the elites. To consolidate and sustain his dictatorial influence, he established Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute at Winneba for the indoctrination of his followers on the principles of Nkrumahism. Nkrumah did not believe that Ghana's greatness can come through another person, he saw himself as the only solution. Some of the excesses of Kwame Nkrumah include the detention of Dr. Danguah and other political opponents for fifteen months, which was politically suicidal.

He became power intoxicated to the extent of expelling the Bishop of Accra for daring to condemn the Ghana Young Pioneers as ungodly. Walter Lippman, has given characteristics of dictators as: “men acting like gods ... appointed to establish heaven on earth ... To fulfill their mission, they must assume a god-like omnipotence. They must be jealous gods monopolizing power, destroying all rivals compelling exclusive loyalty” (Cited in Osifo-Whiskey, 1990:15). Nkrumah was a dictator with a mission. He knew what to do with power. In March 1964, Nkrumah with complete disregard to the Constitution, and the rule of law dismissed some Supreme Court and High Court judges for acquitting three of the five men charged with and tried for treason and conspiracy. The men who were acquitted were later detained, retried and convicted. At a point, Nkrumah became a terror for many people. Academic freedom was stultified. With complete disregard to statutory provisions, Nkrumah dismissed six lecturers at the University of Legon, and detained key officers of the student government. He restricted personal liberty through the Preventive Detention Act, 1961. Nkrumah censored the press and monitored publications.

The Presidential Election Act, 1965, bestowed the mandate to nominate a single candidate for the presidency on Nkrumah's party - the CPP. Nkrumah in an unreasonable display of political arrogance and pseudo courage cancelled the general election scheduled to take place in 1 June, 1965 and went ahead to declare the 198 nominated CPP candidates as elected. Nkrumah built a personality cult around himself. He became *Osagyefo* which means "saviour and redeemer". No aspect of Ghanaian's life was spared by the pervasive and imperious influence of Nkrumahism. Whatever was against Nkrumah did not survive in Ghana. Nkrumah's time was a balance of tyranny.

On February 23, 1966, while on a state visit to China in search of peace and solutions for the people of Vietnam, two military officers - Afrifa and Kotoka led a group of mutineering soldiers and successfully effected a change of government. Nkrumah spent the remaining part of his life in Conakry with his friend President Sekou Toure. On January 1971, Nkrumah

took ill and was later hospitalized at Bucarest in August, 1971, where he died on 27 April, 1972. He was flown back to Conakry two days later. In a speech on the occasion, Sekou Toure said “Nkrumah lives and will live forever because Africa which is grateful to him, will live forever” (Forward Ever, 1977:76).

Another encomium was from his Nigerian friend Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe who said: “Much as we all may not have agreed with his ideas, he did his best to raise the stature of black men all over the world” (Cited in Adigwe, 1979:142). Many years after his demise Okoye lamented: “Perhaps the truth is that Nkrumah came too early and Africa was too small a stage and too mentally backward for him: otherwise, at least, he would have been allowed to spend his last days in dignified retirement on a pension, with a ranch or mansion to boot, and his love letters and other souvenirs would be sought after by hunters, literally and other, for his great services to his country and humanity” (Okoye, 1980: 212)

Nkrumah was not a total failure. He was practically committed to the welfare of the masses. He built new schools, training colleges, and the University of Ghana was opened at Legon, closely followed by Universities at Kumasi and Cape Coast. He granted free education from primary to university. Textbooks were supplied free of charge to children in primary, middle and secondary schools. The Volta River Project was completed and commissioned on 23 January 1966. Nkrumah switched on lights and said "This project is not for Ghana alone. I have already offered to share our power resources with our sister African states" (Forward Ever, 1977:42). The new port which he built at Tema, was the largest artificial harbor in Africa. Francis Adigwe has rightly observed that "it is surely to Nkrumah's credit that no one ever accused him of ethnic favoritism..." (Adigwe, 1979:142).

Verdict of history

Let me borrow a thought from Shakespeare. A statement credited to Mark Antony in Julius Caesar: “Friends, Romans, Countrymen, lend me your ears, I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him. The evil that men do lives after them. The good is oft interred with their bones; so let it be with Caesar” (Julius Caesar, p.56). The prolific historian, G. N. Uzoigwe has said that “... Post-mortem is the indisputable business of the historian” (Uzoigwe, 1989:1-5) you may agree, or disagree with him. No matter the criticism and the verdict of history, one thing is clear that memories and deeds of Nkrumah cannot be forgotten easily. He was a true son of Africa. As earlier stated, Nkrumah was a legendary phenomenon that affected many people in different ways. To a broad-spectrum of Ghanaian people, he was not only a saint, but a political messiah, and yet, there are some people who classified

Nkrumah as a negative phenomenon. Opinions are therefore divided on this enigmatic personage. On the future of Nkrumahism, Okoye (1980: 221-222) avers:

There are many people who believe that the death of Kwame Nkrumah will mean the death of the African Dream. No doubt, we shall miss his tremendous energy and faith in this Dream... It is even possible that Nkrumah's death could become a blessing in disguise, for in Ghana as elsewhere in Africa, his ideological converts can now propagate his ideas and seek to realize them without having to face the inevitable hatred and suspicion of those who would not concede that the man had any good in him. The groundwork has been done, and since society no less than nature abhors a vacuum, a new Nkrumah or rather more Nkrumahs will necessarily emerge in time to fulfill his dreams and in process immortalize the great prophet who had inspired the new Crusade.

Much has been said about Nkrumah in the past, and in the present, and much more opinions will likely emerge in the future. Nkrumah will remain a cynosure of historical and socio-political analysis as Africa grapples with the impact of neo-colonialism, political instability, dictatorship, wars and problems of refugees, threat of religious conflagration, economic depression, absolute poverty, dependency and international debt burden. Unfortunately, the African dream which Nkrumah lived and died for is yet to be realized. The average African today lives under penury, poor habitat, malnutrition, shattered dreams, worst deprivation and vulnerability. Africa is the worst governed and politically destabilized region in the world.

As Africa passes through the most critical and pathetic political convulsion and economic trauma, a pre-occupation with Nkrumah's dysfunctional role in Ghana's polity is retrogressive and counter-productive. No matter the paradigm of historical verdict, we submit that no human being can be perfect, not even within the sacred precinct of religion. Nkrumah has done so much for Africa. He is a perennial source of inspiration for all budding elites of African descent.

We sympathize with Nkrumah for all his errors and ignominious ending of a political career that started with hope and glory. Disciples of Nkrumah will take consolation in the words of William Shakespeare: "All the world's a stage. And all the men and women merely players; they have

their exit and their entrances” (Hyman, 1962:301). Nkrumah has come and gone. He is no longer the issue. The problem is still with us and for us. Let us think of Africa, and not Nkrumah, because as George Arnold has said: “The living need charity more than the dead” (Hyman, 1962:20).

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