

KWAME NKRUMAH'S QUEST FOR PAN AFRICANISM: FROM INDEPENDENCE
LEADER TO DEPOSED DESPOT

A Thesis by

Autumn Anne Lawson

Bachelor of Arts, Acadia University, 2004

Submitted to the Department of History
and the faculty of the Graduate School of
Wichita State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

December 2010

© Copyright 2010 by Autumn Anne Lawson

All Rights Reserved

KWAME NKRUMAH'S QUEST FOR PAN AFRICANISM: FROM INDEPENDENCE
LEADER TO DEPOSED DESPOT

The following faculty members have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts with a major in History.

George Dehner, Committee Chair

Robert M. Owens, Committee Member

Chinyere Grace Okafor, Committee Member

DEDICATION

For my beloved and greatly missed father Robert K. Edmiston
and my darling Maggie

The evil that men do lives after them;
The good is oft interred with their bones ...
- William Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my advisor Dr. George Dehner. Without your continued guidance, support and understanding I would never have found the motivation to finish. The great deal of time, encouragement and advice you have given over the years has proved to be invaluable. You are a true rarity in the academic world and I will be forever grateful that you agreed to take on what seemed like a hopeless thesis student. I would also like to extend my gratitude to Dr. Chinyere Okafor and Dr. Robert Owens for your insight and assistance in completing this process. My uncle, Jon Callen, also deserves my sincere praise and recognition for the countless hours of editing, counseling and encouragement. Words cannot express how thankful I am to you for proofreading every draft of this thesis along with every paper I wrote in pursuit of this degree. When you offered to fill a role my father assumed in my undergraduate years, I doubt you realized the extent of what you agreed to, but you never once complained. Thank you so much for always being there for me, it means more than you will ever know. I also want to thank my amazing husband, Scott, who left everything behind and moved to Kansas so I could pursue my dreams. You remain my constant in the craziness that seems to surround me and your love, strength and patience gave me the drive to persevere through this difficult and long process. To my family and friends who have extended to me their support and love through this journey, thank you so much for your continued encouragement and tolerance of my often stressed and defeatist attitude. Thank you also to the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University and to the reference assistants in the Manuscript Reading Room and the African and Middle Eastern Reading Room at the Library of Congress for your invaluable assistance. Lastly, thank you to Kwame Nkrumah and the people of Ghana for your inspiration and courage.

ABSTRACT

On February 12, 1946, Francis Nwia-Kofi “Kwame” Nkrumah walked out of James Fort Prison to become the first Prime Minister of the Gold Coast. After a landslide election, Nkrumah and his Convention People’s Party (CPP) sought to end British imperial rule in the Gold Coast and create a socialist Pan African union on the continent. In six years the highly educated and charismatic Nkrumah gained independence for the Gold Coast, which he promptly renamed Ghana, on March 6, 1947. Both Nkrumah and Ghana entered independence with a great deal of potential and possibility for success. However, Nkrumah’s desire for a United States of Africa became an obsession that prevented the leader from attending to Ghana’s crucial economic and development needs. As national opposition to Nkrumah’s leadership rose, he responded with oppressive laws and increased centralized authority over the people who came to view Nkrumah more as an egotistical dictator than a savior.

The majority of the literature surrounding the biography and legacy of Kwame Nkrumah focuses on the leader’s shortcomings in an attempt to negate Nkrumah’s early accomplishments. This work explores Nkrumah’s legacy from a middle ground perspective by examining how Nkrumah successfully introduced Pan Africanism to Ghana and fought for the potential of African unity. The composition also demonstrates how Nkrumah’s intoxication with his own image and clear decline into dictatorship shattered his dreams of a United States of Africa.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
1. F.N. "KWAME" NKRUMAH: THE RISE AND FALL OF AN AFRICAN REVOLUTIONARY.....	1
2. ASHES OF A MODEL COLONY.....	11
3. ELECTIONS, ELECTIONS, ELECTIONS!!!	64
4. IN THE SHORTEST AMOUNT OF TIME	109
5. A MARATHON LOST IN THE LAST QUARTER MILE	162
BIBLIOGRAPHY	170
APPENDIX	186

CHAPTER ONE

F.N. “KWAME” NKRUMAH: THE RISE AND FALL OF AN AFRICAN REVOLUTIONARY

At one o'clock in the afternoon on February 12th, 1951, Francis Nwia-Kofi “Kwame” Nkrumah emerged from James Fort Prison into the waiting crowd of joyous supporters. He awoke a prisoner serving a three-year sentence for inciting illegal strikes and sedition; by evening he was the first Prime Minister of the Gold Coast. Nkrumah and his Convention People's Party (CPP) won a landslide victory of 22,780 to 342 in the nation's first independence election on February 8, 1951. Nkrumah entered the Gold Coast's political scene a highly educated, charismatic revolutionary intent on ending imperialism and creating a Pan African union guided by socialism. Filled with ambition, Nkrumah promised a new world for his fellow countrymen, a world with democracy and hope; a united Africa devoid of foreign interference. After 207 years of colonial rule, Nkrumah successfully delivered the Gold Coast, renamed to its traditional Ghana, into independence on March 6, 1957. Nkrumah and Ghana entered independence with great potential for lasting success. Unfortunately, a larger quest for a United States of Africa became Nkrumah's obsession after independence as he tried to push Ghanaians toward a union for which they were not ready. Nkrumah's obsession with Pan Africanism prevented him from being able to efficiently divide his time between Ghana's domestic needs and his pursuit of unity, taking Nkrumah away from Ghana. His inability to be both a national leader and a Pan Africanist revolutionary resulted in increased opposition to Nkrumah and the CPP. Nkrumah responded with oppressive laws and increased authority over the people who ultimately viewed him more as an ego driven dictator than the great leader he once was.¹

¹ Basil Davidson, *Black Star: A View of the Life and Times of Kwame Nkrumah* (New York: Praeger Publications, 1973), 79-80; David Rooney, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Political Kingdom in the Third World* (New York: St. Martin's

Nkrumah grew to political dominance during Africa's era of nationalism that followed the nineteenth century's legendary Age of Imperialism. In their search for an African identity, a group of African intellectuals introduced a new societal and civic model for the continent that encompassed a political, social and cultural philosophy coined Pan Africanism. The term Pan Africanism grew to have several definitions and estimated periods of origin. Nkrumah subscribed to the Pan African theories conceptualized in the 1900s by leading black nationalists Edward Wilmot Blyden, Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. Du Bois; Caribbean intellectuals from the African Diaspora. Nkrumah was introduced to Pan Africanism in 1926 by his mentor and teacher, Dr. Kwegyir Aggrey, while attending Achimota College in Accra, Gold Coast. It was Aggrey who first introduced Nkrumah to the influential publications that poured out from radical black nationalists. Du Bois, Garvey, Henry Sylvester Williams and other key Pan Africanists molded Nkrumah's Pan African beliefs and the necessity for African unity to avoid the pressures of balkanization and neocolonialism. Nkrumah believed that Pan Africanism should be directed by the tenets of socialism in order deliver the unity that Africa required, a belief that his mentor did not share.²

Kwame Nkrumah's post-colonial ascension to Prime Minister, and later President, of Ghana and his dream for a socialist Pan African State brought international attention to the

Press, 1988), 60; Kwame Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1957; New York: International Publishers Co., 1971), 136. Citations are to the International Publishers Co. edition; Barbara S. Monfils, "A Multifaceted Image: Kwame Nkrumah's Extrinsic Rhetorical Strategies," *Journal of Black Studies* 7 (1977): 315.

² A.W. Singham and Shirley Hune, *Non-Alignment in an Age of Alignments*, (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1986), 57-61; Hakim Adi and Marika Sherwood, *Pan-African History: Political Figures from Africa and the Diaspora Since 1787*, (London: Routledge, 2003), vii-viii; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 13; 15; Rooney, 8-10; Marika Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad 1935-1947* (Legon, Ghana: Freedom Publications, 1996), 18; Dabu Gizenga's Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-4 Folder 65; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Springarn Research Center, Howard University; June Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah, A Biography* (London: Panaf Books, 1999), 6-7; Cecil Blake, "An African Nationalist Ideology Framed in Diaspora and the Development Quagmire: Any Hope for a Renaissance?," *Journal of Black Studies* 35 (2005): 574-575; George Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism?: The Coming Struggle for Africa* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1956), 117; Alexandre Mboukou, "The Pan African Movement, 1900-1945: A Study in Leadership Conflicts Among the Disciples of Pan Africanism," *Journal of Black Studies* 13 (March 1983): 277-278; Alan Rake, "Is Pan-Africa Possible?," *Transition* 4 (1962): 29.

theory of Pan Africanism. Nkrumah's plans held the promise of a powerful African state run by Africans, which inspired millions on the continent and around the world. Although his socialist government and economy gained negative attention from powerful western governments, Nkrumah's vision was increasingly undermined by his egocentric vision of the Pan African movement. Ultimately, his plans failed and his legacy remains controversial. As many believe that war can become a drug for a nation, so too does power become an addiction for a national leader. Power became an infatuation for Nkrumah as his administration progressed over his decade-long regime.

The early literature on Kwame Nkrumah is divided between praise and skepticism, where the skeptics to his rule drew mostly from the British camp. What both sides agreed upon was the Ghana that Nkrumah inherited held numerous possibilities. Dr. K. A. Busia, an Ashanti chief and later a Prime Minister of Ghana, was a moderate nationalist and well respected in many African political circles. In his book *The Challenge of Africa*, published in 1962, Busia warned that despite British plans to train Africans for positions within the colonial government while simultaneously educating Africans on a Parliamentary government, their governing approach was just as repressive as any of the imperial powers. "... [A] colonial government exists in its own right;" stated Busia, "by virtue of conquest or power, and its superiority entitles it to demand obedience, which is not derived from the will or the interests of the colonial subjects it rules." According to Busia, the authoritarian colonial government illustrated for future African leaders, such as Nkrumah, that a strong central government led by a dominant leader was the method for dispelling opposition. Busia also blamed the lack of a multi-party leadership, which demonstrated to future African leaders that a political opposition was not necessary, leading to the inevitable progression of continued oppressive rule in Ghana. Another major consideration

Busia discussed proved to be one of Nkrumah's biggest issues, factionalism. When the British took power in Ghana they changed the role of the chieftaincy by diminishing the power and authority of chiefs. Many chiefs and their councils hoped that an independent Ghana would restore ethnic power over government; however, their desire proved to be in conflict with Nkrumah's path to African unity.³

Nkrumah faced many challenges when he became the first African Prime Minister in Sub-Saharan Africa in 1957. The challenges were not just from the standpoint of helping a nation recover from colonization but also from his fellow African, West Indian and African American political colleagues. Nkrumah expressed his desires to create a united Africa rooted in Pan African principles, which both excited and frightened not just the African world, but also those to the East and West of the continent. The West Indian Pan Africanist and later member of Nkrumah's Cabinet, George Padmore, wrote a great deal on Nkrumah's capability for success. Padmore's writings on colonialism, imperialism and African nationalism made him a mentor to many young African radicals, an influence not lost on Nkrumah. The mutual friendship and respect the pair held for one another made Padmore a biased observer of Nkrumah's promise and success. However, Padmore's two informative works on the Gold Coast Revolution and the African Pan African Movement; *The Gold Coast Revolution: The Struggle of an African People from Slavery to Freedom* (published in 1953) and *Pan-Africanism or Communism?: The Coming Struggle for Africa* (published in 1956), gave insight into Nkrumah's Pan African education and the Prime Minister's potential to effectively implement the philosophy. He believed that Nkrumah's charisma, intelligence, his ability to work from the grassroots and his passion for Pan

³ K.A. Busia, *The Challenge of Africa* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1962), 68; 65-70; Reginald Saloway, "The New Gold Coast," *International Affairs* 31 (October 1955): 474; George Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution: The Struggle of an African People from Slavery to Freedom* (London: Dennis Dobson, Ltd, 1953), 135-137; Dennis Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 180-182; Rooney, 72-73; A.F. Robertson, "Anthropology and Government in Ghana," *African Affairs* 74 (1975): 56-57.

Africanism was a marker of Nkrumah's fated success.⁴

Padmore aptly expressed in *The Gold Coast Revolution* the importance of Nkrumah's yeoman roots, a status Nkrumah celebrated in his campaigns, because it allowed him to relate to the "common man" and separated him from other nationalist leaders in Ghana during the fight for independence. Padmore detailed the value of Nkrumah's education both in the United States and his political education in England in aiding Nkrumah's organizational and propaganda skills and the development of his political persona. To Padmore these were the characteristics of a true nationalist leader. Padmore also detailed what he believed to be evidence of Nkrumah's modesty and virtual incorruptibility. Unfortunately, history shows that this was far from the truth. Nkrumah's ego was present from the moment he left for the United States. He believed himself the sole savior and unifier of Africa. *The Gold Coast Revolution* is a well-researched account of the early years of Ghana's political pursuit prior to and during European colonization. Padmore also conducted a great deal of research on various ethnic groups in Ghana and the power structure involved with the chiefs and their councils, which became one of Nkrumah's biggest challenges for independent Ghana.⁵

Padmore has long been regarded an authority in Pan African development literature and his final work, *Pan-Africanism or Communism?: The Coming Struggle for Africa*, is an excellent source on the historical advance of the Pan African Movement. The book's caption aptly stated Padmore's argument. Published in 1956 at the height of the Cold War, many observers in the West equated Pan Africanism and Communism to be one in the same given Pan Africanists' tendency to subscribe to socialist ideas. No one was more knowledgeable about the inner workings of both philosophies as Padmore, who was a former member of the Comintern and

⁴ Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 8; 61-62; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 52; Rooney, 22; Mboukou, 280

⁵ *Ibid.*, 248-251; 61-62.

went on to become a leader of Pan Africanism. Padmore made his argument by tracing the black nationalist movement from its origins in Sierra Leone in 1787 to the book's publication date in 1956. Padmore suggested the only effective method to combat the Communist infiltration in Africa was through a policy of "dynamic nationalism," which involved a socialist approach to industrialization and the use of co-operatives in the agriculture sector. Also known as Pan African socialism, Nkrumah embraced these components of his mentor's teachings and agreed with the necessity of trade unions, co-operative farming associations and societies.⁶

Combating the ideas of Padmore in the early years of Nkrumah's fame were the works of the last British Governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke. Upon his return to London, England, Governor Arden-Clarke gave several speeches and published a few articles on what he believed the fate of an independent Ghana would be in the hands of Nkrumah. Arden-Clarke drew attention mainly to the political and constitutional problems that Ghana faced. A key issue that Arden-Clarke pointed to was Ghana's underdevelopment and lack of wealth, which required heavy dependence on outside investment to remedy. The former Governor brought necessary attention to one of Ghana's, and Nkrumah's, biggest problem with independence. The economy in Ghana was principally agricultural with few developed industries. Arden-Clarke developed a great deal of respect for Nkrumah as the two worked together during Ghana's transition to independence and his accounts were invaluable in capturing the emotions involved in creating a new nation.⁷

The tone of the publications regarding Nkrumah and the status of Ghana changed greatly in the decades after Nkrumah was overthrown in 1966. No longer was he regarded with hope

⁶ Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism?*, 11-14; 339; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 8; 61-62.

⁷ Charles Arden-Clarke, "Eight Years of Transition in Ghana," *African Affairs* 57 (January 1958): 29; 34; Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, "Gold Coast into Ghana: Some Problems of Transition," *International Affairs* 34 (January 1958): 49; 52.

and possibility, rather historians and political scientists began portraying Nkrumah as a corrupt dictator incapable of understanding what it took to run a country. The once highly regarded African politician was no longer the Moses in which Africans had placed their faith. One of the leading African historians of the 1960s and '70s, a British professor named Dennis Austin, specialized in Ghanaian history. Austin's largest work on Ghana, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960* (published in 1970), detailed event from the Gold Coast revolution to Ghana's inauguration of its Republic in 1960, which officially made the nation a one-party state. Austin attempted to answer the question of how a nation with so much potential when independence began in 1946, became a one-party dictatorship by 1960 with an economy plummeting toward bankruptcy. A one-party state in Africa was not at all unusual; however, Austin posited that what made Ghana's experience so important was the level of nationalism and education among Africans that placed the nation in the good graces of British authorities, which he felt was unprecedented in West African decolonization. He stated that the British viewed the Ghanaian nationalist leaders, Nkrumah included, as moderates in 1946 and were blindsided by the riots that ensued during the nation's fight for independence.⁸

Austin's lengthy 446 pages of text provides a wonderful political history of Ghana from revolution to Republic with detailed analysis of Ghana's 1951, 1954 and 1956 elections, as well as the 1960 plebiscite that made the nation a Republic. Austin's extensive discussion of the chieftaincy and the conflict that ensued between the chief's council and Nkrumah aids the Ghanaian researcher in understanding a complicated and very important component to Nkrumah's personal and political downfall. African political and social governance was and still is rooted in cultural and traditional African custom. Austin aptly explained and detailed this fundamental concept for the reader. However, one cannot ignore the obvious British is better

⁸ Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 1-3.

and capitalism is King interpretation that is latent throughout Austin's work. He labeled Nkrumah a "romantic African Marxist," in a way that appeared to be dripping with disdain for the then disgraced President.⁹

One of Austin's fellow African historian colleagues, Basil Davidson, was a highly regarded authority on not only African history, but Ghana in particular. Known for his ability to appeal to both an academic and a general audience, Davidson's *Black Star: A View of the Life and Times of Kwame Nkrumah* (published in 1973), attempted to find the truth about who Nkrumah was during a time when there were a large amount of unfavorable publications on the subject. He began with Nkrumah's return to Africa, which he viewed as a new era for the history of West Africa as it marked a time of newfound hope and pride for Africans. Davidson also believed that historians publishing on Nkrumah in the decades following the 1970s would remember the Prime Minister favorably as the man who was at the heart of African decolonization. Davidson developed a friendship with Nkrumah in 1952 and wrote more from his personal contact with and observations of Nkrumah. However, Davidson believed that the legacy and lessons of Nkrumah could be found more in his failures than in his strengths.¹⁰

The 1980s marked a new era in historical interpretation of Nkrumah and his leadership in Ghana. Some works such as Erica Powell's *Private Secretary (Female)/ Gold Coast* (published in 1984) and June Milne's *Kwame Nkrumah, A Biography* (published in 1999) resurrected the hero-worship of Nkrumah and painted the former Prime Minister as the savior of the colonized world. Both women worked closely with Nkrumah, Powell his personal secretary and Milne his research assistant and publisher, which lent to the obvious biases that both women held toward Nkrumah. But, it also meant that Powell and Milne were able to capture a side of Nkrumah's

⁹ Ibid., 419-421.

¹⁰ Davidson, 13; 207.

character and personality otherwise not displayed for the general public. What makes Powell's account particularly interesting was that she began employment as the private secretary to Governor Arden-Clarke before being assigned to Nkrumah. Powell provides little in-depth analysis of Nkrumah or his politics, but rather offered a more frank and personal account of the leader. For example, when Powell discussed Ghana's highly debated shift from a Commonwealth to a Republic, which marked the beginning of one-party rule, she avoided discussing any of the negativity that surrounded the controversial moment.¹¹

Conversely, in the last two decades more balanced works on Nkrumah have been published. Many historians writing on the subject of Ghanaian history give Nkrumah credit for the achievements that he made in decolonization, education and the birth of Ghana's industry development; however, Nkrumah's faults are also detailed. Of particular importance was Nkrumah's attempt to rid Ghana of opposing political parties and rule the nation solely under his own party, his inability to work with the powerful chiefs and his constant battles with Ghana's cocoa farmers. Two important works from this era, David Rooney's *Kwame Nkrumah: The Political Kingdom in the Third World* (published in 1988) and David Birmingham's short work *Kwame Nkrumah: The Father of African Nationalism* (published in 1998) paid particular attention to Nkrumah's socialist Pan African pursuits and the leader's ultimate failure to effectively implement his plans.

There have been a plethora of articles and books published on the life and work of Kwame Nkrumah over the last several decades. Most of these publications discuss Nkrumah's biography, others his educational background and some focus on his place in history. One issue that seems to be a constant for historians on the subject is the debate concerning whether to portray Nkrumah as a great deliverer who could have made Ghana rich and powerful; or

¹¹ Erica Powell, *Private Secretary (Female) Gold Coast*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), 163-164.

believing that the so-called great “Osagyefo” bankrupted and destroyed the first independent sub-Saharan nation fortunate enough to begin self-governance with revenue-building assets. This thesis explores Nkrumah’s legacy from a middle ground perspective by examining how Nkrumah successfully introduced Pan Africanism to Ghana and fought for the potential of African unity. The work also demonstrates how Nkrumah’s intoxication with his own image and clear decline into dictatorship shattered his dreams of a United States of Africa while his countrymen violently overturned his rule.

Nkrumah undeniably became a dictator in the latter years of his regime. However, the literature surrounding Nkrumah’s biography and legacy utilizes the leader’s shortcomings to negate the accomplishments Nkrumah made for Ghana and the African nationalist movement. What Nkrumah’s legacy requires is a contemporary perspective that sheds light on his pursuit of Pan African unity. By exploring his Pan African ideals one is also drawn to the success and overwhelming popularity that Nkrumah gained during Ghana’s fight for independence. His victory and charisma displayed how his once effectual leadership carried the potential for a Pan African union that would have allowed for an end to reliance on foreign economic and development aid in the future. The theory of a Pan African union had the potential of creating a situation where Africans could aid other Africans and limit future need for costly foreign assistance. Unfortunately, Nkrumah became a victim of colonialism and neocolonialism in the beginning of his rule and later a victim of his own ego and personal ambition. As historians assess Africa’s decolonization and independence history, Nkrumah’s legacy deserves a fair assessment that does not simply define his leadership by the final years of his regime. It is necessary that Nkrumah’s accomplishments with Pan African and Ghana’s independence be fairly represented in the literature.

CHAPTER TWO

ASHES OF A MODEL COLONY

Great Britain's interest in the Gold Coast began in 1750, which changed the lives of the nation's indigenous population forever. Each African nation underwent their own unique experiences during the Age of Imperialism depending on what each colony had to offer and which European nation was the colonizing power. Great Britain was typically less violent than some of their European counterparts; however, that did not mean that they were any less authoritative or heavy handed. With the Gold Coast, Britain inherited an established economic and commercial infrastructure that they could build upon, which resulted in immediate profitable returns for the British crown. The colony also possessed wealthy raw materials such as gold, rubber, timber and cocoa. Development in the Gold Coast was dictated by the wealth that the British hoped to gain from her possession, all the while ruling over the colony's African populace with a system of discrimination and oppression. Finally, Gold Coasters began to fight back and embrace the principles of nationalism. Kwame Nkrumah fell under the nationalist spell and used his gifts of education to study the philosophy of Pan Africanism, which he brought back to the country of his birth in 1947.

British interests in colonizing Africa were based solely on economic exploitation of the continent's raw materials for British markets. The British African Company of Merchants, a regulated and openly traded company, which oversaw British colonial interests in Africa, took notice of the Gold Coast and its abundance of lucrative resources in 1817. In pursuit of colonial control over the region's natural resources, the British developed extensive trade networks that gave the colonial juggernaut a stronghold in the Gold Coast. British dominance in the region was solidified in 1872 with their procurement of a number of forts previously established by

former European nations no longer interested in maintaining a presence in the Gold Coast. Once in control of the forts, British military officials undertook the task of governing the Gold Coast. Local chieftaincies and ethnic orders remained strong under their Portuguese and Dutch colonizers, a position that was not shared anywhere else in Africa and spoke to the level of societal order among Gold Coast Africans. However, this presented the British with a serious obstacle, primarily in the form of the Ashanti warriors. The Ashanti controlled the area around the prominent gold mines and accrued great wealth from this fortune and their lucrative slave trading business in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. From the sixteenth century to the twentieth century, gold remained the nation's highest grossing export, and the Ashanti were not willing to relinquish their complete control. For the British to control the gold mines free and clear, they had to defeat the Ashanti and take control of the lands and trading routes, which led to many long years of brutal warfare.¹²

The Ashanti were both feared and respected by other ethnic groups in the Gold Coast, but mostly feared, a detail the British used to their advantage. The British allied themselves with the Fanti people, a long time enemy of the Ashanti, in return for British protection. The Fanti had long paid tributes in both gold and blood to the "Golden Stool" of the Ashanti, which made them more than willing to ally with the British.¹³ Beginning in 1820 the British and the Ashanti collided in numerous bloody and fierce battles with the British finally defeating the mighty

¹² M.E. Chamberlain, *The Scramble for Africa* 2 ed. (London: Longman, 1999), 42-43; James Anquandah, *Rediscovering Ghana's Past* (Accra, Ghana: Sedco Publishing Limited, 1982), 80-81; Raymond E. Dumett, *El Dorado in West Africa: The Gold Mining Frontier, African Labor, and Colonial Capitalism in the Gold Coast 1875-1900* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1998), 1-2; Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *Africa Since 1800*, 4th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 57-61; John Reader, *Africa: A Biography of the Continent* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997), 423-424; 430-431; Richard Rathbone, *Nkrumah and the Chiefs: The Politics of Chieftaincy in Ghana, 1951-1960* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1999), 9-10; George B.N. Ayittey, *Africa Unchained: The Blueprint for Africa's Future* (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2005), 360-361; Joseph R. Opong and Esther D. Opong, *Ghana* (Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 2003), 11; 33-34; John Gunther, *Inside Africa* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955), 9.

¹³ The Ashanti laid heavy taxes, tithes, tributes and fines on the African populace of the Gold Coast in order to feed the burgeoning coffers of the "Golden Stool," which represented Ashanti royalty. Reader, 424.

Ashanti in 1874. The peace treaty signed between the two sides allowed for the Gold Coast to formally become a British colony on July 24, 1874.¹⁴

With the Ashanti defeated the British set about the task of governing their newest colony. Initial control over the Gold Coast fell on the British African Company of Merchants. The Company maintained the divisional lines within the Gold Coast mapped by previous European colonizers. The Gold Coast Colony along the Gulf of Guinea was important to the British due to the area's proximity to the coast and contained the important trading cities of the Cape Coast, Accra and Axim. The centrally located Ashanti Colony was home to the Ashanti kingdom and the lucrative gold mines, which the British acquired as reparations during the Ashanti wars. The capital city of Kumasi, straddling a rainforest and a savanna, previously allowed the Ashanti to profit from both mineral and farming wealth. The British capitalized on this wealth as well. The Northern Territories, on the border of the Ivory Coast, provided the British with more territory; however, it was the least developed section of the Gold Coast and viewed to have the least economic opportunities.¹⁵

The British government ruled in 1872 that colonies needed to be financially viable in order for the Crown to continue a colony's justification. The ruling led to the implementation of Indirect Rule in the Gold Coast and the eventual consolidation of the colony in 1901. A system widely practiced in Africa since the late nineteenth century, Indirect Rule became a cost effective way for the British to manage a colony without the need for more staff. Governance through Indirect Rule by the British in the Gold Coast meant governing was shared between the British Governor and the Civil Service with the local chieftaincy and their councils. Ultimate authority

¹⁴ Ibid.; Oliver and Atmore, 60-61; Chamberlain, 42-43; Berry, 15-16.

¹⁵ Oliver and Atmore, 126; Sir Alan Burns, *Colonial Civil Servant* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1949), 177; Robin Law, "The Royal African Company of England's West African Correspondence, 1681-1699," *History of Africa* 20 (1993): 173; Reader, 400; 424; Padmore, *Gold Coast Revolution*, viii; Opong and Opong, 11.

concerning the Gold Coast remained in the hands of the British; however, local government business was deferred to chiefs. Indirect Rule allowed the British to concentrate on their economic agenda in the Gold Coast. In return for their cooperation, Chiefs were allowed to maintain their ethnic customs and the power that went along with their rank in ethnic society as long as it did not interfere with British law. The Gold Coast Colony, Ashanti Colony and Northern Territories were amalgamated into one colony of the Gold Coast and operated more like states or provinces rather than separate entities. The British hoped that consolidation of the Gold Coast and Indirect Rule would convince Africans to assimilate to British customs and colonial society.¹⁶

The majority of the chiefs that the British relied upon for local government were from the fierce and organized Ashanti. In his book, *Africa: A Biography of the Continent*, John Reader wrote that "... although Asante was always a military society with a harshly militaristic ideology, the kingdom's chief strength lay in its political institutions." The Ashanti province already contained revenue and trade networks, as well as, roads and a political network. The Asantemanhyiamu represented the Ashanti national council with the Asantehene, an elected position from among the chiefs, as the king of the council. The Ashanti seemed to be an easy choice for the British who hoped to modernize and assimilate the ethnic group. Chiefs collected local taxes from which they separated a small portion of the funds to deposit into their Native Treasuries, giving the majority to British colonial authorities. Funds for the Treasuries were to be used for local needs, but the appropriation of funds was at the discretion of the chiefs. This system of Indirect Rule caused further resentment toward colonial authority, but also toward the

¹⁶ Burns, 177; Oppong and Oppong, 11; Reader, 400; Ayittey, 71; Rathbone, *Nkrumah & the Chiefs*, 10-11; Joseph Boakye Danquah, *Journey to Independence and After (J.B. Danquah's Letters) 1947-1965: Volume One 1947-1948*, ed. H.K. Akyeampong (Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1970), 29; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 67-70; Rooney, 31-32.

chiefs who were viewed as colonial collaborators.¹⁷

Francis Nwia-Kofi Nkrumah was born during the early years of Indirect Rule in the Gold Coast on September 21, 1909, in the small, isolated village of Nkroful in the southwestern province of Nzima.¹⁸ Belonging to the Nzumi people, he was given the African name of “Kwame,” which means Saturday, as was the custom of his people to name infants according to the day of their birth. The village of Nkroful, largely neglected by the colonial government, lacked running water, roads were rocky paths, houses were primitive, medical facilities archaic and educational opportunities were non-existent. According to Nkrumah, Nkroful’s plight was typical treatment toward a West African village with little value to the British. His yeoman beginnings inspired and aided Nkrumah in his later political pursuits and his ability to appeal to the common man.¹⁹

Nkrumah was the only child born to his mother, Nyanibah, and the son of a goldsmith, Kobina. Fortunately for Nkrumah, his parents were determined to seize on the potential they saw in their son and enrolled him in the elementary school administered by the Catholic Mission, whose strict teachers supported the use of corporal punishment on their young African students. Tuition for the Mission school was three pence plus the cost of books, a lofty sum for the son of a goldsmith and a housewife. Nkrumah excelled in his academics and worried that his parents would not be able to maintain tuition costs. To remedy the situation he sold chickens to raise the

¹⁷ Reader, 424; 424-425; Oliver and Atmore, 154-155; Rathbone, *Nkrumah & the Chiefs*, 10-11.

¹⁸ Incongruity exists concerning the actual date of Nkrumah’s birth. Dates of important events, such as a birth, were not recorded in the largely ethnic areas of Ghana, which often resulted in confusion surrounding birth dates. When Nkrumah was baptized by the Roman Catholic Church the priest guessed the date of September 21, 1909 for Nkrumah’s birth date. However, Nkrumah listed a change in his birth date on his scholarship application to the University of Pennsylvania Graduate School in January 1941 to September 21, 1912 [emphasis added]. Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 1; Dabu Gizenga’s Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-4 Folder 65; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University; Dabu Gizenga’s Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-4 Folder 60; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.

¹⁹ Dabu Gizenga’s Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-4 Folder 65; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University; Dabu Gizenga’s Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-4 Folder 60; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 4; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 4; 10-11.

necessary funds.²⁰

During Nkrumah's early years, the British colonial control over the Gold Coast was solidified. In addition to the taxes collected from local chiefs, the British controlled and taxed the established trade and revenue networks. Collected revenue was used to pay colonial authorities and the British military stationed in the Gold Coast instead of going toward development. Revenue collected for cash crop cultivation and the extraction of raw materials was pure profit for Britain. In 1901 the British began to invest in the development of the Gold Coast infrastructure with the construction of railroads, however, the railroads were purely for the extraction of gold and not for the benefit of Gold Coasters. The railroad initially stretched approximately thirty miles from Sekondi to Tarkwa, located in the southern Gold Coast Colony. The addition of the railroad more than tripled the value of gold exported from the Gold Coast, with a £175,000 increase for Britain in only six years. The increase caused the British to accelerate their plans for a railroad expansion to Kumasi, the capital of the Ashanti Colony. Prior to the increased gold revenue, the Kumasi railroad expansion was to help maintain a military and political control over the Ashanti; however, a railroad through Kumasi also allowed the British to cultivate the lucrative cocoa, timber and lumber commodities in the region. The railroad expansion also resulted in a further increase in the gold profits to £1,432,000 by 1914. These resources allowed the Gold Coast to become the most lucrative African colony of the British Empire. Development in the colony was undertaken for the sole purpose of increasing the Crown's profits instead of improving the lives of Gold Coasters, which was evident through the sizable portion of the colony that was still ignored and isolated. Britain made it clear that the Gold Coast would only have the type of infrastructure that their local revenue could afford. With

²⁰ Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah, A Biography*, 4; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 4; 10-11; Dabu Gizenga's Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-4 Folder 65; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spangarn Research Center, Howard University.

the majority of their money going into British coffers, the Africans clearly afforded little.²¹

The British believed in the importance of educating Africans for later employ in the lower levels of the civil service. This gave birth to a new class of Africans commonly referred to as the “intelligentsia,” who began to assert their power among the chiefs, which the British did not anticipate. In 1897 this new African elite made up of lawyers and businessmen from the southern cities of Cape Coast, Accra and Sekondi created the Aborigines’ Rights Protection Society (ARPS), marking the first African nationalist organization in the Gold Coast. Any issue addressing native councils by the Governor of the Gold Coast was forced to consult with the ARPS, especially when the matter concerned land acquisition and ordinance. By the early twentieth century the group gained enough power it was often referred to as the “Parliament of Africans.” The British were increasingly angered at the APRS’s continued interference in their efforts to attain land and revenue.²²

Fortunately, the clashes between the APRS and the British did not undermine British desire to educate Africans for the civil service or business sector. On the contrary, education was a very important and prestigious part of colonial society with the Gold Coast possessing some of the best schools available to a native population in West Africa. Schools represented the foundation of the British’s ten-year economic plan devised by Governor Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg who served in the Gold Coast from 1919 to 1928. Guggisberg’s ten-year plan also included improvements to the water supply, drainage, hydroelectric projects, public buildings, town improvements, hospitals, prisons and communication lines.²³

²¹ Oliver and Atmore, 124-126; 128-130; Martin Meredith, *The Fate of Africa: From the Hopes of Freedom to the Heart of Despair: A History of Fifty Years of Independence* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2005), 11; Rathbone, *Nkrumah & the Chiefs*, 10.

²² Gwendolyn Mikell, *Cocoa and Chaos in Ghana* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1992), 51; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 38-39; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, xiii; Sherwood, 13.

²³ Gunther, 585; La Verle Berry ed., *Ghana: A Country Study*, 3rd ed. (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1995), 21-22; Rooney, 8.

Nkrumah took advantage of the educational opportunities offered in the Gold Coast. After Nkrumah graduated from secondary education in 1926, he passed the Standard VII Examination of the Board of Education to become a teacher for the Axim colony located in Half Assini. Nkrumah was accepted to Achimota College in Accra, the only post-secondary college in the Gold Coast and created by Governor Guggisberg. Achimota provided education for all Africans regardless of race, age or religion. In 1928, the Government Training College was added to Achimota under the leadership of Reverend A.G. Fraser who recruited professors from Oxford and Cambridge. Nkrumah was handpicked to enter into the first class at the school for Teacher Training.²⁴

Nkrumah's attendance at Achimota College and life in Accra marked the birth of his nationalist awareness. At Achimota, Nkrumah developed a close friendship with Assistant Vice-Principle, Dr. Kwegyir Aggrey, the only African staff member of the college. An ardent nationalist, Aggrey introduced Nkrumah to Pan African thinkers such as W.E.B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey. Aggrey was described by those who knew him as possessing great enthusiasm and energy, a masterful orator who commanded attention. Nkrumah was mesmerized and inspired by his mentor. After Aggrey's sudden death in 1927, Nkrumah vowed to commit his life to education and nationalism in honor of his fallen teacher.²⁵

The bustling city life of Accra exposed Nkrumah to the political currents that flooded the Gold Coast in the 1920s. Accra was filled with intellectuals, exiles, journalists, lawyers, idealists and administrators who all contributed to the broad-based ideas that floated around the capital. A uniquely West African brand of nationalism surfaced in response to the rise of African political consciousness and led to the formation of influential organizations such as the National

²⁴ Dabu Gizenga's Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-4 Folder 65; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spangarn Research Center, Howard University; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 13; 15; Rooney, 8.

²⁵ Rooney, 9-10; Sherwood, 18; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 16-19; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 7.

Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA). Founded in Accra, the NCBWA set itself apart from other nationalist organizations at the time with their primary goal of creating a united British West Africa. The leadership of the NCBWA drew from the western-educated and trained African businessmen from the Gold Coast, Gambia, Nigeria and Sierra Leone whose hope was to create constitutional, legal and educational reforms that would lead to unification. They lobbied for opening senior administrative positions to Africans and actively protested against colonialism and the ruling power given to the ancestral orders. The NCBWA brought attention to the early theories of African unification and the importance of African nationalism in confronting the issues of imperialism and served as the inspiration for the formation of numerous African nationalist organizations. These were theories that influenced Nkrumah in the formative years of his political and social consciousness development.²⁶

The 1930s marked a volatile time for many in the Gold Coast, which suffered additional hardships with the onslaught of the worldwide economic depression. The price of the Gold Coast's lucrative cocoa crop dropped drastically in 1930 and farmers felt ignored by the British colonial authorities who they helped to enrich. In response to their anger, farmers engaged in an economic boycott of the selling of cocoa and the purchasing of imported goods. The soaring numbers of unemployment, low wages and the exorbitant price of goods compelled many Gold Coast Africans to follow the example of the cocoa farmers. Political and economic strikes and protests arose across the region. British authorities responded by raising taxes and cracking down on what they deemed "seditious literature," particularly publications from nationalist and communist organizations. The political atmosphere of the Gold Coast and Accra in particular led Nkrumah to further his belief that British colonial rule was "... cold, selfish, heartless

²⁶ David Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Father of African Nationalism* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1998), 3-4; Sherwood, 17; 30; 13-14; Adi, 74-75; G.I.C. Eluwa, "Background to the Emergence of the National Congress of British West Africa," *African Studies Review* 14 (1971): 205; 208-209; 216.

exploitation and domination.”²⁷

Nkrumah joined the NCBWA where he was introduced to many nationalist ideas, particularly Pan Africanism and Communist theories. He witnessed colonial domination in the form of abandoned farms due to poverty, food shortages, starvation, roads left untended, railways unfinished, an economic sector completely controlled by the British and a significant illiterate populace. The education provided to Africans taught the curriculum of Western Europe with little focus on African needs, skills, culture or history. Nkrumah believed that his only chance to make a difference for the Gold Coast, and Africa as a whole, was to travel to the United States to further his education. He hoped the educational opportunities and political atmosphere of the United States would allow him to refine his theories against colonialism.²⁸

Nkrumah was accepted to the Presbyterian Lincoln University in Chester, Pennsylvania in March 1935. Founded in 1854, Lincoln’s mandate was to educate African-Americans, the first university of its kind in the United States. Many West African nationalists believed that Africans educated in Britain returned to Africa to work for the colonial government, while Africans educated in the United States returned to combat colonialism. Lincoln catered to Africans seeking an education abroad and worked diligently to provide Africans with necessary financial assistance. By the 1930s, Lincoln had developed into a small liberal arts college with an enrollment of 270 students (the majority of whom came from an eastern middle-class American background), and primarily prepared students to enter the medical, legal and theological fields.²⁹

²⁷ Dabu Gizenga’s Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-4 Folder 72; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University; Sherwood, 14-15.

²⁸ Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 9-10; Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite* (London: Panaf, 1963, reprinted 1974), xiii. Citations are the 1974 reprinted edition; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 20-22.

²⁹ Dabu Gizenga’s Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-4 Folder 65; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 7; Akwasi B. Assensoh,

Nkrumah received financial assistance from a relative, the Nsaeum, Gold Coast Chief Kwamina Adadie, for his tuition and travel to Lincoln. He set sail for the United States via a stopover in Liverpool, England to obtain his student visa.³⁰ He arrived in the United States on October 22, 1935, almost two months after the start of the school year at Lincoln. Money quickly became a major problem for Nkrumah in the United States. He arrived with only £40 (about \$180) in his pocket. Nkrumah received a large scholarship based on high scores from his entrance examination, which required him to work in the university library. He took up various paying jobs, such as tutoring, selling fish in Harlem, loading entrails and animal fat at a soap factory and night shifts at the Sun Shipbuilding Yard in Chester.³¹ Despite his heavy workload and his school commitments, Nkrumah still found time for social activities, such as joining the Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity and the Freemasons. He was also inspired by the black revivalist movements in New York and attempted to get Lincoln students involved in the power of religious fervor by preaching in the university's community centers and local churches. Nkrumah's sermons possessed both religious and political content. The pulpit also provided Nkrumah with another avenue to educate on the necessity of ending global imperialism.³²

Nkrumah graduated from Lincoln University in 1939 with a Bachelor of Arts in Sociology and a minor in Philosophy and Economics. He finished sixth in his class of forty-six

"Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana: His Formative Years and the Shaping of his Nationalism and Pan-Africanism (1935-1948)" (PhD diss., New York University, 1984), 3-4; Sherwood, 29-30.

³⁰ Prior to his departure for Lincoln University, Nkrumah's mother informed him of his claim to chieftaincy in both Nsaeum and Dadieso, Gold Coast. Nkrumah shared this information with many of his professors and peers at both Lincoln University and, later, at the University of Pennsylvania. He also listed Chief Kwamina Adadie as the person responsible for assisting with his tuition costs, a fact that was important as Nkrumah was frequently delinquent on tuition payments. Ibid.; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 29-30; Sherwood, 31.

³¹ Harlem marked Nkrumah's first stop once he arrived in the United States. He quickly took to Harlem, finding that the area reminded him of Accra. Harlem was filled with Africans and a place where Pan African ideas were spread freely. He spent all of his school vacations in Harlem to work and attend political rallies. Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 29; 35.

³² Ibid., 24-25; 29-31; 35; 11-12; Dabu Gizenga's Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-4 Folder 60; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spangarn Research Center, Howard University; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 9-12; 40; Sherwood, 31-32; Dabu Gizenga's Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-4 Folder 68; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spangarn Research Center, Howard University.

and was one of seventeen *magna cum laude* graduates that year. He quickly re-enrolled at Lincoln for degrees in Theology and Philosophy. Two years later he enrolled at the University of Pennsylvania in pursuit of a Masters in Philosophy and a separate one in Education. In 1942, Nkrumah completed his Bachelor of Theology from Lincoln, once again graduating at the top of his class. Asked to deliver the graduation speech that year, Nkrumah chose the topic of the Italian occupation of Ethiopia. The events of the Second World War had certainly not escaped Nkrumah, or any other African for that matter. Benito Mussolini, the fascist dictator of Italy, brought the war to the doorstep of the African continent by invading Ethiopia in 1935. Africans as a whole were infuriated by Mussolini's bold actions. Fighting off the chains of fascism became just as important as fighting off the chains of imperialism to many Africans, particularly Nkrumah. He urged Ethiopians to reach for God as he believed an end to occupation and imperialism was on the horizon.³³

In a letter dated July 1, 1942, to a fellow Ghanaian friend, K.A.B. Jones-Quartey, Nkrumah wrote: "It is our task to build, not to make a choice, but to unite and develop so that no matter who wins this war, those who hope to exploit and maintain empire, whether they be British, German or anything else, will find a living hell in Africa."³⁴

At the University of Pennsylvania, Nkrumah excelled in the same manner he had at Lincoln. He accepted an instructor post in the newly developed field of African Studies for the Department of Oriental Studies and proved to be an excellent teacher. Simultaneous to his teaching at the University of Pennsylvania, Nkrumah was also an adjunct instructor for the

³³ Dabu Gizenga's Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-4 Folder 68; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 31-32; Assensoh, 10-11; Dabu Gizenga's Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-4 Folder 60; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University; Birmingham, 6.

³⁴ Dabu Gizenga's Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-4 Folder 72; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University; Assensoh, 16.

Philosophy department at Lincoln teaching Introductory Greek, Negro History and Social Philosophy. Nkrumah enjoyed his teaching position as he felt that the subjects allowed him to educate on the need for decolonization. He chose the topic of “The Philosophy of Imperialism with special reference to Africa” as his Master of Education thesis topic, proving that the issue of colonial Africa was ever-present in his mind and anyone with whom he interacted. He also formed several African student associations, such as the African Studies Section, the African Studies’ Association of America and Canada, a Pan African group that fought for global awareness for the fight for African independence, and the newspaper *African Interpreter*, of which he was also the editor. Nkrumah completed his Master of Science in 1942 and his Master of Arts in Philosophy in February 1943.³⁵ Still feeling there was more education to pursue; Nkrumah immediately began work on a Doctorate of Philosophy from the University of Pennsylvania.³⁶

In his spare time Nkrumah educated himself in traditional political and social theory. He read writings from philosophers such as Immanuel Kant, Wilhlem Friedrich Hegel, Rene Descartes and Friedrich Nietzsche. He also studied the works of Karl Marx, V. I. Lenin, Sigmund Freud and Giuseppe Mazzini to better his understanding of contemporary nationalist social and political theories. He felt that these works contained the answer on how to end imperialism. He later wrote in his *Autobiography* that: “The writings of these men did much to influence me in my revolutionary ideas and activities and Karl Marx and Lenin particularly

³⁵ It is remarkable to note that Nkrumah graduated from Lincoln University with his Bachelor of Theology and from the University of Pennsylvania with his Master of Science in Education at the same time in 1942. Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 32.

³⁶ Dabu Gizenga’s Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-4 Folder 60; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spangarn Research Center, Howard University; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 32-33; Assensoh, 11; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 13-14; Dabu Gizenga’s Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-2 Folder 17; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spangarn Research Center, Howard University.

impressed me as I was sure that their philosophy was capable of solving these problems.”³⁷

In addition to educating himself on the literature of political and social theory, Nkrumah studied a number of political organizations that were active in the United States. He paid particular interest to the Communist Party and the Trotskyites (followers subscribed to the political theories of Leon Trotsky). The Communist Party in the 1920s were ardent supporters of black nationalism, pushing that a Communist-led world would have no color line. It was a powerful statement during an era when Communism was greatly feared among the leading Western nations of Europe and North America. Nkrumah was drawn to the socialism of the Trotskyites whose gatherings he often attended. It was through the Trotskyites where he befriended a popular Pan Africanist, C.L.R. James. James was highly regarded for his literary works, political theories and historical and philosophical publications. James taught Nkrumah the importance of a well-maintained and established political underground movement. James also furthered Nkrumah’s knowledge of the teachings of revolutionary thinkers, as well as Marxist, Communist and anti-Stalinist theories. Nkrumah began to form the foundation of his own political beliefs, which he firmly rooted in Marxist-socialist doctrines. Nkrumah’s friendship with James later opened many influential doors in the Pan African world that ultimately aided his rise to power.³⁸

Nkrumah joined other left-wing political organizations while in the United States, such as the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in the early 1940s. He was inspired to become a member after reading Marcus Garvey’s *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*.

³⁷ Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 45; Rooney, 14; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 14-15.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 44; 35-36; 49; Caryl Phillips, “C.L.R. James: The Most Noteworthy Caribbean Mind of the Twentieth Century,” *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 33 (2001): 118; Grant Farred, “A Thriving Postcolonialism: Toward an Anti-Postcolonial Discourse,” *Nepantla: Views from the South* 2 (2001):233; James R. Hooker, *Black Revolutionary: George Padmore’s Path From Communism to Pan-Africanism* (New York: Fredrick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1967), 2; 5-9; 2; Sherwood, 81-82; 14-15; Rooney, 16; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 9-10; Adi and Sherwood, 152; P. Kevin Tunteng, “George Padmore’s Impact on Africa: A Critical Appraisal,” *Phylon* 35 (1974): 33-34.

Garvey's vision of creating an Africa that would become an oasis for all blacks was antithetical to an accepted belief that blacks should conform to the success-driven practices of white-dominated American society. Nkrumah's membership in the UNIA helped the future leader to formulate his belief in the creation of a United States of Africa where each state would be independent but still unified as one nation under the leadership of Pan Africanism. He began to see that a unified Africa meant a protected and prosperous Africa.³⁹

Exhausted and run-down, Nkrumah suffered a very serious bout of pneumonia in 1944 while he was working on his dissertation. His high fever and labored breathing eventually earned him a stay in the care of Chester Hospital where he was placed in critical condition. During his hospital stay Nkrumah became quite homesick for Africa and for his mother, who he had not seen in ten years. From his hospital bed Nkrumah decided not to complete his dissertation and to return home to the Gold Coast to begin his campaign to free Africa from imperialism. In May 1945, he boarded a boat in New York bound for Liverpool, England after ten years in the United States. As the boat passed the Statue of Liberty, Nkrumah felt that his time in the United States showed him the meaning of liberty, a lesson he hoped to take back to Africa. Initially he planned to go directly back to the Gold Coast; however, Nkrumah found the pull of the Pan African Movement in England too much to ignore.⁴⁰

England was the birthplace of the Pan Africanism, which Nkrumah subscribed. A Trinidadian lawyer, Henry Sylvester Williams, laid the foundation for Pan Africanism while living in London in 1900. Williams believed that European imperialist powers, especially Britain, were intruding further into the heart of Africa and ultimately destroying the native ethnic

³⁹ Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, xvii; Birmingham, 4; Sherwood, 81.

⁴⁰ Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 13; Rooney, 14-15; Dabu Gizenga's Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-2 Folder 17; Manuscript Division, Spingarn Research Center, Howard University; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 33-34; 48.

groups of Africa. He felt that the growing problem of the twentieth century had glaringly become an issue of race, specifically the lack of civil liberties and freedom granted to Africans around the world. He believed the answer laid in the "... fraternal solidarity among peoples of African descent." Williams took advantage of the growing population of West Africans in London and the surge of African nationalism and anti-colonial protests to launch campaigns for African unification, which was a defining principle of Pan Africanism.⁴¹

W.E.B. Du Bois, an African-American intellectual who is considered to be the "father" of modern Pan Africanism, later embraced Williams' teachings. Du Bois took Williams' theories of African unity and expanded them into a broader philosophy of what he originally termed "Pan-Negroism," which boasted the underlining principle of the need for a highly educated black race that in return would create successful black leaders for freedom movements. Du Bois delivered to many Africans and African-Americans a broader understanding of Pan Africanism and a sense of pride in the African race. In 1919, Du Bois revived the New World Pan Africanists and organized several conferences between 1919 and 1927, which reintroduced Pan Africanism to much of Europe and Africa.⁴²

When Nkrumah arrived in London he was met by the popular radical Pan African socialist, George Padmore who helped Nkrumah get settled in England. Nkrumah felt Padmore's Pan African beliefs and Marxist approach to black nationalism were similar to his own. Padmore rejected Du Bois and Garvey's anti-Marxism because he firmly believed the only way to eliminate racial prejudice throughout the world was to overthrow the capitalist system.

⁴¹ Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism?*, 117; P. Olanwuche Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement, 1776-1991* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1994), 40; Hakim Adi and Marika Sherwood, *Pan-African History: Political Figures from Africa and the Diaspora since 1787* (London: Routledge, 2003), vii-viii; Adi, 70; Mboukou, 277-278.

⁴² Rooney, 9; Adi and Sherwood, 48; Raymond Wolters, *Du Bois and His Rivals* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002), 12-13; Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism?*, 118.

Black nationalism, according to Padmore, should be approached as an economic issue instead of a racial one. Nkrumah highly respected Padmore's honesty and his understanding of colonialism, which quickly resulted in the formation of a lasting friendship. Padmore introduced Nkrumah to London's sizable black nationalist community, which resulted in Nkrumah's membership in Pan African groups such as the West African Students' Union (WASU). WASU worked for West Africa's unification, fostered debate on social and political activism, as well as provided housing and financial support for members. In no time at all Nkrumah became vice-president of the organization and editor of the newspaper.⁴³

With his membership in WASU and his desire to make an impact in Africa, Nkrumah felt that he needed to put into writing some of his experiences in the various organizations of which he had been a member in the United States. Nkrumah sailed to London with a draft of his pamphlet, "Towards Colonial Freedom," but did not possess the necessary funds to publish the pamphlet until 1945. He stated in his "Preface" that he wanted his work to "... serve as a rough blue-print of the processes by which colonial peoples can establish the realization of their complete and unconditional independence." He drew heavily on the works of Garvey, James and Padmore to attack the evils of imperialism and colonialism's contradictions in terms of what colonizers gain versus the interests of the colonized peoples. "The aim of all colonial governments in Africa and elsewhere has been the struggle for raw materials;" wrote Nkrumah, "and not only this, but the colonies have become the dumping ground, and colonial peoples the false recipients of manufactured goods of the industrialists and capitalists ... who turn to the dependent territories which feed their industrial plants."⁴⁴

⁴³ Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 48-52; Sherwood, 115; 14-15; 111-113; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 21-22; 9-10; Davidson, 39-40; Hooker, 5-9; 2; Adi and Sherwood, 152; Tunteng, 33-34; Rooney, 29.

⁴⁴ Kwame Nkrumah, *Towards Colonial Freedom: Africa in the Struggle Against the World Imperialism* (London: Heinemann, 1962), xiii; xv; ix-xi; xiii-xvi; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 45; Rooney, 16-17.

Nkrumah further explained in “Towards Colonial Freedom” that the unification of Africa was the only way to end the economic dependence of the continent. He called for unification and collaboration among all Africans and encouraged Africans to throw off the chains of bondage. Independence was something that needed to be taken by Africans and not waited to be granted by imperial governments. He detailed the value of a Marxist-Leninist approach to overthrowing the greedy capitalist imperialist system, which he declared was destined to fail. “Towards Colonial Freedom” became the treatise that Nkrumah used to gain the attention and confidence of influential Pan African leaders and nationalists in the Gold Coast. In addition to his post as Vice-President of WASU, Nkrumah was also appointed General Secretary of the West African National Secretariat, a position he held from 1945 to 1947, and elected Regional Secretary of the Pan-African Federation (PAF) in 1945.⁴⁵

Major leaders in the Pan African Movement such as Padmore, James and Du Bois felt that the political climate at the end of the Second World War was the perfect time to bring international attention to the demand for decolonization through the convening of a Pan African conference in Manchester, England in 1945. Du Bois, who was the International President of the Pan African Movement, chose Nkrumah and Padmore to act as Joint Secretaries of the Organization Committee and Joint Political Secretaries at the conference. Du Bois found value in Nkrumah’s extensive education in the United States and his apparent intellectual self-confidence. Nkrumah’s selection to be part of the Manchester Congress and to work alongside influential Pan Africanists inspired him to take his African name of Kwame instead of Francis.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Ibid., 29; xv-xviii; Rooney, 16-20; 29; 22; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 51-52; Sherwood, 112-113; 116; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 21-22; Birmingham, 6; Hooker, 80; 83; C.L.R. James, *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution* (Connecticut: Lawrence Hill and Company, 1977), 76; Colin Legum, *Pan-Africanism: A Short Political Guide* (New York: Fredrick A. Prager, 1962), 30-31; Esedebe, 126-127.

⁴⁶ Robert Grayson McGuire III, “Continuity in Black Political Protest: The Thought of Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Joseph Casely Hayford, Joseph B. Danquah and Kwame Nkrumah,”

Nkrumah's task in the organization of the Congress was to invite all the black nationalist organizations around the world to attend the conference. He needed to secure at least one delegate from each of the organizations to participate in the Congress. For his assignment, Nkrumah relied on the extensive contacts of Padmore and his fellow committee members as Nkrumah was not as well connected in the Pan African world as his peers. Nkrumah also worked on a manifesto that detailed the primary goals of the Congress to be the development of a United Nations committee on Africa, the steps to be taken for the immediate independence of Africa and the eradication of illiteracy and commodity price instability in Africa.⁴⁷

The Manchester Congress, or the Fifth Pan African Congress, convened on October 15, 1945, in Charlton Town Hall in Manchester, England and ended on October 19.⁴⁸ For many Pan Africanists, and researchers of the Pan African Movement, the Manchester Congress is considered to be the most important Congress of the movement because of its focus on the issue of colonialism and African nationalism. The Congress inspired many Africans and those from the African Diaspora to embrace the possibility of a free and independent Africa and encouraged them to make it a reality. Manchester was the first of the Pan African congresses that focused solely on Africa and the majority of the delegates were from Africa. It signaled a change in leadership with Africans taking control of the movement instead of West Indians who previously dominated in the movement. Delegates from eighteen colonial trade unions and twenty-five cultural and political organizations, as well as, farmers from the colonies and the African Diaspora were represented at the Congress. African delegates in attendance were also relatively

(PhD diss., Columbia University, 1974), 173-175; Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism?*, 152-155; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 52; Rooney, 22; Mboukou, 280; Davidson, 46-47; Sherwood, 117.

⁴⁷ Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism?*, 154-156; Davidson, 48; Sherwood, 117; Hooker, 86-88.

⁴⁸ The First Pan African Congress was held in Paris, France in 1919. The Second was held in three European cities; London, Brussels and Paris in 1921. The Third was held in London and Lisbon in 1923. The Fourth Congress was held in New York in 1927. Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 23; Joseph Boakye Danquah, *The Ghanaian Establishment: Its Constitution, its Detentions, its Traditions, its Justice and Statecraft, and its Heritage of Ghanaism* (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1997), 42.

unknown as political leaders previous to the Congress, but arose to be organizers of independence movements throughout Africa.⁴⁹

Nkrumah's positions as Joint Secretary of the Organization Committee and Joint Political Secretary did not mark the extent of his role at the Congress. He also led a discussion group on the topic of "Imperialism in North and West Africa," which he divided into two parts and presented on the second and last day of the Congress. He summarized for his listeners how imperialism was to blame for the cause of wars around the world and he emphasized the social, economic and political problems that resulted from colonialism using North and West Africa as examples. An impassioned Nkrumah then gave a resounding call for independence and unity as the only way to end the suffering that imperialism caused. Nkrumah's role as presenter and organizer of the Congress increased his position and reputation within the movement.⁵⁰

The resolutions that came out of the Congress revolved around the central theme of self-determination and independence for all colonies, but addressed Africa in particular. The findings were released in two universal statements, "The Challenge to the Colonial Powers" and the "Declaration to the Colonial Workers, Farmers, and Intellectuals," both of which were authored by Nkrumah. He drafted both statements in Marxist language specifically to emphasize to Imperial Europe, particularly Britain, the Congress' general message of immediate independence in the colonies. The resolutions placed an importance on non-violent protest, but they also

⁴⁹ The majority of the Gold Coast delegates who attended the Manchester Congress became members of Nkrumah's Ghanaian cabinet. J. Annan became Ghana's Secretary of Defense, E.A. Ayikumi was Director of Large State Industrial Operations, Edwin J. duPlan became part of the Bureau of African Affairs in Accra and Dr. J.C. de Graft Johnson was a Ghanaian historian. Also in attendance from the Gold Coast were two men who later became outspoken adversaries of Nkrumah during his Presidency, Dr. Kurankyi Taylor and Joe Appiah. Legum, 31; Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem, "Introduction: Reclaiming Africa for Africans – Pan Africanism: 1900-1994," in *Pan Africanism: Politics, Economy and Social Change in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 4-5; Mboukou, 280; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 52; Esedebe, 138-139; McGuire, 223-224; Ian Duffield, "Pan-Africanism Since 1940," in *The Cambridge History of Africa Volume 8: From c. 1940 to c. 1975*, ed. Michael Crowder (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 101-102; Hooker, 94.

⁵⁰ Esedebe, 140; Sherwood, 122; Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism?*, 163; Rukudzo Murapa, "Osagyefo Pan-Africanist Leader," *Black World* 21 (1972): 13.

warned colonial governments that the Congress would not be above supporting violence if all other avenues failed to achieve independence. However, the Congress as a whole voted to use what they termed “Positive Action,” a non-violent form of protest modeled from the tactic Mahatma Gandhi used against British colonial rule in India.⁵¹

The Manchester Congress set a precedent for the anti-colonial struggle in the changing post-war world. Africans made the statement that they were prepared to fight for their independence and the promise of force as a last resort marked an uncomfortable wake up call for Britain and Western Europe. A plea was sent to all Africans and the African Diaspora to organize into political parties, trade unions, cooperative societies and farmers’ organizations to advocate for freedom and economic improvement. For Nkrumah, the Congress further elevated his status as a political organizer and leader instead of merely an African intellectual. He worked alongside notable Pan Africanists such as Du Bois, Padmore, James, Dr. Hastings Banda, Jomo Kenyatta, Obafemi Awolowo, Ibrahim Garba-Jahumpa, Jaja Wachuku and Ako Adjei, many of whom became later colleagues of Nkrumah when he returned to the Gold Coast.⁵²

Nkrumah stayed active in the Pan African movement in England following the Manchester Congress by creating two new organizations. The first, the West African National Secretariat (WANS), he formed with the help of other West African Pan Africanists Wallace Johnson, Ashie Nikoe, Bankole Akpata, Awooner Renner and Kojo Botsio, with Nkrumah self appointed as General Secretary. Headquartered in London, the relatively small group of elite radical West Africans living in Britain in the late 1940s worked for unity among West Africans.

⁵¹ Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism?*, 170; 163-167; McGuire, 224; Duffield, 102; Abdul-Raheem, 4; Legum, 32.

⁵² Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 52-53; 55-57; Duffield, 102-103; Abdul-Raheem, 4; Chango Machyo w’Obanda, “Conditions of Africans at Home,” in *Pan-Africanism: Politics, Economy and Social Change in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem (New York: New York University, 1996), 61-62; Legum, 32; Joseph Boakye Danquah, *The Ghanaian Establishment*, 44; Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism?*, 168-169; Murapa, “Osagyefo Pan-Africanist Leader,” 13; Sherwood, 123.

WANS viewed themselves as the “vanguard” in the quest for African independence. The group operated under socialist theories and discussed the creation of a West African Soviet Union that would extend from West Africa to Sudan and Kenya in the east, a dangerous ambition in the post-war world. In order to accomplish their goals WANS needed to bridge the gap between British West African colonies and the colonies under other Europe nations. Nkrumah was the first African to successfully create a bond with French and Portuguese West Africa, which resulted in relationships with notable French West Africans Leopold Senghor (future President of Senegal), Felix Houphouët-Boigny (future President of the Ivory Coast), Lamine Gueye (from the Ivory Coast) and Sourous Apithy (future President of Benin), contacts that later aided Nkrumah in his attempt to create Pan African unions.⁵³

The Circle was the second organization Nkrumah formed with the aid of Padmore. The Circle was a secret society that brought together Africans living in London with the purpose of actively strategizing a plan for the creation of a Union of African Socialist Republics to be implemented upon the members’ return to Africa. In order to be a member of the society one paid seven guineas (a large sum of money for most members), swear to comply with the Grand Council, forever serve the society’s mission, be supportive of every member, avoid violence to achieve one’s goals and accept Nkrumah as leader of The Circle. These guidelines were recorded in a document that Nkrumah carried with him and promised that The Circle would become public when Nkrumah formed a West African political party to create a Union of African Socialist Republics. Members were encouraged to join as many Pan African organizations as possible to covertly spread the message of The Circle.⁵⁴

⁵³ Murapa, “Osagyefo Pan-Africanist Leader,” 13; Duffield, 103; Sherwood, 123; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 23-25; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 55-57; Adi, 78.

⁵⁴ Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 60-61; Rooney, 25-26; Sherwood, 125-126; Davidson, 50; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 30.

Powerful West African nationalists took notice of Nkrumah's work in London and his extensive education in the United States. In 1947 Nkrumah received a letter from fellow Gold Coaster and Pan Africanist, Ako Adjei. Adjei and Nkrumah met while Nkrumah was studying in the United States and worked together on the Manchester Congress. Adjei contacted Nkrumah to inquire whether Nkrumah was willing to return to the Gold Coast to serve as General Secretary of the newly formed United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC). Founded on August 4, 1947, in Saltpond, Gold Coast by members of the Gold Coast's African intelligentsia with the slogan of "Self-Government in the shortest possible time" and the organization demanded reforms from the British colonial government with power returned to the chiefs and the people. The UGCC believed that fighting for constitutional reforms was the method that would eventually lead them to independence, which they hoped to achieve by 1957.⁵⁵ The UGCC was the first of its kind in Africa to openly state their intention of achieving independence. The British colonial government tolerated the party's existence, with the threat that should the government disagree with the work of the UGCC the group would be disbanded.⁵⁶

Nkrumah also received a letter from the Vice-President of the UGCC, Dr. Joseph Boakye (J.B.) Danquah, a highly respected Gold Coast lawyer. Danquah strongly urged Nkrumah to accept the position and insisted there was an urgent need for Nkrumah to return to the Gold Coast. The UGCC was stunted by their inability to appeal to both the African intelligentsia and

⁵⁵ The UGCC believed that Gold Coast independence could be achieved in ten years. However, the British government felt it would be at least thirty to fifty more years before the Gold Coast would be ready for independence. The British stated their reasoning was because the government did not want radical nationalism to take control of the colony. What is more likely is that the Gold Coast was one of Britain's most lucrative African colony due to the level of exports the British obtained from the colony and sold to foreign markets. It was a \$100 million enterprise by 1946 and the British were not about to relinquish it. Sherwood, 189.

⁵⁶ Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 61; Sherwood, 116; 160; 168; 189; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 21; 31-32; Davidson, 52; Meredith, 17-18; Kwame Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology* (New York: Fredrick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1961), 1; Rooney, 26-27; Ako Adjei, *Life and Work of George Alfred Grant (Paa Grant): Founder of the First National Independence Movement in Ghana* (Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1992), iii; Joseph Boakye Danquah, *The Ghanaian Establishment*, 56-58.

the common man. The party touted itself as a political party for the “people,” chiefs and commoners alike. Its membership included intelligentsia, elite, students, white-collar workers and ex-soldiers, but what the UGCC lacked were blue-collar workers and the lower classes who often lived in poverty and were typically illiterate. The lower class comprised the majority of the Gold Coast populace, who were the disenfranchised members of society. If the UGCC hoped to be successful leading the independence movement then they required a magnetic, charismatic full time organizer to which the everyday people could relate. They believed Nkrumah could bridge the gap and widen their support base. The leadership of the UGCC envisioned themselves as the natural choice to lead the country when Britain finally relinquished control. However, they knew that the people would never support them without a man like Nkrumah in the party.⁵⁷

Nkrumah’s decision to accept the position with the UGCC was not easily reached. He was aware that the leadership of the party subscribed to a very different political philosophy from himself. Another concern of Nkrumah’s was the membership of the UGCC consisted of men from the professional class; lawyers, traditionalists and gradualists who Nkrumah felt were not representative of the desires of the average Gold Coaster. However, Nkrumah knew that the opportunity offered to him was his chance to return to the Gold Coast and become involved in the fight for African independence. He accepted the position with the knowledge that at some point animosity between himself and the leadership of the UGCC would occur in order for him to effectively accomplish his own goals for the Gold Coast. For their part, the leadership of the UGCC knew of Nkrumah’s revolutionary spirit; however, they believed they could use their influence to control Nkrumah. Unfortunately for the members of the UGCC, Nkrumah proved to

⁵⁷ Ibid., 61-63; 69-70; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 31-32; Davidson, 52-53; 55; Birmingham, 8; Meredith, 17-18; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 1; Rooney, 26-27; Sherwood, 189; 192; Adjei, 27; A.T. Steele, “Unrest in the Gold Coast: Britain’s Colonial Policy Beset by New Nationalism,” *New York Herald Tribune*, December 16, 1947.

be an unexpected challenge when he embarked from Liverpool, England aboard the ship *Accra* on November 14, 1947, bound for Africa.⁵⁸

After stopovers in Sierra Leone and Liberia, Nkrumah boarded a ship in Monrovia, Liberia bound for Takoradi, Gold Coast in December 1947. Out of concern for his safety, he chose to sail as a deck passenger. British authorities were well aware of Nkrumah's political ambitions and revolutionary spirit and were concerned about his Communist affiliations. Nkrumah hoped that as a deck passenger he could arrive quietly in Takoradi and bypass colonial authorities.⁵⁹

Nkrumah returned to very different Gold Coast than the one he left twelve years earlier. While nationalistic fervor had a long history in the Gold Coast, little movement was made toward reclaiming the country for Africans. Independence movements had taken hold in China, Burma, India, Ceylon, Palestine, Indo-China, Indonesia and the Philippines in the post-war era and British West Africa began to take notice of the power that these movements claimed in their respective countries. The reforms instituted by Gov. Guggisberg in the 1920s furthered the Gold Coast's nationalist awakening. Of particular importance were the nomination of Chiefs to the Legislative Council and the institution of the Provisional Council of Chiefs as part of the government, which placed more power in the hands of Africans. Guggisberg hoped the placement of educated Africans in limited government positions would appease Gold Coasters

⁵⁸ Ibid.; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 31-32; Davidson, 52-54; Birmingham, 8.

⁵⁹ Despite Nkrumah's primary reason for arriving quietly to the Gold Coast, it was speculated that he had another reason for wanting to arrive unnoticed. Before leaving Africa for the United States, Nkrumah had a girlfriend, Fanny Miller, who was pregnant. Miller gave birth to a son, Francis, who Nkrumah never acknowledged in the twelve years that he was absent from Africa. His denial of his responsibilities was not uncommon behavior by men in the Gold Coast. Some believe that Miller's pregnancy resulted in Nkrumah's accelerated plans of attending college in America. When Nkrumah became Prime Minister of Ghana, he did acknowledge Francis was indeed his son, as well as, established a mildly friendly relationship with Miller who never once asked Nkrumah for money or help. His son Francis went on to be awarded an academic scholarship for college and studied medicine in Germany. When Francis returned to Ghana, he became a doctor in Accra. Francis never sought a relationship with his father. Rooney, 31; 64-66; Sherwood, 174; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 34; Dabu Gizenga's Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-2 Folder 17; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.

and stave off the growth of nationalism. Unfortunately for Guggisberg, his plan backfired and Africans demanded further reforms.⁶⁰

Another important reform that occurred in the Gold Coast during Nkrumah's absence was the institution of the Burns Constitution in 1946 by Governor Sir Alan Burns. The Constitution allowed for an African majority in the Gold Coast Legislative Council. The Burns Constitution marked the most far-reaching reforms for any African colony, but instead of mollifying Gold Coasters as the British hoped, Africans demanded further and more far reaching reforms. Gov. Burns abandoned many of the reforms he promised and retracted the powers of African members on the Council. By 1947 only two Africans held a seat on the Council. In spite of this, the possibilities that the Burns Constitution represented resulted in soaring numbers of Africans seeking nationalist ties.⁶¹

Nkrumah's return and the UGCC's formation came amid great controversy between the Joint Provincial Council of Chiefs and British administrators, between the Council of Chiefs and the people and between the British authorities and the people. What was once a model colony for the British Crown, believed to be sophisticated and prosperous, the Gold Coast became a colony on the eve of piloting a movement for African independence. Many Gold Coasters lost their trust and faith in the abilities of the Chiefs to work in their best interests. The popularity of the Chiefs further declined when Gold Coasters were faced with rising food prices, high unemployment, falling cocoa prices (the main agricultural product) and high illiteracy rates among Gold Coast students. Gold Coast Africans long viewed the Chiefs as agents for the British colonial government from the decades of Indirect Rule, which led many wealthy Africans

⁶⁰ Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 1-2; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 67-69; Joseph Boakye Danquah, *The Ghanaian Establishment*, 56; 58; Berry, 24; Rooney, 26-27.

⁶¹ Rooney, 26-27; Joseph Boakye Danquah, *The Ghanaian Establishment*, 56-58; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 68-69; Berry, 24.

to feel it necessary to placate the Chiefs.⁶²

The slow progression toward decolonization on the part of the British government created a tense environment in the Gold Coast where not even the intelligentsia felt safe. Danquah, who had gained the respect of the colonial administration because of his education at the University of London, openly chastised the British for the ineffective method of rule that created divisions between the people and the Chiefs. In March 1947, he wrote that: "... in the Gold Coast any large movement, e.g., a People's Party, must mean a party, firstly, against the Chiefs and, secondly, against the Government." He went on to write that he feared a Party that would separate the people from the Chiefs, because it allowed for another outsider to fill the vacuum that such a separation created and challenge the agenda of the UGCC. Nkrumah, the man Danquah personally lobbied for, would later prove Danquah's theory as Nkrumah created a political party that appealed to the masses and effectively ended the UGCC.⁶³

Nkrumah finally arrived at the UGCC headquarters in Saltpond on December 28, 1947. On his journey to Saltpond, Nkrumah heard of a shoppers' boycott scheduled for January 24, 1948 organized by an Accra Chief, Nii Kwabena Bonne. The boycott encompassed two grievances that Bonne and his supporters had with the colonial government. The first concerned the escalation in the price of goods from Middle East and European traders in 1947. The elevated cost of imported goods made the commodities unaffordable to the average Gold Coaster, who became dependent upon the goods. The second grievance concerned the falling price of cocoa and the devastation that the decrease had on producers and any other African who

⁶² Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 67-70; Dennis Austin, "Working Committee of the United Coast Convention," *The Journal of African History* 2 (1961): 273; Rooney, 31-32; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 1; Meredith, 13; Joseph Boakye Danquah, *Journey to Independence and After*, 29.

⁶³ Danquah, *Journey to Independence and After*, 29; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 31-32; Meredith, 17-18; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 1; Sherwood, 189; Adjei, 27; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 67-70; Rooney, 26-27; 31-32.

made their living in the cocoa industry.⁶⁴ Bonne's explicit purpose for the boycott was economic not political; however, his boycott became very popular among African soldiers returning from the Second World War and a new political force in the Gold Coast, that of the "youngmen." The younger generation of Gold Coast society became increasingly angered by colonial rule.⁶⁵ Nkrumah supported the youngmen; however, the conservative membership of the UGCC did not agree with the ambitions of the youngmen nor did they want the UGCC associated with their movement. Nkrumah saw in the youngmen an entity that provided the decolonization movement with a powerful political force.⁶⁶

What Nkrumah encountered with the UGCC was an unorganized movement that seemed incapable of launching a mass independence movement. Lacking even a bank account, Nkrumah's work was cut out for him to make the UGCC the type of political force the party

⁶⁴ The cocoa plant played a major role in the nationalist movement in the Gold Coast. Cocoa farming was a key industrial force for the nation, providing what historically was a stagnate economy with a means of survival. Cocoa farming strengthened Akan society, as well, through the revenue it had the potential of producing in addition to providing Gold Coasters with labor and industrial jobs. During World War I, the price of cocoa soared, making cocoa farming quite lucrative. The industry escalated and cocoa farms began popping up around the Gold Coast. The 1930s brought devastation as the industry was hit hard by the worldwide economic depression. The government's inability to respond to the economic hardships of the cocoa farmers resulted in the farmers attempting to unionize. During World War II the price of cocoa began to improve, but just as the cocoa farmers began to profit again a disease hit the cocoa industry in the form of the mealy bug in 1943. The mealy bug carried a disease, swollen shoot, to the cocoa trees. The eastern provinces of the Gold Coast were hit the hardest and when the government was unable to find a solution to the problem, the already alienated farmers were enraged. Cries for action from the government resulted in the 1947 order for all 400 million cocoa trees to be cut down to prevent the spread of the disease. The order only further angered the farmers who felt that diseased trees with pods that appeared healthy should not be forcibly cut down. Only 2.5 million of the 400 million cocoa trees were destroyed; however, it marked the final straw for cocoa farmers and their employees who felt they were ruined by the enforcement of the destruction of the trees. Farmers responded by joining the fight for independence and provided the self-government protestors a strong economic force for their efforts. Austin, "The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention," 276-278; Rooney, 34-35; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 36.

⁶⁵ The "youngmen" consisted mostly of educated Gold Coast youth who in the 1930s formed alliances with the intelligentsia. The youngmen often straddled the line between a completed secondary education and early university education. They concentrated on appealing to the youth of the Gold Coast through youth organized and led conferences, youth leagues and youngmen associations for those who were literate. In this vein, the youngmen created an atmosphere where they became the leaders of Gold Coast youths who were unable to effectively voice their discontent with colonialism and the Chiefs. The youngmen valued their alliance with the older intelligentsia as leaders to draw influence and inspiration. Austin, "The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention," 275.

⁶⁶ Birmingham, 11-12; Joseph Boakye Danquah, *The Ghanaian Establishment*, 57; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 70-72; Davidson, 55; Austin, "The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention," 274; 276-279; Rooney, 35-36.

needed to be. He began by creating an organizational framework for the party, which was separated into two parts: the Shadow Cabinet and Organizational Work. Under his new system, work was devoted to government research and creating a cohesive organization under headquarters' leadership. Nkrumah also called for the formation of organized protests, strikes and boycotts against the British and activist training courses to educate those interested in becoming leaders in an organized effort for independence. He suggested that a Constitutional Assembly also become part of the UGCC framework to determine the desires of Gold Coasters. Nkrumah's ideas were presented to the UGCC on January 20, 1948. The membership of the UGCC were impressed with Nkrumah's quickness and efficiency, but after approving his suggestions the majority of recommendations failed to materialize. Nevertheless, Nkrumah established upfront his intellectual and organizational abilities combined with his commitment to the independence movement.⁶⁷

The UGCC desperately needed a large membership base and supporters in order to be successful. Nkrumah knew he needed to establish branches of the UGCC around the Gold Coast. He immediately embarked on a mass recruitment effort, which brought him into direct contact with Gold Coasters. He traveled the bumpy, neglected Gold Coast roadways in a run-down old car, which barely survived the trip. There were many occasions when he abandoned the vehicle and continued on foot. All the same, Nkrumah carried on with his mission traveling from town to town giving speeches, organizing rallies and generally spreading the message of decolonization. Within six months, Nkrumah registered five hundred new branches of the UGCC, which also meant member fees and donations for much needed revenue. When he spoke, he was regarded as entertaining, informative and charismatic, an aspect that was absent

⁶⁷ Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 70-72; Rooney, 37; Austin, "The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention," 280-281; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 34-36; Kwame Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path* (New York: International Publishers, 1973), 51-54.

from previous speeches delivered from members of the UGCC. He included dancing and drumming in his rallies to allow African participants to celebrate their heritage. As his recruitment efforts continued, Nkrumah's popularity soared.⁶⁸

February 1948 marked a major turning point in the fight for independence, when the Gold Coast moved from the image of a "model colony" to a large-scale nationalist-independence movement. Chief Nii Bonne's boycott of imported goods sold by foreign merchants and businessmen proved to be quite successful. The boycott gained the support of the youngmen, members of Bonne's Osu clan, the Paramount Chiefs, the majority of the nationalist ethnic leaders and the Gold Coast people in general. Aimed mostly at textiles, the boycott eventually spread to imported goods across the board. It caught many businessmen and merchants by surprise who underestimated Bonne's popularity and the sheer anger of the masses. Losses were reported at over a million pounds and trade was at a complete stop. The businessmen and the government buckled. A meeting held in Accra on February 20 resulted in an agreement between the parties to reduce the overall total profit margin of non-controlled commodities by 50% on a three-month trial basis. In return, Bonne set an end date for the boycott of February 28.⁶⁹

Simultaneous to the meeting concerning the boycott, Nkrumah and Danquah were asked to give speeches at an open meeting of the Ex-Servicemen's Union.⁷⁰ The meeting on February

⁶⁸ Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 54; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 73-74; Austin, "The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention," 281; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 37-38; Padmore, *Gold Coast Revolution*, 62; Davidson, 59-60.

⁶⁹ Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 39; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 62-63; Adrienne M. Israel, "Ex-Servicemen at the Crossroads: Protest and Politics in Post-War Ghana," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 30 (1992): 363; Davidson, 61-62; Austin, "The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention," 282-283; "Gold Coast Boycotts Imports," *New York Times*, February 10, 1948.

⁷⁰ Formed in Accra in 1919, the African Ex-Servicemen's Union was created to aid Gold Coast soldiers with reintegration back into society after military service. At the end of the Second World War, soldiers hoped they would find movement toward the fulfillment of the Atlantic Charter and a better life for Africans. They were also promised financial and employment aid by the colonial government to help re-adjust back to into Gold Coast society. Both the French and the British used African soldiers during World War II, either through conscription or volunteer enlistment. Britain had the highest number of African soldiers, which amounted to 374,000 strong. Britain utilized their African troops to fight in campaigns in Ethiopia, India and Burma. David Killingray, "Soldiers,

20 was held in Palladium Cinema in Accra. Former Gold Coast soldiers were angered by the high inflation, high unemployment rates and the lack of movement toward self-determination, which the British government promised soldiers for their service in World War II. Soldiers were also frustrated by the lack of respect and appreciation from Britain after the sacrifices that Africans made to preserve freedom for an imperial nation that denied them freedom for centuries. The Ex-Servicemen's Union marked a large group of individuals willing and able to fight for independence; a powerful force that Nkrumah wanted aligned with the UGCC.⁷¹

Nkrumah delivered his speech to an electrified and cheering crowd of 9,000 people from across the Gold Coast. After the speeches, Nkrumah and Danquah helped to draft a petition that outlined the ex-servicemen's grievances with the government, specifically the broken promises made by the British in return for African military service. The soldiers pledged to march through the streets of Accra on February 28, the same day as the scheduled end to Bonne's protest, to personally deliver their petition to the offices of the Secretariat. It was pure coincidence that the Ex-Servicemen's Union's march and the ending of the boycott fell on the same day; nevertheless, the combination of the two events had dire consequences for anyone with Gold Coast nationalist ties.⁷²

On the morning of February 28, the supporters of the boycott in Accra went to the stores in the business sector to ensure the bargain between Bonne and the government was honored. Many Africans believed the reduction in the profit margin meant a 50% reduction in the price of

Ex-Servicemen, and Politics in the Gold Coast, 1939-50," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 21 (1983): 529-532; Israel, 361-363; Birmingham, 14; Meredith, 8-9; David Williams, "English-Speaking West Africa," in *The Cambridge History of Africa Volume 8: From c. 1940 to c. 1975*, ed. Michael Crowder (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 333-335; Austin, "The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention," 281-282; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 75-76; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 39-40.

⁷¹ Birmingham, 14; Meredith, 8-9; Williams, 333-335; Austin, "The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention," 281-282; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 75-76; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 39-40; Killingray, 524-526; 530-532; Israel, 361; 363.

⁷² *Ibid.*; Meredith, 8-9; Williams, 333-335; Austin, "The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention," 281-282; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 75-76; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 39-40; Israel, 363-364.

an item. Africans went to the stores expecting to find a 50% to 75% decrease in the price of goods. Gold Coasters were angrily disappointed to find that this was not the case. Instead, they were greeted with minimal reductions to the high prices. Crowds filled Accra stores as news of continued high prices filled the streets. Resentment grew among the members of the sizable crowd. Some boycotters violently attacked European and Syrian shop owners for not delivering on the promise of lower prices.⁷³

In another section of Accra, the Ex-Servicemen's Union gathered for their march. Once in formation, the soldiers proceeded to the colonial government's offices in Accra to deliver their petition. Three hours into the march, the servicemen changed their minds and instead voted to deliver the petition directly to the Governor, Sir Gerald Creasy. The Governor's offices and residences were located in Christianborg Castle. The marchers veered off their approved route and headed for Christianborg Road. As the group approached the crossroads located about 300 yards from the Castle, they were met by a severely outnumbered police detachment and ordered to desist. The policemen were under the command of a British officer, Superintendent Colin Imray. When the servicemen attempted to carry on toward the Castle, Imray took a rifle from one of his men and fired above the marchers' heads before turning his rifle directly on crowd. The policemen interpreted Imray's actions as an order and they too opened fire on the crowd. When the order was restored, three former servicemen were murdered along with numerous others injured.⁷⁴

News of the shooting quickly spread across Accra, where boycotters had already resorted

⁷³ Austin, "The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention," 282; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 63; Richard Rathbone, "The Government of the Gold Coast After the Second World War," *African Affairs* 67 (1968): 213; Israel, 363-364.

⁷⁴ Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 76; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 40; Austin, "The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention," 282; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 63; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 54-55; Rathbone, "The Government of the Gold Coast After the Second World War," 213; Rooney, 38; Davidson, 62; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 6; Israel, 364-365.

to violence. The shooting of the ex-servicemen marchers inflamed the rage of boycotters, who responded with looting.⁷⁵ Looting continued well into the next day. The police stood idly by, powerless to stop the infuriated looters. By March 1, news of the looting in Accra spread to other towns, sparking looting in Nsawam, Koforidua, Akuse and Kumasi. The mayhem ended nineteen days later on March 16. The death toll reached twenty-nine with 226 Africans injured and thirteen Europeans hurt. Amid the ashes and destruction left behind laid the remnants of a “model colony” that once was the considerate child of the British Empire.⁷⁶

The newly appointed Governor Creasy faced heavy criticism from the British Colonial Office in London and from his colonial subjects for his handling of the situation. Britain demanded that order be restored to the Gold Coast and the organizers of the riot arrested. Not knowing where to turn or what to do, Governor Creasy sought the advice of the British officers in the local police department who strongly believed the riots were the direct result of a subversive Communist plot. The police labeled the leaders of the plot “The Big Six,” which included both Nkrumah and Danquah because of their clear desire to rid the country of British domination, their attendance at the march’s organization and aiding in the writing of the petition. The four other men called out by the police were also known for their nationalist agitation and members of the UGCC. Governor Creasy loudly broadcast across the Gold Coast that the blame

⁷⁵ Looters broke into Kingsway Liquor Store and stole large quantities of alcohol, which they delivered to Ussher Fort Prison where it was funneled over the walls to prisoners. Once at the prison, looters demanded the release of all prisoners. When their demands were ignored, the looters broke down the gates and released the prisoners themselves. Austin, “The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention,” 282; Rooney, 38.

⁷⁶ Ibid.; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 63; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 76-77; Davidson, 6-7; Rathbone, “The Government of the Gold Coast After the Second World War,” 214; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 54-55; Rooney, 38; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 6; “Gold Coast Troubles,” *London Times*, March 4, 1948; “Rioting in Africa,” *London Times*, March 1, 1948; “Curfew Placed on Accra: African Ex-Servicemen Riot in Protest on Grievances,” *New York Times*, March 1, 1948; “Order Restored to Accra: Governor of Gold Coast States that Colony is Again Quiet,” *New York Times*, March 8, 1948; “Britain Blames Reds for Rioting in Accra,” *New York Times*, March 2, 1948; Israel, 365-366.

for the riots was the work of Communist agents engaging in a form of terrorism.⁷⁷

Both Danquah and Nkrumah were at a political rally in Saltpond, about a three hour drive from Accra, on the day the riots began. However, once notified, both men immediately returned to Accra to call an Executive Committee of the UGCC. The party strongly believed the riots, while destructive, showed the country was ready to fight for independence. Two telegrams were sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Arthur Creech Jones, one drafted by Danquah and the other by Nkrumah. Both telegrams emphasized that Gov. Creasy needed to be recalled to London and replaced by a Commissioner who would hand over leadership of the government to the Chiefs and the people. Once the Chiefs controlled the government, the Commissioner was to call a constituent assembly so independence could be granted. The telegrams made the UGCC direct targets for the colonial government who viewed them as evidence the leadership was involved in the riots and planned to overthrow the government.⁷⁸

On the night of March 18, 1948, police entered Nkrumah's apartment to search the premises and arrest him. Amongst his things the police found an unsigned Communist Party membership card and the membership guidelines for The Circle, Nkrumah's secret society in London. Both items were taken as positive proof of Nkrumah's Communist involvement and guilt. Nkrumah was arrested and taken to Accra airport where the other members of the "Big Six" were also held. The men were flown to Kumasi in the Ashanti province and detained for three days. While in prison the other five men made it clear to Nkrumah his work in the UGCC

⁷⁷ "Britain Blames Reds for Rioting in Accra," *New York Times*, March 2, 1948; Davidson, 63-64; Meredith, 13; Rathbone, "The Government of the Gold Coast After the Second World War," 214; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 63-64.

⁷⁸ Israel, 366; Joseph Boakye Danquah, *Historic Speeches and Writings on Ghana*, compiled by H.K. Akyeampong (Accra: George Boakye Publishing Company, 1966), 52; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 55; Rooney, 38-39; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 63-64; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 6; Austin, "The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention," 283-284; Joseph Boakye Danquah, *The Ghanaian Establishment*, 58; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 76-78; "The Disorders at Accra: Governor's Statement," *London Times*, March 3, 1948; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; Biography*, 41.

was no longer needed.⁷⁹

The men were regarded as heroes by the Gold Coast masses. When colonial authorities uncovered a plot to release the “Big Six” it became pertinent to move the men to another prison in Tamale, the capital of the Northern Territories eight hours north of Kumasi. Upon arrival in Tamale the men were taken to a bungalow for three days before being split up and individually escorted to separate locations throughout the Northern Territories. Nkrumah was taken to Lawra where he was detained alone in a guarded hut. After six weeks, he was taken back to Tamale and the “Big Six” boarded a plane for Accra. Once in Accra the men were released prior to their appearance before a Commission of Enquiry convened by Colonial Secretary Jones so the men could appear before the Commission as uninhibited free men. The men testified individually. Police used the UGCC’s organization document and documents from The Circle as evidence that Nkrumah was a Communist and the UGCC was filled with “Red” sympathizers. The other five members testified that Nkrumah’s organizational framework for the UGCC was never approved or followed. Nkrumah was questioned at length about his Communist ties, his activities since his return to the Gold Coast, every speech delivered and newspaper article written.⁸⁰

The Commission of Enquiry, later named the Watson Commission, was presided over by Aiken Watson, KC (King’s Counsel). The Commission issued a report on their findings in June 1948, ruling that blame was with the colonial government and not a Communist plot. The report called for the formation of a new constituent assembly to draft a Constitution that included wider representation and education for Africans to aid in government participation. The Commissioner

⁷⁹ Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 79-83; Rooney, 39; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 64; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 41-42; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 55; Rukudzo Murapa, “Padmore’s Role in the African Liberation Movement,” PhD diss., (Northern Illinois University, 1974), 178.

⁸⁰ Birmingham, 19; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 82-84; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 42-43; Rooney, 40; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 65; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 7-8; James, *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution*, 79; Davidson, 64-65.

heavily criticized Governor Creasy's handling of the riots and suggested the Governor be recalled. The Colonial Office in London agreed and Creasy transferred to Malta. Creasy's replacement, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, was appointed Governor in August 1949.⁸¹

Despite the changes the Watson Commission suggested, the report ended with the statement that the Gold Coast should remain a British colony. The Commissioners were concerned that allowing self-governance would place the power in the hands of the small group of educated African elite, who in turn would exploit the illiterate and uneducated masses, which represented the majority of Gold Coast society. Therefore, their belief was that Britain should remain until the educated Africans understood proper political leadership, the size of the illiterate population decreased considerably and vast achievements were made in cultural, political and economic areas.⁸²

The Labor Party held power in England in 1948 and Prime Minister Clement Attlee had little time to deal with colonial matters because issues at home needed his immediate attention. However, this did not mean that Attlee was prepared to give up colonies in Africa either. The continent served dual purposes for the British government; African colonies aided the economic rebuilding in England and furthered Britain's containment of Soviet Union expansion. Attlee made it clear to the Colonial Office that peace needed to be attained so that prosperity for Britain could continue in the Gold Coast. Therefore, the policies the Watson Commission drafted and their justification for further British imperial rule was crucial. British government officials feared that the Gold Coast, which was by far their most prosperous colony, would fall into the hands of the Soviets who would capitalize on the growing number of uneducated Africans,

⁸¹ Rathbone, "The Government of the Gold Coast After the Second World War," 215-216; Davidson, 64-65; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 65; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 84-85; James, *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution*, 79-81; Rooney, 40-41; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 42-45; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 7-8.

⁸² James, *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution*, 80-81; Birmingham, 19-21; Meredith, 13.

which were considered easy prey. The British did not fear nationalism in the Gold Coast, only nationalist leaders they felt had ties to the Soviet Union and the United States, two countries who clearly had imperialist desires in the post-war years. The British believed a new Gold Coast government with the majority of the positions were given to Africans would be a system the British could control and manipulate. Britain believed the new government would still protect the colony from events like February 28, 1948, because the Crown could easily shut down the new government if needed. Britain would soon find out how wrong their assumptions were, because once power on any level was handed over to the people it could never be taken back.⁸³

The Watson Commission proceedings did not help Nkrumah gain back the trust of Working Committee of the UGCC. When the suggestion of Nkrumah's alleged Communist affiliations were made known, the leadership felt they had all the proof they needed that Nkrumah was leading the party astray. Increasingly, the leaders felt that the time had come for the UGCC to separate itself from Nkrumah, who they viewed a threat. For his part, Nkrumah continued to work, giving speeches and traveling the country. His popularity soared after his arrest. Never before had an African of his caliber interacted with his fellow countrymen no matter what economic, social or intelligence level. He was someone the common man felt he could trust. He broke all preconceptions that the average Gold Coaster had of a man as educated as Nkrumah. Nkrumah was not seeking to become part of the European colonial administration, but instead desired the respect, favor and help of the average man. "He carried his luggage in a small suitcase," wrote Nkrumah's Pan African colleague James. "He slept in their mud huts and ate yam and fufu with them."⁸⁴

⁸³ Ibid.; Birmingham, 19-21; Meredith, 13.

⁸⁴ James, *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution*, 84; 83-84; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 88-89; Murapa, "Padmore's Role in the African Liberation Movement," 178-179; Davidson, 65-66; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 45; Austin, "The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention," 285; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 9.

To Nkrumah, knowledge was power, and in a country largely uneducated, Nkrumah wanted to deliver that power to the people. Upon his release from prison, Nkrumah opened the first Ghana National College in Cape Coast on behalf of the UGCC. The party refused to give financial support for the College. Nkrumah responded by using his own money to get the college started. The college opened its doors on July 10, 1948. Nkrumah gave the inaugural address and encouraged African students to take full advantage of the education offered. He also pledged that Ghana National College was only a stepping stone toward the creation of the University of Ghana. Opening enrollment was only ten students, but a year later the college boasted an enrollment of 230 students with over 1,000 on a waiting list.⁸⁵

The Working Committee of the UGCC did not take kindly to the inauguration of the Ghana National College as the school represented Nkrumah's continued insubordination, as well as his increasing popularity. The Working Committee called a meeting on August 21, 1948, and argued that Nkrumah disgraced the party by being a Communist and stepped outside the confines of his position to form the college despite Nkrumah's use of personal funds. The Committee insisted the formation of the college was under the jurisdiction of the party's Education Department. Nkrumah was placed on paid suspension while he waited for a "trial" by the Working Committee, at which time Nkrumah could present his case for maintaining his position within the UGCC. Nkrumah thought little of his suspension, as his popularity among the people ensured his continued involvement in the fight for independence, with or without the UGCC.⁸⁶

Nkrumah showed his independence from the UGCC in August 1948 when he formed the Committee on Youth Organization (CYO) with his friend and colleague Komla Gbedemah.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 83-84; Rooney, 41; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 45; Davidson, 66; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 67-68; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 90-92.

⁸⁶ Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 89-92; Davidson, 66; Murapa, "Padmore's Role in the African Liberation Movement," 178-179; Austin, "The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention," 285-286; Rooney, 41.

Nkrumah believed the youth held great potential for the independence movement. The CYO adopted the slogan of “Self-Government Now!,” which stood in contrast to the UGCC’s mandate of independence in the shortest amount of time through the legal confines of imperial law. Not surprisingly, the Working Committee was enraged by Nkrumah’s actions and viewed the CYO as simply a mouthpiece for Nkrumah to force the progress of independence. Many members of the CYO began a campaign of criticism against the UGCC, charging the slow pace toward independence was to protect the motives of the wealthier party members. A division in the fight for independence was drawn with the wealthy privileged class on one side and the uneducated disadvantaged on the other.⁸⁷

Nkrumah and Gbedemah started a newspaper, *Accra Evening News*, which was an anti-colonial publication that attacked the wealthy out-of-touch leaders of the UGCC. The radical newspaper was written with simple language so anyone could understand the resounding message of “We Prefer Self Government With Danger To Servitude In Tranquility.” The newspaper gained immediate popularity among the CYO and the disenfranchised Gold Coasters. It became so popular that crowds of illiterate people across the colony gathered to hear readings of the paper. The UGCC viewed the *Accra Evening News* as tabloid journalism, which only sought to discredit the wealthier members of Ghanaian society. Nkrumah called the paper the “... chief propagandist, agitator, mobiliser and political educationist” of the Gold Coast independence movement.⁸⁸

Another point of contention soon arrived between Nkrumah and the Working Committee. Per the findings of the Watson Commission, the Legislative Council announced a committee of

⁸⁷ Murapa, “Padmore’s Role in the African Liberation Movement,” 179; Adjei, 28; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 46; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 68; Davidson, 66-67; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 96-97.

⁸⁸ Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 10; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 94; 92-94; Austin, “The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention,” 286; Murapa, “Padmore’s Role in the African Liberation Movement,” 179; Davidson, 66; Rooney, 42.

Ghanaian would be selected to draft a new constitution for the Gold Coast. As one of his final acts as Governor in December 1948, Creasy personally selected the men to serve on the committee. The Governor wanted to ensure that all those selected were wealthy or middle-class conservative Africans without ties to radicalism to guarantee the constitution drafted would follow the wishes of the British government. Seven members of the UGCC fit the mold; B.D. Addai, E. Akufo Addo, Danquah, George Grant, E.O. Obetsibi Lamptey, W.W. Taylor and Kobina Kessie, of which three of the selected members were part of the “Big Six.” Noticeably vacant from the list of Committee members was Nkrumah, who although cleared of being a Communist was still a radical, and his latest actions through the *Accra Evening News* gained him an unfavorable impression. The Committee totaled forty-one members, thirty-one from the wealthy business class and nine Chiefs. Chairmanship of the Committee came under the leadership of a virtually unknown Gold Coast Supreme Court Judge, Justice Coussey. The proceedings became known as the Coussey Committee. The Coussey Committee was a revolutionary achievement for African nationalism, representing the first time an all-African committee was formed in West Africa by the colonial government for the purpose discussing governmental changes.⁸⁹

The people of the Gold Coast fully embraced the possibility of an African constitution despite the lack of farmers, women, miners and trade unions on the Coussey Committee. However, many believed that Nkrumah should have been selected to represent the parts of Gold Coast society that was excluded. After all, Nkrumah was still considered a member of the esteemed UGCC from which seven members were selected to serve. The *Accra Evening News* published several articles warning the Coussey Committee that should a constitution be drafted

⁸⁹ Rooney, 41; Austin, “The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention,” 287; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 65-66; Birmingham, 32-33; Arden-Clarke, “Eight Years of Transition in Ghana,” 31.

that was not sympathetic to the average Gold Coaster it would not be supported by the people. Nkrumah knew that by being excluded from the Committee, the government left him the opportunity to openly criticize any constitution drafted, which in turn meant further support from the masses. In December Nkrumah delivered a speech in Accra where he outlined what a new constitution needed in order to be accepted by the people. “It must,” stated Nkrumah, “... provide for universal adult suffrage, a national assembly and a board of ministers collectively responsible to the national assembly.” Nkrumah was hailed in the newspapers for his stance against imperialism. Members of the Coussey Committee took careful note of Nkrumah’s growing popularity.⁹⁰

By June 1949, tensions between the UGCC and the youth factions of the organization had come to a crossroads. The youth were faced with the decision to either quit the UGCC or split from the party and fight for independence on their own. Nkrumah capitalized on the situation, feeling the time had finally come for him to launch his own political party that would be representative of the people, not just the upper classes or the intelligentsia. He enlisted the aid of Gbedemah and fellow supporters, Kojo Botsio and Krobo Edusei, along with the CYO to form the Convention People’s Party (CPP), a left-wing political party that broke from the more conservative UGCC. Meeting with the CYO in Tarkwa, Nkrumah and close advisors spent three days and grueling nights devising the parameters of the CPP. It was determined one of the primary goals of the CPP was to be a party of the people regardless of class or economic distinction. This was closely followed by six guidelines that called for immediate independence for the Gold Coast, establishment of a democratic government, unity amongst the chiefs and the

⁹⁰ Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 13; Rooney, 41; Padmore, *Gold Coast Revolution*, 66; Arden-Clarke, “Eight Years of Transition in Ghana,” 31; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 56.

people, work with trade unions and the creation of a united West Africa.⁹¹

Nkrumah wanted to ensure that the CPP would allow room for any Gold Coast Africans who wished to participate in the political process to have their voices heard. Therefore, it was decided all opinions and ideas would be heard and taken into account; however, once a majority consensus was reached then the decision was to be respected. To Nkrumah, this was the only way to achieve real democratic centralism. Democracy was an important feature in the creation of the CPP, but so was the notion of scientific socialism. The goal of creating a socialist Ghana was seen as the essential form of government for a country that had been raped by imperialism for centuries. The CPP was founded under Marxist-socialist principles in which the party acted as a “vanguard” for the masses who would have the power to determine, through popular election, the leadership of the independent country of Ghana. Nkrumah knew it was essential that the leadership of the CPP be strong in order to have a successful socialist nation that would have complete political and economic independence.⁹²

Including the word “Peoples” in the title of the CPP was very important to Nkrumah. Peoples represented that the Party was truly for the people, by the people and once in power would continue to be of the people. Nkrumah thought of himself as a Populist because of his devotion to the “common man.” The CPP had national support especially among the unorganized, drawing the majority of their assistance from laborers, women, servicemen, “school-leavers,” and cocoa farmers. Organized groups such as the youth organizations,

⁹¹ Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 100-101; Austin, “The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention,” 291; Selwyn Ryan, “The Theory and Practice of African One Partyism: The CPP Re-examined,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 4 (1970): 146; Dennis Austin, *Ghana Observed: Essays on the Politics of a West African Republic* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), 34; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), xii.

⁹² Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 128-129; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 57; Ryan, 146; Minion K.C. Morrison, “Political Parties in Ghana Through Four Republics: A Path to Democratic Consolidation,” *Comparative Politics* 36 (2004): 423; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 69; *The Spark*, eds., *Some Essential Features of Nkrumalism* (New York: International Publishers, 1965), 85-86.

improvement societies, debate clubs and sports associations also flocked to the CPP because of their growing distrust of the Chiefs and intelligentsia. Coca farmers, mainly from the large farm areas of Akim and Ashanti, were of a particular importance to Nkrumah as they provided a large group of disaffected individuals who carried a great deal of influence given the crop was a foundation to the colony's economy. By enlisting their support Nkrumah gained the attention of not only his political rivals, but of the imperial government. The CPP needed to be a party organized by the people so that the people would be the warriors of their own quest for independence. Without the support of the people, the formation of the CPP would have failed.⁹³

The youth remained Nkrumah's strongest supporters and proved to be a powerful force for him and the formation of the CPP. Danquah, who often spoke harshly of the youth movement, even admitted to the power of the untapped resource. It was the youth who latched onto the message of Pan Africanism and the creation of an "Africa for Africans" that Nkrumah so aptly delivered in his speeches. They believed such a dream could be possible with the right leadership, with Nkrumah's leadership. Unfortunately, the youth were not ready to fight for a united Africa and felt that efforts to achieve immediate independence should be the focus of the CPP. Nkrumah reluctantly conceded that the notion of West African unity would be more than the movement could handle at such a fragile stage. He was forced to place the dream on the shelf until a more appropriate time. Instead, he focused on the necessity of gaining immediate support for the CPP in order to curb any attack the UGCC would most certainly devise.⁹⁴

Nkrumah announced the formation of the CPP at a rally in Accra Arena on June 12, 1949. A crowd of sixty thousand gathered on that fateful sunny Sunday afternoon, the largest ever assembled at the Arena. Nkrumah outlined the multitude of offenses the British

⁹³ Birmingham, 24-26; *The Spark*, eds., 87-88; Morrison, 423; Austin, *Ghana Observed*, 34.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 24-25; *The Spark*, eds, 87-88.

government inflicted upon the Gold Coast and the necessity for independence. He then announced the CPP was formed to bring an end to colonization in the Gold Coast and Africa and bring with it a new era of economic abundance and governmental security. By announcing the formation of a new political party before the UGCC could remove Nkrumah from their employ, Nkrumah dealt a powerful blow to the wealthy leadership who hoped his ousting would damage his overwhelming popularity. The UGCC was infuriated by Nkrumah's actions, believing the CPP to be the ultimate insult.⁹⁵

The leadership of the UGCC had every right to fear Nkrumah's CPP, which wasted no time in becoming a political juggernaut. With the aid of the CYO, the CPP organized more pockets of the youth into youth organizations. The CPP designed a flag, which displayed the colors of red, white and green. Banners with various party slogans, primarily that of "Self-Government Now," were paraded across the country. The *Accra Evening News* outlined in every issue the objectives of the party and how the CPP would work tirelessly toward gaining independence. The newspaper frequently featured articles that called on readers to organize and fight off the injustices of imperialism. Nkrumah continued to tour the country delivering speeches on independence and what citizens of the new country of Ghana could expect. He stopped referring to the country as the Gold Coast and instead only used the name Ghana in the hopes of easing the transition when independence under his leadership occurred. The notion of creating a socialist Ghana was never far from Nkrumah's mind or the CPP's message. "It would be only when both political and economic independence had been won that we can call ourselves truly free," wrote Nkrumah in his book *Revolutionary Path*, "and could establish a society in

⁹⁵ Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 102-103; Austin, *Ghana Observed*, 35; Davidson, 69; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 59; Meredith, 19; Austin, "The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention," 292.

Ghana in which each would give according to his ability and receive according to his needs.”⁹⁶

Nkrumah’s charismatic style and warm smile won over much of the population of the Gold Coast who were ready to see an end to British colonial rule. Little value was placed on any benefit coming from continued status as a colony of Britain. Cocoa and gold provided great revenue for the imperial power; however, very little of the wealth was reinvested in the Gold Coast infrastructure or social services. The colonial government only constructed two railways, both of which traveled from the coast to the Ashanti province in central Gold Coast for the sole purpose of extracting gold and other mining resources, cocoa and timber to be exported to Britain. Communication was never a priority of the colonial government nor was roadway construction. Neither was education a concern with the British instead finding the money was better invested in creating efficiency in the mining and cocoa industries. Employment and salaries were often low or non-existent in the Gold Coast during colonial rule, which added to the overall discontent of the average population. All of these social and economic issues created an environment in which nationalism flourished and in which Nkrumah flourished. The CPP was viewed by many as Nkrumah’s commitment not only to radicalism, but to keeping the promises he made about creating a free Ghana with economic, social and political opportunities. He became a symbol for emancipation, sometimes garnering the title “Apostle of Freedom” and “Gandhi of Ghana.” Nkrumah relished the power of his popularity.⁹⁷

The Working Committee of the UGCC attempted to engage in damage control by inviting Nkrumah to attend a series of meetings in Sekondi from June 26 to August 1, 1949. The Working Committee sought three arbitrators in the hopes the meeting would result in Nkrumah

⁹⁶ Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 73; 61; 72-78; Austin, “The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention,” 292.

⁹⁷ Meredith, 18-19; James, *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution*, 84-85; Birmingham, 29-32; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 18-19; Saloway, 470.

agreeing to return as General Secretary and bring the CPP under the control of the UGCC. It was of great importance to the Working Committee to bring Nkrumah back under their fold, as the Coussey Committee had not finished devising a new constitution, a constitution that Nkrumah and the CPP assured they would reject. Nkrumah refused to compromise with the UGCC and instead arose victorious by resigning from the UGCC and leaving the party in ruins. The Working Committee was demolished and the President, George “Paa” Grant, tendered his resignation. Danquah was outraged, believing that the formation of the CPP and the subsequent events that occurred were the product of Nkrumah’s jealousy over not being selected for the Coussey Committee. Danquah compared the fall of the UGCC to the Old Testament scripture of Exodus, specifically Chapter 32 where Moses’ brother Aaron led the people to worship a false prophet. To Danquah, Grant was Moses and Nkrumah was Aaron leading the people of the Gold Coast into following false hopes. The people; however, viewed Nkrumah as Moses. Religious symbolism was a powerful tool to a nation that felt their faith in God was all they had left.⁹⁸

Amid the internal squabbles between the UGCC and Nkrumah, the Gold Coast was appointed a new Governor, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, who arrived in Accra in August 1949. Arden-Clarke had previously been the Governor of Sarawak in South East Asia, Nigeria, Bechuanaland (Botswana) and Basutoland (Lesotho) during periods of armed conflict and widespread violence, which he quickly put down. Nkrumah took time to welcome the new Governor in an article in the *Accra Evening News* in which he informed Arden-Clarke the people desired nothing short of immediate independence. He warned any representative of the imperial government would not find camaraderie among the colonized Africans. “Your Excellency,” warned Nkrumah, “much lies ahead of you. ... It is up to you to inform and advise [Parliament]

⁹⁸ Austin, “The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention,” 292-294; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 69-71; Davidson, 69-71; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 105-108; Joseph B. Danquah, *Historic Speeches and Writings on Ghana*, 87-91.

... that Britain can only henceforth rely on the friendship and co-operation of the Gold Coast ... by first granting her her freedom now. Your Excellency, Welcome to Ghana.” Nkrumah made a certain impression upon the hardened Arden-Clarke who was no stranger to the ranting of radical revolutionaries.⁹⁹

The people of the Gold Coast, and the colonial government, were still anxiously awaiting the findings of the Coussey Committee; however, rumor had spread that the Committee members had no intention of recommending immediate independence. The CPP warned they would reject any constitution that did not vote for immediate self-government, but Nkrumah took it a step further by introducing his program of “Positive Action.” Nkrumah used Gandhi’s philosophies to form his theory of Positive Action, which he defined as “... the adoption of all legitimate and constitutional means by which we can cripple the forces of imperialism ...” Positive Action was rooted in the assumption that colonies would not gain independence without waging a struggle against the colonial power. The struggle would happen in one of two forms depending on the situation: either an armed struggle or peaceful nonviolence in the form of newspaper propaganda, political education campaigns, strikes, boycotts and non-cooperation with authorities. Engrained in Positive Action was the belief the people had to force Britain to hand over control in order for the power of the people to be respected. Nkrumah preferred nonviolence; however, he felt some situations warranted the threat of violence in order to be heard. Arden-Clarke believed strongly the policy of Positive Action guaranteed a violent outcome given the tense atmosphere that surrounded the Gold Coast. The Governor, who privately referred to Nkrumah as the Gold Coast’s version of Adolph Hitler, made it clear that should violence begin, he intended on using

⁹⁹ Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 20; 19-20; Arden-Clarke, “Eight Years of Transition in Ghana,” 31; Rooney, 48-51; Meredith, 3; 92.

whatever means necessary to stop it.¹⁰⁰

The Coussey Committee finished their proceedings on August 21, 1949 at which time they delivered their report to the Governor. The report was not published until late October so Arden-Clarke would have time to review the recommendations and prepare for the public's reactions. The report recommended a general election for an Executive Council and Legislative Assembly that would carry an African majority with eighty-four members. Thirty-seven members would be chosen by the chiefs, thirty-three elected by electoral colleges the chiefs helped devise and five would be decided through popular election. Three more members were to be selected by the Governor to serve in the positions of Minister of Defense and External Affairs, Minister of Finance and Minister of Justice. It was clear the intelligentsia and the chiefs saw themselves as the appropriate representatives for the people, excluding the uneducated lower class or the radicals. The Governor would be granted the power of veto over the Legislative Assembly. The report fell short of demanding immediate self-government, the main stipulation of the CPP, and gave no apparent timeline for independence.¹⁰¹

The CPP Central Committee rejected the Coussey Report as promised. Nkrumah summoned a meeting of the Ghana People's Representative Assembly on November 20, 1949 in order to determine how the CPP and the people would voice their objections to the report. The Assembly was made up of party members, youth organizations, trade unions, farmers' representatives and ex-servicemen. An invitation was extended to the UGCC and the Aborigines Rights Protection Society, but both organizations declined. Nkrumah hoped that by listening to

¹⁰⁰ Kwame Nkrumah, *The Struggle Continues: Six Panaf Pamphlets* (London: Panaf, 1973), 7; 5-7; Arden-Clarke, "Eight Years of Transition in Ghana," 31; Rooney, 48-49; Meredith, 19; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 128-129; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 47-48; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 110-112.

¹⁰¹ Rathbone, "The Government of the Gold Coast After the Second World War," 216; Arden-Clarke, "Eight Years of Transition in Ghana," 32; Rooney, 50-51; Birmingham, 32-33; Davidson, 72-73; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 53; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 87.

the speeches, debates and general chatter of the Assembly he would be able to access the opinions on the colonial struggle. He wanted to know the issues that were most important to each of the individual groups represented, as he knew he needed their support.¹⁰²

The Assembly drafted proposed amendments to the planned constitution to be created by the Coussey Report. The amendments outlined a new design for local and central government and called for the formation of a Constituent Assembly and general election to let the people decide if the Coussey Report should be accepted. Attached to the Assembly demands was a letter from Nkrumah to Governor Arden-Clarke in which he warned that should the demands of the people be ignored then a campaign of Positive Action would ensue. He gave Arden-Clarke two weeks to respond with the formation of a Constituent Assembly. Not to be intimidated, Arden-Clarke rejected Nkrumah's ultimatum, pointing out that through the proposed constitution Nkrumah and the CPP were offered a legitimate, legal means of achieving power without resorting to violence and disruption. Arden-Clarke delivered Nkrumah exactly what he needed to make his boldest move to date. The CPP met on January 7, 1950, and voted to enact Positive Action. The program called for civil disobedience, non-cooperation, boycotts and strikes to be conducted without the use of violence.¹⁰³

In a pamphlet published by Nkrumah in 1949 titled "What I Mean by Positive Action," he stated the final stages of Positive Action should only be instituted when it was clear that all other means of communication had shut down. By final stages, he referred to the strikes, boycotts and other forms of nonviolent protest. The pamphlet was published before the release of the Coussey Report and Nkrumah warned readers that should the Committee not produce what

¹⁰² Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 53-54; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 87-88; Birmingham, 32-34; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 20-21.

¹⁰³ Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 87-88; Birmingham, 32-34; Rooney, 53-54; Arden-Clarke, "Eight Years of Transition in Ghana," 32; Davidson, 72-74; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 20-21; Nkrumah, *The Struggle Continues*, 5-6.

the CPP and the people wanted, then the Gold Coast would move directly into the final stage of Positive Action. Nkrumah's numerous warnings to the government enabled Arden-Clarke to prepare. The Governor started by speaking before the Legislative Council to emphasize Britain intended to grant independence as soon as the country was ready and any support of Positive Action would hamper this progression. Arden-Clarke refortified security measures throughout the colony. Senior British officials such as the Governor and Colonial Secretary, Reginald Saloway, honestly believed the aggressive measures would combine with a lack of will by the people to deter the success of Positive Action.¹⁰⁴

None of the measures enacted by the colonial government was enough to deter Nkrumah and his followers. Positive Action began on January 9, 1950, with the announcement of several strikes in key industries such as hospitals, water suppliers, road and rail services, businesses and retailers. The government responded by banning public meetings and censoring all newspapers. Articles were published in the *Gold Coast Bulletin* and the *Gold Coast Weekly Review*, both run by the government that criticized the CPP for enticing violence and economic downfall. Not to be stopped, the CPP enacted a general strike on January 10, which resulted in hundreds of people turning out in support of Positive Action. The following day Arden-Clarke placed the country under a state of emergency and instituted a strict curfew. He ordered all CPP newspapers and party offices shut down, premises searched and anyone present arrested. Warrants were issued for the arrest of the leaders of the CPP, with Nkrumah at the top of the list. The government measures only further inflamed supporters and violence erupted that resulted in the killing of two

¹⁰⁴ Nkrumah, *The Struggle Continues*, 4; 8; Rooney, 52; Arden-Clarke, "Eight Years of Transition in Ghana," 32; Rathbone, "The Government of the Gold Coast After the Second World War," 216; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 120-121; Saloway, 470; Davidson, 74.

police officers by CPP followers during an ex-servicemen rally.¹⁰⁵

Nkrumah evaded authorities for twelve days before he was arrested at CPP headquarters in Accra on January 22, 1950. The office headquarters were raided the evening before where other members of the CPP leadership were arrested. Nkrumah surrendered himself peacefully and was detained at James Fort Prison in Accra, charged with three counts of inciting illegal strikes to force complicity from the government. After a weeklong trial, the Court found him guilty and sentenced him to two years in prison for organizing Positive Action. He was immediately transported to the Cape Coast to face a separate charge of sedition for an article he wrote in his newspaper, the *Cape Coast Daily Mail*. The article, entitled “A Campaign of Lies,” informed the public that Positive Action would not end regardless of what the government publicized. He was sentenced to another year imprisonment for the sedition charge. The two separate sentences were to run concurrently at James Fort Prison.¹⁰⁶

Government officials hoped the conviction of Nkrumah and the CPP leadership, combined with the end of Positive Action would restore peace in the Gold Coast and support for the Coussey Report. The colonial government could not have been more wrong. Although Positive Action did not bring about the original goal of calling for a Constituent Assembly and immediate independence, it did propel Nkrumah and the CPP into the spotlight. The boycotts and strikes showed the people they had the power to interfere with the economic structure of the country to gain the attention of the government. Nkrumah and his jailed CPP members were hero-worshipped throughout the country, often labeled as “prison graduates.” Never before had the people seen a group of ordinary African men strike fear into the hearts of British authorities, chiefs and the intelligentsia. Colonial authorities forgot the cardinal rule of colonialism;

¹⁰⁵ Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 89; Rooney, 53-54; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 55; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 88-90; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 117-121.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 90; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 55-56; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 121-126.

imprisoned political activists were automatically seen as able leaders. Membership in the CPP doubled overnight, surpassing the membership of the UGCC, whose leadership was in turmoil. Self-Government Now is what the people wanted and now it was demanded.¹⁰⁷

Arden-Clarke was well aware of the deteriorating popularity of the African politicians he wanted in leadership positions when the new constitution was enacted. He decided to take advantage of Nkrumah's imprisonment to call a general election in February 1951 based on the new Coussey Constitution. He hoped that without Nkrumah, the CPP would be weakened and the UGCC arise victorious. Unfortunately for Arden-Clarke, CPP party leader Gbedemah had completed his prison term at the same time Nkrumah started. Gbedemah was known throughout the party as a skillful organizer and close friend of Nkrumah. Gbedemah aptly latched onto the CPP's renewed popularity and organized several new factions of the party. He also campaigned across the country speaking out against the Coussey Constitution, which was not well received by the average Gold Coaster. Danquah and the UGCC were unable to criticize the new constitution due to their intimate involvement in the document's creation, which further lent to their demise.¹⁰⁸

Even though Nkrumah was in prison, he was still able to run in the election and he mounted a large-scale campaign effort for the CPP. He ran for Parliamentary Representative in Accra Central, the largest voting area of the Gold Coast. He passed messages written on toilet paper out to party organizers. The notes were published in CPP newspapers, which allowed Nkrumah to inform the public of the necessity of voting for the CPP in order for the Gold Coast to gain independence. The articles were read aloud in churches and village gatherings to further

¹⁰⁷ Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 56-57; Meredith, 19-20; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 90-91; Rathbone, "The Government of the Gold Coast After the Second World War," 217; Arden-Clarke, "Eight Years of Transition in Ghana," 32-33; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 90-91.

¹⁰⁸ Arden-Clarke, "Eight Years of Transition in Ghana," 33; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 91; Rathbone, "The Government of the Gold Coast After the Second World War," 217.

spread Nkrumah's message. When polls opened on February 8, 1951, the CPP won a resounding victory and gained the majority in the Legislative Assembly. Most astounding of all was the landslide victory that Nkrumah won in Accra Central. In a vote of 22,780 to 342, the charismatic revolutionary, who was a political prisoner for fourteen long months, and his CPP party achieved what no British official or Gold Coaster had thought possible. The majority win of the CPP meant that Nkrumah as party head won control of the Gold Coast's Legislative Assembly and assured the nation had begun a nationalist revolution.¹⁰⁹

British colonial authorities had no choice but to immediately release Nkrumah from prison. On February 12, 1951 Nkrumah returned to the waiting arms of his fellow countrymen who turned out in droves to vote for the CPP. To honor their new leader, the crowd promptly seized Nkrumah and whisked him away to Accra Arena for a purification ceremony. After a ritual slaughter of a sheep, Nkrumah was required to walk through the spilt blood with his bare feet to cleanse himself of the pollutants and evils of prison. The ceremony not only paid tribute to Nkrumah, but displayed the desire and hopes the people had for an independent Ghana. The masses wanted what the CPP were advocating and they believed that Nkrumah was the man to lead the country into independence. He faced a tall order from a nation that expected him to deliver on his promises. On February 13, Governor Arden-Clarke named Nkrumah Prime Minister and asked him to form a new government for the Gold Coast. Nkrumah achieved his objective at the young age of forty-one. Four years after he returned to Africa, he set the Gold Coast on the path to independence.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 57-59; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 132-135; Davidson, 79-80; Meredith, 20; Rathbone, "The Government of the Gold Coast After the Second World War," 217-218; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 92.

¹¹⁰ Meredith, 17-21; Davidson, 79-80; Rooney, 60; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 136; Monfils, 315.

CHAPTER THREE

ELECTIONS, ELECTIONS, ELECTIONS!!!

Kwame Nkrumah emerged from prison on February 12, 1951, not only a free man, but also the first African Prime Minister of the Gold Coast. His Convention People's Party (CPP) won thirty-four of the possible thirty-eight elected seats in the eighty-four seat Parliament. As Leader of Government Business, his official title, Nkrumah was poised to change the Gold Coast from a colonial possession into a strong independent African nation. Nkrumah wanted the Gold Coast to be a beacon of Pan Africanism, an example for the rest of the continent of the strength and potential of an African country led by Africans. In order to begin his Pan African quest, the Gold Coast needed to be an independent nation. The fight for independence consumed Nkrumah's first six years in government and after three elections the Gold Coast finally became the free nation of Ghana. Nkrumah also began the early stages of development that was so desperately needed in the Gold Coast, which caused regional tension throughout the nation. Nkrumah stayed true to his Pan African goals and his desire to create a United States of Africa in the early years of power, but as the country approached independence he became less forgiving and showed early signs of a tendency to dictatorship.¹¹¹

Governor Arden-Clarke described that during his first meeting with Nkrumah they "... were like two dogs meeting for the first time, sniffing around each other with hackles half raised, trying to decide whether to bite or wag our tails." After a rocky initial meeting, Nkrumah and Arden-Clarke set aside their differences to work tirelessly on creating a new government. Nkrumah made no secret to Arden-Clarke his distaste for the Coussey Constitution, which he

¹¹¹ Meredith, 17; "Gold Coast in 1st Vote: People's Party Wins 34 Out of 38 Elective Seats," *New York Times*, February 10, 1951; Arden-Clarke, "Gold Coast into Ghana: Some Problems of Transition," 51; Birmingham, 37; Berry, 28-29; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 132-138; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 98.

found to be “bogus and fraudulent,” due to the lack of power granted to African Ministers. However, Nkrumah pledged for the time being to support the democratic process that the Constitution represented. The Constitution provided for an Executive Council of eleven members. The three “ex-officio” Ministerial positions, Defense and External Affairs, Finance and Justice (also the Attorney General), were still chosen by the Governor. The positions were given to British colonial officials to keep these postings under colonial control until Africans proved capable to take it over. Arden-Clarke also wanted to ensure Anglo-African cooperation in the Assembly.¹¹²

The remaining eight seats in the Executive Council went to the CPP. Nkrumah selected his trusted confidants Komla Gbedemah, Kojo Botsio, Archie Casely-Hayford, Tom Hutton-Mills and Dr. Ansah Koi. All six members were from good Gold Coast families and university graduates. Even though the CPP were entitled to all eight seats, Arden-Clarke suggested that Nkrumah select a few non-CPP Assemblymen from the Territories to serve on the Council. The CPP won majorities in the urban and rural areas, but the Territories were important regions both politically and economically. Nkrumah was aware that compromise could ease the conflict related to fair representation. He chose one representative from the Ashanti province and one from the Northern Territories.¹¹³

Even though Nkrumah was Leader of Government Business, Governor Arden-Clarke served as head of the Cabinet with veto power and control of defense and external affairs.¹¹⁴

Nkrumah warned his CPP representatives and Cabinet members against the temptation of bribes

¹¹² Arden-Clarke, “Eight Years of Transition in Ghana,” 33; Birmingham, 37-38; Rooney, 61; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 138-139; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 121; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 98-99; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 22-23; Davidson, 80-81; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 111; Meredith, 22.

¹¹³ Rooney, 61-62; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 138-139; Arden-Clarke, “Gold Coast into Ghana: Some Problems of Transition,” 51; Davidson, 87.

¹¹⁴ It is worthy of note that Governor Arden-Clarke never once used his veto power over Cabinet decisions. Arden-Clarke, “Gold Coast into Ghana: Some Problems of Transition,” 51-52.

and corruption and to stay clear of forming personal relationships with members of the opposition or colonial authorities. A major concern of the British was the lack of political experience of a number of the CPP representatives. To combat these fears, the British instituted a period of “apprenticeship” for the new African government, which was to be completed before considering any further steps toward self-government.¹¹⁵

Nkrumah faced an uphill battle when asked to form a new government. Even though the Gold Coast was a relatively prosperous colony for Britain in comparison to other parts of Africa, the five territories rarely interacted with each other, at least not in a way a country needed the individual territories to function. The Council of Chiefs in the Legislative Assembly further illustrated the chasm between traditional and modern political order. The chiefs’ involvement in the Assembly represented the old order and the Gold Coast’s colonial history. Nkrumah wanted to dispel the separation in order to create a common nationalist mentality. A single belief steered Nkrumah - independence as soon as possible.¹¹⁶

The country that Nkrumah inherited from the British was in drastic need of development. His vision was to bring the separate regions of the country together to be on the same developmental and economic plane. The post-war era brought the absorption of British Togoland into the Gold Coast’s political and economic structure, which created additional social and financial tension. The British Togoland operated as a trusteeship of the Gold Coast colony after the partition of the region following Germany’s defeat in World War I. The majority of Togoland’s inhabitants were part of the Ewe people, which had their own language, culture and living conditions that vastly differed from the rest of the Gold Coast and thus isolated them from

¹¹⁵ Rooney, 62-63; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 139-143; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 153; Arden-Clarke, “Gold Coast into Ghana,” 51-52; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 23; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 98-99; Arden-Clarke, “Eight Years of Transition in Ghana,” 34.

¹¹⁶ Birmingham, 37-38; Rooney, 61; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 138-139; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 121; Berry, 28-29.

mainstream society. Their economic survival was based mainly on the trade and export route along the Volta River as the region was relatively barren with little in the way of producing economic capital and possessing virtually no development. Togoland was largely uneducated and illiterate and lacked a competent labor force or technical assistance, which made the area one of the poorest in the Gold Coast. The deterioration of Togoland and Ewe culture created an awakening of political consciousness based on ethnic and regional unification. By 1950, Ewes, with the support of the United Nations anti-colonial policy, began making noises about Togoland separating from the Gold Coast.¹¹⁷

The Northern Territories, annexed into the Gold Coast by the British in 1900, comprised half of the nation's land and was the poorest of the regions next to Togoland. With no economic infrastructure to speak of, the Territories fell into disrepair by 1951 with no educational, health, transportation or commercial opportunities. The large population made the Territories important to Nkrumah and the CPP as it represented a significant voter bloc. The hot, desert climate of the Territories and the infestation of tsetse flies, which cause immediate and incurable trypanosomiasis (or sleeping sickness), proved to be devastating for agricultural development and the raising of livestock.¹¹⁸

Located in the center of the Gold Coast, Ashanti province, which included the Brong Ahafo chiefdoms, was the center of cocoa, gold and timber production and export in the country.

¹¹⁷ David Brown, "Borderline Politics in Ghana: The National Liberation Movement of Western Togoland," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 18 (1980): 576-581; Rooney, 71-72; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, xii-xiii; 189-190; David Brown, "Who Are the Tribalists? Social Pluralism and Political Ideology in Ghana," *African Affairs* 81 (1982): 39; 42-45; 50-51; Ken Kwaku, "Tradition, Colonialism and Politics in Rural Ghana: Local Politics in Have, Volta Region," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 10 (1976): 78; 80; Gunther, 16; Arden-Clarke, "Gold Coast into Ghana: Some Problems of Transition," 54.

¹¹⁸ Jeff D. Grischow, "Late Development in British West Africa: The Gonja Development Project in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, 1948-57," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 35 (2001): 284; 288-289; Inez Sutton, "Colonial Agricultural Policy: The Non-Development of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 22 (1989): 660; 638-639; K.B. Dickson, "Background to the Problem of Economic Development in Northern Ghana," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 58 (1968): 686; 689; Rooney, 84; Reader, 177; 241-242; Meredith, 151.

In addition the region possessed vast deposits of bauxite, which later became very valuable to Nkrumah. While not all inhabitants of Ashanti were members of the powerful ethnic group; the ancestral descendants were the majority. The Ashanti established an intricate political system that some historians have equated to the Stuart period in England. The Asanteman Council, a thirty member political organization that consisted of wealthy Ashanti Chiefs and presided over by the Asantehene, meaning “Chief of the Ashantis,” administered control in the region under the authority of the Governor. The British remained cautious not to let the Asantehene and his Council exert too much political influence due to fear of violence and intimidation.

Simultaneously, the British exploited Ashanti’s religious and cultural importance for the purposes of national unity and societal harmony. It was not until the Burns Constitution of 1946 that the Asanteman were invited to participate in the Legislative Assembly. Once in the Assembly, the Ashanti believed more authority should be afforded to the region given their historic and economic ties. Unable to gain national favor, the Asanteman Council appeared to have reached its height by the 1950s when the popularity of nationalism instead of factionalism enticed voters toward the CPP.¹¹⁹

The Accra region is inhabited mostly by the Ga people and like the Ashanti region, was rather prosperous by the 1950s. Accra, the capital city, possessed an established commercial network and limited industrial capabilities. The cosmopolitan Accra boasted a large immigrant population, mostly from the Middle East, which made rule by ethnic order difficult. Accra was also home to the national government, which gave the inhabitants of the city a political

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 177-178; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 1-3; Gunther, 833-834; R. Bagulo Bening, “Internal Colonial Boundary Problems of the Gold Coast, 1907-1951,” *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 17 (1984): 81; Chamberlain, 77; Alessandro Triulzi, “The Asantehene-in-Council: Ashanti Politics under Colonial Rule, 1935-1950,” *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 42 (1972): 107; 110; Allman, “The Youngmen and the Porcupine,” 265; T.C. McCaskie, “Accumulation: Wealth and Belief in Asante History: II the Twentieth Century,” *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 56 (1986): 9.

awareness that was not active elsewhere. A strong desire to end colonial rule was also throughout Accra.¹²⁰

The Colony region boasted 350 miles of coastal area and comprised a third of the southern portion of the country and, like the Ashanti region, was quite wealthy. Commandeered by the British in 1874, the Colony enjoyed more educational and social opportunities than other regions because of the Crown's alliance with the Fanti Federation. Unlike the Ashanti, the Fanti possessed a well-organized ethnic society, but they still attempted to control the Colony region by ethnic order and through their Native Courts. These courts were unregulated by colonial officials, which resulted in an inequitable system of justice. Despite their shortcomings, the Native Courts and ethnic rule operated under the approval of the Governor.¹²¹

Nkrumah spent a lot of time organizing the Assembly and drafting policy plans for improvements and preparations for national independence. The CPP election platform promised extensive social, economic and public works reform and development. Nkrumah believed that it was the responsibility of the government to provide for the people. In his first six months Nkrumah and his Cabinet devised the Five Year Development Plan, a multi-tiered proposal that promised major improvements to education, technology, health care, public works and the economy.¹²²

Nkrumah wanted to begin his Five Year Development Plan with improving education to create knowledge and trained Africans for the next phases of development by widening the availability of educational opportunities for all Gold Coasters. The literacy rate in 1951 was only

¹²⁰ Berry, 88-89; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 109; Rathbone, *Nkrumah & the Chiefs*, 11; Mikell, 25; Burns, 179; 204-205.

¹²¹ Rathbone, *Nkrumah & the Chiefs*, 31; 48; Harriet B. Schiffer, "Local Administration and National Development: Fragmentation and Centralization in Ghana," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 4 (1970), 61; 63-64; 68; Burns, 178; Richard Rathbone, "Native Courts, Local Courts, Chieftaincy and the CPP in Ghana in the 1950s," *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 13 (2000): 126-127.

¹²² Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 144-145; Williams, 344-345; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 218-220; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 157.

ten percent of the population. In addition, there was a lack of technical education, which created a deficit in skilled and technical African workers. The Plan called for a national education program that would construct new schools across the country and expand access and affordability of teacher training colleges. Free universal primary education was instituted throughout the country. By 1956 the number of students who attended primary and secondary school tripled. New technical schools were built across the country that offered courses in agriculture, applied science, engineering, architecture, pharmaceuticals and business with over 1,400 students by 1954. Literacy drives and community development education were conducted in rural areas, such as ancestral villages, where people were less likely to take advantage of the new education programs. The programs were funded largely by the Gold Coast government, which began with a £120 million allocation. The Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, established by the British government, donated £3 million to education reforms.¹²³

Health care was another sector that required a complete overhaul. Previous to 1951, the British established small clinics throughout the country, staffed by British doctors and nurses. The clinics were typically understaffed and underfunded. In areas with profitable industries, such as cocoa, timber and gold mines, the large companies that operated in the region provided limited medical services to Africans living nearby. Nkrumah ordered every community to build a clinic to be ready for upcoming medical graduates to staff. Public health education programs were brought to all towns, cities and rural villages to teach basic hygiene and the importance of sanitation. By 1954, thirteen hospitals were constructed in the Northern Territories alone, where previously only three were available for all twenty-six counties.¹²⁴

¹²³ Rooney, 82-83; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 219-221; Kwame Nkrumah, "Movement for Colonial Freedom," *Phylon* 16 (1955): 408; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 157; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 60; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 23.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*; Nkrumah, "Movement for Colonial Freedom," 408; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 60.

Nkrumah attempted to address basic needs of the people with his development plan. Gold Coasters believed the immediate concerns needing to be addressed regarded the lack of travelable roads, clean water, increase in water wells, running water in homes, reservoirs and sanitation measures. The Assembly allocated £8 million to repair and build roads. New roadway networks were built linking the agricultural Northern Territories to the commerce centers of the cities like that of Accra, Kumasi and Techiman. The road networks reached south to the port centers to improve exportation of goods. Even though railroad repairs were not an immediate concern of the people, new locomotives, freight cars, passenger cars and diesel engines were added to the existing decrepit lines that ran from Accra to Kumasi and Kumasi to Takoradi. A new line was added to connect Accra to Takoradi, which cut 160 miles off the previous circuit. Progress in agriculture, commerce and industry growth made road and rail improvements a necessity. The Colonial Office in London provided a grant of over £1 million for equipment and construction.¹²⁵

In order to fully implement and sustain his development plan, Nkrumah required £73,962,000 spread out over five years from the inexperienced Gold Coast government. Nkrumah believed the possible economic gains from the improvements would outweigh the initial cost of the plan. Nkrumah predicted the excess revenue from cocoa export duties, in conjunction with general taxes, would contribute an estimated two-thirds of the development funding and possible future funding. Between 1949-1950 the price of cocoa exports was £178 per ton. The price rose to £296 per ton by 1950-1951. After a slight decrease in 1952 the price rose to an astounding £358 per ton in 1953. Nkrumah predicted the excess revenue from the export duties, in conjunction with general taxes, would contribute an estimated two-thirds of the

¹²⁵ Ibid.; “Gold Coast Maps \$211,000,000 Plan: Project to Develop Section Under Assembly Study-Outside Help Urged,” *New York Times* 26 August 1951; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 222-223.

development funding and possible future funding. He anticipated the remaining third would be generated through loans from foreign countries and businesses.¹²⁶

Cocoa long represented the Gold Coast's principle cash crop, reaching its peak price by the mid-1930s and exporting about 300,000 tons. Three factors; however, weakened the export trade of cocoa starting in the 1930s; the 1929 worldwide economic depression, World War II and the outbreak of swollen shoot disease. Swollen shoot disease afflicted cocoa trees in the Gold Coast starting in 1938. Transmitted by the mealy bug, branches and roots of cocoa trees would expand and appear swollen, the leaves became almost translucent and cocoa pods, where the fruit is derived, shrank and lost their round form, which ultimately resulted in the tree's death. The disease proved to be highly infectious and an outbreak killed more than 50% of the country's trees. The Colonial Department of Agriculture was unable to control the spread of the disease and found no alternative but to enact a policy of voluntary cutting out of cocoa trees that appeared to be infected. In 1946 the Gold Coast possessed 500 million cocoa trees, of that number 18 million a year were infected with swollen shoot. The British colonial government felt it had no choice but to pass the Swollen Shoot Disease of Cocoa Order Number 148 in December 1946, which mandated cutting to be henceforth mandatory.¹²⁷

The CPP encouraged the farmers to resist the cutting out campaign, which resulted in local farmer associations in rural areas lending their support to the CPP in the February election. The support of the farmers increased the appeal of the CPP throughout the southern Gold Coast.

¹²⁶ Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 220-221; Davidson, 105; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 157; "Gold Coast Maps \$211,000,000 Plan: Project to Develop Section Under Assembly Study – Outside Help Urged," *New York Times* 26 August 1951.

¹²⁷ Bjorn Beckman, *Organizing the Farmers: Cocoa Politics and National Development in Ghana* (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1976), 36; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 157; Francis K. Danquah, "Sustaining a West African Cocoa Economy: Agricultural Science and the Swollen Shoot Contagion in Ghana, 1936-1965," *African Economic History* 31 (2003): 43-45; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 224; Francis K. Danquah, "Rural Discontent and Decolonization in Ghana, 1945-1951," *Agricultural History* 68 (1994): 3-5; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 152.

CPP candidates promised that upon election they would devote attention to the swollen shoot crisis and safeguard the farmers against cutting out. Even though swollen shoot disease raged on, Nkrumah initially kept the CPP's promise once in office. On April 4, 1951, Nkrumah spoke before the Legislative Assembly and agreed that all scientific research showed no other alternative to expunging swollen shoot other than cutting out. However, he temporarily changed the law from mandatory cutting out to a voluntary recognition of the policy. Governor Arden-Clarke and the British members of the Cabinet were outraged by Nkrumah's policy, fearing it would result in the ruin of the cocoa industry in the Gold Coast altogether.¹²⁸

Nkrumah formed the Korsah Committee under the leadership of Justice K. Arko Korsah to obtain a detailed account of the complaints cocoa farmers had toward the government's approach to swollen shoot. The Committee found a lack of communication and knowledge about swollen shoot among the farmers. Farmers detailed instances in which intimidation and violence were used to induce compliance. The Korsah Committee announced that should cutting out remain mandatory, eventually enraged farmers would resort to hostility and disruption. The Assembly created a Central Advisory Board, a Farmers' Association and the Cocoa Farmers' Regional Council for the purpose of organizing the farmers and educating on the importance of growing and maintaining a healthy cocoa crop. As part of Nkrumah's New Deal for Cocoa, announced June 29, 1951, the Ministry of Agriculture was to inspect any crop suspected of infection. If a crop was infected with swollen shoot then farmers were asked to allow the government to cut down and burn the trees and in exchange the government would plant new trees and compensate farmers for each tree cut down. In 1951 alone, the Cocoa Marketing Board compensated farmers an estimated £2 million from their £9 million cocoa rehabilitation fund

¹²⁸ Francis K. Danquah, "Sustaining a West African Cocoa Economy," 54-57; Padmore, *Gold Coast Revolution*, 224; Arden-Clarke, "Gold Coast into Ghana," 52; Rooney, 89; "Compulsory 'Cutting Out' to End, *London Times* 31 May 1951.

budget. He estimated that the New Deal would take seven years to fully revitalize the Gold Coast cocoa industry. Cocoa farmers were outraged that Nkrumah went back on his word to end the governmental practice of cutting out. Many rejected the New Deal, which left Nkrumah to worry about the status of the coveted cocoa industry.¹²⁹

Nkrumah needed a quick rebound in the cocoa industry in order for the government to take full advantage of the desperately needed income. The government drew revenue from an export tax placed on the cocoa industry. The funds from the export tax were essential for Nkrumah's ambitious Development Plan. In the absence of another viable economic resource, the failure of the cocoa industry meant the failure of the country's entire economy. Nkrumah believed there was no other option but to reinstate mandatory cutting out in October 1952. His decision won praise from both Arden-Clarke and the ex-officio members of the Cabinet. Between mandatory cutting out and the introduction of a new breed of high producing cocoa trees resistant to swollen shoot, the cocoa industry began to recover. The reluctant compliance of farmers to mandatory cutting out showed the strength the CPP held with the general population.¹³⁰

With a solution underway for the cocoa crisis, Nkrumah turned his attention to agricultural development. Partially carried out in the Northern Territories, his development plan involved improving animal husbandry and the construction of a veterinary school in Tamale. The government set aside £167,000 just for animal husbandry and tsetse fly elimination research. The progress in veterinary research resulted in the raising of pigs, chickens, sheep, goats, guinea

¹²⁹ Ibid., 56-57; Francis K. Danquah, "Rural Discontent and Decolonization in Ghana, 1945-1951," 18; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 152-153; Rooney, 89; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 157-161; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 25; Padmore, *Gold Coast Revolution*, 224-225; Davidson, 105; Birmingham, 44; Arden-Clarke, "Gold Coast into Ghana," 52; Francis K. Danquah, "Sustaining a West African Cocoa Economy," 57.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 153-154; Davidson, 105; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 157-161; Birmingham, 44; Arden-Clarke, "Gold Coast into Ghana," 52; Francis K. Danquah, "Sustaining a West African Cocoa Economy," 57; Francis K. Danquah, "Rural Discontent and Decolonization in Ghana, 1945-1951," 18.

fowl and cattle. The development of large-scale fisheries and harbors allowed for fish to become part of the Gold Coast diet. The development of foodstuffs was a crucial inclusion of Nkrumah's development plan, especially the raising of local protein sources that were otherwise imported and expensive.¹³¹

Nkrumah introduced another development program to advance the nation's industrial sector through a plan he coined the Volta River Project. Discussions about the plan began in 1951 and later resurfaced in the spring of 1952. The volatility of the world price for cocoa made the development of new commercial industries a requirement before self-governance would be granted. Without many options for industrial potential in the absence of affordable electricity, there was little opportunity for modernization. The project centered on the development of two key national resources, hydroelectric power and the conversion of bauxite into aluminum. The Volta River runs over a thousand miles from north to south mainly along the eastern portion of the country. Studies conducted in 1915 showed the Volta had the potential to generate 600,000 kilowatts of inexpensive power. Over 200 million tons of bauxite, the ore that produces aluminum, was located in the hills of Ashanti province. It was estimated the country's bauxite could sustain maximum aluminum production for 200 years. It was projected the Volta Project's creation of cheap hydroelectric power could produce 210,000 tons of aluminum, a profitable raw material.¹³²

¹³¹ Rooney, 84; Grischow, 285-294; Dickson, 691; Philippa England, "Tree Planting, Sustainable Development and the Roles of Law in Bongo, North-East Ghana," *Journal of African Law* 39 (1995): 143; Sutton, 660-661; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 226-227.

¹³² The Volta River Preparatory Commission, *The Volta River Project I: Report of the Preparatory Commission*, (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1956), 1; 7; The Volta River Preparatory Commission, *The Volta River Project II: Appendices to the Report of the Preparatory Commission*, (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1956), 11-12; 3; Paul D. Lumsden, "The Volta River Project: Village Resettlement and Attempted Rural Animation," *The Canadian Journal of African Studies* 7 (1973): 116-117; "The Volta River Project," *African Affairs* 55 (1956): 287; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah, A Biography*, 61; Birmingham, 63-64; "Gold Coast Maps \$211,000,000 Plan: Project to Develop Section Under Assembly Study – Outside Help Urged;" Thomas J. Noer, "The New

The plan for the Volta River Project encompassed more than the creation of hydroelectric power and aluminum production. Bauxite mines needed to be constructed west of Kumasi. The construction of a dam and a 3,250 square mile man-made lake were required to raise the water level of the Volta for a hydroelectric power plant to be built at Ajena, located between the Colony and British Togoland. The electricity from the hydroelectric plant was to be split between the Gold Coast and the aluminum production. An aluminum smelter was to be constructed in Kpong, twelve miles from the dam site. The construction of a deep-water harbor at Tema, twenty miles east of Accra, was required to handle the influx of exports and imports. The country's communication network and the creation of over eighty-three miles of roads and railways to properly link the harbor, bauxite mines, dam and smelter was vital. Lastly, the development of new towns in Aya, Ajena and Kpong were part of the plan for labor enticements and resettlement purposes.¹³³

The exorbitant price involved in the project meant the Gold Coast needed economic assistance to complete the plan. The British, who were the first to back the plan, were previously interested in the Gold Coast's aluminum production potential as an inexpensive way to obtain the highly sought after raw material, but believed the plan too costly. The Gold Coast entered into a partnership in November 1952 with Britain, Aluminum Limited of Canada and the British Aluminum Company. Expenses were to be shared by all parties, estimated at £144 million in 1952. Responsibility for the public works, community development projects, shared funding in the development of bauxite mines and aluminum production fell to the Gold Coast. Management and the remaining funding for the mines and aluminum production were to be shared between

Frontier and African Neutralism: Kennedy, Nkrumah, and the Volta River Project," *Diplomatic History* 8 (1984): 62.

¹³³ Ibid., 1; 7-8; The Volta River Project Preparatory Commission, *The Volta River Project II*, 3; 12-13; Lumsden, 117.

both aluminum companies, with Aluminum Limited of Canada providing the majority of capital. Financing for the hydroelectric power project was directly funded by Britain and the Gold Coast with an addition of eighty-year interest bearing loans from the British. In return for their investment, all contributors were guaranteed their buyers would buy aluminum at only 75% of the market price for the next thirty years.¹³⁴

A Preparatory Commission was organized on February 17, 1953, to research the viability and sustainability of the Project. Experts in various fields traveled from Britain, the Tennessee Valley Authority and Manchester University to aid the Commission. In a published report in January 1956, the Commission found the plan would be positive for the country by creating a massive labor force, a profitable aluminum industry, foreign currency exchange through aluminum export, new taxation opportunities, development of a new industry and improved communications network.¹³⁵

Nkrumah's early success and leadership brought awards and recognition in 1951. In April he was elected Life Chairman of the CPP. Not long after Nkrumah's election he received a letter from Dr. Horace M. Bond, President of Lincoln University, informing him that he was awarded an honorary Doctor of Laws. Lincoln's commencement ceremonies were in June 1951 and Nkrumah found the trip a perfect opportunity to visit Britain as well as the United States to discuss the Gold Coast's dire need of development assistance. Nkrumah wished for foreign assistance and trained Africans to ultimately occupy the senior level in technical, professional and managerial sectors.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Lumsden, 117; The Volta River Project Preparatory Commission, *Volta River Project I*, 1; The Volta River Project Preparatory Commission, *The Volta River Project II*, 3-4; 12-14; 16; Volta River Authority, *Volta Resettlement Symposium Papers* (Kumasi: Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, 1965), 1-2.

¹³⁵ The Volta River Preparatory Commission, *The Volta River Project I*, 1; v; 3; 86-87; The Volta River Preparatory Commission, *The Volta River Project II*, 3; 18-19; 23-26; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 212.

¹³⁶ "Gold Coast Leader Wields Big Power: Nkrumah Called West Africa's 'Gandhi' – Attitude Toward West Closely Watched," *New York Times* June 3, 1951; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 59; 61; Nkrumah, *I Speak*

On May 31, 1951, Nkrumah and his Minister of Education, Kojo Botsio, boarded a plane in Accra. After a two-day layover in London, the men traveled to New York City to begin their speaking tour and met with American government officials and businessmen before making their way to Lincoln. In his acceptance speech at Lincoln, Nkrumah asked for technicians, teachers, doctors, engineers and scientists to move to the Gold Coast and aid the country in areas that lacked educational opportunities under colonial rule. Nkrumah consistently made clear in his speeches that should the Gold Coast not receive what he wanted from the West then he would seek aid from the East, a disconcerting threat at the height of the Cold War. In his final speech in the United States, Nkrumah pledged a commitment to democracy, but issued another cryptic warning “that democracy is a fine word, but it doesn’t work so well on an empty stomach.”¹³⁷

In an article published on June 3, 1951, the *New York Times* referred to Nkrumah as “West Africa’s Gandhi.” When Nkrumah returned to the Gold Coast at the end of June 1951 enthusiastic crowds greeted him to show support for Nkrumah and the CPP. The success and popularity of the CPP had spread nationalism to other parts of Africa, most notably in Nigeria. The actions of Nkrumah and the CPP showed that independence was possible if Africans fought for it. In March 1952, the *London Times* reported that Africans in Northern Rhodesia (present day Zimbabwe) demanded a constitution and a government like the Gold Coast.¹³⁸

In March 1952, the British government voted to change Nkrumah’s title from Leader of Government Business to Prime Minister. As Prime Minister, Nkrumah was second in command

of Freedom, 23-24; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 156-157; Rooney, 66; Dabu Gizenga’s Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-2 Folder 17; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University; “Gold Coast Development: Mr. Nkrumah’s Outline of Objectives,” *London Times* 31 May 1951.

¹³⁷ “‘Cultural Bridge’ to Africa Sought: Gold Coast Official Here Asks for Aid to ‘See Imperialism Wiped Off Continent,’” *New York Times*, June 10, 1951; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 157-166; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 61; 63; Rooney, 66-67; “Arrives in London on Way to U.S.,” *New York Times* June 3, 1951; Dabu Gizenga’s Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-2 Folder 17; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 25.

¹³⁸ “Gold Coast Development: Mr. Nkrumah’s Outline of Objectives;” Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 168; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 25; Rooney, 68; “Dr. Malan and Gold Coast: ‘Disastrous’ Step by Britain,” *London Times*, March 5, 1952.

of the government under the Governor, which placed the three remaining British members of the Cabinet under Nkrumah. Arden-Clarke hoped the change in title would be viewed as evidence that the colonial government still intended to grant independence to the Gold Coast.¹³⁹

Two new Cabinet positions were added, Minister of Housing and Minister of Development, both given to Africans. Nkrumah chose himself to hold the position of Minister of Development in conjunction with his role as Prime Minister. Out of eleven Cabinet positions, eight of the Ministers were Africans. The Legislative Assembly approved Nkrumah as the first African Prime Minister in a vote of forty-five to thirty-one on March 21, 1952. Governor Arden-Clarke was quick to remind Nkrumah and African representatives that he and the British civil service retained ultimate power. In 1951 eighty percent of Gold Coast civil servants were white British men, with the remaining twenty percent Africans who were only permitted to occupy junior-level positions. British occupation of all senior level positions within the civil service and government was an issue of contention for Nkrumah and the CPP, who viewed British presence to be antithetical to independence. Africans still needed to be trained on the inner workings of government from which they were previously denied access. To remedy the situation Nkrumah developed a plan of “Africanization” for the senior levels of the civil service. The top level of elite British civil servants remained in their posts and the most skilled twenty percent of African civil servants were promoted to the senior level. He hoped the remaining British senior civil servants would train the African members to hold the positions upon independence.¹⁴⁰

There existed a myth about the mindset of a British civil servant that one served from a

¹³⁹ Ibid., 169-171; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 63; Arden-Clarke, “Gold Coast into Ghana,” 53; Arden-Clarke, “Eight Years of Transition in Ghana,” 35; “Prime Minister of Gold Coast: Dr. Nkrumah’s Title,” *London Times* March 6, 1952; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 99; Birmingham, 41; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 26.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 170-171; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 64; “Gold Coast Elects African,” *New York Times* March 22, 1952; Arden-Clarke, “Eight Years in Transition,” 35; Arden-Clarke, “Gold Coast into Ghana,” 53-54; “New World of Africa’s Gold Coast Arises from Ashes of Colonialism,” *New York Times* May 16, 1952; Birmingham, 41; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 148-149; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 90-91.

sense of mission to civilize the uncivilized. However, no African was disillusioned about the British and their self-interested motives in Africa. Despite the selfish intentions of the British, Nkrumah knew that British expertise was still needed. He sought the aid of the British Colonial Secretary to the Gold Coast, Reginald Saloway, to formulate a plan to compensate any British civil servant willing to give up their careers to stay in the Gold Coast and train Africans. Saloway agreed and their plan was announced before the Assembly on July 8, 1953. Nkrumah outlined the need for British guidance at such a critical juncture and assured any British civil servant that stayed would be protected and compensated. Out of the desired 800 civil servants in the Gold Coast, 577 stayed behind. Despite the high number of British civil servants that remained, Nkrumah was disappointed that not all 800 stayed.¹⁴¹

Nkrumah believed further governmental reforms were necessary, especially to the inadequate Coussey Constitution. Nkrumah recognized that Africans in government needed to learn the necessary skills of legislative procedure from the British in order to ensure success at independence. Conversely, he was concerned that if the government moved slowly toward reform, the CPP risked losing the faith of their supporters. Nkrumah met with Governor Arden-Clarke and Oliver Lyttelton, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in June 1952 to open discussions on amending the constitution. He insisted changes were necessary for independence preparation. Lyttelton wanted an official proposal from the Assembly and the Chiefs regarding specific amendments in order to open formal discussions for constitutional reform. Nkrumah addressed the Assembly in October to call for partnership and remind them the Coussey Constitution took over a year to draft and still proved insufficient. He implored all parties and organizations to work together to determine what areas needed change and how those

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 148-151; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 91; Saloway, 473; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 158.

adjustments could be made.¹⁴²

Nkrumah suggested constitutional reform must begin with the reorganization of the ex-officio members of Cabinet. The British Ministers held the power of finance, justice and defense and were answerable only to the Governor caused conflict between the British and African Ministers since the inauguration of the Nkrumah government. The African members of the Assembly wanted control over these powerful positions. Of particular importance was the Ministry of Finance, which controlled the nation's money and the allocation of funds.

Nkrumah's next argument was for electoral and representational reform. Of the fifty-six Representatives for the Colony, Ashanti and Southern Togoland, eighteen were not elected through popular vote. Instead they were chosen through the Joint Provincial Council, the Asanteman Council and the Trans-Volta Southern Togoland Electoral College, respectively, to represent the Chiefs and various traditional powers. All nineteen members that represented the Northern Territories were elected to the Assembly through a unique process that involved an electoral college whose membership came from District Councils across the Territories with no popular votes collected. Each of the various regions of the Gold Coast differed in size and population, a fact that did not translate into equal representation. Nkrumah proffered that if the Assembly were divided into two Houses with a separate House for Chiefs and how many representatives would each region receive.¹⁴³

Nkrumah called for a commission of Enquiry to handle electoral and representational reform under the leadership of Justice W.B. Van Lare. The most controversial issue the Commission dealt with was the formation of new constituencies and the number of

¹⁴² Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 161; Rooney, 69; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 171-174; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 29.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 161; 173-174; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 29; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 59; 64-65; Dennis Austin, "Elections in an African Rural Area," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 31 (1961): 2; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 99.

representative seats for each region. Constituencies were divided based on population determined by the 1948 Census. Unfortunately, the 1948 Census was the last population record that was made available to the Commission in 1953 and clearly did not account for population growth or relocation. Before the final divisions and amount of representation was determined, the Commissioners visited each region to discuss with political organizations the number of seats each region felt they needed in the Assembly. The number of seats in the Legislative Assembly increased from 85 to 104 divided between the five regions of the Colony, Ashanti, the Northern Territories, Trans-Volta/Togoland and Accra. Commissioners recommended the Gold Coast adopt one electoral system whereby candidates were elected through popular vote and secret ballot, putting an end to the complicated electoral colleges present in the Northern Territories, Ashanti province and the Colony. The Commission was scrutinized when their report was released in the summer of 1953. Every region objected to the recommendations with the exception of the Northern Territories who gained seats in the Assembly, which instantly made the relatively ignored rural area a valuable political force.¹⁴⁴

The Van Lare Commission issued the governmental “White Paper on Constitutional Reform” to outline a new constitution. During debates in the Assembly in June 1953, all the recommendations of the Commission were accepted, which imposed direct election for all representatives. The Chiefs felt cheated by the new electoral process and refused to put themselves up for election in protest. The White Paper proposed to officially change the name of the country to Ghana, end the ex-officio member status, and put an end to the Governor

¹⁴⁴ Commission of Enquiry into Representational and Electoral Reform, *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Representational and Electoral Reform* (Accra: The Government Printing Department, 1954), 1-2; 15-17; 19-22; 24-31; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 174; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 64; Rooney, 71; “Gold Coast Pushes Dominion Ambition,” *New York Times* June 21, 1953; Austin, “Elections in an African Rural Area,” 2; Jean-Marie Allman, “The Youngmen and the Porcupine: Class, Nationalism and Asante’s Struggle for Self-Determination, 1954-1957,” *The Journal of African History* 31 (1990): 265; Richard Rathbone, “Youngmen and the Porcupine,” *The Journal of African History* 32 (1991): 334.

officiating over Cabinet meetings and a grant immediate self-rule. After the White Paper was published in July 1953, Nkrumah entered into lengthy debates with Colonial Secretary Lyttelton and Governor Arden-Clarke over what reforms would be included in the new constitution.¹⁴⁵

Nkrumah sensed that British authorities were progressing slowly toward reform and he grew quite impatient. The formation of opposition parties were on the rise and the CPP needed to deliver on their promises or else risk losing seats in government. On July 10, 1953, Nkrumah addressed the Assembly with his famous “Motion of Destiny” speech. Nkrumah asked the Assembly to pass a motion consenting to the Government White Paper on Constitutional Reform in order to create a new constitution. He requested a motion be passed that called upon the Royal Government to grant the Gold Coast full independence and entry into the Commonwealth of Great Britain as Ghana. Nkrumah urged for a revision to the Constitution Order in Council of 1950 to create an all African Legislative Assembly and Cabinet. In addition, Nkrumah advised the Assembly to request the British government immediately accept the reforms proposed regarding the electoral and representational process. The remainder of his lengthy speech was used to convince both the Assembly, and Gold Coasters, of the need to demand their independence from Britain and their inherent rights and freedoms.¹⁴⁶

Nkrumah spoke in his charismatic tone typical of his speeches, which won over some of his most ardent opponents. After several days of debate and careful consideration, the Assembly unanimously passed the Motion of Destiny, which shocked the British when it arrived in London given the document’s insistence of a date for independence and constitutional reform. The

¹⁴⁵ Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 29; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 65; Rooney, 73; Commission of Enquiry into Representational and Electoral Reform, 14; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 176-177; 189; “Gold Coast Pushes Dominion Ambition;” C.L. Sulzberger, “Gold Coast Moves for Full Freedom,” *New York Times* February 8, 1953; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 169; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 104; Arden-Clarke, “Gold Coast into Ghana: Some Problems of Transition,” 54; “British Give More Self-Rule to Gold Coast; Natives to Get Ministries Whites Now Hold,” *New York Times* April 29, 1954.

¹⁴⁶ Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 103; 100-101; 113-114; Davidson, 129; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 65-66; “Gold Coast Seeks Dominion Status,” *London Times* 11 July 1953; Rooney, 74-75.

British responded to the White Paper by insisting another election be held before they would give any consideration to the demands of the Gold Coast in the hope an election would slow Gold Coast desires for independence. It was also hoped that an election would bring a less radical leader who was favorable to the British.¹⁴⁷

The British government agreed to a few of the amendments contained in the White Paper. In terms of electoral reform the British agreed to direct election by secret ballot and an increase to the size of the Assembly to 104 seats. The British also agreed that one consistent electoral method for all rural and municipal constituencies in the Gold Coast was a necessity. Cabinet members reported directly to the Assembly instead of the Governor and two Cabinet positions were given to Africans, Ministries of Finance and Interior. However, the British refused to concede control over External Affairs and Defense, which shifted from a ministerial position to a reserve posting under the authority of the Governor. By maintaining power over defense, the British continued to have control of not just national defense, but also internal defense, namely the police force. It was of vital importance to the British that jurisdiction over the police and riot control remained firmly in the hands of the Governor. Positive Action was still in the memories of many colonial officials.¹⁴⁸

By 1953, the political atmosphere in the Gold Coast differed greatly from 1951 when the CPP was the only major nationalist party. Since assuming office, a number of opposition parties arose and gained popularity, a worrisome fact to Nkrumah and the CPP. The British hoped that through an election a new, more trusted conservative party would come to power. It was common knowledge that the CPP experienced internal conflict after 1951. The CPP was divided

¹⁴⁷ Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 65-66; "Sovereignty is Asked," *New York Times* 11 July 1953; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 32; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 207; Arden-Clarke, "Gold Coast into Ghana: Some Problems of Transition," 54-55; Meredith, 22-23.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 65-66; Arden-Clarke, "Gold Coast into Ghana: Some Problems of Transition," 54-55; Sulzberger.

on the issue of socialism. Strong beliefs surfaced among the more leftist members of the Party that Nkrumah and his Cabinet were broadening the ideological aims of the CPP in favor of compromise with the imperial government. Radical CPP socialists, led by Eric Heymann, Kurankyi Taylor, Turcson Ocran and Anthony Woode, felt that progression toward independence was too slow and the CPP Assemblymen abandoned the socialist principles upon which the Party was founded. Both Ocran, General Secretary of the Gold Coast Trades Union Congress, and Woode, an important labor leader, were ousted from the CPP on October 23, 1953, for attempting to push the Trades Union Congress to become closer allies with the Soviet Union. Nkrumah explained compromise was necessary in order to avoid open confrontation with the British. A socialist state could be implemented once full independence was granted, but should the British feel threatened then the CPP would never be a part of independence. Nkrumah wanted to ensure that the Gold Coast did not become a Cold War pawn.¹⁴⁹

An issue over CPP candidacy arose when a number of Party members disagreed with Nkrumah and the CPP Central Committee candidates chosen to run in the election. Nkrumah made clear at the Annual Delegates Conference that no CPP member could put forward their name for the ballot without prior approval of the Party. A number of Party members disregarded Nkrumah's decree and entered the election to run against the approved CPP candidates. Many candidates were tempted by greed and power, believing both came with the job once elected. As a result, Nkrumah expelled eighty-one members from the Party, mostly from the crucial Northern Territories and thirty-two from Ashanti province, at a public meeting in Kumasi. He worried that if he did not make a public stance on the issue their actions would create an irreparable division within the Party. As it was, the public internal dispute displayed a weakness

¹⁴⁹ Rooney, 69-70; Birmingham, 42, Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 116; Ryan, 146-147; "Gold Coast Ousts Pro-Red Leaders," *New York Times* 28 December 1953.

within the Party that the opposition was able to exploit.¹⁵⁰

The last difficulty Nkrumah and the CPP faced regarded corruption and bribery charges against many members of the Assembly beginning in 1952. The majority of the CPP representatives were from humble backgrounds. Once in office they were given handsome salaries, power and prestige. The yearly salary for an Assembly representative in the Gold Coast during the 1950s was £960 (about £4,800 today). Many CPP representatives bought large homes, drove lavish imported automobiles and wore expensive tailored suits. Many handed out favors to extended family members and their local communities in the form of school admissions, jobs, loans, development contracts and licenses. Nkrumah advocated for party discipline, loyalty and personal restraint, but there were still rumors of impropriety.¹⁵¹

Nkrumah was targeted in a bribery scandal in late 1953. J.A. Braimah, Minister of Communications and Works, alleged during a Commission of Enquiry hearing into Braimah's own admission of bribe taking that Nkrumah accepted over £100,000 from an Italian road contract and £1,800 from a building contractor to buy a Cadillac. Nkrumah learned of the accusation from a national newspaper while campaigning in Togoland. He initially reacted by publishing a statement in the same newspaper formally denying the charges. He soon felt that the article was not sufficient to dispel the rumors in light of the forthcoming election. He voluntarily underwent a formal investigation by the Commission and made a public appearance for questioning. Nkrumah appeared for three hours before the Commission in Accra on December 29, 1953, in which he denied all charges and claimed he was not aware that any

¹⁵⁰ Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 173-174; Allman, "The Youngmen and the Porcupine," 265-266; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 209; "Party Rebels in Gold Coast," *London Times* 11 June 1954; Kwame Botwe-Asamoah, *Kwame Nkrumah's Politico-Cultural Thought and Policies: An African-Centered Paradigm for the Second Phase of the African Revolution* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 109; Birmingham, 43; Rooney, 76-77.

¹⁵¹ Rooney, 76-77; 70; Birmingham, 43; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 257-258; "Gold Coast Premier Denies Bribe Taking," *New York Times* 30 December 1953; "Gold Coast Upset by Bribe Inquiry," *New York Times* 2 January 1954.

members of his cabinet were involved in corrupt practices. He did admit that he received money for a car as a loan from a cocoa company chairman, A.Y.K. Djin, but he had not repaid him. The Commission found in favor of Nkrumah, citing that they found no evidence of corruption or bribery from the Prime Minister. Nkrumah believed that Braimah and his supporters in the Northern Territories crafted proceedings to cast unfavorable light upon the CPP government in hopes that the Party would lose valuable votes in the election for the mere suggestion of impropriety.¹⁵²

The election shifted focus to regions of the country where the CPP held the weakest support, the Northern Territories, Ashanti and the Togoland, the three regions where separatist movements were popular. Identification through ethnicities remained a major obstacle for Nkrumah and the CPP in all three regions as the CPP recruited members based on the ideological belief in self-government and African unity regardless of ethnic or regional affiliation. Colonial authorities and local Chiefs who hoped to maintain power in their region attempted to exploit the lack of identity in the CPP as antithetical to liberty. Nkrumah set out during the 1954 election campaign to end the traditional political system that created, and would continue to create, divisions within the country and competition between ethnic groups.¹⁵³

The reorganization of the constituencies increased the number of seats in the Northern Territories from nineteen to twenty-six and changed how parties campaigned. Historically the Northern Territories were ignored in favor of the lucrative southern areas of the nation. The Northern Territories were ostracized from participation in the Assembly through the Burns

¹⁵² Ibid.; Birmingham, 43; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 257-258; "Gold Coast Premier Denies Bribe Taking," *New York Times* 30 December 1953; "Gold Coast Upset by Bribe Inquiry," *New York Times* 2 January 1954.

¹⁵³ Rooney, 69-70; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 116; Ryan, 147; Yakubu Saaka, "Recurrent Themes in Ghanaian Politics: Kwame Nkrumah's Legacy," *Journal of Black Studies* 24 (1994): 266; Kwame A. Ninsin, "The Nkrumah Government and the Opposition on the Nation State: Unity vs. Fragmentation," in *The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah: Papers of a Symposium Organized by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon*, ed. Kwame Arhin (New Jersey: African World Press, Inc., 1993), 216-217.

Constitution of 1946, which created the Northern Territorial Council (NTC) comprised mostly of northern Chiefs, their sons and educated relatives instead of elected representatives. With one-fourth of the representation in the Assembly, the Northern Territories became a powerful new force and the CPP wanted to take advantage of the shift. The NTC acted as an advisory board for governing and development in the Territories and were permitted to send one representative to the Assembly. That representative did not possess voting power nor was allowed to participate in drafting of laws. During the 1951 elections, the NTC was granted the right to act as an electoral college. The 1954 election marked the first occasion that inhabitants of the Territories could popularly elect a candidate of one's choosing.¹⁵⁴

The colonial government hoped the power of the local Chiefs and the NTC would circumvent the onslaught of nationalist political parties in the Northern Territories. The NTC was also formed to act as a legislative voice to prohibit the rural north from being subjected to laws drafted by politicians from the prosperous south for the benefit of the south. The CPP established offices in the Territories with regional headquarters in Tamale, but interest in the Party was not at the level the CPP needed to win. The Territories consistently rejected the CPP's "Self-government Now" resolution because of the region's apprehension regarding their economic, social and political future once the British withdrew their protection. Instead, the Territories believed the Gold Coast was not ready for independence for another ten to fifteen years. Nkrumah wanted to circumvent the authority of the powerful northern Chiefs and offer the voters the benefits of CPP leadership. He campaigned on the promise that only the most qualified and respected members of the Party were permitted to run for government office. He stressed organization and democratic discipline in an effort to show the stability of the party and downplay its radical image. Slowly, Nkrumah and CPP candidates who campaigned gained the

¹⁵⁴ Austin, "Elections in an African Rural Area," 2; Grischow, 302-303.

support of a number of the disenfranchised bloc of northerners who felt misrepresented and disconnected with the Chiefs and intelligentsia of the NTC.¹⁵⁵

On April 10, 1954, at an open gathering in Tamale the Northern People's Party (NPP) announced its formation. Organized through the NTC but without ethnic affiliation, the NPP stood as a voice for the Northern Territories and advocated for separate development for the region to combat the centuries of British neglect. The NPP demanded an increase in schools and colleges, the completion of a railroad from Kumasi to Tamale and prompt agricultural development. The NPP registered candidates in fifteen of the twenty-six constituencies. The Party campaigned heavily with propaganda leaflets, a flag, popular slogans, membership cards and mass rallies. The CPP was instantly fearful of losing votes in the largest representational bloc. The NPP enjoyed the support of the Chiefs and their advisors along with the educated elite, which in return gave the party the power to influence new voters. The NPP quickly became an unexpected force in the widely contested Territories and earned the backing of the British who hoped they could defeat the CPP.¹⁵⁶

The Ashanti region became another hotbed of opposition. A major issue of contention for the Ashanti revolved around electoral reforms of the Van Lare Commission. Ashanti province expected to obtain thirty seats out of the new constituency divisions. Many in the region believed that population alone should not determine the number of seats awarded. Ashanti representatives argued that although the region had less population according to the Census, they required more seats because it was difficult to effectively represent the needs of

¹⁵⁵ Grischow, 302-303; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 184-185; Austin, "Elections in an African Rural Area," 2; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 207.

¹⁵⁶ Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 184-189; Austin, "Elections in an African Rural Area," 2; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 116; Mine, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 66-67; Rooney, 71; 78; Jean Marie Allman, "'Hewers of Wood, Carriers of Water:' Islam, Class, and Politics on the Eve of Ghana's Independence," *African Studies Review* 34 (1991): 1-3; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 209.

those living in the area due to the lack of communication development in their vast territory. The Ashanti drew attention to the fact that the natural resources indigenous to the area were responsible for the majority of the country's economic prosperity, which warranted more representation. The Commission granted twenty-one seats to Ashanti province, two more seats than the region possessed in the 1951 Assembly, but a five percent decrease in overall seats. All other constituencies gained a higher number of seats, which left many in Ashanti province feeling insulted, and that it was symbolic of the region's declining support from the nationalist government. During debates over electoral representation, the Asanteman Council proclaimed that if Ashanti province were denied the thirty seats it required, then other regions needed to be prepared to buy the favor of Ashanti, which was already the wealthiest region. The negative exchange between members of the CPP and the Ashanti only increased the animosity between the Chiefs and the CPP.¹⁵⁷

Electoral representation was not the only grievance that Ashanti province had with the government and, ultimately, the CPP. Ashanti province was historically home to the nation's cocoa wealth and had suffered the most, particularly the rural Ashanti cocoa farmers, from the low export commodity prices and swollen shoot disease. By 1952 the price of cocoa was improving, benefiting the national government more than the suffering farmers. Cocoa revenue went to the government who in turn paid a portion to the farmers through the Cocoa Purchasing Company, created in June 1952 by the CPP government and under the authority of the Cocoa Marketing Board. The Cocoa Purchasing Company, which was lead by CPP Ministers and Directors, was Nkrumah's solution for organizing the farmers and stifling any outside political activism that could contest the CPP, while at the same time eliminating the need for large foreign

¹⁵⁷ Commission of Enquiry into Representational and Electoral Reform, 15; Allman, "The Youngmen and the Porcupine: Class, Nationalism and Asante's Struggle for Self-Determination, 1954-57," 265; Rathbone, "The Youngmen and the Porcupine," 334; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 177-179.

buying companies. Understandably, the Company was never trusted by the farmers who believed it to be corrupt because when the price of cocoa increased, the government did not increase the amount of money paid to farmers. Cocoa farmers, and their supporting Chiefs in Ashanti, viewed the financial discrepancy and high export taxes as the CPP government taking advantage of them in order to bankroll their extensive development plans and cover the questionable loans of the Cocoa Purchasing Company. In August 1953, the government gave the Company the authority and funds to issue personal loans to farmers to combat the growing debt among cocoa farmers. Funds available to the Loans Agency division of the Cocoa Purchasing Company reached the extensive sum of £1.9 million, but many in Ashanti viewed the measure as another attempt by the CPP to further shackle the farmers to the government. The anger felt in Ashanti only pushed farmers and Chiefs closer together, creating more political and economic power for the Opposition on the rise.¹⁵⁸

In Togoland the opposition presented itself in the form of the Togoland Congress. The Ewes began calling for Togoland autonomy with support from the U.N. as early as 1950. In 1951, two Ewe leaders, S.G. Antor and Kojo Ayeke, formed the Togoland Congress out of two defunct Togoland nationalist parties, the Deutsch Togo Bund from the 1930s and the Togoland Union, founded in 1943, and two other politically conscious organizations formed after 1945, the Togoland Youth Conference and the United Nations Association of Togoland. Togoland Congress membership drew from uneducated farmers who appeared like radicals that bound together to form a political party. They immediately requested that Togoland be given a separate legislature as a trust territory and integrated with French Togo to reunify under the original boundaries of the German colony. British colonial officials did not support secession and

¹⁵⁸ Gwendolyn Mikell, *Cocoa and Chaos in Ghana* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1992), 162-163; 173-176; Beckman, 58-59; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 172-173.

wanted British Togoland unified with the Gold Coast. Nkrumah supported the annexation of British Togoland, but also believed that French Togo should also be appropriated to the Gold Coast. Togoland, particularly the southern portion, was very important to Nkrumah's Volta River Project. If secession were allowed it risked the end of his major economic and development plan. He responded to the secessionist claims in 1952 by forming a deal with the UN whereby the CPP government annexed the southern section of Togoland. Nkrumah combined the territory with a colony of chiefdoms east of the Volta River to create the Trans-Volta-Togoland under a new regional government. On July 10, 1953, the Gold Coast formally annexed all of British Togoland upon the territory's release from UN trusteeship. He immediately appropriated extensive funding to invest in the region to create sympathy among former Togoland inhabitants toward the Gold Coast.¹⁵⁹

Nkrumah and the CPP underestimated the strength of the Togoland Congress in the new Trans-Volta-Togoland. The Congress proclaimed that the CPP represented another obstacle to their unification with French Togo and the CPP's ultimate goal was to stifle Ewe nationalism. The Congress worried that when Togoland joined the Gold Coast their independence movement would be stifled in light of the importance of the Volta River Project. The Congress encouraged resistance by advocating that Togolese not pay their taxes and promoted violent action. They referred to the Gold Coast as "Black Imperialists." Nkrumah responded to the attacks by establishing a centralized CPP office in the Volta staffed by local Ewe CPP members and engaged in a vigorous campaign advocating personal success, loans for farmers, employment and local development that would await Togoland under a CPP government. However, when Antor and Ayeke campaigned in the region they drew large enthusiastic crowds that renewed support

¹⁵⁹ Rooney, 72; Gunther, 16; Brown, "Borderline Politics in Ghana," 579; 581-583; Kwaku, 78; 80-81; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, xiii; 189-193; Brown, "Who Are the Tribalists?," 50; Arden-Clarke, "Gold Coast into Ghana," 54; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 155; Joseph Boakye Danquah, *The Ghanaian Establishment*, 59.

for the Congress and gained the favor of seventy percent of the Volta Ewes.¹⁶⁰

As several ethno-regional political parties arose in the Gold Coast in the 1950s, another nationalist party emerged to challenge the CPP. The former leaders of the UGCC united with the leaders from other defunct Opposition parties, dissatisfied members of the CPP and nationalist independents in the Assembly opposed to the CPP to form the Ghana Congress Party (GCP) on May 4, 1952, in Accra. The majority of the GCP's leadership consisted of professionals, such as lawyers, doctors, businessmen and professors. The GCP reached out to anti-CPP northerners, Muslims and Ewes who were uninterested in joining a party based on ethno-regional lines. The party intended to become *the* opposition party to the CPP, engage in development based on the finances and resources currently available to them, increase the amount of money paid to cocoa farmers and gain independence. Leadership of the GCP fell under the guidance of Dr. Kofi Busia. Defeated in the 1951 elections, Busia lost his seat to a CPP representative. However, the Ashanti voted to restore Busia as the representative for the Asanteman Council. Busia supported the power of Chiefs and believed they should have a role in government. Busia became increasingly disparaging of Nkrumah's personality and politics, believing that what Nkrumah truly wanted was a dictatorship.¹⁶¹

The formation of political parties was limited in 1951, which was an obvious advantage to the CPP. In the 1954 election there were nine political parties in the campaign. Many of the parties involved in the election centered on regional, religious or ethnic grounds in hopes of undercutting the countrywide popularity of the nationalist CPP. Support for the CPP came from all corners of the country and the CPP continued to do well among the youth and the disaffected

¹⁶⁰ Padmore, *Gold Coast Revolution*, 155; Brown, "Borderline Politics in Ghana," 581-583; Joseph Boakye Danquah, *The Ghanaian Establishment*, 59; Brown, "Who Are the Tribalists?," 50; Rooney, 72; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 192-193; Kwaku, 80-81.

¹⁶¹ Saloway, 474; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 135-137; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 180-182; Rooney, 72-73; 78; Robertson, 56-57; Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, 135-137; Robertson, 56-57.

who believed in the nationalist platform. CPP campaigns were conducted at the grassroots level, using local CPP members to drum up support within their individual regions or ethnic groups. Nkrumah personally campaigned in over 70 of the 104 constituencies and gave 530 speeches in the last three weeks of the campaign. He wanted to be the central figure the nation could rally around, referring to himself as the “Man of Destiny,” “Star of Africa” and “Wonder Boy of Africa.” Nkrumah and the CPP were cautiously concerned about the outcome of the 1954 election given the amount of opposition parties.¹⁶²

The election took place on June 15, 1954, and shortly after the introduction of the new constitution in May. For the first time in the Gold Coast, universal franchise was granted and a majority of those eligible to vote turned out to the polls. At all of the ninety polling stations, every ballot box displayed the symbol of each party running so illiterate voters could cast a ballot for one of the 323 candidates. It took two days to tally all the votes due to the remoteness of some sections of the country in which ballot boxes traveled either by horse, bicycle or canoe to reach Accra. Once counted, Nkrumah and the CPP came out victorious, winning over fifty-five percent of the popular vote and seventy-two seats in the Assembly. The CPP gained a decided victory over the opposition in the municipalities, the Colony and Ashanti province, but not in the Northern Territories. The NPP won the majority and former Minister of Communications and Works, Braimah, was voted back to the Assembly.¹⁶³ The Gold Coast became the first African colony to implement an all African Cabinet and a Legislative Assembly elected through

¹⁶² Botwe-Asamoah, 109-110, McCaskie, 17-18; Dennis L. Cohen, “The Convention People’s Party of Ghana: Representational or Solidarity Party?,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 4 (1970): 174; Rooney, 75-78; “Enthusiastic Greeting for Mr. Nkrumah,” *London Times* 15 June 1954.

¹⁶³ The opposition carried the remaining two-thirds of the Assembly and combined polled over forty-four percent of the popular vote. The breakdown of seats in the Assembly was as follows: CPP – 71, Independents – 17; NPP – 12; Togoland Congress – 2; GCP – 1; MAP – 1. Botwe-Asamoah, 110; “Final State of Gold Coast Parties,” *London Times* 19 June 1954.

universal suffrage.¹⁶⁴

Governor Arden-Clarke once again summoned Nkrumah to Christiansborg Castle on June 17, 1954, to form a new government. The new constitution, which was dubbed the Nkrumah Constitution, placed the Minister of Finance in the African Cabinet and removed the positions of Defense and External Affairs from the Cabinet. For the first time Nkrumah was allowed to choose an all-African Cabinet, which he extended to ten members, presided over solely by him. He created the post of Minister of State, which he gave to Botsio, for the purpose of overseeing the decisions made by the Governor concerning defense and external affairs.¹⁶⁵

It was hoped the results of the 1954 election and the giant step forward toward independence would signal a time of peace and stability in the Gold Coast. Unfortunately, ethnic and regional conflicts continued to escalate after the election, particularly in Ashanti province. After the elections, hostilities continued to mount with cocoa regulations once again taking the spotlight. Concerns regarding price fluctuation and controls continued to threaten the country's economy. Disagreements regarding money assumed by the Cocoa Marketing Board (CMB) continued to surface. Created in 1947 by the British, the CMB officially established a temporary control board and quota system to purchase all the cocoa harvested in the country. Colonial authorities hoped to reassure struggling cocoa farmers through price controls to convince farmers to continue producing and create agricultural development. The CMB operated with a joint

¹⁶⁴ Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 209; "British Give More Self-Rule to Gold Coast; Natives to Get Ministries Whites Now Hold;" Dallas Pratt, M.D., "African Achievement Noted," *New York Times* 17 May 1954; Arden-Clarke, "Gold Coast into Ghana," 53-54; Arden-Clarke, "Eight Years of Transition in Ghana," 35; Rooney, 78-79; "Gold Coast Opens Elections Drive," *New York Times* 5 January 1954; Michael Clark, "Gold Coast Poll on Liberty Opens," *New York Times* 11 June 1954; Botwe-Asamoah, 110; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 67; Murapa, "Padmore's Role in the African Liberation Movement," 197; "Dr. Nkrumah's Aims," *London Times* 18 June 1954; "Gold Coast Poll Results," *London Times* 17 June 1954; "Gold Coast Tallying Vote for Independent Parliament," *New York Times* 16 June 1954.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 211-212; "Dr. Nkrumah's Aims;" Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 194; Birmingham, 45; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 36; Arden-Clarke, "Eight Years of Transition in Ghana," 35; "New Gold Coast Cabinet," *London Times* 23 June 1954.

market company stationed in London responsible for selling the cocoa bought by the “licensed buying agents” in the Gold Coast. Production price for cocoa was determined at the start of each season to eliminate competitive pricing. Originally, the overage of money earned by the CMB was to be used for the purposes of producer price stabilization, cocoa-related research, crop disease control, credit, cooperative formation and the creation of any other producer needs. After 1945 the accumulation of excess money generated by the CMB was placed into an account to be held for price stabilization, but instead the British invested in British government securities. When the CPP assumed control over the CMB, they continued this policy of accruing surplus to invest in Nkrumah’s development projects and went further by setting the lowest possible price for producers. Farmers felt exploited under the monopoly created by the CMB, which put an end to the democratic principles of free trade and market sharing. By 1954 the world demand for cocoa raised the world price to an all-time high. Nkrumah worried about the onset of inflation and “regional distortions of wealth” caused by higher prices paid to farmers, which threatened to derail his Development Plan by raising the costs for contractors. From the vantage point of Ashanti province, which produced the largest amount of cocoa, the CMB had become the corrupt money-generating machine of the CPP who then used the money that should be going to Ashanti farmers to fund projects that benefited Accra and the Colony regions.¹⁶⁶

Nkrumah used the increased power he gained in the 1954 election to assert his political dominance over cocoa pricing. The world market price for cocoa reached £450 per ton, but Nkrumah and Finance Minister Gbedemah wanted to continue paying producers £150 per ton, the same price as cocoa production in 1953, which equaled only a third of the average world price. At £150 per ton paid to the farmer that left £300 per ton for the government coffers.

¹⁶⁶ Allman, “The Youngmen and the Porcupine,” 265-266; Rooney, 89-90; Mikell, 144; 149; Beckman, 40-43; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 67; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 216; Birmingham, 52.

Nkrumah introduced into the Assembly on August 10, 1954 the Cocoa Duty and Development Funds Amendment Bill, which fixed the producer price for cocoa at £150 per ton for four years. The price was guaranteed regardless of how much the world price increased or decreased. Nkrumah announced that excess funds collected were to be used for development and discovery of other lucrative cash crops. The Bill passed the Assembly on August 13 and was met with immediate criticism from Ashanti province.¹⁶⁷

Historically Ashanti's capital city of Kumasi was the center of business and enterprise, both foreign and African, in the Gold Coast. Development in the region occurred largely with private funds unlike Accra, Tamale or the Volta. The local businessmen in Kumasi made their wealth through the commerce practices of cocoa farmers and saw their livelihood threatened by Nkrumah's Cocoa Bill. The CPP did not anticipate opposition toward the bill to come from more than the cocoa farmers. Nkrumah sent CPP Assembly representatives Osei Bonsu and John Baidoo and CPP Propaganda Secretary Krobi Edusei, who was of the Ashanti people, to Kumasi to conduct a meeting concerning the Cocoa Bill. However, when the men arrived Edusei was not allowed to speak and was forcibly removed from the meeting while the rest of those present chanted war cries.¹⁶⁸

Ashanti viewed the Cocoa Bill as their moment to claim power from the central government and redistribute the power to the individual regions, simultaneously striking at the heart of the CPP. What started as resistance to the Cocoa Bill soon became an all out war against the CPP government and its path for independence. Members of Ashanti farmers' councils

¹⁶⁷ Rooney, 90; 92; Birmingham, 52-53; Murapa, "Padmore's Role in the African Liberation Movement," 200; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 216-217; Allman, "The Youngmen and the Porcupine," 266; McCaskie, 18; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 117; Beckman, 65-66; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 258; Meredith, 24-25.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 90; 92; Birmingham, 52-53; Murapa, "Padmore's Role in the African Liberation Movement," 200; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 216-217; Allman, "The Youngmen and the Porcupine," 266; McCaskie, 18; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 117; Beckman, 65-66; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 258; Meredith, 24-25.

formed the center of the arising opposition and sought out leaders and allies who shared their anger. Former CPP outcasts and the Ashanti Youth Association (AYA), a youth organization once tied to the CPP, were the first to join the opposition. Local infighting within the Ashanti branch of the CPP caused the party to break apart in the region as many members sided with the separatists. The old guard of the intelligentsia, such as Danquah and Busia, lent their support to the growing number of Ashanti nationalists. All these varying sectors of Gold Coast society found a common ground in their animosity toward Nkrumah resulting in the formation of a new political party under the leadership of Bafuor Osei Akoto, a wealthy Kumasi cocoa farmer with ethnic ties. Akoto was known to be an exceptional mediator between the AYA, the farmers and the chiefs. It was widely known that Akoto had earned the respect of the majority of the Ashanti Paramount and Divisional Chiefs, which meant he tied the movement with direct access to the chiefs. Akoto was made chairman of the newly devised National Liberation Movement (NLM). The NLM was inaugurated on September 19, 1954, in Kumasi through a lavish ceremony and the ritual sacrifice of a sheep.¹⁶⁹

Akoto publicly announced the purpose of the NLM to be a national movement with the goal of liberating the Gold Coast from a dictatorship. Listed among their objectives was to rid the country of the threat of communism, respect labor, respect chiefs and ethnic culture, allow more authority for Ashanti in local and national government, fair wages for farmers and workers and recognition of the economic differences of the four regions of the country. What the NLM feared more than Nkrumah and Communism was the prospect of turning the Gold Coast into another United States. For their measure the fifty-three chiefs that sat on the Ashanti State Council pledged their support for the NLM as they viewed the movement to be their only hope

¹⁶⁹ Birmingham, 53-57; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 255-258;260-262; Botwe-Asamoah, 110-111; Allman, "The Youngmen and the Porcupine," 266; 272-274; Rooney, 92.

of challenging Nkrumah and his policy of diminishing the power of the chieftaincy. By supporting the NLM, the chiefs were also able to lend their cooperation to the opposition without jeopardizing their position with the Assembly and British officials.¹⁷⁰

The NLM launched their first attack on the CPP by condemning what they believed to be the corrupt and poorly managed methods of the Cocoa Marketing Board. The NLM also asserted the extra funds collected by the government for the purposes of development were primarily used to improve the coastal areas of the Colony region. The opposition also alleged the excuse of inflation was used as a cover-up by the government to hide the misappropriations of the CPP dominated CMB. Under the NLM, the Asantehene and the wealthy cocoa farmers demanded that all the funds from the sale of cocoa be given to the Ashanti region to manage their own financial and development affairs. Nkrumah responded immediately to Ashanti's claim of development abandonment. "Talk of this sort invites one to point to the gigantic hospital in Kumasi, the new library, the magnificent national bank building and," he continued, "numerous other modern constructions that were appearing in the Ashanti region during this particular period." Ashanti province also benefited from the road development projects, which improved the comfort and shortened the amount of travel time between Kumasi to Accra, along with other major cities. Nkrumah also pointed out that cocoa cultivation was not just worked by those in Ashanti. Many cocoa farmers found their harvesting laborers in the Northern Territories and once the crop was harvested, farmers employed the aid of those in the Colony to export the yields. Therefore, he posed the question of why should Ashanti have all the benefit of cocoa

¹⁷⁰ Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 262-267; 270; "Dr. Nkrumah's Aims;" Rooney, 92-93; Botwe-Asamoah, 110-112; Allman, "The Youngmen and the Porcupine," 272-273; Davidson, 148; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 117.

revenue over the rest of the nation.¹⁷¹

Unfortunately for the Gold Coast, violence did erupt in Ashanti province. CPP supporters living in the region were forced out of their homes and labeled as traitors to the Akan race. The NLM used their campaign of violence to try to end the self-government process in exchange for the creation of a federal government. To carry out their reign of violence the NLM created an armed division coined the “Action Groupers,” which they modeled after American cowboys. Action Groupers looted and demolished CPP offices and homes, killing whoever got in their way. Any semblance of law and order had broken down in Kumasi. Many Gold Coastlers wondered if the Ashanti province had actually seceded from the country. Government members were not immune to the bloodshed in Kumasi as Edusei’s sister was shot in her yard while eating with her children. The NLM attempted to bomb Nkrumah’s residence on November 10, 1955, a home that he shared with his ailing mother. Luckily, no one was hurt in the explosion. Even the Governor proved unable to escape the violence during a visit to Kumasi on March 21, 1955, when his motorcade was bombarded with stones, mud and bottles. During the Governor’s visit with the Asantehene that same afternoon, a member of the NLM hijacked Arden-Clarke’s Rolls Royce as property of the NLM. Nkrumah instructed that no CPP member was to engage in violence, regardless if the measure was in retaliation. He assured his party and the government that the wave of violence in Ashanti would end and the best measure was to wait it out. Nkrumah wanted to avoid any further escalation of the situation, which he believed was on the brink of civil war, for fear of provoking British intervention and a halt to independence.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 217; 217-218; “Cocoa Price Issue Splits Gold Coast,” *New York Times* 30 December 1954; Mikell, 162; Botwe-Asamoah, 110; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 67-68; Rooney, 99; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 117; Meredith, 24-25.

¹⁷² Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 218-222; Botwe-Asamoah, 114-115; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 117; Rooney, 93-99; 102; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 68-69; Birmingham, 57-58; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 269; 274; Allman, “The Youngmen and the Porcupine,” 275; “Gold Coast Head Aims at Republic,” *New York Times* 15 April 1955; Botwe-Asamoah, 114-116.

Nkrumah was determined to find a peaceful solution to the crisis. In December 1954, he invited NLM representatives on three separate occasions to come and meet with the Cabinet to discuss Ashanti's legislative grievances. The NLM declined all offers of a meeting feeling it lacked genuine sentiment. The Assembly attempted to address the Ashanti issue in a formal government setting, but the NLM members staged a walk out. On April 5, 1955, Nkrumah formed a Select Committee to determine a solution to the issues of a federal system and the creation of second chamber for chiefs. Again, the NLM left the Assembly and refused to participate. The Committee announced their findings on July 26, 1955, with the recommendation that the CPP system of government since 1951 was quite adequate and successful. However, the Committee recommended that more attention be paid by the central government to regional concerns and suggested the establishment of regional councils. On the issue of whether or not to create a second chamber, the Committee recommended that it was neither necessary nor needed. The leadership of the NLM felt their only hope of creating a federation would be through another general election in the hopes of an NLM majority. The NLM made clear to Nkrumah, the CPP government and the British that they would stand for nothing less than a new constitution that gave power to the stronger regions of the country, namely Ashanti province, and demanded a new general election be called. Concerned by the increased recruitment efforts of the NLM, the CPP reached out to other ethnic groups in Ashanti province, such as the Brong in western Ashanti and factions of Fanti, Ga, Ewe and Muslims in Kumasi.¹⁷³

The British were torn between maintaining a neutral stance in the conflict and continuing

¹⁷³ Rooney, 95-98; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 117-118; Nkrumah, "Movement for Colonial Freedom," 401; Botwe-Asamoah, 116; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 240-242; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 68-69; "Gold Coast Study of Constitution," *London Times* 28 July 1955; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 58; Ninsin, 223-224; Davidson, 149; Meredith, 25.

to support the CPP or risk that non-involvement would lead the Gold Coast down the path of civil war. In August 1955 Nkrumah requested that the British government send a Constitutional Advisor to aid in the drafting of an independence constitution and to direct the government on how to diminish the power of the regions. The British sent Sir Frederick Bourne on September 26. Bourne attempted to meet with the leadership of the NLM; however, they spurned his counsel, deeming Bourne an untrustworthy agent of the government. Bourne did not let the actions of the NLM deter him from his mission and issued his report to the Governor on December 17, which suggested that individual Regional Assemblies be created and granted influence over certain local matters, but the majority of governmental power needed to remain in the hands of the Legislative Assembly. Not surprisingly, the NLM rejected Bourne's recommendations. A House of Chiefs for each region of the country was established in order to determine local and cultural legislation.¹⁷⁴

With no end to the violence and disruption in sight, British Colonial Secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd decreed on May 11, 1956, in the British House of Commons, that self-governance would not be granted to the Gold Coast until another general election was held and the new Assembly passed a resolution for independence. Nkrumah was understandably concerned about the prospect of another general election. The British promised independence would be granted in 1956 and Nkrumah worried that an extension of the transitional period would have the country view the government as powerless and the violence would intensify. He also believed that foreign trade and investment was stalled while the Gold Coast's sovereignty remained unresolved. The NLM, for their part, made known that should they not win a national majority they would undoubtedly win a majority in Ashanti province, which planned to secede from the

¹⁷⁴ Meredith, 25; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 243-244; 247; Davidson, 149-150; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 118-119; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 69; Botwe-Asamoah, 116; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 58.

Gold Coast. Nkrumah made clear to the Colonial Secretary that once the general election was over Britain had to issue a firm date for independence once and for all. Lennox-Boyd agreed to Nkrumah's terms and Governor Arden-Clarke dissolved the Assembly on May 15, 1956, to call a general election to be held July 12 through 17.¹⁷⁵

The 13,041 square mile territory with a population of about 400,000 that made up Togoland, introduced a separate problem because of Togoland's status as a trusteeship with the UN. The plebiscite to determine whether Togoland wanted to unite with the Gold Coast or secede occurred on May 9, 1956, three months before the Gold Coast general election. The plebiscite was administered through a UN Commission comprised of several foreign administrators. Not surprisingly, CPP candidates in Togoland campaigned for unification while the Togoland Congress encouraged partition. Despite the vocal agitation for separation by the Togoland Congress, unification with the Gold Coast upon independence won the majority with an astounding eighty-two percent voter turnout. It would be a decision that both sides would regret in the coming decades.¹⁷⁶

The CPP launched a formidable campaign for the 1956 election despite their apprehensiveness. Nkrumah asked his fellow party members to present a strong, disciplined and united front as the campaign approached. He was confident of the CPP's impending success due to the Party's message of unity and strength. Again, Nkrumah traveled the country speaking at numerous rallies and meetings to deliver the CPP's simple message that they would guide the nation to independence unlike the NLM who would lead the Gold Coast to failure and unrest. He warned that the nation's population of five million would be too small to support a federation

¹⁷⁵ Davidson, 149-150; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 244-245; 247-253; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 118-119; Rooney, 103-110; Botwe-Asamoah, 116; Kennett Love, "Britain Promises Free Gold Coast," *New York Times* 12 May 1956.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 111-112; Love, "Britain Promises Free Gold Coast;" Brown, "Borderline Politics in Ghana," 582; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 259-262; Berry, 30.

government. Lastly, he reminded voters that the 1956 election would be their last chance to decide the fate of the nation's independence. The CPP registered candidates once again for all 104 seats, five of which the CPP ran unopposed. Party members launched vicious attacks against the NLM charging they attempted to poison Accra's water source and labeled NLM candidates as devils and thugs.¹⁷⁷

As the election approached, leadership of the NLM was handed over to Busia due to his knowledge of representational status and campaigning in a general election; although, Akoto still rallied business and chieftaincy support for the Party. Under Busia's leadership, the NLM emphasized the need for a federal style government over the existing CPP unitary form. He was able to somewhat overhaul the NLM image of Ashanti dominated violence, into more of a nationally conscious political party ready to lead in parliamentary politics. However, what supporters of the NLM failed to recognize was that Busia's political leadership directed had proven to be catastrophic in the past and this time would not be different. Under the slogan of "Vote for Cocoa," the NLM launched a massive campaign that outlined thirty principles of an NLM government. The party also engaged in a bitter battle with the CPP labeling their hated opponents as thieves and Communists in the media. Busia became so convinced of an NLM majority win that he sent a letter to the Governor requesting that Arden-Clarke remember to ask him to form a new government. Busia was disappointed on July 17, 1956, as the CPP had managed to win another overwhelming majority with seventy-two seats, essentially the same results as the 1954 election. Voters feared violence and intimidation at the polls resulting in only thirty percent of eligible voters casting ballots despite the Governor's promise of protection with Gold Coast police, military and security forces posted at polling stations throughout the country.

¹⁷⁷ Nkrumah, "Movement for Colonial Freedom," 398; 400-401; 405-406; 408; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 267-269; Rooney, 116-117; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 69-71; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 119.

Britain could no longer deny that an independent government led by Nkrumah was truly the will of people.¹⁷⁸

Nkrumah complied with Britain's demands and after the election he sent a formal request to Colonial Secretary Lennox-Boyd for a firm date for independence. On September 17 he received his answer, via the Governor, that the date for independence was set for March 6, 1957, the 113th anniversary of the Bond of 1844, the day on which the African nation became colonized by Britain. An elated Nkrumah related the news to the country over a radio broadcast and proclaimed that on March 6, 1957, the Gold Coast would officially become Ghana, after the ancient ancestry believed to have inhabited the Gold Coast before European contact. In light of the preparations for independence, Nkrumah asked that the political bitterness and fighting that still plagued the nation come to an end. To show how serious his measure of good will was, Nkrumah guaranteed that Ghana's constitution would include a role for chiefs and granted Ashanti limited regional freedoms. His plea was met with agreement from the Opposition, but would not last very long. The people of the Gold Coast showed their elation at the news and the nation immediately began the preparations for self-governance that would include ceremonies and events, such as sailing regattas, races, garden parties, plays and even a Miss Ghana competition to take place over six days.¹⁷⁹

At midnight on March 6, 1957, the British flag descended in front of the newly constructed Assembly building, replaced by with the new flag of Ghana marking the nation's new independent status and entrance as the ninth member of the British Commonwealth. The

¹⁷⁸ Murapa, "Padmore's Role in the African Liberation Movement," 193; Morrison, 425; Allman, "The Youngmen and the Porcupine," 277-278; Rooney, 115-116; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 72; Botwe-Asamoah, 116-117; Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 272-273; 281-283; Thomas F. Brady, "Gold Coast Vote Won by Premier," *New York Times* 19 July 1956; Rooney, 118; Meredith, 25-26; Birmingham, 58; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 119.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 281-283; 287; Meredith, 26; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 67-69; Rooney, 124-127; Allman, "The Youngmen and the Porcupine," 278; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 73-77.

rich colors waved red for the blood of those martyred in the fight for independence, gold for the nation's wealth, green for the land and forests and a central black star to symbolize African freedom and the African Diaspora. Simultaneously, a celebration was underway at the Polo Ground in Accra where Nkrumah, overcome with emotion, addressed the crowd of over 100,000 in both English and Fanti to declare them all free. The Ghanaian national anthem played repeatedly as crowds danced, sung and drummed into the early hours of the morning. It was the moment so many had worked for since imperialism first touched the shores of Ghana and on that night chants of "Freedom" overcame the country. He reminded the Ghanaian people that while they had been granted their freedom, many Africans were still fighting to obtain the same right. Six hundred journalists, dignitaries and delegations from fifty-six countries, the UN and the Vatican all traveled to Ghana to bear witness to her independence. Never before had an African nation drawn so much international attention and no world power wanted to be left out of the possibilities that Ghana's freedom could have for their respective country. Nkrumah pledged to create a socialist state in Ghana that would eventually become the model for an all liberated and unified Africa. Nkrumah pledged Ghana would operate on lines of neutrality in global affairs, as the new nation would accept help from any country. In an inscription in his autobiography, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, which was released on independence day, he wrote to his publisher Van Milne: "It is far better to govern or misgovern yourself than to be governed by anybody else."¹⁸⁰

Ghana entered the world scene as a nation with numerous prospects for success with a £200 million economic credit. Nkrumah was elected leader of the richest African nation, with

¹⁸⁰ Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 78; 77-80; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 120; Thomas Brady, "Negro Nation of Ghana is Born in Africa," *New York Times* 6 March 1957; Botwe-Asamoah, 118; Thomas F. Brady, "Nixon is in Accra for Ghana Fetes," *New York Times* 4 March 1957; Meredith, 26-27; Birmingham, 82; Thomas F. Brady, "Ghana Will Shun Neutral Policy," *New York Times* 5 March 1957; Rooney, 131.

wealth from cocoa, timber, gold and bauxite, but it also benefited from a skilled and capable African civil service, an established and impartial judiciary, an affluent middle class and an organized Parliament with competent politicians. Foreign investment and industry accelerated in Ghana since 1951 with noticeably established companies from Britain, United States, Europe and Middle East. Nkrumah's Five Year Development Plan was essentially a success with a few exceptions. New roads, railways, harbors, schools and research centers were constructed throughout the country at a rapid rate. In his own right Nkrumah accomplished a great deal of success and popularity in his young forty-seven years. He became the first black African Prime Minister of a British colony and leader of the first African country in the Commonwealth. His greatest achievement was certainly his guidance of a peaceful hand over of self-government control. His grassroots political party comprised mostly of young political agitators and the poor, disenfranchised "verandah boys" from city slums across the Gold Coast and then transformed into a respectable political party and force to be reckoned with.¹⁸¹

The Ghanaian people placed their trust and faith in Nkrumah, his leadership and his party. Nkrumah was eager to lead his people and answer to the nation's needs. However, the independence struggle, numerous elections and the constant bitter battles with the opposition took its toll on Nkrumah. Exhausted and frustrated, Nkrumah felt that his quest for a socialist Pan African union was slipping away. Many African nations were embracing nationalist principles and fighting for their own independence. As self-governance prevailed in the coming decades, Nkrumah hoped that a United States of Africa would as well. Unfortunately, Nkrumah's Pan African mission would come at the detriment of Ghana, which still required his full attention for the nation's economic and development needs. Opposition to Nkrumah's rule

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 283; Meredith, 27; Rooney, 130; 158; Birmingham, 58; "Independence Leader Kwame Nkrumah," *New York Times* 6 March 1957.

increased and the leader responded by consolidating and intensifying his power. His ego and fear grew in the latter years of his reign as well, leading many Ghanaians to label Nkrumah a dictator and the world to witness the devastation of a nation with immense potential plummet into bankruptcy and starvation.

CHAPTER FOUR

IN THE SHORTEST AMOUNT OF TIME

Kwame Nkrumah gained the favor of Africans and the international community when he led Ghana to independence in March 1957. It was the great African leader's moment to shine, to take control of Ghana's destiny, to make history as he guided the African nation into the developed world. Nkrumah was free to pursue his Pan African goals for Ghana and create a strong African nation. The creation of a United States of Africa guided by Pan Africanism remained Nkrumah's primary focus often to the detriment of Ghana. As Ghana progressed in independence, her economic and development needs became more of a problem, requiring Nkrumah to seek loans from the West. As Nkrumah's power in Ghana increased, so did his ego effectively turning him into a megalomaniac. After being rejected by several members of the CPP, other African leaders, Western governments and even fellow Ghanaians, Nkrumah began to lose his sense of reality. In response, Nkrumah changed Ghana's government to a socialist system and accepted aid from Communist powers. In 1961, Nkrumah went a step further on Ghana's ideological journey when he opened the Winneba Institute to educate Ghanaians on Nkrumaism, a theory grounded in his own ideologies and based in socialism. Ghanaians were expected to understand the principles of Nkrumaism; although, all public officials were *required* to attend Nkrumaism courses from Winneba. As Nkrumah's paranoia rose, he began to undercut the opposition, making the CPP the only political party and the opposition illegal. He entangled Ghana in bloody African revolutions Ghana proved unequipped to handle, causing widespread mistrust of Nkrumah by other African leaders. Nkrumah began his leadership of Ghana with positive steps toward development and Pan Africanism; however, he increasingly lost sight of Ghana's needs in place of his own. Disappointingly, Nkrumah positioned Ghana on a path

towards oppression, bankruptcy, dictatorship and corruption.

Ghana's borders possessed fortunes few other African nations held in 1957. The nation emerged from colonialism as the richest tropical country in the world and Ghanaians were considered to have the highest income south of the Sahara. As a nation, Ghana possessed great wealth in the form of proven and easily exploitable natural resources such as gold, timber, bauxite, diamonds and manganese. Plans were put in motion for the creation of a massive hydroelectric power plant and aluminum production. New industry development was crucial to Ghana's economic success where cocoa remained the primary industry for the nation, which led the world in cocoa production. Ghana amassed a healthy reserve of foreign currency from the increases in cocoa prices during the 1950s. The nation adopted a well-entrenched middle-class, which, for the most part, enjoyed Western education and comprised the majority of the country's politicians and civil servants. Ghana appeared to have a bright future with a popularly elected Legislative Assembly complete with a system of checks and balances.¹⁸²

There is little doubt that Nkrumah possessed an inflated sense of self-worth, which he aptly displayed with his image on Ghana's newly minted currency and postage stamps. He commissioned a statue of himself as well, which he raised in the heart of Accra. While his foes criticized his flamboyant actions, many still believed Nkrumah to be a "common man" with the people's best interests at heart. However, Nkrumah's decision to move his residence and offices to Christiansborg Castle in June 1957 negatively impacted many of his supporters' feelings about the Prime Minister's character. Christiansborg Castle once held the colonial administrations of the Dutch, the Portuguese and the British, which served as a stark reminder of a cruel past. To Ghanaians, Christiansborg Castle was a symbol of the centuries of subjugation they endured

¹⁸² Meredith, 27; Robert M. Price, "Neo-Colonialism and Ghana's Economic Decline: A Critical Assessment," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 18 (1984): 164-165; Saloway, 476.

under colonialism. Nkrumah believed his residing at the Castle would display a new symbol of freedom. Instead the isolated coastal Christiansborg residence separated Nkrumah from the people who randomly visited the leader when he lived in Accra. Many felt the Prime Minister's voluntary isolation made Nkrumah appear like an inaccessible monarch stowed away in his castle. The move marked the beginning of early rumors that Nkrumah was distancing himself from his image of a populist leader. Contributing to the people's worries, Nkrumah secretly and hastily married an Egyptian woman, Fathia Halen Rizk, on December 30, 1957. Ghanaians hoped their initial first lady would be one of their own. Nkrumah defended his marriage choice by stating that he felt the selection of a Ghanaian woman would have ignited ethnic and/or regional disputes.¹⁸³

Regardless of how stable Ghana appeared from the outside in 1957, major concerns still faced Nkrumah and his government. Ghanaians expected Nkrumah to deliver on his promises, namely economic prosperity. Economic decolonization was a contentious issue facing Ghana at independence. The most valuable exports, gold, bauxite, cocoa, diamonds, manganese and timber, were found only in the coastal and southern forest regions, which created a large disparity of wealth. As the world's largest cocoa producer, Ghana based her economy primarily on revenue from the exportation of the crop. Unfortunately, when the price of cocoa plummeted so did the nation's economy. It was imperative Ghana find a diverse source of revenue to keep the new nation afloat during the uncertainties that Africa faced in the twentieth century.

Nkrumah planned far-reaching development projects centered on industrialization, which

¹⁸³ Richard P. Hunt, "'The Ghanaian Experiment' – After a Year," *The New York Times Magazine*, February 16, 1958; Crowder, 19; Erica Powell, *Private Secretary (Female)/ Gold Coast* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), 110; 117; 123-126; Meredith, 17; 27-28; 180-181; Davidson, 93-94; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 80-81; Dabu Gizenga's Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-2 Folder 17; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spangarn Research Center, Howard University; Yvette Richards, "African-American Labor Leaders in the Struggle Over International Affiliation," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 31 (1998): 314; Rooney, 144-145; "Ghana's Prime Minister Weds Cairo Student," *New York Times* 31 December 1957.

required substantial domestic and foreign investment. The Bank of Ghana was chartered in July 1957 to help Ghana assert her economic freedom, manage her own currency, issue domestic loans and accept outside investment in the nation's projects.¹⁸⁴

The majority of Ghana's wealth-generating ventures belonged to private foreign companies, particularly in construction, banking, insurance, shipping, timber and manufacturing. Ghana's gold mines remained British owned and manned by an African labor force, which meant the nation's most profitable resource benefited British companies.¹⁸⁵

Development is an expensive undertaking, especially in a country with little physical or economic growth. Nkrumah's Five Year Development Plan cost the country £126.5 million. With Ghana's only viable economic resource resting on the volatile price of cocoa and no means to quickly produce another industry, Nkrumah was left with no choice but to rely upon foreign investment for Ghana's development. Nkrumah placed the utmost importance on his Volta River Project, at a cost in excess of £600 million. He believed that cost effective electric energy was the industry of the future. By the late 1950s, coal energy in Africa was sparse and too labor intensive, oil discovery had yet to occur on the continent and uranium had not met its nuclear energy potential. Hydroelectricity was a viable option not just for Ghana, but Africa as a whole. The potential of hydroelectricity and the global demand for aluminum marked Nkrumah's evidence of Volta's possibility for Ghana's economic independence.¹⁸⁶

A surprising ally in Ghana's development came from the relatively young Middle Eastern

¹⁸⁴ Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 367-368; Rahman, 183-185; George Auerbach, "Low Price of Cocoa Poses Big Problem for the Economy of Fledgling Ghana," *New York Times* 10 March 1957; Ryan, 147-148; Birmingham, *The Decolonization of Africa*, 28-29; John D. Esseks, "Political Independence and Economic Decolonization: The Case of Ghana Under Nkrumah," *The Western Political Quarterly* 24 (1971): 59; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 63; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 111; Rooney, 137; Mikell, 173-175.

¹⁸⁵ Esseks, 59; Birmingham, *The Decolonization of Africa*, 28-29; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 63; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 111; Rahman, 185; Rooney, 137.

¹⁸⁶ Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 99-100; 104-105; 112-113; John P. Glennon, ed. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955-1957: Volume XVIII: Africa* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1989), 376; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 63-64; Rooney, 140-141.

nation of Israel who provided Ghana with substantial assistance. The Nkrumah government identified with Israel's own journey toward development, believing it mirrored Ghana's own obstacles. Israel's neutral Cold War stance appealed to Nkrumah as well. In return for their aid, Israel gained access to cheap raw materials and friendly markets to sell Israeli goods. The Jewish state aided in the creation of a nationalized construction company, became partners in the establishment of Ghana's shipping line and developed Ghana's Merchant Marine Academy. Named after Marcus Garvey's defunct Black Star Line, Ghana's shipping line was founded on December 17, 1957, with the 4,959-ton *S.S. Volta River*. The Black Star Line allowed Ghana to conduct her own import-export trade. Israel financed the majority of the line in exchange for 40% ownership and a signed trade agreement between the two countries.¹⁸⁷

Nkrumah's Pan African goals were never far from his mind during Ghana's development years. Before Nkrumah could create a Pan African nation he needed to tackle the entrenched regional and ethnic divisions that plagued Ghanaian society. Nkrumah wanted Ghanaians to unite as a nation, devoid of ethnic and regional differences, to act as the example for continental unity. However, the powerful ethnic groups of the Ashanti and coastal regions behaved like their own nation, each with their own grouping of ancestral chiefs and governing councils. The power of those chiefs needed to be shattered if Nkrumah ever hoped to achieve unity within the country. He vowed to use whatever means necessary to dispel Ghana's factionalism, but his efforts were met with widespread resistance. Some clans like the Gas of Accra, formed radical political organizations to attack the Nkrumah government. The *Ga Adangme Shifimo Kpee*, or

¹⁸⁷ Kennett Love, "Ghanaians Enlist Aid from Israelis," *New York Times*, May 4, 1958; Zach Levy, "The Rise and Decline of a Special Relationship: Israel and Ghana, 1957-1966," *African Studies Review* 46 (2003): 159-160; Richard P. Hunt, "Soviet Woos Ghana with Trade Mission," *New York Times*, November 20, 1957; Ebenezer Obiri Addo, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Case Study of Religion and Politics in Ghana* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1997), 59; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 114-115; "Ghana Welcomes New Line's Ship," *New York Times*, December 15, 1957; Kennett Love, "African Nations Ask Nuclear Ban," *New York Times*, April 23, 1958; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 113-114; "Ghana to Train its Own Seamen," *London Times*, December 20, 1957.

the “Ga Steadfast Association,” formed in Accra in June 1957 under the leadership of Ga Chief Priest Nai Wulomo. Gas believed they were victims of discrimination by the government and their land intentionally stripped for development and personal use by government officials. To Nkrumah, the land belonged to Ghana and improvements to the nation were desperately needed.¹⁸⁸

Membership in the Ga Steadfast Association grew to over 40,000 and the party became increasingly extremist. Large rallies and subversive speeches encouraged disorder against the Nkrumah government. Supporters included members of other ethnic groups and organizations, particularly from Accra’s radical youth. Throughout the summer of 1957 association members began harassing Nkrumah and CPP Representatives at their offices and homes and caused disruption to government business. By August riots broke out across Accra, directly followed by armed violence. Nkrumah took a strong and aggressive stance against the mayhem, which marked the beginning of his attack on opposition parties as a whole.¹⁸⁹

Nkrumah launched a decisive assault on the opposition in August 1957 when he appointed Krobo Edusei to Minister of the Interior; a posting that controlled Ghana’s police, immigration services and internal security matters. Edusei was known to be outspoken, domineering and eccentric, often seen with a red and leopard spotted baton. Edusei unapologetically admitted to using imprisonment as an acceptable method of handling political adversaries. He invoked fear in his enemies who viewed him as a despot. By placing a man with minimal character who employed questionable tactics at the head of Ghana’s police and

¹⁸⁸ Hunt, “‘The Ghana Experiment’ – After a Year;” Addo, George P. Hagan, “Nkrumah’s Leadership Style – An Assessment from a Cultural Perspective,” in Kwame Arhin, ed. *The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah: Papers of a Symposium Organized by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon* (Trenton, NJ: African World Press, Inc., 1993), 193-194; Ebenezer Obiri, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Case Study of Religion and Politics in Ghana* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1997), 88-89; Botwe-Asamoah, 123; “Political Curbs Feared in Ghana,” *New York Times* 29 September 1957; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 373-377; Rooney, 138; Price, 191.

¹⁸⁹ Botwe-Asamoah, 123-124; “Political Curbs Feared in Ghana;” Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 373-377; Rooney, 138-139; Price, 191; Berry, 32; Rathbone, *Nkrumah & the Chief*, 103-105.

security, Nkrumah delivered a strong warning to those who opposed his rule.¹⁹⁰

Nkrumah urged his government to pass legislation that gave the central government more authority over the people. In response to Nkrumah's request, Edusei drafted a law that made it illegal for political parties to be formed on the basis of religion, region or ethnic affiliation and limited the movement of opposition members thought to be dangerous. In order to restrict the travel of accused subversives, the law included a requirement from persons traveling in and out of Ghana to apply for a visitor visa. Edusei's law invoked fear in the opposition, as well as a number of CPP members who knew the Minister was a proponent of a "get tough" philosophy when dealing with political opposition. Regardless, Nkrumah remained confident in the new Minister's capabilities stating that; "... the preservation of our internal security is paramount ... I wonder if those abroad who have criticized us fully appreciate this problem in Ghana, where we have to deal with a complex relationship of feudal, tribal and other factors" With the new law, Nkrumah made it clear he was waging war on the opposition.¹⁹¹

Afraid of the political repression clearly in store for them, longtime opposition leader Dr. Kofi Busia gathered members of the opposition to form the Nationalist United Party (UP) on November 3, 1957. The UP drew membership from all ethnic groups and regions of Ghana and offered an alternative to the CPP. J. Hutton-Mills, a former CPP member and a Minister in Nkrumah's 1952 Cabinet, became the National Chairman of the UP and appointed Busia head of the Working Committee. Busia assured members that safety and political survival would lie in the substantial membership base of a unified party. The UP reinvigorated the debate over creating a federalist state in Ghana. The party found a large and powerful ally in the nation's

¹⁹⁰ "Ghana Aide Threatens Detention of All Foes," *New York Times* 28 September 1957; "Political Curbs Feared in Ghana;" Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 377; Rathbone, *Nkrumah & the Chiefs*, 105.

¹⁹¹ "Political Curbs Feared in Ghana;" Botwe-Asamoah, 123-124; Austin, *Ghana Observed*, 41; "Ghana Aide Threatens Detention of All Foes."

cocoa farmers who were engaged in a longstanding dispute with the Nkrumah government over cocoa income. The formative years of the UP were plagued with a lack of funds, poor organizational abilities and a failure to recruit new members. However, they managed to launch a formidable defense against the CPP and Nkrumah, who they labeled a dictator of a totalitarian, corrupt and incompetent regime. The party gained a majority in the politically important Ashanti region, an historically anti-CPP area.¹⁹²

The Assembly ratified Edusei's "Avoidance of Discrimination Act" in December 1957. Political parties believed to have formed on the basis of anything but nationalist purposes were ordered to immediately disband. The distribution of any propaganda published by a banned party was strictly forbidden and chiefs were prohibited from supporting outlawed parties. The Avoidance of Discrimination Act dealt a heavy blow to opposition parties and the chieftaincy, an institution that many Ghanaians still embraced. Nkrumah gained a decisive victory against those who wished to challenge his rule over Ghana. By limiting the guidelines under which political parties could form, Nkrumah began his descent into despotism.¹⁹³

It was vitally important for Nkrumah to create an atmosphere of cooperation, compliance and stability within Ghana in order to feel comfortable enough to pursue his Pan African projects. The "Avoidance of Discrimination Act" and Edusei's appointment gave Nkrumah the comfort he needed to continue his Pan African programs. He began with the creation of the Bureau of African Affairs, which he placed under the leadership of the African Secretariat, George Padmore. Padmore was Nkrumah's trusted mentor and friend and a respected leader in

¹⁹² Rooney, 139; Morrison, 424; Austin, *Ghana Observed*, 52; Allman, "Hewers of Wood, Carriers of Water," 21; Addo, 97; 93; Botwe-Asamoah, 35; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 74-75; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 384; Mikell, 176; "36 Arrests Made in Ashanti," *London Times*, February 3, 1958.

¹⁹³ Ibid.; Morrison, 424; Austin, *Politics of Ghana, 1945-1960*, 373-378; Ninsin, 227-228; 174; Rathbone, *Nkrumah & the Chiefs*, 109; 138; Mikell, 88; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 74; Allman, "Hewers of Wood, Carriers of Water," 21; "Political Curbs Feared in Ghana."

the international Pan African Movement. The Bureau was established to organize conferences for African independent nations and nationalist organizations to discuss development and the creation of a United States of Africa. Nkrumah supported any African anti-colonial movement and used the Bureau to publish propaganda leaflets for nationalist movements and freedom fighters and provide whatever aid was needed. The Bureau of African Affairs and the African Secretariat became responsible for determining Ghana's diplomatic policies toward other African nations. Padmore advised Nkrumah to devote his time to strengthening Ghana instead of entangling the country in the affairs of other African nations. Padmore believed a strong Ghana meant a powerful and ready leader when the appropriate time for unification presented itself. Unfortunately, Nkrumah did not always heed Padmore's advice.¹⁹⁴

The Bureau of African Affairs and Nkrumah quickly organized the first Pan African conference held on African soil. The Conference of Independent African States (CIAS) convened in Accra in April 1958. Nkrumah's expectations for the conference were to gather the leaders of the eight independent African nations in the hopes of creating unity and cooperation. Representatives from the United Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria, Ethiopia, Libya, Liberia, Tunisia, Morocco and Sudan were all in attendance. Nkrumah later recalled in his book *Africa Must Unite* that "[h]ere [was] a signal departure from established custom, a jar to the arrogant assumption of non-African nations that African affairs were solely the concern of states outside our continent. The African personality [made] itself known."¹⁹⁵

The most important feature of the CIAS was the notion of cooperation among nations.

¹⁹⁴ Botwe-Asamoah, 121; 138-139; S.E. Quarm, *Diplomatic Offensive: An Overview of Ghana's Diplomacy Under Dr. Kwame Nkrumah* (Accra: Afram Publications (Ghana) Limited, 1997), 21-22; Rooney, 141; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 395-396; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 422; Tunteng, 36; 40; Kennett Love, "Nkrumah Warns African 'Rulers,'" *New York Times*, April 16, 1958.

¹⁹⁵ Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 136; Esedebe, 165-167; Quarm, 36-37; Kennett Love, "Accra is Cheery as Parley Host," *New York Times*, April 20, 1958; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 125-126; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 83; Botwe-Asamoah, 131; H.E. Joe-Fio N. Meyer, *Dr. Nkrumah's Last Dream: Continental Government of Africa* (Accra: Advance Publishing Company Limited, 1990), 5-6; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 125-126.

To Nkrumah, the primary concern of African unity was political unification of all African states governed as a union, of which he envisioned himself the leader. Unification was not the only important issue discussed during the conference; decolonization, the plight of freedom fighters, foreign policy, development of nuclear weapons, economic concerns, technical and educational needs and development were heavily debated as well. Foreign policy and nuclear weapons quickly became dominant themes. The vast majority of Africans wished to keep the Cold War off the continent and out of their governments, which led the delegates to agree on a common foreign policy dictated by the principle of nonalignment, a directive that was popular among decolonized nations of the world. By supporting nonalignment, the delegates decided not to involve their respective countries in the political or military affairs of foreign aggressor nations. Nkrumah strongly believed that nonalignment was the only way to avoid international entanglements that threatened Africa from forming her own identity. The cooperation and sharing agreements made between the nations present represented the first step toward a United States of Africa. The agreements made at CIAS became the foundation of Ghana's foreign policy. Resolutions were drafted to form three committees to aid African nations with development. The committees were formed under the guidelines of economic and social, cultural and organizational. The delegates also created a joint economic research commission to coordinate economic cooperation, created or improved development programs and provided a training ground for African liberation movements. It was the first time independent African nations made collective agreements to aid one another.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁶ Kofi Buenor Hadjor, *Nkrumah and Ghana: The Dilemma of Post-Colonial Power* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1988), 93; Ali Al'Amin Mazuri, *On Heroes and Uhuru-Worship: Essays on Independent Africa* (London: Longmans, 1967), 44; Ernest Corea, "Non-Alignment: The Dynamics of a Movement," *Behind the Headlines* 34 (1977): 1-2; Love, "Accra is Cheery as Parley Host;" Esedebe, 165-167; Kennett Love, "8 African Lands Back Algerians," *New York Times*, April 21, 1958; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 128-131; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 83-86; Botwe-Asamoah, 131-132; Myer, 14-15; 22-35; "Algerians Ask Aid From Free

Following the CIAS the Prime Minister, along with fifteen Ghanaian delegates, traveled to the independent nations, covering over 20,000 miles, between May and June 1958. When Nkrumah returned to Ghana he found tensions with the opposition remained prevalent despite the CPP's efforts to silence adversaries who grew more outspoken as Ghana steered toward one-party rule. Many members of the UP took the occasion of Nkrumah's absence to voice their negative response to the heavy hand of Nkrumah's government, voicing their increasingly radical opinions. Government officials uncovered an alleged assassination plot against Nkrumah, Edusei and the Minister of Education, Kofi Baako, by a group named the "Zenith Seven" purportedly linked to UP General Secretary, R.R. Amponsah. In addition, Ghanaian police discovered an attempt by radical forces to obtain 1,000 tons of grenades from a British weapons dealer. These incidents, combined with Nkrumah's paranoia that foreign agents were plotting to overthrow his government, led him and Edusei to draft the oppressive "Preventive Detention Act." The Act allowed the government to detain individuals suspected of involvement in subversive activities for up to five years without the right to appeal or trial. The Assembly passed the Act on July 18, 1958 despite opposition claims that the law left the definition of "subversive acts" too vague. Under the "Preventive Detention Act," a number of Nkrumah's adversaries were imprisoned permanently with scant evidence and without formal charges. In November forty-three opposition members were arrested and detained. Amponsah was arrested in December with his alleged co-conspirator, M.K. Apaloo, charged with sedition and conspiring to assassinate the Prime Minister. Even though the evidence against the detained men was weak, the new law gave Nkrumah the right to imprison anyone he suspected of violent activity. Concrete evidence or proof was no longer necessary for Nkrumah, who could imprison for as

Africa," *New York Times*, April 18, 1958; Kennett Love, "Algerians Given a Role in Parley," *New York Times*, April 17, 1958; "Call For Ending of Hostilities," *London Times*, April 21, 1958; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 126.

long as wanted those he believed posed a threat to his reign.¹⁹⁷

Feeling safe again, Nkrumah traveled to the U.S. in July 1958 in hopes of obtaining a portion of the necessary £230 million required for the Volta River project. In 1958, the United States was the only industrialized nation with the assets to loan developing countries. Nkrumah believed he was offering Americans a profitable opportunity to invest in Ghana's development. The Ghanaian government hoped to finance the bulk of the construction of the dam, power plant and the necessary railways to transport the bauxite and aluminum; however, further investment was required to complete those projects. The Volta River Project, according to Nkrumah, was crucial to Ghana's ability to develop her industrial and agricultural sectors. Failure, as he viewed it, meant the failure of Ghana, setting a negative example for the rest of Africa. The aluminum manufacturing sector proved to be the only area of interest to the U.S., who committed to foster private investments from American companies. American President Dwight D. Eisenhower understood the political and business advantages in supporting African development in hopes of creating strong global democracies. However, he remained guarded as to the success of African development and of Nkrumah in particular.¹⁹⁸

The delegation returned to Ghana in August 1958 after another extended trip away during

¹⁹⁷ Meyer, 5; 37; Mazuri, *On Heroes and Uhuru-Worship*, 119; Davidson, 169; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 127; "Ghana On Guard Against Coup," *London Times*, July 15, 1958; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 381-382; "43 Ghana Arrests Ordered," *London Times*, November 11, 1958; "Nkrumah Reports Plot to Slay Him," *New York Times*, November 11, 1958; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 84-85; "Nkrumah Foes Accused," *New York Times*, November 16, 1958; Williams, 358; "Arrests in Ghana Denounced," *London Times*, November 12, 1958; "Ghana Arrests Decried," *New York Times*, November 12, 1958; Saaka, 273.

¹⁹⁸ Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 64-65; Hunt, "Soviet Woos Ghana With Trade Mission;" Eisenhower, 211-213; 567-568; Quarm, 75-76; Esseks, 60; "Ghana Seeking U.S. Aid for Volta Plan," Jackson, 147; 150; 152-153; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 122-123; 137-139; 146; 150; Volta River Project Preparatory Commission, *The Volta River Project: II*, 4; "Eisenhower Weighs Ghana Project Aid," *New York Times*, February 21, 1958; "Nkrumah in Canada," *New York Times*, July 20, 1958; "Nkrumah to Visit U.S.," *New York Times*, March 9, 1958; "Ghana Seeks Investors," *New York Times*, July 26, 1958; Glennon, 384-386; Harriet Dashiell Schwar, ed., *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1958-1960: Volume XIV: Africa* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1992), 647-652; "Broadened U.S. Aid Program for Ghana Is Set Out as Premier Leaves Washington," *New York Times*, July 27, 1958; Rooney, 147; Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 121.

Ghana's critical formative years. Nkrumah turned his immediate attention to strengthening the nation's foreign policy. He centered his policy on the themes of "positive neutralism," the creation of a political union of Africa and ending colonization and neo-colonialism in Africa. Nkrumah believed that two types of neutralism existed, positive and negative. Negative neutralism existed when a nation agreed to stay neutral in international affairs, but did so by retreating from international concerns altogether believing if their nation were not active participants in armed conflict then the destruction and chaos of war would not affect them. The concept of positive neutralism drew upon the notion of nonalignment. Positive neutralism took nonalignment a step further deeming it necessary and prudent that neutral nations stay involved and active in world affairs to act as mitigators of peace. African nations that agreed to positive neutralism followed the guidance and purpose of the United Nations (UN), an organization that Nkrumah initially held in high regard. He wanted to ensure that Africans and world leaders did not view positive neutralism as simply another form of isolationism or a passive approach to foreign relations. He hoped to see the reasons behind war eliminated from the world and for Africa that meant an end to colonialism and racialism. Africa needed to stand behind a policy that allowed the continent to be progressive in asserting its position in international relations instead of permitting the superpowers to determine that role. An independent Africa needed to be free to accept social and economic aid from any nation willing to participate in her development.¹⁹⁹

Just as important as positive neutralism was to Nkrumah's foreign policy and Pan African

¹⁹⁹ Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 151-152; Ebere Nwaubani, "Eisenhower, Nkrumah and the Congo Crisis," *Journal of Contemporary History* 36 (2001): 602; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 200; *The Spark*, eds., 78-79; Shridath S. Ramphal, *Nkrumah and the Eighties* (London: Third World Foundation, 1981), 4; 7; Dike Nworah, "Nationalism Versus Coexistence: Neo-African Attitudes to Classical Neutralism," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 15 (1977): 213; Nikolai Fedorenko, "The Soviet Union and African Countries," *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science* 354 (1964): 6.

beliefs so too was his desire to rid Africa of the threat of neocolonialism. Neocolonialism was a reality that newly independent African nations faced when their economic and political systems were still closely tied to their former colonizer. Newly independent African nations faced an uphill battle with little to no economic resources to bring their countries into the twentieth century. Wealthy Western nations literally held decolonized countries by the purse strings, giving the choice of poverty or forced democracy. Nkrumah correctly asserted that neocolonialism was taking the place of imperialism on the continent. “For those who practice [neo-colonialism],” stated Nkrumah, “it means power without responsibility and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress.” He believed the evils of neocolonialism were fostered through foreign military alliances and bases in Africa, imbalanced economic and trade agreements and the use of non-African civil servants in powerful governmental positions. It was through the exploitation of one or all of those examples that former imperial nations were able to maintain power over developing African countries.²⁰⁰

According to Nkrumah, a United States of Africa was the only way that African countries would be able to defend themselves against neocolonialism and the threat of balkanization, as well as separate Africa from becoming Cold War pawns. Dictated by three objectives, African unity consisted of complete independence in Africa, disbanding neocolonialism and establishing an environment in which Africa would prosper. Unity required that each individual African nation forfeit their national autonomy, combine their economic and industrial development with all of Africa and follow the principle of positive neutralism in exchange for becoming part of a

²⁰⁰ Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* (London: Heinemann, 1965), xi; ix-xi; *The Spark*, eds., 76-77; 74-75; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 85-86; 147; 199-200; Peter S. Thompson, “Negritude and a New Africa: An Update,” *Research in African Literatures* 33 (2002): 148; Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, “Naturing the Nation: Aliens, Apocalypse and the Postcolonial State,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27 (2001): 632; James S. Wunsch, “Refounding the African State and Local Self-Governance: The Neglected Foundation,” *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 38 (2000): 502.

unified Africa that promised protection and peace. The prerequisite of surrendering national autonomy was an issue that many African nations fresh from their fight for independence were unwilling to concede.²⁰¹

Eager to begin the process of unifying Africa, Nkrumah assessed the independent nations to determine which African country was ready to form a union. Guinea, located on the northwest coast, became independent from France on October 2, 1958 under the leadership of the revolutionary Ahmed Sekou Toure and the radical Parti Democratique de Guinee (PDG). The French made a hasty exodus from Guinea, taking everything from money to office supplies leaving Guinea isolated, impoverished and vulnerable. In Toure, a devout socialist, Nkrumah found an ally who shared his belief in Pan Africanism and unity. Nkrumah extended Guinea an interest-free loan of £10 million from Ghana's depleting sterling reserves to fill Guinea's nearly bankrupt treasury and provided technical and administrative aid.²⁰² By coming to Guinea's aid, Nkrumah established a long political friendship and began to break down the barriers between French and British Africa.²⁰³

Ghana and Guinea took Africa and foreign Western powers by surprise when a month after establishing their political friendship, they announced the creation of the Ghana-Guinea Union on November 23, 1958. The two African nations shared neither the same language, culture, border, style of government, defense or foreign relations; however, both countries were willing to proceed with their ambitious union. The desires for union between the two nations

²⁰¹ Ibid.; *The Spark*, eds., 76-77; 74-75; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 85-86; 147; 199-200.

²⁰² Guinea never repaid Ghana for the loan. Toure believed that Guinea's offer of exile for Nkrumah after he was overthrown by a military coup in 1966 was Guinea repaying the debt owed to Ghana. Rooney, 148-149; Ali Al' Amin Mazuri, *Nkrumah's Legacy and Africa's Triple Heritage Between Globalization and Counter Terrorism* (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 2004), 44.

²⁰³ Meredith, 67-69; "Union to Involve Two New States," *New York Times*, November 24, 1958; Lansine Kaba, "Guinean Politics: A Critical Historical Overview," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 15 (1977): 25-26; Mazuri, *Nkrumah's Legacy and Africa's Triple Heritage Between Globalization and Counter Terrorism*, 44; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 88-89; Rooney, 148; Botwe-Asamoah, 138.

were split, with Nkrumah focusing on a political union that supported Pan Africanism and positive neutralism. With Guinea fast approaching bankruptcy, Toure was more concerned with an economic union. What emerged was an agreement to combine their defense, foreign and economic policies under the guidelines of a union constitution. The Ghana-Guinea Union was to form the center of a larger Union of African States. Africans were not alone in their concerns regarding the Ghana-Guinea Union. A few of Ghana's foreign supporters, particularly Israel, showed outward trepidation about Guinea's radicalism and friendship with the Soviet Union.²⁰⁴

Nkrumah wanted to build upon the Pan African success of the Ghana-Guinea Union by organizing the All-African People's Conference (AAPC) in December 1958. Three hundred attendees representing sixty-two African nationalist organizations, as well as numerous foreign representatives participated, which made the AAPC the first all-inclusive nationalist gathering in Africa. The AAPC focused on the importance of conducting non-violent independence struggles, the necessity of African unity for the survival of the continent and ridding Africa of imperialism and racialism. At the conclusion of the conference, attendees felt encouraged about Africa's future. An organization bearing the same name as the conference was established in Accra to oversee the progression of African freedom and unity. Additionally, Ghana pledged to support all African freedom fighters with financial loans and gifts along with military and weapons training. Despite Nkrumah's commitment to nonviolence, he believed African nations needed to be prepared for aggressive action when peaceful protest did not result in independence. He used the armed revolutions underway in Angola, Algeria, the Rhodesias, Mozambique and Namibia as proof of the necessity for freedom fighters in decolonization efforts. Ghana opened

²⁰⁴ "Ghana and Guinea Agree to Join As Nucleus of Africa Federation," *New York Times*, November 24, 1958; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 103; "Guinea-Ghana Move 'Surprise' to British," *New York Times*, November 28, 1958; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 135; "Union of Ghana and Guinea," *London Times*, November 24, 1958; Botwe-Asamoah, 133; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 88; Russell Warren Howe, "Did Nkrumah Favor Pan-Africanism," *Transition* 75/76 (1997): 131; Rooney, 148-149; Esedebe, 169; Rake, 29-30; Levy, 161; Myer, 48.

enrollment to their schools and universities to African students and housed them in special hostels. Nkrumah knew the importance of former colonies possessing well-educated and trained citizens to run newly independent governments.²⁰⁵

Nkrumah envisioned Ghana as the leader of a united Africa; however, he was having trouble balancing his Pan African pursuits and Ghana's need to develop. He consistently voiced his belief that the economy Ghana inherited was poor and posed a clear threat to the nation's future. The First Five Year Plan instituted in 1951 focused on jump starting the Ghanaian economy through improvements and expansion of education, health, and communications. Nkrumah felt by 1958 the framework for industrial development was established and he began drafting his Second Five Year Plan. He focused on increasing production capacity, industrial development and expansion, increasing small businesses, rural improvement and increased production.²⁰⁶

Nkrumah promised the construction of 600 new factories to produce a variance of over 100 different goods that would foster widespread employment opportunities. Modern industrial growth was by far the concentration of this second phase. Tax and tariff incentives, such as the "Income Tax (Amendment) Bill" and the "Pioneer Industries and Companies Bill" of 1959, were

²⁰⁵ Myer, 37-51; 62-66; Tunteng, 43-44; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 86-87; Rooney, 149-150; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 130-131; Kennett Love, "Africans' Parley Urges a Boycott," *New York Times*, December 14, 1958; "Towards United States of Africa," *London Times*, December 6, 1958; Esedebe, 167-169; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 137; Quarm, 23-25; Meredith, 29; Kennett Love, "All-Africa Body Weighing Tactics," *New York Times*, December 10, 1958; "Tactics of African Nationalists," *London Times*, December 10, 1958; "African Conferees Elect Moderates," *New York Times*, December 6, 1958; Kennett Love, "'Violence' Policy Divides Africans," *New York Times*, December 7, 1958.

²⁰⁶ "Ghana Seeking U.S. Aid for Volta Plan;" "Ghana Leader Hails Foreign Investment," *New York Times*, December 30, 1958; S. Asamoah Darko, "The Development and Patterns of Manufacturing Industries in Ghana 1951-1965," in Kwame Arhin, ed., *The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah: Papers of a Symposium Organized by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon* (New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc., 1993), 294-295; Leonard Ingalls, "Ghana Spurring New 5-Year Plan," *New York Times*, November 29, 1959; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 111; Mikell, 182-183; 176; K.B. Asante, "Nkrumah and State Enterprises," in Kwame Arhin, ed., *The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah: Papers of a Symposium Organized by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon* (New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc., 1993), 257-258; Eisenhower, 567; "Broadened U.S. Aid Program for Ghana is Set Out as Premier Leaves Washington;" Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 169-174; 162; 165-166.

offered to Ghanaians willing to open new businesses. The “Local Industries (Customs Relief Bill)” passed in 1959 gave new industries discounts on customs duties. Unfortunately, the terms under which an industry was determined to be “pioneer” was left undefined and up to the determination of individual Ministers, which left the door wide open for corruption and bribery.²⁰⁷

In the agricultural sector, Nkrumah proposed irrigating the Volta River’s flood plain, improving the cocoa and grain industries, setting aside land for rubber and banana plantations and establishing a cattle industry. Machinery, spare parts and tools were imported to aid in agricultural and industrial diversification, paid for from the earnings of a cocoa export tax. The export tax, along with the government imposed “voluntary contribution” of seventeen percent per load of the production price of cocoa was extracted from the already struggling cocoa producers to help fund projects under the plan. The government’s development funds were rapidly depleting, but despite this, the Second Five Year Development Plan was approved by the Ghanaian Assembly on March 5, 1959, and was officially underway on July 1, 1959. Pamphlets that detailed every aspect of the plan were distributed in English and all ethnic Ghanaian languages to emphasize the necessity of hard work. Nkrumah promised this phase of development would be an economic revolution and a weapon against neocolonialism. Ghanaians were asked to save a portion of their incomes as a financial contribution to the nation’s development. To show their confidence in the success of the new plan, all CPP Ministers and Ministerial Secretaries were required to give ten percent of their salaries to fund the plan.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ Ibid.; “Ghana Leader Hails Foreign Investment;” Darko, 294-295; Ingalls; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 111; Mikell, 182-183; 176; Asante, 257-258; Eisenhower, 567; “Broadened U.S. Aid Program for Ghana is Set Out as Premier Leaves Washington;” Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 169-174; 162; 165-166.

²⁰⁸ “Ghana Seeking U.S. Aid for Volta Plan;” “Ghana Leader Hails Foreign Investment;” Darko, 294-295; Ingalls; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 111; Mikell, 182-183; 176; Asante, 257-258; Eisenhower, 567; “Broadened U.S. Aid

Nkrumah agreed to allow the American Kaiser Company to assess the feasibility of the Volta River Project in the hope of obtaining Eisenhower's trust and ultimately American money. Kaiser finished its *Reassessment Report* in February 1959. The suggestions lowered the cost of the project by 30%, which made foreign lending more advantageous, and shortened completion time. The most controversial portion of the Report concerned the bauxite mining. Kaiser insisted that instead of mining bauxite from Ghana, semi-processed bauxite be imported from Jamaica and Australia and reduced in Ghana. The reason given was to allow Ghana to generate funds from the reduction of alumina in the short term and later use the revenue to expand at a future date. In reality, this enabled Kaiser to inexpensively produce aluminum to sell at higher profits. Little consideration was given to Ghana's low economic returns.²⁰⁹

National control over industry scared American lawmakers. In Nkrumah's original proposal, Ghana was to control all aspects of the plan, from the hydroelectric power, to the bauxite mines to the aluminum smelter. Kaiser's requirement that the aluminum smelter be operated by a foreign company left the selling of power as the only real revenue source for Ghana, which had only three clients to sell to; the mines, the Ghanaian public and the smelter. West Africa was rich in bauxite and the potential for hydroelectric power. In 1959 there were ten aluminum companies operating seven ventures in West Africa alone. Nkrumah felt cornered

Program for Ghana is Set Out as Premier Leaves Washington;" Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 169-174; 162; 165-166.

²⁰⁹ Noer, 62-66; Meredith, 38-43; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 122-123; 135; Hunt, "Soviet Woos Ghana With Trade Mission;" Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Dwight D. Eisenhower 1958: January 1 to December 31, 1958* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Federal Register, National Archives and Records Services, 1959), 211-213; Quarm, 75-76; "Ghana Seeking U.S. Aid for Volta Plan;" Jackson, 152-153; Tony Killick, "The Volta River Project," in Walter Birmingham, et al., *A Study of Contemporary Ghana: Volume One: The Economy of Ghana* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1966), 392-394; "The Volta River Project," 290-291; Volta River Authority, 3-4; Rooney, 156; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 115-116; 111; Robert Biel, *The New Imperialism: Crisis and Contradictions in North/South Relations* (London: Zed Books, 2000), 91; Leo Zeilig and David Seddon, "Marxism, Class and Resistance in Africa," in *Class Struggle and Resistance in Africa* (Cheltenham: New Clarion Press, 2002), 9-10; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 66; George White Jr., *Holding the Line: Race, Racism, and American Foreign Policy Toward Africa, 1953-1961* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005), 3-4; 20-21; 135; Birmingham, *The Decolonization of Africa*, 29; Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism*, 172-173; Rooney, 156; Lumsden, 118.

by Kaiser's demands, knowing they could take their business elsewhere, perhaps to Guinea whose aluminum production potential was far greater than Ghana's. Ghana was desperate for development and Nkrumah believed the project represented the nation's unity, purpose and hope. He suffered heavy national criticism for his agreement with Kaiser, primarily for his promises not to nationalize the dam or power plant and the allowance of foreign control over the smelter, which was viewed as a rejection of his socialist promises. Despite personal condemnation and Ghana's dangerously low development funds, Nkrumah went ahead and ordered work to begin at Akosombo on June 6, 1959.²¹⁰

Nkrumah believed Ghana was engaged in a two front war with economic reformation and Pan Africanism on one side and ending colonialism in Africa on the other. During this two front war, Ghanaians would be asked to struggle and sacrifice for ultimate victory. Economic reorganization and Pan Africanism were connected because of Nkrumah's desire to rid the continent of neocolonialism. Ghana needed to develop rapidly to be economically independent, but it was a costly venture. Nkrumah already committed £35 million to the Volta project and pursued other expensive development endeavors. Cocoa, after reaching record high prices in June 1958, dropped to record lows by January 1959. To combat the loss of income, cocoa farmers increased the amount of cocoa planted and harvested, which flooded the market and

²¹⁰ Ibid.; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 66-67; White, 3-4; 20-21; 135; Biel, 91; Birmingham, *The Decolonization of Africa*, 29; Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism*, 172-173; Rooney, 156; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 111; Lumsden, 117-118; Killick, "The Volta River Project," 397; "Africa Brightened by Aluminum," *New York Times*, December 28, 1959; Dzodzi Tsikata, *Living in the Shadow of the Large Dam: Long Term Responses of Downstream and Lakeside Communities of Ghana's Volta River Project* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 46-48; Noer, 63-68; Jean M. Due, "Agricultural Development in the Ivory Coast and Ghana," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 7 (1969): 641; Stephen Dzirasa, *Political Thought of Kwame Nkrumah* (Accra: Guinea Press, 1962), 81; Schwar, 669; Ingalls, "Ghana Spurring New 5-Year Plan;" Nina Davis Howland, ed., *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961-1963: Volume XXI: Africa* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1995), 341; Jackson, 155; S. K. Date-Bah, "Aspects of the Role of Contract in the Economic Development of Ghana," *Journal of African Law* 17 (1973): 266; Hador, 82; Essex, 60; Samuel Obeng, ed., *Selected Speeches of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah First President of the Republic of Ghana* (Accra: The Advance Press Limited, 1973), 157; Ann Seidman, "Prospects for Africa's Exports," *The Journal of African Studies* 9 (1971): 421; Henry Tanner, "Ghanaians Speed Volta Dam Plan," *New York Times*, June 28, 1959.

contributed to continued falling prices. With the nation's coffers quickly falling to empty and the price of cocoa rapidly declining, Nkrumah increased taxes and instituted a program of compulsory saving. Both of the policies resulted in widespread discontent, protests and strikes, especially between railroad and dockworkers.²¹¹

Nkrumah was convinced the answer to the nation's dissatisfaction was to restructure and strengthen the Party for Ghana's next phase, a socialist transformation. Tawia Adamafio, a Ghanaian journalist and respected lawyer, became the General Secretary of the Party in June 1959. Adamafio was a former member of both Busia's Ghana Congress Party and the *Ga Shifimo Kpee* before joining the CPP. In 1953, Adamafio compared Nkrumah to Adolph Hitler, calling the Ghanaian leader's rule a dictatorship. Surprisingly, by 1959 he became one of Nkrumah's closest supporters rising to become Minister for Presidential Affairs. He was appalled by the CPP's disarray since independence, noting a lack of discipline, contemptuous legislative representatives and a complete absence of Party ideological education. Adamafio began a reform program for the CPP, which included a crackdown on corruption, increased ideological education, reorganization of CPP headquarters and aligning the volunteer sector more closely to the Party's goals. Adamafio strongly encouraged Nkrumah to seek the aid and advice of the Eastern bloc.²¹²

With the Party reformation well underway, Nkrumah began the next phase of his leadership by consolidating his power and rule over Ghana. The Nkrumah government, under the leadership of Attorney-General Geoffrey Bing, published a White Paper on March 7, 1960,

²¹¹ Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 105-106; Due, 637; Powell, 184; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 69-70; 76; 78-79; Danquah, *The Ghanaian Establishment*, 66-67; Meredith, 184-185; Howland, 354; George Auerbach, "Big Crop Lowers Prices of Cocoa," *New York Times*, January 11, 1959; Due, 639; 642; Price, 171; "Drop in Cocoa Price is a Blow to Ghana; New Nation Must Diversify its Industry," *New York Times*, January 13, 1959.

²¹² Rooney, 170; 174; Botwe-Asamoah, 127; Meredith, 182-183; Ryan, 149-150; Danquah, *The Ghanaian Establishment*, 67.

that outlined the need for a Republican Constitution and government in Ghana. The change to a Republic would institute the philosophy of One Man – One Vote, which Nkrumah believed would eliminate suffering and oppression in Africa, beginning with Ghana. The “Preventive Detention Act” and other coercive measures meant the CPP was virtually unopposed in the Assembly by 1960. Nkrumah drew upon the dominance of the CPP and the fear of retaliation to secure compliance to his authority. Nkrumah believed the independence constitution was obsolete and inappropriate for Ghana’s current realities, whereas a new constitution would firmly entrench a fixed, secure and accepted African government to become a model state for African unification.²¹³

Nkrumah wanted the power to rest in his hands by consolidating the Chief Executive and the Head of State and to be popularly elected for a five-year term. The President would not be a member of the National Assembly, but he could address the Assembly and send messages to representatives whenever he wished. Under these terms, the President had power over war and peace, conduct financial negotiations and enter treaties without consulting the Assembly. Nkrumah felt that the role of a President provided Ghana with strong central leadership to aid the country in rapid development. The President could appoint or dismiss members of the Cabinet, civil service, armed forces and the judiciary, as well as possess the power of veto. Nkrumah continued to make African unity primary in his goals for Ghana’s future. Included in the draft of the Republican constitution was a clause that allowed for Ghana to relinquish her individual independence should a Union of African States become a reality.²¹⁴

²¹³ Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 83; 79-83; 85-86; Obeng, 31-35; Danquah, *The Ghanaian Establishment*, 60-62; Thomas F. Brady, “Shift to Republic Mapped by Ghana,” *New York Times*, April 5, 1959; Addo, 156; Rooney, 171-172; Ryan, 149; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 123-124; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 142-143; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 207-210; 233-235; Botwe-Asamoah, 128; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 81; 83-84; Davidson, 171; Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, 386-387; Rathbone, *Nkrumah and the Chiefs*, 151.

²¹⁴ Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 83; 79-83; 85-86; Obeng, 31-33; Danquah, *The Ghanaian Establishment*, 60-61; Thomas F. Brady, “Shift to Republic Mapped by Ghana,” *New York Times*, April 5, 1959; Addo, 156; Rooney, 171-

The Opposition held only 25 of the 104 seats in the Assembly. Opposition members strongly believed the creation of a President was nothing more than Nkrumah's attempt at obtaining authoritarian rule. The Opposition attempted to mount a defense in the Assembly, charging the new constitution destroyed the system of checks and balances by placing too much power in the position of the President. Chiefs also voiced their concern at Ghana becoming a Republic and worried that Nkrumah would use his power to do away with their traditional role in society. Nkrumah knew that pushing the Chiefs completely out of government would cause significant problems as many members of society still believed in the necessity of ancestral office. To remedy this, a clause entitled "Declaration of Fundamental Principles" was added to the new constitution, which guaranteed the role of Chiefs in society and the government.²¹⁵

By 1960, the Nkrumah government imprisoned over 300 members of the opposition under the "Preventive Detention Act" and Busia, a UP leader, had fled Ghana in 1959. Not to be intimidated, the UP campaigned against the new constitution and Nkrumah. The sixty-four year old Danquah was chosen to run against Nkrumah. In April 1960 a plebiscite was extended to the people to vote on the constitution and which candidate should be President. With an overwhelming 88.5% of the vote, Ghanaians accepted a republican constitution and Nkrumah won the Presidency with 89.1%. Rumors circulated suggesting ballot box tampering on the part of the CPP. Some academics have pointed to the CPP's massive bank accounts and formidable propaganda machine as reasons for their victory. However, one must consider that much of the opposition had been arrested and held without trial at the time of the plebiscite, fewer free

172; Ryan, 149; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 123-124; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 142-143; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 207; 233-235; Botwe-Asamoah, 128.

²¹⁵ Obeng, 33-35; Danquah, *The Ghanaian Establishment*, 60-62; Rooney, 171; Thomas F. Brady, "Shift to Republic Mapped by Ghana;" Ryan, 149; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 142; Botwe-Asamoah, 128; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah, A Biography*, 123; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 81; 83-84; Davidson, 171; Austin, *Politics in Ghana 1946-1960*, 386-387; Rathbone, *Nkrumah and the Chiefs*, 151; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 208-210.

opposition members meant fewer opposition votes.²¹⁶

Ghana officially became a Republic on July 1, 1960, with Nkrumah as President. The Asantehene, king of the Ashanti, bestowed upon Nkrumah the title of “Osagyefo,” which meant “Victorious Leader,” to symbolize all that Nkrumah had achieved for Ghana. The new title held more semblance and respect in Ghana than the non-African title of President. Once secured in his new position, Nkrumah quickly declared the CPP the only political party in the country, crushing the opposition. Nkrumah contended a multi-party system fostered regionalism, factionalism and rivalries in Africa. He replaced the Ghanaian flag with the CPP flag. He positioned the nation closer to the Soviet Union by accepting financial assistance for Ghana’s development projects. The independent nation of Ghana was seeming more like the nation of Nkrumah, who plummeted further into authoritarianism after declaring Ghana a Republic. The leader of common men increased the chasm between the needs of the people and his own desires for Ghana’s future.²¹⁷

After the formation of the Republic, Nkrumah was quick to insert the nation into one of the continent’s most tragic independence struggles. The central African country of the Congo won its independence from the paternalistic and viciously oppressive Belgium on June 30, 1960.²¹⁸ The Congolese possessed little knowledge of how to run a government. The radical

²¹⁶ Obeng, 33-35; Danquah, *The Ghanaian Establishment*, 60-62; Rooney, 171; Thomas F. Brady, “Shift to Republic Mapped by Ghana;” Ryan, 149; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 142; Botwe-Asamoah, 128; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 123; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 81; 83-84; Davidson, 171; Austin, *Politics in Ghana 1946-1960*, 386-387; Rathbone, *Nkrumah and the Chiefs*, 151; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 208-210.

²¹⁷ Powell, 164; 163-164; Berry, 33; Rooney, 171-173; 175; Botwe-Asamoah, 128-130; Murapa, 284-287; 290-292; Noer, 64; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 235; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*. 119-120; 125; Hadjor, 84; Haizel, 73; Dzirasa, 87; Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 94; Addo, 158; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 130-131; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 161-163; 166-168; 172-180; *The Spark*, ed., 68; Hagan, 200.

²¹⁸ For an in-depth background on the Congolese colonization experience and independence struggle consult Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Congo: From Leopold to Kabila: A People’s History* (London: Zed Books, 2003); Piero Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959-1976* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), pp. 57-77 and 101-124; Martin Meredith, *The Fate of Africa: A History of Fifty Years of Independence* (New York: Public Affairs, 2005), pp. 93-116, 293-309 and 524-545; Kwame Nkrumah, *Challenge*

nationalist Patrice Lumumba, the popularly elected Prime Minister, was a long-time friend of Nkrumah and a follower of Pan African unity and nonalignment. As one of Africa's "prison graduates," Lumumba, like Nkrumah, spent time incarcerated prior to the nation's independence. Nkrumah and Lumumba formed a diplomatic friendship with Ghana sending aid to the Congo during the tumultuous transfer of power. Lumumba's coalition government suffered from poor leadership, power struggles and an inability to curtail the separatist movements. The Congo launched into violent chaos a few days after independence. Belgian troops intervened in the Congo on July 10, causing Lumumba to ask for UN assistance. UN assistance came with a steep price for Lumumba, who opened the door to powerful foreign Western governments who did not support the socialist revolutionary Lumumba. Unfortunately, Lumumba invited the Cold War into the Congo's backyard.²¹⁹

Nkrumah was concerned that the Congo's wealthy natural resources would end up in the hands of the neocolonialists should the Congo remain divided. The Congo possessed large amounts of the world's cobalt, copper, zinc, diamonds and rubber plantations. Nkrumah wanted the Congo's wealth in the possession of a united Africa. He began to give advice to Lumumba on the importance of establishing a strong central government and the necessity of generating revenue immediately or risk losing the favor of the people. Assuming the young Lumumba was unaware of how a government should function, Nkrumah outlined for him exactly how to structure and operate a government. He finished his correspondence with a stern warning to Lumumba, stating that, "If you fail, you have only yourself to blame and it will be due to your

of the Congo (New York: International Publishers, 1967); and Michela Wrong, *In the Footsteps of Mr. Krutz: Living on the Brink of Disaster in Mobutu's Congo* (New York: Perennial, 2001).

²¹⁹ Piero Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959-1976* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 61; Rooney, 206-207; Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Congo From Leopold to Kabila: A People's History* (London: Zed Books, 2002), 82; 63; 94-95; 96-99; 84; 87; Kwame Nkrumah, *Challenge of the Congo* (New York: International Publishers, 1967), xvi; 11-16; 18-20; 66-69; Meredith, 98-100; 103; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 144-147.

unwillingness to face the facts of life ... Your failure will be a great blow to the African liberation movement” Nkrumah did not have a lot of faith in Lumumba’s capability to fight the neocolonial threat in the Congo and was fearful that the loss of the Congo would deliver to unity efforts. However, Nkrumah’s words were clearly not the encouragement the young and inexperienced Lumumba needed from his fellow African leader while civil war raged in the Congo.²²⁰

The UN Security Council sent a peacekeeping mission to the Congo, which consisted largely of an African military contingent. Nkrumah committed a battalion of Ghanaian troops, to the UN effort on July 13, 1960. He felt strongly the Congo dispute needed to be handled by a UN military contingent comprised of troops from independent African states to avoid further neocolonial domination on the continent. Nkrumah believed the independent African nations could reach a peaceful solution to the Congo crisis without outside foreign troops.

Unfortunately, Nkrumah quickly became disillusioned with the UN mission in the Congo and the duties assigned to the Ghanaian contingent. He repeatedly reached out to UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld, angered and embarrassed over what he viewed to be the UN’s intentional undermining of Ghana’s relationship with the Congo and quest for African unity. Taking matters into his own hands, Nkrumah summoned Lumumba to Accra for a meeting on August 7, 1960. The next day the two African leaders signed two agreements. The first was an agreement between Ghana and the Congo to institute a military African High Command to eliminate Belgian forces from the Congo and restore the Congo’s sovereignty should the UN effort fail. The second was a secret agreement to form a Ghana-Congo Union. Nkrumah feared that if the Congo fell to neocolonial interests it would create a domino effect among other struggling

²²⁰ Nkrumah, *Challenge of the Congo*, 46; 38-55; 61; 72-73; vii; xvi; 11-12; 14-15; 66; Meredith, 94-97; 101; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 144-146.

African nations. The Congo crisis to Nkrumah was a blatant example of the balkanization of Africa. However, Nkrumah's commitment to the Congo pulled Ghana into a current of African conflict it was unprepared to solve.²²¹

The more radical independent African nations came together in Casablanca, Morocco from January 3-7, 1961, to collaborate an African response to the Congo crisis. The leaders of Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Libya, Morocco, Egypt and Algeria debated withdrawing their military aid for the UN effort in the Congo. The Casablanca Powers, as they were known, hoped to force the UN to declare Lumumba's government legitimate and oust the Belgian forces. Nkrumah disagreed with complete removal of African troops from the Congo, but he was outnumbered and the decision was made to withdraw African troops. Nkrumah responded by continuing to send Ghanaian soldiers to the Congo. After the decision on troop withdrawal, discussion moved away from the Congo and turned to important issues concerning Africa's future and unity. The Casablanca Powers published the African Charter of Casablanca to affirm their beliefs in African unity, nonalignment, cooperation and African liberation. They resolved to form an African Assembly with representatives from each African state. An African High Command to handle African defense was outlined as well. The Charter also created four committees each charged with an aspect involved in the creation of African unity.²²²

The positive efforts of the Casablanca Conference were soon overshadowed by the assassination of Prime Minister Lumumba on January 17, 1961. African nationalists mourned the loss of the radical patriot. Nkrumah was outraged by the assassination of his friend and

²²¹ Meredith, 103-104; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 144-147; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 112-113; Nkrumah, *Challenge of the Congo*, 21; xvi; 13-16; 21-26; 28-31; 36; 42; 95-98; Rooney, 207.

²²² Nkrumah, *Challenge of the Congo*, 98-107; 109-110; Esedebe, 178-179; K. van Walraven, *Dreams of Power: The Role of the Organization of African Unity in the Politics of Africa 1963-1993* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1999), 108-109; Levy, 163; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 92-93; Rooney, 211; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 138-139; Alfred Zack-Williams, "Peacekeeping and an 'African High Command': 'Plus Ca Change, C'est La Meme Chose,'" *Review of African Political Economy* 24 (1997): 132-133; Dzirasa, 61-65; Zack-Williams, 132-133; van Walraven, 108.

fellow leader. In an impassioned radio address, Nkrumah blamed Lumumba's murder on the UN's ineffectiveness to restore law and order and their inability to protect Lumumba. He warned Ghanaians that the Congo was an example of the evils of imperialism and how far the West would go to engage in neocolonialism. On a personal level, Nkrumah became quite paranoid after Lumumba's death and worried he was the next neocolonialist target for assassination. The Congo crisis consumed the majority of President Nkrumah's time from 1960-1965. What concerned Nkrumah the most regarding the Congo was not the possibility of civil war between Africans, but rather war ignited by colonial regimes that used Africans as puppets or pawns. Africa became a Cold War playground, where Western and Eastern regimes interfered in ongoing conflicts within newly independent African nations to the detriment of African progress.²²³

The Congo Crisis was a stark reminder to Nkrumah of the necessity of a strong central government under his leadership. He campaigned on the promise to create a socialist nation that would be economically, politically and socially prosperous. He believed the only way to ensure his leadership and Ghana's prosperity was for Ghanaians to submit to a socialist education, particularly his personal theories on socialism. For this purpose, the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute in coastal Winneba, forty miles west of Accra, opened on February 18, 1961. The curriculum centered around Nkrumah's writings and speeches, making the leader the absolute authority on African socialist thought. Nkrumaism was presented as the only method equipped to combat imperialism and neo-colonialism. All Central Committee members,

²²³ Nkrumah, *Challenge of the Congo*, 55; 89-90-91; 117-126; 128-131; 134-135; 141-142; 63-64; 72-73; Meredith, 108-113; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 106; 110-112; Gleijeses, 61-62; Rooney, 209-210; 157; 159-160; 175; Powell, 137-140; Obed Asamoah, "Nkrumah's Foreign Policy 1951-1966," in Kwame Arhin, ed., *The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah: Papers of a Symposium Organized by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon* (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc., 1993), 235; Department of State Telegram, February 15, 1961, Container 448, W. Averell Harriman Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Ministers and CPP members were required to take courses at the Institute. Outwardly, Nkrumah stated his intentions for the school was to be a haven for African freedom fighters and socialist education. However, it would seem that the Institute marked another avenue for Nkrumah to feed his ever growing ego. It is not surprising that the Institute, with its limited curriculum, was unable to entice highly ranked students or gain intellectual notoriety. The Institute was closed after the February 1966 coup that overthrew Nkrumah.²²⁴

Rumors of unmanageable corruption, nepotism and coercion by the CPP leadership and representatives had spread throughout the country. Government Ministers gave favorable contracts and job postings to family and clan members in exchange for a cut from any profits. CPP officials extorted money, favors and protection from businessmen, market-women, civil servants and farmers. Import licenses were rarely granted to any business that did not grease the Party's palms beforehand. Prominent CPP leaders built numerous extravagant homes furnished with expensive imported exotic antiques and owned multiple foreign-made vehicles. Nkrumah's favored Minister of the Interior, Edusei, owned twenty-seven houses. The image of the CPP was very important to Nkrumah, but he remained unmoved by the rumors. CPP reformists convinced Nkrumah that the issue demanded immediate attention. He addressed the nation in his infamous "Dawn Broadcast," also known as Nkrumah's "Sermon on the Mount," on April 8, 1961. He asked Ghanaians to continue their support of the socialist transformation and to help reform the CPP with fresh membership. Guilty CPP members were denounced for their flagrant displays of wealth. Members of government were no longer allowed to participate in industrial or

²²⁴ Powell, 164; 163-164; 192; Berry, 33; Rooney, 171-173; 175; Botwe-Asamoah, 128-130; Murapa, 284-287; 290-292; Noer, 64; Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 235; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*. 119-120; 125; Hadjor, 84; Haizel, 73; Dzirasa, 87; Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 94; Addo, 158; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 130-131; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 161-163; 166-168; 172-180; *The Spark*, ed., 68; Hagan, 200.

commercial ventures in Ghana.²²⁵

A Committee of Inquiry was established to probe into Party members assets, property, houses, automobiles and mistresses. Nkrumah warned any member found guilty would be forced to resign and hand over any assets obtained illegally. Many of those involved in government corruption believed they had nothing to be ashamed of and advocated the status quo remain. Those guilty convinced Nkrumah to back down from his crusade and silence the Party reformists. The committee's investigations did not go far nor were findings ever published and the corrupt practices continued unimpeded. Nkrumah remained content to allow the governmental corruption as long as those involved carried a low profile. Not wanting to display his own role in corruption and bribery, Nkrumah laid the blame on imperialists and neocolonialists attempting to discredit his regime. Secretly, Nkrumah used the evidence collected to blackmail guilty CPP members and Ministers primarily to ensure loyalty to his leadership.²²⁶

The 1960s was an era of independence for many African nations and Nkrumah hoped to expand his union with Guinea. Unfortunately, many of Africa's new leaders disagreed with Nkrumah's leadership style and found the President to be arrogant and his character suspect. Nor did they agree with Nkrumah's stance on African unity and were unwilling to forfeit their newly acquired independence to join a union with Ghana. Luckily for Nkrumah, he was able to find an ally in Mali. In April 1961 Nkrumah successfully extended his union with Guinea to include Mali, renaming the coalition the Union of African States (UAS). Nkrumah hoped that

²²⁵ Ryan, 151-152; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 159; 151-159; Addo, 156; Rooney, 176; 196; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 121; Murapa, 293; Meredith, 183; Hadjor, 86-87; Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 68-69; *The Spark*, ed., 66.

²²⁶ Ryan, 151-153; S. Asamoah Darko, "The Development and Patterns of Manufacturing Industries in Ghana 1951-1965," in Kwame Arhin, *The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah* (Trenton: Africa World Press, Inc., 1993), 296-297; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 159; 151-159; Addo, 156; Rooney, 176; 196; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 121; Murapa, 293; Meredith, 183; Hadjor, 86-87; Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 68-69; *The Spark*, ed., 66.

the new alliance would become the center of the United States of Africa. The three nations agreed to unite their government, economy and foreign policy to strengthen the quest for unity. The UAS Charter also reaffirmed the participant nations' pledge to African socialism. The three nations committed to meeting regularly to maintain and strengthen their union. Allowances were provided in the Charter to open the union to other African nations. Nkrumah believed that by creating the UAS he would demonstrate to the rest of Africa that unity was possible. It is worth noting that Nkrumah united three nations with very different backgrounds, cultures and languages. He attempted to show Africans that there were more qualities that united them than separated them.²²⁷

A new budget for the Ghanaian Republic was introduced on July 7, 1961. The government proposed an expenditure of £128,042,130, an increase in excess of £55 million. Ghana was already burdened by a national debt of £29 million. Nkrumah's rapid development was bleeding the government's coffers at a rate the taxpayers were unable to maintain, especially with little increase in their incomes. Massive lay-offs and an exorbitant rise in the cost of living accompanied the new budget. To obtain the necessary funds, Nkrumah announced a policy of compulsory saving and increased taxation. A ten percent income tax on every load of cocoa was also instituted, which combined with the low cocoa price led to a depressed standard of living for most farmers. Many Ghanaians viewed the measure as a way for the government to impose a massive tax on the people. Regardless, Nkrumah felt the extra financial measures were fair considering what the Ghanaian people would gain in return. Ghanaians quickly became weighed down by unyielding taxation, food shortages and an unreasonable increase in the cost of living, which created an environment of instability and protest. Seizing the opportunity, the United

²²⁷ Rooney, 205-206; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 142-143; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 89-91; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 136-138; Botwe-Asamoah, 133.

Party held an international press conference to inform the world of Ghana's financial plight, charging that the people had lost their faith in the government. They demanded Parliament be recalled to form a National Development Commission to oversee Ghana's further development. The CPP's previous three development plans were implemented without ever consulting a Planning Commission.²²⁸

Outraged, Nkrumah suspended the Second Five-Year Development Plan and recalled Parliament to form a State and National Planning Commission. Nkrumah did not intend to let the actions of the United Party leadership go unpunished. Four months after the UP press conference, Nkrumah ordered Ghanaian police to arrest Danquah and his accomplices. Also arrested were the editors for the independent Ghanaian newspaper, the *Ashanti Pioneer*. In total, fifty arrest warrants were issued that day.²²⁹

Nkrumah once again abandoned Ghana during a tumultuous time to tour the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China. Nkrumah, accompanied by a six member Ghanaian delegation, left on July 9, 1961. Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev rolled out the red carpet to impress Nkrumah and his delegation. Nkrumah and Khrushchev met frequently to discuss ways the Soviets could aid Ghana. Six communist countries offered loans to Ghana for development at a three percent interest rate for twelve years, more attractive than the loan from the West. Nkrumah was playing a dangerous game with a vulnerable country during the heat of the Cold War. He was even more naïve to believe that Ghana, and Africa, could obtain aid from both the East (Soviet Union) and the West (United States) and by doing so, he could bring the two sides

²²⁸ Rooney, 174; 176-177; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*; 69-70; Powell, 164; Mikell, 186; 189; Danquah, *The Ghanaian Establishment*, 63-65; 69-71.

²²⁹ Rooney, 176-177; Powell, 164; Danquah, *The Ghanaian Establishment*, 63-65; 69-71.

together for the betterment of Africa.²³⁰

In the Soviet Union Nkrumah believed he saw a nation that was once backward, transformed into a progressive industrial state because of socialist development. He wanted for Ghanaians what he felt the Soviet Union provided for its citizens; education, nutrition, clothing, housing and leisure. According to Nkrumah, for Ghana to become successful the country needed to undergo a complete overhaul of their economy, society, culture and education and replace it with socialism. He understood that an economic transformation would further the large financial deficit Ghana already possessed. In his eyes, the impending deficits were a method for which to measure the nation's development progress. Nkrumah warned the country that socialism needed to be sacrificed and worked for; it was built by the people for the people. Nkrumah feared continued growth of the private sector would eventually lead to the creation of newer and stronger opposition parties to challenge his rule. Therefore, private industry was to be purged and replaced with national cooperation and a diverse and mechanized agricultural sector.²³¹

During Nkrumah's lengthy tour through the Soviet Union, a general strike led by railway and harbor laborers in the western towns of Sekondi and Takoradi broke out on September 4, 1961. The western region of Ghana was the hardest hit with economic hardships. The strikers were angered over low wages, higher taxes, unsafe working conditions, dismal housing and development economic policies. The strike lasted seventeen days and posed the biggest defiance to Nkrumah's government. Nkrumah believed the strike was proof of wider involvement by opposition politicians who used the widespread anger among Ghanaians over the new budget to

²³⁰ Powell, 165; 184; Asante, 260-261; Rooney, 177-178; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 181; 183; 185; 190; Tony Killick, "Agriculture and Forestry," in Walter Birmingham, et al., ed., *A Study of Contemporary Ghana: Volume One: The Economy of Ghana* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1966), 215; E. N. Omaboe, "The Process of Planning," in *Ibid.*, 450-451; Esseks, 61; Meredith, 185.

²³¹ *Ibid.*; 184; Asante, 260-261; Rooney, 177-178; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 181; 183; 185; 190; Tony Killick, "Agriculture and Forestry," in *Ibid.*, 215; E. N. Omaboe, "The Process of Planning," in *Ibid.*, 450-451; Esseks, 61; Meredith, 185.

further their plans to overthrow the government. Strikers demanded a retraction of the budget requests for 1961, an end to the “Preventive Detention Act” and for labor to have control over the government. Nkrumah responded to the strikes by placing Sekondi-Takoradi under a state of emergency, imposed a curfew and declared the strike illegal. Conditions in Sekondi-Takoradi continued to deteriorate and Nkrumah responded by arresting strike and opposition leaders and imprisoned them without trial under the “Preventive Detention Act.” CPP members infiltrated the railways unions and used coercion, force and bribery to put an end to the strike. Unions were expected to support socialist efforts, nationalization of business and strongly encouraged to abandon regional concerns. Nkrumah’s African socialism quickly became associated with state entrepreneurship.²³²

Any CPP Minister that showed signs of wavering on their commitment to the Party’s strategy concerning the strike, were fired. Most notable was Nkrumah’s Minister of Finance, Komla Gbedemah. Gbedemah and Nkrumah split over Nkrumah’s increased movement toward the Eastern bloc, widespread CPP corruption and the government’s response to strikes. Once a long time supporter of Nkrumah, Gbedemah had organized the CPP campaign for the 1951 election that brought the imprisoned Nkrumah to the head of government. Gbedemah gained the respect of American politicians, a relationship he attempted to exploit during a trip to Washington, D.C. in March 1961. Gbedemah warned National Security Advisor Walt Rostow and President John F. Kennedy of the increasingly close relationship Nkrumah sought with the Communist bloc. In addition, Gbedemah had a front row seat to Nkrumah’s extravagance with the people’s money. Gbedemah’s concerns grew after Ghana became a Republic and the new constitution granted the President more control. Ghana’s treasury was in such dire straits by

²³² Ibid.; Due, 637; Powell, 184; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 69-70; 75-76; 78-79; Danquah, *The Ghanaian Establishment*, 66-67; Meredith, 184-185; Howland, 354.

1961 that Gbedemah could not balance the budget. Nkrumah consistently questioned whether Gbedemah could be trusted and worried the Minister had set his sights on the Presidency. Nkrumah asked for Gbedemah's resignation in September 1961 and Gbedemah began to fear for his safety. On October 24, Gbedemah fled Ghana disguised as an Arab businessman.²³³

Nkrumah unwisely continued his insistence that dissent within Ghana was nothing more than evidence of a neocolonialist attempt to maintain its control on the nation rather than face his own blame in the matter. Nothing would stand in the emboldened leader's way from beginning Ghana's socialist economic transition. Rapid industrial development and the creation of state industries, which included the mechanization and diversification of agriculture, were viewed as the only means to progress Ghana's economy. Funds for the plan were initially to be drawn from budget surpluses, taxes and local contributions and later to come from continued taxation of the limited private business sector and income generated from increases in productivity. Unfortunately, during the 1960s Ghana suffered under low international trade prices, both in decreased prices of export goods and through the nation's dependence on imported goods whose prices increased by eighty percent. The previous development plans fell victim to poor coordination and communication between the government and state agencies resulting in more money spent on development than budgeted and inefficient and non-urgent projects taking precedence. Nkrumah knew that in order to achieve his ambitious socialist transformation a new plan for rapid development was required that focused on importance and financial return.²³⁴

²³³ Rooney, 175-176; 157-159; 161-164; Meredith, 185; Botwe-Asamoah, 126; Tsikata, 48; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 110; Howland, 343-344; 346-348; Thomas F. Brady, "Big Power Project is Revived in Ghana," *New York Times*, April 15, 1959; Hadjor, 82; Noer, 63-67; Howland, 343-344; 352; 358-359; 363; Lumsden, 117; Obeng, 156-157; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 66-67; Ryan, 153; Hagan, 199; Meredith, 185.

²³⁴ Mikell, 186; 176; Darko, 302; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 190; 194-195; 181-182; 189-191; 194; Rooney, 186; 183-185; Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 80; 87-88; 77-79; 85-86; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 109; 111; 123; Meredith, 185; 183-184; Seidman, 411-412; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah, A Biography*, 107-108; 106-107; 110; 112-114; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 70; 77; 79; Asante, 261-263; 257; Due, 641-642; 645; 638-639; Dzirasa, 79; Esseks, 59-61; Omaboe, "The Process of Planning," 452-455; Hadjor, 78-79; 76; E.N. Omaboe, "An

Nkrumah's previous development plans for Ghana garnered some success. Work had begun on numerous important civil engineering projects such as modern road, harbor and telecommunication network construction and the extension of the water supply, all of which was completed in 1964. Construction of the famed Volta River Project was well underway with its promise of economic potential. Major improvements were made to the nation's health care with a shift toward preventive medicine and endemic disease research. Improvements were made to existing hospitals, and new hospitals, clinics and rural health services were constructed. Perhaps the biggest achievement was made in the area of education; which Nkrumah viewed to be the direct link to Ghana's economic progress. A 1961 education act made primary and middle school compulsory in Ghana, which brought primary and secondary education to the northern regions for the first time. By 1965, Ghana had 9,988 primary and middle schools, 89 secondary schools, 47 teacher training colleges, 11 technical schools and 3 universities. All levels of education, including University, were free in Ghana, as well as textbooks up to secondary school. Individual Ministries, such as agriculture, forestry, health and the civil service, had their own educational training programs outside of the schools as well. A nation-wide literacy campaign combined with access to education led to Ghana having the highest literacy rate in Africa by 1966.²³⁵

Regardless of the successes of the previous two development plans, Ghana was in serious

Introductory Survey," in Walter Birmingham et al, ed., *A Study of Contemporary Ghana: Volume One: The Economy of Ghana* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1966), 27; Darko, 298; 303; *The Spark*, eds., 59-63; Auerbach, "Big Crop Lowers Prices of Cocoa;" Price, 171; "Drop in Cocoa Price is a Blow to Ghana."

²³⁵ Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 77-79; 85-86; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 181-182; 189-191; 194; Esseks, 59-61; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 121; 125; Rooney, 183-185; 199; Omaboe, "The Process of Planning," 452-455; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 70; 77; 79; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah, A Biography*, 106-108; 110; 112-114; Meredith, 183-184; Hadjor, 78-79; 76; Due, 638-639; Asante, 257; 261-263; Omaboe, "An Introductory Survey," 27; Darko, 298; 303; *The Spark*, eds., 59-63; Auerbach, "Big Crop Lowers Prices of Cocoa;" Due, 639; 642; Price, 171; "Drop in Cocoa Price is a Blow to Ghana;" Green, 270; E.A. Haizel, "Education in Ghana, 1951-1966," in Kwame Arhin ed., *The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah: Papers of a Symposium Organized by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon* (Trenton: African World Press, Inc., 1993), 59-60; 62; 65-70; Davidson, 159-160; 162-163.

economic trouble that resulted in widespread instability. Nkrumah's solution was to continue with his socialist plans, as he believed a complete socialist transformation would solve all of Ghana's problems. Industries such as public utilities, raw materials and consumer goods were moved under government control. It was hoped that industrial development fueled by the Volta River Project, would shift economic expansion away from the agricultural sector. Industries were encouraged to utilize raw materials found in Ghana whenever possible. Socialization was expected to transform Ghana into a modern state with an organized and capable agricultural and industrial sector.²³⁶

Ghana's agricultural sector desperately needed to modernize and mechanize to aid the nation in ending its dependence on imported goods. Nkrumah believed that state guidance over rural agriculture modernization would solve the problem of low production, yield, diversification, unemployment and poor centralized management. He envisioned large cooperative farms that allowed for mechanization and shared ownership of farming technology. The introduction of fertilization, seed variation, irrigation and education preceded mechanization. Farms in the underdeveloped northern regions were used for the primary purpose of producing the country's food supply, which imagined the incorporation of irrigation and water conservation.²³⁷

Ghana needed to move away from the customary practice of subsistence farming and develop commodity farming to provide food for the growing population, produce raw materials

²³⁶ Nkrumah, *Dark Days of Ghana*, 77-79; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 181-182; 189-191; 194; Esseks, 59-61; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 121; Rooney, 183-185; Omaboe, "The Process of Planning," 452-455; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 70; 77; 79; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah, A Biography*, 106-107; 110; 112-114; Meredith, 183-184; Hajor, 78-79; Due, 638-639; Asante, 257; 261-263; Omaboe, "An Introductory Survey," 27; Darko, 298; 303; *The Spark*, eds., 59-63.

²³⁷ J.A. Dadson, "Agricultural Development Strategy Under Nkrumah," in Kwame Arhin, ed., *The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah*, 308-310; Rooney, 190; Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 80-82; Killick, "Agriculture and Forestry," 225-227; 232; Omaboe, "The Process of Planning," 454; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 195-196; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 121.

for secondary industries and cultivate cash crops. By 1961, Ghana's population was 6.7 million with a growth rate of almost three percent a year, a level of demand that farmers were unable to sustain. Food prices were often expensive due to lack of production, improper food storage and inefficient distribution. In Nkrumah's economic plan, cooperatives eliminated the middleman, who represented the exploiter, and allowed for direct contact between the producer and the consumer. By eliminating the middleman, he believed that Ghanaians would be directly connected to production and prices would decrease. Farms were grouped to increase their size for mechanization and transformed into collectivized plots operated under centralized authority where the modes of production were united and incentives were applied to entice obedience.²³⁸

The United Ghana Farmers Co-operative Council (UGFCC) was formed in 1962 to organize farmers and fishermen into state cooperatives and to represent agriculture in government. Unfortunately, the UGFCC gained a bad reputation among farmers for a lack of offices, support and bribery by senior officials. The UGFCC was also known for obtaining contracts, machinery and foreign credit from unsuitable lenders and purchasing farming equipment incompatible with Ghanaian terrain. Of the 4,000 tractors and 7,000 farming devices imported by the UGFCC, fifteen percent were deemed unusable by 1965. The Council received £120 million over a five-year period from the government and numerous loans. Farmers received less than half of the money in either income or goods. Like all sectors of the Nkrumah government, there was little oversight or control over the corruption.²³⁹

In July 1962, the CPP's Party Congress in Kumasi published a pamphlet entitled "A Programme of Work and Happiness." The publication was a manifesto that contained over 200

²³⁸ Ibid.; Killick, "Agriculture and Forestry," 225-227; 232; LaVerle, 73; Omaboe, "The Process of Planning," 454; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 195-196; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 121; Due, 645-651; Dzirasa, 77; Rooney, 198-199; Meredith, 186.

²³⁹ Dzirasa, 89-90; Due, 642-644; Dadson, 310-312.

detailed goals for how Ghana would embark upon a socialist revolution. The pamphlet focused on Nkrumaism and equated Nkrumah with the “African Personality,” which suggested that going against Ghana’s socialist transformation was to go against Nkrumah. Rooted in African socialist philosophy, the right wing members believed Nkrumaism appealed to all sectors of society and fostered the CPP’s hero-worship of Nkrumah. Over half of the goals outlined dealt specifically with an economic transformation. Socialism was regarded as the only means to rid Ghana of the filth left after colonialism and purge the country of poverty, ignorance, disease, illiteracy and misery. Reform was to be quick and designed to break the country of its dependence on foreign goods. The CPP emphasized the importance of state control over production, planning and distribution of the economy in order to ensure efficiency and reliability.²⁴⁰

Radical members of the CPP began to take advantage of the widespread discontent in Ghana. Several unsuccessful coup and assassination attempts were carried out in the years following the Republic. One such attempt in particular changed Nkrumah’s relationship with his Party and Ghana as a whole. On August 1, 1962, Nkrumah stopped in the northern Ghanaian town of Kulungugu, after a state visit in Upper Volta (Burkina Faso) to speak to a group of school children. A young boy approached the President with a bouquet of flowers and just as he reached Nkrumah, a grenade exploded. The blast killed the young boy instantly and seriously injured Nkrumah, who was rushed to nearby Bawku Hospital. Nkrumah refused anesthesia, either out of martyrdom or paranoia, to remove the thirteen pieces of shrapnel from his back. Nkrumah and his advisors agreed that reports should focus on the deaths of the young boy and a policeman, as well as the several injured bystanders and not mention that the President was

²⁴⁰ Mikell, 186-187; 182-183; Addo, 157-159; Rooney, 184; Reginald H. Green, “Four African Development Plans: Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, and Tanzania,” *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 3 (1965): 253; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 106-107; Hadjor, 77; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 185-187; Omaboe, “The Process of Planning,” 451-453.

wounded. Nkrumah's stop in Kulungugu had been an impromptu decision; therefore, it was quickly deduced that the perpetrators were members of his party. Three trusted and influential radical CPP members, Tawia Adamafio, Ako Adjei and Cofie Crabbe, were arrested on August 28. The man believed to have supplied the grenade, Warrant Officer Edward Tetteh, a Ga from the southern region, committed suicide. The men were found not guilty in their first trial. Angered that the justice he wanted was not delivered, Nkrumah dismissed the judge and ordered a new trial. Not surprisingly the men were found guilty and sentenced to death in what was clearly a show trial. Wanting to appear as a merciful leader and hoping to regain some public favor, Nkrumah reduced their sentences to life in prison.²⁴¹

The Kulungugu incident increased Nkrumah's paranoia and moved away from his image as a man of the people. He no longer traveled in taxis, wore the traditional kente cloth or sat on the floor of mud huts to meet with Ghanaians. Instead, he sought refuge among his close circle of admirers. Rallies began to die off and were replaced with formal radio and television broadcasts. Even the Ghanaian press fell victim to government pressure, revering Nkrumah daily. This constant state of praise created a dichotomy around Nkrumah in which the President lost touch with the reality of Ghana's unhappiness, believing that critics were a result of neocolonial pressure. Vocal dissenters and the opposition were intimidated into silence by the constant threat of imprisonment. The people's fears were personified through the detention of 500 Ghanaians who were held under the "Preventive Detention Act." Nkrumah increased his anti-Western stance as well, even speaking out against Peace Corps volunteers. He accused all Americans working in Ghana of being employed by the CIA. Nkrumah was even distrustful of his own Party, which had grown beyond his control and plagued with corruption, nepotism and

²⁴¹ Botwe-Asamoah, 14; 127; Powell, 193-194; 211; 214; Rooney, 219-220; Meredith, 188-189; Simon Baynham, "Quis Custodiet Ipsos Custodes?: The Case of Nkrumah's National Security Service," *The Journal of African Studies* 23 (1985): 96; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 173; Levy, 168; Nkrumah, *Dark Days of Ghana*, 41.

violence. Factionalism and radicalism were major problems for the CPP in the 1960s, which gave way to Nkrumah replacing a number of CPP Ministers with devout socialists. Everyone in government was a suspect to Nkrumah who started questioning and accusing Ministers to assess their loyalty to his leadership and his government.²⁴²

Nkrumah returned to the only work he found comfort in, his relentless pursuit of a United States of Africa in 1963. The clear divisions within Ghana and the CPP instilled in Nkrumah the belief that unity had become critical. On May 22, 1963, 500 representatives from thirty African nations convened at a conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to discuss the reality of a union. Leaders across Africa agreed to put ideological differences aside to reach a compromise on how to achieve unity. It was hoped that a formal union would become a powerful voice for Africa on the global stage. Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie opened the conference with a sobering warning that success would be met with eternal reverence, but failure would mean the loss of unity forever.²⁴³

Nkrumah also spoke at the opening of the conference, imploring the attendees to adopt an African Charter that delegated the immediate formation of an African union. Nkrumah detailed his feelings concerning unity in his book *Africa Must Unite*, which was strategically released to coincide with the opening of the conference. He made sure that each delegate was given a copy to detail his message of total liberation of Africa and immediate unity, anything less would result in widespread poverty and the let down of every African. “The forces that unite us,” wrote Nkrumah, “are far greater than the difficulties that divide us at present, and our goal must be the

²⁴² Those who survived imprisonment under the “Preventive Detention Act” after the Kulungugu incident were released after the 1966 coup. Meredith, 188-189; 182; Rooney, 220-221; Levy, 168-169; Hagan, 200; Howland, 383; Victor Le Vine, “Corruption in Ghana,” *Transition* 47 (1975): 47; Nkrumah, *Dark Days of Ghana*, 41; 94; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 70; Asante, 268-269; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 161; Hagan, 203-204.

²⁴³ Meredith, 187; Reader, 666; van Walraven, 130-131; Meyer, 87-89; Esedebe, 192; Rooney, 223; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 100; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; Biography*, 95-96.

establishment of Africa's dignity, progress, and prosperity." Nkrumah always envisioned himself as the leader of a United States of Africa and he believed his persistence would gain him the honor. Unfortunately for Nkrumah, none of the other leaders agreed with his sense of urgency nor with Nkrumah's insistence that Africa subscribe to his brand of socialism. Many of the delegates felt that Africans needed time to find a common identity before unity could be successful. Nkrumah's suggestions at the conference were repeatedly turned down.²⁴⁴

After four days of constant meetings and debates, the delegates adopted a charter that created the Organization of African Unity on May 25, 1963. The OAU was charged with facilitating African unity, dispelling colonialism from the continent and to aid African nations in obtaining a better way of life. Leaders committed to collaborating their political, economic, diplomatic, health and education with all member nations. The new organization would be administered through a series of governing bodies beginning with the Heads of State and Government, a Council of Ministers, a General Secretariat and the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration. The sovereignty of each African nation was upheld, along with the promise not to interfere in a nation's internal affairs. Delegates were able to agree on the necessity for union, but failed to agree on the methodology. The OAU was more of a diplomatic union than the melding of sovereign nations into one; however, Nkrumah reluctantly accepted the formation because of its intention for further expansion. He believed the Charter provided the outline which would further economic integration and natural resource development on the continent. Nkrumah's critics among African leaders had become numerous by the time of the conference, leaving many to speculate that Nkrumah's support of the "limited" Charter had more

²⁴⁴ Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 221; 217-221; Esedebe, 192-195; Meyer, 89-90; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: Biography*, 96; Meredith, 187; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 100; van Walraven, 142-143; Asamoah, (Arhin), 240; Rooney, 223.

to do with the President wishing not to further his isolation.²⁴⁵

When Nkrumah returned to Ghana, his reputation among the people and his Party had not improved and the President's inability to achieve an immediate union at the OAU conference was yet another broken promise. A new attempt on the President's life came on January 2, 1964, by Seth Ametewe, a Ghanaian police officer hired by members of the opposition. Ametewe was posted on guard duty at Flagstaff House, the President's personal residence adjacent to Christiansborg Castle. Ametewe ambushed Nkrumah while the President walked to a waiting vehicle. Ametewe fired five wild shots at Nkrumah, but failed to make a strike. He then charged at Nkrumah hoping to hit the President with the butt of the gun. Nkrumah ran for the front of the house with Ametewe in close pursuit. Finally Nkrumah stopped, bravely faced his attacker and managed to pin Ametewe to the ground. The only injury Nkrumah received was a cheek bite. The would-be assassin was arrested and later hanged for the murder of Nkrumah's personal guard, Salifu Dagarti.²⁴⁶

Nkrumah turned his focus back to Ghana by launching a new plan for Ghana's development on March 11, 1964. The Seven Year Development Plan encompassed the CPP's "Programme of Work and Happiness" to restructure the nation's economy toward socialism with a projected five and a half percent annual growth rate. The Plan expected to eliminate unemployment and foster economic independence with a self-sustaining economy, increased production output and stability. The new plan concentrated on rapid growth in production and industrial development under the direction of a socialist revolution to create economic independence. The public and cooperative sectors were to increase their strength, especially in

²⁴⁵ Meyer, 90-103; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 249-275; van Walraven, 137-138; 143-147; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 96-97; Asamoah, 240; Howe, 132-133; Rooney, 222-224; Esebede, 194-197; Botwe-Asamoah, 134-136.

²⁴⁶ Botwe-Asamoah, 15; Powell, 199-200; 211; Baynham, 96.

terms of production, in order to ensure rapid expansion. The absence of a committed socialist majority in Ghana meant the country would maintain a mixed economy with the primarily expatriate public sector working in conjunction with private industry. Every Ghanaian was required to contribute, either monetarily or through technical ability. The new plan was widely unpopular among the overtaxed and overworked cocoa farmers, who saw no advantages for themselves. A large portion of development funding came from taxes levied on cocoa farmers and producers. As the price of cocoa fluctuated, the taxes increased and farmers found it difficult to keep up with their labor costs and their financial commitments to the government.²⁴⁷

During the implementation of the Seven Year Plan, Nkrumah sought counsel from supporters within his government and the CPP, from advisors in the Eastern bloc and from some of the world's leading economists. Nkrumah accepted aid from British and Western European development contractors who granted Ghanaian factories industrial machinery and equipment on credit. Unfortunately, most of the equipment supplied was old, refurbished, no longer made or unsuitable. Most of the credit extended to Ghana during her development period was given with high interest rates, excessive down payments and exorbitant export conditions.²⁴⁸

Emphasis and importance was placed on agricultural modernization, which included the use of technology, expanded areas for farming, restructured production, cultivation of inexpensive foodstuffs and widespread agricultural education. The early years of agricultural

²⁴⁷ Nkrumah, *Dark Days of Ghana*, 77-80; 87-88; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 181-182; 189-191; 194-195; 185-187; Esseks, 59-61; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 121; 109; 111; 123; Rooney, 183-186; Omaboe, "The Process of Planning," 451-455; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 70; 77; 79; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah, A Biography*, 106-108; 110; 112-114; Meredith, 183-185; Hadjor, 77-79; Due, 638-642; 645; Asante, 257; 261-263; E.N. Omaboe, "An Introductory Survey," in Walter Birmingham et al, ed., *A Study of Contemporary Ghana: Volume One: The Economy of Ghana* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1966), 27; Darko, 298; 302-303; *The Spark*, eds., 59-63; Mikell, 186-187; 176; 182-183; Seidman, 411-412; Dzirasa, 79; Addo, 157-159; Green, 253;

²⁴⁸ Darko, 303; 302; Rooney, 185-186; Esseks, 61-62; Dadson, 308-314; Mikell, 186; 176; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 190; 194-195; Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 80; 87-88; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 109; 111; 123; Meredith, 185; Seidman, 411-412; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 107-108; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 70; Asante, 262-263; Due, 641-642; 645; Dzirasa, 79.

socialism suffered from the lack of skilled managers and technicians, insufficient supplies and improper land acquisition due to the haste of the process's execution. Nevertheless, by 1964 over a million acres of land was acquired for socialized farming; however, only ten percent of the land was planted. Another failure of Nkrumah's agricultural socialization was the lack of change to the modes of production. While food crop production rose, along with increases in rubber, palm oil and coconut by 1965, the necessary industrial crop production remained unchanged. The raising of livestock did not progress either. Blame was found in poor seeding, stock supplies, organization, preparation and planning. Mechanization also experienced problems from defective equipment or a lack of trained technicians to operate the new machines. Revision to the socialization scheme for farming did not come about until 1965, but it was too late as Nkrumah was overthrown in 1966 and socialized agriculture was done away with.²⁴⁹

The Summit Conference for the OAU held in Cairo, Egypt on July 17-21, 1964, gave Nkrumah another opportunity to persuade African leaders to adopt unity. However, Nkrumah's favor among African leaders had waned even further since Addis Ababa. While Nkrumah made desperate pleas for an African union, he also detailed what he viewed to be the many failures of the OAU. He railed against the Liberation Committee for its lack of support for African freedom fighters. Nkrumah's hope to have an African union placed on the agenda was completely rejected by the leaders. Senegalese President Leopold Senghor publicly chastised Nkrumah for continuing to press the issue of a Pan Africa and informed the Ghanaian leader to accept defeat. To further embarrass Nkrumah, Ghana was not elected for a slot on the prestigious Liberation Committee.²⁵⁰

Nkrumah's shortcomings as a leader became more noticeable by the 1960s. He spent

²⁴⁹ Darko, 303; Rooney, 185; Esseks, 61-62; Dadson, 308-314.

²⁵⁰ Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 99-100; Rooney, 231-232; Botwe-Asamoah, 136-137; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 276-297.

more of his time away from Ghana fighting for a United States of Africa and less time attending to the needs of Ghana. The government's debt reached £184 million by 1963 and increased to £349 million just a year later. After 1964 it became more difficult to ascertain how far into debt Ghana continued to sink because of poor record keeping and incomplete government contracts. The price of cocoa plummeted in 1964 while farmers were harvesting high yields. The significant financial loss to farmers meant substantial losses for the government. Inflation continued to rapidly increase. In 1965, the government lowered the price paid to cocoa producers. Farmers continued to suffer under the reduced prices, finding they not only lacked the funds to harvest and distribute their crop, but failed to pay the government taxes. The financial troubles on the cocoa market trickled down to the newly expanded industrial sector eventually pushing the Ghanaian economy into a crisis situation. By 1965, the economic deterioration in the cities led to unrest and violence. The drastic drop in the standard of living in rural areas meant farmers responded by intentionally lowering rates of production. It was only a matter of time before the rural regions of the country erupted in crisis. Rural farms were responsible for growing over half of the food consumed by Ghanaians and cocoa revenue contributed to textile, transportation, health and service industries. As the economy suffered, regional disputes grew increasingly more poignant.²⁵¹

Nkrumah remained unable to reduce the nation's dependence on imported goods or replace them with domestically produced goods. Ghanaians sacrificed in the hope that the returns would result in a better way of life. The Seven Year Plan's failures were due to Nkrumah's decision to begin industrial development with larger heavier industries instead of smaller lighter ones. Virtually none of the state enterprises that were established produced economic returns. Projects undertaken during this era were all carried out on a large scale with

²⁵¹ Green, 271; Meredith, 185-186; Mikell, 186-188; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 67.

widespread misappropriation. Once thriving private businesses that were brought under state control met an almost immediate failure. When the 1965 economic crisis hit, it affected the cities first. Ghanaians lined up for hours for sugar, flour and milk in Accra, Takoradi and Kumasi. Adding fuel to the fire, a number of public and civil servants were guilty of acquiring imported goods and reselling them for outrageous profits. Economic problems furthered when Nkrumah was forced to institute wage cuts and salary freezes, resulting in strikes and protests throughout Accra. Nkrumah promised health care, education and food to every Ghanaian; however his primary focus on Pan Africanism frequently took him out of the country. Ghanaians felt abandoned by their leader who they felt needed to pay more attention to their needs. The people began to distance themselves from their once noble Messiah, who they viewed more as a monarch than a fearless leader.²⁵²

When Ghana became independent in 1957 it was the wealthiest sub-Saharan African nation, but after nine years under Nkrumah, Ghana was effectively bankrupt. Ghana no longer had the means to purchase materials necessary to revitalize the economy. Nkrumah approached development as if Ghana possessed endless amounts of money. The nation was plagued with exorbitant inflation, endemic unemployment, high taxes, food shortages, failed industries, fading agricultural sectors and unyielding debt. Government positions were often given to friends and supporters rather than qualified individuals. Mismanagement of funds, lack of skilled laborers and poor administrators all contributed to Ghana's economic downfall during the Nkrumah era. Nkrumah typically signed foreign contracts for credit without ever looking over the terms resulting in Ghana owing over £700 million in foreign debt. Nkrumah made desperate attempts in December 1965 to have payment schedules with the creditors revised, eventually agreeing to allow foreign companies to become further ingratiated in Ghana's industries. It was revealed in

²⁵² Mikell, 188; Rooney, 187-188; Hadjor, 79; 81; Esseks, 63-64; Hagan, 203-204.

1966 that Nkrumah personally held cash and property totaling £2,322,009 at the time of the coup. State businesses such as the Guinea Press, the Ghana Bottling Company and Star Publishing Company were notorious fronts for Nkrumah and trusted confidants to skim public money into personal bank accounts. Investigations revealed that Nkrumah earned £1.6 million by 1966 through these companies. Nkrumah contended that he was not corrupt because he took the money in the interests of Ghana and the CPP. An American investigator, Victor Le Vine, looking into Nkrumah's corruption believed the assassination attempt in Kulungugu pushed Nkrumah to a point mentally where he could not refuse the pull of dishonesty. It is hard to believe that the blame lies solely with Kulungugu given the proven bribery and corruption of the CPP that Nkrumah was involved with dating back to his early years in office.²⁵³

Nkrumah blamed Ghana's failed economic development on Africa's continued inability to unify. Regardless of the amount of natural resources or cash crops that each African nation possessed, they would never be able to sustain long-term development on a national level. Commodities traded on international markets are susceptible to large price fluctuations. The volatility of world market pricing meant economic unpredictability for African nations whose economies were based on income from individual natural resources or crops. The reliance upon such unstable revenue sources made budget and tax income predictions difficult to impossible for governments. Nkrumah warned that without unity governed by socialism Ghana would not be the only decolonized African country in economic crisis. As long as individual African countries attempted to develop their economies with their small populations and limited resources they would always be poor and subject to neocolonialism. The Volta River Project

²⁵³ Meredith, 186-187; Herbert H. Werlin, "The Consequences of Corruption: The Ghanaian Experience," *Political Science Quarterly* 88 (1973): 73-74; Esseks, 63-64; Rooney, 188-189; 194-195; 197; Mikell, 189-190; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 105-106; 114; Hajor, 79; 81; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 183; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 67; Esseks, 59.

generated large sums of foreign and domestic debt; however, it is regarded as one of Nkrumah's greatest achievements for bringing Ghana into the industrial age and delivering an inexpensive source of energy. Unfortunately, the other avenues of economic potential that gave the project local appeal were never discussed again. True nationalization of Ghana's industry only occurred in two sectors, cocoa marketing and timber.²⁵⁴

Nkrumah tempted fate once more with the OAU, hosting the annual conference in Accra on October 21-26, 1965. An ostentatious center was constructed specifically for the conference, which included sixty lavish suites, a 2,000 capacity banquet hall and multiple fountains with multi-colored light displays. Carrying a price tag of £10 million, Nkrumah hoped the complex would later become the capital of the United States of Africa, which he felt certain he could obtain at the conference. An East German security firm per Nkrumah's orders bugged every hotel, meeting and banquet room. Luxury food items and goods were imported for the conference at a time when yams and bread were a scarce luxury for Ghanaians. Such an expensive undertaking came about when Ghanaians were lining up for food, factories lacked raw materials, hospitals were out of supplies and state businesses were bankrupt. Unfortunately for Nkrumah, none of his red carpet treatments worked on the African leaders, a number of whom refused to attend in protest to Nkrumah's foreign policy and his support of African subversives. Of the African nations that attended the conference, only thirteen were represented by their leaders. Adding salt to his wounds, all of Nkrumah's calls for unity were steadfastly rejected. The leaders of Africa had delivered Nkrumah the message that his style of leadership and ideas for unity were no longer what Africa required.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁴ Mikell, 189-190; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 105-106; 114; Hadjor, 79; 81; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 183; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 67; Esseks, 59.

²⁵⁵ Meyer, 148-149; Meredith, 190-191; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 100-101; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 100-102; 157; Rooney, 232-236.

Nkrumah believed the opening of the Volta River Project would renew his image not only in Ghana, but in Africa as well because of the project's great industrial and economic potential. The Volta River Project was inaugurated on January 23, 1966, only a day after construction was completed. Nkrumah delivered an emotional speech before thousands of Ghanaian, Italian, American and British attendees. He promised that power would be delivered to neighboring Togo, Dahomey, Ivory Coast and Upper Volta. After his speech, Nkrumah flipped the switch to start the flow of electricity from the Volta through the five hundred miles of transmission lines. The Volta Lake spans 3,500 miles, or one-ninth the area of Ghana. Before the construction of the dam, 740 villages, towns, hamlets and farms lined the bank of the Volta River, affecting about 80,000 people. The Ghanaian government employed a massive resettlement effort that involved creating fifty-two new towns at the cost of £8 million. The relocation project meant the construction of fifty new towns and villages all equipped with new houses, piped water lines, electricity, schools and employment.²⁵⁶

A month after the inauguration of Volta and when the country was still engulfed in an economic crisis, Nkrumah left for Hanoi, Vietnam in a feeble attempt to act as an intermediary in the complicated Vietnam crisis. Nkrumah presumptuously wanted to present Ho Chi Minh with a proposal he drafted to outline an end to the Vietnam War. The President dismissed rumors that a coup was on the horizon and ignored the warnings of his advisors that leaving Ghana could be disastrous for his Presidency. He left on February 21, 1966, first stopping in Beijing, China and then traveling onto Peking. As his plane approached Peking on February 24, members of the Ghanaian military under the leadership of Lieutenant General J.A. Ankrah announced the end of the Nkrumah regime. The officers overthrew Nkrumah's guards at

²⁵⁶ Rooney, 165-168; Jackson, 154; 157-158; 160; Tsikata, 52; Alhassan, 1-2; 4; 12-15; 17; Volta River Authority, 4; Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 182; Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 83; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 116; Jackson, 158; Botwe-Asamoah, 146.

Flagstaff House and established their government, the National Liberation Council (NLC). The widespread governmental corruption and mismanagement, bankrupt economy and nationwide resentment for Nkrumah's government had finally caught up with deposed President. The NLC charged that Nkrumah was a communist who made Ghana a pawn of the Soviet Union and China. Crowds in Accra and Kumasi destroyed images of Nkrumah and tore down the Osagyefo's statute outside Parliament. The military regime burned all the Nkrumah and CPP publications they could get their hands on to ensure that the literature could no longer taint Ghanaians. Members of Nkrumah's government and his friends were arrested and questioned about their loyalty to Nkrumah. After hours of interrogation, Nkrumah supporters were often imprisoned or expelled from Ghana.²⁵⁷

The Chinese authorities informed Nkrumah of the coup. The overthrown African leader was understandably angered by the news, but outwardly projected a very calm demeanor. Nkrumah responded to the coup by distinguishing it as a rebellion and a neocolonialist "invasion." He called the coup leaders cowards for waiting until he had left Ghana before overthrowing the government. Nkrumah felt that one of his government's biggest mistakes was not diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe, but his continued relations with the West. He also believed it was not the creation of a socialist state that led to the downfall of his regime, rather it was the West's inability to see Africa as truly free of colonialism. When Western governments could no longer assert political control they opted for financial dependency. To Nkrumah, the 1966 coup was nothing more than Western nations

²⁵⁷ Jean Lacouture, *The Demigods: Charismatic Leadership in the Third World*, trans. Patricia Wolf (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 266-268; Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 9; Meredith, 191-192; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 109; Rooney, 251-255; Ghana Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, *Nkrumah's Subversion in Africa: Documentary Evidence of Nkrumah's Interference in the Affairs of Other African States* (Accra: Ministry of Information, 1966), iii-iv; June Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Conakry Years. His Life and Letters* (London: Panaf, 1990), 27-28; 112-113; Saaka, 264-265; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 175-181; 183; Levy, 170.

ousting their obstacle in Ghana and replacing him with a puppet state. The OAU was also blamed for fostering and continuing the disunity of Africa. In the many correspondences he sent to African leaders directly after the coup, the deposed President stated his belief that the leaders of the “rebellion” controlled the Ghanaian press and in fact that Nkrumah maintained the support of the people. Nkrumah chose to postpone his trip to Vietnam and not to return to Ghana for fear that his presence would start a bloody civil war. Nkrumah accepted the refuge offered by Guinean President Toure. He was hopeful that by retreating to Guinea he would be in close proximity to Ghana when his chance to return presented itself.²⁵⁸

The military regime that took power from Nkrumah in February 1966 attempted to reduce Ghana’s economic crisis by halting the Seven Year Development Plan and liquidating overseas assets. The industrial sector was placed under an automatic two-year “review period” during which the public sector broke apart and the private sector expanded. Inflation was at such a high rate by 1966 that economic growth was unable to keep up with the growth in population. The majority of state farms were sold off to private farmers to be cultivated. With Nkrumah out of the picture, Western governments began extending long-term credit and loans to Ghana once again.²⁵⁹

President Toure offered the deposed Nkrumah exile in Conakry, Guinea. The former Osagyefo arrived in Guinea on March 2, 1966 to a twenty-one gun salute. Toure not only provided safe haven for Nkrumah, but also extended the honorary title of Co-President. Nkrumah was accompanied by a seventy-nine member Ghanaian entourage that became the former President’s staff while in Guinea. Toure established Nkrumah in an old French colonial compound in the seaside town of Villa Syli with a contingent of guards, where security was an

²⁵⁸ Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 109-110; Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 9-19; 72-73; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Conakry Years*, 21-23; Meyer, 155-157; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 183-185; Rooney, 254-255.

²⁵⁹ Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 183-184; Hadjor, 83; Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 90; Due, 638; 659.

utmost priority. Nkrumah insisted his wife and children seek refuge in Cairo for their own safety.²⁶⁰

Nkrumah ruled Ghana for an astounding nineteen years before his government was overthrown. After his return to Africa in 1947, he was hailed as the leader who would deliver Ghana from colonial oppression, create economic and political prosperity and unify the continent. By 1951, Nkrumah was a national celebrity. Unfortunately, he entered Ghana's independence era impatient to begin his quest for a Pan African union at time when his country needed his full attention. As opposition to Nkrumah's rule amplified, he responded with increased irritation and oppression. His isolation, paranoia and inflated ego intensified, resulting in the rise of a despot and the death of his common man appeal. As the nation plummeted into bankruptcy and starvation, Nkrumah responded with higher taxes, expensive development plans and an unwanted socialist economic transition. When Ghanaians demanded answers from their leader, Nkrumah was often on one of his extended trips outside the nation, leaving the people to feel abandoned and angered. What became his obsession with creating a United States of Africa and his continued support of African freedom fighters and subversives isolated Nkrumah from other African leaders as well. It became quite apparent that Nkrumah was more content to agitate for a Pan African union than he was to be President of Ghana. The only one surprised by the 1966 coup was clearly Nkrumah, who had completely lost touch with the desires of both Ghanaians and Africans.

²⁶⁰ Meredith, 260; Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 120; Meyer, 159; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 186-188; 193-194; 196; Rooney, 254.

CHAPTER FIVE

A MARATHON LOST IN THE LAST QUARTER MILE

Retirement seemed to suit Nkrumah, whose personality changed from the introverted, paranoid leader he had become to an enthusiastic, jovial ideologue armed with the promise he once showed. He maintained his incessant writing, but also found time to play tennis, joke, dance and take lessons in French. He kept in constant correspondence with friends, colleagues, opponents and admirers, referring to himself as “Africa’s prisoner.” However, he remained hopeful he would one day return to the Presidency of Ghana. Writing in Conakry, Guinea on June 22, 1966, a still disillusioned Nkrumah expressed his belief the military coup occurred because neocolonialists could not allow a successful industrial and economically independent African nation to form a socialist government. He honestly believed that when neocolonialist propaganda did not sway the people, a coup became their only option to rid Ghana of his leadership. To Nkrumah, the coup was simply a roadblock, but had not derailed an African Revolution.

President Tore allowed Nkrumah to make regular radio broadcasts on Radio Guinea in the hope of reaching out to Ghanaians. In his address Nkrumah instructed Ghanaians to continue their resistance to the coup and to organize for his return. The deposed leader also continued his plea for an African Union. He published several works on how to create an African Revolution, while deploring Western neocolonialism. Unfortunately for Nkrumah, his supporters in Ghana were few and far between. Instead, he found friendship and support from the North Korean and Vietnamese embassies, where he frequently met with ambassadors and attended showings of

Communist propaganda films.²⁶¹

In the late 1960s, life for Nkrumah changed with the onset of poor health and the return of his extreme paranoia. He was convinced his mail was tampered with and plots to kidnap and assassinate him were underway. His fears were further validated after he received an anonymous cable from Freetown, Monrovia alerting him to a supposed £10,000 bounty for anyone willing to kidnap and return him to Ghana. In 1969, Nkrumah's health noticeably deteriorated with a series of unexplainable ailments and soreness. Suffering from intense pain in July 1970, a Russian doctor misdiagnosed Nkrumah with acute lumbago overlooking the rapid growth of cancer throughout Nkrumah's body. In August 1971, Nkrumah was secretly flown to Bucharest for treatment. As his condition deteriorated to grave, repeated requests were sent to Ghana asking that Nkrumah be allowed to return to his birthplace to see his mother before he died. All requests went unanswered. After months of intense agony, Nkrumah passed away in a Romanian hospital on April 27, 1972, at the young age of 62.²⁶²

The international Pan African supporters that Nkrumah still possessed at the time of his death were outraged that the African nationalist who led Ghana into independence died in an Eastern European country, denied his final wish to return to Ghana. His body arrived in Conakry on April 30 to a nationwide period of mourning instituted by Toure, who adorned Nkrumah's coffin with the words "The Greatest African." His coffin was displayed in the center platform of the People's Palace, covered by the Ghanaian flag. A state funeral was held on May 14 in Conakry, laying him to rest in Camayenne Mausoleum alongside Guinea's national heroes. In

²⁶¹ Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 120-121; 127; 131; Meredith, 260-261; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Conakry Years*, 38-39; 113; Meyer, 159-163; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 181; 205; 209-214; Rooney, 256-257; Nkrumah, *Challenge of the Congo*, viv-xi.

²⁶² Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 131-132; Meredith, 261-262; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Conakry Years*, 100-101; 381-383; 389-392; 410-415; "Nkrumah is Dead!!!," *The African World 2* (1972): 1; 14; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*, 196; 245-251; 255-257; 259-262; Rooney, 257.

his will, Nkrumah asked to be embalmed and displayed similar to Vladimir Lenin. His second option was for cremation with his ashes spread across Africa. Neither of Nkrumah's brazen requests regarding his remains were honored. The Ghanaian government demanded that Nkrumah's final resting place be on Ghanaian soil. However, Toure demanded that before Guinea would relinquish Nkrumah's body to Ghanaian authorities, Ghana's military government needed to reinstate Nkrumah's title of President, release all of Nkrumah's past associates from prison, allow all Nkrumah supporters who were exiled to return to Ghana and welcome the return of Nkrumah's remains with the ceremonial respect accorded to national leaders. After heated debates between Toure and the Ghanaian government, Nkrumah's body was returned to Ghana on July 7, 1972, and buried in Nkroful.²⁶³

Nkrumah died believing a call from Ghana reinstating his regime was imminent. The reality however, was Nkrumah's time as President had passed and his enemies far outnumbered his supporters. Nothing displayed this feeling more than the relatively bloodless coup that ousted Nkrumah from power, the virtually instant disappearance of the CPP and the ease with which Ghanaians accepted Nkrumah's removal. His immediate legacy was one of a despot who bankrupted the nation and squandered Ghana's potential to become a successful and wealthy African nation. His regime was remembered for its oppression and corruption. The widely feared and hated Preventive Detention Act resulted in thousands of Ghanaians imprisoned, many of whom were highly respected members of the African intelligentsia, such as J.B. Danquah, who died in prison. The more oppressive and paranoid Nkrumah became in the latter years of his rule, the less Ghanaians and Africans viewed him as the leader and unifier of common men. Nkrumah led Ghana into independence, yet after the success of the coup against him Ghanaians

²⁶³ Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 131-132; Meredith, 261-262; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Conakry Years*, 100-101; 381-383; 389-392; 410-415; "Nkrumah is Dead!!!," *The African World 2* (1972): 1; 14; Powell, 219-221; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 196; 245-251; 255-257; 259-266; Saaka, 265.

felt that freedom had finally reached Ghana. Instead of being remembered as the great liberator, Nkrumah and his promises of Pan African unity were regarded as nothing more than a myth.²⁶⁴

In the decades immediately following Nkrumah's death Ghana underwent multiple military and civilian coups. The constant change in governmental control did little to fix Ghana's mounting economic debt or to develop an export sector capable of generating the necessary tax revenue to run the country without relying on foreign loans. By 1980 Ghana's standard of living declined past the virtual bankruptcy of the Nkrumah years. Ghanaian industries barely functioned, allowing for the rise and domination of the black market. Crime skyrocketed along with starvation. By the late 1970s, a loaf of bread cost the average Ghanaian two-days wages and two weeks wages for a yam, a staple in the African diet. The educational improvements that were a hallmark of the Nkrumah era also diminished considerably in the late 1970s and 1980s. Sadly, violence and economic disintegration became a part of Ghanaian society. The bleak atmosphere in Ghana during the late 1970s allowed for a renaissance of Nkrumah's legacy. Amidst the decay of Ghana's potential its citizens harkened back to a time when Ghana possessed hope and promise. The charismatic Nkrumah was once again hailed as a majestic hero who delivered Ghana from colonial oppression. His unrelenting desire for Pan African unity was once again praised; however, still viewed more as an unattainable dream than something actually achievable.²⁶⁵

Ghana underwent extensive economic reform beginning in 1983 under the leadership of Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings. Manufacturing and food production increased and inflation began to fall. However, Ghana's foreign debt continued to rise and a crippling energy crisis ensued. Lingering periods of drought throughout the 1990s brought the Akosombo Dam to a

²⁶⁴ Rooney, 251-252; 233.

²⁶⁵ Meredith, 283-284; 371; James McCain, "Perceptions of Socialism in Post-Socialist Ghana: An Experimental Analysis," *African Studies Review* 22 (1979): 45; Rooney, 258.

critically low level, which affected Ghana's production of hydroelectric power and aluminum manufacture. Ghana since her independence in 1957 has experienced a great deal of turmoil, yet, she still represents one of Africa's more stable and economically viable nations. Several large monuments paying homage to Nkrumah have been erected in Ghana to commemorate his leadership. Supporters feel that Nkrumah brought a sense of pride and inspiration not only to Ghana, but to Africa as well. Standing in contrast to his supporters, many Ghanaians worry that revering Nkrumah will lead to a rewriting of history and the lessons of his many shortcomings and oppressive leadership will be forgotten and repeated.²⁶⁶

Nkrumah's cataloged mistakes were caused by his carelessness, inefficiency and arrogance. In his impatience to form a socialist African union he left both Ghana and his leadership vulnerable to the neocolonialist domination he warned against. Within months of achieving independence Nkrumah intensified his attack on his opposition by appointing Krobo Edusei to Minister of the Interior, and passing the oppressive Avoidance of Discrimination Act and the Preventative Detention Act. Nkrumah borrowed and spent millions without proper forethought, oversight or research, resulting in generations of debt for Ghanaian citizens. While Ghana was crumbling under massive debt, social upheaval, failed industrial development and starvation, Nkrumah was absent. He neglected his own administrative duties and Ghana's citizens, choosing instead to focus on his obsession with creating a United States of Africa.

Looking back on the history of the Nkrumah era there is one aspect of his legacy that is undisputable, his remarkable fight for Ghana's independence. He possessed the intellectual capacity to be a leader for his nation. Nkrumah returned to the Gold Coast in 1947 a well-educated, strong African man who was ready to liberate his country from the oppression of

²⁶⁶ Meredith, 371-373; Emanuel Akyeampong and Ama de-Graft Aikins, "Ghana at Fifty: Reflections on Independence and After," *Transition* 98 (2008): 32; Rooney, 258-259.

colonialism. He won the favor of his people with his passion and through his yeoman roots, which made him a “common man” as well. It was because of his personality, organization and motivation Nkrumah won the office of Prime Minister in 1951 by an overwhelming margin.

However, the creation of a Pan African union was unquestionably Nkrumah’s primary focus. In the early years of his leadership decolonization was essential so that an African union would be free from foreign domination. When complete independence was finally achieved it came at the expense of six years of British demands and three costly elections that forever changed Nkrumah and his relationship with his people.

The quest for a Pan African union was the reward that Nkrumah hoped to gain after his bitter fight for independence and his heated battle with Ghana’s growing opposition. Nkrumah intended Ghana to become the center of Pan Africanism and the capital of an African Union with him as the leader. A Pan African Ghana that would serve as an example for all Africans of the success and strength of Africa. Nkrumah’s desire for a Pan African union became a preoccupation and his philosophy of achieving a United States of Africa as soon as possible jeopardized his Pan African goals and Ghana’s success. Nkrumah’s lack of patience, increasing paranoia, inflated ego and socialist ambitions resulted in an era of corrupt and oppressive rule that left Nkrumah deposed and Ghana virtually bankrupt. The further Nkrumah strayed from his duties as President of Ghana the weaker he made the nation and himself. With its natural resources and his effort to educate his fellow countrymen, Nkrumah had the potential to build a political model for his neighbors to emulate. As it was, through his neglect, he allowed Ghana to follow the common path of corruption that ultimately led to his demise.

Fifty years later, Nkrumah’s legacy seems to be ever changing depending upon Ghana’s economic and political status. As the awareness of the depth of neocolonialism in Africa is fully

comprehended and exhibited through the continued poverty and turmoil on much of the continent, so is the realization of the potential Pan Africanism could have had for Africa. Nkrumah viewed a Pan African union as Africa's only chance to combat neocolonialism and create a prosperous Africa on the same economic, social and political level as the developed world. Pan Africanism certainly held potential for a continent in dire need of development, modernization and industrialization. Unfortunately, as Nkrumah quickly learned, no newly independent nation will ever be willing to relinquish their sovereignty to create a union.

A commendable step in Nkrumah's Pan African pursuit that is often ignored was the Ghana-Guinea-Mali union. Africa is filled with nations of various backgrounds, colonial experiences and languages. With the Ghana-Guinea-Mali union, Nkrumah formed a political and economic coalition between three nations that were politically, culturally and economically different. The union showed that the differences between African nations did not mean that unity was impossible. The leaders of Ghana, Guinea and Mali saw that Africa possessed common problems, particularly concerning economic and infrastructure development. An African union would have meant the possibility of African solutions to African problems. With the Ghana-Guinea-Mali union Nkrumah attempted to show Africa that there were more qualities that united Africans than divided them.

In the summer of 2010 South Africa hosted the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup where six African nations competed. The only African team to make it to the quarterfinals was the ill financed and underdeveloped team from Ghana. As Ghana beat the Czech Republic, the number two ranked team, it was not just Ghanaians who celebrated the team's success. The players had won the affection and support of every nation on the African continent. African fans filled the stadium holding signs reading "Africa United" and

instead of the “Black Star of Ghana,” they were the “Black Star of Africa.” A continent unified behind one African nation in the hope that Ghana would achieve what no other African country had, to win the World Cup. Ghana’s defeat at the hands of Uruguay in the quarterfinal match was devastating not just to the small West African nation, but to the continent that saw potential in the young football players to deliver international hope and respect to Africa. Prior to Ghana’s 2010 World Cup performance, the nation was still plagued with factionalism on regional and ethnic grounds and returned to their divisions not long after the World Cup. For a few short weeks a world football match was able to achieve what Nkrumah had worked for decades to instill; a sense of unity. In 1960, Nkrumah sent the Ghanaian football team to Europe to display the pride and strength of Ghana and Africa. Fifty years later, Ghana’s football team achieved Nkrumah’s dream and commanded international respect at the same time.

Unfortunately for Nkrumah, this small display of Pan Africanism came much too late to save his dream of a United States of Africa guided by the principles of Pan Africanism. Despite his inability to unify the continent, his legacy is better served remembering the achievements that he brought to Ghana through his introduction of Pan Africanism and his aid in the liberation of Ghana from colonial rule. Regrettably, Nkrumah’s legacy is often tainted by his massive ego, which ultimately led to his ineffectual and dictatorial leadership of Ghana. While Nkrumah’s downfalls are most certainly an overwhelming piece of his legacy, they should not overshadow his philosophical accomplishments or his early potential to unify the “common man” for the betterment of Ghana.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁷ Kaya Burgess, “Ghanaians Know They Must Flee to Cash In,” *The London Times*, July 19, 2010; Oliver Kay, “Ghana Just Bursting With Pride,” *The London Times*, June 19, 2010; “Uruguay Star Won’t Face Additional Sanctions for Handball,” *The New York Times*, July 3, 2010; William C. Rhoden, “Africa Rallies Around Ghana,” June 25, 2010.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- “36 Arrests Made in Ashanti.” *London Times*, February 3, 1958.
- “43 Ghana Arrests Ordered.” *London Times*, November 11, 1958.
- Abdul-Raheem, Tajudeen. “Introduction: Reclaiming Africa for Africans – Pan Africanism: 1900-1994.” In *Pan Africanism: Politics, Economy and Social Change in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem, 1-30. New York: New York University, 1996.
- Addo, Ebenezer Obiri. *Kwame Nkrumah: A Case Study of Religion and Politics in Ghana*. Lanham: University Press of America, 1997.
- Adi, Hakim. “Pan-Africanism and West African Nationalism in Britain.” *African Studies Review* 43 (2000): 69-82.
- Adi, Hakim and Marika Sherwood. *Pan-African History: Political Figures from Africa and the Diaspora Since 1787*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Adjei, Ako. *Life and Work of George Alfred Grant (Paa Grant): Founder of the First National Independence Movement in Ghana*. Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1992.
- “Africa Brightened by Aluminum.” *New York Times*, December 28, 1959.
- “African Conferences Elect Moderates.” *New York Times*, December 6, 1958.
- Akyeampong, Emanuel and Ama de-Graft Aikins. “Ghana at Fifty: Reflections on Independence and After.” *Transition* 98 (2008): 24-34.
- “Algerians Ask Aid From Free Africa.” *New York Times*, April 18, 1958.
- Alhassan, Susan. *The River that Became a Lake: The Building of the Volta Dam*. Tema: Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1979.
- Allman, Jean-Marie. “‘Hewers of Wood, Carriers of Water:’ Islam, Class, and Politics on the Eve of Ghana’s Independence.” *African Studies Review* 34 (1991): 1-26.
- _____. “The Youngmen and the Porcupine: Class, Nationalism and Asante’s Struggle for Self-Determination, 1954-57.” *The Journal of African History* 31 (1990): 263-279.
- Anquandah, James. *Rediscovering Ghana’s Past*. Accra, Ghana: Sedco Publishing Limited, 1982.
- Arden-Clarke, Charles. “Eight Years of Transition in Ghana.” *African Affairs* 57 (1958): 29-37.

- _____. "Gold Coast into Ghana: Some Problems of Transition." *International Affairs* 34 (1958): 49-56.
- Arhin, Kwame, ed. *The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah: Papers of a Symposium Organized by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon*. Trenton, NJ: African World Press, Inc., 1993.
- "Arrests in Ghana Denounced." *London Times*, November 12, 1958.
- "Arrives in London on Way to U.S." *New York Times*, June 3, 1951.
- Assensoh, Akwasi B. "Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana: His Formative Years and the Shaping of his Nationalism and Pan-Africanism (1935-1948)." PhD diss., New York University, 1984.
- Auerbach, George. "Big Crop Lowers Prices of Cocoa." *New York Times*, January 11, 1959.
- _____. "Low Price of Cocoa Poses Big Problem for the Economy of Fledgling Ghana." *New York Times*, March 10, 1957.
- Austin, Dennis. "Elections in an African Rural Area." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 31 (1961): 1-18.
- _____. *Ghana Observed: Essays on the Politics of a West African Republic*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976.
- _____. *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- _____. "The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention." *The Journal of African History* 2 (1961): 273-297.
- Ayittey, George B.N. *African Unchained: The Blueprint for Africa's Future*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Baynham, Simon. "Quis Custodiet Ipsos Custodes?: The Case of Nkrumah's National Security Service." *The Journal of African Studies* 23 (1985): 87-103.
- Beckman, Bjorn. *Organizing the Farmers: Cocoa Politics and National Development in Ghana*. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1976.
- Bening, R. Bagulo. "Internal Colonial Boundary Problems of the Gold Coast, 1907-1951." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 17 (1984): 81-99.
- Berry, La Verle, ed. *Ghana: A Country Study*. 3rd ed. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1995.

- Biel, Robert. *The New Imperialism: Crisis and Contradictions in North/South Relations*. London: Zed Books, 2000.
- Birmingham, David. *The Decolonization of Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1995.
- _____. *Kwame Nkrumah: The Father of African Nationalism*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1998.
- Blake, Cecil. "An African Nationalist Ideology Framed in Diaspora and the Development Quagmire: Any Hope for a Renaissance?" *Journal of Black Studies* 35 (2005): 573-596.
- Borstelmann, Thomas. *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Botwe-Asamoah, Kwame. *Kwame Nkrumah & Politico-Cultural Thought and Policies: An African-Centered Paradigm for the Second Phase of the African Revolution*. New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Brady, Thomas F. "Big Power Project is Revived in Ghana." *New York Times*, April 15, 1959.
- _____. "Ghana Will Shun Neutral Policy." *New York Times*, March 5, 1957.
- _____. "Gold Coast Vote Won by Premier." *New York Times*, July 19, 1956.
- _____. "Negro Nation of Ghana is Born in Africa." *New York Times*, March 6, 1957.
- _____. "Shift to Republic Mapped by Ghana." *New York Times*, April 5, 1959.
- "Britain Blames Reds for Rioting in Accra." *New York Times*, March 2, 1948.
- "British Give More Self-Rule to Gold Coast; Natives to Get Ministries Whites Now Hold." *New York Times*, April 29, 1954.
- "Broadened U.S. Aid Programs for Ghana is Set Out as Premier Leaves Washington." *New York Times*, July 27, 1958.
- Brown, David. "Borderline Politics in Ghana: The National Liberation Movement of Western Togoland." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 18 (1980): 575-609.
- _____. "Who Are the Tribalists? Social Pluralism and Political Ideology in Ghana." *African Affairs* 81 (1982): 37-69.
- Burgess, Kaya. "Ghanaians Know They Must Flee to Cash in." *The Times*, July 19, 2010.
- Burns, Alan Sir. *Colonial Civil Servant*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1949.

- “Call for Ending of Hostilities.” *London Times*, April 21, 1958.
- Chamberlain, M.E. *The Scramble for Africa*. 2nd ed. London: Longman, 1999.
- Clark, Michael. “Gold Coast Poll on Liberty Opens.” *New York Times*, June 11, 1954.
- “Cocoa Price Issue Splits Gold Coast.” *New York Times*, December 30, 1954.
- Cohen, Dennis L. “The Convention People’s Party of Ghana: Representational or Solidarity Party?” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 4 (1970): 173-194.
- Comaroff, Jean and John L. Comaroff. “Naturing the Nation: Aliens, Apocalypse and the Postcolonial State.” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27 (2001): 627-651.
- Commission of Enquiry into Representational and Electoral Reform. *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Representational and Electoral Reform*. Accra: The Government Printing Department, 1954.
- Committee on Africa, the War, and Peace Aims. *The Atlantic Charter and Africa from an American Standpoint*. Camden, New Jersey: Haddon Craftsmen, Inc., 1942.
- “Compulsory ‘Cutting Out’ to End.” *London Times*, May 31, 1951.
- Corea, Ernest. “Non-Alignment: The Dynamics of a Movement.” *Behind the Headlines* 34 (1977): 1-21.
- “‘Cultural Bridge’ to Africa Sought: Gold Coast Official Here Asks for Aid to ‘See Imperialism Wiped off Continent.’” *New York Times*, June 10, 1951.
- “Curfew Placed on Accra: African Ex-Servicemen Riot in Protest on Grievances.” *New York Times*, March 1, 1948.
- Dabu Gizenga’s Collection on Kwame Nkrumah’s Papers; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Springarn Research Center, Howard University.
- Danquah, Francis K. “Rural Discontent and Decolonization in Ghana, 1945-1951.” *Agricultural History* 68 (1994): 1-19.
- _____. “Sustaining a West African Cocoa Economy: Agricultural Science and the Swollen Shoot Contagion in Ghana, 1936-1965.” *African Economic History* 31 (2003): 43-74.
- Danquah, Joseph Boakye. *The Ghanaian Establishment: Its Constitution, its Detentions, its Traditions, its Justice and Statecraft, and its Heritage of Ghanaism*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1997.

- _____. *Historic Speeches and Writings on Ghana*. Compiled by H.K. Akyeampong. Accra: George Buakie Publishing Company, 1966.
- _____. *Journey to Independence and After (J.B. Danquah's Letters) 1947-1965: Volume One 1947-1948*. Edited by H.K. Akyeampong. Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1970.
- Date-Bah, S.K. "Aspects of the Role of Contract in the Economic Development of Ghana." *Journal of African Law* 17 (1973): 254-270.
- Davidson, Basil. *Black Star: A View of the Life and Times of Kwame Nkrumah*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973.
- "The Disorders at Accra: Governor's Statement." *London Times*, March 3, 1948.
- "Dr. Malan and Gold Coast: 'Disastrous' Step by Britain." *London Times*, March 5, 1952.
- "Dr. Nkrumah's Aims." *London Times*, June 18, 1954.
- "Drop in Cocoa Price is a Blow to Ghana; New Nation Must Diversify its Industry." *New York Times*, January 13, 1959.
- Due, Jean M. "Agricultural Development in the Ivory Coast and Ghana." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 7 (1969): 637-660.
- Duffield, Ian. "Pan-Africanism Since 1940." In *The Cambridge History of Africa Volume 8: From c. 1940 to c. 1975*, edited by Michael Crowder, 95-141. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Dumett, Raymond E. *El Dorado in West Africa: The Gold Mining Frontier, African Labor, and Colonial Capitalism in the Gold Coast, 1875-1900*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1998.
- Dzirasa, Stephen. *Political Thought of Kwame Nkrumah*. Accra: Guinea Press, 1962.
- Eisenhower, Dwight D. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Dwight D. Eisenhower 1958: January 1 to December 31, 1958*. Washington, D.C.: Office of Federal Register, National Archives and Records Services, 1959.
- "Eisenhower Weighs Ghana Project Aid." *New York Times*, February 21, 1958.
- Eluwa, G.I.C. "Background to the Emergence of the National Congress of British West Africa." *African Studies Review* 14 (1971): 205-218.
- England, Philippa. "Tree Planting, Sustainable Development and the Roles of Law in Bongo, North-East Ghana." *Journal of African Law* 39 (1995): 138-155.
- "Enthusiastic Greeting for Mr. Nkrumah." *London Times*, June 15, 1954.

- Esedebe, P. Olisanwuche. *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement, 1776-1991*. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1994.
- Esseks, John D. "Political Independence and Economic Decolonization: The Case of Ghana Under Nkrumah." *The Western Political Quarterly* 24 (1971): 59-64.
- Farred, Grant, "A Thriving Postcolonialism: Toward an Anti-Postcolonial Discourse." *Nepantla: Views from South* 2 (2001): 229-246.
- Fedorenko, Nikolai. "The Soviet Union and African Countries." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 354 (1964): 1-8.
- "Final State of Gold Coast Parties." *London Times*, June 19, 1954.
- "Ghana Aide Threatens Detention of All Foes." *New York Times*, September 28, 1957.
- "Ghana and Guinea Agree to Join as Nucleus of African Federation." *New York Times*, November 24, 1958.
- "Ghana Arrests Decried." *New York Times*, November 12, 1958.
- "Ghana Leader Hails Foreign Investment." *New York Times*, December 30, 1958.
- Ghana Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. *Nkrumah's Subversion in Africa: Documentary Evidence of Nkrumah's Interference in the Affairs of Other African States*. Accra: Ministry of Information, 1966.
- "Ghana on Guard Against Coup." *London Times*, July 15, 1958.
- "Ghana Seeking Aid for Volta Plan." *London Times*, February 21, 1958.
- "Ghana Seeks Investors." *New York Times*, July 26, 1958.
- "Ghana to Train its Own Seamen." *London Times*, December 20, 1957.
- "Ghana Welcomes New Line's Ship." *New York Times*, December 15, 1957.
- "Ghana's Prime Minister Weds Cairo Student." *New York Times*, December 31, 1957.
- Gleijeses, Piero. *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959-1976*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
- Glennon, John P., ed. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955-1957: Volume XVIII: Africa*. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1989.
- "Gold Coast Boycotts Imports." *New York Times*, February 10, 1948.

- “Gold Coast Development: Mr. Nkrumah’s Outline of Objectives.” *London Times*, May 31, 1951.
- “Gold Coast Elects African.” *New York Times*, March 22, 1952.
- “Gold Coast Head Aims at Republic.” *New York Times*, April 15, 1955.
- “Gold Coast Leader Wields Big Power: Nkrumah Called West Africa’s ‘Gandhi’ – Attitude Toward West Closely Watched.” *New York Times*, June 3, 1951.
- “Gold Coast in 1st Vote: People’s Party Wins 34 Out of 38 Elective Seats.” *New York Times*, February 10, 1951.
- “Gold Coast Maps \$211,000,000 Plan: Project to Develop Section Under Assembly Study – Outside Help Urged.” *New York Times*, August 26, 1951.
- “Gold Coast Opens Elections Drive.” *New York Times*, January 5, 1954.
- “Gold Coast Ousts Pro-Red Leaders.” *New York Times*, December 28, 1953.
- “Gold Coast Poll Results.” *London Times*, June 17, 1954.
- “Gold Coast Premier Denies Bribe Taking.” *New York Times*, December 30, 1953.
- “Gold Coast Pushes Dominion Ambition.” *New York Times*, June 21, 1953.
- “Gold Coast Seeks Dominion Status.” *London Times*, July 11, 1953.
- “Gold Coast Study of Constitution.” *London Times*, July 28, 1955.
- “Gold Coast Tallying Vote for Independent Parliament.” *New York Times*, June 16, 1954.
- “Gold Coast Troubles.” *London Times*, March 4, 1948.
- “Gold Coast Upset by Bribe Inquiry.” *New York Times*, January 2, 1954.
- Green, Reginald H. “Four African Development Plans: Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, and Tanzania.” *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 3 (1965): 249-279.
- Grischow, Jeff D. “Late Development in British West Africa: The Gonja Development Project in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, 1948-57.” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 35 (2001): 282-312.
- “Guinea-Ghana Move ‘Surprise’ to British.” *New York Times*, November 28, 1958.
- Gunther, John. *Inside Africa*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955.

- Hadjor, Kofi Buenor. *Nkrumah and Ghana: The Dilemma of Post-Colonial Power*. London: Kegan Paul International, 1988.
- Hooker, James R. *Black Revolutionary: George Padmore's Path from Communism to Pan-Africanism*. New York: Fredrick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1967.
- Howe, Russell Warren. "Did Nkrumah Favor Pan-Africanism?" *Transition* 75/76 (1997): 128-134.
- Howland, Nina Davis, ed. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961-1963: Volume XXI: Africa*. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1995.
- Hunt, Richard. "'The Ghana Experiment' – After a Year." *New York Times Magazine*, February, 16, 1958.
- _____. "Soviet Woos Ghana With Trade Mission." *New York Times*, November 20, 1957.
- "Independence Leader Kwame Nkrumah." *New York Times*, March 6, 1957.
- Ingalls, Leonard. "Ghana Spurring New 5-Year Plan." *New York Times*, November 29, 1959.
- Israel, Adrienne M. "Ex-Servicemen at the Crossroads: Protest and Politics in Post-War Ghana." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 30 (1992): 359-368.
- Jackson, Robert Commander Sir. "The Volta River Project." *Progress* 50 (1964): 146-161.
- James, C.L.R. *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution*. Westport, Connecticut: Lawrence Hill and Company, 1977.
- Kaba, Lansine. "Guinean Politics: A Cultural Overview." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 15 (1977): 25-45.
- "Kaiser Company Heads Planners." *New York Times*, October 10, 1959.
- Kay, Oliver. "Ghana Just Bursting with Pride." *The Times*, June 19, 2010.
- Kennedy, John F. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy: January 20 to December 31, 1961*. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1962.
- Killick, Tony. "The Volta River Project." In Walter Birmingham, et. al. *A Study of Contemporary Ghana: Volume One: The Economy of Ghana*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1966.
- Killingray, David. "Soldiers, Ex-Servicemen, and Politics in the Gold Coast, 1939-50." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 21 (1983): 523-534.

- Kwaku, Ken. "Tradition, Colonialism and Politics in Rural Ghana: Local Politics in Have, Volta Region." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 10 (1976): 71-86.
- Lacouture, Jean. *The Demigods: Charismatic Leadership in the Third World*. Translated by Patricia Wolf. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970.
- Law, Robin. "The Royal African Company of England's West African Correspondence, 1691-1699." *History in Africa* 20 (1993): 173-184.
- Le Vine, Victor. "Corruption in Ghana." *Transition* 47 (1975): 48-50; 52-61.
- Legum, Colin. *Pan-Africanism: A Short Political Guide*. New York: Fredrick A. Prager, 1962.
- Levy, Zach. "The Rise and Decline of a Special Relationship: Israel and Ghana, 1957-1966." *African Studies Review* 46 (2003): 155-177.
- Love, Kennett. "8 African Lands Back Algerians." *New York Times*, April 21, 1958.
- _____. "Accra is Cheery as Parley Host." *New York Times*, April 20, 1958.
- _____. "African Nations Ask Nuclear Ban." *New York Times*, April 23, 1958.
- _____. "Africans Parley Urges a Boycott." *New York Times*, December 14, 1958.
- _____. "Algerians Given a Role in Parley." *New York Times*, April 17, 1958.
- _____. "All-African Body Weighing Tactics." *New York Times*, December 10, 1958.
- _____. "Britain Promises Free Gold Coast." *New York Times*, May 12, 1956.
- _____. "Ghanaian Enlist Aid from Israelis." *New York Times*, May 4, 1958.
- _____. "Nkrumah Warns African 'Rulers.'" *New York Times*, April 16, 1958.
- _____. "'Violence' Policy Divides Africans." *New York Times*, December 7, 1958.
- Lumsden, D. Paul. "The Volta River Project: Village Resettlement and Attempted Rural Animation." *The Canadian Journal of African Studies* 7 (1973): 115-132.
- McCain, James. "Perceptions of Socialism in Post-Socialist Ghana: An Experimental Analysis." *African Studies Review* 22 (1979): 45-63.
- McCaskie, T.C. "Accumulation: Wealth and Belief in Asante History: II the Twentieth Century." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 56 (1986): 3-23.

- McGuire, Robert Grayson III. "Continuity in Black Political Protest: The Thought of Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Joseph Casely Hayford, Joseph B. Danquah and Kwame Nkrumah." PhD diss. Columbia University, 1974.
- M'Laughlin, Kathleen. "Kaiser Company Heads Planners." *New York Times*, October 10, 1959.
- Mazuri, Ali Al' Amin. *Nkrumah's Legacy and Africa's Triple Heritage Between Globalization and Counter Terrorism*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 2004.
- _____. *On Heroes and Uhuru-Worship: Essays on Independent Africa*. London: Longmans, 1967.
- Mboukou, Alexandre. "The Pan African Movement, 1900-1945: A Study in Leadership Conflicts Among the Disciples of Pan Africanism." *Journal of Black Studies* 13 (March 1983): 275-288.
- Meredith, Martin. *The Fate of Africa: From the Hopes of Freedom to the Heart of Despair: A History of Fifty Years of Independence*. New York: PublicAffairs, 2005.
- Meyer, H.E. Joe-Fio N. *Dr. Nkrumah's Last Dream: Continental Government of Africa*. Accra: Advance Publishing Company Limited, 1990.
- Middleton, Drew. "Britain Loosing Ties of Her Old Colonies." *New York Times*, March 3, 1957.
- Mikell, Gwendolyn. *Cocoa and Chaos in Ghana*. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1992.
- Milne, June. *Kwame Nkrumah; A Biography*. London: Panaf Books, 1999.
- _____. *Kwame Nkrumah: The Conakry Years: His Life and Letters*. London: Panaf Books, 1990.
- Monfils, Barbara S. "A Multifaceted Image: Kwame Nkrumah's Extrinsic Rhetorical Strategies." *Journal of Black Studies* 7 (1977): 313-330.
- Morrison, Minion K.C. "Political Parties in Ghana Through Four Republics: A Path to Democratic Consolidation." *Comparative Politics* 36 (2004): 421-442.
- Murapa, Rukudzo. "Osagyefo Pan-Africanist Leader." *Black World* 21 (1972): 12-20.
- _____. "Padmore's Role in the African Liberation Movement." PhD diss., Northern Illinois University, 1974.
- "New Gold Coast Cabinet." *London Times*, June 23, 1954.
- "New World of Africa's Gold Coast Arises from Ashes of Colonialism." *New York Times*, May 16, 1952.

- “Nkrumah Foes Accused.” *New York Times*, November 16, 1958.
- “Nkrumah in Canada.” *New York Times*, July 20, 1958.
- “Nkrumah is Dead!!!” *The African World* 2 (1972): 1; 14.
- Nkrumah, Kwame. *Africa Must Unite*. London: Panaf Books, 1974.
- _____. *Challenge of the Congo*. New York: International Publishers, 1967.
- _____. *Dark Days in Ghana*. London: Panaf Books, 1976.
- _____. *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*. New York International Publishers Co., 1971.
- _____. *I Speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology*. New York: Fredrick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1961.
- _____. “Movement for Colonial Freedom.” *Phylon* 16 (1955): 397-409.
- _____. *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*. London: Heinemann, 1965.
- _____. *Revolutionary Path*. New York: International Publishers, 1973.
- _____. *The Struggle Continues: Six Panaf Pamphlets*. London: Panaf Books, 1973.
- _____. *Towards Colonial Freedom: Africa in the Struggle Against World Imperialism*. London: Heinemann, 1962.
- “Nkrumah Reports Plot to Slay Him.” *New York Times*, November 11, 1958.
- “Nkrumah to Visit U.S.” *New York Times*, March 9, 1958.
- Noer, Thomas J. “The New Frontier and African Neutralism: Kennedy, Nkrumah, and the Volta River Project.” *Diplomatic History* 8 (1984): 61-79.
- Nwaubani, Ebere. “Eisenhower, Nkrumah and the Congo Crisis.” *Journal of Contemporary History* 36 (2001): 599-622.
- Nworah, Dike. “Nationalism Versus Coexistence: Neo-African Attitudes to Classical Neutralism.” *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 15 (1977): 213-237.
- Nzongola-Ntalaja, Georges. *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila: A People’s History*. London: Zed Books, 2002.

- Obeng, Samuel, ed. *Selected Speeches of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, First President of the Republic Of Ghana*. Accra: The Advance Press Limited, 1973.
- Obiri, Ebenezer. *Kwame Nkrumah: A Case Study of Religion and Politics in Ghana*. Lanham: University Press of America, 1997.
- Oliver, Roland and Anthony Atmore. *Africa Since 1800*. 4th ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Opong, Joseph E. and Esther D. Opong. *Ghana*. Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 2003.
- “Order Restored to Accra: Governor of Gold Coast States that Colony is Again Quiet.” *New York Times*, March 8, 1948.
- Padmore, George. *The Gold Coast Revolution: The Struggle of an African People from Slavery to Freedom*. London: Dennis Dobson, Ltd., 1953.
- _____. *Pan-Africanism or Communism?: The Coming Struggle for Africa*. London: Dennis Dobson, 1956.
- “Party Rebels in Gold Coast.” *London Times*, June 11, 1954.
- Phillips, Caryl. “C.L.R. James: The Most Noteworthy Caribbean Mind of the Twentieth Century.” *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 33 (2001): 118-120.
- “Political Curbs Feared in Ghana.” *New York Times*, September 29, 1957.
- Powell, Erica. *Private Secretary (Female)/ Gold Coast*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1984.
- Pratt, Dallas. “African Achievement Noted.” *New York Times*, May 17, 1954.
- Price, Robert M. “Neo-Colonialism and Ghana’s Economic Decline: A Critical Assessment.” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 18 (1984): 163-193.
- “Prime Minister of Gold Coast: Dr. Nkrumah’s Title.” *London Times*, March 6, 1952.
- Quarm, S.E. *Diplomatic Offensive: An Overview of Ghana’s Diplomacy Under Dr. Kwame Nkrumah*. Accra: Afram Publications (Ghana) Limited, 1997.
- Rahman, Ahmad A. *The Regime Change of Kwame Nkrumah: Epic Heroism in Africa and the Diaspora*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Rake, Alan. “Is Pan-Africa Possible.” *Transition* 4 (1962): 29-30.
- Ramphal, Shirdath S. *Nkrumah and the Eighties*. London: Third World Foundation, 1981.

- Rathbone, Richard. "The Government of the Gold Coast After the Second World War." *African Affairs* 67 (1968): 209-218.
- _____. "Native Courts, Local Courts, Chieftaincy and the CPP in Ghana in the 1950s." *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 13 (2000): 125-139.
- _____. *Nkrumah and the Chiefs: The Politics of Chieftaincy in Ghana, 1951-1960*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1999.
- _____. "'Youngmen and the Porcupine.'" *The Journal of African History* 32 (1991): 333-338.
- Reader, John. *Africa: A Biography of the Continent*. New York: Vintage Books, 1997.
- Rhoden, William C. "Africa Rallies Around Ghana." *New York Times*, June 25, 2010.
- Richards, Yevette. "African-American Labor Leaders in the Struggle Over International Affiliation." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 31 (1998): 301-334.
- "Rioting in Africa." *London Times*, March 1, 1948.
- Robertson, A.F. "Anthropology and Government in Ghana." *African Affairs* 74 (1975): 51-59.
- Rooney, David. *Kwame Nkrumah: The Political Kingdom in the Third World*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988.
- Ryan, Selwyn. "The Theory and Practice of African One Partyism: The CPP Re-examined." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 4 (1970): 145-172.
- Saaka, Yakubu. "Recurrent Themes in Ghanaian Politics: Kwame Nkrumah's Legacy." *Journal of Black Studies* 24 (1994): 263-280.
- Saloway, Reginald. "The New Gold Coast." *International Affairs* 31 (1955): 469-476.
- Seidman, Ann. "Prospects for Africa's Exports." *The Journal of African Studies* 9 (1971): 409-428.
- Schiffer, Harriet B. "Local Administration and National Development: Fragmentation and Centralization in Ghana." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 4 (1970): 57-75.
- Schwar, Harriet Dashiell, ed., *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1958-1960: Volume XIV: Africa*. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1992.
- Sherwood, Marika. *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad 1953-1947*. Legon, Ghana: Freedom Publications, 1996.

Singham, A.W. and Shirley Hune. *Non-Alignment in an Age of Alignments*. London: Zed Books Ltd., 1986.

“Sovereignty is Asked.” *New York Times*, July 11, 1953.

The Spark, eds. *Some Essential Features of Nkrumaism*. New York: International Publisher, 1965.

Steele, A.T. “Unrest Stirs in the Gold Coast: Britain’s Colonial Policy Beset by New Nationalism.” *New York Herald Tribune*, December 16, 1947.

Sulzberger, C.L. “Gold Coast Moves for Full Freedom.” *New York Times*, February 8, 1953.

Sutton, Inez. “Colonial Agricultural Policy: The Non-Development of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast.” *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 22 (1989): 637-669.

“Tactics of African Nationalists.” *London Times*, December 10, 1958.

Tanner, Henry. “Ghanaians Speed Volta Dam Plan.” *New York Times*, June 28, 1959.

“Text of Joint Statement by Eisenhower and Nkrumah.” *New York Times*, July 27, 1958.

Thompson, Peter S. “Negritude and a New Africa: An Update.” *Research in African Literatures* 33 (2002): 143-153.

“Towards United States of Africa.” *London Times*, December 6, 1958.

Triulzi, Alessandro. “The Asantehene-in-Council: Ashanti Politics Under Colonial Rule, 1935-1950.” *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 42 (1972): 98-111.

Tsikata, Dzodzi. *Living in the Shadow of a Large Dam: Long Term Responses of Downstream and Lakeside Communities of Ghana’s Volta River Project*. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

Tunteng, Kevin P. “George Padmore’s Impact on Africa: A Critical Appraisal.” *Phylon* 35 (1974): 33-44.

“Union of Ghana and Guinea.” *London Times*, November 24, 1958.

“Union to Involve Two New States.” *New York Times*, November 24, 1958.

“Uruguay Star Won’t Face Additional Sanctions for Handball.” *New York Times*, July 3, 2010.

van Walraven, K. *Dreams of Power: The Role of the Organization of African Unity in Politics of Africa 1963-1993*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1999.

- Volta River Authority. *Volta Resettlement Symposium Papers*. Kumasi: Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, 1965.
- The Volta River Preparatory Commission. *The Volta River Project I: Report of the Preparatory Commission*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1956.
- _____. *The Volta River Project II: Appendices to the Report of the Preparatory Commission*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1956.
- "The Volta River Project." *African Affairs* 55 (1956): 287-293.
- W. Averell Harriman Papers. Manuscripts Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- Werlin, Herbert H. "The Consequences of Corruption: The Ghanaian Experience." *Political Science Quarterly* 88 (1973): 71-85.
- White, David. "Hollywood's Flirtation with Africa: The Cliché Continues." *Financial Times*, February 17-18, 2007.
- White, George Jr. *Holding the Line: Race, Racism and American Foreign Policy Toward Africa, 1953-1961*. Landham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005.
- Williams, David. "English-Speaking West Africa." In *The Cambridge History of Africa Volume 8: From c. 1940 to c. 1975*, edited by Michael Crowder, 331-382. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- w'Obanda, Chango Machyo. "Conditions of Africans at Home." In *Pan Africanism: Politics, Economy and Social Change in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem, 33-66. New York: New York University, 1996.
- Wolters, Raymond. *DuBois and his Rivals*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002.
- Wunsch, James S. "Refounding the African State and Local Self-Governance: The Neglected Foundation." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 38 (2000): 487-509.
- Zack-Williams, Alfred. "Peacekeeping and an 'African High Command': 'Plus Ça Change, C'est La Meme Chose.'" *Review of African Political Economy* 24 (1997): 131-137.
- Zeilig, Leo. *Class Struggle and Resistance in Africa*. Cheltenham: New Clarion Press, 2002.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

PHOTOS FROM THE REGIMIE OF KWAME NKRUMAH



A portrait of Kwame Nkrumah distributed by the deposed President's supporters after his death. The caption reads: "The Late Dr. Kwame Nkrumah first President of Ghana. He was 62." Photograph from Dabu Gizenga's Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-26 Folder 606; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spangarn Research Center, Howard University.

APPENDIX A (continued)



The photograph titled “Leaders of New Country,” was taken in Ghana in February 1957. It depicts the members of independent Ghana’s first Cabinet, which was inaugurated on March 6, 1957. Pictured seated in the front row from left to right: A.E. Inkumsah, Kojo Botsio, Kwame Nkrumah, K.A. Gbedemah and A. Casely-Hayford. In the back row standing from left to right: A.E.A Ofori-Atta, N.A. Welbeck, B. Yeboah-Afari, J.H. Allassani, J.B. Erzuah, L.R. Abvana, Ako Adjei and Krobo Edusei. Photograph from Dabu Gizenga’s Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Papers Box 128-26 Folder 606; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.

APPENDIX A (continued)



This radiophotograph from Ghana's independence ceremony on March 6, 1957 depicts Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah waving to the enthusiastic Ghanaian crowds. Image is from Dabu Gizenga's Collection on Kwame Nkrumah Box 128-26 Folder 606: Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spangarn Research Center, Howard University.

