

**The Educational Impact of Military Coup D'etats in Ghana on Education:**

**A Remedial Return to Kwame Nkrumah's Vision**

Abraham Ogbarmey Abbey

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## Abstract

Thesis statement: Coup d'état is not beneficial for Ghana's education

Reasons: education funding cuts, teachers were not paid salaries.

This thesis argues that coup d'états by the military in Ghana has stalled the education trajectory of many younger generations in Ghana. However, this phenomenon is not relative to Ghana alone. Many African nations who have fought the colonial rule and gained political independence were equally undermined by their military system. Most of these military systems connived with foreign agencies such as the CIA (Centre Intelligence Agency) to stage coup-d'états' at a period some of the African countries were beginning to determine what kind of political system they should adopt (Birmingham 1998, p.48). These inner workings have tampered with the governance of the country at large, which has brought upon the Western powers to oversee the circumstances.

Interestingly, long before sexual orientation became a publicly discussed subject globally, Kwame Nkrumah, the first democratically elected president of Ghana, provided a non-discriminatory provision to accommodate the diversity of people in the Republican constitution, including *inter alia* race, tribe, religion or political beliefs in the early 1960s. As a principled individual, Nkrumah stood against corruption in his own party and dismissed his cabinet members and those officials who were to be culpable. The president did that to set a high standard of integrity as a public servant (Milne, 1999). The focus of Nkrumah's political decisions has been focused on advancing all citizens' welfare.

Ghana was once a beacon of strength and inspiration to many African countries because it was the first country in the Sub-Sahara to gain independence from the British colonial regime. The country served as a home and training center for many aspiring African leaders and activists. Kwame Nkrumah who is the first President of Ghana after almost one hundred years of British colonial rule and he was branded a dictator by some Western countries such as the United States and Britain and Joseph Kennedy, the father of JFK, the President of United States, called him “the communist Nkrumah” when Nkrumah was actualizing a system of governance which meets the needs of Ghanaians and African peoples in the continent: education. Africa was never divided prior to Europeans scramble for Africa in 1884 and **Africa must unite** was a profound call which has a legitimacy in the African context.

Nkrumah inaugurated National Council of Ghana Women in Ghana, instituted equal pay for equal work for women and assured full pay for women on maternity leave. The Ghanaian educational system suffered greatly on two fronts: firstly, the successive Ghanaian governments cut on educational funding and the exodus of noteworthy numbers of trained and highly qualified teachers to other African countries, which necessitated the recruitment of untrained teachers in primary and middle schools.

The military organization first and foremost mandate is to defend the nation from foreign and domestic aggression, but sometimes, personal ambitions and the craving for power by some key military players served to fuel coup d'état in the country in which they have no mandate of the people to govern. In some situations, officers have led a coup to regain lost prestige or to preempt an impending purge; like what happened in Ghana when two judges and

a retired major were killed as enemies of the revolution on a special assignment which involved a civilian agent as part of the assassins.

The European trade mission to Africa was initially established to exchange material goods as merchandise, but turned out to be mercantilism, a political economy in which capitalism gave birth to the slave trade. Africans were captured to work ruthlessly in Europe and the United States of America.

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1. Interdisciplinary study course mandate is to train students in two or more fields to be versatile in sociology and humanity; unlike military personnel, their mandate is to protect the nation from external and internal aggression. This thesis demonstrates how the military interruptions impacted education in Ghana.

## Introduction

One of the most pertinent pathways to any country's self-reliance, or economic, social, political development is the provision of quality education to its young people from primary to post –secondary level and beyond. Ghana, which gained its political independence from Great Britain in 1957 used to be the beacon of sound quality education in the West African sub-region in the 1960s. However, the once Ghana's sound quality educational system modeled on the British system, and which was also the envy of many newly independent African nations and other developing countries has fallen behind for far too long.

This exploratory relies on a more Afro-centric and pan African framework and is informed by an ancestral and nostalgic story telling in approaching the fate of education during and post military coups. The writer's memory and emotions are integrally related to the fundamental analysis of the impact of violence on education. Education in Africa is integral to the development of consciousness and identity. Evidence proffered suggests that the population of Africa's youth will grow exponentially within the next twenty years, with 75% of the population under the age of 25\*.

This thesis discusses how military interventions in the Ghanaian political scene weakened and brought down the once Ghana's sound quality education. Data for this research project will be derived from books, articles journals, newspapers and the internet. These primary sources will include documents and other information from country based websites coupled with secondary sources which are mainly books, articles journals, video segments, newspaper columns, or articles written by journalists, scholars and researchers focused on analyzing the economic situation and education system prevailing in Ghana as the military assumed power.

Dependency theory from an African lens was used to analyze the interference of Ghanaian politics by the military. Dependency theory explains a set of beliefs which strongly influence the actions of policy making mostly in the Third World or less developed countries. It explains that the relationship between less developed countries and the industrialized world has led to the improvement of the developing country and underdevelopment countries. Dependency theory further explains ways and steps as well as policies that will aid in alleviating

these problems and improving situations in the Third World. This theoretical framework developed by Ahiakpor (1985) ties in with the military mentality that they know more than the civilian politicians and that they alone can fix the country. Another theoretical framework by James C.W. Ahiakpor is the Military Centrality theory which explains the reason behind unending military interventions in developing countries. The assumption is that the military system in most developing countries are well established institutions that they are highly mobilized, united together under a powerful institution with highly patriotic sentiments at heart, resourced and well organized than the civilian government. Accordingly, military centrality explains that the “greater the resources and cohesion of the military, the greater the likelihood of interventions in the civilian governance” (The Success and Failure of Dependency Theory 1985, p. 535)

On the educational front, the first President of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah’s vision for establishing the country’s third public university, the University of Cape Coast according to Dr. Emmanuel Adow Obeng, Vice Chancellor Cape Coast University was to train educationists for Ghana and the West African sub-region to strengthen the emancipation of Ghana and Africa as a whole (Ghana News Agency, Cape Coast March 14, 2007). In a broadcast to the Ghanaian people on December 24, 1957, the year of Independence of Ghana, Nkrumah set a realistic goal to measure the progress and development of Ghanaians. First, by the improvement in the health of the people; by the number of children in school, and by the quality of their education; by the availability of water and electricity in the towns and villages and by the happiness which the people take in being able to manage their own affairs (Milne, 1999, p.115). The welfare of the people was Nkrumah’s chief pride, and it was by this that his government will ask to be

judged on voting day (Milne, 1999). By the standard set by Nkrumah in the year of independence, he actually did well meeting his target for the people of Ghana. In 1958, Nkrumah founded the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement with the sole purpose of widening the school curriculum to include political education so that each pupil was equipped to become aware of his/her political environment and become responsible citizen (Milne, 1999). Through activities and training, Young Pioneers were educated on the Convention People's Party (CPP) policies of social and economic reconstruction and of the wider Pan African objectives (Milne, 1999). Also, Nkrumah encouraged the National African Socialist Students' Organization (NASSO) to organize study groups all over the country (Milne, 1999). NASSO had within its ranks some of the most politically conscious sections of Ghana and some of its members went about after independence as a band of dedicated and selfless individuals (Milne, 1990). NASSO was one of the five organizations of the CPP and others were the Trade Union Congress, the United Farmers' Council, the National Co-operative Council and the National Council of Ghana Women (Milne, 1999).

In February 1961, the ideological Institute at Winneba was founded to provide a steady flow of ideologically-sound cadres to carry on the work of politicization of the masses (Panaf, 1974, p. 81). Additionally, such an institution was needed as a center where party members from Central Committee to local official level could undergo courses of study, and hold discussions on Party organization and objectives, and soon, the reputation of the Institute at Winneba spread far beyond the borders of Ghana, and attracted students from most parts of Africa and elsewhere (Panaf, 1974). Nkrumah hoped that in this way a part of the old party apparatus could at least be neutralized, if not completely won over (Panaf, 1974). This could be

employed in the transition period until a real vanguard Party emerged (Panaf, 1974). Several times, Nkrumah himself went to the Institute at Winneba to address the students and to take part in discussion groups (Milne, 1999). On more than one occasion, ministers of the CPP government and top Party officials attended special re-education seminars at Winneba, conducted by Nkrumah himself (Milne, 1999)

In his address at the laying of the foundation stone at Winneba on February 18, 1961, Nkrumah said “This day is historic because it is the positive beginning of the end of reaction in Ghana through conscious ideological education” (Panaf, 1974, p. 81). Present on that occasion was Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, then President of the Praesidium of the USSR (Panaf, 1974). The Institute at Winneba comprised of two sections: the ideological education training center and the Positive Action training center; there was to be no excuse for any Party member who had passed through a program at the institute not to know the Party’s aims and guiding principle (Milne, 1999). Men and women from every section of society were to receive training there; and in a special warning to the top Party officials and members of the government, Nkrumah said: “we must eschew ridiculous ostentations and vanity when the Party has charged us with eminent offices of state, and remember constantly that we hold such offices not in our own right, but in the right of total membership of the Convention People’s Party, the masses of the people who really matter. It is a mockery of trust, therefore, for any one of us to consider that we are privileged to install ourselves as masters of the people instead of servants of the masses” (Milne, 1999, p. 120). On February 3, 1962, Nkrumah addressed the first seminar held at the Ideological Institute at Winneba in which Nkrumah stated that there were still members who did not appear to understand the Party’s policies (Milne, 1999). Nkrumah summoned the

Secretariat of the Bureau of Party education to go to the people, the ward, towns and village branches as well as to the special branches created in the offices, shops, factories, state farms, corporations and other places of employment, carrying its work to our general membership (Milne, 1999).

It was a race against time that the ordinary membership of the Party had to be armed ideologically to make possible the removal of unstable members of the top leadership before they sabotaged the Party's program through ineptitude and backsliding (Milne, 1999, p.121). Nkrumah fired the first shots against them in the famous 'Dawn Broadcast of April 8, 1961 in which he called to action to revitalize the CPP to end self-seeking, to energize the efforts of the people towards socialism (Panaf, 1974, p. 83). Some Party members in Parliament pursue a course of conduct in direct contradiction of our Party aims (Panaf, 1974). They are nursing, by virtue of their functions and positions, to become a separate social group aiming to become a new ruling class of self-seekers and careerists (Panaf, 1974). Nkrumah gave those people a choice: they must either give up their business interest or quit the Party and warned against ostentatious living and laid down a code of behavior for those who did not own businesses, but whose attitude and aspirations were elitist (Panaf, 1974).

More often than not, affected living was associated with corruption as Nkrumah asserted himself, knowing that it would mean exposing some of founder members of the CPP (Milne, 1999). Nkrumah instituted a Commission of Inquiry into the assets of all leaders of the CPP, including ministers, Party officials and members of the Assembly, which revealed that some of them were in possession of property far in excess of what they could have acquired

honestly, and this resulted in some of them were asked to resign and others instructed to submit their properties (Panaf, 1974, p. 83). In this way, many of the old guard CPP came under the axe, men who have played an important part in the independence struggle, often undergoing great personal sacrifice (Milne, 1999).

They, party officials had come to the parting of ways; although, the separation was painful to Nkrumah, who was aware of the contributions they have made in the past (Milne, 1999). However, if anything, he was even stricter with his personal friends than his enemies; in striking contrast to some of his ministers, Nkrumah lived in a small two story building house, modestly furnished (Milne, 1999). His whole manner of living was frugal, and he was a light eater and neither drank alcohol nor smoked (Milne, 1999, p.122). The food he enjoyed most was the plain food which might be found in the home of the humblest Ghanaian; and while he would occasionally wear traditional Kente clothe when state occasions demanded, he was happiest in a simple tunic-type jacket and trousers (Milne, 1999). Nkrumah's daily routine would begin at 4.30 to 5.00 am when he would rise and take exercise, playing tennis, riding or walking sometimes as much as four miles; he would sometimes eat the yolk of an egg for breakfast and many a time, nothing at all (Milne, 1999). Then into the office where he would work through until 2 or 2.30 p.m. when he would have a light lunch; after a short rest, he return to the office and often work through without a break until late at night, he would only have five hours sleep (Milne, 1999). Nkrumah as he said himself took a 'calculated risk' in tolerating for a time the continued presence in the CPP of those who were unable, or did not wish to understand the political and social purpose of the state (Milne, 1999). He did so in order that his policies for the total liberation and unification of Africa might go ahead without

interruption. But then, after the coup d'état in 1966, he affirmed that the conduct of many of those in the higher Party leadership had demonstrated to the people of Ghana that one can no longer trust in a broad alliance of interests (Milne, 1999). In retrospect, Nkrumah pin-pointed the source of many of the difficulties his government experienced between 1957 and 1966, namely, the continuance of old colonial structures and personnel in the armed forces, police and civil service (Milne, 1999).

While Africanisation proceeded and unsuitable personnel, on the grounds of commitment, not of race, were phased out as soon as practicable, it would be some time before a radical transformation could be effected (Milne, 1999). It was in 1961, for instance, after the army was involved in suppressing a strike of workers in Takoradi and then in Accra, that Nkrumah dismissed the British army commander, General Alexander; the context in which the General was dismissed was when Nkrumah had been in the Soviet Union when the strike occurred, and the Party leadership and the army commander who acted in his absence with such incompetence in handling the crisis further illustrated the dilemma faced by Nkrumah in trying to forge ahead with insufficient resources in terms of trained, dedicated man power (Panaf, 1974 p.85). In 1956, when Geoffrey Bing QC, an eminent English lawyer became Constitutional Adviser to the Ghanaian government, the condition of the Civil Service was unstable (Milne, 1999). One quarter of all the senior posts were vacant because the British officials occupying them were facing Africanisation (a term for replacing white employees with black employees) of the service, and they decided to retire early in order to receive maximum compensation in addition to their pension; there were at that time insufficient Ghanaian trained to replace them (Milne, 1999). The CPP Africanisation program was not based on racism

because expatriates were welcome to remain as long as they were needed, as their expertise, integrity and a sincere commitment to basic objectives of the CPP were adhere to (Milne, 1999). There were Ghanaians who failed to qualify on these accounts, and expatriates who qualified completely with CPP policies were retained (Milne, 1999). Between 1956 and 1966, Geoffrey Bing was totally committed to the domestic and Pan African policies of the CPP; he worked for many years closely with Nkrumah and the Cabinet (Milne, 1999). Soon after Independence, Bing was appointed Attorney-General, having advised by Nkrumah to apply for the post, and it was Bing who played a key role in drawing up the Republican constitution for Ghana (Milne, 1999).

Proposals for a republican constitution were published in March 1960 as a White Paper, and a referendum was then held in April, the result of which made it clear that the people of Ghana welcomed the new constitution, and by an overwhelming vote made Nkrumah the first President (Milne, 1999). On July 1, 1960, the Governor- General, Lord Listowel, performed his last duty, the prorogation of Parliament (Milne, 1999, p. 124).

The Republican constitution was not copied from that of any other country, and it contained a unique provision that the independence of Ghana should not be surrendered or diminished on any grounds other than the furtherance of African unity, that no person would suffer discrimination on grounds of sex, race, tribe, religion or political belief, and that chieftaincy in Ghana would be guaranteed and preserved (Milne, 1999). One of Nkrumah's achievements was to create a sense of unity, a national identity without a tribal affiliation, out of the whole, despite strong opposition both on the ground and in the colonial office in London

(Birmingham, 1990, p.48). Nkrumah's most important campaigning slogans was "down with tribalism" (Birmingham, 1990, p.49). Freedom and justice would be honored and maintained as Nkrumah was installed as President at the State House on July 1, 1960; standing at his side on that great occasion was President Sekou Toure of the Republic of Guinea (Milne, 1999, p. 124). The two presidents then drove in an open car through the streets of Accra. The Ghana's republican constitution provided for a surrender of sovereignty in the interest of African unity, which further illustrates the consistency and vision of Nkrumah's Pan Africanism (Panaf, 1974). The two presidents celebrating in Accra on that historic July 1, 1960 did not speak the same language had no effect or posed any barrier to their communication, as the two countries were already linked in the Ghana-Guinea Union (Milne, 1999).

Some days later, The President of Guinea, Sekou Toure, speaking in Accra confirmed the genuine solidarity which binds the people of Ghana and the people of Guinea together in one and the same struggle whose aim is to shape the historic destiny of all peoples of Africa within the framework of peace, based on social freedom and democratic advancement (Milne, 1999). The lifelong brotherhood of Nkrumah and Sekou Toure was a unique practical expression of the African Personality, a concept so dear to Nkrumah he described it as a re-awakening consciousness among Africans and people of African descent of the bonds which unite us in our historic past culture and our common experiential aspirations (Panaf, 1974, p. 142).

It was at this time that the title of 'Osagyefo', which means a 'Victorious Leader', was bestowed on Nkrumah by the Ashantehene, the King of Ashanti people (Milne, 1999, p. 125). The name, "Osagyefo" bestowed on Nkrumah has been used for one of the greatest Ashanti

warrior chiefs and the Ashantehene considered that Nkrumah well deserved the title, having achieved so much for Ghana and for Africa (Addo, 1997, p.113). It was considered fitting that Nkrumah should be addressed as “Osagyefo” rather than President in the African context to reflect our African heritage; the title name issue was put before the Cabinet and approved as suitable to mark the historic declaration of the Republic (Addo, 1997).

The word ‘Osagyefo’ has been frequently translated by non-Ghanaians to mean a “Redeemer” as proof that Nkrumah encouraged a personality cult, which was a lie, because Nkrumah never dabble in such activity, and nothing could be further from the truth; and, he did not seek the title of Osagyefo (Addo, 1997). He spoke in Cabinet against the adoption of the title, and on no occasion did he initiate or support the measures to enhance his personal position. Often, he had to restrain the enthusiasm of Party members wishing to build up his image (Addo, 1997).

In his book, *African Politics*, Ian Taylor acknowledges how colonialism profoundly transformed African political, economic, and social structures (Taylor, 2018, p. 25). Taylor contends that, colonialism was grounded in the exploitation of the labor and natural resources of Africa for the benefit of the metropolis, which Nkrumah was well aware that over eighty years the Europeans not only governed most African nations, but they literally deprived Africans of the education necessary to manage their own economic and political systems (Taylor, 2018, p.25).

This deprivation of equal treatment of Africans, prompted Nkrumah on Independence Day to make the following statement: “After all, the black man is able to manage his own affairs

and create his own identity.” (Nkrumah’s midnight Speech. March 6,1957) Taylor further notes how the European system of governance in Africa left an intense implication for the continent as it moved towards independence in the 1960s, and as in most instances, the foundations necessary for the construction of sovereign, economically viable and politically stable African states did not exist (Taylor, 2018, p. 25).

The awful scenario was that the European powers left most of their possessions unprepared for self-rule; the worse example being the Belgian Congo (Taylor, 2018). However, in the case of Ghana, ethnic politic dominates, which profoundly distorts authority, weakens the sense of national identity, promotes instability and the lack of development inherited from the British system of governance was used by Nkrumah as a premise to unite the country and create one –party state (Taylor, 2018, p. 42) According to Taylor, Nkrumah did not just wake up and announced one-party state, he made his case in parliament that Ghana’s economic development would need the whole community to act as one in the interest of the nation to eliminate political competition, which was seen as a necessary device for the management of societal divisions and the eradication of tribalism (Taylor, 2018. p.42).

As evidenced in a book authored by none other Nkrumah himself: *Dark Days in Ghana*, he introduces the Avoidance of Discrimination Bill to deal with the control of political parties based on tribal and religious affiliations (Nkrumah, 1968, p. 63). The premise of this bill was to cause various opposition parties to join together into a single party; the United Party to develop Ghana (Nkrumah, 1968, p. 63) the unity of African states is paramount to the political stability in the continent. Similarly, Rai writes about how Julius Nyerere utilized the concept of Unity to

unite Tanganyika and Zanzibar into a new United Republic in 1964 (Rai, p. 257: 2020). It was also the defining moment of Julius Nyerere, the founding President of new Tanzania; Nyerere like Nkrumah rejected the glorification of nation-state they had inherited from colonialism, and the artificial nations they are trying to forge from that inheritance. He urged the next generation to work for unity with a firm conviction that, without unity, there is no future for Africa (Taylor, 2018).

As a newly elected president of Ghana, Nkrumah did not hide his aspiration to unite Africans under one umbrella for Africa to be respected. This concept was embedded in Pan-Africanism, which was a political, cultural, and intellectual tradition, which regards Africa, Africans, and African descendants as a unit (Taylor, p.119: 2018). Pan- Africanism ideology did not originate by Nkrumah, but by people of African descent in the Caribbean and in United States, and can be traced back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and developed in response to their alienation and loss of identity through slavery and their everyday experiences of racism in the New World (Taylor, 2018). Pan Africanism as an ideology is significant in the African context, however, Nkrumah was not the originator of that concept as stated above.

From 1400 to 1900, the countries of Europe experienced three related phenomena:

- 1) The formation of national states with an incredible surge of nationalist expansion;
- 2) Vast technological and industrial development
- 3) The development of a unique economic system which began with mercantilism and ended up with international capitalism in which Africans suffered direct harmful consequences of these three phenomena (Mbonjo, 1998, p.122). The shift of the

European political economy from mercantilism to capitalism gave birth to the slave trade, where Africans were encapsulated to work brutally (Mbonjo, 1998). This rape of African peoples created the following historical conditions under which Pan-Africanism would emerge as a proposed solution to the oppression of black peoples (Mbonjo, 1998).

- 1) The taking away of millions of Africans created what has been called the **African Diaspora**
- 2) The slave trade devastated Africa's prime population for hundreds of years, superannuated West African and troubled the internal political balance of African peoples to each other;
- 3) The slave trade and its turmoil interrupted Africa's political and economic development, which would have probably led to industrialization and political centralization, and left the continent weakened and vulnerable to the European imperialist scramble for Africa from 1880 to 1910 (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 122).
- 4) It was precisely the uprooting of millions of Africans and the conditions of slavery which laid the foundation for Pan-Africanism and Black Nationalism in the United States and West Indies; Slaves were kept in isolation and preserved as homogeneous groups, as the most effective means of guaranteeing their secure captivity; law and custom forbade all assimilation into social, political and legal institutions of such countries as the USA and the West Indies (Mbonjo, 1998). As a result, the sense of nationhood, and

identity as a people was preserved which provided conditions under which pan- Africanism could grow, but an elementary form of Pan-African thought started to develop in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (Mbonjo, 1998).

In 1817, the American colonization society was formed by free African Americans and sympathetic Whites to create a homeland in Africa for American slaves and return them gradually, and the country of Liberia was formed from this movement in 1847; and the British initiated a similar country called Sierra Leone on the same principle, particularly the deportation of rebellious slave groups such as the Maroons (Mbonjo, 1998).

Black consciousness, Black Nationalism and Black internationalism as they exist today were all initiated in the 1850 in United States and one could precisely say that era was the cradle of the contemporary of black ideologies. As a political solution, Pan-Africanism was the slowest and most hesitant black ideology to develop at that time, however, what that ideological movement lacked was leadership class of African – Americans for whom it could easily be real, within their own individual, social, economic and political capabilities and this meant a black population which had some affluence, international recognition, eloquence and an international community of color (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 124).

This stage of the Pan-African movement had its origins among extraordinarily accomplished free black men from the United States and the West Indies: Paul Cuffee, John Russwurn, Martin Delaney, Edward Blyden, Robert Campbell and others, and it also had its origin in Africa, although, the freedom of expression did not exist in the colonies, and at this early stage, it was not regarded as a mass movement, where it had mass appeal, it relied more

in the emotional and millennial aspects of the movement of a return to the promise land (Mbonjo, 1998).

Dr. W.E. B. Dubois observes that idea of one Africa, the thought and ideals of all native peoples of the dark continent belongs to the twentieth century and stems naturally from the West Indies and the United States, where various groups of Africans, quite separate in origin, became so united in experience and so exposed to the impact of new cultures that they began to think of Africa as one idea and one land; so, late in the eighteenth century when a separate negro church was formed in Philadelphia it called itself African and there were various African societies in many parts of the United States (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 125)

However, the expression Pan-Africanism did not come into use until the beginning of the twentieth century when Henry Sylvester-Williams from Trinidad and William Edward Burghardt Dubois of the United States, both of African descent, used it at several Pan-African Congress which were mainly attended by scholars of African descent from the New –World; another capital contribution to the expansion of African nationalism and Pan-Africanism was the Marcus Garvey “ Back to Africa” mass movement of the 1920s in America, and his philosophy of “Africa for Africans” (Mbonjo, 998).

### **Pan-Africanism:**

Pan- Africanism, as conceived by Dubois, differs from Garveyism in that it was never conceived as a “Back to Africa” movement, but instead a dynamic political philosophy and a guide for action for Africans in Africa, which were laying down the foundations for organization for national liberation; it stood for a complete autonomy for Africans in Africa organized on the

basis of socialism and co-operative economy, leaving no place for millionaires, white or black (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 126). National self-determination, individual freedom and democratic socialism constitute the essential elements for Pan-Africanism, as had been developed by Dubois; they realized that somewhat in the geo-political area of the USA and the West Indies at its germinal chapter, Pan-Africanism was becoming under the false advocacy of Dubois, more and more apprehensive with problems of Africans in Africa; Pan- Africanism therefore became the fundamental ideology for the emerging African nationalism (Mbonjo, 1998).

The first African conference was held in London in 1900 on the initiative of Henry Sylvester Williams, and it was a forum for protestation against the white colonialist aggression; the conference petition to the missionary and abolitionist traditions of the British people in order to protect Africans against the plundering of the founders of empires, unfortunately, Henry-Sylvester Williams died abruptly (Mbonjo, 1998). The conference was an introduction to five successive Pan-African congresses which were to be held later under the supervision of the leading advocate of Pan-Africanism who was W.E.B Dubois (Mbonjo, 1998).

In 1919, another Pan-African Congress was held in Paris as Peace Conference and the French Minister Georges Clemenceau asked his friend, Blaise Diagne, one of the most influential black politicians in France at that time, what he thought of the holding of a Pan-African Congress in Paris? He commented: "Don't advertise it, but go ahead" His reaction was typical among Europeans at that time because of the strangeness and unreality of the very idea of Pan-Africanism; invariably, fifty-seven representatives from various African colonies, the United States and the West Indies attended (Ibid). The delegates drafted various proposals, for

example, that the allied and associated powers should establish a code of law “**for international protection of natives of Africa**”; and the second Pan- African Congress came on in London 1921 in which 113 delegates attended, when the British government was tolerant about it (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 127). A “Declaration to the World” was drafted at the closing of the session, which states that “the absolute equality of races, physical, political and social is the founding stone of world and human advancement”, as the delegates were apprehensive with social than with political improvement in the colonies (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 128).

In 1923, a third Pan-African Congress was held in London, and among the resolutions passed was one which asked for a voice of Africans in their own governments and another was the right of access to land and its resources; although, the political aspect of this request was understood, the social justice was being rather slowly applied in spite of the work of Dubois and others (Mbonjo, 1998).

The fourth Pan-African Congress was held in New York in 1927 in which 208 delegates attended all together, and in 1937, a non-party organization, the International African Service Bureau was set up with the aim to advance the well-being and the unity of African peoples and peoples of African descent throughout the world, and particularly, to strive to cooperate between African peoples and others who share their aspirations (Mbonjo, 1998).

In 1945, the fifth Pan- African Congress was held in Manchester and a concrete expression of Pan-Africanism and African nationalism was made; and for the first time in the history of the movement, the stipulation for the success of the national liberation struggle in Africa was strongly articulated; the delegates, which numbered over two hundred included

Kwame Nkrumah and George Padmore (a black scholar from the West Indies) had been appointed joint vice-secretaries of the Organizing Committee which planned the Congress (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 129).

A number of declarations were addressed to the imperialist powers affirming the determination of the colonial people to be free was the Declaration to the Colonial peoples of the World, which was written by Kwame Nkrumah:

“The fifth Pan-African Congress calls on intellectual and professional classes of the colonies to awaken to their responsibilities. The long, long night is over. By fighting for trade unions rights, the right to form cooperatives, freedom of the press, assembly, demonstration and strike, freedom to print and read the literature which is necessary for the education of the masses, you will be using the only means by which your liberties will be won and maintain. Today, there is only one road to effective action- the organization of the masses” (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 129)

Furthermore, a specific program of action was drawn up and agreed upon, and it zeroed on the demand for constitutional change offering universal suffrage (Mbonjo, 1998).

The methods to be engaged in were based on the Ghandist technique of non-violent non-cooperation, which was withholding of labor, civil disobedience, and economic boycott with the main aim of achieving national independence leading to African Unity as an objective with a combined wider perspective (Mbonjo, 1998). One of the striking features Nkrumah’s fifteen years in office was the lack of violence in Ghana (Birmingham, 1990, p. 59). The calm which permeated the country was not at the time seen as abnormal, and it was an exception to

the peaceful norm which attracted attention (Birmingham, 1990). Unrest in Ghana was almost imperceptible compared to the violence found at the time in Asia and the Americas (Birmingham, 1990).

Unlike the first four congresses financed mostly by middle-class intellectuals, the fifth Pan –African Congress was attended by workers, trade unionists, farmers and students, most of who came directly from the colonies, however, what remained for Pan-Africanism to go beyond the stage of conferences outside Africa and to set foot on the continent of Africa, and this was realized soon after Ghana’s independence, March 5, 1957 under the progressive leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah who was first to put into action the decisions taken in the fifth congress in Manchester in 1945 (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 130).

Faithful to the Pan-Africanist vision and ideal and utterly persuaded that only African unity could solve the complex problems of the striving masses of Africa, Nkrumah summoned all the sovereign states of Africa to discuss plans for the future of the African continent, with the first conference of independent African states to meet in Accra, Ghana in 1958; and Ghana, Egypt, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco and Ethiopia were the only independent African states at that time, and their purpose was listed as follows:

- a) To exchange views on matters of common interest.
- b) To explore ways and means of consolidating and safeguarding their independence.
- c) To strengthen the economic and cultural ties between their countries.
- d) To decide on strengthening workable arrangement for helping African countries still subject to colonial rule.

e) To examine the central world problem of how to secure peace.

The conference endorsed the model of African unity, and specifically, it accepted the following principles:

- 1). a common foreign policy based on non-alignment and positive neutrality, pursued through coordinated action at the United Nations and directed towards African freedom and world peace.
- 2) Coordinated economic development geared to the establishment of equitable, social and economic policies which would provide national prosperity and social security for all citizens.
- 3) Joint action by independent African states for the liberation of all African territories still under colonial rule.
- 4) Joint action by independent African states against social discrimination and apartheid.

Again, by December 1958 in Accra on the initiative of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the All-African People's Conference linking political parties and movements in all African countries was summoned, and representatives of sixty-two African nationalist organizations attended and discussed the different facets of the liberation movement (Mbonjo, 1998, p.132).

The organization of unitary action between African political movements was then launched in which conference delegates set up a machinery for giving efficient aid from independent African states to national liberation movement throughout Africa; and it also

characterized neo-colonialism (a new form of colonialism) which was an even more insidious form of colonialism (Mbonjo, 1998).

In March 1961, a third All- Africa people's conference was held in Cairo, Egypt and the whole question of neo-colonialism was brought to the agenda for discussion on the African Revolutionary struggle, where some other manifestations of the need for African unity appeared with a different conception can be seen in:

-The calling of the Casablanca Conference in 1961 in which Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Egypt and Morocco attended made significant progress, the "Casablanca States" as they were afterward called with the Algerian FLN (National Liberation Front, Algeria) represented the GPRA (Provincial Government of Algerian Republic) made a strong appeal for unity in the following terms:

In unity lies strength. African states must unite or sell themselves out to imperialist and colonialist exploiters for a mess of pottage, or disintegrate individually

-The calling of the Monrovia Conference in May 1961 in which English speaking states whose loyalties were basically Anglo- American attended

-The Brazzaville conference hosted French-speaking states mostly aligned to France and both of these groups adopted a "go-slow" attitude towards African unity and emancipation of African Unity (OAU) to refute Nkrumah's ideas on the OAU when exposing his last views of All these groupings emerged in March 1963 in Addis-Ababa with the conception of the Organization African struggle (Mbonjo, 1998, p.133).

In his article “Towards Social Justice Consciousness in Ghana’s Higher Education: Revisiting the thoughts of Nkrumah and Nyerere” by Delali Amuzu notes the thoughts of Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere on decolonizing higher education in Africa. They realized that the colonial higher education centers on the notion that it was designed to promote the economic aspirations of the metropolis, in a way, making it socially unjust, culturally irrelevant, and developmentally inapt for independent nations in Africa and particularly in Ghana. They advocated that African universities should align with the aspirations of their societies and promote African cultural consciousness. The argument here was that the colonial higher education in Africa was unjust and bestowed consequences due to its cultural misfit, enormous economic emphasis, and misaligned social outcomes and privileges it grants to a minority in society, Delali Amuzu notes in his article mentioned above. He warns that until this trend is redressed, the higher education in the colonized African nations including Ghana would continue to perpetuate injustice and create unjust societies with all the associated tensions. In the quest to liberate the African mind, nurture African character and own African narrative.

To achieve this end, Kwame Nkrumah appealed to an exceptional group of Black Americans to come to their ancestral homeland and help build the newly independent nation that he was leading (Taylor, 2019, p 6). Nkrumah was not looking for farmers and laborers, but for professors, engineers, physicians, writers and architects as Ghana was a developing nation that was emerging from colonial rule and the country was no in an economic position to accommodate a large number of refugees. In those times, however, due to the rampant McCarthyism in the States where some academicians and others from the proverbial “Talented

Tenth” were facing persecution in the United State because of their alleged affiliations with communism were ripe for repatriation to Ghana, a country whose leader shared their political ideology (Taylor, 2019).

**Skills needed to develop an emerging African nation (Ghana) to gain independence in the West African sub-region.**

Taylor, (2019) describes how the Nkrumah brought in some of the practical skills needed in developing an emerging country like Ghana: Drs. Robert and Sara Lee, both of whom were dentist; Dr. Cordero with the Ministry of Health, historians David Levering Lewis and Nell Irvin Painter. Other professors employed at the University of Ghana were Wendell Jean Pierre, a professor from France, and Leslie Lacy, who taught Political Science. Maya Make (later to become Maya Angelou) worked as an office assistant at the University’s Institute for African Studies (Taylor, 2019, p.9) The time of Ghana’s independence era corresponded with the Cold War in the United States, when anti-leftist repression was at its peak; and Kevin Gaines describes Ghana as a “magnet” for African Americans who were frustrated by the restrictions that the Cold War had placed upon them (Taylor, 2019, p. 11). Du Bois was the most prominent of the professors from the early Cold War era who moved to Ghana. Others were trade unionist Vicki Garvin, and Dr. William Alphaeus Hunton, who left a position as an English professor at Howard University, and moved to Ghana and assumed a position as an Executive Secretary of the left-leaning Council on Economic Affairs (Taylor, 2019).

Another notable individual was Tom Feelings who was a caricature artist whose cartoons offered a brutal critique of bourgeois Ghanaians who opposed Nkrumah’s regime;

most of these repatriates tended to be left-leaning in their politics, and their ranks included communists, socialists, pacifists, Pan-Africanists, color-blind liberals, and Black Power advocates (Taylor, 2019). An eminent reason why Ghana has been a destination for African Americans is that Ghana was the first Sub-Saharan country to become independent during the postwar wave of decolonization, and its first head of state, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, extended an invitation to Black Americans to settle in Ghana and assist his countrymen in building new nation (Taylor, 2019, p. xv). One year after Ghana became independent; Nkrumah visited the US and assured African Americans of a warm welcome awaiting them in Ghana, Nkrumah spoke of bonds of blood and affinity that linked them to Ghana and Nkrumah's invitation was taken up by writers, academicians, professionals, and political refugees (Taylor, 2019, p. xvi).

). The family of Dr. Du Bois was provided a beautiful residence in the upscale Cantonment area of Accra, which is now a museum, and the compound surrounding it houses an events center, a visitors' hostel and the headquarters of two expatriate organizations: the Diaspora Africa Forum and the Africa The most notable was the eminent scholar Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, who moved to Ghana in 1961 at the age of 93, in spite of his advanced age, Du Bois had no decline in mental perception and began to work on an academic project entitled Encyclopedia Africana, a project that was founded by the Ghanaian government (Taylor, 2019). Dr. Du Bois was joined by his wife, Shirley Graham Du Bois, while his husband was working on the encyclopedia project Mrs. Du Bois established and directed the government-owned Ghana Broadcasting Service; Mrs. Du Bois was one of several expatriates who played important roles in Nkrumah's government (Taylor 2019). Their home is now a museum, and the compound surrounding it houses an events center, a visitors' hostel and the headquarters of two

expatriate organizations: The Diaspora Africa Forum and the African American association of Ghana (Taylor, 2019).

In Delali Amuzu's article: Towards Social Justice Consciousness in Ghana's Higher Education: Revisiting the thoughts of Nkrumah and Nyerere in decolonizing higher education in Ghana: Here, Amuzu argues that the aims of a university in an independent state should not repeat the colonial aspirations. Apparently, colonial institutions of higher learning, however good intentioned, were unable to assess the needs and aspirations of the societies for which they were instituted. Amuzu notes that higher education in Ghana and Africa must nurture Pan-African agency and extinguish the deep-rooted colonial tendencies and practices which are unfair, disenfranchise the masses and initiate unjust relations between individuals and society. In Nkrumah's long term goal to liberate the mentality of Ghanaians and Africans from Eurocentric education, the Institute of African Studies was established (IAS) at the University of Ghana (Panaf, 1974, p.146).

The Institute was to advance African-centered perspectives, project the African identity and further mitigate remnants of colonialism, Nkrumah envisaged; and would have a firm basis of African scholarship that will become an internationally recognized center for the advance study of African history, language, sociology, culture and of contemporary African institutions. This agenda was vital to the unification and synergy required among Africans separated by false demarcations and boundaries to defeat colonialism and capitalism (Panaf, 1974).

### **Religious Agencies Contribution to Education in Ghana**

The colonial churches, often working as partners of the colonial government, did a good job to providing schools of higher quality than that of the government. Hitherto, the main purpose of the mission schools was to produce an inactive educated class who were to obey their God-given government's efforts to civilize them (Owusu, 2006, p.83) Since its alliance with the colonial government and its obligation to the European culture as an essential part of the Gospel and as a result alienating the indigenous people, the early churches unsuccessful to make any impact on the adult population in the Gold Coast (Owusu, 2006). It was no surprise that the earlier missionaries did not make any single convert in the first decade of their mission quest in many parts of Africa (Owusu, 2006)

A Kenyan scholar, Makau Mutua, argues that since religion, with its link to philosophy and culture, is the key factor in determining and constructing the identity of the modern African state, and since Africa under and postcolonial governments had experienced a scheme meant to eliminate African Traditional Religions, the African identity and dignity have been seriously compromised (Ibid). Mutua asserts that this is a form of violence. Violence, which a leading Professor and president of the Society for Buddhist- Christian Studies, Leo D. Lefebure defines as the attempt of an individual or a group to impose its will on others through any nonverbal, verbal, or physical means that inflict psychological or physical injury (Ibid). Mutua also suggests that African identity was deconstructed by both secular and religious colonialism and now the same religions Christianity and Islam are being used to reconstruct that identity after the image of the invaders (Owusu, 2006, p. 84).

### **How Education in Ghana was relegated by the Military in Politics:**

The postcolonial governments demonstrated their influence by changing the way of its citizen's religious practices, but they were not able to leave an effect on the military. It was the military that were overbearing and able to exert their power.

According to Ian Taylor a coup d'état is an extra-constitutional or forced change of government, which is literally a strike against the state; and very few countries in the continent of Africa enjoyed uninterrupted democracy since independence (Taylor, 2018, p. 81). Apparently, between 1960 and 1982, almost 90 percent of independent African states had been subjected to a coup, an attempted coup or a plot. This trend began early on in the post-colonial era, with the first coup in Togo within less than three years after independence (Taylor, 2018, p.81) According to Ian Taylor, in the military culture, senior military officers often associated themselves with the political class in power and exert significant self-interest in maintaining the status quo; he states that if a political culture of a country experiences a military interruption, it becomes irrevocable altered (Taylor, 2018, p. 82). Taylor (2018) describes the characteristic of military coups as that in which almost every coup there is another counter coup in the making, the reason behind this was not specific, however, consequences, or principle in which any coup is launched may vary, but once the military genie is out of the bottle, it is very difficult to put it back in (Taylor, 2018).

### **The Challenge for Quality Education in Ghana**

There is existing scholarly research concerning the plethora of problems in education facing Ghana since Nkrumah was toppled (Dei, 2004, p.5). Some of these problems were

stagnating school enrolment, lack of textbooks and instructional materials, lack of trained teachers to assume posts, constrained educational finances and inefficiency of educational administration and management practices (Dei, 2004). Today in Ghana, only a quarter of school-age children have access to basic education. Those fortunate enough to graduate from school barely find employment in the workforce (Dei, 2004, p.6) A strong case can be made that since Nkrumah was ousted from the Ghanaian scene, the great majority of the Ghanaian populace have yet to have a basic education and development needs met through formal schooling, because since February 24, 1966 coup d'état, both the military regimes and civilian governments have yet to take the educational agenda of the nation seriously (Dei, 2004). Ghana needs an educational system that first and foremost addresses the immediate needs of local communities and its populace as a nation, which many of these needs are simple basic rights to achieving these goals to enable Ghana as a nation to insert itself into the global/transnational framework under its own terms and conditions (Dei, 2004, p. 6). It is a sad state of affairs that as the nation, the authorities continue to depend on external sources to manage the educational systems while local creativity and talents are underutilized (Dei, 2004) Education must be driven by the needs and aspirations of the local populace rather than the dictates of external capital interest (Dei, 2004).

The separation of education from local communities has left many poor rural communities deprived of schooling, both in admission and in content (Dei, 2004, p.8). The severance of education from local communities in Ghana must be understood as the privileging of schooling over education. Schooling takes place within formal institutional structures; and it is formal school tradition that the various educational reforms have tried to change (Ibid). In

that circumstance, children from poor rural communities were disenfranchised from opportunities for formal learning. This is because often, their parents could not afford to send them to boarding schools as they were needed to work on the farm and their parents could not pay the cost (Ibid). Those who did go to school were relocated from their families, cultures and communities; in a way, their formal learning strategy was disconnected from the land and community to which they belonged (Dei, 2004).

Education in a broader context should encompass emotional and spiritual empowerment of the learner which was lacking in the imperialist context of learning (Dei, 2004, p. 9). Education is broadly envisioned to mean the varied options, strategies and ways through which people come to know themselves and the world and how they act within this environment (Dei, 2004). This conceptualization of education draws on the crossroads of indigenous knowledge(s), spirituality, culture and identity in the learning process (Dei, 2004).

Learning as an emotionally and spiritually felt experience is only possible by integrating educational and economic reforms with the spiritual intellect of connectedness to the local community, culture and history within the objectives, the curriculum, and pedagogical practices of schools (Dei, 2004). The anxiety of learning the suitable skills to function as an individual, as a collective member of a community and of a nation, and to function as a nation in these times is coupled with the need to understand the present not simply as connected to some predictable global forces but as connected to a past in a culture that continuously develops through active engagement in the co-creation of knowledge grounded to local experiences of a material and social reality over time (Dei, 2004). These concerns come through clearly in conversation with

Ghanaian educators, parents, students, and community workers; depending on how the discussions were framed, responses focused on the strains between education for employment and training or education for developing a sense of belonging to a local community with history and a culture (Dei, 2004). It is obvious that these two contentions need to be brought together in the educational projects of African countries (Dei, 2004, p.10).

Contributors were encouraged to speak on issues from their different social positions; and, analysis of individual outlook reveals general precedent as well as contrary opinions, depending on the participants' standpoints (Dei, 2004, p.11). These extensive individual interviews and student focus groups, study participants were asked of their insights of and views on the continuing school reform proposals, how they saw the connections of these initiatives to national development and to describe their expectations regarding the search for genuine educational options for Ghana and Africa which would benefit their individual local needs (Dei, 2004). Interviews were also complemented with classroom and school observations in order to better examine lessons and instructional practices and social arrangements (Dei, 2004).

The following central research questions informed Dei's innovative study: firstly, how do schools/educators take into account students' home and off-schools' cultures in the training, learning and administration of education? Second, how do schools/educators deal with differences and diversity among the student populations in the classroom relations, instruction and other educational practices? Third, what particular learning practices deal with issues of identity and representation in knowledge production? Fourth, how do schools search for and

incorporate African-centered and local resources in the curricular and teaching practices? The more exact questions asked of study participants were: How do students, teachers, educators, and parents/guardians understand the nature, effects, implications and confines of the educational reforms? (Dei 2004, p.12). What do students and educators like about their schools and why? What modifications do they want to see effected in the school system? What specific teaching, instructional and curricular practices enhance learning for a diverse student body? (Ibid). How do educators and students create the link between home, family, culture and schooling? And, what is the connection between identity, schooling and knowledge production and how do schools spout local cultural knowledge(s) to achieve learning and education in schools? (Dei, 2004). The study has used participants' words to illustrate the situation and to carry forward the anxiety, struggle, contradiction and ambiguities in subjective accounts on the educational reforms (Dei, 2004). The significance of voice in educational research cannot be accentuated (Ibid). Voices communicate personal feelings, thoughts, desires and politics; and voices permit readers to bring their own understandings to the data (Dei, 2004). Through infusing the actual voices of contributors, the text moves beyond an abstract, theoretical discussion of inclusive schooling (Dei, 2004). In reality, the voices of different subjects: students, teachers, and community educators reveal a nuanced analysis of what inclusive education means (Dei, 2004). For a critical researcher, the careful interpretation of voices can offer comprehensive insights into precise situations, including the past and present historical context which has contributed to the stance knowledge of the members (Dei, 2004).

Other long standing problems afflicting education in Ghana after Nkrumah was toppled include issues of curriculum relevance, lack of material support from both state and the local

community for education reform, official corruption and misappropriation of public education funds, administration blockages, replication of educational services, lack of jobs for trained school leavers, and unwillingness on the part of school leavers to serve in the rural areas (Dei, 2004, p.30). These issues along with the specific needs and aspirations of the post-independence project and the projected and very real rise in student population should have flagged the importance for educational planning to take into account the need to redirect and increase educational expenditures that could meet the articulated goal of access to basic education for all Ghanaian children (Dei, 2004). Economic policies that focused on reducing expenditures in education would appear to challenge the stated goals and compound the problems (Dei, 2004).

In 1983, it was widely professed that the educational system, as much as the Ghanaian economy, was in grave trouble and demanded an immediate national attention (Dei, 2004, p.33). In a keynote address at a national seminar on educational reform program, the Deputy Secretary for Education grieved the severity of the state of the nation's educational problems in the 1980s (Dei, 2004). He pointed to the exodus of significant numbers of trained and highly qualified teachers to other countries, which forced the recruitment of untrained teachers in the primary and middle schools (Dei, 2004). Most schools, mainly in the rural areas, were lacking textbooks and stationary items due to severe foreign exchange constraints. And, much of the infrastructure of the schools, such as buildings, furniture and equipment, had deteriorated due to lack of replacement and repair (Dei, 2004). School enrolment was declining in proportion to the size of the school-age population and there was a dropout rate of about 30 percent at the elementary school level in some communities (Dei, 2004).

This declining demographic school reality was occurring alongside an increase in population augmentation and flanking a public discourse that spoke to the national, social and economic need to expand the provision of access to education and to increase the levels of educational attainment of Ghanaian school children at all levels: from pre-school to University (Dei, 2004). Also, nearly two-thirds of the nation's adult population was classified as illiterate (Dei, 2004). Education officials recalled successive Ghanaian governments after Nkrumah's coup d'état had cut back on education funding over the years, and the effect on educational quality was clearly being manifested in the failure rates of Ghanaian school children at competitive international examinations, such as those conducted by the West African Examinations Council (Dei, 2004).

Normally, exemption for a few experiments in a handful of schools in the Ghanaian capital, the suggestions for restructuring Ghana's education in the 1970s were not implemented (Dei, 2004). The government appointed a national committee (the Dzobo Committee) to gather public remarks and suggestions, and out of the committee's deliberations came a new educational structure that the military government of Colonel I. K. Acheampong accepted in July 1973 (Dei, 2004). The basic ideology or ideas underlying the new structure and content of the nation's education were recapitulated in a publication by the Ministry of Education in 1974. It included proposals for all Ghanaian (pre-school) children to have between eighteen to twenty-four months of preparation and inclination before the start of their formal education (Dei, 2004). Formal education, extending to nine years, was to begin at age six. It was free and compulsory; the new educational system also stressed that, throughout the entire pre-university education, importance should be placed on the development of practical

activities and the acquisition of manual skills, the development of qualities of leadership, self-reliance and creativity through the promotion of physical education, sports, cultural and youth programs, as well as the study of indigenous languages, science and mathematics (Dei, 2004).

The Dzobo's committee recommendations were nothing more than an exercise on paper.

Among the many reasons for this were national political firmness, lack of political will on the part of national leaders, bureaucratic holdups and the high cost of providing infrastructure and expert personnel in practical and vocational subjects (Dei, 2004)

### **Reforms from the State (Ghana)**

Since the early 1980s, the introduction of structural adjustment policies (SAP) and the enduring challenges of globalization have comprised two external capital benefits that have had and continue to have profound effects on Ghana (Dei, 2004). For genuine social development, there should be a system that truly ensures that all subjects are citizens able to participate in a genuine democracy of equal and unfettered access to knowledge and power (Dei, 2004)

Here again, the importance was placed on improving quality by modifying education to meeting the needs of the labor market by decentralizing management to save bureaucratic cost and improve the distribution of educational resources between the primary and tertiary sectors (Dei, 2004, p.35)

These objectives were to be achieved, partially, by decentralizing the national educational system at both the district and regional levels (Dei, 2004). Active local participation

in the development and rescue of educational programs that seek to better replicate and address past and present local realities is critical (Dei, 2004). Nevertheless, this did not seem to be the thrust of the reforms initiated through the assistance of the Structural Adjustment program (SAP), rather, the thrust appeared to be in the direction of devolving national public responsibility for the financing of education by downloading this responsibility onto the local communities without consideration of the inequitable distribution of wealth across regions and within the communities (Dei, 2004).

The national education agenda was to focus on the direct training of skilled Ghanaians to prop up the agricultural and industrial sectors of the economy. A primary goal of formal education was to promote self-employment (Dei, 2004). The structure of the national educational system was to be changed from seventeen years of pre-university schooling, as six years of primary, four years of middle, five years of junior Secondary and two years of senior secondary education before entering the university level (Dei, 2004). It was felt that these five years decrease in schooling would permit more resources to be unconfined for improving access to education, especially at the basic level, and for improving the quality of education. The drop in the number of years of pre-university schooling was to be rewarded for extending the span of the school year itself to forty weeks from thirty-five, an increase of five weeks per year (Dei, 2004).

Moreover, the state was to promote the development and use of textbooks written by Ghanaians and the growth of a curriculum more relevant and consistent with the country's

social, cultural and economic needs, while catering to a variety of individual talents and skills (Dei, 2004).

Dei believes it is educational change that can strengthen and further develop a nation such as Ghana. The general argument is it is the local populace that drives the needs of having a strong educational system instead of being driven by motives of external capital interest.

The educational Structural Adjustment Policy (SAP) also called for renewed evolution toward the long-term goal of universal primary education. Tentatively, the structural adjustment policy upheld the magnitude of continued state support, including the inevitability of redirecting funds to primary education from cuts to post –secondary funding (Dei, 2004, p.36) The policy sought to reduce the unit cost of education through a better operation of primary school teachers, revised construction standards and reductions of school drop-out and duplication rates (Dei, 2004, p.36)

Some part of the educational sector adjustment and reforms were well meaning and in some instances long past due. For example, the concept of reducing the number of years was principally sound (Dei, 2004). Ghanaians had already drawn attention to the undue length of the system. Nevertheless, students who were fortunate to get into secondary school did not have to complete the full four years of middle school. Even though the decline in school years had been called for by many sectors, the scope of the reduction by five years has been sturdily censured by majority of participants in this study and the analysis has continued to be part of the ongoing local and national debate (Dei, 2004).

A forum has officially suggested that the reduced three years Senior Secondary School be extended to four years. The proposal has yet to be accepted by cabinet and approved for recommendation by parliament (Dei, 2004). Along with what had seemed to be the not so debatable issue of dropping the number of school years, the reforms also approached the more contentious issues around the financing of education, which included introducing user fees for primary school services, for parent-teacher association, for equipment and laboratories; like health service fees, sport and recreational fees, textbook and stationary fees, and introduced room and board charges for institutions of higher learning (Dei, 2004). The state was to cut down on recurrent expenditure on staff, staff training and textbooks. These measures could not be implemented without creating hardships for people and without compromising many of the stated national objectives of the post –independence project (Dei, 2004).

### **The Military in African Politics**

Apparently, the moment the military violates the key tenet of their role in any society in which they are supposed to defend and guide against foreign or domestic aggression, this intervention sets off a chain reaction (Taylor, 2018, p. 82). There are many schools of thoughts about the coups in Africa, what motivates or inspires the military to do what they do to break their primary role in society and set a different agenda which robs the generation of their educational trajectory and replaced it with a military agenda is questionable. This argument ties in with the theoretical framework of military centrality which explains that the greater the resources and cohesion of the military, the greater the likelihood of interventions. Taylor speculates some thoughts have been provoked by widespread societal dissatisfaction with the nature and policies of the political class in power; and the prevailing economic situation fueled

the process (Taylor, 2018, p. 83). These coup leaders often enjoy broad popular support initially as they utilized the radio and TV stations to assure the public and justified the coup being necessary to stop the economic drain of the country by incompetent and corrupt politicians (Dei, 2004)

After assuming power, coup leaders, usually make media commitments to respect civil liberties, promote economic development and lay a solid foundation for return to democracy; although, the populace is well aware of the military personnel political incompetency to governance, no one challenges them to their media commitments (Taylor, 2018, p.83). Although, such pledges initially convince the masses and sway public view about the military, it is only the uneducated who think about the military as a savior or a messiah (Taylor, 2018, p. 84).

The military by definition, according Ian Taylor, is a military regime built on force and coercion, rather than consent; militaries are not democracies, but deeply hierarchical institutions characterized by essentially dictatorial norms (Taylor 2018). The dynamics of military operations are incompatible with constitutional democracy and as such when militaries take over power, two dominant characteristics tend to shape their time in power: first, the urgency to dominate civil society, alternative voices, or possible sites of operation without the military's consent is unconscionable insubordination and cannot be allowed; second, the desire to secure a military base which gives rise to a strong dictatorial attitude (Taylor, 2018, p. 85) Taylor notes in his book, *African Politic*, between 1960s and 1990s saw an average of around twenty successful coups per decade across Africa, a period that was characterized by Cold War

machinations, economic crisis and the growing de-legitimization of many post-colonial regimes ( Taylor, 2018, p. 81).

Taylor, in his book, African Politics; A Very Short Introduction 2018, gives a breakdown of successful coups and unsuccessful coups as follows:

Incidence of coups in Africa, 1959- 2018

<u>Period</u>	<u>Successful Coup d'état</u>	<u>Attempted/plotted coup d'état</u>
1959-69	22	29
1970-9	20	35
1980-9	20	63
1990-9	16	60

Incidence of coups in Africa, 1959- 2018

<u>Period</u>	<u>Successful Coup d'état</u>	<u>Attempted/plotted coup d'état</u>
2000-9	4	27
2010-18	6	21

It is apparent that in many African countries the democratic process is fragile and imperfect and there is a growing agreement that institutionalized changes of government through the ballot

box should be the only way in which a regime can be lawfully replaced (Taylor, 2018, p. 91).

There is a culture of the rule of law, constitutionalism and democracy increasingly to undermine coup tendencies in Africa; however, coups have not entirely disappeared from the African scene, the continent has suffered a number of coups recently (Taylor, 2018). There is also the political culture at the continental level that has changed with the creation of African Union (AU); the haste with which both regional and pan-continental organizations now censure and suspend from membership states that have experienced coups has sent a clear and strong memorandum that unconstitutional changes of governments are no longer acceptable without protest and that membership of regional and continental bodies indicate of some basic norms (Taylor, 2018). In the past, military leaders may have seized power and clung unto it with little or no censure from their peers, as the AOU's observance of the principle of non-interference meant that there was a distinct lack of enthusiasm to take practical punitive steps if and when coups transpired (Taylor, 2018 p. 92). With the advent of groups such as the Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS), East African Community (EAC), Southern African Development Community (SADC), and the African Union (AU) actively contest such events and discourage the intervention by the military; for example, the African Union's Constitutive Act includes pronounced principles on the advancement on democracy and good governance and prohibits coups (Taylor, 2018). These principles of censures, isolation through travel bans, sanctions and suspension of membership of institutions now impose cost on coup leaders which was not there at first (Taylor, 2018).

### **The military's ambition to gain power in African politics**

The military system is not designed to operate in the political sphere with a mandate, but the defense of a nation from foreign and domestic aggression. However, these days, the military in politics in the African context is a symptom of a wider structural crack within the post-colonial state (Taylor, 2018, p.87). Nkrumah's political system of governance was not perfect, but Ghana thrived under his leadership in spite of constant attack on his life. As alluded earlier, there was peace in the country and unrest in Ghana was almost imperceptible (Birmingham, 1990, p.59). On January 3, 1964, the New York Times reported the 5<sup>th</sup> attempt on his life under the caption: Nkrumah escapes assassin 5<sup>th</sup> time; Security Guard fatally shot-Assailant is Arrested (January 3, 1964, p. 1, The New York Times). In his book, *Dark Days in Ghana*, Nkrumah says a distinction should be made between the loss of freedom to undermine, and the loss of freedom of expression (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 64). Under his governance, no one at any time had been denied the right to hold political meetings and to discuss the country's affairs with complete openness. And, in the National Assembly, debates were dynamic, vigorous and unhindered and members did not falter to criticize and expose social wrongs and injustices (Nkrumah, 1972).

Tourists to Ghana from non-socialist countries many a time, spoke to the president of their shock at hearing politics discussed freely and candidly throughout the country, when they had led to believe that the one-party scheme subdued political differences and made any kind of criticism impossible (Nkrumah, 19672). Although, Nkrumah's long-term agenda was to unite African countries as one as United States of Africa to garner respect in the global stage was close to his heart. Taylor acknowledges certain conditions, or economic crisis like price

controls, currency restrictions, devaluation and increased taxes as circumstances which the military pounces upon to stage a coup (Taylor, 2018, p.87).

Nkrumah shares fake economic chaos prevailing in Ghana prior to the coup d'état on February 24, 1966 which he captions: The Big Lie, in which the imperialists describe how Ghana needed to be rescued from economic chaos (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 75). These lies about Ghana under Nkrumah was to give impetus to the coup plotters a legitimate cause to overthrow a duly elected government with the allegation that the country was desperately in debt and the people on the verge of starvation (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 75). The irony of these allegations was that Ghana was voted to have the highest living standard in Africa per capita, the highest literacy rate, and was the nearest to achieving genuine economic independence in 1966 (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 75). Some of the social achievements made during the first ten years under Nkrumah's governance were recorded as such:

	Basic Services		
	1951	-1961	Increase %
<b>Health</b>			
Number of hospital beds...	2,368	6,155	159.9
Rural and urban clinics...	1	30	-
Doctors and dentists...	156	500	220.5

*Transport and Communications*

### Roads (in miles)

Class 1(Bitumen)...	1, 398	2,050	46.7
Class 11 (Gravel)...	2,093	3,346	59.8

Since 1961, the mileage of motor roads rose to 19, 236.

Feeder roads connected most villages to trunk road network.

Post Offices....	444	779	75.4
Telephones...	7, 383	25,488	245.2

### *Electricity*

Installed electrical capacity (kW). 84,708	120,860	42.7
Electrical power generated (kW). 281,983	390,174	38.4

One of the greatest achievements of Nkrumah's government was the construction of the Volta Dam (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 82) The completion of the Volta Dam would enable Ghana to develop the full industrial potential of the nation, and it would increase by nearly 600 percent the installed electrical capacity of the country (Nkrumah, 1972). Nearly one-half of this new capacity would be utilized by the aluminum smelter at Tema and the projection was that Ghana has sufficient bauxite to last for 200 years (Nkrumah, 1972) The Volta Project would have an ample reserve of power for other facilities that would require electricity and Ghana would have liberated herself resolutely from the possibility of a power shortage becoming a brake on the pace of economic progress (Nkrumah, 1972) Construction targets for the various parts of the Volta River Project were met; and some of them ahead of schedule with an inauguration date set on January 23, 1966 (Nkrumah, 1968). There were plans ahead of building a large subsidiary

dam at Bui in the northern part of the country, where a construction of an aluminum plant would be built for aluminum production as Ghana was exporting bauxite to the United Kingdom for processing while the nation Ghana, was importing alumina manufactured in the United States from bauxite mined in Jamaica for our aluminum smelter at Tema (Nkrumah, 1972). Ghanaians were reasonably proud of their own government, which contributed 35, 000,000 pounds which was half of the cost of the Volta River Project as well as meeting the cost of the new port and township of Tema, an essential part of the project, and the remaining balance of 70, 000,000 pounds would be raised by an international loan as follows:

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development	16,790,000 pounds
Agency for International Development of the United States Government	
	9, 640,000 pounds
Export-Import Bank of the United Kingdom Government...	3,570,000 pounds
United Kingdom Board of Trade acting for the Export Credits	
Guarantee Department... ..	5, 000,000 pounds

In the cause of undertaking this project, our adversaries talk much about bribery and corruption in the developing countries as if it were happening under my watch, but not a single penny went lost or misappropriated in the entire Volta dam undertakings, which involved many contracts over many years till the end of project (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 84).

Education, the health services and housing were all slated to benefit; and as health services were concerned, the Plan suggested to change the main orientation which had previously been more therapeutic than preventative (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 85). Rural health

services were developed in such a way that the frequency of infant mortality was lowered, and maternity and post-natal care enhanced (Nkrumah, 1972). The main cause of poor health in Ghana is the pervasiveness of the endemic diseases such as malaria; and the plan was to emphasize the fight against these endemic diseases in the country (Nkrumah, 1972). New regional hospitals equipped with varied needed specialized facilities were under construction in major cities like Tamale, Koforidua, Ho, and Sunyani. As well as all existing hospitals were improved and modernized to meet the health care needs of the population (Nkrumah, 1972).

Arrangements had been approved to build six new district hospitals and four urban polyclinics to assist in the decentralization of out-patient work (Nkrumah, 1972). Additionally, five new mental hospitals with accommodation of 1,200 patients were planned to be ready by 1970 (Nkrumah, 1968). The hospitals were to be included with psychiatric units providing treatment for as many mental patients as can be accommodated (Nkrumah, 1972). The urgent need for more doctors was being met by sending Ghanaian medical students to study abroad, and establishing the country's first medical school; and in 1962, in which 51 pre-medical students were enrolled at the University of Ghana Legon (Nkrumah, 1972). This way, when our own medical school is operating fully it will be empowered to provide a screening system for all doctors trained abroad who wish to practice in Ghana (Nkrumah, 1972). The medical school program under the Seven Year Development Plan was expected to achieve the following outcome:

1 doctor to 10,000 people

1 nurse to 5,000 patients (including patients in the public health centers)

1 technician (laboratory, X-ray, etc) to 5, 000 patients

1 health inspector to 15,000 people

1 health auxiliary nurse (vaccinators, dressing-room attendants, etc.) to serve 1,000 people.

And, a large network of health centers was being built all over Ghana to serve the rural population, and regional health officers were being made available with training and facilities to equip them to carry out their important work (Nkrumah, 1972).

When Nkrumah's government came to office in 1951, all imported goods were in the hands of a few big foreign firms, particularly, the monopolist United African Company, part of Unilever Complex. Foreign firms dominated Ghana's trade and almost controlled the economy (Nkrumah, 1972, p.90). However, by 1965, the grip was being broken, and the nationalized Ghana National Trading Corporation was distributing 32 percent of all imports; and the government was breaking through the strong hold of the big international banking houses, which means in 1958, foreign banks held only one-third of Ghana's foreign currency reserves; and by 1965 they held **none** (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 90). Ghana government success in breaking the web of economic control which Western Capitalism has imposed across the whole of African continent, and Ghana's clear socialist policies provoke the hostility of the imperialist powers (Nkrumah, 1972). The imperialist agents knew that as long as the President is alive and at the head of the Party in power, the process could not be halted and their exploitation could not be re-imposed, as the government system established could not be penetrated, or manipulated (Nkrumah, 1972).

On the economic front of the nation, Nkrumah's agenda was to integrate educational, industrial and agricultural programs to bring full employment and to make possible the realization of economic independence and a big rise in the living standard of all Ghanaians (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 87). During the first year, 48, 900,000 pounds were spent on development projects; out of this amount 16 million pounds went into key agricultural and industrial sectors. In agriculture, the importance was on diversification (Nkrumah, 1972).

State Farms cultivated 24,000 acres of rubber, palm oil, banana, coconut and citrus under the agricultural wing of the Workers Brigade, which alone had 12,500 acres, the two institutions cultivated large areas of land for cereals and vegetables; and improvements were made in the modernization which spurred productivity of private and co-operative farms (Nkrumah, 1972 p. 87). The construction of many new industrial plants were initiated, these included steel works (30, 000 tons), two cocoa processing plants, one at the western city of Takoradi (28, 000 tons) and the other at Tema (68,600 tons), two sugar refineries, a textile printing plant, a glass factory, chocolate factory, a meat processing plant, a radio assembly plant and a large printing works at Tema; all these factories were brought into production during the first phase of the economic Plan for Ghana (Nkrumah, 1972). In the same vein, a gold refinery at Tarkwa, asbestos, cement, shoe and rubber-tyre factories at Kumasi, and the building for an atomic reactor at Kwabenya was nearly finished. And, a plant for the manufacture of pre-fabricated houses was also finished (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 88).

Nkrumah's basic policy underlying the Seven Year Development Plan was to change the structure of mainly an agricultural economy into a balanced modern economy with great speed

and competence (Nkrumah, 1972). Under his governance, the management was able to utilize local raw materials for establishing industries as well as meeting local demand for certain consumer goods. For example, the country produced matches, shoes, nails, sweets, chocolate, soft drinks, insecticides and other chemicals; a sure sign of build-up of our industrial strength would be seen at the commence of January 1966 that imports of raw materials amounted to about 9 percent of Ghana's total import (Ibid). Before the February coup d'état, Ghana government was investing 25 million pounds annually in manufacturing projects, and the country's main export:

Cocoa ....	680 million cedis (Ghanaian currency) annually
Timber.....	31.2 million cedis annually
Minerals...	48 million cedis annually

Ghana was producing a sound basis for profitable industrial enterprise for Ghana (Nkrumah, 1968). Evidently, Ghana annually imports about 264 million cedis of semi-finished and finished products consisting mainly of food, drinks, textiles, clothing and construction materials, including capital equipment (Nkrumah, 1972). Ghana's annual exports average some 254.4 million cedis of primary produce, mainly cocoa, timber, gold, diamond and manganese; a sure sign that our growing industries were to make probable a cut in imports, specially of consumer goods, and an increase in our exports, not only of primary produce but of our own locally-manufactured products (Nkrumah, 1972)

The Nkrumah's government's focus on Ghana's economic progress did not negate the country's education sector. My argument here is that military intervention in Ghana negatively affected the educational system and crippled the economic aspiration in Ghana because the

military personnel entrusted to manage curriculum development and the running of the educational system were not experts in that field, yet, the military beliefs in the Dependency theory framework, which was alluded to earlier in this paper. The military rule tends to severely damage the polity; and citizens who do not submit to or align themselves with the military agenda are shut out from the nation's economic and social activities and literally paralyses the political class(Taylor, 2018, p.86) In the environment of African context, the worst example to date is Sani Abacha who staged a military coup and then controlled Nigeria from 1993 to 1998, and robbed the nation of Nigeria up to \$4billion in foreign assets, which was traced to him, his family and representatives after he died(Taylor, 2018, p.87).

One common feature of military rule is that the coup leaders most often utilize the opportunity afforded to them by the seizure of power to settle old scores, silence enemies from the previous regime and get revenge (Taylor, 2018, p. 86). In Ghana, according to Joy News, two judges and a retired Major were killed because they were deemed enemies of the revolution. The leader of the revolution in Ghana then, Rawlings and his military adviser, Tsikata gave orders to a civilian, Amartey Kwei, a member of the ruling military council with some young soldiers to carry out the adoption and killings of the judges and a retired major to settle a score as enemies of the revolution (Joy News, 2019). In Amartey Kwei's confession before he was executed, he said he carried out an instruction given to him by Jerry John Rawlings, the coup leader in 1979 and 1981 respectively, and his military adviser Kojo Tsikata a national special assignment because they were his supervisors (Joy News 1983).

Amartey Kwei's murderous action, which was sanctioned by the Rawlings military regime was an example of concern expressed by Kwame Nkrumah in terms of how the imperialist's agenda had been woven into the foreign military missions and training schemes, which involve the indoctrination of our young military personnel with imperialist ideas and tradition (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 46). Nkrumah notes that in 1964, nearly 3,000 French officers and men were seconded, or constricted to the armed forces of independent African states, while 1,500 Africans were training in France (Nkrumah, 1972). In 1964-65, U.S aid to the Congo (Kinshasa) then called quadrupled that of Belgium; and growing numbers of African officers were being sent to United States and West Germany. These imperialist- trained officers among the professional armies started to cause trouble, suffering and confusion in Africa (Nkrumah, 1972). They were the willing tools of the imperialist agenda and of reactionary counter-revolutionary forces within our own countries. These foreign trained military personnel among African professional armies caused army mutinies and coups between the end of 1962 and March 1967 fifteen African Heads of State had been toppled and the positions of others seriously endangered (Nkrumah, 1972).

Nkrumah's suggested idea to counter act the internal subversion carried out by the military system inspired and aided by outside forces is eventually when an All- African Union Government has been established to abolish professional armies altogether and build in its place a people's militia by arming the peasants and urban workers like in China and Cuba (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 47). Nkrumah believes that such an armed force cannot be corrupted into a subverted activities and it would be the best guardian of the people's welfare and interest in Africa (Nkrumah, 1972). Nkrumah also believes that an establishment of people's militia in

Ghana would have posed a resistance to the imperialist's trained military personnel to easily stage a coup in Ghana, or in Africa. He gives the breakdown of record of military action in Africa, which was pretty alarming:

### **Record of Military Action in Africa**

December, 1962 - March 1967

December 17, 1962	Senegal	Attempt to topple President Senghor. Failed
January, 13, 1963	Togo	Assassination of President Olympio
August 12-15, 1963	Brazzaville	Forced resignation of President Youlou
October 19-28, 1963	Dahomey	President Hubert Maga removed from office
December 3, 1963	Niamey	Military mutiny, suppressed by President Hamani Diori
January 20, 1964	Tanzania	Military mutiny, suppressed with aid from British troops
January 23, 1964	Uganda	Military mutiny. Suppressed with aid of British troops
January 24, 1964	Kenya	Military mutiny. Suppressed with aid of British troops
February 18, 1964	Gabon	President Leon M'ba toppled
June 18, 1965	Algeria	President Ben Bella overthrown
November, 25, 1965	Congo (Leo)	Presidential powers assumed by General Mobutu
December 22, 1965	Dahomey	Assumption of power by General Soglo
January 1, 1965	Central Africa Republic	Forced resignation of President David Dacko

January 4, 1965	Upper Volta (Burkina Faso)	President Yameogo toppled
January 15, 1966	Nigeria	Federal Prime Minister Balewa and two regional premiers killed  (General Ironsi in power)
February 24, 1966	Ghana	Seizure of power by imperialist inspired army and police officers
July 29, 1966	Nigeria	General Ironsi killed. General Gowon in power
November 29, 1966	Burundi	King Ntare V toppled
January 13, 1967	Togo	Forced resignation of President Grunitzky
March 24, 1967	Sierra Leone	Army seizure of power

Nkrumah acknowledges how all the military interventions were counter-revolutionary in nature resetting clock in which state the military intervention occurred (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 48). The premise on which each military intervention was staged might be different; most of them had certain factors in commonality which give the clue to their actual nature and origin, Nkrumah notes. And, draws the conclusion that where there has been counter-revolutionary military action there has been a connection between foreign-trained army officers, local reactionary opposition elements and imperialist mentality (Nkrumah, 1972, p.48). Nkrumah, sometimes questions and wonder what the imperialists teach in their military training centers in the way of "loyalty", which is one of the basic qualities of a good soldier to his/her country (Nkrumah, 1972, p.45). Nkrumah, again, raises the question of treason among those who have passed through their imperialist's courses of training as exceptional, or phenomenal, and Afrifa is a fair example. Comparing the quality difference of character and personality after the training, Nkrumah says one-sixth of Ghana's officer corps were trained at Sandhurst, the training center for the imperialist; and for some time, Nkrumah starts sending officer corps to

Soviet Union and other socialist countries and “**none**” of the officers trained in the Soviet Union took part in the February uprising in Ghana (Nkrumah, 1972).

### **The impact of Ethnicity in Ghanaian and African Politics**

Ethnicity is relating to a particular race, nation, or tribe and their customs and traditions (dictionary of contemporary English, 2012) Ian Taylor (2018) notes how across African societal tension and turmoil is often expressed through identity politics. He attributes this conundrum to the colonial legacy which prepared the ground for an eminent interference in the civilian political governance by the way the imperialists often recruited and promoted members of the military according to their ethnic origins, rather than merit (Taylor, 2018, p. 88). Taylor also notes that the typical African army is often severely underpaid and may be unfamiliar with professional codes that stipulate non-interference with civilian affairs. However, the military gives soldiers status and power whenever the army seizes control, paving the way to lord it over the civilian populace, which then provides all sorts of opportunities for the rank and file of the military (Taylor, 2018) Taylor acknowledges that soldiers have the reputation to be wealth-seekers, property grabbers and bribe-takers, openly engaging in self –enrichment activities over the barrel of a gun and through intimidation (Taylor, 2018).

There is also the personal ambition and the passion for power by some key military players which served to fuel the initiation of coups with the intention of regaining lost status, or to preempt and impending cleanse (Taylor, 2018, p. 89) The colonial establishment including the United States of America supported military coup plotters particularly in Ghana. The Ghana

News Agency in Accra released this signing ceremony in the Castle Accra, Ghana just two years after the military toppled Nkrumah's government. According to the news announcement, this loan was to reward the coup plotters for overthrowing the duly elected democratic civilian government under Nkrumah (Ghana News Agency 1968) (Link: [But, it was presented as a loan to Ghana to facilitate imports from United State of America knowing absolutely well that the military personnel lacks the logistic of administering democratic governance to an emerging developing country like Ghana, which was only nine years after achieving independence from the British government from almost one hundred years of colonial rule.](#)

The prolonged military rule in Africa, particularly, in Ghana has further weakened African states and served to delegitimize existing institutions, where degrees obtained from these African countries are not usually recognized as equivalent to the host countries in the western hemisphere (Taylor, 2018, p.92). Where one or a group has dominated the military, coups have helped to further fracture society along religious and cultural lines. Taylor acknowledges that the military governance impoverishes an already weak civil society and transposes the authoritarian values of the military into the civilian life. This contributes to the destruction of what normal politics may have existed prior to the intervention (Taylor, p. 93: 2018) In his book, Taylor (2019) acknowledges how the election held on August 29, 1969 demonstrated ethnicity oriented, not ideology, a trend which Nkrumah fought vehemently to avoid in the interest of national unity (Taylor, 2019, p. 23). Nkrumah on February 1, 1966, Nkrumah, the President of Ghana, addresses the role of the army in a democratic nation like

Ghana and Africa as a whole, that, it is not the duty of the military to govern because it has no political mandate and its duty is not to seek a political mandate (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 48).

The military only operates under the mandate of a civilian government; if, however, national interest compels the military system to intervene, then immediately after the intervention, the army must hand over to a new civilian government elected by the people and appreciate the people's mandate under a constitution accepted by the military (Nkrumah, 1972). On the contrary, if the military does not do this, then the position of the military becomes suspicious and anomalous, which indicates a betrayal of the people and the national interest (Nkrumah, 1972).

It is shameful to learn the details and the intricacies of how the coup d'état on February 24, 1966 which toppled Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was planned and executed by the army with the backing of the CIA and other similar organizations, Nkrumah acknowledges in his book: *Dark Days in Ghana*, 1972. And, some traitors among the Ghanaian community were encouraged by bribery and the promise of political power to destroy the constitutional government of their country (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 49). Nkrumah acknowledges how in Ghana the embassies of United States, Britain and West Germany were all implicated in the plot to topple his duly elected government. He notes the following allegation that the U.S. Ambassador, Franklin Williams, offered the coup plotters 13 million dollars to carry out a coup d'état in Ghana, with the promise that the leaders, like Afrifa, Kotoka and Harlley were to get the large share if they were able to assassinate the president as he prepares to leave the Accra airport to Hanoi (Nkrumah, 1972).

However, as the assassination attempt was declined, Nkrumah expresses shock and repugnance that an African American ambassador of United States sold himself out to the imperialists as a tool to be utilized in this way (Nkrumah, 1972). When the ambassador to Ghana in 1966, Franklin Williams, was confronted about the details of the coup which toppled Kwame Nkrumah's government according to Nkrumah, Franklin Williams purposely lied by quoting an unsubstantiated public sentiment that the coup was bloodless which was not true (Nkrumah, 1972).

As newly independent nation, Ghana was doing reasonably well economically, politically and on the educational front hence, the CIA activity in Africa in the 1960s, which resulted in the toppling of Ghana's government, was such a negative and subversive in nature. Nkrumah reports that in July 1965, Taylor Odell, an attaché' of the United States embassy was expelled from Egypt after he was caught red-handed accepting confidential documents from Mustafa Amin, an Egyptian CIA agent (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 50).

In Southern Sudan, the so-called Azana Liberation Front was founded directly with CIA intelligence support and funds with the intention of breaking from the rest of the country and proclaiming an independent state of Azana (Ibid). Also In the Congo (Brazzaville) then called, the CIA was involved in different attempts to disrupt the progressive government of President Massemba- Debat; and the CIA activity in the Congo ( Kinshasa) was not different at all and shocking(Ibid). Between 1961 and 1964, CIA agents killed a number of politicians and important public figures in Burundi and finally the Prime minister of Burundi, Pierre Ngendandumwe, whose assassin, a CIA agent Gonzalve Muyenzi worked as an accountant in

the U.S embassy and received his payment 3,000, 000franc discovered in his flat when he was searched (Ibid) Again, the CIA was deeply implicated in the attempted coup in Tanzania in 1964 in which they paid heavily for the services for a number of Tanzanian politicians(Nkrumah, 1972).

Ethnic tendency was revealed when Akan-dominated regime in Ghana took office and tried to purge from government employment persons from other ethnic groups whom they did not deem as loyal to the regime. This political mentality affected the smooth running of the government because the qualified personnel to run the bureaucratic duties of the government were pushed out (Taylor, 2019, p. 24). Within two years, Ghana's economy under Kofi Busia was in terrible shape; the rate of unemployment was at 50 percent. What made matters worse was that the country was so deep in debt that it was only paying out more for debt servicing than it was receiving in foreign aid (Taylor, 2019, p. 25). The economic policy introduced by Busia government brought in drastic increases in prices for basic items, and there were commodity shortages due to import restrictions imposed by the government (Ibid) Apparently, the economic situation in the country led to unwelcome decline in the popularity of the Busia regime, and this unfavorable likeness of the government reached into the ranks of the military. And, members of the military forces were upset and furious over an austerity budget that slashed military expenditures by nearly 25 percent (Taylor, 2019 p. 26).

Dr. Kishore Mahbubani the Dean of Singapore (University of Singapore faculty of Economic) between 2004 to 2017 shares a profound tenet with the acronym MPH, which when implemented rightfully would help many Third World countries including Ghana revamp their

economy irrespective of political leadership in power. Mahbubani explains the letter 'M' for Meritocracy, where the best qualified person is employed in the government position to run the country and make the right decision for the government, and the letter 'P' for pragmatism, which means so far as you can do the job despite your ideology you would be given the job and nepotism is not the order of the day. The last word 'H' which stands for honesty, Mahbubani says it is most difficult item to implement in African political context and this is what is plaguing many African nations including Ghana. Mahbubani shares insight of how Singapore success from Third World environment to first.

World condition has been achieved. Link:

<https://youtu.be/Eo0iagMEoWI>

The current Ghanaian president, Nana Akufo Addo, has a lot of relatives as cabinet ministers, playing the nepotism card, which is not good for Ghana's revamping from its economic setback suffered during the military coups' era. Ghana needs meritocracy and pragmatism mentality as advised by Dr. Mahbubani in his video set posted above, encouraging qualified personnel to be recruited in his government positions to implement right policies to bring real economic development to the nation and honesty individuals who are content to serve the nation, avoid corruption at all cost and tell the truth without fear or favor and advance the nation in his developmental agenda (Mahbubani K. 2017). The challenge to select qualified personnel into government positions without any tribal affiliation is a daunting task which every political leader in Ghanaian or in African context must deal with to have objective judgments and avoid corruption. Nkrumah had to contest not only tribalism but the African

tradition that a man's first obligation was to his family group and that nepotism was the highest of all virtues (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 66).

### **How Coups Impacted Higher Education in The West Africa Region.**

Mr. Wagdy Sawahel of University World News expressed concern under the caption: Students concerned about coups and decline of democracy. According to Wagdy Sawahel, the African student community expressed concern over the negative impact of coups in the West African region on the delivery of quality education as well as on the welfare of students and have appealed to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to step up its commitments to protect democracy (University World News, February 10, 2022). This suggestion was welcomed by the secretary general, Peter Kwasi Kodjie, of All- Africa Students Union (AASU) for ECOWAS to protect and strengthen democratic values in the West African region. This resolution was crucial to the recent developments of political and security situation in the republics of Burkina Faso, Guinea, and Mali at its extraordinary summit held on February 3, 2022 in Accra, Ghana (University World News, February 10, 2022).

The Ghana-based AASU is an umbrella organization representing 55 universities and institutions of higher learning in all the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, including South Sudan, its newest member in the region (University World News, Feb. 10, 2022) The ECOWAS summit

raised serious concern over the breach of constitutional order in the region, usually through attempted and successful coups. Members in the ECOWAS summit reaffirmed their commitment to strengthening democracy, freedom and good governance in the region and instructed the Commission to expedite the review of the 2001 Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance and the related legal instrument (University World News, February 10, 2022). In another setting, the African Union condemned the wave of military coups at the 35<sup>th</sup> session of its summit held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on February 5 and 6, 2022 (University World News, February 10, 2022) The All-African Student Union (AASU) was pleased with the AOU condemnation on the wave of military coups in the Sub-Region, which was characterized mainly by coup d'états, human rights abuse and the lack of peoples' participation in governance process. The Student Union was also alarmed by the region experiencing an unprecedented number of coup d'états and being designated by the international community as a coup bloc, in which within the past 18 months, military leaders have toppled the democratic governments of Mali, Chad, Guinea, Sudan and Burkina Faso, with a failed coup attempt in Niger (University World News, February 10, 2022).

The secretary general of AASU, Kodjie expressed the obvious concern that coups disrupt learning activities as students, educators and educational institutions become vulnerable in the chaotic situation they encounter, as this does not provide a sound and secure environment necessary for delivering quality education (University World News, February 10, 2022) Kodjie also noted in line with the 2020 study on Political stability and innovation in Africa, which indicated that political uncertainty promotes talented scientists' emigration and negatively affects innovative performance in the continent ( University World News, February 10, 2022) In

another study in 2020 entitled, Disastrous impact of corruption, political instability and expropriation risk on quality of education: Evidence from Asian countries indicated that political instability is one of the main factors that had significant impact on the quality of education (University World News, February 10, 2022).

### **Student Movements Can Bring Necessary Change**

A study conducted in 2020 indicated that Student movements and Autocracies in Africa demonstrated how student movements and youth-led protests against autocracies in African countries have been successful in shifting political bases of power (University World News, February 10, 2022). The role of the students is well positioned to use protest and organized movements to bring about political change has been challenged since independence from the colonizers, suggesting a weakened student power over time as demonstrated in Sudanese, Tanzanian and Senegalese students' movements as case study. A typical example was in Sudan, despite a crackdown that killed several students, the university students supported civil disobedience and regularly took to the streets demanding a return to civilian rule since a military coup on October 25, 2021, which ended in a power-sharing arrangement that was established after a popular uprising led by students, among others removed president Omar al-Bashir in December 2019 (University World News, February 10, 2022).

Again, on February 6, 2021, students of Omdurman Islamic University protested to demand justice and support the case of a student, Abdul Aziz Al-Sadip killed last year, as well as the call to end killing of an unarmed student exercising their right to protest, as a promoter of

democracy and good governance. Kodjie, the secretary general of All- African Student Union (AASU) believes that democracy ensures the peace and stability required for education in Africa. He therefore summons all African governments to reaffirm their commitments to strengthening democracy, freedom and good governance to create and sustain peace and stability on the African continent. He points out that the AASU stands committed to advocating for democratic principles that would assure the welfare of students and young people on the continent of Africa (University World News, 2022).

Since Nkrumah's government was toppled on February 24, 1966, by the military in Ghana, education has been the least priority on both military and civilian governments' agenda as demonstrated by the following link:

Ghana School Pupils sit on the Block to learn in Class. [https://youtu.be/\\_EPEj0N\\_fmw](https://youtu.be/_EPEj0N_fmw)

In this video segment, the presenter shares how the school was established thirty years ago to date and the school has no adequate building to house the pupils, desks or chairs for them to sit on. The children sit on mud blocks, which make their school uniforms dirty each day to be washed by their parents each day as explained by the presenter. This is because the government of the day has not prioritized the value of their education as something to make each child in that classroom a potential future leader of the nation. In his (PhD) dissertation titled: Explaining Education Reforms in Ghana; an institutional and ideational perspective, Paul Acheampong Boakye shares how we think about the years of schooling has variety of other characteristics, like school quality, training and attitudes towards work as part of human capital

investment. Accordingly, basic education is seen as critical to enhancing the quality of human life and ensuring social and economic development.

Education is seen globally as the root of all development, the crucible for democracy, liberty and indispensable to national development as it is to individual advancement. Boakye emphasizes how basic education has now become a basic human right in most countries, whether developed or underdeveloped, and a necessity for survival in our present day. Basic education over the years has become an important function and policy area of the state and its governance institutions at both local and national stage. Accordingly, education should be designed as an official policy to redress social inequality, meet the well-being of citizenry and provide a critical pool of human resources to expedite the development of a modern economy (Boakye, P.A (2019)

Education is the most important role of state and local government. Compulsory school attendance laws and immense expenditures for education demonstrate the recognition of the importance of any democratic society. Education is required in all sectors of our basic public responsibilities. As Boakye states, quality education is the very foundation of good citizenship. It is the principal instrument awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing her/him for later professional training, and in helping her/him to fine-tune her environment. In a Ghanaian context, it is doubtful that any child may be expected to succeed in life or in any environment, if she is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms regardless of location in Ghana (Boakye, P A (2019).

Nkrumah describes how education of the people of Ghana thrived under his governance. He notes that in education, progress was equally impressive. In ten years his administration achieved more than the whole period of the British colonial rule (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 77). The country, Gold Coast, then called, was under the British rule for almost hundred years. He describes the gains made in education in his fifteen years in office as follows: great increase in the numbers of children in primary and middle schools, and of students in secondary and technical schools and in colleges of higher education.

		<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>Increase %</u>
Primary Schools	...	154,360	481,500	211.9
Middle Schools	....	66, 175	160,000	141.7
Secondary and Technical Schools	....	3,559	19,143	437.8
Teacher Training Colleges	....	1,916	4,552	137.5
University Students	....	208	1,204	478.8

And, the building of schools and colleges were giving a top priority in his development plan as it pertains to human capital investment in the nation (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 77). Under Nkrumah leadership, he took an unprecedented step in making all education free, from primary to university level. The textbooks were supplied free to all pupils in primary, middle and secondary schools (Nkrumah, 1972). His unrelenting work alone on education in a population 7, 500,000

put Ghana in the lead among independent African states. In the same vein, mass literacy campaign has made Ghana the most literate nation in the whole of Africa (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 78). Before the coup d'état in February 24, 1966, Nkrumah's government was expanding the educational system to provide the necessary numbers of qualified people to meet new demands in the economy; like changes were made to shorten and improve educational courses (Nkrumah, 1968, p.92). For instance, there was a reduction made in the number of school years, so that University graduates would be ready for employment at the age of 21 or 22 instead of 24 or 25 as used to be in the past (Nkrumah, 1972). Under the new educational plan, the time spent in middle school was reduced by two years and the secondary school by one; and primary education still six years and would be followed by two years vocational orientation training for those who did not want to proceed to secondary school(Nkrumah, 1972)The reduction by two years of the ten year middle school program was design to sanction 300,000 additional young people into the labour force and equipped them with basic training in technical and agricultural skills (Nkrumah, 1972). The estimated figures below demonstrated the growth in school enrolment 1963-1970:

		<u>Total enrolment</u>	
		<u>1963</u>	<u>-1970</u>
Primary	- Middle	1,200,000	2, 200, 000
Secondary		23,000	78,000

Teacher Training	6,000	21, 000
Technical Schools	4,000	6,000
Clerical Training	100	5,000
Universities	2,000	5, 000

The program enrolment would be such that from 1968 nearly 250,000 children would complete primary-middle school and 20,000 others would finish secondary school each year; for the complete Plan period, the output from all educational institutions was to have been projected as follows:

Middle and continuing schools.	750,000
Secondary Schools...	46,000
Universities.....	9,000
Technical schools...	14,000
Secretarial Schools...	11,000
Teacher training...	31,000

The incredible rate of the educational growth created certain obscurity in the system like shortages of trained teachers, school and college facilities, which the government was successful in meeting the requirements by allocating 153.6 million cedis, about 64 million pounds for the construction of post-primary school buildings to meet the need for the new secondary and higher education (Nkrumah, 1972). The University of Ghana, the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, and Cape Coast University College were supplying a large number of teachers, and expatriate teachers were also recruited to fill in

other vacancies until the country has sufficient trained teachers to meet the demand (Nkrumah, 1972).

To meet the manpower shortage, the Trades Union Congress, the Ministry of Labor and employer association launched an expanded in-service training schemes to enhance the knowledge and technical skills of all new employees (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 94). Adult education programs were being improved to provide part-time and evening classes for craftsmen, foremen, technicians and managers; and the Institute of Public Education, the Workers' College, the Universities and other specialized institutions were redoubling their efforts to make this type of education available throughout the country (Nkrumah, 1972). The country's economy was almost completely controlled by Ghanaians, and the educational planning was producing educated and skilled human resources to meet the demand of the country; and the machinery had been set up for political education of the masses so that the socialist objective, and Ghana's role in the wider African revolution would be clearly understood (Nkrumah, 1972).

The machinery which includes the Young Pioneers, the T.U. C educational programs and the Ideological Institute of Winneba, where cadres were being trained to enfold of the next phase of Ghana revolution: the establishment of socialist republic, the principle of which was enshrined in the 1961 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 94). Ghana's progress so far and the socialist agenda infuriated the imperialist community and in 1965 stepped up their pressure on Ghana in the form of economic squeeze, and in that year alone, the price of cocoa on the world market was falsely forced down from 457 pounds in 1954 to 87 pounds ten pence a ton in 1965, which means that although Ghana exported 500, 000 tons of

cocoa, Ghana earned only 77 million, or less than her receipts in the mid-1950s for 250, 000 tons (Ibid). It was obvious that in 1964, Ghana's economic woes was intentionally created by the imperialist powers, the principal consumers of cocoa, who promised at the Geneva meeting of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (U.N. C. T. A. D) that they would lift barriers in the form of tariffs and duties on primary products, either raw, processed or semi-processed to mitigate Ghana's losses and revamp the economy never happened. Britain and U.S.A did not keep their pledge to lower the trade barriers against processed and semi-processed primary products; since Ghana was regarded as a pace-setter in Africa, could not be allowed to succeed in building socialist state (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 95).

Nkrumah's government decided to construct silos, which when completed would enable Ghana to withhold more than half of the cocoa crop from the world market and force prices up. USA started stockpiling a record quantity of cocoa to be used to keep prices down (Nkrumah, 1972). Nkrumah exposes the economic strong hold exercised by foreign monopolistic complexes such as the Anglo- American Corporation, and illustrated the ways in which this financial grip perpetuated the contradiction of Africa (Nkrumah, 1972, p. 96). According Nkrumah, the American Government sent him a note of protest and promptly refused Ghana Thirty five million dollars aid, on the contrary, they decided finally on subversive route and violence as the only effective way in which to achieve their objective of halting Ghanaian revolution and bringing Ghana into the new colonialist fold; in the meantime, Ghana had proved that they were strong enough to develop independently, not only without foreign sponsorship, but also in the context of active imperialist and new colonialist resistance (Nkrumah, 1972). Throughout 1965 and before then, the US government put forth various

other forms of economic pressure on Ghana, and withheld investment and credit guarantees from potential investors, put pressure on existing providers of credit to the Ghanaian economy, and invalid applications for loans made by Ghana to American- dominated financial institutions such as the I.M.F (Nkrumah, 1972).

Similarly, Philip E Muehlenbeck writes on how the US undersecretary of State, George Ball, told Kennedy there was a good chance Nkrumah would soon be overthrown and advised suspending decision on the Volta River Project (VRP) until Nkrumah's future was clearer (Muehlenbeck, 2012, p. 83). By the early 1960s Nkrumah's Cold War neutrality had continually crept closer to alignment with the Soviet bloc. And, Kennedy was under huge pressure from the majority of American policymakers to cut off aid to Accra; while Kennedy initially ignored such pressure, it became more difficult as Nkrumah constantly took advantage of the American president's personal diplomacy and desire to be viewed as a sympathetic supporter of African nationalism to gain concessions from Washington, while in return doing little to moderate his frequent and outspoken criticism of the Western new imperialism in Africa (Muehlenbeck, 2012, p. 73) In spite of Nkrumah's unpredictable procedures, Kennedy decided not to turn a cold shoulder to him, even though, he was under pressure from his regional allies, like Great Britain, Senegal and Liberia, who feared that the United States pulling out of Ghana would push Nkrumah's government closer to Moscow (Muehlenbeck, 2012). However, Kennedy never lost faith that through the use of personal diplomacy, he could keep Nkrumah close enough to the West to remain a useful tool to his overall policy of attracting other nationalist leaders (Muehlenbeck, 2012).

The most influential person advising Kenney on Nkrumah and the Volta River Project was the British economist Barbara Ward, the Baroness Jackson of Lodsworth, her husband, Sir Robert Jackson was Nkrumah's closest advisor on the Volta River project, and as a Carnegie Fellow at Harvard she had become a personal friend of the Boston-based Kennedy family (Muehlenbeck, 2012, p.78). In the mid1950s, Ward had kept Nkrumah informed about the progress of John Kennedy's political career and reported to Kennedy on the course of events in Ghana; after Kennedy's inauguration, he consulted with Ward regarding Nkrumah's position on the Congo and she sheared that Nkrumah wanted to insulate Africa from the type of Cold War competition that had divided Europe (Ibid). Barbara Ward, however, advised Kennedy that United States had much to gain if it could keep Nkrumah neutral and close to the United Nations: "It is worth a risk and could conceivably be a triumph" (Muehlenbeck, 2012). At the same time, Russell, another influential advisor at the State department cabled from Accra to report that Nkrumah was under heavy pressure from the majority of his cabinet ministers to reject US aid for the Volta River Project and rather invite Moscow to fund the project; but, Russell later informed Washington that he had secured an audience with Nkrumah and had calm him down (Muehlenbeck, 2012). In Accra, Nkrumah's actions were putting US participation in the Volta River Project in jeopardy; Nkrumah strangely refused to accept the conditions suggested by the World Bank for its participation in the project on the grounds that the bank should not dictate Ghanaian fiscal policy (Muehlenbeck, 2012, p. 81). The Americans were on edge when Russell heard Nkrumah made the following statements in his inner circle:

"I am not a Communist, but they are the only ones who will help us. We must accept their aid to liberate Africa.... I was once a friend of the Americans but not any longer. I

asked them to help me in my cause for which in return I would help them in Africa, but they refused. Now they are finished in Africa. They will be out of our continent entirely in the next few years.” (Muehlenbeck, 2012, p.79)

Upon this eavesdrop was revealed, American doubts and criticisms of both the project and Nkrumah returned, punctuated by growing skepticism of the economic merits of the project, Kennedy personally called both the Ghana specialist at the Bureau of Intelligence and Research and the Ghana desk officer at the State Department to get their views on the matter (Muehlenbeck, 2012, p. 82). Even the Kennedy family vehemently opposed continuation of aid to Ghana, and Attorney General Robert Kennedy opposed Nkrumah and his father, Joseph Kennedy telephoned and asked “What in the hell are you up to with that Communist Nkrumah?” (Muehlenbeck, 2012, p. 83). The undersecretary of State George Ball told Kennedy there was a good chance Nkrumah would soon be overthrown and advised delaying decision on the Volta River project until Nkrumah’s future was clearer, meanwhile, the CIA eagerly offered its services in directing a coup d’état against Nkrumah’s government, but Kennedy objected, instead he decided to give Nkrumah the benefit of doubt, arguing that Nehru, Nasser and Toure’ had all gone through a similar phase of flirtation with the Kremlin (Muehlenbeck, 2012)

Meanwhile, Kennedy issued a National Security Action memoranda informing Ball that he wanted to hold up any final decision and announcement of the Volta River Project in Ghana, but when an assassination attempt was made on Nkrumah in September, the Ghanaian press accused America and Britain of being involved in the incident; rumors circulated in Accra that London was pressuring Kennedy to back out his commitment to the Volta River project.

Nkrumah's government detached its intelligence relationship with the British, and some of Nkrumah's more Western-leading cabinet members (especially those who were British expatriates) were relieved of the duties; Kennedy responded by sending a personal assurance to Nkrumah that the CIA was not out to get him (Muehlenbeck, 2012).

In Ghana just before the February 24, 1966, coup d'état unemployment was almost unknown in the country; all salaries were on a regular basis paid and new jobs were constantly being created as the Seven Year Development Plan was being implemented (Nkrumah, 1968, p.92). And, it was estimated that more than one million new workers would be needed to fill the new jobs which were created and replaced those who left the labor force during the Plan period; more than 500,000 of them would be employed in industry and agriculture, and another 400,000 would be needed in government services, commerce and construction, while the remainder were to be employed in transport, mining and the public utility services (Nkrumah, 1972).

Again, by 1966, there were sixty-three enterprises in existence; among the new industries founded were two cocoa-processing plants, two sugar refineries, a textile printing plant, a glass factory, a chocolate factory, a radio assembly plant, a meat-processing plant and a large printing works at Tema (Milner, 1999, p. 107). Also, work was well advanced on a gold refinery at Tarkwa, asbestos, cement, shoe and rubber tire factories at Kumasi, and a factory for the manufacture of prefabricated houses (Milne, 1999). Ghana was beginning to supply locally required for many basic consumer goods, using locally produced raw materials (Ibid). During the first year of the Seven Year Development Plan, some 48.9 million pounds was spent on

development projects alone (Nkrumah, 1972). The harbor at Takoradi was extended, and an entirely new artificial harbor constructed at Tema (Nkrumah, 1972). A piped water supply was made available to villages which had never before known such an amenity (Nkrumah, 1972).

As part of Convention People Party (CPP), the governing party policy of enhancing the political and civic rights of women, provision was made for the election of women to the National Assembly (Milne, 1999, p.108). Ten women parliamentarians took their seats at the first meeting of the First Republic of Ghana in 1961(Milne, 1999). Nkrumah projected women onto the political scene in a way that was new both in Ghana and Africa (Milne, 1999, p.109). Women were appointed to serve on boards of corporations, schools and town councils; and, a few women served on the Central Committee of the CPP (Milne, 1999). Growing numbers of women registered courses of higher education, many pursuing training courses abroad qualifying them to occupy most positions previously held exclusively by men (Milne, 1999). Discriminatory provisions relating to women's work were eradicated, and equal pay instituted for equal work, and maternity leave on full pay guaranteed (Milne, 1999). Women underwent pilot training in the Ghana Air Force Training School at Takoradi. Women were encouraged to enroll in the army to train alongside men in the infantry, in the intelligence and service corps, and to become electrical and mechanical engineers (Milne, 1999).

Among the most passionate supporters of the ruling party, the CPP, were the market women, always a very strong voice in the country (Milne, 1999, p.109). Not only did they donate generously to party funds, but together with local government councils they controlled much of the trading life of their communities (Milne, 1999). Nkrumah had the greatest respect

for them, ever mindful of their power and good sense (Milne, 1999). Demonstrations of the market women would be quickly organized on occasions when it was deemed necessary, or when their interest was perceived to be threatened (Milne, 1999).

The National Council of Ghana Women (NCGW) was inaugurated by Nkrumah September 10, 1960 as an essential arm of the CPP (Milne, 1999). With branches throughout the country, was to be the only recognized women's organization, and to be represented on the party's Central Committee (Milne, 1999). Two months before the inauguration of the National Council of Ghana Women, the Conference of Women of Africa and African descent was held in Accra, the capital city of Ghana, and in his opening address, Nkrumah spoke of the mission the women of Africa had to fulfill in working actively with men in liberating and unifying the continent, and projecting the African Personality (Milne, 1999). At the second conference in Accra, Nkrumah brought awareness to the sufferings the people of the Congo, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa and Namibia, urging Africa's need for a new woman devoted and inspired by the high ideals of patriotism and African unity (Milne, 1999).

In his book: *The Political Thought of Kwame Nkrumah*; a comprehensive presentation of Nkrumah's point of view was put in this fashion: that after a long and hard struggle for political independence and its consolidation are achieved, the pertinent task has to be done in a very short time (Mbonjo, 1998, p.90). The next big thing is achieving economic independence leading to a socialist society as the only way to maintain political independence to complete the cycle of liberation struggle must be pursued with growing intensity for which without economic independence political freedom is worthless (Mbonjo, 1998).

The proponent of this view (the colonizers) feel that having made the supreme and sustained effort to rid the country of colonial rule, a long rest can be taken, which Nkrumah regards as not only wrong, but extremely dangerous as this would create a favorable condition for the imperialist to pounds on; on the contrary, Nkrumah informs that any nation who have recently emerged from direct colonial rule lies a more formidable encounter in which a greater effort is demanded to unite the nationalist triumph (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 90). According to Nkrumah, social reconstruction, that is, freedom from poverty and economic exploitation is pivoted on this realization: when the improvement of social and economic conditions of the people are certain that they will be able to find better means of asserting their rights to human life and happiness (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 91). Nkrumah defines Colonialism as the policy by which a foreign country binds territories to herself by political ties with the primary objective of promoting her own economic advantage (Mbonjo, 1998, p.93).

There is this notion to justify the occupation of Africa by the Europeans in the 19 century: to civilize the savages, which was a fallacy, because the Europeans were not concerned with the welfare of the African people, they were there to loot the rich mineral worth of the African continent for their exclusive benefit (Mbonjo, 1998).

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah the first President of Ghana quotes Jules Ferry, Prime Minister of France in 1885, who gave the prevailing reasons for the European mission for colonies in Africa, when he spoke in the French Chamber of Deputies in defense of colonial policy of the French Government: *"Is it not clear that the great states of modern Europe, the moment their industrial power is founded are confronted with an immense and difficult problem, which is the basis of*

*industrial life, the very condition of existence, the question of markets. Have you not seen the great industrial nations one by one arrive at colonial policy? And can we say that this colonial policy is a luxury for modern nation? Not at all, gentlemen, this policy is for all of us, a necessity, like the market itself. Today, as you know, the law of supply and demand, freedom of exchange, the influence of speculation, all these move in a circle which extends to the end of the world. Colonies are for rich countries one of the most lucrative methods of investing capital, and which has exported considerable quantities, has an interest in looking at this side of the colonial question. It is the same question of that of outlets for our manufactures. Colonial policy is the offspring of industrial policy for rich states in which capital is abundant is rapidly accumulating, in which the manufacturing system is continually growing and attracting if not most numerous, at least the most alert and the energetic part of the population that works with its hands, in which the countryside is obliged to industrialize itself in order to maintain itself. In such states, exportation is an essential factor of public property... The protective system is like a steam boiler without a safety-valve, unless it has a healthy and serious colonial policy as a corrective and auxiliary. European consumption is saturated, it is necessary to raise new masses of consumers in other part of the globe, else we shall put modern society into bankruptcy and prepare for the dawn of the twentieth century a cataclysmic social liquidation of which we cannot calculate the consequences” (Mbonjo, 1998, p.94)*

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah discards outright the idea that the aim of colonialism to bring civilization to a people or to prepare them for self-rule. To validate this view, he quotes a significant passage from a speech delivered by Albert Sarault, the French colonial secretary of State in 1923, at the “Ecole Coloniale” in Paris:

“What is then the use of painting the truth? At the start, colonization was not an act of civilization, nor was it a desire to civilize. It was an act of force motivated by interests. An episode in the vital competition which from man to man, from group to group, has gone on ever increasing; the people who set out to seize colonies in distant lands where thinking primarily of themselves, and were working for their own profits, and conquering for their own power... The origin of colonization is nothing else than enterprise of individual interests, a one-sided and egoistical imposition of the strong upon the weak” (Mbonjo, 1998, p.25).

Nkrumah suggests a path to right the wrongs and ills created by centuries of colonial exploitation, the first thing to do for a new government once political independence is attained is to proceed with a full and complete survey of the country’s potentialities and to plan an economic policy to serve the national interest (Mbonjo, 1998, p.95). He writes:

*“Once political independence has been achieved, the country’s full potentialities can and must be explored. The domestic economy must be planned to promote the interests of its own nationals; and new and wide economic links must be created with other countries. Otherwise, the newly independent country may fall victim to highly dangerous forces of economic imperialism, and find that it has merely substituted one kind of colonialism for another”* (Mbonjo 1998, p.95). Nkrumah also asserted that poverty can be abridged only as productivity increases and industrialization progresses, and part of its surplus can be made available in increased wages, better housing and general improvement in social conditions (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 97). A major feature of the political thought of Dr. Nkrumah is that, contrary to some

colonial politicians of his time, he boldly acknowledges the existence of classes and the fight between them in contemporary African society and entrusted the dynamic role in the struggle for freedom and socialism to the most revolutionary of these classes: the workers, peasants and the youth (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 40) In spite of the obvious national unity created by the stipulation of the first struggle against colonialism, Dr. Nkrumah refutes the widespread theory of an absence of classes in an egalitarian and community based on African society; In a colonial situation, Nkrumah emphasizes the social structures highlight two classes with opposing views: the bourgeoisie who benefit from colonialism, and the masses who suffer from it, therefore, the existence of a class struggle inside the colonized country (Mbonjo, 1998).

In terms of infrastructure and economic development, Nkrumah describes the scenery of economic structure when he took office in 1951 under the colonial rule, there was no direct railway route from Accra to Takoradi where the main port was, and passengers and freight had to travel by way to Kumasi. This was because Kumasi was the center of timber and mining industries, serving both foreign and local interests (Nkrumah, 1968, p. 76) Communication system was good and necessary, but there were few roads and a rudimentary public transport system in operation by then, and for most part, people walked from place to place. Under the colonial rule, the foreign monopoly interest had tied up the whole economy to suits themselves and it was a single industry: cash crop- cocoa (Nkrumah, 1972).

### **An African Voice in World Affairs**

One of the most outstanding of Nkrumah's achievements was his successful projection of an African voice in world affairs (Panaf Great Lives, 1974, p. 140). Apparently, this was

something new, because at no time before, or since, has any African leader made such an impact on a Pan African level or internationally. It was not that he consciously sought the role of spokesman for the African people, but it was something which developed naturally from his complete identification with the basic aspirations of the people of Africa and with people of African descent throughout the world (Panaf, 1974). The fact was that Nkrumah, whether he was speaking at the United Nations Organization, at an OAU or Commonwealth Conference, at a CPP rally, or anywhere else, came to be regarded as the authentic mouthpiece of the African people (Milne, 1999). When any major crisis happens affecting Africa, all eyes were on Accra, for it was known that a firm and clear stand would be taken by Nkrumah; he himself was the personification of the African Personality about which he spoke and wrote on so many occasions (Milne, 1999).

For Nkrumah, the African Personality which had been temporarily submerged during the colonial era, was ripe for revival in the new milieu of post –colonial Africa; it was the spirit of the African people, aware of their great heritage, and confident in their immense potentiality: It is a concept of the African nation, and is not associated with a particular state, language, religion, political system, or color of the skin (Milne, 1999). For those who project it, it expresses identification not only with Africa's historical past, but with the struggle of the African people in the African Revolution to liberate and unify the continent and build a just society (Milne, 1999, p.128).

### **Socialist Development Agenda for Ghana**

Nkrumah holds that the drive towards economic modernization must proceed along the socialist path, and he asserts emphatically that socialism is our only alternative; as this is great importance in his teachings and constitutes a genuine division between his ideas on nation – building and those of many contemporary African leaders (Mbonjo, 1998, p.103). Nkrumah states three reasons for this view:

First, for a developing nation like Ghana to follow the capitalist path of development means that control of the national economy remains in the hands of foreign private capital; the inevitable regime is a new colonialist one because in the words of the author,

... Colonial rule precluded that accumulation of capital among our citizens which have assisted systematic-going private investment in industrial construction.

Second, the colonial regime had to set up some publicly owned enterprises ‘capitalized out of national funds’ (Mbonjo, 1998). Among these are the railways, harbors and electric power. These services should continue to be publicly owned and run, for to hand them over to private interest is to betray the trust of the great masses of our people to the greedy interests of a small exclusive of individuals, probably in alliance with foreign capitalists (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 104).

According to Nkrumah, post-independence economic reform covers a long and hard epoch, and it proceeds along a winding road; experience has shown that it lasts a few

generations and stretches over a few decades, ultimately, this new nation is divided into three interconnected stages:

The first is the period of reconstruction such as when the government concentrates on expanding communications and improving educational and health conditions, and infrastructure for economic growth; the second stage consists in achieving economic independence, a process in which we lay foundations for the advancement and the third towards a socialist society (Mbonjo, 1998). Nkrumah illustrates the three stages as form of organic parts of an evolving process; they cannot be separated and because achievements or failures in one stage greatly condition developments in a following stage, it is of the greatest importance that the socialist objective of economic reconstruction be fully emphasize to the people and accepted by them at the very early stages; for Nkrumah a non-ideological approach to economic development leads to confusion and the escalation of externally directed capitalism (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 105). The state must play the major role in economic activity because colonialism prevented the emergence of a strong local capitalist class, in that production for private profit is based on exploitation, and the less developed nations need a high rate of economic growth, the government is obliged to play the role of main entrepreneur in laying the basis of national economic and social advancement (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 106). Other aspects that influence the advance of economic development are listed as follows:

The need to be extremely vigilant tracing out the subtle and insidious infiltrations of new colonialism,

The ever-present danger of sabotage by foreigners enjoying our hospitality, the privilege of building economic enterprise in our midst and the forceful need to inspire within the country capital growth for re-employment in wider development of the country;

Second, national economic planning is the principal control for all round progress, Nkrumah has carefully portrayed the features that make up his notion of planning, which must cover the entire country and stretch out into the regions beyond the main centers. It must be all-embracing, comprising economic and general development with plans for our educational, social welfare and health programs (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 107) it must mirror the strictest control to preserve against unconnected overspending on any project, but there must be certain stretch to allow for any correction or adjustment without upsetting the general plan and our budgeting (Mbonjo, 1998).

Another pivotal feature of planning conceived by Nkrumah is that the state should be increasingly involved in economic activities: planning will be geared to the policy of increasing governmental participation in the nation's economic activities and all enterprises are expected to accept this policy (Mbonjo, 1998, p.108). The third national planning must be geared towards socialism, as Nkrumah's teachings clearly clarify those elements which, when taken together constitute socialist planning; the agenda is enumerated here:

- 1) A mixed economy has to be settled; the economic system is divided into general sections with the state controlling the activities of all sectors through the national plan, which it prepares. In Ghana, the ruling party created five sectors:
  - State enterprises

- Enterprises jointly owned by foreign and local private interests.
- Enterprises jointly owned by state and foreign private interests.
- Cooperatives
- Enterprises exclusively reserved for Ghanaian private entrepreneurs.

The important consideration here is that each sector functions within the limits set by the state. If this aspect is missing, a mixed economy may lead to not socialism, but capitalism. Ultimately, the state sectors must continually expand; the socialist base of the economy extends through increasing public ownership of the means of production.

- 2) New institutions for economic activity must be created to replace colonial institutions, as to rely on the old colonial agencies of economic activity is merely to maintain and even increase the dominant role of colonial relationship in the economic system.
- 3) Relations in agriculture must be remodel in order to allow a big increase in agricultural production and productivity, as this is a major priority. Agriculture should be diversified and modernized. The objective here is to meet the needs of the domestic market and to provide raw materials for the secondary industries. In this process, local skills are developed, and foreign exchange is saved for financing the industrialization program.
- 4) The nation itself should be the main source of development capital, and surpluses must be pressed out of rising production to finance development. This means that

the population must forgo some immediate personal desire for greater benefit a little later on.

5) Guarantee of a basic minimum standard of living for all is required, and Nkrumah describes this standard as follows:

- prices of goods should not exceed wages
- house rentals must be within means of all groups
- social welfare services must be open to all
- educational and cultural amenities must be available to everyone.

The rewards accruing to workers should rather take the form of increased amenities rather than of higher earnings which could lead to inflation and price spirals.

6) A stable build –up of trained manpower must be promoted, even where certain services would be more economically provided by foreign companies, they are still useful because they help in nurturing local skills. An essential element in our industrial development must be the building up of our stock up of technical and managerial knowledge.

7) Business planning should encourage the setting up of those plants in which we have a natural advantage in local resources and labor or where we can produce essential commodities required for development or for domestic consumption.

8) Venture policy should promote the growth of local industries. In this way, investment policy should be determined by the rate of capital formation, savings on

imports, boost exports, and a decline of development gaps between various parts of the country created by colonial exploitation.

- 9) Vigorous participation of the people through their own organization in the process of economic planning and development should be encouraged. This is essential for effective democracy, since control of the modern state is linked up with control of the means of production and distribution. This is why Nkrumah attaches great importance to trade unions and party groups in factories workshops, government departments and offices, which must constantly study party ideology, decisions and programs and also explain governmental policies and actions. The other important contribution of the people is voluntary service which would help literacy campaigns and programs for building schools, roads, drains, clinics, post offices, houses and community centers; apparently, this also requires enthusiastic support and self-identification of the people.

The fourth principle of socialist development is that foreign capital must be obtained in a way that will leave full economic control in the hands of the developing nation (Mbonjo, 1998, p.111). Nkrumah emphasizes that a foreign company operating for profit in an underdeveloped country has nothing to do with aid; but, the circumstances prevailing in a developing country stipulates that it seeks outside capital (Mbonjo, 1998, p.112). The idea agreement is for foreign capital to go into partnership with the state enterprises and train local personnel for executive and technical posts at all levels; in this way, the newly emerging country must always seek terms that will preserve integrity and sovereignty without crippling economic or political ties to any country, bloc, or system (Mbonjo, 1998).

Nkrumah states the following as a general formula:

Foreign capital is hence useful if it takes the form of a loan, or credit to facilitate the borrowing country to buy what it needs from whatever sources(s) it likes and at the same time to retain control of the assets to be developed.

Fifth, the diversification of foreign economic links should be advanced. This allows a country to avoid the dangers of crippling ties with any other country and helps to drive for steady and better prices for its primary commodities in the world markets. It must be pointed out that steady and high world prices for its products will increase the superfluous that could be ploughed back into industrialization; it will also put economic planning on a firmer grip.

Sixth, some of the more harmful social attitudes of the people must be changed; Nkrumah then draws attention to the drag on economic activity of the extended family and the habit of squandering large sums of money on social festivities. He demands a new spirit of hard work and savings for production not for festivals, and notes that our less energetic society must be motivated into the acceptance of the stimuli necessary to rapid economic development by alteration in our social relationships and habits, if necessary, by law (Mbonjo, 1998, p.113).

Seventh, the rise of a new privileged class must be prevented, and here again, Nkrumah draws attention to the danger of a bourgeois class arising after independence; this class grows up through the contact of its members with the state tools, hence creating what some elites called *bureaucratic capitalism* or an *administrative bourgeoisie*. Nkrumah delivers a famous dawn broadcast on April 8, 1961, a classic attack on this privilege class which he maintains must

not be permitted to grow up: he says we are setting our hands as resolutely as we can against the growth of a privileged segment. He warns against the dangers arising from Ghanaian public men attempting to combine business with political life and counsels those who could not give entirely neutral service should leave politics or be thrown out. He tables a legislation to limit the amount of property the public men may own to curb corruption (Mbonjo, 1998, p.114).

Eighth, a new budgetary and fiscal system totally different from that obtained in the colonial period must be applied. The criteria of this new system must be a release of initiative for economic production, the regulating of national financial resources, the efficient and effective direction of investment for national development, and the prevention of the flight of capital away from the country; in the performance of these tasks, the new fiscal system will use the state budget import control the state bank and an investment bank as its principal mace (Mbonjo, 1998).

Ninth, the party of the people must play a decisive role in the economic drive; Nkrumah affirms that economic independence and the objective of socialism cannot be achieved without a decisive party leadership; however, the party must enjoy the support of the people and be imbued with Marxist socialist ideology (Mbonjo, 1998).

Tenth, there must be a constant change of the administrative tools, and it is necessary from time to time to make a review of the administrative agenda; and this what his socialism agenda implies:

- 1) Common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and production is for use not for profit.
- 2) Planned methods of production by the state based on modern industry and agriculture.

- 3) Political power in the hands of the people, with the entire body of workers possessing the necessary governmental machinery through which to express their needs and aspiration; this is a concept in keeping with humanist and egalitarian spirit which characterized traditional African society, applied in a modern context. In this way, all the workers are inclusive, and no person exploits another
- 4) Application of scientific methods in all areas of thought and production, and in Nkrumah's perspective the pathway to socialism is African socialism. Apparently, there is an Arab socialism, democratic socialism, Muslim socialism, these are all but pure machination and mystification used by the capitalist countries to distract and deflect the African peoples from their revolutionary purpose.

According to Nkrumah, there is a particular true socialism and that is scientific socialism, the principles of which are enduring and collective; the only way to accomplish it is to devise policies aimed at general socialist goals, which take their form from concrete, specific circumstances and conditions of a particular country at a definite historical period (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 116).

Again, another point made unequivocal by Nkrumah is that Socialism lies at the core of African unity, which are both organically complementary; socialism, in both theory and practice is then at the basis of the whole revolutionary process, that is from national liberation struggle within a single African country to the political unification of all independent African states under an all-African government. Only then, under socialism would Africans reliably accumulate the capital

needed for development, ensure that the gains of investment are applied to the general welfare and achieve the goal of free and united African states (The Political (Mbonjo, 1998).

For Nkrumah, African unity is enviable for the benefits it would confer on the suffering masses of Africa and the world as a whole, and he thinks that his approach of unity is a socialist one (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 135)

In Nkrumah's view, African unity must attain three principal objectives for it constitutes the most efficient weapon for their achievement, and the objectives are:

- 1) Total liberation of Africa from colonial rule
- 2) Fighting neo-colonialism in the independent African states
- 3) Creating world condition favorable to African prosperity and independence and the happiness of mankind

African unity thus implies:

- 1) That imperialism and foreign oppression should be exterminated in all forms
- 2) That the neo-colonialism (the new form of colonialism) should be acknowledged and eliminated
- 3) That the new African nation must develop within a continental framework

The African unity, according to Nkrumah, is not just an end in itself, it is the means to an end in which freedom and unity can thrive amidst plenty, and it is an inevitable desideratum for creating a modern society which will give the people of Africa the opportunity to enjoy a full and satisfying life (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 136).

There is a fundamental difference between Nkrumah and other great men of history who advocated unity in their respective countries; men like Garibaldi of Italy and Gamel of Turkey sought unity because of the state power and military dignity it conferred; however, in the global setting, there are two approaches which affect and condition Nkrumah's views on African unity: the cultural and historical one and the economic-politico-military one (Ibid)

### **The Cultural And Historical Approach Nkrumah Envisions.**

Nkrumah sturdily emphasizes the common cultural ancestral legacy which characterizes and specifies the Africans, withstanding their apparent differences created by centuries of division by the colonial powers; although, it is a fact that today some Africans are Moslems, some are Christians, while many believe in traditional religion some speak French, English, Spanish and some Portuguese, not to mention the millions who speak only African languages. These are all separating factors, which are real and not overlooked by Nkrumah that they affect the outlook and condition of the political development; however, he is convinced when he writes:

In meeting fellow Africans from all parts of the continent, I am constantly impressed by how much we have in common. It is not just our colonial past or the fact that we have aims in common, it is something which goes far deeper. I can best describe it as a sense of oneness in that we are Africans.

This deep-rooted unity is not a metaphysical concept, and it does not spring from a mystical or mythical source, it is the result of a long process of cultural embellishment (Mbonjo, 1998, p.137).

This cultural expansion comes from this reality that every people of the world have developed throughout their history, particular forms of social, economic and political organizations as well as particular forms of thought, beliefs, attitudes, symbols, images and so on, and it is this set of values which confer on them a specificity, an identity, a personality and constitute what Hegel has named "sittlichkeit" that is the concrete morality of a people (Mbonjo, 1998).

In a way, it is what Nkrumah feels as a sense of oneness and calls it the African personality, or African genius, but Nkrumah's concept of African genius was opposed to Leopold Sedar Senghor's concept of negritude in a speech pronounced at the opening of the Institute of African Studies in Accra, Ghana on October 25, 1963, and Nkrumah rebutted in this way:

When I speak of the African genius, I mean something different from negritude, something not apologetically, but dynamic. Negritude consists in a mere literary affectation and style, which piles up word upon word and image upon image with occasional reference to Africa and things African. I do not mean a vague brotherhood based on a criterion of color, or on the idea that Africans have no reasoning but only sensitivity; by African genius, I mean something positive, our socialist conception of society, the efficiency and validity of our traditional statecraft, our highly developed code of morals, our hospitality and our purposeful energy (Mbonjo, 1998).

Nkrumah emphasizes that it is not only the traditional African culture which explains the deep-rooted unity he refers to history too teaches that Africa has never been divided as she been

since the Berlin Conference in 1884 where the colonial powers arbitrarily carved her up for their own interest; as the various peoples of Africa historically have never been confined behind rigid frontiers sealing off territories labeled Nigeria, Togo, Senegal, Cameroon and so forth (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 138).

A rapid survey of the history of migration of African peoples puts into relief the mobility of these peoples who have always considered the whole Africa as their homeland, and this sentiment of belonging to the vast geo-political entity that is Africa constitutes the proof of the artificiality of the African “nations” of today, for there is only one African nation though there are various African peoples (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 139).

In his Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare, he states:

The natural movements of the African peoples and their societies have from time immemorial swept along extensive axes as for example from the Nile to the Congo, from Senegal to Niger and from the Congo to the Zambesi; the African “Nations” of today, created artificially by foreigners for their own purposes, neither originate from ancient African civilization, nor do they fit in with our African way of life or routine of exchange (Mbonjo, 1998).

As noted above, it is not only culture and history that motivate Nkrumah in his all-embracing conception of African unity, but the other reasons which are in the final analysis, economic for, in Nkrumah’s own words, all military problems are political and all political problems are economic (Mbonjo, 1998).

### **The Conception of Politico-Economic-Military**

The view that unity among independent African states is the most powerful handle for stepping up the end of colonial rule everywhere in Africa is based on two principles, both come to life in the Resolution on the Future of Dependent Territories in Africa assumed at the 1958 Accra Conference of the African States; the first principle is that,

The existence of colonialism in any outline or form is a threat to the security and independence of African states and the world peace.

The second code which flows logically from the first is that:

The tribulations and the future of dependent territories in Africa are not the exclusive concern of the colonial powers but the responsibility of all members of the United Nations and in particular of the independent African states (Mbonjo, 1998, p.140).

Having modeled the three objectives of African unity clearly identified by Nkrumah, let us examine them closely:

- 1) The total liberation of Africa from colonial rule; this will be achieved through joint action by two different kinds of actors with a common objective. These actors are, on one hand, independent African states and on the other, the All-African Peoples' Conference which links the independent states with national liberation movements in the colonial territories. Whilst the independent African states use moral pressure and diplomatic action at the United Nations, the All-African Peoples' Conference in

charge of providing all possible assistance to the national liberation movements and offer facilities for training and educating of the colonies (Mbonjo, 1998, p.141).

It is apparent that by total liberation of Africa from colonial rule, Nkrumah not only means the conquest of freedom in territories controlled by the imperialists through and administration controlled by foreigners, but also territories under the rule of a settler minority government (Mbonjo, 1998). In such countries, settlers have established the rule over a majority by a minority (Mbonjo, 1998). For Nkrumah, there is no judgment except the right of might that can accept such a situation; the major racial group must and will provide the government of a country. The settlers provided, they believe the principle one man, one vote and majority governments, otherwise, they are a dangerous anachronism and must be swept away completely and forever (Mbonjo, 1998).

Therefore, the total liberation of Africa from foreign rule is a sacred principle, and as such it acknowledges no compromise; after the phase of colonialism, which is regarded as primitive, the crude form of imperialism, the imperialist powers seek to retain the embodiment of their economic interest by granting a country of what Nkrumah calls a “sham-independence” as oppose to an authentic independence, which is the product of a mass movement, or an armed struggle, as it has been seen in the first part of this study. The core of colonialism (the sophisticated, rational form of imperialism) is the same (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 142).

The difference lies in the fact that in a neo-colonialist situation, political power is no longer directly controlled by the imperialist powers through a foreign administration, but by a local class whose interest are closely related to them and which is confidentially controlled by

them (Mbonjo, 1998). The country is, by all outward looks independent (national anthem, motto, flag and so on), but her economy and, therefore, her politics are directed from afar (Mbonjo, 1998).

As Nkrumah acknowledges earlier, Neo-colonialism, the last stage of imperialism that the essence of neo-colonialism is that the state which is subject it is in theory independent and has all the outward garnishes of international sovereignty (Mbonjo, 1998). In actuality, her economic system and therefore her political policy is directed from outside (Ibid). Nkrumah states that a state can be said a neo-colonialist or client state if it is independent de jure and dependent de facto. It is a state where political power lies in the conservative force of the former colony and where economic power remains under control of international finance capital (Mbonjo, 1998, p.143)

It is imperative to hold that the very roots of neo-colonialism must be traced back to the struggle for independence in a colonial territory; it is the last option of imperialists in their desperate attempt to capture the progress of the people's movement through a disloyalty of its crucial objectives by the granting of sham independence; this tactic seeks to avoid a direct and costly confrontation with the liberation movements in which Nkrumah says African Must Unite:

"It acts covertly, maneuvering men and governments, free of dishonor attached to political rule. It creates client states, independent in name but in point of fact pawns of the very colonial power which is supposed to have given them independence" (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 143).

Nkrumah considers neo-colonialism is even more inhuman than colonialism, for it represents, in addition to imperialist exploitation, a scandalous exploitation of Africans; fighting

such a phenomenon is an exceptional task, apart from unfair economic agreements, domination of African public services by non-African personnel and one-sided trade arrangements, neo-colonialism manifests itself in military pacts and military bases on African soil (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 144)

No African country can either economically or militarily stand against the might of international finance capital as it is only the unity of independent African states which will create the necessary conditions for such a struggle by:

- a) - creating an African state big enough and powerful enough to eliminate all these handicaps
- b) –removing frontier disputes born from the arbitrary carving up of Africa and which provide a convenient cover for imperialist maneuvers directed against the sovereignty and security of independent African states
- c) – providing Africa with the necessary capital resources out of its own domestic sources
- d) – enabling foreign capital to be attracted on terms more advantageous to Africa than at present

Consequently, it is only through African unity that complete independence for the sovereign African states can be guaranteed (Mbonjo, 1998, p.144). Accordingly, it is only through African unity that full independence for the sovereign African states can be guaranteed (Ibid).

For Nkrumah, a united Africa will team up with other nations to expand the area of non-alignment in the world, in a way, the more unaligned nations there are, the wider the non-

committed area of the world, the better the chances of human survival in which Africa would lead the way; in other words, non-alignment is the condition for Africa's development and world peace (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 145). After World War II, the world had literally become divided into two adversary armed blocs with the emergence of the world socialist system on one side, the Western world with at its top, the United States, and on the other side, the communist world, once led by the defunct USSR, which presented a bipolarization of the world around two opposing centers of gravity created a state of permanent tension and fear in both blocs which ends its name "Cold War" and it was in reaction to cold war politics that a third bloc of countries emerged (Mbonjo, 1998, p.146)

In 1955, the conference of Bandung, Indonesia initiated the beginning of the movement of non-alignment, and it was in the 1960s that its ideology was born, when the meeting of the big four in Paris failed, there was fear in the third world countries of getting involved in a conflict they did not want but whose consequences they would have to suffer, which called for a counterattack strategy; the founding fathers of this movement and a cool strategy to counterattack this emanate suffering were: Marshall Tito, Prime Ministers Nehru, Nu and Nkrumah, Presidents Nasser and Soekarno, Emperor Haile Selassie, and in 1964, in Cairo Nkrumah made the following remark:

"We were born from protest and revolt against the state of things prevailing in the field of International Relations due to the division of the world into two antagonist blocs"  
(Mbonjo, 1998, p. 146).

Prior to the above conference in Cairo, a number of conferences were held to give significance to the ideology of non-alignment and to discuss matters of common interest, and the preparatory Conference in Cairo in June 1961 adopted a number of criteria to define a non-aligned state as follows:

- 1)- pursue an independent policy which foundation is on peaceful coexistence or adopt a favorable attitude towards that policy
- 2) –support unremittingly national liberation movements
- 3) -not belong to any collective military alliance in the framework of conflicts between the superpowers
- 4) – not conclude any bilateral alliance with a great power
- 5) – not willingly accept the establishment in one’s territory of military bases belonging to a foreign power

It was notable that three of the five criteria were related to the military imperialism then practiced by the great powers (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 147).

As can be seen, non-alignment stands for world peace, which for Nkrumah was the condition for rapid and independent development in Africa and also for human survival and progress; in spite of its many flaws, the United Nations Organization is the only place where effective action in favor of world peace can be carried out successfully, and about this, Nkrumah writes:

“Our cooperation in any living organism that can be counted on effectively to promote international peace provided it does not invade our independence of action is assured. At the moment, there exists only the United Nations Organization which offers with all its effects the possibility of working towards a peaceful world” (Mbonjo, 1998).

Nkrumah definitely believes that the most decisive way to achieve this ideal of peace in a bipolarized world is to create a bloc of states which adhere to a policy of non-commitment to either the East-West blocs or steadily to expand this zone (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 148).

Apparently, a policy of neutral non-alignment is not a policy of passivity or withdrawal from international affairs; the non-aligned countries Nkrumah embraces exercise their right of free choice in sustaining those acts which they consider will help to maintain the peace on which their continuance as independence nations rests (Mbonjo, 1998).

Neutrality, as defined above, is positive not negative, it is active, not passive, isolationist but introspective, according to Nkrumah, the highly sophisticated military apparatus of the superpowers (inter-continental missiles, atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs, nuclear weapons and so on) can in case of war, destroy both the participants and non-participants indiscriminately; therefore, negative neutralism, that is the withdrawal from international affairs and the refusal to take a stand on issues affecting war or peace is nonsense and he writes his point as this:

“Since war, if it comes is likely to destroy most of us whether we are participants or not, whether or not we are the cause of it, negative neutralism is no shield at all, it is completely ineffective and even dangerous” (Mbonjo, 1998, p.148).

A further point to be clearly made is that Nkrumah's approach to world peace is not pacifist; for lasting peace can only be obtained by the elimination of the causes of war which for him are epitomized in one word: imperialism:

World peace is not possible without the total liquidation of colonialism and the full liberation of peoples everywhere, and, while advocating for peaceful coexistence because of the balance of forces in the world today, Nkrumah emphasizes that until imperialism and colonialism in all their various forms and manifestations have been completely eradicated from Africa, it would be inconsistent for the African revolution to co-exist with imperialism (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 149). "World peace is not possible without the complete liquidation of colonialism and total liberation of African peoples everywhere" (Mbonjo, 1998).

Having uncovered Nkrumah's objectives of African unity both on the African continent and in the world at large, the next step is to provide an analysis of the content of Nkrumah's concept of African unity, which is to bare and define the principles that make it up; three principles make up Nkrumah's concept of African Unity:

- 1) – overall economic planning
- 2) – unified military and defense strategy
- 3) – unified foreign policy and diplomacy

The whole strategy is supervised and led by a continental government of Africa, inspired from the model of the United States and the Soviet Union with naturally some necessary variation (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 150).

The general economic preparation on a continental base will increase the industrial and economic power of Africa. So long as Africa remains divided regionally or territorially, she will be at the mercy of colonialism and imperialism (Mbonjo, 1998). To exemplify this observation, Nkrumah points out the lesson of South American Republics in relation to the strength and the solidarity of the United States of America (Mbonjo, 1998). Overall economy planning will also allow optimum use of Africa's resources to the benefit of Africans (Mbonjo, 1998). It will aid in building up a common market of a united Africa. The means of transport and communication, the basis of any developing economy, according to Nkrumah, would be developed at their utmost stage (Mbonjo, 1998). The almost fabulous resources of Africa would be fully exploited and utilized in the interest of Africa and the African peoples (Mbonjo, 1998). A common currency and a monetary zone would create and an All- African central bank of issue will be a most effective instrument to re-orientate the economy of Africa and place it beyond the reach of foreign control (Mbonjo, 1998, p.151) Therefore, overall economy planning will give Africa much needed economic independence in a very short time (Mbonjo, 1998).

It is evident that Nkrumah's outlook on economic development is opposed to the traditional concept dependence on foreign powers, especially on the former colonial powers. As a result of making Africans responsible for Africa's economy, this view completely rejects the notion of Africa being an economic appendage of Europe or America (Mbonjo, 1998). The conclusive argument made by Nkrumah is the following:

“We, in Africa, have looked outwards too long for the development of our economy; let us begin to look inwards into the African continent for all aspects of its development” (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 151).

The dilemma is therefore a complete change of approach and orientation in the vision of economic development of Africa (Mbonjo, 1998).

### **A Unified Military and Defense Strategy**

This kind of strategy is for a number of reasons, needed today. First of all, no single African nation can protect its sovereignty against an imperialist assailant. Another reason is that certain settler governments in Africa are arming themselves to the teeth for a future attempt to crush African nationalism by force (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 152) It is incumbent on African states to unite and combine their military resources for common defense; the individual African states out of a sense of insecurity may draw into making defense pacts with foreign powers which may endanger the security of us all (Mbonjo, 1998).

The expenditure feature of the problem of defense is also a reason for a unified military and defense strategy. As it is well known that the maintenance of large military force imposes a heavy financial burden on even the wealthiest states. For young nations in great need of capital for economic development, it would be ridiculous indeed, suicidal for each state separately and individually to assume such a heavy burden of self-defense (Mbonjo, 1998).

### **An Amalgamated Foreign Policy and Diplomacy**

The third goal comes rationally from the first two types of joint action, which is necessary to give political direction to the joint efforts for the security and economic development of the continent (Mbonjo, 1998). An additional point is that, given the great number of African states, the burden of separate diplomatic representation by each state both inside and outside Africa, would be crushing (Mbonjo, 1998). For Nkrumah, all talk of effective and large-scale joint action between African states is wishful thinking if there is no agreement on political issues. The reason here is self-evident, for all actions in the fields of economy and defense are guided by political decisions (Mbonjo, 1998, p.153).

It was consequently clear that Nkrumah's approach to African unity was basically political. And, this line was in opposition to that of the school of thought which advocates collaboration in limited orb as the best way of achieving African unity (Mbonjo, 1998). For Nkrumah, such a formula cannot go past the level of normal interaction between sovereign states; African unity for him can only be achieved through a political union espousal all independent African states (Mbonjo, 1998).

### **Continental Government For Africa**

What will the structure of this continental government look like? This is a question of dominant importance for Nkrumah, apart from imperialist maneuvering to resist African political union some African nations are reluctant to part with their newly found sovereignty. To alleviate this problem, Nkrumah articulates a number of concrete proposals (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 154). For example, the structure implemented in federations of states in America, where the

equality of the federated states is covetously protected, and sovereignty is maintained. The powers, agreed to the central government, are different from those retained by the states in the functions of the executive, legislature, and judiciary (Mbonjo, 1998).

All the states would have a common trade and economic policy and they would be secular. Nkrumah calls for a continental parliament made of two houses: the upper house is based on an equal representation of all states, regardless of size and population, formulates a common policy in all matters affecting security, defense and development of Africa. It is also within its area of competence to examine solutions to the problems of the union through a committee selected for that function and to draft a more decisive form of constitution suitable to all independent states (Mbonjo, 1998).

The lower house, with representation according to population, discusses the problems facing Africa. The African parliament has therefore defined powers, and all other powers are reserved to the member states in the exercise of which each is sovereign (Mbonjo, 1998). The powers of African government cover economic planning, defense and foreign affairs; all other powers are left to individual African states which will continue to have their national flag, national anthem, national coat of arms, and all other accessories of an independent sovereign state (Mbonjo, 1998).

Nkrumah explains this idea as follows:

“I am confident that it should be possible to devise a constitutional structure applicable to our special conditions in Africa and not necessarily framed in terms of the existing constitutions of Europe, America or elsewhere, which will enable us to secure the objectives. I

have defined overall economic planning, unified military and defense strategy, unified foreign policy and diplomacy and yet preserve to some extent the sovereignty of each state within a Union of African States “(Mbonjo, 1998 p. 155). It must be added that the edifice of African unity, according to Nkrumah, will be progressive, given the environment prevailing in Africa at that time: separation of African states and colonization. In addition, the constitutional form was not rigid and absolute. On this Nkrumah addresses it in this way:

“We might erect for the time being a constitutional form that could start with those states willing to create a nucleus, and have the door open for the attachment of others as they desire to join or reach freedom which would allow them to do so. The form could be made amenable to adjustment and amendment at any time the consensus of opinions is for it” (Mbonjo, 1998 p. 155).

As for Nkrumah, the achievement of political independence within a single country is not an end in itself but a means for paving the way towards economic independence and the edifice of socialism, and so to the political union of African States has no meaning except it intends at building socialism in the whole of African continent (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 156). World experience has shown how difficult it is to build socialism in a country bordered by unreceptive capitalist states. This mission, according to Nkrumah, is almost unattainable in a small underdevelopment country of Africa. African unity will create some of the objective conditions necessary for the rapid advancement towards socialism throughout the African continent (Mbonjo, 1998). Therefore, the

struggle for African unity becomes another form of the battle between socialism and imperialism in Africa (Mbonjo, 1998). On this note, Nkrumah writes:

“At the core of the concept of African unity lie socialism and the socialist definition of the new African society. Socialism and African Unity are organically complementary” (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 156). In a self-critical objective diagnosis, Nkrumah discloses three inconsistent conceptions of African unity, which according to him clarify to a large extent the intense difficulty of achieving a union of independent African states under a continental government leading to socialism (Mbonjo, 1998).

The so called “Mutual Protection Theory” is an investment that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) serves as a kind of assurance against any change in the status quo, membership providing a protection for Heads of states and governments against all forms of political action aimed at their overthrow (Mbonjo, 1998).

- The “functional conception” is a pledge that African unity must be purely a matter of economic co-operation
- The “political union conception” is a promise that a union government should be in charge of economic development, defense and foreign policy (Mbonjo, 1998, p.157)

For Nkrumah, as we have mostly seen, the only last conception can provide a realistic solution to African’s political and economic problems. Having recognized the class struggle in Africa, and the need for all forms of political struggle, including the armed struggle, for the total liberation and unification of Africa, Nkrumah asserts in his prelude to Africa Must Unite that:

“To suggest that the time is not yet ripe for considering a political union of Africa is to evade facts and ignore realities in Africa today” (Mbonjo, 1998).

Towards the end of his life, Nkrumah’s approach on African revolution had become even more drastic (Mbonjo, 1998). The analysis of his last views of African struggle constitutes the object of own agenda (Mbonjo, 1998).

Nkrumah devoted his last years to working on a new book, a selection of his own writings going back to the pre-independence days when the early Pan-African congresses took place (Mbonjo, 1998, p.159). It is timely that the publication of this historical text:

“Revolutionary Path” coincided with the tenth anniversary of the Organization of African Unity (1963-1973) of which Nkrumah had been a prominent inspirer (Mbonjo, 1998).

In actual fact, Nkrumah’s last message is, first and foremost, a critical appraisal of developments that took place in the history of African unity before his death on April 27, 1972 in Bucharest, Romania (Mbonjo, 1998). It emphasizes the gap between the actual achievements of the OAU and the prime concept of an African continental union embracing a high command and an African revolutionary party (Mbonjo, 1998).

Nkrumah’s last message reads:

*“The immense resources of Africa can only be fully utilized to raise the standard of living of the masses if our continent is totally liberated from all forms of oppression and exploitation, and if our economy is developed on a continental basis. The essential pre-requisite is socialist planning within the framework of political unification. If the independent African states cannot*

*come together peacefully into such a union, then armed force must be used to achieve our socialist revolutionary objectives. It must be directed against those states and elites which still resist the processes of the African revolution. Colonialist and neo-colonialist governments, racist settler regimes and privileged groups in our society, can be tolerated no longer. The neo-colonialist puppet governments are more insufferable than the governments of territories still under direct colonial rule, since they represent exploitation and oppression of Africans by Africans and the interests of international monopoly finance working through the indigenous bourgeoisie. The African revolution has already entered the armed phase but the struggle lacks a securely, liberated and sufficiently strong territorial base, adequate political and military cohesion and ideological clarity. Unified action required an ideology based on a correct analysis of the revolutionary situation. Top priority throughout the struggle must therefore be given to mass ideological education and training. Just as national liberation can never be considered as an end in itself, so also must the struggle for the total liberation and unification of Africa never become merely an expression of bourgeois nationalism. Attempts by reactionaries, indigenous and foreign who appear to encourage liberation and unification movements in order to gain control of them to perpetuate capitalism and to block the socialist transformation of our society must be exposed and defeated” (Mbonjo, 1998, p.161)*

To examine the historical context in which these words were written; the last O. A. U. summit before Nkrumah was toppled on February 14, 1966, had revealed the OAU’s importance over many serious issues (Mbonjo, 1998). Nkrumah had given his own critical appraisal of the 1965 O.A.U summit:

The explosive issues talked about at the conference alerted progressive opinion to the dangers of continued compromise:

- 1- The crisis in Rhodesia
- 2- The struggle in the Congo
- 3- The treatment of African political refugees
- 4- The problem of South West Africa

In the case of crisis in Rhodesia, the African Heads of states failed to agree on practical way of checking Ian Smith's rebellion; similarly, in the Congo, the fundamental issue of the crisis was avoided in spite of the edgy situation resulting from the gallant stand of the freedom fighters carrying on the struggle in the spirit of Lumumba (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 161). On the question of the status and treatment of African political refugees, the O.A.U again failed to find solution and Heads of states continued to regard them merely as outlaws or exchanged goods (Ibid).

In this situation, the genuine threat of imperialism and its neo-colonialist agents tended to be underestimated and the progressive states placed too much reliance on the O.A.U (Mbonjo, 1998).

Nkrumah concludes that while the pro-imperialist states within the O.A. U were effectively building their own regional conservative groupings, the progressive states failing to secure their ranks, were left to fight inadequately and alone against the massive escalation of imperialism (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 162)

The post 1966 developments regarding the O.A.U efforts had only served to substantiate this point (Mbonjo, 1998). As it was, Nkrumah was writing at the height of the Nigerian crisis which, for 33 months deflected Africa's attention from the massive imperialist military build-up Southern Africa, and offered an opportunity for divide-and -rule activities by the white settler oligarchies (Mbonjo, 1998).

Hardly had peace returned to Nigeria that another divisive issue began tearing the O. A. U at the seams: The British Tory government's policy towards sales of arms to South Africa and the issue of dialogue with South Africa (Mbonjo, 1998). As it turned out, the O. A. U was to spend several costly summits debating non-issues rather than dialoguing on the ways and means of helping the liberation movements to win the struggles they had begun way before the dialogue trap had been set (Mbonjo, 1998).

Meanwhile, three years after Nkrumah had set up an African day special message, condemned dialogue South Africa in 1968, a resolution condemning the same was voted at the 1971 O.A. U summit (Mbonjo, 1998). This was after the 1970 invasion of Guinea had taken place and after the subsequent emergency O.A. U meeting took place in Lagos to rally African solidarity for invaded Guinea (Mbonjo, 1998, p.163). With all the enthusiasm of the participants and all the exceptional setting for the pitch of a high command, the Lagos meeting could not go beyond a recommendation that possibilities of regional military cooperation should be examined (Mbonjo, 1998).

This situation regarding the O.A. U liberation committee was just as tragic, with a second committee set up in 1969 to review the first one (Mbonjo, 1998). The second

committee came up with at least one reasonable recommendation which it took the O.A. U seven years to arrive at: that its liberation committee should include in its deliberation the very men that the O A. U agreed were mature enough to run independent states (Mbonjo, 1998).

The 1971 O.A. U summit was the last summit Nkrumah was able to reflect on, as General Gowon had called on the O.A. U Heads of states and governments to help liberate at least one within the next three years (Mbonjo, 1998). There was a general feeling of O.A.U self-satisfaction that once again the summit had taken place without any major confrontation, rather at the level of the lowest common denominator of consensus (Mbonjo, 1998).

Such is the context of O.A. U failure against which Nkrumah wrote his last message. His criticism of the organization is that it has become an expression of bourgeois nationalism (Mbonjo, 1989, p.164). In the *Specter of Black Power*, a pamphlet written in Conakry in 1968, he said; the O.A. U has been rendered virtually ineffective as a result of the scheming of neo-colonialists and their puppets (Mbonjo, 1998). Hitherto, it is being preserved as an innocuous organization in the hope that it may delay the formation of a really effective Pan African organization (Mbonjo, 1998).

In 1969, a black empowerment individual from South Africa called William Pomeroy's book review on 'Guerilla warfare' came up in which he stated: "Regional economic groupings attempts at regional political federations have merely served to strengthen the stranglehold of imperialism" (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 164).

The second major ideal expressed in Nkrumah's last thoughts on African unity is just as the united front of heterogeneous groups which gained national independence has to go

through a purification process in order to combat neo-colonialism, in the same approach, a united front of African states will have to remove from ranks through whatever means necessary, those regimes which continue to betray the continental African revolution (Ibid). At this juncture, Nkrumah is making a distinction between the major enemy and the immediate enemy and emphasizes that it is often necessary to neutralize the immediate enemy, referring to the neo-colonized African elites, in order to be able to confront the major enemy behind: International monopoly finance (Mbonjo, 1998).

The conclusion of Nkrumah's last message reads:

The formation of an all-African high command, and an all-African executive council, as a first step in the establishment of a socialist all- African union government, is more urgent than ever before to give unified political and military direction to our struggle and to combat increasing imperialist and neo-colonialist aggression (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 165). At the same time, and as an integral part of our Pan African planning, the strategy and tactics of freedom fighter movements and organizations must be coordinated and combined, and their operation extended (Ibid). Through the guerilla camps deep in the forest may well emerge some of the new leadership which Africa so badly needs (Mbonjo, 1998).

The African people in solidarity with comrades in every part of the world have the means, the ability and the determination to banish once and for all, imperialism, neocolonialism, settler minority rule, and all forms of oppression from our continent (Ibid). A unified and socialist society in which the African personality will find full expression can and must be constructed, and there is victory for us (Mbonjo, 1998).

Every social movement needs to be guided by a clear philosophy if it is to be successful; such a philosophy must take into consideration the dominant intellectual strands which prevail at a given time in a particular society (Mbonjo, 1998, p.168). It must seek to create intellectual harmony within that society by overcoming all conflicts and contradictions which disrupt its internal unity; in other words, the philosophy of a social movement must aim at providing the people with the intellectual orientation which is so necessary to any social cohesion (Mbonjo, 1998). In this sense, philosophy is a means of social unity and order, as such, it is an instrument of ideology and Nkrumah cites the following quotation from Mazzini, Giuseppe Mazzini is an Italian revolutionist, who writes about the process of independence and political integration of the African states:

“Every true revolution is a program, and derives from a new, general, positive and organic principle. The first thing necessary is to accept that principle. Its development must then be confined to men who are believers in it, and emancipated from every tie or connection with any principle of an opposite nature” (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 168).

With the quotation from Mazzini, we can see the connection Nkrumah makes between philosophy and ideology for it is the ideology which gives a countenance to the ensuing social milieu (Mbonjo, 1998, p. 169). This thesis highlights the potential of Kwame Nkrumah as the only mouthpiece for Africa during his time, although he was Ghana’s first elected president postcolonial rule, his ideology and pragmatism has never been fund in the African scene since his demise. According to Mazzini, the principle underlying every true revolution is general, positive and organic; the statement clarification and theoretical defense of such a principle will

collectively form a philosophy (Mbonjo, 1998). We can therefore admit philosophy to be an instrument of ideology; for Nkrumah, it can be said that in every society, there is to be found an ideology, which he interprets in this way: there is at least one militant segment which is the dominant segment of that society. In communalistic societies, this segment coincides with the whole (Mbonjo, 1998). This dominant segment has its fundamental principles, its beliefs about the nature of man, and the type of society which must be created by man; in societies where there are competing ideologies, it is still usual for one ideology to be dominant, and this dominant ideology is that of the ruling group (Mbonjo, 1998).

### **Conclusion**

This thesis draws on three disciplines: education as the key element to national development, gender studies on equal work for equal pay for women and assured full payment for women on maternity leave; and disability studies, which inform the need for inclusivity. It has also demonstrated how along with rapid and progressive economic development Nkrumah's government catapulted Ghana's education excellence on his shoulders and nearly wiped out illiteracy from the country. Ghana becoming the beacon of Africa was all the hard work of Nkrumah's governance, which the Western world did not understand and branded him as a dictator and a communist, which was far from the truth. Nkrumah's ideology was a "Socialist Agenda" which fits into the African narratives and way of life. Africa was never divided before the Europeans came in 1884, in what has been called the "Scramble for Africa".

The February 24, 1966 coup d'état engineered and financed by the CIA was an ill-informed agenda to destroy the future of many generations of Ghanaians to come. As indicated earlier in this thesis and emphasized by Nkrumah, the military has no mandate from the people to govern in any way. The military organization is a forced system and utilizes dependency theory as its methodology to govern a civilian population in which free speech has no place. Although, Ghana has enjoyed some civilian governance since the February 24, 1966 coup d'état, the country has not recovered from Nkrumah's era as demonstrated by the deplorable conditions reflected in the video segment on the education system in Ghana since Nkrumah was toppled.

Presently, two-thirds of Ghana's adult population is classified as illiterate. This is because successive Ghanaian governments had cut back on educational funding over the years and the effect on educational quality is clearly being manifested in the failure rates of Ghanaian school children at competitive international examinations conducted by the West African Examination Council. Nkrumah's prediction of "Dark Days in Ghana", after he was toppled has really fallen on the nation, which no one knows how to bring the light back. My suggestion is to embark on Nkrumah's Seven Year Development Plan, which was abruptly suspended after the February 24, 1966, coup d'état the plan revive the economy tied to the educational system, or launch a massive free education campaign infused with Indigenous and cultural educational components to enrich our education coast to coast with cultural content.

### **Endnotes**

\*Professor Awalou Ouedraogo, August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2023. York University.

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