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AFRICAN CULTURAL TRADITIONS AND NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE INTELLECTUAL WORKS OF KWAME NKRUMAH, 1944- 1966

BY

JULIUS BROWN AKOTO

10178054

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that, except for references to other people's work which have been duly acknowledged, this work is a result of my own research work, done under supervision, and has neither in part nor in whole been presented elsewhere for another degree.

…….
JULIUS BROWN AKOTO
(Student)

……
Date

…….
DR. PHILIP AFEADIE
(Supervisor)

……
Date

……
DR. KOJO OPOKU AIDOO
(Supervisor)

.....
Date

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to

Mawuena Akosua Abortta

Meera Venkatachalam

Mrs. Rebecca Kudjawu

Professor Kojo S. Amanor

Rev. Dr. Abraham A. Akrong

Dr. (Mrs.) Akosua Adoma Perbi

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ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to situate Kwame Nkrumah's intellectual works, in the development of Ghanaian national consciousness and to examine his contribution on African cultural traditions to the evolution of Ghanaian national consciousness in 1944 to 1966. This is done on two main strands. First, it determines Nkrumah's earliest writings including 'Primitive Mind and Thought,' 'Primitive Education in West Africa', 'Education and Nationalism in Africa', 'Educational trends and potentialities in West Africa', He indicates that survival and relationship consciousness was crucial to understanding the need for independence. In these volumes of works Nkrumah attempted to construct Ghanaian national consciousness through two key values. First he contended that economic bases were the prerequisite for the demands of freedom and these lay in the unity of the people. This realisation depends on the second factor – the African cultural traditions of the people is required as a higher "fitted propeller" for the emancipation of the people from colonial dominations. These intellectual works also explore Nkrumah's attempts at constructing an African philosophical consciousness.

The second strand of the the thesis highlights the extent to which Kwame Nkrumah adapted the intellectual positions used by his predecessors to the reconfiguration of British Colonial enterprise in the Gold Coast. This view is contained in the books he wrote from the beginning of 1945 to 1966: *Towards Colonial Freedom* and in his *Autobiography, Necolonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism and Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonisation and Development With Particular Reference to the African Revolution.* Nkrumah's intellectual commitment in these texts is his recognition and application of collective consciousness in fostering a sense of togetherness and belonging which is critical for the emergent post-colonial nation. The thesis notes that Nkrumah, however, drew on the intellectual works of protest literature against British imperialism evolved by western-educated Gold Coasters, and across the globe by African –Americans. The thesis argues that Nkrumah practicalised the ideas formulated by these intellectuals. The thesis, highlights the extent to which Nkrumah adapted the philosophies of consciencism and Nkrumaism to the changing nature of British colonial rule during the period under discussion. The thesis maintains that arguments of Nkrumah were practical approaches against colonial tactics which were instilled into Ghanaian consciousness were constant and sometimes in harmony with western values.

The dissertation gives a detailed reconstruction of Ghanaian nationalism that emerged from the ideas of self-esteem in the transformation of Ghanaian national consciousness in three volume works. The works of *I Speak of Freedom, Some Essential Features of Nkrumaism, Class Struggle in Africa* and *Africa Must Unite* focus on exhortation of Ghanaian cultural traditions. For instance *I Speak of Freedom* demonstrates how he was dressed as a typical Akan chief during his installation as president in parliament. Nkrumah also demonstrates aside this event the ideas of self-esteem in the transformation of Ghanaian national consciousness a sense of his willingness for an internal and external cohesive consciousness which will result into a global consciousness of all Africans. In these works Nkrumah appealed to the Ghanaian national consciousness in a different way than others. He wanted a cohesive united nation in Ghana and the continent of Africa. In *Class Struggle in Africa*, Nkrumah blamed class "interest" as the obstacle against the construction and achievement of Ghanaian national consciousness. Moreover, in *I Speak of Freedom*, Nkrumah's earnest desire was the argument that the African people needed to be freed at all cost in order that the African genius and their communities would "flourish and blossom." In *Africa*

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Must Unite and elsewhere Nkrumah contended that: "In meeting fellow Africans from all part of the continent he is constantly impressed by how much we have in common in relations to our African cultural traditions. It is not just our colonial past, or the fact that we have aims in common, it is something which goes far deeper. Nkrumah best describes it as a sense of one-ness in that we are all Africans. This togetherness of the African through an evolution of the African cultural traditions was more expressed in the work, *Consciencism.* In this work, Nkrumah advocated that the African cultural traditions were not obstacles nor were they problems for African unification. In fact, in *Consciencism* Nkrumah explains that cultural acquisition becomes valuable only when it is appreciated by free men. Nkrumah in *Consciencism* and the other books aforementioned indicates that Africans by African cultural traditions have a collective memory and collective consciousness which are cultural principles of harmony, co-operation, collectivism and consensus. Premised on a related doctrine of *Nkrumaism Consciencism* and *Nkrumaism* at least provided the intellectual flames that guided Ghanaian national consciousness from which later generations of Ghanaians have initiated their own small, but important national consciousness.

In order to make the discussion more cogent and relevant for the contemporary academic world the discussion is mainly on archival material from the George Padmore Research library in Accra and supported by materials from the Ghana Information Service; it also made use of a wide range of published accounts, from the Public Records and Archive Administration Department, formerly the Ghana National Archives and information from interviews of some individuals who have not only written extensively on Kwame Nkrumah but were his ministers of state. Beyond its immediate local interest, the thesis contributes to our understanding of Nkrumah's usage of African cultural traditions in domestic policies and its impacts on the foreign frontiers of his foreign policies. Nkrumah's ideas of the African Personality illustrate the dynamics of policies clearly. Nkrumah's foreign policies are placed into the wider global consciousness where Nkrumah wanted the Africans to be placed. The link between the domestic and foreign policies is illustrated by the centrality of Nkrumah's dictum: A country or race without the knowledge of its past is tantamount to a ship without a pilot. Other important discussed issues include Nkrumah's life and how he employed religion, art history, proverbs, aphorism and storytelling to fortify the Nation. The thesis also looked at how the Convention Peoples' Party(C. P.P.) was refashioned after the traditional *Asafo* groups in African cultural traditions to define and construct Ghanaian national consciousness.

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GLOSSARY OF AFRICAN CULTURAL TRADITIONAL TERMS

Kasapreko- The one who speaks once

Otumfuo- The powerful one

Oyeadeeyie- To rewrite the wrongs of others

Adenkum - An Akan dance for girls Fomtomfom

Akomfo- Africa Traditional Priest/Priestess

Akuaba- Fertility dolls

Asafo – A group of youth warriors

Asantehene- The traditional ruler of Asante state

Asomdwehene- Prince of peace

Batakali- A Traditional African dress of Northern Ghana

Fiaga - Ttile for the Paramount chief of Ewes in a Ghanaian community

Kantamanto- Does not break an oath

Kejetia-boys - A Term used for boys who work in Kumasi-Kejetia as apprentices

Kwe Boni Ehi Nyem imei Fee Ekkome Kehi Ei Le' - There is strength in togetherness

Magazias - A Term used for Women in the Zongo communities in Africa who are Financial powerful

Mame Wata- Water spirit

Mbrantsehene - The leader of the youths

Mma- A terra cotta for aesthetic work

Obronisuro /Abrofosuro- the one who is feared by Europeans

Okyehene - Linguist

Osagyefo- one who engages in continuous, constant war and wins/ "victor" in battle

Osu Mantse- King of Osu

Tufuhene - A Title for a sub chief who assumed a captainship over an armed unit among the Akans of Ghana.

Yerifehene- A title of a divisional chief of the Akans of Ghana

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AAC	African Affairs Centre
AACPC	All African Committee for Political Coordination
AAPC	All African People's Conference
AAPRA	All African People's Revolutionary Army
AAPRP	All African People's Revolutionary Party
AAPSP	All African Socialist Party
AAS	African Affairs Secretariat
AAS	Association of African Students
AATUF	All African Trade Union Federation
ANC	African National Congress
ARPS	Aborigines Rights Protection Society
AU	African Union
AYA	Asante Youth Association
AYC	African Youth Command
BAA	Bureau of African Affairs
CA	Constitutive Act
CAA	Council of African Affairs
CIAS	Conference of Independent African States
CPP	Convention People's Party
CYO	Committee of Youth Organisation
GCP	Ghana Congress Party
GCTUC	Gold Coast Trade Union Congress
GNTC	Ghana National Trading Corporation
GYPM	Ghana Young Pioneer Movement
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
KNII	Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute
KNWS	Kwame Nkrumah Welfare Society
LSE	London School of Economics
MAP	Muslim Association Party
NASSO	National Association of Socialist Students Organization
NCBWA	National Congress of British West Africa
NCGW	National Council of Ghanaian Women
NDP	National Democratic Party
NLC	National Liberation Council
NLM	National Liberation Movement
NPP	Northern People's Party
NRC	National Redemption Council

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NSC	National Security Council
NUGS	National Union of Ghanaian Students
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PA	Positive Action
PAC	Pan- African Congress
PANYMO	Pan- African Youth Movement
PDA	Preventive Detention Act
PDD	Presidential Detail Department
PDG	Parti Democratique de Guinea
PFA	Parti de la Federation Africain
PPP	People's Progressive Party
PRAAD	Public Records and Archive Administration Department .
PVAs	Party Vanguard Activists
TA	Tactical Action
TC	Togoland Congress
TUC	Trades Union Congress
UGCC	United Gold Coast Convention
UN	United Nations
UNIA	Universal Negro Improvement Association
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WANS	West African National Secretariat
WASU	West African Student Union
YPI	Young Pioneers Institute
YPM	Young Pioneer Movement

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Background of the Study

Kwame Nkrumah is one of the most significant figures in Ghana's political history. This thesis is about Kwame Nkrumah's contention that Africans were denied the knowledge of their past.[1] Nkrumah argued that African history when written should reflect the character of its people. By this he maintained that African history should serve as a map to guide and direct its reconstruction in the modern era[2].

The historian, according to Nkrumah must "patiently, continuously and persistently" tell the history of nationalism of the people and make it known that Africa as a giant is awakening[3]. Nkrumah in his works symbolises an emergent Africa.[4] This thesis seeks to examine the evolution of ideas of African cultural traditions and the subsequent impact of the development of Ghanaian national consciousness in Nkrumah's thoughts, especially during the period 1944 and 1966.

This research is a counter-narrative, and as such, is a corrective, to the post colonial narratives that have dominated scholarship in recent times. These post colonial narratives have been dominated by the irrelevance of African cultural traditions and their

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[1] Katharina Schramm, "The Politics of Dance:Changing Representations of The Nation in Ghana" *Afrika Spectrum*,2003,340; Kwame Nkrumah, *African Must Unite*, London: Panaf, 1966,63.

2. Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonisation*, London: Panaf, 1966, 63; Mogobe b. Ramose, "'African Renaissance': A northbound gaze" in P.H. Coetzee and A.P.J. Roux, *The African Philosophy Reader*, New York: Routledge, 2002, 601-610, 604.

3. Kwame Nkrumah, "Africa's Glorious Past": Address delivered by Osagyefo to mark the opening of the First International Congress of Africanists held at the Great Hall of University of Ghana, Legon, 12 December, 1962. Accra: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1-12. See also, Samuel Obeng, *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*, Accra: Afram Publications Ghana Ltd, Vol. 2, No. 16, 127. Also, Obeng, 1997, Vol. 1, No. 24,125.

4. Kofi Awoonor, "Kwame Nkrumah: Symbol of Emergent Africa", *Africa Republic*, June 1972, 22-25.

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contributions to national discourses, ignoring the promise of African national consciousness and emancipation between the 1950s and 1960s[5].

Ideas of nationhood about Africa from the mid-twentieth century were profoundly shaped by western ideas[6]. At this point, the African response was to absorb the standards, the values and institutions of the West[7]. African cultural traditions were looked down upon, by imperialist literature which tended to denigrate African cultural traditions, making no attempt to promote it or portray it in a positive light[8]. One of the ways resistance could be realised was by using cultural acts as a means of preserving their identity[9]. As Cabral observed, intellectuals then, reorganised the culture and the social sector as a means of making history[10].

The development of an African nationalist intellectual cultural renaissance was to be understood as a revolution, an accommodation, and a revival of African cultural traditions[11]. The revolutionary stages were to see African cultural traditions offered immediate changes; the accommodation process was for adaptation and adoption to the foreign traditions and cultures of Europe; the revivalist intent was to return to the real or

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[5] The arguments by these schools of thoughts are that African indigenous languages do not have any Epistematic systems for building knowledge. Thus the nationalist period never witness such a construction. Rather African nationalist turned towards Western Epistemic for decolonization. See, Paul T. Zeleza, "Banishing The Silences: Towards The Globation of African History", undated paper, unpublished source not available, 1-9, 4. In particular, observe how he describes African histories as the "colonial library" from Mumdibe's view. Also, Nathan Andrews and Eyene Okpanachi, "Trends of Epistematic Oppresion and Academic Dependency in Africa's Development: The Needs for a New Intellectual Path", The *Journal of Pan African Studies*, Vol.5, No. 8, 2012, 85-103. Sekhmet Ra Em Knt Maat and Karanja Keita Carroll, African-centered Theory and Methodology in African Studies: An Introduction, The *Journal of Pan African Studies*, Vol.5, No. 4, 2012, 1-11, 3. See also, Jean Allman, "Nuclear Imperialism and The Pan-African Struggle For Peace and Freedom: Ghana, 1959-1962", Soul, April, 2008, 83-102.

6. Robert W. July, The *Origins of Modern African Thought: Its Development In West Africa during the nineteenth and twentieth Centuries*, London: Faber and Faber, 1968, 458-459.

7. ibid, 461.

8.Amiri Barack, "Revolutionary Culture and the Future of Pan African Culture", in Molefi Kete Asante and Abu 12.S. Abarry (eds), *African Intellectual Heritage: A Book of Sources*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996, 689-697; 690-691.

9.Amilcar Cabral, "Identity and Dignity in the Context of Struggle", in *African Intellectual Heritage*, Molefi Kete Asante and Abu S. Abarry, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996, 243 -247.

10. Ibid, 244; see also, Paulo Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* translated by Myra Bergman Ramos, New York: Penguin Books, 1977, 121-122.

11. Max Assimeng, *Foundations of African Social Thought: A Contribution to the Sociology of Knowledge*, Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1997,84.

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imaginary "good old days"[12] of the pre-colonial era. These tasks by the intellectuals have been viewed from several perspectives. For instance, Johnson in 1916 considered it as "The Bitter Cry of the Educated African;" Malinowski in 1943 regarded it as "The Pan-African Problem of Culture Contact"; Vera Dean in 1956 in a contemporary cultural sense perceived it as "Anti-Westernism" and in 1958, Mary Matossian alluded to it as "Tensions and Ambiguities" inculcated in "Ideologies of Delayed Industrialization", a challenge which Kwame Nkrumah described in 1964 as conflict in the African conscience.[13]

The intellectual climate that was nurtured by the Africans to challenge and to solve the Eurocentric scholarly views could not develop at one time. It was a slow process, broken up and uneven, especially for those whose development depended on the degree of "acculturation of that individual, of the material circumstances of his life, on the forming of his ideas and on his experience as a social being."[14]

The Second World War inaugurated an abrupt change, for such individuals to emerge. It witnessed a new fortune in an awakening of African national consciousness and a different approach to the styles in leadership.[15] These individual figures emerged to take command – Leopold Senghor in Senegal replacing Lamine Guèye with the help of rural votes, and Kwame Nkrumah in the Gold Coast[16]. The dramatic breakthrough which

12. *Ibid*,84;85.

13.Max Assimeng," Foundations of African Social Thought", *Ibid*, 85; see, Akoto Julius Brown, "Consciencism: Nkrumah In Search of An Educated African Mind, "Unpublished article, 2011.

14.ibid, Cabral, "Identity and Dignity," 245.

15. C. Magbily Fyle, "Contemporary African Urban Culture, Indigenous Religious Beliefs And Issues of African Identity In the Diaspora" in Toyin Falola (ed), *Ghana In Africa and in the World: Essay in Honour of Adu Boahen*, Trenton: Africa World Press, 2003, 390-406;392;397.

[16] Whiles some scholars, such as E.K. Dumor, in his book, *Ghana, O.A. U. and Southern Africa: An African Response to Apartheid*, Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1991, 154, have pointed out to some major difference between Nkrumah and Senghor's approaches to the Cultural Imperialism of Western Hegemony. The differences in my view lies in their practical responses to the Cultural of Imperialism by the West and not in their intellectual responses. For early in their works both Leaders had identified the Cultural Imperialism of Western as one that "obscures awareness". For details of these see, "Elements Constructifs d'une Civilisation d'inspiration negro-africaine" in *Leopold Sedar Senghor Prose and Poetry*, Selected and Translated by John Reed and Clive Wake, London: Oxford University Press,1965, 77. See also, John Markakis, "1930- Pan-Africanism: The Idea and The Movement", Columbia University,

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this new African nationalist leadership affected during the post-war years brought not only political freedom to Africa, but it also inaugurated the arrival and reinvention of a more thorough going emancipation involving the reassertion of ancient African cultural and philosophical truth, and a determination to proclaim newly won national independence by assuming a posture of unmistakable equality with the world's established nations.[17]

In the newly independent Ghana, Kofi Baku pointed out in a doctoral thesis instances during which Ghanaian national consciousness was being awakened by the intelligentsia of the Gold Coast[18]. He argued in this thesis that British imperial expansion declined through the writings of the westernized African intellectuals. This took place through the anti-colonial literary protest from 1874 to 1910[19]. This protest was led by Kobina Sekyi. Thus, Joe Appiah in his *Autobiography* wrote in memory of this event:

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unpublished Ph. D Thesis, 1965, 344. And, General Yakubu Gowon(Retd), "The Economic Community of West African States: A Study in Political and Economic Intergration, 1984, Pol/ International University of Warwick, 1984, Unpublished, Ph.D.Thesis.

17. *Ibid*, "African intellectual Heritage", 245; See, T. Peter Omari, Kwame *Nkrumah: The Anatomy of an African Dictatorship*, Accra: Sankofa Educational Publisher, 2000, 15-28.

[18] D.E.K.Baku, "An intellectual In Nationalist Politics: The Contribution of Kobina Sekyi To The Evolution of Ghanaian National Consciousness," University of Sussex,1989, 30-44. Unpublished, Ph.D.Thesis. Also, see, Kofi K. Saah and Kofi Baku, "Do Not Rob Us of Ourseleves": Language and Nationalism in Colonial Ghana" in Helen Lauer, Nana Aba Appiah Amfo, and Jemima Asabea Anderson, *Identity Meets Ntionality: Voices From The Humanities*, Accra: Sub-saharan Publishers, 2011, 74-99,75-76. For details, see, Sylvanus Ajana Ekwele, "1936-The Press in Gold Coast Nationalism, 1890-1957", The University of Wisconsin, 1971, Unpublished, Ph.D.Thesis.

19. D.E.K.Baku, "An intellectual In Nationalist Politics: The Contribution of Kobina Sekyi To The Evolution of Ghanaian National Consciousness," University of Sussex,1989, 32-44. Unpublished, Ph.D.Thesis. See also, 22.David Kimble, *A political History of Ghana: The Rise of Gold Coast nationalism 1850-1928*, Oxford: Claredon Press, 1963, 507; S.S. Quarcoopome, "The politics and nationalism of A.W. Kojo Thompson: 1924 – 1944" in *Research Review*, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, New Series Vol. 7, Nos. 1 and 2, 1991.

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"Kobina Sekyi spent spare moments writing pungent articles to the papers and in delivering public lectures on the rights of the Gold Coast people"[20].

Kimble and Atiemo pointed out that the "return to the source"[21] split the intelligentsia into three groups when confronted with the liberation movement: a minority, which, even if it wants to see the dominant colonialist class it openly opposes the movement to protect its social position, a majority, which is hesitant and indecisive; another minority of people who share in the building and leadership of the liberation movement[22]. The latter group of people "were loyal middle-class British subjects" according to Dr. Nanka Bruce.[23]

Their endeavour to construct Ghanaian nationalism was not possible to the ordinary persons in the streets since they were culturally alienated from them. By and large, they appealed to the senses of individuals who were within their educated classes. Indeed, under the tutelage of European enlightenment, they hoped to realise their dreams of a nation within the commonwealth; they wished to be not only "civilised into an orderly community" but "welded into a nation"; "good government is no substitute for self-government"[24].

This was the tradition in which Kwame Nkrumah's "seek ye first the political kingdom'' was to find mass support.[25] Indeed, such assertion was not possible until Kwame Nkrumah, at the Accra Palladium on 29th February 1948, had discerned that the political national consciousness of the people of the Gold Coast had awakened to a point

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20.Joseph Appiah, *Joe Appiah*: *The Autobiography, of An African Patriot*, Accra: Asempa Publishers,1996,73.
21.Cabral, "Identity and Dignity," Ibid, 246.
22.Atiemo Ofori Atiemo, "Religion and Human Rights: Towards the Incultural of Human Rights in Ghana", Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2010, 93-94; Kimble, *Ibid*, 525.
23.T. Peter Omari, *Kwame Nkrumah*: *The Anatomy of an African Dictatorship*, Accra: *Sankofa Educational Publishers*, 2009,21. See also, W. E. F. Ward, "Colonial Rule in West Africa", in Joseph C. Anene and Godfrey Brown (eds), *Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1999,308-325;319-320.
24.Kimble *Ibid*, 553.
25. Kimble *Ibid*, 553.

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where the time had come for them to unite and fight for their freedom and independence.[26]

Thus, at this point in Ghanaian history, the case of national consciousness was a slow process, broken up and uneven; yet it was a conscious and deliberate process witnessed in the Gold Coast until the arrival of Kwame Nkrumah. Two factors enforce this argument. The first is that most of these intellectuals based these views on their professional groupings which interest they wanted to protect at all cost. The second line of reasoning is that their intellectual constructs was mainly to see the southern parts of the Gold Coast united for an economic independence.[27] But Kwame Nkrumah was distinct from these scholars in his quest for a political integration and unity of Ghanaians through his ability to give opportunities for the communication of African cultural traditions in Ghana.[28] His endeavours in experimenting this enterprise at the nationalist era was to build a single coherent political society from an amalgam of ethnic societies; he was concerned with how to increase African cultural traditional homogeneity and value consensus; and how to elicit, from each citizen, deference and devotion to the claims of the formation of the new state, Ghana.

Kwame Nkrumah embodied the traits of culture, leadership and governance in the redefinition and awakening of Ghanaian national consciousness premised on African cultural tradition. Nkrumah's life encompasses an intercultural identity with Ghanaians around whom he modelled Ghana as an intercultural nation-state. He attempted by theory and practice to make Africa a continental expression of this interculturalism; by

26. Kwame Nkrumah, *The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, London: Panaf, 2002,63.

27.Tiyambe Zeleza, *A Modern Economic History of Africa Volume 1: The Nineteenth Century*, Kampala: Codesira, 1997,388;393-396. Also, Maxwell Owusu, *Uses and Abuses of Political Power: A Case Study of Continuity and Change in the Politics of Ghana*, Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 2006, 198-199. K .W. J. Post, "Nationalist Movements in West Africa" in Joseph C. Anene and Godfrey Brown, *Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1999, 326-337;328. Kwaku Larbi Korang, Writing Ghana, Imaging Africa: Nation and African Modernity, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2004, 110; 107-108.

28. Nkrumah see this ambition as a sacred mission and a dream. See, PRAAD/119/SC 21/1/119, Draft of Autobiography, undated; Autobigraphy,166 ; ''I Told You So'', Speech No. 66 ; 72.

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diligently sorting to include the country Ghana and the continent of Africa in an intercultural community of nation. His leadership paradigm was intended not only "to guarantee the greatest good to the greatest number, but the greatest good for all the numbers."[29] He communicated his thoughts on the evolution of Ghanaian national consciousness through his speeches and writings, and this eventually resulted in the independence of Ghana.

Motivation for the Study

I have always been intrigued by the fact that as a certified Presbyterian and Baptist minister, politician and an academic, Kwame Nkrumah saw himself as the biblical figure Moses.[30] Nkrumah in his *Autobiography* described his leadership role in Ghanaian politics as God ordained. He contended at Sunyani on the 13th December, 1960 that:

> If we Ghanaians are to mould the future of our nation, and if we Africans are to mould the future of our continent, so as to fulfil our sacred mission and realise our dearest thought and aspirations, it is necessary that we should all and each of us be conscious of our own personal and individual responsibility as the makers of the nation of which we are a part.[31]

Thus to Nkrumah the future lay in leading Africans out of the stifling fog of disintegration through serfdom, into the valley of light where purpose, endeavour and determination will create that brotherhood which Christ proclaimed two thousand years ago, and about which so much is said, but little done.[32] Indeed, during the nationalist liberation movement leaders were regarded as sent ones. Similar to the biblical figure

29.Akua S. Ejisu, "Culture, Leadership and Governance in Ghana" in Joseph R. A. Ayee(ed), *Ghana at 50*: *Government, Politics and Development*, Accra: Department of Political Science, university of Ghana and Friedrich and Ebert-Stiftung, Ghana, 2007,19-29;24. See also, Samuel Obeng, *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah, Volume, 5*, No. 13, Accra: Afram Publications Ghana Limited, 1997, 51- 56;56.

30. This idea is held by Kwame Nkrumah's as a "divine mission," George Hagan, "Forging A Nation-Building : Nkrumah, Culture and Nation-Building", this was a live telecast lecture on GTV-Ghana television station delivered by Hagan in Honour of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah at the 75th Anniversary of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation in Accra,2008.

31.Samuel Obeng, Selected Speech of Kwame Nkrumah, Accra: Afram Publication Ltd, 2009, 246-249,247.

32. "I told you so!" Speech, No. 72. See also, Nkrumah, *Autobiography*, 198.

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Moses, Africans generally viewed the nationalist leaders as God-sent.[33] Some of these persons held the belief that they were sent to free the people in the same manner Moses had liberated the Jewish people from the rule of Pharaoh.[34] Thus, for instance in Kenya, the Mau Mau leader adopted the name Jomo Kenyatta which means "The Light of Kenya" in liberating his people.[35]

In Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, inspired by Ga women, reasoned that "an about-Face that has been shouted[36]" was expedient to redeem from Pharaoh's arms. The anthem of the Convention People's Party couched in the hymn "Lead Kindly Light"[37], indicated the intention of Kwame Nkrumah in leading Ghanaians out of the dark world of colonialism and imperialism.

Reminiscent of the biblical character Moses, attempts by Kwame Nkrumah at making the exodus from the lands of colonialism into the Promised Land could not be thwarted. Kwame Nkrumah passed on his thoughts in his intellectual works on African cultural traditions. It was his firm belief that his works and deeds would serve as guide after his demise. In view of this assertion Nkrumah said:

> as far as I am concerned, death, cannot extinguish the flame that I have lit in Africa. Long after I am gone, the *intellectual*[38] torch that I have lit will continue to burn to give hope and encouragement to many.[39]

Sometimes, a research problem is generated as a result of contemporary events. The traditional African past in the quest of Nkrumah's writing and thought are the products of the historical moments and more so, the preventatives and creator of the

33. Mercy Amba Oduyoye, "Creation Exodus and Redemption – An African perspective on the Biblical Narrative. 61.

34.I am implying that any system or rule that dominates the humankind, like colonialism and imperialism are "pharonic in nature". It is expressed in accordance to Emmanuel Swedenborg's commentary on the Bible on the Exodus in biblical times. Emmanuel Swedenborg, *Arcana Coelestia: The Heavenly Secrets*, New York: Swedenborg Foundation, 2004, volume 9, 246-290.

35. Oduyoye, "Creation Exodus,"62.

36. Ibid,62.

37. Ibid.

38.*Italics is mine*

39.*Daily Graphic*, Wednesday, 23rd September, 1987, 3. This is an inscription on his tomb at his first burial site in his hometown.

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intellectual climate which saw him in these enterprise of attempting to reconstruct Ghanaian national consciousness in a sense of their cultures and traditions. And African nationalist historiography indicates that several before and after him were the carriers of this intellectual burden, few however, produced personal literature of a vast nature, to those of Nkrumah which relevance still speaks to the discourse and still has the ability to stir the nations of Africa. In carrying out this research I have taken into account the several debates involving the neglect of African cultural traditions in this era of globalisation, and attempts at devaluating other non European cultures[40]. As Nkrumah posited, how can we live without knowing who we are?[41] In the views of R. S. Rattray[42], it is important writing our own histories on the traditions which make us a historical people in order to protect and preserve our identity and dignity. Hodgkin[43] also contended that it is imperative for Africans to re-evaluate what the nationalist history was meant to be at the period of the Second World War and its aftermath. In the face of cultural domination[44] of the Western nations and demonization of traditions[45] in the colonial period, it would be prudent to write on our traditions and cultures for the sake of

40. Michael Janis, "Cultural Identity in the Era of Muticulturalism and Multimedia" in Olufemi Vaughan et al (eds), *Globalization and Marginalization*, Ibadan: Oluseyi Press Ltd, 2005, 236-277; Marimba Aru, Yurugu: An African-centered critique of European Cultural Thought and Behaviour, Trenton: African World Press, Inc, 1997, 401-405

41.Kwame Nkrumah in Katharina Schramm, Ibid, 340.

42. Cati Coe," Not Just Drumming and Dancing:"The production of National Culture in Ghana's Schools,Ph.D Treatise, Michigan: A Bell and Howell Information and Learning Company,2000,164.

43.Thomas Hodgkin, "National Movements in West Africa", in Yosef Ben-Jochannan, *Black-man of the Nile*, New York: Alkebulan Books Associates, 1973, 19

44. In the post-colonial literatures Edward E. Said contends that current global power structures reaffirms the colonial era of cultural dominance. These arguments have been sustained by others in this regard. Michael Haret and Antonio Negri, *Empire*, Harvard: First Harvard University Press, 2001, 146; V. Krishna Rao, "Expansion of Imperialism through Globalization", New Delhi: Nice Printing Press, 2008, 39-58. V.Y. Mudimbe have argued that Africa is an invention of western Epistemology. Thus African is struggling to determine it's own cultural epistemological constructs, F. Abiola Irele, "Francophone African philosophy" in P.H. Coetzee and A. P.J .Rour (eds), The African Philosophy Reader, New York: Rouledge,2003,118-119.

45.By demonization of traditions, I mean African culture traditions are classified as "evil" and must be avoided. 48.This was due to European missionaries and Anthropologist, who taught that providence has endowed them with a civilized mandate to undo some cultural practices in the colonial world. However, it resulted into cultural domination of the western nations.

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the present and future generations. Nkrumah's intellectual works on colonial cultural imperialism and their reoccurrence are therefore important for consideration.

By relying on Nkrumah's mind we can once again tread through those paths to victory against this oppressive influence of the West. He noted:

> Africa must evolve a philosophy that can provide the intellectual cohesion we so urgently need. Such a philosophy must rationalise and harmonise the dominant intellectual strands in Africa's historical experience, reinstate what was noble and elevating in traditional African society and have itself firmly linked with the common pool of world knowledge. The need is for a new philosophical synthesis which is both general and specific. General, because its intellectual roots can be traced to the common pool of world knowledge. Specific, because it grows ... and seeks to explain and guide the African social milieu.[46]

Nkrumah also expressed this view concerning African cultural traditions at the time of Ghana's independence: "It is our earnest hope that the Ghana which is now being reborn will be, like the Ghana of old, a centre to which all the peoples of Africa may come and where all the cultures of Africa may meet."[47] Hence he maintained that:

> Self-government is not an end in itself. We have to work hard to evolve new patterns, new social customs, new attitudes to life, so that while we seek the material, cultural, economic advancement of our people, while we raise their standard of life, we shall not sacrifice their fundamental happiness[48].

Historiographical Context

This work is generally situated within the nationalist history of Africa national consciousness on African cultural traditions. Its emphasis is on Ghanaian nationalism. In the context of broader general trends of scholarship in post-1945 Ghanaian historiography and in the research, held at the University of Ghana, Legon, in 1976, the

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46. Nkrumah, *Some Essential Features of Nkrumaism*: *A Compilation of articles from the "Spark*," London: Spark Production/ Panaf, 1964/1975, 102-103.

47. Ali A. Mazrui and Michael Tidy, "*Nationalism and New States in Africa from about 1935 to the present"*, London: Heinemann, 1987, 60; also Akosua Perbi, "who is a Ghanaian?" A historical perspective, national integration, Ghana academy of arts and sciences, proceedings, 2003, 36.

48. Kwame Nkrumah's speech, "Motion of Destiny," National Assembly, Accra-Ghana, 10 July, 1958. See also, Address to the National Assembly, Accra, 12 June, 1965, cited in *Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah*, *Freedom Fighters Edition*, London: Panaf, 1969, 5, 6.

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observation is made that five areas are germane to the canon of historiography on Ghana's past.[49] The attempts by Ghanaian historians, and their pursuit of Ghana's historiography since 1882 have been undertaken through the following paths for reconstruction of histories of the country including church and educational history; urban histories of Fante, Ashanti, and Ga-Adangme studies, and family, biography, and intellectual histories.[50] In relation to this "Appropriate Concepts and Methodologies" such as "elite", "incipient class", "intelligentsia", "western-educated elite," according to Jenkins have been deduced from the aforementioned methodologies[51]. It is, however, on the field of intellectual and biography history that this dwells. This thesis interrogates some intellectual works of early Gold Coast nationalists, especially from 1944 to 1966, while focusing mainly on the thoughts and motives of Kwame Nkrumah, "the more original and interesting African philosopher and political theorist."[52]

Jenkins and Baku in a pioneering effort brings to light that the historical construct of Ghana's history is not only scarce and limited in scope but an untouched discipline of study in the field of intellectual history.[53] However, in relation to expositions on

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49. See, J. K. Fynn, "The Gold Coast(Ghana)", Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, J. O. Hunwick(ed), Proceedings of The Seminar on Ghanaian Historiography and Historical Research, Department of History, University of Ghana, Legon, 1977, 20-22nd, May, 1976.

50 Raymond George Jenkins, "Gold Coast Historians and Their Pursuit of The Past: 1882-1917", University of Birmingham, 1985, 10-19.

51. Jenkins, "Gold Coast Historians and Their Pursuit of The Past": 1882-1917", 19. It should be heighlighted that Ghanaian Historiography is a complete cycle. Therefore, Jenkin's assertion should include, the political, economically, geographical and other related aspects of intellectual endeavours of the country's histories.

52..J. A. Langley, cited in D. E. Kofi Baku, "An Intellectual in Nationalist Politics: The Contribution of Kobina Sekyi to The Evolution of Ghanaian National Consciousness", unpublished PhD. Dissertation, University of Sussex, 1987, 53.

53. ibid, Baku, "An Intellectual in Nationalist Politics", 48-50.

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Nkrumah, Danquah, Casely-Hayford, and compared to others such as Ako Adjei, Paa Grant and Akuffo Addo, to mention but a few, relatively less have been done on the latter than the latter nationalist. Baku indicates that Nkrumah in particular received much writings on his life and times.[54]. In spite of this assertion, by Baku, the many literary works of scholarship on Nkrumah in several disciplines as compared to, in the field of African cultural traditions, have been neglected largely.[55] Although, this have been acknowledged and discussed at social and political platforms.

Nkrumah's intellectual works maintained that African cultural traditions and African history should serve as the bedrock upon which modern society should be established. Thus in the 1940s, his works related to these matters: the *Primitive Mind* written in 1944 at Pennsylvania University defended the argument that there was no difference between the pre-literate African and the civilised minds of the West. Nkrumah was overthrown from political office in the 1966 but he built educational institutions to bring knowledge of African cultural traditions to his people both at home and abroad. This was expressed in several organisations and institutions such as the Young Pioneers Movement, and the establishment of the Institute of African Studies which still sustains his ideals and dreams.

Kwame Nkrumah has not only been observed in academic circles as "the father of African Nationalism"[56] and "the prince of African Nationalism"[57], but also as "the prophet of Nationalism"[58] in Ghanaian history. Described as a "traditional nationalist"[59],

54. ibid.

55.ibid.

56. David Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Father of African Nationalism,* Athens: Ohio University Press, 1990.

57.John S. Pobee and Emmanuel H. Mends, *Social Change and African Traditional Religion," Sociological Analysis,Vol.38, No.1, 1977,11*.

58.Ama Biney, *The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, what Biney refers to as "independence", I think is nationalism.

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his intellectual works were informed by African culture tradition. Abraham Akrong expressing his opinion on *Consciencism*, a book written by Nkrumah, observed that Nkrumah was to try to establish a *"new traditional modernism"*[60]. According to Naomi Chazan, despite Nkrumah's western educational background, he was highly influenced in thought by African tradition.[61]

These intellectual observations have been discussed rather than reconstructed. Therefore, the calls of T. Omari Peter and Ama Biney for a critical study of Nkrumah are in the right direction. For Omari, Nkrumah, whether good or bad, deserved to be studied with magnanimity[62] so that we could come to the realisation of who the Ghanaian is; for "Nkrumah was a true reflection of the Ghanaian personality". Ama Biney suggested that it is only through a critical open discussion of Nkrumah's intellectual works that we grasp the meaning of his thought.[63] These views serve as the template for a reconstruction of the nationalist era, based on African cultural traditions and its relevance for the Ghanaian national consciousness.

With the belief that he was God-sent, Nkrumah felt his destiny was in the liberation of Ghanaians whose souls he said were linked to his.[64] It was a divine agenda[65] he could not afford to turned from. Chazan contended that three factors underpinned the works of Kwame Nkrumah - the past, the present, and the future.[66]

59..Abraham A. Akrong, "African Religion and Development", Unpublished private papers, undated work, Chapter 9, 1.

60. Ibid, Akrong, Chapter 7, 196.

61. Naomi Chazan, *"An Anatomy of Ghanaian Politics: Managing Political Recess, 1969-1982"*, Colorado: West Press, 1983, 119-120.

62.Ibid, T. Peter Omari, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Anatomy of an African Dictatorship,* 154.

63. Biney, *The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah,* ibid, 7.

Marika Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The years Abroad, 1935-1947,* Accra: Freedom Publications, 1996, 105.

63.Nkrumah reasoned that the cries of his peoples, was been responded to by his soul.

65. George Hagan's argument is that Nkrumah visionalized his commitment to liberation of the African continent as a divine commission. See, "Forging A Nation-Building: Nkrumah, Culture and Nation-Building". Delivered Lecture in honour of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, on the 75th Anniversary of Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, 2009.

66.Naomi Chazan, "*An Anatomy of Ghanaian Politics: Managing Political Recession, 1969-1982", opicit,* 121.

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Statement of the Problem

The definition, construction and awakening of African and Ghanaian national consciousness which began prior to the Second World War was a result of the twilight issues of the Atlantic Slave trade and Colonisation. These were premised on the falsities of the European concepts of civilisation.[67] African intellectuals therefore seek to restore the glory of their continent from these false ideas. This study seeks to ascertain the extent to which this neglected aspect of Ghanaian history in a recent "historical reconstruction from contemporary analysis"[68] could be gathered from Nkrumah's intellectual works on African cultural traditions. It will also look at its result in the attempts at awakening and reconstruction of Ghanaian national consciousness at a period which had many twists and turns in its composition, objectives, and tendencies. For, as a great tool of ideology and intellectual force in modern history, the sense of this awakening and construction of national consciousness has become one that is no longer a force of unification, neither is it being discussed with the same passion that formed the idea of the United States of Africa.

In an attempt to make this relevant to the general understanding, this thesis reveals the historical dynamics of Nkrumah's intellectual role, its impact and how it does away with colonial racism against African cultural traditions. It also reveals the inner workings of Nkrumah's intellectual works during the awakening and construction of Ghanaian national consciousness. It engages in finding out from Nkrumah's intellectual discourses on the nationalist period, what principles and methods were to be

67. Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "African Diasporas and Academics: The Struggles for a Global Epistemic Presence" in Paul Tiyambe Zeleza(ed), *The Study of Africa: Global and Transnational Engagements*, Dakar: Codesria, 2007, 87-111;96. See also, Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, *Barack Obama and the African Diasporas: Dialogues and Dissensions*, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009, 95.

68. Jean Marie Allman, *The Quills of the Porcupine: Asante Nationalism in an Emergent Ghana*, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press,1993, 3.

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adopted and what was the influence of western education on Nkrumah's traditional thinking.

Following an explosion of intellectual works on the history of Kwame Nkrumah's thoughts on the awakening of African national consciousness, and a renewed interest in colonial and imperial history, recent years have seen increased research on the ideas of Nkrumah. Ama Biney's work on *The Social and Political Thought of Kwame Nkrumah* analysed Nkrumah's thought as a unit of a complex whole in the fields of social, economic, political, and cultural ideas. Biney argued that Nkrumah's ideas provided opportunities for diverse sorts of thinking on Ghanaian and African problems in all facets of life. Biney indeed suggested that it is through a careful and critical evaluation of Nkrumah's thought that we can apprehend his intellectual legacy for humanity in general.

The general connection of Nkrumah's thought on African cultural tradition and national consciousness has also been discussed, notably by George Hagan, M.C. Okany, Paulin Hountondji, and Ebenezer Obiri Addo; though they largely excluded the evolutionary patterns of Nkrumah's thoughts from one stage to the other. They have highlighted Nkrumah's endeavours to achieve national consciousness with African cultural traditions based on memories of collective consciousness of the African past.

On this construction of national history and its recollections of Ghanaian national consciousness, Kofi Asare Opoku contended that Nkrumah brought together "the various people of Ghana into one unified and sovereign nation, gave it a conscious and distinct identity, and set it on its future course"[69]; for Nkrumah profoundly appreciated the value of culture as inescapable foundation of the new nation, and his constant emphasis on

69. Ebenezer Obiri Addo, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Case Study of Religion and Politics in Ghana*, Oxford: University Press of America, 1999, Forward, 9.

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African Personality reflected an unapologetic self-acceptance"[70]. The gaps needed to be closed in this "constant emphasis" on African cultural traditions in Nkrumah's intellectual works. There is the need for a continual critical effort on the part of the academic historian to bring this "unapologetic self-acceptance" in building Ghanaian national consciousness, from one stage to the other. It is also imperative to reconstruct this historical antecedent for it to serve as a warning against the dangers of a one-sided approach.

Of the early works on Nkrumah's awakening and construction of Ghanaian national consciousness, only few have done sufficient work on him. For instance, he was described as the "prince of Ghanaian nationalism"[71] by Pobee, as a "cultural philosopher"[72] by George Hagan, and a "traditional nationalist"[73] by Ebenezer O. Addo. Other scholars such as M. C. Okany and Ama Biney demonstrated that he merits to be an intellectual of African nationalism for using African cultural traditions in the awakening and construction of Ghanaian national consciousness in particular, and in general that of the continent of Africa.[74] However, it can be observed that despite the comparative wealth of literature on the intellectual works of Nkrumah, the essential aspects of African cultural traditions have been neglected in Ghanaian historiography as it has been in the historiography of Africa in general.

These scholars in their writings proved Nkrumah's firm adherence to the beliefs of making African cultural traditions the basis of the modern state that was about to be built upon socialist principles. But a void was created by the fact that none of the

70.Ibid., Addo, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Case Study of Religion and Politics in Ghana*, Forward, 9.

71. John Pobee, "Aspects of African Traditional Religion", *Sociological Analysis*, Vol. 37, No. 1 Spring, 1976, 1-18.

72. George P. Hagan, 'Forging A Nation- Building: Nkrumah, Culture and Nation- Building" , A Paper presented at the 75 Anniversary of Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, 2009 via Television.

73. Ebenezer Obiri Addo, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Case Study of Religion and Politics in Ghana*, Oxford: University Press of America, 1999, 10, 14. See also footnote, No.27

74. M.C. Okany, *Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah: The Legend of African Nationalism*, Onitsha: Africana First Publishers Ltd, 2008, see cover. Also, opicit, Ama Biney, "The Political and Social Thought" 8.

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scholars examined the evolution of Nkrumah's thought in the development of his conception of Ghanaian national consciousness. They admitted however, that their works were aspects of this construction. An attempt by D. K. Agyeman highlighted Nkrumah's approaches with the construction of Ghanaian national consciousness with the Young Pioneers Movements.[75] While Agyeman rightly pointed out that Nkrumah's designs were aimed at the Ghanaian youth out of the "colonial mentality"[76], he failed to bring to the forefront how these ideas link to the evolutionary patterns in Nkrumah's thought on Ghanaian nationalism. We lack however, the publication of Nkrumah's correspondences during his last days in Guinea, addressing some of these issues.[77]

Indeed, the scholarly neglect of Nkrumah's attempts at this may be, in part, a result of greater scarcity of sources about the intellectual works of Nkrumah after his overthrow. The existence of Nkrumah's intellectual works is acknowledged in contemporary sources, but it never attracted nearly as much attention from Ghanaian academic historians and social scientist who thought these intellectual works have less relevance for scholarship. For a reason I will offer below, it is likely that this has helped to obscure the importance of the African cultural traditions in the intellectual works of Nkrumah in an evolutionary pattern.

A further assessment of his intellectual works indicated that Nkrumah redefined and constructed African cultural tradition in different stages. Nkrumah's intellectual works indicated that human history is an evolving process. The present Ghanaian national consciousness does not only lay the foundation for the future; it also bears the

75. D. K. Agyeman, *Ideological Education and Nationalism in Ghana under Nkrumah and Busia*, Accra: Domak Press, 1988, Introduction. See also 7-12.
76. Agyeman, "Ideological Education and Nationalism", 8,10
77.See, June Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years: His Life and Letters*, London: Panaf, 2001, Nkrumah's letters to June Milne, 9 February, 1969, 292-293. Nkrumah indicates that his intellectual pursuits in *Towards Colonial Freedom* were a theoretical weapon for Ghana's struggle to independence. The subject matter of 'What I Mean by Positive Action' was a fundamental strategy in these directions. The *Revolutionary Handbook* constitutes another stage.

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marks of the past.[78] This truism applies to the scholarly works of Nkrumah. And so the present Ghanaian society sees the interplay of African cultural traditions and Nkrumah's attempts to reinvigorate these traditions as the basis of the Ghanaian national consciousness.

In order to fill this void in the current literature, I am writing on the evolution of the thought of Nkrumah in Ghana's historiography, that is, Nkrumah's construction of Ghanaian nationalism with African cultural traditions. I intend to study African cultural traditions in the intellectual works of Kwame Nkrumah from 1944 to 1966.

In this case, I am particularly interested in the construction of the levels of "connectedness, contradictions and conflicts"[79] of nationalism and, the problems and solutions in Nkrumah's thoughts of Ghanaian national consciousness. This is the reason why Nkrumah argued that "the duty of the African politicians or intellectuals is to explain patiently, continuously and persistently to the outside world, the essence of African nationalism and its problems."[80]

That connectedness is determined by the intellectual burden of Nkrumah in willing and being able to construct Ghanaian consciousness from one level to the other in spite of the different religious and ethnic background as well as the political context at the time. Nkrumah was able to create, maintain and improve the inter and intra relationships of Ghanaians to serve the Ghanaian national goals.

This thesis will show through Nkrumah's intellectual beliefs that a synergy is needed in gathering the best from the three religions - Christianity, Islam and African cultural traditions, and show to what extent Nkrumah demonstrated this in his "non-denominational" attitudes. The thesis pays special attention to the evolution of Nkrumah's thoughts in his intellectual pursuits and establishes the closeness of his ideas,

78.See, *Voice of Africa*, Vol. 4, No. 1, January, 1964, 25-27.
79. ibid, Zeleza, "Barack Obama" 94.
80.Ibid, Obeng, "Selected Speeches", Vol. 1, No. 24, 125.

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from the beginning of his academic work, and the patterns in which his thoughts have been firmly rooted in the belief of African cultural traditions.

The gap created in the intellectual works of Nkrumah needs to be filled. In trying to understand the evolution of Nkrumah's writings and thoughts, one may also contribute to the need of African cultural traditions in the evolution of Ghanaian national consciousness. Paulin Hountondji depicted some of Nkrumah's intellectual works on African cultural traditions as primitive and backward for Ghanaians and Africans[81]. Others arrayed themselves along this very long continuum, with most observers placing themselves somewhere in between. Thus, in describing the regime of Nkrumah as being "just rhetoric", V .Y. Mudimbe acknowledged that Nkrumah's intellectual works still have a firm grip over the continent of Africa; and his works like *Towards Colonial Freedom* and *Consciencism* can bring about "dialogue and the possibility of reconciling antagonistic forces, and orienting them towards a positive social change."[82]

Nevertheless, it is necessary to make an effort to come to grips with Nkrumah's thoughts on the evolution of Ghanaian national consciousness and African cultural traditions, not only as a matter of intellectual inquiry but also because Ghanaians' understanding of the various stages is important. The problem statement of this research in relation to Nkrumah's intellectual works indicates various stages of the awakening and construction of Ghanaian national consciousness with African cultural traditions. In his intellectual works, Nkrumah felt that it was imperative that the African intellectual had the mandate to work for the "complete emancipation of the African mind from all forms of domination, control and enslavement"[83].

81. Pieter H. Coetzee, "Africa in the Global Context" in A. P. J. Roux and Pieter H. Coetzee, *The African Philosophy Reader*, New York: Routledge, 2003,547-573;551-553.
82. V.Y. Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge*, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988, 95.
83. ibid, Obeng, "Selected Speeches", Vol. 2, No. 16,2009, 126.

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The major purpose of this research is to explore beyond some of the generalisations and rhetoric of recent scholarly inadequacies. This will be done by presenting a careful discussion the thoughts of Nkrumah on Ghanaian national consciousness and African cultural traditions over the past decades, and by looking at the emergence of an intellectual achievement that is very different from previous African intellectuals. In looking at both African cultural traditions and the intellectual discourses of Nkrumah, the research will suggest some of the reasons why he had evolved Ghanaian national consciousness along lines that are quite different from his contemporaries.

Significance of the Study

There are two significant reasons for writing a thesis on this subject. The first is that the study aims to re-examine the length and breadth of Kwame Nkrumah's authorship on African cultural traditions and Ghanaian national consciousness. It will also examine the motivation behind Nkrumah's goals for constructing Ghanaian national consciousness on the basis of African cultural traditions. Significantly, Nkrumah deserves a place in postcolonial and postmodern literature and history as an African intellectual who utilised African cultural traditions for the emancipation Ghanaians from colonialism. Thus, the thesis can make connections between seemingly unrelated events which may not have been made prior to this research.

The second reason for this research is to increase our understanding of Nkrumah's intellectual methods and approaches in the redefinition, awakening and construction of national consciousness in relation to the study of African cultural traditions. This research comes as a corrective to the discourses of Western cultural imperialism that suppresses trends in African colonial and postcolonial history.

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This is what Nkrumah intended when he opined that: "In the last century, the Europeans discovered Africa. In the next century, the Africans will rediscover Africa."[84] Finally, my objectives seek to create a renewed interest in Ghanaian academia that Nkrumah's ambitions of the formation of a United States of Africa is an urgent agenda, not a mere desire, to be pursued by Africans. Likewise, I wish to examine his aspects of his variegated career, namely his role as "traditional nationalist" and a "cultural intellectual."

In view of this, the thesis addresses the following research questions:

> First, what are 1) African Cultural Traditions and 2) National Consciousness as envisioned by Kwame Nkrumah from 1944 to 1966 in his intellectual works?
> Second, how did Kwame Nkrumah relate African Cultural Traditions to Ghanaian National Consciousness?
> Third, how does Kwame Nkrumah's intellectual works on African cultural traditions and Ghanaian national consciousness differ from other intellectual perspectives in Ghana?
> Fourth, how were Kwame Nkrumah's intellectual discourses of African cultural traditions and national consciousness reinserted into Ghanaian history by latter day nationalists?

Yet a comprehensive history of a study of Nkrumah's ideological project is faced with three obstacles. First, how logical was Kwame Nkrumah in his approach to his intellectual work? The second obstacle is how did Nkrumah's thoughts on Ghanaian national consciousness actually evolve? The third obstacle is that Nkrumah indicated that his thoughts on Ghanaian national consciousness had indeed evolved in three major strands. In addition Nkrumah did not systematically explain the evolution of his ideas about African Cultural Traditions. We need to be aware of these obstacles as we proceed with this ever complicated project. These constructions can be observed through a hypothetical assumption as the central argument described below.

84.Chukwudum Barnabas Okolo, "The African Experience of Christian Values: Dimension of the Problematic," . This is an internet source which has been shut down.

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The Central Argument

It is my aim to premise this work on two principal assumptions.

The first hypothesis is that, in the intellectual works of Kwame Nkrumah on African cultural traditions, in awakening and constructing of Ghanaian national consciousness, was provided a new context and content in Ghanaian nationalist historiography. Nkrumah asserted that in reconstruction of human history, the determinations of historical phenomena and their sequence, or dynamic of change are but endeavours to go beyond the original means of maintaining human collective consciousness. According to him, race, language, and cultures separated peoples as distinct entities; however, there was one Race: The Homo Sapiens.[85] Thus, Nkrumah indicated that according to traditions or past historical memories, the various peoples of the Gold Coast were originally members of the great Ghana Empire.[86] It was the collective memories about these nations which made Nkrumah remark that: "We take pride in the name Ghana not out of romanticism, but as an inspiration for the future."[87] In connecting the newly emergent Ghanaian nation with the ancient Ghanaian Empire – two entities which had never been linked in the past – Nkrumah was bringing into the Ghanaian national consciousness a vision of an African cultural past which would forever inform postcolonial Ghanaian history.

In a second hypothetical stand, I take up an argument made by other authors who claim that Nkrumah's works developed in three major stages. Several other authors agree with this position, such as Hagan and Markakis who see Nkrumah's thought in an evolutionary pattern. Nkrumah's ideological worldview changed over the course of his

85. Nkrumah, "Primitive Mind," Preface, 7.
86. ibid, Nkrumah, *Autobiography*, 266.
87. ibid, 198.

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career. A critical reading of Nkrumah's works reveals just this, and his intellectual on the history of Ghana mirrors the development of his thought processes.

Nkrumah left a vast body of work of academic research for posterity which has not been critically analysed. This sustains Ama Biney's contention that several intellectual works required critical analysis, but were not dealt with seriously.[88] To this effect, the second hypothesis proposes to re-examine the development of Nkrumah's intellectual work and it contributed to the development of the evolution of his ideological project in framing African Cultural Traditions whilst linking the same to the Ghanaian National Consciousness.

The first of the three stages of the awakening and constructing of Ghanaian national consciousness within his intellectual work showed how he gathered the masses for action against colonialism and imperialism, in *Towards Colonial Freedom*[89]. The second stage was preoccupied by framing the colonial Constitution in the Gold Coast. This was expressed in his words in the article "What I Mean by Positive Action"[90] which was later woven into his *Autobiography*.[91] The third stage was dominated by addressing issues related to Ghana's independence and its implications for the liberation of other African nations. This he referred to as the unification of the entire African continent and the intellectual theoretical construct is couched in the *Handbook*.[92] My hypothesis contends that, there were in all seven stages, instead of three in the evolution of Nkrumah's thoughts in his intellectual works. This will be made more relevant as we proceed to the methodology.

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88. ibid, Biney, 7, 8.
89.Kwame Nkrumah, *Towards Colonial Freedom: Africa in The Struggle against World Imperialism*, London: Heinemann, 1962.
90. ibid, Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, 110-122. This work is a pamphlet entitled "What I Mean by Positive Action" published in 1950 for details of this work see Okany's work, "Osagyefo," 618-626. A corollary to this intellectual insights to the latter pamphlet is found in another pamphlet entitled "The New Stage," Accra: Nyaniba Press and Publishing Company, 1952, 1-32.
91. ibid, Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*.
92. Kwame Nkrumah, *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: A Guide to the Armed Phase of the African Revolutionary*, London: Panaf, 1968, 1-128.

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Limitation of the Study

This thesis deals with Nkrumah's assumption of awakening and construction of Ghanaian national consciousness from the 1944 to the 1966. It does not deal with his intellectual discourses on African Cultural Traditions in the 1970's which he deemed as "Revolutionary Paths"[93] in his works and thoughts. I shall refrain from discussing some of his views for two main reasons. Firstly, some of Nkrumah's ideas are not related to African Cultural Traditions. Secondly, he wrote in self-defence and not objectively on the project of nation building. These ideas have limited this research, and have left the project of the development of national consciousness and nation building incomplete in Ghana.

93.Kwame Nkrumah's letter to June Milne in *Kwame Nkrumah The Conakry Years: His Life and Letters*, dated 9th February, 1969, Conakry File 22, 292-293.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Kwame Nkrumah has been the subject of many scholarly works, analysed by historians and political scientists alike. The purpose of this literature review is to demonstrate his ideological projects between 1944 to 1966, and in particular the appropriation of concepts of African Traditional Cultures for the development of Ghanaian National Consciousness.

It has been argued that Nkrumah was not the author of some of his works; "because the man who leads a life of heroic action has neither the time nor usually the desire, even if he has the ability, to express himself in writing"[94]. But, as leader Nkrumah wrote extensively, with the aim of guiding the future generation of Africans. Some comprehensive data exist for the collection of Nkrumah's intellectual works. In particular, Oyeniyi Osundina documented these works in outlines and categorised them as follows:

1) Nkrumah-biography and comments;

2) Nkrumah and Ghana before Independence;

3) Ghana's foreign relations under Nkrumah;

4) Nkrumah, Ghana and the OAU;

5) Nkrumah's writings,

6) Nkrumah's fall and after.

He however, indicated that his book "claims complete coverage, but effort was made to trace everything available on the subject."[95] In 1938 Nkrumah asked:

> Who are the makers of history but those individuals who caught the torch of inspiration, lit by the fire of the achievement of the markers of their

[94] Harrison, cited in Samuel E. Taylor, "Kwame Nkrumah: A Study in Intercultural Leadership", United States International University, 1994, 110.
[95] Ibid, Taylor, "Kwame Nkrumah," 110-111.

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> past history? A country or race without knowledge of its past is tantamount to a ship without a pilot[96].

Having lit up this flame, Nkrumah was determined in "his efforts to construct a rival system and mentions his plans and schemes regarding the future of Africa"[97]. In these schemes and plans Nkrumah said: "The flag of West African nationalism must be unfurled, now or never"[98]. However, Nkrumah's intellectual activities were not restricted to the west of Africa, since he was "one who is greatly concerned about the entire African situation."[99] But it is worth noting that these were foundational thoughts to the canons of his ideas that flamed the drive for national consciousness. From these concepts Nkrumah formulated his thought for a movement.

In particular, the earliest of Nkrumah's intellectual works included: "Positive Action"[100] "Philosophy and Nationalism in Africa"[101], Philosophical Consciousness in Africa"[102], "Education and Nationalism in Africa"[103], "Primitive Education in West Africa"[104], "An Essay on Patriotism"[105], a written but rejected doctoral thesis "Mind and Thought in Primitive Society- A Study in Ethno-philosophy With Special Reference to The Akan People of The Gold Coast in West Africa"[106]. These works constitute an

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[96] Francis N. Nkrumah, "Negro History," *Lincolnian* 5, No. 2, January, 1938.
[97] Kwame Nkrumah, see copy of a letter drafted and addressed to Dr. Raph Bunch, Washington, informing him of his intention to spend one-weekend with him to discuss fully their plans and schemes regarding the future of Africa. PRAAD, SC21/1/42, 12 March, 1942.
[98] Kwame Nkrumah, see copy of a letter drafted and addressed to Dr. Raph Bunch, Washington, informing him of his intention to spend one-weekend with him to discuss fully their plans and schemes regarding the future of Africa. PRAAD, SC21/1/42, 12 March, 1942.
[99] See copy of a letter of introduction from Mr. Frank J. Wilson, Dean of Men, Lincoln University to Dr. Max Yergan of New York, who describes him this way. PRAAD, SC21/1/36, 23 November, 1937.
[100] Francis N. Nkrumah, *Political Affairs Quarterly*, February, 1945, 12-20.
[101] Francis N. Nkrumah, *Educational Outlook*, Vol. 1, No.18, December, 1943, 30-39.
[102] Francis N. Nkrumah, *Educational Outlook*, Vol. 1, No.19, December, 1943, 41-60.
[103] Francis N. Nkrumah, PRAAD SC 21/4/5. See, PRAAD SC 21/4/6 also, it pamphlet published at the School of Education in Pennsylvania, November, 1943.
[104] Francis N. Nkrumah, PRAAD SC 21/1/11, 6 February, 1941. This article was first published by the *Educational Outlook*, in January, 1941 and debated in November by the Lincoln University Philosophy Club. See also PRAAD SC 21/2/45.
[105] Francis N. Nkrumah, PRAAD SC 21/1/98, Undated.
[106] Francis N. Nkrumah, , Mind and Thought in Primitive Society-A Study in Ethno-Philosophy With Special Reference to The Akan People of The Gold Coast in West Africa," unpublished Ph.D Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1944, PRAAD SC 21/10/1.

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intellectual ferment of Nkrumah's conceptualising of African cultural traditions and the reconstruction of Ghanaian and African national consciousness. In these works Nkrumah debated and attempted to reconstruct the values of African Cultural Traditions and its essence for the realisation of a philosophical national consciousness in Africa. He unearthed and synthesised these views in a unified system of thought in the various "customs, cultures and traditions"[107] of the Akans and other African peoples. His emphasis here was that these cultures could promote intertribal and interracial understanding and confidence - the building of international mind, spiritual unity and true cooperation" in the socio-historical situation and cultural milieu in Africa[108]. These ideas led Nkrumah to form a philosophical society when he returned to Ghana.

In general Nkrumah's intellectual works are as follows: In 1957, he published his autobiography *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*[109]. The work described his life and the political struggle towards attainment of Ghana's independence. *I Speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology*[110], *Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite*[111], and *Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah*[112] related his thoughts on concepts of not only reconstruction of Ghanaian national consciousness, but Africa as well. This work was followed by *Towards Colonial Freedom*[113], *and Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*[114] *and Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology For Decolonisation and Development With Particular Reference to The African Revolution*[115]. Intellectually crafting two main philosophies, Consciencism and Nkrumaism, he put in efforts

[107] Francis N. Nkrumah, "Mind and Thought in Primitive Society", PRAAD SC 21/10/1, Preface, 11.
[108] Ibid, Nkrumah, "Mind and Thought in Primitive Society", Preface, 11.
[109] Kwame Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, London: Panaf, 2002.
[110] Kwame Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology*, London: Heinemann, 1961.
[111] Kwame Nkrumah, *Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite*, London: Heinemann, 1963.
[112] Kwame Nkrumah, *Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah, Freedom Fighters Edition*, London: Panaf, 1969.
[113] Kwame Nkrumah, *Towards Colonial Freedom: Africa in The Struggle Against Imperialism*, London: Heinemann, 1962.
[114] Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*, London: Panaf, 1974.
[115] Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology For Decolonisation and Development With Particular Reference to The African Revolution*, London: Heinemann, 1964.

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practically to relate these philosophies as a guide for the reconstructing of Ghanaian and African National Consciousness.

The concept of National Consciousness and its related issues of national integration form a thread to his reasoning in these works. Thus, following the intellectual paths of Edward Blyden, he attempted to elevate Ghanaian National Consciousness to a stage of survival and self-esteem. In this works, Nkrumah advocated for a bridge of African Cultural Traditions with Christianity and Islam. His Philosophy of Consciencism, an attempt intellectually to combine ideas of African cultural traditions with ideas in Arabic-Islamic perspectives, and western intellectual ideas from Marxism-Leninism and Nkrumaism, took off with a practical demonstration for a quest of unification within a universalism of love.

Thus, Immanuel Wallenstein observed that an implicit idea runs through Nkrumah's intellectual works[116]. Biney also contended that in Nkrumah's intellectual works, the political aspects are interconnected in relationship to what he wanted to achieve[117].

Nkrumah's scholarly works have received some doubt. Chazzan, Mazuri, Omari criticise the works as the products of the minds of these various scholars such as Peter Abraham, Erica Powell, George Padmore, Moshe Perlman, who classifies him a as ''philosopher king". These intellectuals suggest that Nkrumah did not write his Books.[118] However, while others took a stand doubting whether Nkrumah intellectually birthed

116. Immanuel Wallenstein, "Implicit Ideology in Africa : A Review of Books by Kwame Nkrumah", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 11, No.4, 1967, 518-522.
117.Biney, *The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah*, 119.
118.Ali A. Mazuri, "On Poet-Presidents and Philosopher-Kings", *Researches in African Literature*, Vol. 28, No. 4, Multiculturalism Winter, 1997, 13-18; T. Peter Omari, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Anatomy of an African Dictatorship*, Accra: Sankofa Educational Publishers, 2009,142; Naomi Chazan, *An Anatomy of Ghanaian Politics: Managing Political Recession, 1969-1982*, 121. See also, Max Assimeng, *Foundation of African Social Thought: A Contribution to the Sociology of Knowledge*, Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1997, 84; Paulin Hountondji and 122.Roland Racevskis, "From the Ethnosciences to Ethnophilosophy: Kwame Nkrumah's Thesis Project *Research in African Literatures*, Vol. 28, No. 4, Multiculturalism Winter, 1997, 112-120;117.

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these ideas, I take a contrary view, as Nkrumah, in as much as these intellectual figures might have given him a helping hand, held that these ideas were solely his.

The academic world is familiar with most of the intellectual works of Nkrumah. However, it is worth mentioning some of them: *Some Essential Features*, his doctoral work; "Mind and Thought in Primitive Society"; other articles like "Education and Nationalism in Africa"; "Primitive Education in West Africa", and newspaper such as the Ashanti Times.

Given Nkrumah's attachment to deep-seated nationalism, his doctoral thesis "Primitive Mind and Thought" sought to address the problem of the diminishing vitality of traditional African cultures. The work related to the ideas of some West African intellectuals such as Africanus Beale Horn 1853-1883, John Mensah Sarbah 1864-1910, Dr. J. B. Danquah 1895-1965 and the British colonial ethnographer R. S. Rattray.[119] The views Nkrumah held in this work drew on other articles he had previously written. These works include "Primitive Education in West Africa", "Education and Nationalism", "History and Philosophy of Colonialism and Imperialism" and others.

Marika Sherwood[120], Robert Yaw Owusu[121], M.C. Okany[122] and others[123] offered the same analysis and understanding of the historical period of the book *Towards Colonial Freedom*. Sherwood explained the intellectual climate that set the template for Nkrumah's writing of this book.[124] The critical analysis of the intellectual insights of

119. ibid,Biney, *The Social and Political Thoughts of Kwame Nkrumah*, 25.
120. Marika Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah : The Years Abroad 1935- 1947*, Legon : Freedom Publications, 1996,168-171.
121. Robert Yaw Owusu, Kwame *Nkrumah's Liberation Thought : A Paradigm For Religious Advocacy in Contemporary Ghana*, Trenton : Africa World Press, 2006,18.
122. M. C. Okany, *Osageyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah: The Legaend of African Nationalism*, Onitsha: Africana First Publishers, 303-316.
123. S. K. B. Asante, *Setting Straight the Records of Ghana's Recent Political Past*, 2011,46-53; K. Afari –Gyan, ''Nkrumah's Ideology'' in Kwame Arhin(ed), *The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah*, Accra: Sedco Publishing, 1991,165-178;166.
124. Sherwood, ''Kwame *Nkrumah'' Ibid,* 169.

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this book indicates that its message was carried out at the fifth Pan-African Congress[125]. In this book, Nkrumah explained that it was his desire to see African cultural traditions as the basis for re-awakening not just Ghanaian but also African National Consciousness[126]; the book had an intellectual tone of socialism which was adopted as the driving force for the construction of the consciousness of the African people[127]. In the book, Nkrumah asserted: "Colonial and subject peoples of the world unite"[128]. This would eventually form a prelude to independence.

Kwame Nkrumah's *Ghana: The Autobiography of Nkrumah*[129] is a personal account of how Nkrumah clarified what he envisioned as the contradictions around the various conceptions of Ghanaian National Consciousness, prior and upon his arrival on the political scene[130]. The work tracked the growth of Nkrumah's efforts at the construction of Ghanaian nationalism. The efforts in this work were revealed in newspapers containing the speeches Nkrumah gave as a guide to Ghanaian national consciousness of the historical period.

Among these speeches are the ones made at the opening of the Institute of African Studies on the 25th October, 1963, and the *Encyclopaedia Africana* project. These are all in the analysis of June Milne. They were part of what Nkrumah intended as a re-interpretation and a new assessment of the factors making the African past, and the origins and culture of people of African descent in the Americas.[131] It was to provide the

125. Nkrumah, ''Towards Colonial Freedom,' *ibid*, '44-45.
126. ibid, Nkrumah, 33, 41-42.
127. ibid, Nkrumah, *28-29*.
128. ibid, Nkrumah, 45.
129. Kwame Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, London: Panaf, 2002.
130. Henry L. Bretton, *The Rise and Fall of Kwame Nkrumah: A Study of Personal Rule in Africa*. London: Pall Mall Press, 1966,11.
131. June Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah- A Biography*, London: Panaf, 2000, 129-134.

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link for a continuous relationship that serves for a "cross-fertilisation between Africa and those who have their roots in the African past"[132].

In short, these speeches were his dreams, hopes, and aspirations in cultivating Ghanaian "national consciousness, a national conscience, national affection, national passion, and national vigilance" that would exhibit nationalism in progress and advancement, different from other nations in cohesion, concentration, and continuity of national purpose, and in acquiring the sense of self-sacrifice[133]. These speeches are documented by authors such as: Samuel Obeng; Emmanuel Doe Ziorklui; other unknown sources entitled, "I Told You So!"[134]; and from the Ministry of Information Library; the American Embassy, and individuals who memorised them as historical pieces.

The Newspaper carried several reports on Ghanaian nationalism from this period. For, instance the cabinet meeting of 23rd October, 1956 and another one in November 1956 were carried by the *Daily Graphic*. Nkrumah pursued his argument further for the rediscovery of the essence of African Cultural Traditions in *Africa Must Unite.*[135] This work emphasised the internal struggles for the construction of Pan-African consciousness.[136]

In his book *Class Struggle in Africa*, Nkrumah turned his attention to class struggle:

> At the core of the problem is the class struggle...Class division in the modern African society became blurred to some extent during the pre-

132. The African genius: Speech delivered at the opening of the Institute of African Studies, on 25th October, 1963. Accra, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1963, taped. See also, Kwame Nkrumah, "The African Genius" 137.Helen Lauer and Kofi Anyidoho, *Reclaiming the Human Sciences and Humanities through African Perspectives*, Vol. 2, Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, Ghana, 909-917; 911.
133.Zeleza, "Barack Obama," 94, 99, 155.
134. Samuel Obeng, *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*, Accra: Afram Publications Ltd, Vols. 1-5, 1997-2007; Vols. 1and 2, 2009; Emmanuel Doe Ziorklui, Ghana: *Nkrumah to Rawlings: A Historical Sketch of some Major Political Events in Ghana from 1957-1993*, Vol.1, Accra: Em- Zed Books Centre,1993, 33-128; "I Told You So!"Padmore Research Library, EGP/NKR/N, taken with permission.
135. For details see, Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, London: Panaf, 1998, 49, 102,104
136. Ibid, 49, 57-65,72-78, 95-102,104-106.

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> colonial period, when it seemed there was national unity and all classes joined forces to reject the colonial power.[137]

This work sets in motion the beginning of Nkrumah's extreme beliefs in materialism. However, Nkrumah does not give scientific analysis to this work as he did to his later works.

As we have alluded to, the doctrine of *Consciencism* was to bring about the synthesis of all African cultural traditions in order to give them the intellectual possibilities that could result in the awakening and construction of African national consciousness. William E. Abraham argued that the main reason for the writing of this intellectual piece lies in the un-flowering of the African genius at independence[138] in the conditions of national consciousness. Of course, Nkrumah reasoned that there was a crisis of the African conscience or consciousness. This could be resolved through one main achievement that is, restoring the collective consciousness of the African people. Thus Paulin Hountondji's views on some collection of Nkrumah's works, especially *Consciencism* have received much intellectual discussions. Whereas Addo agreed with Hountondji's assertions that *Consciencism* was "continuity between 'traditional' African culture and its present and future African culture, continuity between the communal organisations of the pre-colonial . . .", to Addo, *Consciencism* was truly traditional in content.[139]

Hountondji further indicated that *Consciencism* expressed a reaffirmation of a collective sense of living resulting in a "cultural pluralism" aimed at restoring the lost

137. Nkrumah, *Class Struggle in Africa*, London: Panaf Books Ltd, 1980, 10.
138. William E. Abraham, "Consciencism, Philosophy and Ideology for De-colonisation Development with Particular Reference to the African Revolution", Speech delivered, at the lunching of Consciencism on 2 April, 1964, at the University of Ghana, Legon.
139. Ebenezer Obiri Addo, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Case Study of Religion and Politics in Ghana*, Oxford: University Press of America, 1999, 162,164.

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sense of African consciousness.[140] Hountondji did not only criticise consciencism as "ideological falsity" but perceived that Nkrumah's attempts in relating this to African class struggle was an intellectual blindness.[141] However, Hountondji indicated that Nkrumah's "consciencism" attempted to create a sense where the three major religions in Africa would merge into a "philosophy of consciousness."[142] Hountondji wrote: "Consciencism is a classic philosophy of consciousness, in that it aims at restoring the lost unity of African consciousness and at articulating three separate ideologies into a single, unified system of thought"[143]. Consciencism therefore seeks an "ideological unity"[144]. Hountondji said that Nkrumah believed that his "consciencism" would, one day, be the collective philosophy of Africans, the African philosophy."[145] A major flaw in Nkrumah's philosophy of Consciencism is the idea that there were no ideological conflicts in the pre-colonial era. This Hountondji considered to be an "illusion"[146]. In his final comments he observed that Consciencism is Nkrumah's intellectual "attempts in practice to unite in a single mass organisation different social strata with the frequently irreconcilable interests."[147] Hountondji reiterated that Consciencism "politically...adopts the central demand of nationalist ideology by reaffirming the right of self-determination for all people."[148] Indeed, he sustained the view that a reading of Consciencism forces us to reaffirm the value of pluralism of African cultural traditions.[149]

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140. Pieter H. Coetzee, "Later Marxist Morality: Its Relevance for Africa's Post-Colonial Situation", in Pieter H. Coetzee and A. P. J. Roux, *The African Philosophy Reader*, London: Routledge, 548-557;553.
141. Coetzee, Ibid, 548-557.
142. Paulin J. Hountondji, *African Philosophy: Myth and Reality*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996, 149; 152.
143. Ibid, 149.
144. Ibid, 149.
145. Ibid, 149.
146. Ibid,"149. See also, Richard H. Bell, *Understanding African Philosophy : A cross- Cultural Approach to Classical and Contemporary Issues*, New York: Routledge, 2002, 43.
147. .ibid, Hountondji, "African Philosophy", 152.
148. Ibid, 152.
149.ibid, 155.

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Concsciencism, as a text for the reconstruction for Ghanaian national consciousness lies in the third chapter "Society and Ideology" which expresses the "total" nature of the proposed collective national consciousness[150]. The ideology that drives the national consciousness in this work enforces order for the Ghanaian society, "Seeking to establish common attitude and purposes for the society"[151]. The ideology of a society is total. It embraces the whole life of a people, and manifests itself in their class-structure, history, literature, art and religion"[152]. It is this community, this identity in the range of principles and values, in the range of interest, attitudes and so of reactions, which lie at the bottom of social order"[153]. Nkrumah's position in addition was in relation with "social sanction" and the subtle methods of "coercion" and "cohesion", which organise a society outside the scope of direct central control[154]. The resulting "new harmony" Nkrumah asserts, may be described as "communalism."[155]This assertion relates the internal cohesion consciousness, to gain its external cohesion consciousness, hence he posits: counter to everything for which I had struggle in my life, yet, "we had embarked upon a course that aimed to push forward the clock of progress. Were others to be given the freedom to push it back."[156]

V. Y. Mudimbe commented on some of the intellectual works of Nkrumah including *Towards Colonial Freedom* in his work "The Invention of Africa" that for a

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[150] Nkrumah, "Consciencism," 1964, 57.

151..ibid, 57.

152. *ibid*, 59.

[153] Ibid, 59-60.

[154] Ibid,61.

[155] Ibid,65.

[156] Ibid, 77.

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number of African intellectuals "is a major source for its cultural autonomy"[157]. He stressed that aside from this work, two other works including *I Speak of Freedom* and *Consciencism* "expose a socio-political system imply dialogue and the possibility of reconciling antagonistic forces and orienting them towards positive social change"[158]. In a critical sense Mudimbe reasoned that generally the intellectual and theoretical insights serve as a legacy of Nkrumah, challenging and stimulating the peoples of Africa for the new generation of African intellectuals looking for paradigms of revolutionary change and cultural dynamism[159].

Mudimbe, in a revisionist essay sustained his views that the intellectual works of Nkrumah, especially *I Speak of Freedom* and *Toward Colonial Freedom*, are pieces of intellectual gems that "obverted colonial ideology."[160] He noted that in their intellectual "roles of screening", the penetrative power of these works are statement of convenience in their titles[161]; for the books "encode the nature of a course to be pursued"[162]. This point highlights the argument of Barry who holds the same opinions on Nkrumah's intellectual works. She however, added that Nkrumah's works were an "explication of the African consciousness."[163]

Although these works without doubt are the most comprehensive and detailed discussion on African cultural traditions and national consciousness and its internal difficulties, they leave room for further study, first in the sense that these works are not

157.V. Y. Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge*, London: James Currey, 1988, 90. See also, V. Y. Mudimbe, Epilogue: " In the Name of Similitude" in , Kimani Njogu and John Middleton, *Media and Identity in Africa*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd, 2009, 310.
158.ibid, 95.
159.ibid, 95-96.
160. Mudimbe, "Epilogue: In the Name of Similitude" in Kimani Njogu and John Middleton, *Media and Identity in Africa*, Edinburgh: University Press, 2009, 308-324;310.
161.Ibid, 310.
162.Ibid, 310.
163.Barry Hallen, *A Short History of African Philosophy*, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2002, 73.

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restricted to a particular African nation, which requires analysis in their own right. There is alternative narrative to be told from the point of view of an African nation-state.

One of the earliest studies on Nkrumah's intellectual development and its effects on his mental and cultural perception is contained in a thesis: "Kwame Nkrumah: A Study of His Intellectual Development in The United States 1935-45" by H. I. Carlos Nelson, a doctoral thesis written in 1985[164]. The thesis reflected on Nkrumah's intellectual growth in the United States.

Nkrumah's work *African Must Unite* focuses on three periods of Ghanaian history. It is as follows: the pre-literate era; the nationalist awakening, and the antecedents for the modern phase of Ghana. The book then spells out the division and tension created with the Nkrumah administration, and the internal disruption created by opposing elements as well. It also discusses Nkrumah's engagement in the pan-Africanist agenda and its relevance to Africa. Nkrumah equally, interrogates national consciousness along the lines that lead to progress and socialist orientation as an alternative path to capitalism for development. The main ideas focus on a "stability and resolute leadership in the building of our country" as the foremost task. Nkrumah likened this enterprise to a sisyphus' task "to roll a whole people uphill" which demands a "managing director."[165] This implies national consciousness of the people rejects the bases for regionalism. Nkrumah argued that without a sense of unification, Ghanaians will get a "token sovereignty."[166]

Since then a number of other research work has been published. They include journal articles and books. In between were seminar reports and additional theses. As far

[164] H. I. Carlos Nelson, "Kwame Nkrumah: A Study of His Intellectual Development in The United States 1935-45,"1985, Temple University, unpublished Ph. D Thesis.
[165] Both citation comes from Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 1963/1970, 83.

[166] Ibid,Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 1963/1970, 62.

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as is known, no book or thesis has dealt in particular with the African cultural traditions in the intellectual works of Kwame Nkrumah.

"Kwame Nkrumah: Cultural Thought, Policies and The National Theatre Movement in Ghana, 1960-1966" was written as a thesis in 1999 and converted into a book in 2005.

In 1974 Robert Grayson Mcguire III wrote the thesis: "1938 - Continuity in Black Political Protest: Thought of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Dubois, Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Joseph Casely Hayford, Joseph B. Danquah and Kwame Nkrumah[167]." (This study of black intellectual ideas on various subjects such as religion, politics as well as the economics and social aspects of life, dealt with the African past and the arguments of these scholars attempting to reconstruct Africa's history in the present with the foundation in African cultural traditions).

In 2013 Nana Kobina Nketia V, attempted to revive the idea of African culture in relations to governance and development in Ghana. Among other issues, his work served as corollary of Rahman's work. Nana Nketia brought to the fore the argument and thesis that no civilisation has flourished without an effort to sustain a cultural balance.[168] He carefully followed a biographical sketch of each intellectual and then compared their reasoning on African cultures to the development of Ghana. And with Nkrumah as the main subject, he discussed the value of African culture in Ghana's developmental issues. In this work Nketia compared the chain of thought and minds of the Ghanaian intellectuals and their search for their cultures and tradition to solve issues of Ghana's development. This thesis followed his line of thought in the quest of Nkrumah's role

[167] Robert Grayson Mcguire,III, "1938-Continuity in Black Political Protest: Thought of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Dubois, Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Joseph Casely Hayford, Joseph B. Danquah and Kwame Nkrumah", 1974, Columbia University, Ph.D Dissertation, Unpublished Thesis.

[168] Nana Kobina Nketia V, *African Culture in Governance and Development: The Ghana Paradigm*, Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 2013.

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among these intellectual trajectories for the reconstruction of Ghanaian national consciousness.

Furthermore, Adu-Andoh in 1986 expressed a similar view when he wrote that "For the last few centuries Ghana has had a fundamental problem of its identity"[169] as a result of foreign dominated religions that are Christianity and Islam, resulting in "crisis of conscience"[170]. His thesis outlined some of the reasons why Nkrumah took certain steps against the odds in an attempt at creating a unified Ghanaian nation. As the title suggested, "The Sacred in Ghana's Struggle for Justice and Communal Identity: The Legacy of Kwame Nkrumah (Spirituality, Political, Social Ethics, Religion)", there were attempts by Nkrumah to reconstruct Ghanaian consciousness from one stage to the other with a combination of theoretical approaches, with the nationalist organisation at the apex.

Three of the most comprehensive contributions were first, Harcourt Fuller's doctoral thesis, "Building A Nation: Symbolic Nationalism During The Kwame Nkrumah Era in The Gold Coast/Ghana", submitted at the London School of Economics and Political Science in 2010[171]; the second is Jeffrey S. Ahlman's doctoral work at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 2011: "Living With Nkrumahism: Nation, State, And Pan-Africanism in Ghana."[172] The third is a master's thesis, by Prince Kwasi Bediako Frimpong at the University of Louisville, in 2012, titled: "Nkrumahism and Neo-Nkrumahism."[173] These studies were attempts by scholars to analyse the quest of Nkrumah in structuring the Ghanaian nation and his efforts at uniting the people of

[169] Samuel Adu-Andoh, The Sacred in Ghana's Struggle For Justice and Communal Identity: The Legacy of Kwame Nkrumah (Spirituality, Political, Social Ethics, Religion), New Jersey: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1986, 1.
[170] Ibid,1.
[171] Harcourt Fuller, "Building A Nation: Symbolic Nationalism During The Kwame Nkrumah Era in The Gold Coast/Ghana",London: The London School of Economics and Political Science, 2010.
[172] Jeffrey S. Ahlman, "Living With Nkrumahism: Nation, State, And Pan-Africanism in Ghana," United States of America: The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, , 2011.
[173] Prince Kwasi Bediako Frimpong, "Nkrumahism and Neo-Nkrumahism", The University of Louisville, 2012.

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Ghana. Each scholar stressed these endeavours of Nkrumah beyond the Ghanaian shores. In particular, Fuller following the work of Kofi Antubam's *Ghana's Heritage of Culture*, stated that Nkrumah's ideas of an *African personality*, was a need for "a new personality or distinctive identity which should be neither Eastern nor Western, but and yet a growth in the presence of both with its roots deeply entrenched in the soil of the indigenous past of Africa[174]". Fuller, stressed in his work how Nkrumah employed "symbols of nationalism" to construct the image of a homogenous nation in the new nation state[175]. The pursuit of the formation of the new Africa was expressed meaningfully in the youth programmes under the Nkrumah administration. Secondly, it put together the iconography of the various tools that Nkrumah employed for an effective reconstruction of Ghanaian national consciousness. These included a reconstruction of African cultural traditions represented in a collective memory and collective consciousness, from items of art works displayed in museums, on postage stamps, national currencies and coins of the time. It also included the writing of the national anthem, the black star formation, and flags of the nation.

According to Allman, the Young Pioneers' activities were "...a reunification of the glory of the African past...[176]". In his thesis, Bediako Frempong not only contended that the ideas of Nkrumah were still relevant today, but also argued that his intellectual framework was the right one for the reconstruction of Africa today. He said Nkrumah's central argument in *Consciencism* was for Africans to learn from their pre-colonial African societies and not to alter this position for material gain[177].

[174] Fuller, "Building A Nation,"112.
[175] Ibid, 330-331.
[176] Ahlman, "Living With Nkrumahism,"91.
[177] Frimpong, "Nkrumahism and Neo-Nkrumahism,"39.

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In 1991, the University of Ghana, Legon published a report of a Symposium on "The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah"[178]. Two chapters were presented by George P. Hagan; one was titled "Nkrumah's Leadership Style - An Assessment from a Cultural Perspective", a paper he had earlier presented at an international conference[179]. As a corollary to the sustaining of his views, a third article: "Leadership in Nation Building" was also written[180]. Hagan contended that Nkrumah's leadership style in Nation building is the ".... establishment of values, institutions and material wellbeing..."[181]that had not only the capacity to make meaningful decisions to regulate Ghanaian lives, but also enable them to act in a broad range of common ventures as a community.[182] This factor determines the collective consciousness and identity which forms the basis of self-perpetuation and continuity in discourses for the strengthening of national consciousness. The seminar also related to issues on "Nkrumah's ideology," on social justice, traditional agriculture, the African Personality, as well as issues pertaining to women's inclusion in national development. Hagan's contribution on Nkrumah's leadership and influences could not bring to the forefront the essence of Nkrumah's thought in constructing national consciousness at various stages of the leader's career. It was impossible, unfortunately, in the three papers for Hagan to go into any detail about these issues.

[178] Kwame Arhin(ed), "The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah," Papers of a Symposium Organised by The Institute of African Studies, Sedco Publishing Ltd, 1991. .
[179] Ibid, 1-26.
[180] George P. Hagan in A. A. Akrong and Elom Dovlo(eds), "Religion and Leadership in Ghana," 153-160. Unpublished Papers. These articles on leadership have no dates.
[181] Ibid, Hagan, 155.
[182] *ibid*, 155.

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HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the reconstruction and interrelationship between Ghanaian national consciousness and African cultural tradition as re-imagined by Kwame Nkrumah from 1944 to 1966. It is to demonstrate how he exemplified the complexities and challenges of an intellectual life in Ghana and in Africa during the period under review. In order to reconstruct these historical antecedents a methodological approach is required.

Research Design

The research takes a non-experimental approach and, therefore, the manipulation of independent variables and randomisation of subjects are absent.[183] The study makes inferences from the data gathered, rather than from inputing a cause-effect approach[184]. The present study is a historical-interpretative effort. The period 1944 to 1966 has been chosen as the beginning as well as the end of a process. The 1940s marked the era of Nkrumah's intellectual development in the United States of America and in the United Kingdom, and a cut-off point, 1966, was the year of his overthrow from government. With the return of Nkrumah in 1948, the era of national consciousness and nation-building had begun and, in retrospect, the nationalist agitation was on the threshold of rigorous demands for independence.

The historical-interpretative is "a research in which the efforts is made to cast light on current conditions and problems through a deeper and fuller understanding of what already prevails"[185]. Samuel E. Taylor commenting on Fox noted that past research

[183] Samuel E. Taylor, "Kwame Nkrumah: A Study in Intercultural Leadership," United States International University, San Diego, 1994, 130.
[184] Ibid, 130.
[185] Ibid, 130.

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questions require a historical approach[186]. It enables the researcher to examine the facts, and the issues in the historical periods and to assemble the data in some meaningful and significant manner. According to E. Taylor, the works of Thomas and Znaniecki draw a conclusion that personal life records constitute a good source of literature.[187] Thus, Bernard M. Bass, McCall and Lombard affirmed that the qualitative methods allow researchers to detect the subtleties and nuances involved in the... process...though greater attention is required to be given to unconscious motives that affect the individual.[188]

E. Taylor noted that according to Marshall and Rossman, in qualitative research, questions and problems form a real-world event – observations, dilemmas, inquiries. They observed that the essence of qualitative data analysis was to identify clear and consistent patterns of phenomena by a systematic process[189]. This is the framework this research attempts to follow, by observing how Nkrumah employs African cultural memories to reconstruct national consciousness from one stage to the other.

Data Collection

The study relies on a number of models and theories that form the cultural-historical studies on Nkrumah's intellectual works as well as concepts that relate to national consciousness in general.[190] It is premised on primary and oral data on the research questions gathered from specific institutions and persons at different times, and some archival materials in addition to intellectual works produced by Nkrumah.

[186] Ibid, 130.
[187] Ibid, 130.
[188] ,"Ibid, 130.
[189] Ibid, 130.
190. These includes the approaches from the historian, economist, politician, and sociologist as well as others in other related field of specialisation preoccupied with Nkrumah's thoughts and influences. It seems essential, that an all-round account of Nkrumah's intellectual works on African cultural traditions in the evolution of Ghanaian national consciousness, examines what can be derived from each of these specialities.

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Secondary source material mainly from published and unpublished literature was also used.

It includes some relevant monograph, pamphlets, party manifesto, cut newspapers, some propaganda tracts. Most of these were found in the Ghana Public Records and Archives Administration of Ghana National Archives in Accra, and the Cape Coast Regional Archives, the George Padmore Research Library and the Ministry of Information Library in Accra.

Reading through Nkrumah's intellectual works, one comes across some missing links. The selected books for the period under consideration constitute a sample universe and a comprehensive study requires further reading in other materials which makes the books complete. This transient quality limits the information. First, the fact that fire was set to his papers immediately after the 1966 coup d'état; second, many of Nkrumah's private documents and works were lost soon after he was banished into exile by the Busia administration[191].

Another set of sources for this project included a focus group discussion and personal interviews. To support some arguments more cogently in the historical context in the Nkrumah administration, I used an unstructured approach to interview some persons who were members of the Ghana Young Pioneers, the Young Farmers Association, and two teachers. But more importantly, some academics and a former Minister of State under Nkrumah's regime[192] were also interviewed. The latter's views shall be alluded to now, and the others in a different context.

191. Kwame Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, London: Panaf, 1968,102. Kofi Baku also claims that it is a common knowledge that Nkrumah's papers were burnt to the extent that his personal administrative Secretary, Erica Powell had to purchase some from complete destruction.

192. .Dr. K. B. Asante was a diplomat at the Flagstaff House as a Secretary for African Foreign Diplomatic Missions in Bureau of African Affairs. Interview by author at his residence in Accra and Institute of African Studies Library, 2011.

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Secondary literatures in the form of books, articles, and unpublished theses were selected for the research. I evaluated these scholarly works and others through the lens of such "contribution history"[193]which has stood the test of times in the annuals of academic work. It is required that certain assumptions about Nkrumah's works be analysed, interpreted and explained in relation to his intellectual insights on African cultural traditions and Ghanaian national consciousness in terms of its "connection, contradictions, conflicts"[194] and its constructions. It is more prudent however, to interrogate some of the opinions of scholars who might have sent us on a wrong trail of thought in the context of Nkrumah's intellectual legacy.

A more inclusive history of the intellectual works on African cultural tradition required going beyond "contribution history."[195] This is to position African Cultural Traditions and its relationship to "connection, contradictions, conflicts"[196] in the works of Kwame Nkrumah within methodological perspectives.

The study depends heavily on primary data from Nkrumah's writings as early as the 1930s and 1940s. These include his rejected doctoral thesis "Mind and Thought in Primitive Society-A Study in Ethno-Philosophy With Special Reference to The Akan People of The Gold Coast", "Education and Nationalism, in Africa", "Primitive Education, and The Making of Some Observations on it". In addition, some of his books such as *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah; Africa Must Unite*; *Consciencism*, and *Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah*, and newspapers from Nkrumah's era such as the *Evening News*, *Ashanti Pioneer*, *The Spark*, *Liberator*, *Daily Graphic*, copies of which are now preserved at The Ministry of Information Services have informed this study. I have visited the Public Records and National Archive

193. Gadzekpo, "Women's Engagement," *Ibid*,8.
194. Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, *Barack Obama and African Diasporas: Dialogues and Dissensions*, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009,94.
195. Gadzekpo, "Women's Engagement," *Ibid*, 8.
196. ibid, Zeleza, "Barack Obama", 94.

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Administration Department; The Public Records and National Archives Administration Department which houses de-classified information on Nkrumah, worked on by Joseph Justice Turton Mensah, preserved at the archive from 1930 to 1972. Some of Nkrumah's letters and correspondences with others regarding his ambition for the drive of the reconstruction of nationalist consciousness are compiled by June Milne.

Methodology

This thesis uses a methodology that combines desk review, documents analysis, observations, interviews, and situational knowledge of the historical discourses and accounts of the period under consideration.

By means of these data, the study will attempt to piece together the reconstruction of Ghanaian national consciousness and its evolution in the African cultural thought of Nkrumah within the period under review. It will illustrate wherever possible Nkrumah's ideological motives each stage on the development of national consciousness. Investigation of Nkrumah's thought processes are a focal point in this study, an aspect which has now received adequate attention. What kind of consideration would drive a leader of his calibre into devoting his private moments and his future aspirations to embark on such a journey?

Secondly, the study will analyse some of the major speeches, and the arguments for the reconfiguration of African Cultural Traditions which would further inform conceptions of Ghanaian National Consciousness in newspapers. How did these two concepts work in tandem to sharpen the nationalist agenda during that period?

Thirdly, it will provide cultural aspects of Nkrumah's thought in biographical sketches of the historical case-study methods of the time. These sketches are meant to

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illustrate Nkrumah's considerations of African cultural traditions in the reconstruction of the Ghanaian national sense of living.

Fourthly, it will try to provide an insight into the Ghanaian traditional consciousness and thus help the reader appreciate the African cultural traditional foundation Nkrumah provided as a framework for the Ghanaian economy. Described in the Seven-Year Development Plan as the socialised sector, it was primarily to attract the rural educated youth into farming.

Fifthly, since the reconstruction of Ghanaian national consciousness, it will be essential to compare some of Nkrumah's ideas to others in order to bring some perspectives to the study by dealing with concurrent events in the construction of Ghanaian national consciousness with African cultural traditions.

A descriptive method will take the research through the various stages of the reconstruction of Ghanaian national consciousness dealing with "theory, ideology, and epistemic perspectives" such as "Nkrumaism" and "Consciencism", the historical-political process, collective memory, collective consciousness and other related factors that impinge on the formation of Ghanaian national consciousness.

The comparative method will aid the research demonstrate not only how Kwame Nkrumah approached African cultural traditions in the reconstruction of Ghanaian national consciousness and his achievement in this endeavour, but how he differed from his other political contemporaries.

Therefore this research will bring together the formation of culture and the study of biographical to shed light on a critical period in Ghana's cultural history, through a number of historical, ethnographic, and interdisciplinary methodologies.

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Structure of the Study

This work is made up of seven chapters. Chapter one consists of an introduction to the background of the study. It includes statement of the problem and research questions, motivation for the study, the historical context, the central argument and a hypothesis, as well as the objectives and significance of the study. It equally involves the limitations and organisation of the study.

The second chapter reviews existing literature and major intellectual works of Nkrumah which expressed his views on African cultural traditions and national consciousness, as well as theories and debates which try to explain why he felt the need for African cultural tradition in the reconstruction of Ghanaian national consciousness. With that as a background, the chapter explores the founding ideals of Nkrumaism, his reflections on African cultures, as well as the intersection with prevailing literature on Ghanaian national consciousness. The chapter contains the historical framework, research design, an analysis of the data collection, methodology of the study, and the structure of the research.

The next chapter discusses the notion of African cultural traditions. It focuses attention on definition of the concepts that relate to the research in connection with the concepts of culture. These include concepts such as intellectual, tradition or traditions, as well as culture or cultural and their meaning to the research. This evaluation is done in line with what Nkrumah considered as intellectual tools for his assessing the effectiveness of these concepts in practices. The emphasis would be on how Nkrumah returned to them as collective memories for a reconstruction of collective consciousness of Ghana's nationalism. It also examines Nkrumah's view on the role of African cultural tradition in the reconstruction of national consciousness as well as the problem he was

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confronted with. Exploring these factors will help to evaluate the success of Nkrumah's ideological experiments.

Chapter four examines discourses of national consciousness. Following this the fifth chapter elucidates on how Kwame Nkrumah related African cultural traditions to Ghanaian national consciousness.

Chapter six considers how Kwame Nkrumah's intellectual works on African cultural traditions and Ghanaian national consciousness differ from other intellectual perspectives and how Kwame Nkrumah's ideas were realised. The bulk of the chapter, however, is devoted to comparing, evaluating, and analysing Nkrumah's theory, ideology and their practical intellectual performance in Ghanaian nationalism.

The seventh chapter is the summary and concluding remarks of the thesis.

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CHAPTER THREE

AFRICAN CULTURAL TRADITIONS

Introduction

In this chapter and the next, I explore concepts that are relevant to this research.

Historians have produced a rich body of literature on various relevant concepts. Essentially, the concept of African Cultural Traditions is the major focus of discussion in this chapter. More so, we would attempt to establish a relationship between two main concepts - culture/cultural and traditions, and they are used as one and the same thing in this thesis. Let us do the observation by first looking at the concept intellectual.

Intellectual

The use of the concept "intellectual" as employed in this research is premised on Antonio Gramasci's analysis.[197] This, hitherto, has been brought to light from the emphasis of other scholars in a similar context.[198] Some of these scholars are Edward Said, James Procter, Eric Hobsbawm, Jonathan Glassman as well as Steven Feierman.[199] These scholars maintained that an intellectual is not only a writer and a leader, but is foremost a *critical* thinker in an attempt to identify with the challenges of the people being led, in order to alleviate their plights.[200] Further, Edward Said asserted, and this is

197.Anotio Gramasci's assessment of culture is within several contexts. This research considers his analysis within the analogy of classifying intellectuals as "organic intellectual". James Procter, "*Stuart Hall*", London: Routledge, 2004, 49 – 50.

198. Michael Marinetto, *"Social Theory, the State and Modern Society: The State in Contemporary Social Thought", New York: Open University Press, 2007, 104 – 106*

199. Steven Feierman, "*Peasant intellectual.* Edward W. Said, "The Public Role of Writers and Intellectuals" in Helen Small (ed), "The Public Intellectual", Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2002, 19 – 39. Also, James Procter, Ibid, 49-50. See also, Donald Crummy (ed), "*Banditry Rebellion and Social Protest in Africa",* Heinemann: Hanover Street Portsmouth, 1996. Introduction, 7; Jonathan Glassman, *"Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and popular consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856-1888",* Heinemann: Portsmouth Hanover Street, 1994, Introduction, 13 – 14. Also, Jonathan Glassman, *"Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and popular consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856-1888",* ibid, 13 – 18.

200. Moses Akin Makinde, "*African philosophy: The Demise of a Controversy*", Ile-Ife: Obafemi Awolowo University Press Limited, 2010, 268-270.

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in line with the thinking of Nkrumah, that an intellectual is a cultured person;[201] he used two Arabic words *muthaqqaf* and *mufakir*[202] to indicate this. The first word is derived from the word *thaqafa* meaning culture, or person of culture and tradition,[203] the second word *fikr* meaning thought or person of deep[204] thoughts[205]. Said subscribed to the argument that in political discourses these words mean popularity, or culture and thought *of ideas to liberat*e others[206]. Indeed, the people turned to such *individuals'* intellectuals *to redefine their courses, in order to alleviate their plights.*[207] It is within this logic that in commenting on organic intellectuals Stefano Harney commented in his book *Nationalism and Identity* that scholars such as Antonio Gramsci and Frantz Fanon "dreamt of, intellectuals who live among the people and take a new wisdom from the people."[208] In particular, the writings of these scholars and others such as Lovelace and Anthony perceived Frederic Jameson's national allegory as moving beyond individualism to a nationalist approach. To them, the intellectual moves from one state of national consciousness to another.[209]

How is this related to Nkrumah as an African intellectual at the nationalist period? Since intellectual responses to colonialism in the 19th century emphasized the need for African cultural traditions to serve as the foundation for the emerging Ghanaian national consciousness,[210] Nkrumah endeavoured to use African culture tradition for the stages of

201. Edward W. Said, "The Public Role of Writers and Intellectuals*",* 21.
202. *Ibid*, 21.
203.*Ibid*, 21.
204.Ibid,21.
205.*Ibid*, 21.
206.Italics mine, *Ibid*.
207.Italics is mine.
208.Stefano Harney, *Nationalism and Identity: Culture and the Imagination in a Caribbean Diaspora*, New Jersey: Zed Books, 1996, 46.
209.Ibid, 46.
210.Kofi Baku, "History as Grist to the Mill of Anti-Colonial Protest: Gold Coast Part-time Non-Professional Historians and Intellectual Resistance to Colonialism in Southern Gold Coast, 1897 – 1945" in D.E.K. Amenumey (ed), "Challenges of Education in Ghana in the 21st Century", Accra: Woeli Publishing Services, 2007, 281-306; 285; David Kimble, "*A political History of Ghana: The Rise of Gold Coast Nationalism" 1850 – 1928*", Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963, 131 – 135;; 159 – 167; Ekow S.

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Ghanaian national consciousness.[211] In this attempt he argued that some African cultural traditions such as crafts, gift-giving, chieftaincy titles, large families and polygamy, should be questioned.[212] Nkrumah's difficulty was how to transmit his views to the minds of his fellow Africans or Ghanaians. In order for this evaluation to be more relevant to the discussion let us understand what the term tradition implies in this research. Thus we ask, what is tradition?

Tradition/Traditions

Tradition defies a rigid definition. Academically, in an attempt to relate African cultural tradition to the complex idea of national consciousness at the outset, four types of traditions ought to be considered: Typological, Stereotypical, Mythopoeic, and Empirical.[213] In the case of Typological, European scholars from various schools of thought such as Max Weber's ideal-type construct contended that African societies do not transform, but are instead static.[214] The second type is the creation of the "other," an image of a savage African cultural tradition which Europe sees as negative compared to its Universalist cultural superiority.

The third, however, is the historic instance, where African cultural nationalists see a common thread of reasoning among various ethnic groupings. Thus ideas are borrowed as the ideals for the reconstruction of the nation-state yet to be formed from the colonial debris. Commenting on Coleman's views, Max Radin observed that:

> In antiquity as in modern times a sense of nationalism may create characteristics not only for persons but for the entire groups...tradition

Ampah Korsah, "The Press and society in colonial Ghana 1900 – 1950", Unpublished M.phil Dissertation, University of Ghana, Department of History, 1997, 73-74; 75-78

[211] Kwame Nkrumah, letter to June Milne, in June Milne, "*Kwame Nkrumah, The Conakry years: His Life and Letters",* London: Panaf 2001, 292 – 293.

[212] Toyin Falola, "Nationalism and African Historiography" in Q. Edward Wang and George G. Iggers (ed), "*Turning points in Historiography: A Cross Cultural Perspective"*, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2002, 208 – 235; 216

[213] Coleman, "Nationalism and Development in Africa,"118-119.

[214] *Ibid,* 118.

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> assists in building a national ideal and therefore helps to create the complex of nationalism[215].

Empirical traditions are described by Coleman as very complex. They pertain to the "attitudes, beliefs, conventions, and institutions" which are imbedded in the past experiences of the people. These attributes are of the human essence though difficult to be determined in the now and the future. All these four categories of tradition do overlap one another.

Thus, Louis J. Mounz suggested in his book *The past and the present: Towards a rehabilitation of tradition* that tradition should be defined within a context.[216] Generally in the African thought, tradition consists of the memories of the past generation.[217] It is imperative to add that in Africa, traditions are constituent of *generational living* experiences in which the current historical experiences find meaningful expression.[218] Africans reflect on their history from the past and their cultural traditions in order to see the future, thereby making Africans to leave in simultaneous worlds - the physical and spiritual worlds of their ancestors whose memories serve as their present. Let us consider various scholarly attempts to define the concept. Kwame Gyekye considered tradition to imply culture in his works.[219] Gyekye saw tradition as that which influences the lives and thoughts of a people and elders of a society whose authorities are shown by the users of cultures. This is showcased in several forms such as their ideas, ideals, beliefs,

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[215] Ibid, 119.

[216] Louis J. Munoz, "*The past in the present: Towards a Rehabilitation of Tradition*" Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited, 2007. Introduction, 1 - 16

[217] I am analyzing this within the context of the quotations above

[218] The memory serves as a background check to tradition in all African societies. Therefore, emphasis is placed on oral traditions.

[219] Kwame Gyekye, "The Idea of African Philosophy" in Molefi Kete Asante and Abu S. Abarry (eds), "*African Intellectual Heritage: A Book of Sources*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996, 294 – 305, Kwame Gyekye, "Philosophy, culture and Technology in the post colonial" in Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, "*postcolonial African Philosophy: A Critical Reader*", Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997, 25 – 44; 30 – 32.

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principles, sayings, achievements,[220] and the general way of life and patterns of behaviour of the ancestors who created them.[221]

Culture/Cultural

Culture and cultural as it is used in this context, are expressed in Gyekye's views as the patterns of thought, ways of acting, behaving in a manner that has been created, fostered and nurtured by a people over a long time and by which their life standards are measured[222]. Thus to Gyekye the word 'pattern of thought' is a parallelism between the two concepts, implying the same thing. Tradition, then involves sentiments relating to a lost memory of past generation. Therefore, tradition refers to a people's mindset or consciousness; the mind being referred to what must be the good thoughts of past generations. In view of this, Matthew Arnold indicated that culture should be a "study of perfection"[223] in order to do good.

According to Makhan Jha, in *An Introduction to Anthropological Thought* Immanuel Kant also argued that culture is a "consciously directed cultivation of the human thought."[224] Thus, Jha, maintains that according to Taylor, culture includes a whole complex of expressed knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities.[225] Culture relates to tradition in the sense that it is the authoritative transmission of knowledge through communication to the minds and the memory of a

[220] Kwame Gyekye, "Our Cultural Values and National Orientation" in Kwame Gyekye (ed) @ 50 Anniversary Lectures, Accra: G-Pak Limited, 2008, 103 – 130; 120
[221] Kwame Gyekye, *"Tradition and Modernity: Philosophical Reflection on the African Experience*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, 107; Kwame Gyekye, "Our cultural values and National Orientation", Ibid, 121
[222] Abamfo Ofori Atiemo, "Religion and Human Rights: Towards the enculturation of Human Rights in Ghana", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Vrige University, 2010, 78.
[223] Ibid, Moses Akin Makinde, *African philosophy: The Demise of a Controversy*, 13
[224] Immanuel Kant, *Anthropology* cited in Makhan Jha, *An Introduction to Anthropological Thought*, New Delhi: Ubs Publishers' Distributors Pvt Ltd, 2007, 122.
[225] Ibid, Makhan Jha, *An An Introduction to Anthrological Thought*,28.

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present generation through their historical research and pragmatism.[226] Indeed it is a relationship between past and present in two ways; it is both temporal and a mode of action. Thus for a conscious cultivation of the human thought as pointed out by Jha in the views of Kant and, in order to obtain the complex whole in Taylor's view, communication and diligence are required to research into the matter.

Tradition in this sense is the authoritative transmission of knowledge through communication to the minds and the memory of a present generation, through their historical research, and pragmatism.[227]Therefore, consciousness, wrote Karl Marx, "can never be anything else than conscious existence, and the existence, of men is their actual life process."[228] He maintained that, consciousness is therefore from the very initial stages a social product, and remains so long as men exist at all.[229]

Gerald Holton et al, stress that the word "culture" is beyond a rigid definition. This signifies that culture is religion, as implied by Thomas S. Eliot and Ruth Benedict who described the concept as patterns of thought and the emotional approaches to societal needs.[230] According to S. E. Taylor, Benedicts indicated that cultural patterns are chosen from the human behaviour and oppose any human interaction that contradicts the selected cultural relevance. From this springs of this fountain of knowledge, says S. E. Taylor, Goodenough concludes that: "A Society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or has to believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members.[231]" This then means that culture is a social consciousness construct, and Nana

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[226]Edward Burnett Tylor, "The Science of Culture," in R. Jon McGee and Richard L. Warrns, *An Anthropological Theory An Introductory History,* New York: McGraw-Hill Companies, 2000, 32 – 33.
[227]ibid, 32 – 33.
[228]Karl Marx, "Germany Ideology", in *Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy*, T. B. Bottomore and M. Rubel, London: Watts and Co., 1956, 75.

[229]Ibid, Marx, "Germany Ideology," 71.

[230] Taylor, "Kwame Nkrumah," Ibid, 64.
[231] Ibid, 64.

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Kobina Nketia V, observed that consciousness itself is a construct that presents the ability of human beings to know, perceive, understand and be aware of self in relation to self and all else and that consciousness gives life and meaning to our ideas[232]. By this, culture and consciousness are interchangeable. It is within this logic it can be assumed as a universal language.

African orature is worth commenting on, as Nkrumah paid significant attention to it in his attempts to regenerate a traditional African culture. Traditionally, orature depicts collective wisdom and virtues of a people. Indeed, this makes African cultural traditions an all encompassing force of thought and practice by which they re-birth themselves by sustaining, celebrating and re-introducing their virtues in the flowers of their intellect and the fruitage of their souls[233] to history and humanity[234].

Furthermore, Jha observes that Malinowski's concept of culture reminds us that in order to achieve these goals we ought to consider these three essential approaches: first, there ought to be a function of the whole;[235] for to him, culture comprises the whole in terms of "inherited artefacts, goods, technical processes, ideas, habits and values;" second, he stressed on the study of culture which should include its "use" or "function" which *finds gains in* customs, institutions and beliefs as expressions of culture.[236] Third, Jha indicates that Malinowski, alongside his contemporaries in the fields of sociology and psychology, suggested that culture should be identified in man's biological and sociological heritage.[237]

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[232] Nana Kobina Nketia V, *African Culture In Governance and Development: The Ghanaian Paradigm*, Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 2013,194.
[233] Attoh Ahuma, "The Gold Coast Nation," 7.
[234] Maulan Karenga, "Struggle and Culture: Towards A National Black System" in Akyaaba Addai-Sebo and Ansel Wong(eds), *Our Story: A Handbook of African History and Contemporary Issues*, London: Hansib Printing,1988,210-239;211.
[235] Makhan Jha, "An Introduction To Anthropological Thought" New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 2007, 92.
[236] Ibid, Jha, "An Introduction To Anthropological Thought, 93.
[237] Ibid,22.

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Jha illustrates that this is reminiscent of Emile Durkheim's analysis of culture in terms of "mechanical" and "organic" solidarity[238]. In this respect, Jha stresses that Durkheim's assertions resonate with others. He said that Durkheim observed that by mechanical solidarity he meant ideas are common to the bonds that have kept their society in a common weal[239]. In contrast to this is the modernisation process which utters this society, making it difficult for effective interactions among its people as a result of 'division of labour[240]'. It likewise creates differences instead of likeness[241] in several ways, an indication that cultural tradition does change overtime.

To sum up, from the above analysis it can be argued that culture or cultural traits and traditions are both material and non-material. Their material aspect includes what can be seen or touched. These include physical instruments like stools, swords, clay pots, local houses and artist's objects carved. The non-material of cultural traditions entails those aspects which are abstract creation and intangible. These include values, beliefs systems, symbols, norms, customs and institutional arrangements like family gathering, chieftaincy and marriage.

In view of this, Kwame Nkrumah reasoned that tradition is learnt by people within their immediate environment.[242] His ideological project, inspired by the various thinkers detailed above, led to a re-definition of African Cultural Tradition, where culture was to remain static in a modern and technologically modernising Africa. For him, culture was a knowledge gathered from one's society which may be different from other societies[243]. Cultural traditions deserved attention as they were the "coming together of different

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[238] Francis Abraham and John Henry Morgan, *Sociological Thought*, Chennai: MacMillan, 2004,106-110.
[239] Ibid,Lewis, Masters of ''Sociological Thought", 131.
[240]Abraham and Morgan, *Sociological Thought, Ibid*, 108.
[241] R. Jon McGee and Richard L. Williams, *Anthropological Theory: An Introductory History*, Sydney: McGraw Hill, 2000, 84. *Ibid*, Abraham and Morgan, *Sociological Thought*,108.
[242] Lewis A *Coser Master Of Sociological Thought: Ideas In Historical And Social Context* Jaipur: Rawat Publication, 2004, 131.
[243] Kwame Nkrumah, "Mind And Thought In Primitive Society - A Study In Ethno-Philosophy With Social Reference To The Akan People of the Gold Coast, West Africa Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University Of Pennsylvania, 1944,19.

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minds of cultures" that brought about the "welfare of mankind"[244]. In my view this is the basis upon his laws and governance were established.

Indeed, Nkrumah pointed out that there has been constant interaction among Africans for millenia. Also, a careful reading of Nkrumah's intellectual works reveals that he was a Universalist, and he perceived and regarded African cultural traditions as the only measure to bringing all Africans together. Nkrumah portrayed himself as a Pan-Africanist, rather than specifically a Ghanaian or an Nzema.

This is why Nkrumah saw African cultural traditions in terms of the coming together of a "collective mind".[245] However, he equally argued that African cultural tradition should be accorded the full values within the context of African history and their aspirations. He thus contended that the best of the West should be retained.[246]

Nkrumah argued that various ethnic societies in Africa interacted with each other prior to the advent of Arabs and Europeans[247]. The influences of colonialism on the other hand cannot change the internal and external interactions of the African people[248]. The roots of Ghana's common cultural traditions have a deep history with links to other cultures and traditions – European, Arab and other Africans[249].

Thus Nkrumah observed that "a return to pre-colonial African society is evidently not worthy of the ingenuity and efforts of our people". He became more attracted to socialist thought, believing that 'what socialist thought in Africa must recapture is not the structure of "traditional African society" "but its spirit". In capturing the spirit of the Africans, Nkrumah wrote that the goal of the transition was to reconstruct African society in "such a manner that the humanism of traditional African life reasserts itself in

[244] Ibid,Nkrumah, "Mind and Thought'' , 204.
[245] Ibid, 204.
[246]Ibid, 25. he sees as "all is mind" or the "social mind"
[247] Ibid,211.
[248] Kwame Nkrumah, "*Africans Must Unite"* London: Heinemann, 1963, 132.
[249] Kwame Nkrumah "*Speak Of Freedom*, London: Heinemann, 1961, 126 – 128.

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a modern technical community." Nkrumah's understanding of engaging African cultural traditions in the evolutions of Ghanaian nationalism was his reconstruct African cultural histories in a manner in which they were useful to harnessing the African human, technical, and economic materials to make African modernity a reality. Thus Nkrumah sought to marry his conception of tradition and modernity in a unique manner.

Conclusion

Nkrumah's intellectual burden was to find a means by which all aspects of African cultural traditions would have meaning for the construction of the new Ghanaian world view. While he subscribed to an approach by which the concepts of tradition or culture is a unified, static fix as defined by Gyekye, the construction of Ghanaian national consciousness is still confronted with the mosaic ethnic inclination of nationalism. The Ghanaian sense of national cultures is largely defined by Nkrumah's legacy. While Nkrumah projected Ghanaianness through the Ewe-Ghanaian, Asante-Ghanaian, Ga-Ghanaian and others into one African cultural tradition, it is apparent that throughout the nation-state of Ghana it has been replaced with concepts like Asante-culture, Ga-culture, Ewe-culture and so on. In the opposite there is a search for a Ghanaian national culture to depict the Ghanaian sense of nationhood. It is, however, a legitimate concern that would rekindle and foster a sense of national consciousness which Nkrumah stood for and directed with his intellects. But one would enquire: in such a historical event in the intellectual works of Kwame Nkrumah on African cultural traditions in the evolutions of Ghanaian national consciousness, was there a Ghanaian national consciousness with collective national African cultural traditions? For that inquiry, the next chapter seeks to answer the question of what national consciousness is.

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CHAPTER FOUR

WHAT IS NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS?

Introduction

Academic historical discourses on national consciousness are closely linked with the concept of nationalism. The argument has been centred on the primordialist and modernist approaches. The primordialist view of national consciousness views the nation as a biological entity.[250] The earlier modernist strand of thought, dominated by the scholarly insights of Carlton Hayes, Hans Kohn, and Elie Kedourie, posit that the formation of nation-state and national consciousness are recent ideas. They relate the formation of national consciousness to Capitalist societies. Marxist discourses and Ernest Gellener's views from a Weberian accounts.[251]These accounts largely can be grouped into three major theories, including structural, mobilisation and cultural theories.[252] However, the historical attempts of nation formation disprove their theories. It is therefore, the aim of this research to situate the discussion between these two views.

In order to interrogate this position, let us look critically at the two concepts – nationalism and national consciousness. According to scholars, nationalism is both an ideology that relates to behaviour in order to achieve the goal of creating a nation[253]. For

[250] See, David Ashcraft, "A Critical Evaluation of Theories of Nationalism," Ph.D Dissertation, The University of Aston in Birmingham, 1987, Abstract, 1-2. See also, Dominique Jacquin, "Nationalism and Secession in the Horn of Africa: A Critique of The Ethnic Interpretation", Ph.D Dissertation, London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London, undated.

[251] Ibid, Ashcraft, "A Critical Evaluation of Theories of Nationalism," Abstract, 1-2.

[252] Gerard Delanty, "The Persistence of Nationalism: Modernity and Discourses of The Nation" In Gerard Delanty and Engin F. Isin(eds), *HandBook of Historical Sociology*, London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2003, 287-300.

[253] We can emancipate from our neo- colonial enslavement, when we fall back on knowledge of our common African ancestor hood.

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example, in this regard, is self-determination as spelt out in the writings of Nkrumah[254]. Other related determinants of nationalism include the following factors: irredentism, independence, and secession. As a sentiment, nationalism is a person's loyalty towards their nation. Nationalism could include the shared experience of a single language, religion, and a unitary historical experience.[255] Similarly, both concepts are nurtured through certain mechanics of socialization – the growth of mass media education.[256] Usually, they start from the family level transmitted through "primary group setting."[257] This group usually preserves the memory of traditions. This could be the traditions and cultures or the institutions.[258]

The academic history of this advent of national consciousness starts with the terms 'celt' and 'celtic.'[259] These words connote blood and culture; a generic expression for a collective group of people with similar cultures.[260] This enables them to identify themselves as one people with a sense of belonging.[261] But a careful and critical review

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[254] Basil Davidson, "*The Black Man's Burden, African and The Curse of the Nation State*", Owerri: Spectrum Books Limited, 2005, 128-139; Cati Coe, "Not just Drumming and Dancing": The production of National Culture in Ghana's schools", Introduction, 6-12.

[255] J.C Johari, "*Principles of Modern Political Science*", New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Limited, 2007, 617; Samuel Obeng, "Selected speeches of Kwame Nkrumah" Accra: Afram Publication, 2009, 69-73; 73. The entire policy of "Work and Happiness" were for self-determination spirit in Ghana.

[256] This sentiment finds its meaning also from Kwaku Larbi analyzes of Benedict Anderson's works which indicates what Basil Davidson argues that "nationalism was subordinated to foreign denomination, hence, the feeling of the people was nothing to ride home about; Basil Davidson, *The Black Man's Burden*; Africa and The Curse of the Nation-State" ibid, 163

[257] Thus from the argument, it can be contended that ethnicity evolution to national consciousness carried some dangers. Nkrumah however, saw ethnicity in its form as an entirety for national consciousness, thus the bases for ethnicity forms national consciousness; Marina Ottaway, "Ethnic Politics in Africa: Change and Continuity"; see also, Donald Rothschild, "Ethics, Insecurity, Peace Agreement and States Building", in Richard Joseph (ed), *State Conflicts and Democracy in Africa*", Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers,1999, 299-318; 319-337.

[258] It did not play a major role in the world politics, except internally on African politics, Marina Ottaway "Ethic Politics in Africa: Change and Continuity" Ibid,305. Driss Maghraoui "The Moroccan Colonial Soldiers: Between Selective Memory and Collective Memory" in Ali Abdulatif Ahmida, "*Beyond Colonialism and Nationalism in the Magrib, History, Culture and Politics*", New York, Palgrave, 2000, 49-50

[259] John King, *Kingdoms of the Celts: A History and Guide*, London: Blandford Cassell and Co. , 2000, Introduction, 9-11.

[260] Patricia Monaghan, *The Encyclopaedia of Celtic Mythology and Folklore*, New York: Facts on File, 2004, Introduction.

[261] John T. Koch(ed), *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopaedia Vol. 1*, Oxford: ABC-Clio, 2006, 115-117.

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of the argument highlights one important issue, when is a nation formed? Historians and social scientists have not agreed on this subject.

It has been argued that "nationhood" evolved from 'statehood' in some cases.[262] In the era of 'pre-nationhood', national consciousness was naturally expressed in ethnic terms, as witnessed by the Celtic nations in Europe; what existed were loose ethnic blocks devoid of a sense of nationhood or national consciousness.[263] During that period, such ethnic affiliations defined groups of peoples, and African societies were no exception.

The nineteenth century witnessed a tremendous rise in nationalism and national consciousness in Europe.[264] Prior to this, European expressions of nationalism were gradually growing, as European nations competed for territories across the globe. Africa had it's fair share of Empire building, as witnessed in the establishment of the ancient Sudanic empires of Ghana, Mali and Songhai and, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the building of kingdoms of Asante, Dahomey and Oyo, or the ancient kingdom of Ghana.[265] Historically, the academic reconstruction of this aspect of African history as a single unit separated in time and space is patterned and ordered after the Greek City-States by modern historians. These ancient Empires; later served as a catalyst for the reconstruction of African unity in the nineteenth century. It was this ethnic affection and affiliation for these past Empires of Africa that was transmitted to the collective memories of the peoples of Africa's new nation-states in Africa during the decolonisation period, although national consciousness.

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[262] Kwame Arhin, Ghana at 50 Tribe or Nation?, Accra: Institute for Demoratic Governance, 2007,2,12-13.

[263] Nkrumah, *Autobiography*,185; See also Speech delivered at the first International Congress of Africanists Document 1/AL/DT 1. 1 n S, David Balme Library, University of Ghana, Africea Cases in portolio 1,1962,1-4.

[264] E. J. Hobsbawn, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 23-24; Peter Alter, "Emancipation and Oppression: Towards a Typology of Nationalism" in H .B. McCullough (ed), *Political Ideologies and Political Philosophies*, Tronton: Thomason Educational Publishing, 1995,172-173.

[265] Ibid,Nkrumah, *Autobiography*, 197-8.

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Like other "isms" of its era, nationalism and national consciousness was couched in a desired spiritual revolution.[266] Concerning their nation, indigenous language and folk traditions, European scholars - including Johann Gottfried Von Herder, 1744-1803, and Hayes in 1927, Falnes in 1933 and Wilson in 1976 reasoned that the welfare of their nations was bound to its oral traditions and myths[267]. Scholars such as Abraham in 1993, as well as Cocchira, 1981, Zipes in 1987, Alver in 1989, impressed these discourses on the minds of all their nationals to cherish their cultural traditions as their guide in all facets of life.[268] More so, these scholars stressed the need for a revisiting of their folk-character or folk-spirit, asserting that the nation was to be seen as a spiritual entity, where its spiritual unity lies in its religious sentiments[269]. These ideas influenced the civilizing missions of Christianity and colonialism in Africa.[270]

Yet, these African cultural traditions were critically studied and reified within the Christian civilising mission.[271] In the process of advancing their causes in Africa, Europeans created new factors expressed through the cultural traditions of the Africans

[266]Ibid, Alter, "Emancipation and Oppression, 6.

[267]Ibid, Coe, "Not Just Drumming and Dancing,"5. See also,Jan Ifversen, "Myth in the Writing of European History" in Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz (eds), *Nationalising the Past Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, 452-479. Anthony D. Smith, "Identity and the Idea of European Unity" in H. B. McCullough(ed), *Political Ideologies and Political Philosophies*, Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 1995, 180-184;182.

[268] Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Fascism 1914-1945*, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1995,35-70. See, Ibid, Coe, "Not Just Drumming and Dancing,"5. Michael Burleigh, *Sacred Causes: Religion and Politics from European Dictators to Al Qaeda*, Sydney: Harper Perennial, 2007, 13-14. See, Terence Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa" in Roy Richard Grinker and Christopher B. Steiner (eds), *Perspectives on Africa: A Reader in Culture, History, and Representation*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1997, 597-612; 597.

[269] Ibid,Coe, "Not Just Drumming and Dancing,"5-6. Davidson, "The Black Man's Burden", 129-130.

[270] Ayi Kwsei Armah, *The Eloquence of the Scribes: A Memoir on the sources and Resources of African Literature*, Popenguine: Per Ankh, 2006, 44-45. Melville J. Herskovits, *The Human Factor in Changing Africa*, New York: Vintage Books, 1962, 448. See also, Abraham A. Akrong, "African Traditional Religion and Christianity: Continuities and Discontinuities", in Helen Lauer and Kofi Anyidoho (eds), *Reclaiming the Human Sciences and Humanities through African Perspectives, Vol. 1*, Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2012, 307-320. ibid, Max Assimeng, "Foundations of African Social Thought: Revamping the Scope of the Sociology of Knowledge" in Helen Lauer and Kofi Anyidoho (eds), 124-151;146.

[271] ibid, Maxwell Owusu, "Ethnography of Africa: The Usefulness of the Useless", in Grinker and Steiner, "Perspectives on Africa", 704-723. See also, Owusu, Towards an African Critique of African Ethnography: The Usefulness of the Useless", in Lauer and Anyidoho, "Reclaiming the Human Sciences and Humanities", Vol. 1, 77-104. ibid, Max Assimeng, "Foundations of African Social Thought", 143;146; Abraham A. Akrong, "African Traditional Religion and Christianity", 310-312.ibid, Also, Jean and John Comaroff, "Africa Observed: Discourses of Imperial Imagination" in Grinker and Steiner, "Perspectives on Africa", 689-703; 692-693.

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which unintentionally made national feelings of Africans for their motherlands more important than their ethnic identity.[272] These were eventually policies which were formulated into the Indirect Rule which were employed by the elders of most African nations in enforcing the hegemonic control of imperialistic doctrines in the British and other imperialist colonies.[273] However, these policy directions were against the youth and women whose demands for freedom from these policies led to the protest resulting in nationalist movement on the African continent[274].

Indeed, Coe cited Dennis Austin and Allman in his thesis as they both drove home the point further that in the Gold Coast, the construction of national consciousness can be traced from the agitations of the youths against their elders and the colonial and imperial masters.[275] The point is that African cultural traditions which were the sources of ethnic solidarity and served as the basis of the ethnic organisation throughout history were falling apart.

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[272] Marina Ottaway, "Ethnic Politics in Africa: Change and Continuity" in Richard Joseph(ed), State, Conflict, and Democracy in Africa, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999, 299-317; 301. Ukoha Ukiwo, "Ethnicity and Citizenship in Africa: Some Reflections", in Lauer and Anyidoho, "Reclaiming the Human Sciences and Humanities", Vol. 2, 1142-1152; 1143. See, Bruce J. Berman, Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Modernity: The Paradox of Mau Mau, in Grinker and Steiner, "Perspectives on Africa", 653-670; 662. . See also, ibid. Frantz Fanon, "On National Culture" in Grinker and Steiner, "Perspectives on Africa", 637-652;650. See, Abraham A. Akrong, "Deconstructing Colonial Mission- Missiological Perspectives in African Christianity" in Afe Adogame et al tat(eds), *Christianity in Africa and the African Diaspora: The Appropriation of a Scattered Heritage*, New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2008, 63-96.

[273] T. O. Beidelman, Social Theory and the Study of Christian Missions in Africa, *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 44, No.3, 1974, 235-249. Carola Lenz, "Christianity, Colonial Rule and Ethnicity: The Mission of the White Fathers among the Dagara: Ghana/ Burkina" in Toyin Falola(ed), *Christianity and Social Change in Africa : Essay in Honour of J. D.Y. Peel*, Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2005, 441-471. ibid., Sandra T. Barnes, "Shrines Sanctuary and Mission Sanctuary in West Africa, 165-184". Also, ibid, Birgit Meyers, "Meditating Tradition: Pentecostal Pastors, Africa Priest in Ghanaian Popular Films" 275-306. See, Apex A. Apeh, "Oracles and Slavery: Igboland and her Idoma Neigbour in the Era of Trans Atlantic Slave Trade", Seminar Paper 1, delivered at the Workshop in Accra, on the theme: Africa, Europe and the Americas, 1500-1700, on 12-26, July, 2009. Also, LeRoy Vail, "Ethnicity in Southern Africa" in Grinker and Steiner(eds), Perspectives on Africa", 52-68; 62-68.

[274] Atiemo, "Religion and Human Rights", 94-95. Kwame Arhin, "A Note on Asante AKonfo: A Non-Literate Sub-Elite,1900-1930", *Africa*, Vol. 56, 1986, 26-31. Jean Marie Allman, The Young men and the Porcupine Class, Nationalism and Asante's Struggle for Self determination, 1954-57, *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 31, No. 2, 1990, 263-279. Op.cit., Edwin N. Wilmen, Land Filled With Flies: The Evolution of Illusion, in Grinker and Steiner(eds), Perspectives on Africa", 246-268;259-260.

[275] Ibid,. Coe, "Not Just Drumming and Dancing," 10.

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Likewise, at the root of African nationalism in the Cape Colony from 1866-1898 was the Native Laws and Customs Commission. There was also the Liquor Laws Commission among the Africans who resisted the phrase: "Our people are being destroyed by drinks."[276] Later in the colony of the Gold Coast, Wallace Johnson would question the morality of the colonial and imperialist establishment in the *African Morning Post* on May 7, 1935, with the question "Do Europeans Believe in God?" He responded to it with an article "Has the African a God"[277]? The article demonstrated how the European has replaced himself as the god of the African with a pseudonym "Effective."[278]

It can be observed critically, at this point that nationalism began to acquire an international criterion, in order to usher in Africa as a new member in the international sceen.[279] It possesses a character of both intergrations which also reflects wider societal structures of differentiation.[280] Thus, a consciousness for exclusion and inclusion is borned.[281] National consciousness as a doctrine, seeks therefore to find solution to three major problems: membership in the polity, the problem of demarcarting the boundaries of the polity and the problem of establishing the identity of the polity[282]. It also, much more, seeks to realise three main political forms including: the civic nation, the state nation and the cultural nation.[283]

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[276] Wallace G. Mills, "The Roots of African Nationalism in the Cape Colony: Temperance, 1866-1898", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1980,197-213; 197-198.
[277]ibid, Korsah, "The Press and Society in Colonial Ghana", 119-120.
[278] Ibid., Korsah, "The Press and Society in Colonial Ghana", 120. See also, La Ray E. Denzer, I. T. A. Wallace-Johnson and The West African Youth League: A Case Study in West African Radicalism, Centre of West African Studies, The University of Birmingham, Ph.D Dissertation, 1977, 136-139.
[279] Kevin M. Doak, "Liberal Nationalism In Imperial Japan: The Dilemma of Nationalism and Internationalism" in Dick Stegewerns(eds), *Nationalism and Internationalism In Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian Brotherhood, or World Citizenship?*, London: Routledge Curzon, 2003, 17-41.
[280] Delanty, "The Persistence of Nationalism", 287.
[281] Ibid, Delanty, 287.
[282] Ibid, Delanty, 287.
[283]Ibid, Delanty, 287.

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Clearly, African intellectuals believed that their cultural traditions were destroyed during the colonial era and by Europeanisation, and needed to be rejuvenated upon independence.[284] This albeit would be slow process. The foundation for this strength of African humanness is their ethnic consciousness.

Ethnonationalisms in African History

Ethnic consciousness sustained the collective sense of identity in the symbolic expressions that characterised the formation of pre-colonial African states. This character contained the communal self-definition enshrined in the culture and tradition of Africa, which was against the sense of "we" and "them" or in what Stuart Hall proclaimed as the West and the Rest[285]. It was also clear that the ethnic ties and bonds could no more be strengthened while the cultures were getting lost. These cultures could equally lose their effects on the people who practised it to provide room for not only transformation in domestic politics but in international relations between African nations and the western nations.[286]

Inadvertently, Europeans contributed to a new national consciousness, by introducing Africans to European science and anthropology; their emphasis on evolutionism, which held Africans culture in contempt, would actually backfire, in that it would inject a sense of pride in Africanness in Africans. By these intellectual activities, Europeans shifted the cultural footing of the colonial order without precedent in history about the African cultural traditional context.[287] African cultural traditions were regarded

[284] Kofi Awoonor, Democracy, "Their Democracy: Our Portion of The Discourse" in Lauer and Anyidoho, "Reclaiming The Human Sciences and Humanities", Vol. 2, 1036- 1043;1038.
[285] Kopano Ratele, "Psychology for Contemporary Africa", in Zeleza, "The Study of Africa Volume1, 276-292;278.
[286] Ibid, Ottaway, Ethnic Politics in Africa: Change and Continuity", Joseph, *State, Conflict, and Democracy in Africa*, 307.
[287]. Jemima Pierre, "Anthropology and the Race of / for Africa", Paul T. Zeleza(ed), *The Study of Africa Volume 1: Disciplinary and Interdisciplinary Encounters*, Dakar: Codesria, 2006,39- 60;43. For Details see this work.

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as static, while European cultures were "superior" to all other cultural traditions and were constantly progressing. These ideas were largely championed through Anthropology and Sociology[288].

In the 1960s, for instance in Anthropology, European scholastic invention of the African continent reoriented the argument about the human race. It contended that the African was primitive, at the bottom of the human race, and was incapable of exploring the systems of cultures as a unitary whole.[289] There were many intellectual pitfalls and limitations of these anthropological works as a science for the construct of African history. It resulted in lack of adequate discussion by even African scholarship on their own cultures and traditions; they were accepted without much intellectual debates.

This Ekow Korsah in a thesis entitled "The Press and Society in Colonial Ghana: 1900-1950" argued that Europeans produced an uncritical adulation and imitation of everything European, and an attitude towards African tradition in an unpleasant manner.[290] Eventually, this created a state of "colonial mentality", which advocated that Africans evolve after them. This is indicative of both Britain and France who argued that it took them ages to build their political systems and as such the African nations could not catch up overnight.[291]

It is in the light of these facts that we have to consider the nature of the history of national consciousness and its awakening in the transformation of the African cultural tradition. Thus, the relationship between Africans and Europeans developed in two

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[288] Marimba Ani, Yurugu: "An African-Centered Critique", 511-530. See, Jemima Pierre, "Anthropology and the Race of / for Africa", Paul T. Zeleza, The Study of Africa Volume 1: Disciplinary and Interdisciplinary Encounters, Dakar: Codesria, 2006,39- 60. See also, ibid. Zine Magubane, "Africana Sociology: A Critical Journey from Pluralism to Postcolonialism" in Zeleza, "The Study of Africa Volume 1", 62-74. Also, Ibid., Ratele, "Psychology for Contemporary Africa", 276-292. Also, ibid, vol. 2,James Ferguson, "Anthropology and its Evil Twin: 'Development' in the Constitution of a Discipline", 485-501. ibid, Vol. 2,F. Nii-Amoo Dodoo and Nicola Nicole Beisel, Africa in American Sociology: Invisibility, Opportunity, Obligation, 990-996;992-993.

[289] Ibid, Paul T. Zeleza, "Historicizing the Post: The View from African Studies" in Zine Magubane(ed), *Postermodernism, Postcolonality, and African Studies*,1-38;5.

[290] Ibid,Ekow Korsah, 'The Press and Society in Colonial Ghana: 1900-1950', 73.

[291] Ibid, Guy Arnold, *Africa: A Modern History*, 63.

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strands. First, one which evolved naturally, as an organic process, as equal partners; and the second, by reaction, in order to struggle against imperialism and to gain African autonomy for reconstruction and survival; to recapture African's historical and humanistic agency. It is this latter one we would examine in the Gold Coast, now Ghana in this discussion. As a prelude let us observe some of the historical antecedents.

In the mid-nineteenth century pseudo-Darwinism would transform this postulation further on racial inequalities. The results of these would lead to Pan -Africanist responses in 1853.[292] The first of their views was expressed in Ethiopia and Ethiopianism.[293] This idea that was started by African intellectuals in the Diaspora was foremost to a biblical allusion.[294] It drew heavily on the pre-1871 experiences of Negro liberation.[295] With this the earnest quest for a cultural synthesis "has gripped the fertile imagination of thousands of nationalist leaders, and in making a tremendous and incredible appeal to the African masses." It seeks to reconstruct and redeem the African past. It was premised on "a massive impregnation of a whole people with knowledge of their past;"[296] second, "to prove the existence and continuity of African historical development throughout the ages, and to describe this development in Africa and contrast these with contemporary development in other parts of the world."[297]Third, it was to spread the message that their ethical standards and social institutions are eternal and universal in nature.[298] This has been a thread of continuity from the present to the remotest past. Fourth, African

[292] Kadiatu Gwyneth Kanneh, "African Identities: Race, Nation and Culture in Ethnology, Pan-Africanism and Black Literatures," University of Sussex,2005, 60.
[293] S.K. B. Asante, *Ghana and the Promotion of Pan-Africanism and Regionalism*, Accra: Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences, The J. B. Danquah Memorial Lecture Series 40, 2007,14.
[294] Ayele Bekerie, The Idea of Ethiopia: Ancient Roots, Modern Diaspora" in Toyin Falola and Salah M. Hassan(eds), *Power and Nationalism in Modern Africa: Essays in Honour of Don Ohadike*, Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2008,55-66,55.
[295] G. Shepperson, "Ethiopianism: Past and Present", in C. G. Baeta(ed), Christianity In Tropical Africa: Studies Presented and Discussed At The Seventh International African Seminar, University of Ghana, 1965 Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968, 249-268;249.
[296] Joseph Ki-Zerbo, "The Fundamental Lever of History," Presence Africaine, English Version, VIII, No. 37, 1961, 155. John Markakis, "Pan Africanism: The Idea and The Movement", Columbia University, Social Science, general, Ph.D Dissertation, 1965, 152.
[297] Ibid, 153.
[298] Ibid, 155.

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intellectuals wanted to destroy the false images created by Western historiography. Thus they began with a search for the origin of African historical writings.[299]

African cultural traditions returned in a revisionist demand – *Sankofa*, as Ghanaians regarded it then, as an anti-colonial protest against European domination.[300] Thus to demonstrate this sense of pride in their cultural traditions the Gold Coast intelligentsia resolved to focus their attention on their cultural and traditional history. Indeed, they found solace in great African heroes and heroines and their ideas about African cultural traditions, which far from being inferior to any other rational whole, were adapted to Africa.[301]

In the Gold Coast the construction of national consciousness started as a result of several factors in a complex web. First, in the immediate was a suppression of the army resistance of the Ashanti against the British, and second during the exile of Nana Kwaku Dua III later known as *Asantehene* Nana Agyeman Prempeh I, to the Seychelles in 1896. Third, the religious ferments of colonialism against African cultures and traditions which resulted in agitations against the British colonial administration[302].

It became a necessary affair when a group of Gold Coasters comprising lawyers and businessmen in Cape Coast, Accra, and Sekondi constituted themselves into the National Congress of British West Africa in 1920 in demand of their lands and their well

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[299]ibid, 156. See, Thandika Mkandawire, "African Intellectuals and Nationalism" in Thandika Mkandawire(ed), *African Intellectuals: Rethinking Politics, Language, Gender and Development*, London: Zed Books, 2005, 10-55;18.

[300] Ibid, Kofi Anyidoho, "National Identity" in Lauer and Anyidoho, "Reclaiming The Human Sciences and Humanities Vol.2", 1156-1157.

[301] Ibid, Anyidoho, "National Identity"1156-1172. See, ibid, Ngugi Wa Thiongo, "Remembering Africa: Memory, Restoration and African Renaissance" in Lauer and Anyidoho, "Reclaiming The Human Sciences and Humanities Vol.2", 1519-1535. Also, Olufemi Tawiwo, "What is African Studies'? African Scholars, Africanist Scholars, and the Production of Knowledge" in Lauer and Anyidoho, *Reclaiming The Human Sciences and Humanities Through African Perspectives*, Vol.2, 966-981; 973-974. Also, ibid, Biodun T. Jeyifo, "Whose Theatre? Whose Africa? Wole Soyinka's The Road on Road", 1328-1342; 1329-1332.

[302] Festus B. Aboagye, *Indigenous African Warfare: Its Concepts and Art in the Gold Coast, Asante and the Northern Territories up to Early 1900s*, Accra: Sedco Enterprise Limited, 2010,459.

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being; and when the Youth Conference Movement in 1930 was formed first by Wallace Johnson with the article posing the question "has the African a God"[303]?

But this was in the southern part of the Gold Coast, which asserted its minority leadership through their elites, in an attempt to initiate a radical social reform, nevertheless had to win the support of the traditional majority, through their chiefs, marriage alliances, and other cohesiveness including old-boys' associations, employment and political affiliations.[304] More so, these matters dominated the history of Africa and none were a march in gaining their freedom. In short, as Zeleza reminded the academic world, the construction of national consciousness involved a constellation of ideas, activities, moments and organisation, in a collective consciousness and action mobilised to construct and promote national identity, historical agency, and cultural difference for what Benedict Anderson described as the "imagined community"[305].

In order to assess this initiative and examine the practical possibilities of realising these goals, Southern Gold coast intelligentsia were confronted with many obstacles, in an attempt to achieve unity. It might be said that the types of problems they were faced with were those arising from difficulties of the artificial sense of creating the Gold Coast without a sense of collective action; and the reciprocity of integrating all different ethnic groups with a unique and identical political and social framework of individual action

[303] Kwadwo Afari-Gyan, Nationalist Ideology in the Gold Coast: Some Influences on its Evolution from the Beginnings of the Proto-modern Nationalist Movement to 1950, As Revealed in The Indigenous Newspaper Press of The Period, Unpublished M. A. Thesis, institute of African Studies, 89. See, Ibid., Korsah, 65-69; 73-74. See, Dumett, "El Dorado in West Africa", 99.Also, Kofi Baku, History as Grist to the Mill of Anti-Colonial Protest: Gold Coast Part- Time Non-Professional Historians and Intellectuals Resistance to Colonialism in Southern Gold Coast, 1897-1945" in Amenumey(ed), *Challenges of Education in Ghana in the 21 Century*, 281-306. Assimeng, "Foundations of African Social Thought", in Lauer and Anyidoho, "Reclaiming the Human Sciences and Humanities" Vol. 1, 148.

[304] Gadzekpo, "Women's Engagement", 37-61; also, Audrey Gadzekpo, "Glorifying the Huntress: Writing Women into Ghanaian History" in Lauer and Anyidoho, "Reclaiming the Human Sciences and Humanities", Vol. 1, 673-682. Okonkwo, "Cultural Nationalism in the Colonial Period", in Eze, "African Philosophy", 255-258; 257. Ibid, Baku, "History as Grist to the Mill of Anti-Colonial Protest", 288. Atiemo, "Religion and Human Rights", 93-95.

[305] Zeleza, "Barack Obama", 156. Benedict Anderson, 'Imagined Communities', Preface, 1-14.

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and competition. It also included those that arose from the deterioration of other semi-autonomous groups and the social gaps in widening relations.

The attitude of these Gold Coast nationalist reveals their ideas had not yet crystallised for any effective national collective sense to prevail among the peoples of the Gold Coast. Finding themselves in the mist of this intellectual and cultural crisis, most of them lost their appreciation and self confidence in their own African cultural traditions. However, a few, in spite of this ambivalence had resolved that African traditions should be analogous to western cultures. In this vein, some of the intelligentsia were of the conviction that sufficient cultural bond for all the people of the Gold Coast were necessary for the reconstruction of the new society they would create out of the colonial antecedents.[306] Thus, beginning with Christian Carl Reindorf to Attoh Ahuma, Gold Coast nationalist historiography argued that in spite of the variety of customs and languages, the Gold Coast was a single nation.[307] Ahuma maintained that "if we were not, it was time to invent one; for any series of States in the same locality, however extensive, may at anytime be merged into a nation."[308] Historically, this progressed until the formation of the Fanti Confederation as an earliest form of Gold Coast nationalism.[309] The next in line was the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society to protect against the Land Bill, from the 1890s to 1920. It was a situation that called for a collective attention. Indeed, J. B. Danquah, believed that "salvation of the Gold Coast lay in them chiefs using the intelligentsia and intelligentsia using the chiefs."[310] The stage marked the beginnings of Africans forming parties politically. This resulted in the birth

[306] See, Kwasi Kondadu, "Akan Studies In Africa and The Diaspora: An Historical Reader", I-VII.This book has no date and publication. Also, Kwaku Larbi Korang, Writing Ghana, Imaging Africa: Nation and Africa Modernity, New York: The University of Rochester Press, 2003, 90-144.
[307] Ahuma, "The Gold Coast Nation and National Consciousness", 1-10.
[308] Ahuma, "The Gold Coast Nation and National Consciousness", 1.
[309] Nkrumah, Autobiography, 199.
[310] J. B. Danquah, cited in H. K. Akyeamong, compiled, *Journey to Independence and After: J. B. Danquah's letters, 1947-1948*, Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1947, 29.

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of the U. G. C.C. However, these could not produce any nationalist cohesion until Nkrumah formed the C. P.P in June, 1949.[311]

The search for national consciousness then by nationalists and independent African leaders was realised by harnessing traditions that were peculiar to the majority of the ethnic African nations.[312] They equally gathered European values they acquired and deemed as being cotemporary for the new African nation-states[313].

Initially, cultural borrowing from Europe was met with suspicion. However, a new intellectual climate was created, and many educated Africans were of the view that they were members of non ethnic states, and citizens of a globalized world, who wanted the best of Africa and Europe.[314] The history of the construction of African cultural tradition and national consciousness indicates that their intellectual foundations were from both European and African intellectuals and the state. The establishment of nationalism and national consciousness as academic discourses points out that both occurred simultaneously in these historical advents alluded to above. I will therefore employ nationalism and national consciousness interchangeable in this thesis, since in terms of meaning and characteristics both possess the same features and meaning for any intellectual discussion.[315]

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[311]Ibid, Nkrumah, *Autobiography*, 199-200. See, Preface, 8. For details see, Augustus Lavinus Casely-Hayford, "A Genealogical History of Cape Coast Stool Families," Ph.D Dissertation, The School of Oriental and African Studies, undated, 24-25. Also, Badra Lahouel, "The Origin of Nationalism in Algeria, The Gold Coast and South Africa With Special Reference to The Period 1919-37", Ph.D Dissertation, The University of Aberdeen, 1984, 2-225.

[312] Okonkwo, "Cultural Nationalism in the Colonial Period" in Eze, "African Philosophy",256;

[313]Kwasi Wiredu, Introduction: African Philosophy in Our Time: The Postcolonial Situation" in Wiredu(ed), *A Companion to African Philosophy*, 18-20. See also, Anne V. Adams, "Literary Pan-Africanism: The Place of the African Diaspora in the Education and Consciousness of African Intellectuals" in Lauer and Anyidoho (eds), "Reclaiming the Human Sciences and Humanities", 1298-1310.ibid., T. Carlos Jacques, Alterity in the Discourse of African Philosophy: A Forgotten Absence", 1017-1030; 1018-1021.

[314] Kwame Ninsin A. Ninsin, Ghana Since The Mid-Twentieth Century: Tribe or Nation", in Lauer and Anyidoho, Reclaiming The Human Sciences and Humanities" Vol. 2, 1116-1142; 1120-1122. Also, ibid., Vol. 1, Chieftaincy, Colonialism and the atrophy of Traditional Governance in Ghana", 683-702;Per Hernaes, "The 'Traditional' and The 'Modern' in West Africa", 643-656.

[315] Scholars on the subject matter use the word national consciousness and nationalism interchangeable. This is as result of the non specific individuals views on the discourses.

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However, in the challenges of ethnicity and nationhood, it is difficult to give a distinctive definition for national consciousness except within a historical context such as this. Thus, Marimba Ani, from an Afrocentric perspective considered the construction of African national consciousness as people's efforts at the cultivation of a sense of self-image and identification, but what Nkrumah considered as a consciousness for one-self.[316] This he noted further is to distinguish peoples of other cultures from other cultures or traditions[317]. This shows that the revival of these African cultural traditions took different approaches within their historical context. These attempts at redefinition and re-awakenings of a new construction of national consciousness in these new African nation-states were to entrench continuity of the people's alliances to the nation-state and to consolidate its power[318]. It is therefore reasonable to rely on a number of descriptions that touch on the Ghanaian experience including the one above.

My argument so far has been that both concepts - nationalism and national consciousness share features that appear more prominently as elements of the same, including the fact that the people in a one state must possess the same language, the same identity in terms of their cultures or traditions which serve as their historical background,

[316] Kwame Nkrumah, Speech Delivered On The Opening If The First Africa Most Conf Reference, The University Of Ghana, December, 12, 1962, The Africanist Papers, University Of Ghana, Balme Library; Samuel Obeng, "Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah", Accra: Afram Publication, 2009, 119-131.

[317] Nkrumah, Primitive Mind, Introduction, 16. See, Nkrumah, "The African Genius" speech in Helen Lauer and Kofi Anyidoho(eds), *Reclaiming The Human Sciences and Humanities Through African Perspectives Vol. 2*, 909-917;910. Also, Nkrumah, "The African Genius": speech delivered at the opening of Institute of African Studies, on 25 October, 1963, Accra, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1963, 1-13. Nkrumah, "African Glorious Past" in Obeng, "Selected Speeches", Vol. 2, No. 16, 127. Also, African Cultural Renaissance": speech delivered at the meeting of the editorial board of Encyclopaedia Africana 24 September, 1964, Accra: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1964, 1-9. See, "A Rich Cultural Heritage": address at the inauguration of "The Osagyefo Players" at the Flagstaff House, on Sunday, 24 January, 1965, 1-2. See also, op.cit., Obeng, Vol.2, 430-431.

[318] Gershon Weiler, "What Is the Philosophy of Nationalism?", *Studies in East European Thought*, Vol. 46, No. 1/2, *Nationalism and Social Science*, June., 1994, pp. 119-128. See, Bernal Herrera, Revisiting Modernity and Colonialism 1500-1700" a paper delivered at a Workshop in Accra on the theme: Africa, Europe and the America's 1500-1700, Seminar Paper 2, Part 2, 12-16 July, 2009. Richard Rathbone, "From Kingdom to Nation" in Odotei and Awedoba, "Chieftaincy in Ghana", 43-54;52-53. Also, Marcheta L. Wright, "Indigenous Peoples and the Modern State 'System'" in Olufemi Vaughan et al tat(eds), *Globalisation and Marginalisation: Essays on the Paradoxes of Global and Local Forces*, Ibadan: Sefer, 2005, 1-45;33. ibid, Charles Small, Creating National Identity and 'Others': Canada and the First Nations", 46-83; 58. Irene Odotei, Chieftaincy Politics in Ghana: Historical Dimensions" in Olufemi Vaughan(ed), Indigenous *Political Structures and Governance in Africa*, Ibadan: Sefer, 2003, 322-345.

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and the memory of the myth of their ancestors[319]. They should be in the same geographical boundaries. These features guarantee a sense of belonging to nationhood.

Karl. W. Deutsch's forceful arguments in *Nationalism and Social Communication* come to support the literature as a ground breaking moment in the construct of nationalism and national consciousness. The work of Deutsch agrees with E. H. Carr's *Nationalism and After*. These two authors, in their addition to the concept of nationalism and the formation of national consciousness supplement the lapses of the above impressionistic historical views. They added to the discussion by showing the evolutionary trends of national consciousness. Deutsch posited that national consciousness takes an intrinsic value and lays the structural foundations of the concept of nationality.[320] Carr, on the other hand, contended that nationalism follows stages of growth.[321]Recognising the validity in their argument, Iweriebor, traced the "Trends and patterns in African Nationalism"[322] to the neglect of specific regions of the continent. He concluded as these scholars, following the periods 1880s to 1920s, 1930s to 1940s, and 1940s to 1960s[323].

In a recent scholarly insight, Zeleza indicated that African Nationalism has gone through four phases[324], but Coleman in a revaluation concluded that the construction of national consciousness in Africa has types of sense of collectivity[325]. This latter view was described in 1965 by John Markakais as a very complex issue. Markakais described

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[319] Emphasis, mine
[320] Karl. W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication,* Cambridge, Mass: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1953, Chapter; 71.
[321] E. H. Carr, in *Nationalism and After,* London: Macmillan Co., 1945, 19.
[322] Ehiedu E. G. Iweriebor, "Trends and patterns in African Nationalism" in Toyin Falola(ed), *The End of Colonial Rule: Nationalism and Decolonisation, Africa Volume 4,* Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2002, 3-27.
[323] Ibid, Iweriebor, "Trends and patterns in African Nationalism," 6-7.
[324] Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "The Historic and Humanistic Agendas of African Nationalism: A Reassessment" in Toyin Falola and Salah M. Hassan(eds), Power and Nationalism in Modern Africa: Essays in Honour of Don Ohadike, Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2008, 37-54, 42.
[325] James Smoot Coleman, edited by Richard L. Sklar, *Nationalism and Development in Africa: Selected Essays,* London: University of Carolina Press, 1994, 121-122.

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national consciousness as from one stage to the next "...the multifarious attempts at transforming a state of mind into a state of being."[326] Thus according to Coleman, Jacob Ajayi considered nationalism as being "In contrast to nineteenth century Europe where the basic aim of nationalism was to fit people who share the same culture and language into a nation-state; the fundamental yearning of African nationalism has been to weld peoples speaking different languages and having different traditional cultures into one nation-state."[327] It is within this meaning Nkrumah conceptualised national consciousness in Ghana. It is articulated in Consciencism as a cultural bridge between the humanistic and social endeavours of the traditional, Islam and Christian religions. It is this mixture that will lead the "African Personality."[328]

According to Kwame Nkrumah, in as much as these indicators are useful, it cannot sustain national consciousness, even if it would bring a nation into being.[329] Instead, there should be a consideration that nations come into being through a consciousness based on the people's common suffering and traditions of generations past which give a sense of identity and belonging, irrespective of the challenges that might emerge in the face of difficulties in their future[330]. In *Class Struggle in Africa*, Nkrumah provided this clue for us to follow:

> The notion that in order to have it is necessary for there to be a common language, a common territory and a common culture, has failed to stand the test of time or the scrutiny of scientific definition of objective reality. Common territory, language and culture may in fact be present in a nation, but the existence of a nation does not necessarily imply the presence of all three. Common territory plus common culture may be the basis. In some cases, only one of the three applies. A State may exist on a multinational basis. The community of economic life is the major feature within a nation, and it is the economy which holds together the people

[326] Ibid, Markakis, "Pan Africanism,325.
[327] Coleman , "Nationalism and Development in Africa", *Ibid*, 121-122.
[328] Ibid,Zeleza, "The Historic and Humanistic Agendas of African Nationalism," 46.
[329] Here I link Gyekye's ideas of traditions being the memory of the ancestors. Kwame Gyekye, "our cultural values and national orientation" in Kwame Gyekye (ed), "*Ghana @ 50 Anniversary Lectures*" Accra: National Planning Committee, 2008, 103-131.
[330] Ibid, Nkrumah, "Mind and Thought in Primitive Society", 21-23.

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> living in the territory. It is on this basis that the new Africans recognise themselves as potentially one nation, whose dominion is the entire African continent[331].

This conceptualisation by Nkrumah makes us to reason that African nationalist movement became engaged in the ideas that African cultural traditions are categories of definition and delimiting. Thus in my opinion, Nkrumah as an African intellectual attempted the reconstruction of African cultural traditions not as a "progressional, evolutionary inevitability, but as a multidirectional network of ruptured continuities in which cause may be effect, and end in a complex supratemporal artefact." This was with a view that the "present derives its force from the unpastness of the past."[332] Thus, Nkrumah held the position that African national consciousness and its relevance is a duty of its leaders to be explained "patiently, continuously and persistently to the outside world"[333]. This is because national consciousnesses within its cultural values are acquired as intrinsic values. It cannot be taught but must be learned. For, national consciousness as cultural value is the capacity for understanding oneself. The same assertion led David Whisnant in his studies to arrive at the notion that nationalism and culture are self-conscious heritage collection and revival efforts, where culture is an aspect[334].

Like most observers, Paul. T. Zeleza wrote on national consciousness that appealed to tradition and the African past. In another instance, Zeleza offered this comment as part of the reasons for the wind of change during the nationalist movement, that it was to celebrate indigenous cultures, and to offer them as a complement or competitor to foreign ones. He continued that culture was to challenge racism, to invent Africans with

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[331] Kwame Nkrumah, *Class Struggle in Africa*, New York: International Publishers, 1970,88.
[332] Ibid, Niyi Osundare "African Literature and The Crisis in Post- Structuralist Theorising", in Lauer and Anyidiho, "Reclaiming The Human Sciences and Humanities, Vol. 2," 941-954;942.
[333] Obeng, "Selected Speeches", Vol. 1, No. 24, 1997, 125.
[334] David Whisnant, *All That is Native and Fine: Politics of Culture in an American Region*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983.

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dignity, and to indigenise the syllabi in various academic disciplines.[335] This assertion was in particular carried out by intellectuals like Casley-Hayford. Its effects were expressed in the works of Fanon, Nkrumah and Dubois as well as others. By and large, these arguments resonate with some academic schools of thought such as the Ibadan school of History;[336] their works were not thresholds for the maintenance of African cultural traditional discourses. According to Falola, they are the things that fell apart.[337]The hidden hand that was actually promoting the study of Africa from cultural perspectives was the African Society, founded in 1901 in aid of the intellectual work of Mary Kingsley. This society was secretly financed by two Africanist scholars-Mr. R. B. Blaize and Dr. E. W. Blyden.[338] Thus, it appears to reason that European secret societies preserved these systems of thought and thereby passed it on to African intellectuals. For, Mark Sedgwick alludes to this in his works.[339] Could this be the reasons for him, been the champion of these thought? We need not explore this argument.

This is also reminiscent of the postcolonial schools of thought in recent intellectual discourses on African cultural traditions, championed by Terence Ranger and Eric Hobsbawm who clarified the 'tradition of invention'; and followed by another group of scholars who expanded the latter's arguments as the extension of Foucault and

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[335] Ibid,Zeleza, "Barack Obama", 159. For details See,ibid, Falola, *Nationalism and African Intellectuals*, 227.

[336] Ibid, Falola, *Nationalism and African Intellectuals*, 228.

[337]ibid, Falola, *Nationalism and African Intellectuals*, 181-292. See, Paul E. Lovejoy, "Nigeria: The Ibadan School and Its Critics," in Bogumil Jewsiewicki and David Newbury(eds), African Historiographies: What History for Which Africa?, London: Sage Publication, Vol. 12, 1986, 197-214.

[338] Craig Watterson, "The Development of African History As A Discipline In The English-Speaking Worlds: A Study of Academy Infrastructure", M. A, Victoria University of Wellington, 2008, 32.

[339] Mark Sedgwick, *Against The Modern World: Traditionalism and The Secret Intellectual History of The Twentieth Century*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, IV-XIII. The entire book is worth searching and reading on the subject.

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Gramasci's thought on discourses of power and hegemony. Largely, these views constituted the post-structuralism.[340]

By this, Africans depended on Europeans for scholarly insights[341]. This is marginalisation. In this marginalised form Europe still dominates all affairs of life in the age-old struggle for emancipations. In this case of "intellectual colonialism,"[342] Zeleza argued that European nations served as "intellectual capital, institutional power, knowledge production, political networks, and even moral supremacy between them and other nations.[343] Zeleza's opinion, which came from Steven Wards in 1995, called this

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[340] For details see, Jeremy Carrette, "Post-structuralism and the Study of Religion" in John Hinnells(ed), *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*, New York: Routledge, 2010, 276-290. ibid, Richard King, "Orientalism and the Study of Religions", 291-305;293. For details of the works by these scholars: see, Terence Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa," in Roy Richard Grinker, and Christopher B. Steiner(eds), *Perspectives on Africa: A Reader in Culture, History, and Representation*, Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1997, 597-612. See, Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition Revisited: The Case of Colonial Africa," in T. Ranger, and O. Vaughan(eds), *Legitimacy and The State in Invention- Century Africa: Eassays in Honour of A. H. Kirk Greeno*, Oxford: Macmillian, 2005, 62-111. Also, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, The Invention of Tradition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. Also, Louise Muller, *Religion and Chieftaincy in Ghana: An Explanation of The Persistence of A Traditional Political Instititution in West Africa*, Berlin: Lit Verlag Dr. W. Hopf, 2013, 52. For the works of Foucault, see Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983. Also, Michel Foucault, Edited by Arnold I. Davidson, *The Hermeneutics of The Subject*, Lectures At The College De France, 1981-1982, New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2005. For Antonio Gramsci, see Quintin Hoare, *Antonio Gramsci, Selections From Political* Writings 1910-1920, London: Lawrence and Wishat, 1988. See also, Raymond Geuss and Quentin Skinner(eds), Cambridge *Texts In The History of Political Thought: Antonio Gramsci Pre-Prison Writings*, undated for publication. See also, Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, *Selections From The Prison Notes*, New York: International Publishers, 1992. See also, Peter Thomas, "The Gramscian Moment", 42-44. This is a Ph.D Dissertation, however, indicates no date and place of publication. See also, Raymond G. Jenkins, Gold Coast Historians and Their Pursuit of The Gold Coast Past: 1882-1917, " Ph.D Dissertation, The University of Birmingham, 1985, 25-32. D. K. Baku followed Jenkins work.

[341]Ibid, Coetzee, "Later Marxist Morality: Its Relevance for Africa's Post-colonial Situation", in Coetzee and Roux (eds), *The African Philosophy Reader*, 551.

[342] Ibid,Edward H. Berman, "The Foundations' Role in American Foreign Policy: The Case of Africa, post 1945" in Arnove, Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism", 212.

[343] Ibid, Paul T. Zeleza, "Historicising the Posts: The View from African Studies" in Magubane(ed), Postmodernism, Postcolonality, and African Studies, 4. See Zeleza, Introduction: The Internationalisation of African Knowledge" in Zeleza(ed), The Study of Africa Vol. 2, 1-2. For details see, Ania Loomba et al tal(eds), *Postcolonial Studies and Beyond*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2005; Sarah Harasym(ed), *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*, New York: Routledge, 1990; Bill Ashcroft(ed), *The Post-Colonial Reader*, New York: Routledge, 1995; Gurminder Bhambra, *Postcolonial Europe: Or, Understanding Europe in Times of the Postcolonial* in Chris Rumford(ed), London: Sage, *Handbook of European Studies*, 2007; Gurminder Bhambra, *Rethinking Modernity: Postcolonialism and Sociological Imagination*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007; Ernst Breisach, On the Future of History : *The Postmodernist Challenge and its Aftermath*, Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2003. Also, David Scott, "Criticism after Postcoloniality" in Sherry B. Ortner et al tal, (eds) *Refashioning Futures*, Princeton University Press, 1999, Introduction, 1-20; Avram Taylor and Donald M. MacRaild, *Social Theory and Social History*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, 118- 128. Elleke Boehmer, *Empire, the*

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the literary and scientific fields which divide academia and other fields.[344] Essentially, however, these sciences are controlling tools of the west. These scholarly insights therefore intended to construct Africa national consciousness from an artificial means, thus Osundare argued that these concepts "seduce us into a false consciousness."[345] However, we can agree with Achebe, that full communion with a person's ancestral home from a foreign destination cannot alter the original state of mind. It is to be contented that these scholarships have "reached an impasse, trapped within its own meta-narratives and unable to capture" the diversity of an African cultural tradition "in any relevant and constructive manner."[346]

On these scores the consciousness of the Africans from European concepts was re-created to suit the African cultural milieu. To Nkrumah religion is that part of the African cultural traditions that enable them to relate to the divine and other supernatural beings as programmed in their belief systems.[347] In other words, Nkrumah tended to point to the fact that religious and cultural consciousness is the world view for the construction of African national consciousness. This argument Nkrumah sustained in his articles including "Primitive Education in West Africa," his doctoral work entitled "Primitive Mind", "Education and Nationalism", and other speeches of his.

This brings to light the historical context within which Ghanaian nationalism began. It is also to sustain our argument from the beginning of this thesis that according to Zimmern national consciousness consists of "a form of corporate sentiment of peculiar intensity, intimacy, and dignity related to a definite home country" or "a state of

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National and the post colonial 1890-1920: Resistance in Interaction, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. See, Ilan Kapoor, *The Postcolonial Politics of Development*, London: Routledge, 2008, 6-18.

[344] Ibid., Paul T. Zeleza, "Historicising the Posts: The View from African Studies" in Magubane(ed), Postmodernism, Postcolonality, and African Studies, 4.

[345]Ibid, Niyi Osundare, African Literature and the Crisis in Post-Structuralist Theorising" in Lauer and Anyidoho, "Reclaiming The Human Sciences and Humanities", 941.

[346] Rita Abrahamsen, *Development Discourse and Good Governance in Africa*, London: Zed Books, 2008, Introduction, 9.

[347] Ibid, Nkrumah, "Primitive Mind", 181.

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mind."[348] As a result they possess a common ancestry or shared cultural traditions of common ancestry or shared culture tradition of origin[349]. These, very often, are the shared historical memories of the past which contribute to the understanding of the present that differs from one nation to the other. Indeed, as a rule they use these as a vehicle of their thoughts and feelings, and cherish a common will and accordingly form, or tend to form, a separate state for the expression of that will.[350] This is manifested in "a consciousness of belonging to a nation or nationality, and with a desire as manifest in sentiment and activity, to secure and maintain its welfare, prosperity and integrity.' Thus Adu Boahen commented in his *Topics in West History* that the consciousness of the African people in the nationalist period, aside from economic, social and other related factors was to revive the cultural traditions.[351]

In my view, national consciousness should be regarded as the demonstration of one's love, devotion, and attention in the exercising of one's mind and conscience toward achieving good in nation building. This should be done in these senses: first, that it is an act of *reciprocity f*or the nation's feeding, clothing, educating, housing and provision of any other basic necessities of life to the citizens. Second, national consciousness should consist of one's *duty* in the sense of paying allegiance to one's birth place for the protection of the nation in any way possible; for if territories are lost, they will inevitably result in the loss of the habitat to dwell in safely. Third, all other opportunities in this life – in terms of jobs, marriage, the carrying out of religious activities and others are carried within the boundaries of the nation-state. These opportunities can be forfeited when there is no harmony and peace within the nation.

[348] J.C. Johari, *Principles of Modern Political Science*, New-Delhi, 2005, 608
[349] Ibid, 608-10.
[350]. Ibid, 610.
[351] Adu Boahen, *Topics in West History*, Essex: Longman, 1989, 147.

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In view of this, national consciousness should be regarded as one's duty to their birth place, and in the process of naturalization. In short, national consciousness is what Kwame Nkrumah thought should be done to one's nation and the payment, in terms *of paying allegiance*, duty and responding to the kindness of the peace and harmony in one's country. It should be done with the engagement of their minds and conscience.

In view of the above assertions, there exists much historical parallelism between the two concepts. Consciousness and nationalism are states of a person's mind. Obviously, a critical thinker could argue that they are often used interchangeably, occasionally to imply the same thing.

Conclusion

In this chapter we examined the concept of national consciousness. However, the concepts are parallel to the term nationalism in the academic discourse. Academic recognition to national consciousness began with the European group of ethnic 'Celtic.' This does not rule out ethno-nationalism in Ghana.

Colonisation resulted in transferring European concepts of nationalism into the colonies. This resulted in the reconfiguration of African traditions and culture during colonial and postcolonial periods. African traditions were considered opposed to Christianity. Since religion is culture and the vice-versa, some African intellectuals regarded this as attacks on their core values. The birth of African national consciousness is rooted in their responses to challenge this perceived wisdom, master narratives of western intellectual encounters on the African people. Thus, national consciousness consists of individuals devoting their lives in various ways and means to keep their nation peaceful and safe from foreign domination. Therefore, national consciousness is the blood and suffering shared from past histories of past generations.

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CHAPTER FIVE

HOW KWAME NKRUMAH RELATED AFRICAN CULTURAL TRADITIONS TO NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Introduction

In the words "The burden of my life is to live in such a way that I may become a living symbol of all that is best in Christianity and in the laws, customs and beliefs of my people"[352], we have a brief idea of how Nkrumah perceived African cultural tradition in relationship to Christianity and other religions of the world. This chapter will explore how Nkrumah related African cultural traditions to Ghanaian national consciousness and other cultures such as Christianity, which in theory he wanted to merge with Islam and African cultural traditions for the construction of Ghanaian national consciousness. The chapter examines how Nkrumah related African cultural traditions to national consciousness.

In an attempt to relate African cultural tradition to national consciousness, Kwame Nkrumah's approaches were both practical and theoretical from 1944 to 1966. The beginnings of Nkrumah's ideological experiments date from the 1930s. It all begun after his training as a teacher in 1925, and gaining a post at the Roman Catholic Junior School at Elmina in 1931.[353] He was later transferred to the Roman Catholic Seminary in 1934[354]. But upon obtaining a teacher's certificate he conceived the idea of not only writing the histories of his African peoples, but to determine the extent to which the evolution of their cultures and traditions informed the building and construction of their societies. Thus, in 1938 Nkrumah asked:

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[352] Nkrumah, a letter to Dr. Johnson, PRAAD/SC21/65.

[353] Kwame Nkrumah, A draft autobiography of Francis N. Nkrumah, PRAAD, SC21/1/119, undated. The following paragraph from it sums it up, "Every preparation that I am making here is for the interest of Africa. I have always dreamed of a United States of West Africa. This may seem Utopian and impossible, nevertheless it has been my dream."

[354] Nkrumah, A draft autobiography of Francis N. Nkrumah, PRAAD, SC21/1/119.

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> Who are the makers of history but those individuals who caught the torch of inspiration, lit by the fire of the achievement of the makers of their past history? A country or race without knowledge of its past is tantamount to a ship without a pilot.[355]

Having lit up this flame, Nkrumah was determined in "his efforts to construct a rival system and mentioned his plans and schemes regarding the future of Africa"[356]. In these schemes Nkrumah noted that the flag of West African nationalism must be "unfurled, now or never"[357]. However, Nkrumah's intellectual activities were not restricted to the west of Africa, since he was "one who is greatly concerned about the entire African situation."[358]

From the earliest parts of his intellectual career, Nkrumah sought to reconstruct a "Philosophical Consciousness in Africa". His most significant works are as follows: "Philosophy and Nationalism in Africa," "Philosophical Consciousness in Africa[359]," "Education and Nationalism in Africa"[360], "Primitive Education in West Africa"[361], "An Essay on Patriotism"[362], and his rejected doctoral thesis "Mind and Thought in Primitive Society- A Study in Ethno-philosophy With Special Reference to The Akan People of The Gold Coast in West Africa[363]." In these works Nkrumah debated and attempted to reconstruct the values of African cultural traditions and their essence for the realisation of a philosophical consciousness in Africa. He unearthed and synthesised these views as

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[355] Francis N. Nkrumah, "Negro History," *Lincolnian* 5, No. 2, January, 1938.
[356] Kwame Nkrumah, see copy of a letter drafted and addressed to Dr. Raph Bunch, Washington, informing him of his intention to spend one-weekend with him to discuss fully their plans and schemes regarding the future of Africa. PRAAD, SC21/1/42, 12 March, 1942.
[357] Kwame Nkrumah, see copy of a letter drafted and addressed to Dr. Raph Bunch, Washington, informing him of his intention to spend one-weekend with him to discuss fully their plans and schemes regarding the future of Africa. PRAAD, SC21/1/42, 12 March, 1942.
[358] See copy of a letter of introduction from Mr. Frank J. Wilson, Dean of Men, Lincoln University to Dr. Max Yergan of New York, who describes him this way. PRAAD, SC21/1/36, 23 November, 1937.
[359] Francis N. Nkrumah, *Educational Outlook*, Vol. 1, No.19, December, 1943, 41-60.
[360] Francis N. Nkrumah, PRAAD SC 21/4/5. See, PRAAD SC 21/4/6 also, it pamphlet published at the School of Education in Pennsylvania, November, 1943.
[361] Francis N. Nkrumah, PRAAD SC 21/1/11, 6 February, 1941. This article was first published by the *Educational Outlook*, in January, 1941 and debated in November by the Lincoln University Philosophy Club. See also PRAAD SC 21/2/45.
[362] Francis N. Nkrumah, PRAAD SC 21/1/98, Undated.
[363] Francis N. Nkrumah, PRAAD SC 21/1/98.

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a unified system of thought in the various "customs, cultures and traditions" of the Akans and other African peoples.

His emphasis here was that these cultures could promote intertribal and interracial understanding and confidence - the building of international mind, spiritual unity and true cooperation in the socio-historical situation and cultural milieu in Africa.[364] For the purpose of this research six broad phases may be discerned: 1930s, 1944-1950, 1950-1952, 1952-1957, 1957-1961 and 1961-1966. The first phase is found above, the rest are examined in turn.

1944 – 1950

Following the discussions in the historical framework, in the 1940s Nkrumah demonstrated in his intellectual works the relevance of African cultural traditions and the awakening and reconstruction of national consciousness. I argue that this was to raise the awareness for solidarity among Africans and serve as a source of unification. To me, these stages are Nkrumah's awakening and construction of a survival and relational consciousness. It was constructed simultaneously through various degrees of ideas in two articles entitled, "Primitive Education in West Africa"[365] and "Education and Nationalism in Africa"[366] Nkrumah's assertion in the first article related the issues of education as a life event.[367]. It was an event in which individuals were bound to their societies.[368]The British colonial educational system in West Africa had failed to meet the

[364] Francis N. Nkrumah, PRAAD SC 21/1/98

[365] Kwame Nkrumah, "Primitive Education in West Africa", this article was first published in January 1941 in the "Educational Outlook" of the University of Pennsylvania. PRAAD, SC 21/2 145, November, 1941; See Letter to Dr. Jones forwarding a copy of this article in the "Educational look", PRAAD, SC 21/3/11, February, 6, 1941; Letter from Phelps stokes fund, PRAAD, SC 21/3/16; 14 February, 1941.

[366] PRAAD, SC 21/4/5, February, 1943

[367] Francis N. Nkrumah, "Primitive Education in West Africa", *Educational Outlook*, Vol. 15, No. 2, January, 1941, 87-92; 87. The article forms a foundation to his Ph.D. Thesis, "Mind and Thought in Primitive Society". He woved these same ideas into the subtitles of the thesis as "the philosophy of Akan Education", Sc 21/10/1, 168-171.

[368] Kwame Nkrumah, "Primitive Education in West Africa", Ibid, 87-90, "Education and Nationalism in Africa", *Educational Outlook*, Vol. 18, No. 1, November, 1943; 32-40; 32-33; "Mind and Thought in

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needs of African societies since individuals no longer played major roles in their societies[369]. It was a trusteeship apparatus, which separated societies and individuals.

The British educational system had nothing to do with the African societies[370]. In relating this to the second article, Nkrumah saw education as a prerequisite for national consciousness[371]. Nkrumah established the argument that the construct of national consciousness was an individual decision, yet it should be regarded as a demand[372] from the nation or society in which one was born. Thus national consciousness according to Nkrumah was for individuals to identify their roles in the societies and fulfil them[373]. These articles led to a third one, "Educational trends and potentialities in West Africa."[374]

To give meaning and effect to these arguments, Nkrumah's evaluation was demonstrated in the 1948 riots when what is referred to as "The Mfantsipim Consciousness"[375] was born. The need for the study of African cultural traditions in the educational curriculum pioneered by past generations of Ghanaian intellectuals was reinforced by students. Students sang patriotic songs such as "Amansum Twerempon" and "Omani yi se obeye yei".[376] These students were from several ethnic backgrounds, demonstrating their passion to redeem not only their cultures and traditions from the colonial invasion, but to reclaim their nation, in employing *Asafo* songs into their

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Primitive Society", SC 21/10/1, 169-170; see S.K. Odamtten, "Indigenous and Western Educational Systems in Ghana", Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1996, 7.

[369]Nkrumah, *Ibid* 35-38.

[370]*Ibid* , 34-38.

[371]*Ibid* , 37-38.

[372] *Ibid,* 87-89.

[373] *Ibid* , 89-92.

[374] Nkrumah, in 13th Annual Schoolmen's Week Proceeding, March24-27,1943, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1943, 83-92.

[375]Nana Kobina Nketia V, *African Culture in Governance and Development: The Ghana Paradigm*, Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 2013, 685.

[376] Jeremy Pool, "Now is The Time of Youth: Youth, Nationalism and Cultural Change in Ghana, 1940-1966", School of Emory University, 2009, 122-123.

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activities[377]. Thus, Nana Kobina Nketia V observed that these historical antecedents were conscious efforts to promote a positive vision of self and the indigenous society. It was a consciousness of developing principles of indigenous social action and institutional change based upon a faithful vision of the African personality and what the African could be.[378]

In *Towards Colonial Freedom* Nkrumah argued that all colonial subjects should unite, that a united front was required and this should be done under the African cultural traditions. In his view, despite language and other factors,[379] it was possible to attain this, since it has been achieved in Russia and the United States of America.[380] His *Autobiography* equally advocated for African cultural tradition to be the basis for the awakening and construction of Ghanaian national consciousness.[381] Nkrumah related in this book that all Africans were one and distinction cannot be created amongst them[382] with regard to creed, or religion and ethnicity.[383]

Nkrumah related in his *Autobiography* that African cultural traditions and national consciousness are indispensable for the construction of a survival and relational consciousness.[384] First, Nkrumah in approaching this stage adopted the method that could best relate to the emotions of people and that was to be rhetorical in his strategies – with a flag designed for the illustrating of the commonality of the blood shared by

[377]Ibid, Pool, "Now is The Time of Youth", 123.
[378] Ibid, Nana Kobina Nketia V, "African Culture in Governance and Development," 685.
[379] Nkrumah, *Towards Colonial Freedom, Ibid*, 33; Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, London: Panaf Books, 1998, 132.
[380] *Ibid*, 33.
[381] Ibid, Nkrumah, *Autobiography*, 131-132; His views had not change on this particular subjects throughout his lifetime. See, "Draft Autobiography of Francis N. Nkrumah", PRAAD, SC 21/1/119, undated.
[382] Ibid, 185, 260; 266.
[383] Ibid,109
[384] Ibid, 91-92; ". See, Mind and Thought in Primitive Society", ibid, 211.

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Ghanaian ancestors,[385] Nkrumah's demands for "Freedom" from the villages to the cities was shouted on every street and corner of the Gold Coast.[386]

It resulted in the rejection of British attitudes and colonial enslavement by the Gold Coast people.[387] The red in the national flag symbolise the people's sense of patriotism. Aside this, Nkrumah had indicated in his doctoral work in 1944 that fetishism is a form of revering God.[388] With this knowledge, on 26 November, 1942, the belief in the affirmations of the cults of the ancestors was confirmed and the people accepted that they were guided and led by the cults of the ancestors. This confirmed Emanuel Swedenborg's allusions to the fact that the human being is guided not only by the angelic beings people draw into their lives, but by the good human spirits instructed by God to watch over the human being.[389] Could this be the reason why Nkrumah said he did not want to be a blind Christian but rather that he may become a living symbol of all that is best in Christianity and in the laws, customs and beliefs of his people?

To Nkrumah, it was to become the best in these values that made him pour libation with the necessary rites that accompany the dead, on 26th November, 1942 at Salisbury, North Carolina at the burial site of Dr. Aggrey.[390] Thus, Nana Kobina Nketia V observed that the symbol and ritualistic "return" of individuals to their place of origin is to keep the consciousness of individuals to their roots and heritage."[391] Nana Nketia emphasised that one should never forget their origin, history and heritage. It is a return to the source. The spirit of these periods was drawn upon for the awakening of national consciousness.

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[385] Kwame Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, cited in Okany, "Osagyefo", 558-9; 563 – 566; 804 -5; 825 – 834. These later arguments are Kwesi Armah's in his book; *Ghana: Nkrumah's Legacy*. Ibid, 825 – 834.
[386] David Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah; The Father of African Nationalism*, Athens; Ohio University Press, 1990, 24-5.
[387] Nkrumah perceived colonialism as a form of bondage and enslavement according to Mrs. Rebecca Yankah, Interview by author, 2nd April, 2010. She used to be a Member of the Young Farmers Association, taped.
[388] Nkrumah knew the reference of religion and employed to his political advantage; Nkrumah, "primitive Mind."
[389] See, Emanuel Swedenborg, *Arcana Caelestia*, Vol. No. 784.
[390] PRAAD/SC21/1/106; SC21/5/1 in *The African Interpreter*.
[391] Ibid, Nketia V, "African Culture In Governance and Development", 2013,339.

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For "no one can successfully oppress a historically conscious people", said John Henrik Clarke[392]. In addition, Ako Adjei who was a member of the student team that went for the ceremony said:

> It is a fundamental common belief in African culture that when a human being dies and is buried, it is his body that is buried and subsequently disintegrates. The Soul of the person never dies... It is in constant touch and communication with relatives and friends who are left behind on this earth plane of manifestation. It is believed by Africans that in a case in which the person died in a foreign country far away from his fatherland or land of his ancestors, the Soul of the dead person continues to hover around the graveside or the area where he was buried, with burning desire that his Ancestors would one day come to take his Soul from the foreign country where he died back to the land of his birth to rest with his fathers[393].

It is remarkable that Nkrumah called on all groups of people to observe such a practice that would not only rekindle the ideas of national consciousness, but sustain the sense of self-esteem in awakening the Ghanaian to their traditional practices. This demonstrates Nkrumah's sense of African cultural traditions which is the rich experiences of past generations, and thus, the image of the philosophical consciousness of the African person begins to take shape. It is a dynamic, creative spirit that is full of emotional and intellectual ability that is truly African.

Nkrumah sanctioned the pouring of libation in honour of Aggrey as an African. Indeed, Nkrumah performed traditional sacred prayers in the Fante language three times in succession and then poured libation before the Christian prayers. He continued the ritual by asking Aggrey's spirit to depart from a foreign land and to join his ancestors in Africa.[394]Amidst opposition, Nkrumah defended his views[395]. This occurred prior to his

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[392] John Henrik Clarke, "African People on my Mind" in Asa Hilliard III, Lecretia Payton-Stewart and Larry Obadele Williams(eds), *Infusion of African and African American Content in the School Curriculum: Proceedings of the First National Conference*, 1989, Washington: Aarson Press, 1990, 53.
[393] Ako Adjei, *The African Dream*, Accra: Apra Service, 2002, 47-48. This memoir is yet to be published.
[394] PRAAD SC/21/51/1.
[395] A view of Robert Addo-Fennings, who happened to be present on the very day Kwame Nkrumah, was released from prison at James Fort Prisons, 1950. He said this at a Departmental Seminar, Department of History, University of Ghana, 2010.

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departure to the Gold Coast in 1948. To be explicit on this assertion, Nkrumah pointed out that for effective internal and external cohesion, categorised in his analogy generally as "social cohesion", there should be both statutory and non-statutory approaches[396]. To him, both sources are important to achieve cohesion and must be applied in all realms of the nation-state. Thus Nkrumah subscribed to "Positive Action" in 1949, a view he held since the earliest part of 1930s. Through this medium Nkrumah would communicate national consciousness which is characteristically and uniquely African. It would become a marching order to Ghanaian reaction against colonialism and imperialism. More so, while this stage was just a conceived idea, Nkrumah attempted to build a movement with it.

But the greatest adversaries against these internal cohesions were certain enemies of the newly emergent nation state.[397]. Also, there was intelligence surveillance on Nkrumah.[398] A third, in this matter was that some Ghanaians were informants of the colonial administration[399]. But Nkrumah never gave up. Nkrumah, in his reflections on the reconstruction of Ghanaian sense of nationality after his overthrow, attributed this to class tension and struggles.

1950-1952

From 1951 to1952, when he became Leader of Government Business, Nkrumah encouraged the pouring of libation and considered it as a flourishing practice of African cultural traditions. He enforced the traditional belief that ancestors offered help and guidance to the living in African societies. He therefore sought the approval of the

[396] Ibid, Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, 68.
[397] Richard J. J. Yidana, "Controlling Narratives, Controlling Histories: Political Discourses of Anticolonial Nationalism", Ph.D Dissertation, Binghamton, University, State University of New York, 2006, 77-78.
[398] Marika Sherwood, "Pan-African Conferences,1900-1953: What Did Pan-Africanism' Mean?'' *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 1, January, 2012, 106-126; 115-120.
[399] *ibid*, Yidana, "Controlling Narratives, Controlling Histories", 101-106;162.

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ancestors in all that he did and believed that all would augur well for him as a leader and for the people as well. By so doing, Nkrumah sought to place spiritual seal on his activities for seeking a political kingdom. It had gone down in legend that Nkrumah made the Subri River to "swell" by pouring libation at its banks anytime it was brought to his attention that it had dried up.[400]

Nkrumah's argument focused on the collective memories and collective consciousness that guided Africans in the pre-colonial era. The spirit of these periods was being drawn upon for the awakening of national consciousness. It is remarkable that Nkrumah called on all groups of people to observe such practices that would not only rekindle the ideas of African cultural traditions, but sustain the sense of self-esteem and transformational national consciousness in awakening the Ghanaian to their traditional practices.

1952-1957

Nkrumah, although a focal point for the mobilisation of the people for independence, on 5th March, 1952 when he returned from James Fort prison, the Gold Coast was fragmented into various ethnic fronts prior to elections that gave him the position of a Prime Minister. The people lacked an internal cohesion. Nkrumah's intellectual reconstruction of Ghanaian national consciousness as it unfolded "in action and programmatic details, had to contend with many fundamental challengers, not only from hostile external and internal forces, but also from its own internal contradictions."[401] For the sake of internal cohesion and national consciousness among

[400] An African Traditional Religion belief affirms these assertions. See, Kofi Yeboah Tuafo, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Man Who Took The First Piece of Britain's Africa Empire. 1,* Accra: Elaine Books, 2010, 304.

[401] Kofi Anyidoho, "Beyond His Place, Beyond His Time: Kwame Nkrumah's Heritage in The New Millennium" Kwame Nkrumah Chair in Africa Studies, Inaugural Lecture, Accra: Africa Studies, University of Ghana, 2011, 1, Abstract.

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the people, Nkrumah redefined the political campaign with African cultural traditions. He and his administration, the CPP introduced African drumming and dancing, motifs, symbols, and the pouring of libation alongside Christian and Moslem Prayers at the campaigns. This involved people from different parts of the Gold Coast. There were also musicians who sung in the local dialects of the people.

Occasionally, libations-pouring was done in honour of the deities and ancestors to welcome Nkrumah upon arrival at durbars.[402] After such rites and after he was introduced, he would speak for few minutes. This ritual was followed by a traditional linguist whom Nkrumah had employed as a spokesperson.[403] It was to inculcate self-esteem in the people of the Gold Coast and to prepare their mind for transformation consciousness that the *Okyeame* was chosen for occasions. It was not only to offer a poetic praise in Nkrumah's honour;[404] but to raise the thoughts of the people to have a transformed self-consciousness. Indeed, with this position, Nkrumah's "positive action" programme was put in context to revive the sense of survival and relationship consciousness in every region he went. The traditional chiefs, who received him on behalf of their ancestors and people, honoured him by slaughtering animals such as sheep for sacrifices[405], since he represented them at the political front. An instance was when the *Okyenhene* poured libation and followed it with the killing of a sheep when Nkrumah returned from London.[406] At the arrival of the Duchess of Kent for the anniversary ceremony of 6th March, 1957, Nkrumah ordered the pouring of libation to

[402] Dogli, interview by author, 4th February, 2012. Tema, Community 6.
[403] *Evening news*, 4th February, 1960; *Evening News* , 21st March 1960; *Evening News* 29th March, 1960, *Evening News*, 7th March, 1960; Mary E. Montgomery, "The Eyes of the World were watching: Ghana, Great Britain, and the United States, 1957 – 1966, University of Maryland, College Park, Department of History, unpublished PhD. Thesis, 2004, 86 – 87; K.A. Dickson, "Religion and Society; A Study in Church and state Relations in the First Republic", in Kwame Arhin, "The Life and Work", 135 – 151; 146 – 7.
[404] Rev. Godwin Dogli, interview by author, 4th February, 2012. Tema Community 6.
[405] Kwame Arhin, "The Search for "Constitutional Chieftaincy", in Arhin, the Life and Work", 27-54, 45.
[406] Arhin, "The search", *Ibid*, 45; Yankah, "Free Speech in Traditional Society", *Ibid*, 1011.

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depict the traditional ways of the Ghanaian and to emphasis their Africaness.[407] However, the Presbyterian synod earlier in 1942 in Abetifi objected to these rites saying that this African national life has been an old path from which the Africans have turned to Christ.[408]

There was in addition, praise songs that created the atmosphere for Nkrumah's speeches to be communicated. Some have contended that Nkrumah preyed on the emotions of the audiences with such activities[409]. However, these were a religious atmosphere in which the people revered the leader as a "sent one", through whose efforts deliverance was about to come.[410]

The Osu Mantse, Nii Noi Dowuona IV poured libation in 1958 prior to the independent African unions.[411] In a similar context when Nkrumah went to Nigeria the following year, libation was poured on his arrival by Nii Noi Wolomo, the chief traditional priest of Accra.[412]

To bless Nkrumah on 27th July, 1958 the *Fiaga* of Tefle, Togbe Tetteh Dugbaza IV, poured libation in honour of the deities and honoured them for the leadership qualities of Kwame Nkrumah.[413] Seen in this light, these events after the declaration of positive action bore a passing resemblance to the patterns of construction of a relationship and survival of Ghanaian national consciousness. In order to affirm the breakaway region of Brong Ahafo from the hegemony of the *Asantehene*, Nkrumah's presence at the Brong-Ahafo National House of Chiefs in 1959 was graced by

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[407] D.E.K. Baku, "Contesting and Appropriating the Local Terrain; Chieftaincy and national Politics in Wenchi, Ghana" in Irene K. Odotei and Albert K. Awedoba, *Chieftaincy in Ghana; Culture, Governance and Development*, Accra; Sub-Saharan publishers, 2006, 449 – 492; 460-1.

[408] John S. Pobee, *Kwame Nkrumah and the Church in Ghana 1949-1966*, Accra: Asempa Publishers,1988,120-1.

[409] Barhara S. Monfils, "A Multifacets Image: Kwame Nkrumah's Extrinsic Rhetorical Strategies", *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 1977, 313-330; 317.

[410] Ibid, Nkrumah, Autobiography, 166.

[411] *Evening News*, June 30, 1958, 5.

[412] *Daily Graphic*, February, 7, 1959, 16

[413] *Evening News*, July 28, 1958, 3

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Akuamoah Baoteng II, who welcomed Nkrumah by offering libation and slaughtering a sheep at the occasion,[414] and, it has been scholarly spelt out that such an event indicated Nkrumah's cleansing as a "new" leader for his duties[415]. Despite the spiritual significance of these acts, Nkrumah's standpoint was for national unity.[416] This was highlighted in a 17th December, 1955 report by Arden-Clarke. He stated that fragmentation of existing States is mistaken: on the contrary the tendency has been towards greater consolidation. Arden-Clarke emphasised that the Gold Coast with its many regions could become a prosperous nation among the community of nations in the world held together.[417]And Nkrumah, in 1955 was more emphatic about this sense of national unity and integration in his speech to CPP Party members.

By these activities, Nkrumah embodied the difficulties and spiritual state in which the people found themselves. He equally identified himself as the one whom the ancestors and the deities approved of.[418] This was demonstrated at the commencement of a rally when a traditional priest poured libation to the gods and ancestors[419]. Indeed, Reverend S. Gyasi-Nimako, a minister affirmed Nkrumah's activities by noting that they were to bring prosperity to the individual, the family or the nation, and harm to the enemies.[420] These events preceded Christian events accompanied by the songs of Ceil Spring-Rice sung as:" I vow to thee, my country, and all earthly things above" and John

[414] *Evening News*, June 30, 1958, 5.
[415] Ibid, Monfils, "A Multifaceted Image", 316.
[416] F. K. Drah, "*The Brong Political Movement" in Kwame Arhin(ed), A Profile of Brong Kyempim: Essays on the Archaeology, History, Language and Politics of the Brong Peoples of Ghana*, Accra: Afram Publications Ltd, 1979,119-169, 148.
[417] See, George Agyekum, *Asante and Brong Ahafo Regions' Chieftaincy Affairs :" Underlying Causes Diagnosed"* Accra: Justice Trust Publications, 2008, 461-2.
[418] *Evening News*, January 23, 1960, 1; June 19, 1959, 1, 7,8; February, 22, 1960, 2-3; ibid, Monfils, "Multifaceted Image", 319.
[419] Richard Wright's Book, *White Man, Listen! Pointed Out That The 'Secret Circle", Which Nkrumah Belong to Sworn Fetish to their Ancestors To Plan A Socialist State, Cited In Curtis C. Smith "Nkrumaism As Utopianism", Utopian Studies, No. 3, 1991, 31-36; 35. Nkrumah Was Fulfilling This Mandate.*
[420] *Daily Graphic*, July 31, 1957, 5.

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Henry Newman's hymn: "Lead, Kingly Light" as well as party hymns. The ceremonies were crowned with the song, "There is victory for us."[421]

Self-esteem and transformation consciousness were quite a challenge. This phase witnessed Nkrumah's attempt of detribalising ethnic sentiments among Ghanaians as he pointed out in a speech later on 23rd May, 1964, that "...we in Ghana do not even give legal recognition to the existence of tribes or a group of tribal people."[422] However, this stage was challenged with many difficulties on memory of African cultural tradition. Nevertheless, it is not to say that this stage was a fortuitous occurrence, for it involved too many complicated processes. To argue that all of this occurred simply by chance is to obscure a genuine understanding of the degrees of changes of Nkrumah's thought. It is historically acknowledged without further argument that Nkrumah's construction, re-awakening and redefinitions of Ghanaian national consciousness as it unfolded in actions and theory, had to contend with many challenges for an internal and external cohesion consciousness for the realising of its global consciousness.

1957-1961

Prior to independence, it was indicated in minutes of Nkrumah's cabinet meeting that regionalism was not to be encouraged; rather centrality was to be the pivotal point for all development. The reason for this was obviously due to the demand of the National Liberation Movement (NLM) of the Asante region for federalism. Thus, a reasonable restoration of an internal cohesion consciousness among Ghanaians became paramount prior to independence. Indeed, internal cohesion was also needed for an external cohesion consciousness among Ghanaians and their immediate African neighbours. There was a setting up of an Arts Council which was to see to all preparations for

[421] Mercy Amba Oduyoye, "Creation, Exodus and Redemption-An African Perspective on the Biblical Narrative" In J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadju (Ed), *Christianity Missions Ecumenism In Ghana*, Accra: Asempa Publishers, 2009, 60-77; 62; Monfils, "Multifaceted Image", Ibid, 317. See, ibid, Addo, "Kwame Nkrumah", 101.
[422] Obeng, "Selected Speeches," Vol. 4,No. 6, 1960, 40.

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independence.[423]Nkrumah, in my opinion realised that there was not only the prestige and dignity of Ghanaians at stake, but the need to create a sense of neighbourliness that will allow co-existence among Ghanaians and to cultivate this with other Africans nations who needed to attain independence at all cost. In order to achieve these dreams, a multi-cultural dimension was targeted. The approach was to bring to bear on the people the need to get transformed from a "subject" under a chieftaincy or chief-dom, to citizen under the emerging "political kingdom."[424] This assertion equally enforced the argument that a form of double consciousness prevailed intellectually among Ghanaians. Whether they were going to serve their colonial masters or serve in the new political kingdom was a question to be answered. However, from a critical point of view, these forms of consciousness of who the Ghanaian is and to become were not totally achieved. Nevertheless, it resulted in Ghana's political independence on 6th March, 1957.

Consequently, Nkrumah needed to make use of all religious views including African cultural traditions as the basis for the sense of collectivity, irrespective of the individual's background. But the challenge emerged when NLM was formed.[425] It demanded for a federalist state instead of a unitary one, centred on Asante.[426] This resulted in fragmentation and therefore needed some internal cohesion.[427] To accomplish

[423] Cabinet Minutes, December, 11, 1958, 3; *Daily Graphic*, December, 19, 1965, 1; Cabinet Minutes, October 23, 1956, 4; *Daily Graphic*, Nov. 28, 1956, 12.

[424] Kwame A. Ninsin, "Ghana At 50 Tribe or Nation?", Accra: Institute For Democratic Governance, 2007, 12-13; Ninsin, "The Search For "Constitutional Chieftaincy", Ibid, 45.

[425] Ibid, Nkrumah, *Autobiography* 240-253; Joseph Appiah, Joe Appiah*: The Autobiography of An African Patriot*, Accra: Asempa Publishers, 1990, 243; Nana Arhin Brempong," *Chieftaincy, An Overview*", in Irene K. Odotei and Albert K. Awedoba, *Chieftaincy in Ghana: Culture, Governance and Development*, Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2006, 27-41;29-30; See also, Agbenyega Adedze, "Representing and Honouring the chief: The politics of postage stamps in West Africa", *ibid*, 295-308; 303-304.

[426] Ibid, Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 57-65; Kantinka K. Donkoh Fordwor, *The Danquah-Busia Tradition in the Politics of Ghana: The origins, mission and achievements of the New Patriotic Party*, Accra: Unimax MacMillan, 2010, 65; Memoirs of Alhaji Mumuni Bawumia, "A life in the political history of Ghana", Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 2004, 52-53; 56, 58-59; Jean Marie Allman, "The youngmen and the porcupine: Class, Nationalism and Asante's struggle for self-determination, 1954-57, *The Journal of African History*, vol. 3, No. 2, 1990, 253-279

[427] Nkrumah, *Africa must Unite*, *Ibid*, 58: Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, London: Panaf, 1976, 56-62; for details see also, *Struggle Against Dictatorship: Autobiography of Baafour Osei Akoto*, Kumasi: Payless

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this task, Nkrumah put in place certain movements to defeat this purpose. The difficulty in settling these issues were numerous. Nkrumah equally, appropriated popular culture as a measure to attain internal and external cohesive consciousness. Thus, Acheampong remarked concerning the nationalist struggle on the internal front that "Nkrumah appropriated popular culture for the CPP. Distillers and retailers of *akpeteshie*, market women, prostitutes, musicians, concert actors, the *asafo*, and labourers all rallied to the CPP flag."[428]

The main intellectual difficulty was that many wished to be at the previous emotional and psychological levels of Self-esteem and transformational consciousness.

According to Kwame A. Ninsin, the first Act was for the deportation of aliens was found to be "engaged in activities inimical to the unity, security and stability of the Ghanaian state."[429] In the opinion of Botwe-Asamoah, this was reminiscent of colonial rule.[430] The second Act, the Preventive Detention Act (PDA), made it possible for the government to imprison, without trial, some Ghanaians whose activities were found to be prejudicial to state security and stability."[431] Indeed, this law can be traced to the colonial period. It was used in imprisoning Nkrumah, Danquah and others. Section 15 of the act stated that this law was "in substitution for Emergency Powers Orders in Council in 1939," and under Section 5 of The Emergency Power Act, the government may

> make such regulations as appear...to be necessary or expedient for securing the public safety, the defence of Ghana, the maintenance of

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Printing Press, 1992; Kwame A. Ninsin, "The Nkrumah Government and the opposition on the Nation State: Unity vrs Fragmentation in, Kwame Arhin, Life and Work, 220-235.

[428] Emmanuel Acheampong, *Drink, Power, and Cultural Change: A Social History of Alcohol in Ghana*, c.1800 to Recent Times, Oxford: Heinemann, 1996,125.

[429] Kwame A. Ninsin, "The Nkrumah Government and the Opposition on the Nation State: Unity Verses Fragmentation" in, Kwame A. Ninsin(ed) , *Life and Life of Kwame Nkrumah, papers of a symposium organised by the Institute of African Studies,* University of Ghana, Legon, Accra: Sedco, 1991, 220-235; 233.

[430] Botwe-Asamoah, The Fallacies of J. B. Danquah's Heroic Legacy part 3, in *Fight Black: A Response to Anti-Nkrumah Provocation,* Accra: Socialist Forum of Ghana, 2009, 59-68; 64.

[431]Ibid., Botwe-Asamoah, The Fallacies of J. B. Danquah's Heroic Legacy part 3, 64. Also, Ibid, Ninsin, "The Nkrumah Government and the Opposition on the Nation State: Unity Verses Fragmentation" , 233.

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> public order and the suppression of mutiny, rebellion and riot, and to maintain supplies and services essential for the life of community.[432]

Botwe-Asamoah, maintained that this Act was an emergency measure to foster a strong national unity against both ethnocentrism and what Ninsin described as the "danger of fragmentation" and national rivalry.[433] This was reminiscent of Nkrumah's assertion on 1st February, 1966, that "A multi-party system into Africa results in the perpetuation of feudalism, tribalism, and regionalism"[434]. It was necessary for this law to be implemented accordingly, as Subsection 2 of Section 5 made "provision for the detention of persons and deportation and exclusion of persons" and authorised the taking over of possession or control of any property or ... the entering and searching of any premises" and the amending of any law, for suspending the operation of any law or without modification"[435].

Thus, Botwe-Asamoah commented that "these Acts became the laws of the land by which the people, irrespective of the individual's social background, profession, political affiliation or ethnic origins, had to live."[436] However, the opposition elements proved adamant to aims and objectives spelt out in these Acts. Thus according to Ninsin, it became instructive to issue a white paper in 1959. Ninsin opined that the white paper contents were important to the "very existence of the state of Ghana by not allowing unchecked plots and conspiracies which might result in the destruction of the state itself."[437]

Ninsin further observed that two factors stand out to enforce the need for an internal cohesive consciousness among Ghanaian nationals. The first was the elimination of sectarian or sectional tendencies which militated against the unity and security of the

[432] PRAAD, ADM 4/1/258, "The Emergency Power Act, 1957, No. 28, December, 30, 1957
[433] Ibid, Botwe-Asamoah, "The Fallacies of J. B. Danquah's Heroic Legacy part 3", 64.
[434]Cited in ibid, Ninsin, "The Nkrumah Government and the Opposition on the Nation State", 232.
[435] Ibid, "The Emergency Power Act, 1957."
[436] Ibid., Botwe-Asamoah, 64.
[437]Ibid, Ninsin, 232.

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Ghanaian state and second, the elimination of the structural basis of the tendency towards national fragmentation"[438]. This reinforced the "Avoidance of Discrimination Act of 1957, which forbade racial, tribal, regional, as well as religious, political organisations and propaganda" according to Ninsin. [439] He also explained that, it led to the formation of the United Party, thereby reinforcing the unity of the nation-state of Ghana[440]. Alternatively, the Act led to the closure of the offices of the ethno-regional and parochial political parties.[441]

Eventually, the struggle was not over since an anti-Nkrumah approach was adopted as a counter to these Acts. According to Austin (1964), Awoonor (1991), and Bing (1974), the *Ga-shifimo kpee*, under the intellectual constructs of Danquah, and S. G. Ator, opposed Nkrumah on the grounds that he was a "stranger" in the land of the Ga-Ghanaians.[442] These found expression in the organisation of a Ga-Youth association known as the "Tokyo-Joes"; and religious bodies joined in against the regime.

The reason being that by the establishment of these religious bodies, Nkrumah raised the hopes of Ghanaians in directing this sense of collective consciousness on 20th January, 1954, while speaking at a dedication ceremony of a Baptist Church. According to the *Daily Graphic*, Nkrumah indicated that spiritual values would become the cornerstone and "the superstructure upon which the Gold Coast should be built"[443]. In contrast to this, almost a month after Ghana's independence, Nkrumah had to deal with the opposition of The Watchtower Society which perceived Nkrumah's government as a

[438] Ibid., 232-233.
[439] Ibid., 232.
[440]Ibid, 232.
[441] Ibid., Botwe-Asamoah, 64-65.
[442] Ibid., Botwe-Asamoah, 65.
[443] *Daily Graphic*, 20th January, 1954.

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one man administration. Nkrumah did not take kindly to this and described the society as hatching an "Imperialistic tactics"[444].

Thus right from independence discontent for the Nkrumah regime by the clergy was evident. In 1957, two prominent Hausa traders in Kumasi, Ahmadu Baba and Othsman Larden Laremie,[445] and the Sierra Leonean Journalist, Bankole Timothy and a prominent Anglican were deported by the Nkrumah administration.[446] In all, the Christian community felt these actions by the Nkrumah administration were nursing a dictatorship. As a result, the Christian body opposed Nkrumah's statue erected in front of Ghana's Parliament House with the inscription: "Seek Ye First the Political Kingdom and all other things shall be added unto it." The Christian body regarded these inscriptions as denial of the saying of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Consequently, the Rev G.T. Eddy, then a retired minister of the Methodist Church, and the Christian Council of churches wrote to Nkrumah on "a purely private and confidential way."[447]

The content of this letter could be summarised as follows: first, Nkrumah's action was against opposing views; second, there would be future trouble if Nkrumah's administration continued in this attitude of violating the human rights of its opponents. Third, that Nkrumah wanted to safeguard his position and perhaps that of the party. In short, Rev. Eddy noted that "this is qualified by unhappiness at the apparently increasing tendency to discourage free and honest criticism, or even such expression of dissatisfaction as has always been the privilege of citizens of a free country."[448]

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[444] *Daily Graphic*, 22 th April 1957.

[445] See, Nkrumah's views on this subject matter, Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*,113-114; and its counter arguments in Francis Bartel, *The Persist of Paradox: Memoirs of F. L. Bartel*, Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 2003,197;see, letters from Rt. Rev. Richard Roserveare, [445] PRAAD/SC/BAA/94,RG/17/1/301, Two letters, each dated to the President, Nkrumah on 4 September, 1957 and 30 August,1957.

[446] PRAAD/SC/BAA/94,RG/17/1/301. This letter was written by Rev. P. K. Dagadu as General Secretary, 4th October, 1957.

[447] *Ibid*, PRAAD..

[448] PRAAD, *Ibid*, Christian Council of Ghana, Accra, it was address to the Honourable E.K. Bensah, Minister of Works, 28 April, 1958. It was signed jointly by the Chairman and Secretary in the persons of Rt. Rev. G. Thackery Eddy and the Rev T. A. Osai respectively of the Council.

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Nkrumah replied to this letter on 15th January, 1960. He "was unable to accept" Rev. Eddy's observations. Nkrumah took turns to comment on the regimes' activities, intentions and approaches to some of the issues. In all, Nkrumah's reply indicated "my colleagues and I cannot see that you and your colleagues have any right at all, moral or otherwise, to intervene in this matter"[449]. It must still be emphasised that though the Council was projecting its "Christian conscience" on the affairs of the nation, they were reactions not merely on a scripture that was against the Lordship of Christ but for the safety of their religious position.[450] As Nkrumah indicated in his letter to the Council, the same Council did not use its Christian conscience in addressing the NLM and other opposing elements until the government put up measures to stop them.

The Christian churches, not performing any leadership task against colonialism and being joined to the apron strings of their mother, the church and its leaders in European nations, created a void that was filled by Nkrumah in order to restore calm and peace within the state. These steps were to create an internal and external cohesion consciousness. He acquired titles such as *Asomdwehene*, *Osagyefo*, *Oyeadeeyie*, and *Kasapreko*, meaning "Prince of peace," "Redeemer or Deliverer from war," and "to speak once for all to obey"[451] respectively.

These titles brought familiarity of revolutionary ideas to the youth who were willing to give meaning at all cost to the nationalist consciousness he was presenting to their minds. In short, the point was to avoid the major mistakes of the intellectuals whose agitations for Ghana and Africa's independence and freedom proved fruitless. Nkrumah symbolised the ideals for internal cohesions and a sense of building in themselves the

[449] PRAAD, *Ibid*, Nkrumah's letter to Rt . Rev. G. T. Eddy, Accra. 15th January, 1960.
[450] PRAAD, *Ibid*, Nkrumah's letter to Rt. Rev. G. T. Eddy, 3.

[451] Addo, "Kwame Nkrumah" *Ibid*, 113-4; Arhin, "A view of Kwame Nkrumah", *Ibid*, 31; K.A. Dickson, "Religion and Society: A studying church and State Relations in the First Republic" in Kwame Arhin, "The Life and Work", 135-157; 46.

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pride of their African cultural traditions, inherited from their ancestors, to give birth to the new nation Ghana. The titles *Kantamanto*, *Kukuoduroni* meaning "the one who cannot be cursed" and "a brave one" respectively, were further acquired.[452] In order to be seen as a unifier and a leader, Nkrumah acquired the titles *Mbrantsehene*, meaning; "the leader of the youths", *Obronisuro*, "one who the European fears."[453] He was also referred to as *Otumfuo*, *Nufeno*, and everywhere he went he was introduced to the gathering as such.[454] Implicit in such grand titles could be the ambition of Nkrumah's interest in an endless desire for praises.

While NLM intellectuals sought fragmentations by demanding federalism, Nkrumah sought for unitary and secularization of the Ghanaian nation. On the global scene, a separate radical Pan-African Congress was formed in 1959 under the leadership of Nkrumah who demanded a totally africanised state to be called Azania.[455] But this could find a practical solution should new measures be adopted in the case where colonialism, imperialism, disunity and the "nagging constraints of traditions"[456] are antithetical to the constructions of national consciencism, that prohibited social justice and natural equality. At this point in history, Nkrumah gave up Ghana's sovereignty in order to attain an African one. The Ghanaian Constitution was adopted to reflect African realities.[457]

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[452] Pobee, "Kwame Nkrumah, *ibid*, 142-3; Omari, "Kwame Nkrumah", *ibid*, 2; Pobee, "Church and State in Ghana, 1949-1966", in John S. Pobee (ed), *Religion in A Pluralistic Society*, Netherlands: Leiden E. J. Brill, 1976, 121-144; 136-138.

[453] Barbara S. Monfils, "A Multifaceted Image; Kwame Nkrumah's Extrinsic Rhetorical Strategies", *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 1977, 313-330; 318.

[454] Monfils, "A Multifaceted Image", *Ibid*, 318-319.

[455] Michael Burleigh, *Blood and Race: A Cultural History of Terrorism*, London: Harper Perennial, 2009,141.

[456] Claude Ake, "Charismatic Legitimation and Political Integration", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 9,No. 1, 1966, 1-13, 3.

[457]Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 85-86; "I Speak of Freedom," 125-134;151-153; See, Nkrumah's speech on 29 August,1957 in Washington D. C Ghana's Policy at home and abroad: speech given in the Ghana Parliament, 14, Ghana Embassy Information Service, 1957 . Taking with permission; Revised Constitutional proposals: speech delivered in the Legislative Assembly on 12 November, 1956. (supplement to the Gold Coast Today, No. 24, December, 1956,144.

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But these theoretical steps were only an elitist approach, and the end result was so distance. There ought to be a practical demonstration of the unity of the people that would need a "psychological comfort" than the literate.[458] It became obvious that in a society where transformation was so fast changing people's ideas, their views on a collective attachment to their ethnic origins in which "a close and intimate solidarity" existed, were becoming clouded with uncertainty.[459] The keys that can 'hold together those whom the slackening bonds of tradition have left with no common identity';[460] Nkrumah would embolden these various people that they escape these constraints in his intellectual constructions and awakening, as well as the redefinition of Ghanaian nationalism with African cultural traditions.

In time, the search by Nkrumah to relate African cultural traditions to national consciousness reflected in his personal lifestyle of organisation and outlook. It was no longer oral speeches but a borrowing of concepts of dressing from the various regions of Ghana. He wore western clothing during certain official occasions. But more often, as he indicated in his works, he dressed like an Akan chief. His attires for events which depicted a military frame of mind included the *batakali*-smock of the Dagomba of northern region of Ghana.[461] According to Fuller, this attire was a re-designed over shirt as a national dress over ethnic inclined types of the smock. Together with the Akan kente, they were inscribed on the pesewa coinage and post stamps of the period.[462] But to make dressing appealing for Ghanaians to have interest in each other's attire, Nkrumah fashioned a dress that required no burden to wash and to iron.[463] This desire to make life

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[458] Claude Ake, "Charismatic Legitimation and Political Integration", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 9,No. 1, 1966, 1-13, 3; David Apter, *Ghana in Transition*, New York: Antheneum, 1963, 304.
[459] Ake, *Ibid*, 3; Apter, *Ghana in Transition*, *Ibid*, 304.
[460] Ibid.
[461] Biney, "The Political and Social Thought,"113; Hagan, "Nkrumah's Cultural Policy,"15.
[462] Harcourt Fuller, "Building A Nation: Symbolic Nationalism During The Kwame Nkrumah Era in The Gold Coast/Ghana," Ph.D Dissertation, Department of International History, London School of Economics and Political Science, 2010, 377.
[463] PRAAD/SC21/10/1A.

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less burdensome for Ghanaians in general, and what the *Accra Evening News* described in 1953 as Nkrumaism's positive effect in "opening the eyes of ... people" would lead Nkrumah's administration in demonstrating these acts through the activities of Hannah Cudjoe at the Social Welfare Department.[464] These activities were to link southern and northern Ghana. More importantly, Frimpong observed that Nkrumah gave an alternative view to the self-determination of the African using Afro-American struggle as a model. He exemplified this in these dress codes to signify not only unity among Ghanaian tribes but also to build a "psychological associations" within the people who had begun to develop western fantasies.[465]

Carola Lentz in her work "Unity for Development" observed that: Youth Associations in North Western Ghana" was that due to the organisational ability of the CPP literates' associations were formed as an annual reunions of the educated villages, which brought collectively together local teachers and priest, boarding schools pupils and educated workers including teachers and clerks outside the northern regions.[466] These activities continued in the Christmas seasons in particular where people met together in their home villages in order to celebrate and publicise school education among village residents,[467] usually subject to the constructions and awakening of Ghanaian national consciousness. In particular, although, it has been argued that some youth were spying as "instruments and agents" for the administration, essentially, the

[464] *Accra Evening News*, 29th July, 1953. Also, Jean M. Allman, "Let Your Fashion Be in Line with Our Ghanaian Custom:" Nation, Gender, and the Politics of Cloth-ing in Nkrumah's Ghana in Jean Allman (ed), *Fashioning Africa*: Power and the Politics of Dress, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004,144-165.

[465] Prince Kwasi Frimpong, "Nkrumahism and Neo-Nkrumahism," Ph.D Dissertation, University of Louisville, 2012, 42.

[466] Carola Lentz, 'Unity for Development': Youth Associations in Northern-Western Ghana," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 65, No. 3, 1995, 395-429; 397.

[467] Ibid, Carola Lentz, 'Unity for Development', 397.

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youth were pivotally in the development of the country. It was to address unemployed labour skills which saw them into agriculture enterprises of the state farmers.[468]

Similarly, Yakubu Saaka commented that in many parts of the country the CPP maintained the organisational machinery but substituted the name UGCC with CPP. Regarding the northern regions in particular, he observed that it appeared outside Tamale and a few principal towns, such as Bolgatanga, Bawku, and Wa, the impact of the CPP was a major factor. There was the leadership style of Nkrumah which attracted the "magazias," and the "kejetia-boys." This was to bridge both the southern and northern regions of Ghana which were separated by colonialism and imperialism.

Indeed, Nkrumah had indicated earlier in the Gold Coast Assembly that: "....At the moment we have been able to get together all the regions...we should not allow one or two little expressions to jeopardise this great work that we have been able to do."[469] Nkrumah also noted that this view gave them the premise for accepting the Constitution for independence. In his words at debating these issues, he reiterated that the government accepted the Constitution Nkrumah latter, intimated that:

> with the greatest misgiving. We were, however, faced with the situation where independence might have been delayed had we refused to accept the text which was presented to us. We were determined, therefore, to give the Constitution a trial principally because we were convinced that the good sense of the people of Ghana would enable us alter it through the normal processes of law when it became apparent that it was not a workable method for conducting the affairs of the country.[470]

He later intimated that it is in the public interest that one logical principle should be applied in all Regions of the Gold Coast, in order to safeguard the intended result that people all over the country should have equal rights to representation according to

[468] Ransford Edward Van Gyampo and Franklin Obeng-Odoom, "Youth Participation in Local and National Development in Ghana: 1620-2013," *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 9, 2013, 129-150;134-135.
[469] Gold Coast, *Legislative Assembly Debates* 6-17, Accra, November 1953, cols 134-135.
[470] Ibid., Gold Coast *Legislative Assembly* Debates, 6-17 November, 1953, Accra, cols. 134-135.

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population. He noted that "I will not admit that one Gold Coast man from any one area is better than a Gold Coast man from another area... or that a wealthy man should have more say than a poor man."[471]In my view, in this stage of the reconstruction of Ghanaian national consciousness Nkrumah attempts by various means to employ state resources to ensure that dissidents complied with certain form of national religion. He redefines national consciousness "not as the acceptance of common religion, but as the acceptability of a plurality of forms of belief and unbelief."[472]Thus, Nkrumah seem to approach the problem from another end where common features such as common language, history, geography and other related matters concerning the attributes for national consciousness do not play prominence for the reconstruction. It is essential, that Ghana becomes a nation of any group of people who must adhere to the fact that a nation is formed and can be constituted based on a condition of this firm belief.

1961-1966

Nkrumah argued in his work "Some Essential Freedom," that: "Africa needs a philosophy which will be both a rational exposition of her past experiences and an intellectual stimulus to her renaissance."[473] He contended that it "must rationalise and harmonise the dominant intellectual strands in Africa's historical experience, reinstate what was noble and elevating in traditional African society" which was not devoid of world literature. Reflecting on the intellectual perspectives of some anthropologists and positions adopted by some African nationalists early before him in *Africa Must Unite, I Speak of Freedom*, and "Primitive Mind," Nkrumah rejected race and ethnic

[471] Ibid., Gold Coast *Legislative Assembly* Debates, 6-17 November, 1953, Accra, cols. 134-135.
[472] David Ashcroft, "A Critical Evaluation of Theories of Nationalism", Ph.D Dissertation, The University of Aston In Birmingham, 1987, 16.
[473] Ibid, Nkrumah, "Some Essential Freedom" 102.

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inequalities.[474] Intellectually, this affirmed the first stage of the construction of national consciousness. But essentially, it fitted into the global consciousness; and indeed since Africa must unite, these views gained recognition and meaning in the work *Africa Must Unite, I Speak of Freedom* and inter alia his *Autobiography.* He was of the view that the modern phase of Africa must far outweigh its glorious past achievements.[475]

It was behind this tranquil appeal and reform-mindedness that Nkrumah addressed the opening of the first international congress of Africanist in December 1962. He reiterated that Africans as a historic people were responsible for their unique forms of language culture and society.[476] This would result in conflicts and strife that disappeared in the face of true interethnic relation with a common destiny.[477] It was a religious and economic advancement which would rekindle the spirits of the African to their ancient glory.[478] But was this going to be a reality? Nkrumah consistently searched for spiritual solution in the "fasting and meditation" reported by the *Evening News* papers.[479]To him, it was a search for the African as "... primarily a spiritual being, a being endowed originally with a certain inward dignity, integrity and value."[480] It was in this light Consciencism and Nkrumaism were birthed as remedies. Indeed, at the time the theory of "Scientific Socialism" was couched alongside these streams of ideas as universal aspects of communalism.

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[474] Nkrumah, "Primitive Mind," PRAAD/SC21/10/1, Introduction, 1-11 ; *African Must Unite*, 1-42; "I Speak of Freedom,"168; See, Nkrumah's speech on 24December, 1957, in Emmanuel Doe Ziorkli, Ghana: Nkrumah to Rawlings, Vol. 1, 1957-1993, Accra: Em-Zed Books Centre, 1993,39-49;39-41. See also, Nkrumah's sessional address to the National Assembly on 1 February, 1966,ibid.,111-127;111-112.

[475] Nkrumah, *Autobiography,* 185, *Africa Must Unite,*1-2;3. See also, Nkrumah, "Some Essential Freedom" *Ibid,* 102.

[476]Obeng, "Selected Speeches," Vol. 2, No. 16, 119-131; 121.

[477]Obeng, *ibid*,130.

[478]Obeng, *Ibid*, 130.

[479] *Evening News*, June 8, 1959, 1; March 21,1960, 1-2; March 22, 1960, 3. March 24, 1960,3; December 11, 1959, 1.

[480] Ibid., Nkrumah, *Consciencism*,68.

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Nkrumah argued from *Consciencism*, that emancipation of the African continent was the emancipation of man.[481] It engaged the African mind to come out of the mental enslavement of Euro-American patterns of thought in order for the African to be renewed in spirit and create a new personality. This required a restoration of the African cultural traditions in relation to other inherited traditions and cultures to create such individual[482] inwardly. In his *Autobiograph*y, Nkrumah opined that "educational and cultural backwardness" was Africa's challenge and difficulty.[483] He believed it was possible to solve these difficulties when the life of Christ was emulated.[484] In order to make this thought meaningful Nkrumah exhorted the Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia church in America that "I saw a new Heaven and a new Earth"[485] and reminded the congregation of its historical implications.[486] Nkrumah said later, he was fulfilling this prophecy to redeem his people the Africans from colonialism just as it was in days of the Egyptians.[487]To reason along his thoughts, Nkrumah recovered collective memories and consciousness from the past into the present thus in 1952 in Monrovia, Nkrumah used the exodus analogy in the context of the American Puritan thought.[488]

He linked this historical moment as the providential acts, which he thought were the same in the Jewish case during their exodus.[489] Hence he posited "a greater exodus is coming in Africa today,"[490] and the African-Americans must get ready for it.[491] But

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[481] Ibid,Nkrumah, *Consciencism*,78.
[482] Ibid, 79.
[483]Ibid, Nkrumah, *Autobiograph*y,91.
[484] PRAAD 116/ SC21/1/116, undated. At back of this paper is a hand written scripture which Jesus Christ made about himself quoted by Nkrumah saying: "If I be lifted up, I Will draw all men to myself."
[485] Nkrumah might have employed this scripture in Swedenborgian analogy. For details see, Emanuel Swedenborg, *Heaven and Hell*, New York: Swedenborg Foundation,1979, 27-28, Preface; *Apocalypse Revealed*, New York: Swedenborg Foundation, 1981, 969, Revelation 21: 1; Samuel M. Warren, *A Compendium of the Theological Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg*, London: The Swedenborg Society, 1909, 380-389;Emanuel Swedenborg, *The Tue Christian Religion Vol.2*, New York: Swedenborg Foundation, 1984,315-340;341-351.
[486] *Ibid*,Nkrumah, *Autobiography*, 166,
[487] *Ibid*,166.
[488] Ibid,184.
[489] *Ibid*,184.
[490] *Ibid*,184.

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essentially, he noted "that exodus will be established when there is a united, free and independent West Africa.'[492] This became real when "so as to fulfil this sacred mission"[493] and "realize this dearest thought and aspiration,"[494] it became his "earnest hope that Ghana serves as an example and an aspiration to the sister countries throughout Africa"[495] which can:

> lead the African people out of the stifling fog of disintegration through serfdom, into the valley of light where purpose, endeavour and determination will create that brotherhood which Christ proclaimed two thousand years ago, and about which so much is said, but so little is done.[496]

The clergy and other intellectuals related these views of Nkrumah as the manipulations of the sacred scriptures and questioned them. However, when a million people hear or watch the same arguments of Nkrumaist gospel, their attention was gained for Ghanaian national consciousness. It was inevitable that Ghanaian national consciousness would have the same degree of common interest, common taste and common attitude towards the nation's national awakenings, for them to be held together as a people out of their ethnic mosaic of nation.

In contrast to these assertions, in those years Nkrumah supported the spiritual demonstration of African traditional powers. Indeed, with respect to Ghanaian national consciousness Nkrumah instituted a competition amongst Ghanaian traditional priests and their counterparts the priestess.[497] These *akomfo* – traditional priest and priestess – competed on particular set dates in order to determine whose powers were potent enough.[498] These competitions attracted several priests not only across the country, but

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[491] *Ibid*,166.
[492] *Ibid* ,184.
[493] Obeng, "Selected Speeches," Vol. 1,No.46,246-249;247.
[494] Ibid, 247.
[495] I Told You So! Speech No. 68, 20 January, 1962.
[496]Ibid,Told You So! Speech No. 72.
[497] George Osei, Traditional Priesthood in Focus: The Biographies of some Religious Leaders in Ghana, unpublished M. Phil. Thesis, Department of the Study of Religions, 2009,100.
[498] *Ibid*, 100.

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across Africa.[499] It resulted in the transfers of fetishism across the length and breadth of the continent[500].

The candidate that outwitted all other opponents was crowned, given gifts and duly promoted. In 1962, Naa Saa of Asante won this competition, but rejected the price of a Benz car Nkrumah offered her.[501] She was however, enthroned the Chief Priestess with other awards given to her by Asantehene Agyemang Prempeh II. Indeed, it was the *Asantehene* Agyemang Prempeh II who had consulted her and delegated two other important individuals of the Asante palace to accompany her to Larteh, Akuapem for the competition.[502]

In my interviews, it was noted that Nkrumah did not invite Muslim Mallams from across the country and Mali alone, but also from other parts of the continent, in order for them to divine and search out for the prosperity of the people of Ghana and the nation that was about to be birthed[503]. These affirmed Nkrumah's enquiry of several deities across the region. Nkrumah also created an office of the Chief Imam in Ghana and made sure the Zongo communities in Ghana were joined to the rest of the Ghanaian society. Thus, gradually Nkrumah began to deepen his own understanding of the people in order to pattern their minds for unity and oneness. He became the embodiment of his people and the new concept of Ghanaian national consciousness was gradually shifted into the new African personality. His pictures were not only represented on postage stamps, but were inscribed on the Ghanaian currency as well. In his argument, the illiterate and literate alike must endeavour to understand the union that has been formed.

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[499] This explanations are the views of Professor Elom Dolvo who supervised the thesis and introduced me to it. Conversions with him, in his office, Institute of Adult Education, University of Ghana.
[500] Ibid, conservation with Professor of the Department of Religions, University of Ghana.
[501] *Ibid*, Osei, "Traditional Priesthood in Focus", 101-2.
[502] *Ibid*, 101.
[503] Conversions with Professor of the Department of Religions, University of Ghana. Dolvo is of the view that Nkrumah held a similar position about Religion and national consciousness when he made sure that the current department of religions was not named as theological studies department. This never went down well with some clergy in the department then.

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Nkrumah was polemical in his view when in 1956 he remarked prior to independence "we take pride in the name Ghana, not out of romanticism, but as an inspiration for the future."[504] The future for him was "one Ghana, one people, and a common destiny."[505] He was attempting to make this a reality at all cause and cost; thus about the postage stamp he explained his views as outlined in the cabinet minutes of *Daily Graphic* of 21st June, 1957.

Nkrumah's pictures were everywhere. Krobo Edusei even advocated that Nkrumah's images should be distributed among traders, shopkeepers, businessmen and school children as well as taxi drivers.[506] Defaulters were threatened with imprisonment.[507] The *Evening News* equally decorated its papers with images of Nkrumah and elegant speeches and praise poems in his honour.[508] It was followed by images of Nkrumah on every street, road, monument and building.[509] The opposition reproved Nkrumah's agenda as misguided. But from artistic point of view, Nkrumah was drawing the nationalism of the people, especially the non-lettered to be focused and be determined to emancipate themselves at all fronts and at all levels - socially, especially in this context.

It is instructive to agree with Hountondji and Obiri Addo, that *Consciencism* was an ideology of continuity.[510] It was a paradigm shift in thought to give pre-colonial African cultural traditions a scientific orientation and outlook. As Nkrumah explained:

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[504] Ibid, Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana*, 18.
[505] Akosua A. Perbi, "Who is a Ghanaian?- A Historical Perspective," Accra: Academy of Arts and Sciences, proceedings,2003,29-37, 36.
[506] *Ashanti pioneers*, July 5th, 1958, 1, 3, 4.
[507] Ibid, *Ashanti pioneers*, July 5th, 1958, 1, 3, 4.
[508] Examples of praise poems included J.R.P. Marutle, "Kwame Nkrumah, the Prince of Hope" *Evening News*, April 14, 1960: 3; Charles Heymann, "The Hero Returns" *Evening News*, July 23, 1959, 3; Kwame Johnson, "Africa's Messiah has the Answer" *Evening News*, May 4, 1960: 2; and several poems by MacNeill Stewart, including "Ten Years After" *Evening News*, June 12, 1959: 3.
[509] *Ashanti pioneers*, July 5th, 1958, 1,3 4.
[510] Ebenezer Obiri Addo, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Case Study of Religion and Politics in Ghana*, Oxford: University Press of America, 1999, 164.

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> our society is not the old society, but a new society enlarged by Islamic and Euro-Christian influences. A new emergent ideology is therefore acquired, an ideology which can solidify in a philosophical statement, but at the same time an ideology which will not abandon the original humanist principles of Africa.[511]

Thus in the seven-year development plan Nkrumah communicated this ideology to the people on the conviction that "our traditional life" was also:

> in transforming the many centres of over-crowded and insanitary housing that at present exist in some areas, in order to carefully examine the traditional community customs of our people and will, wherever it is feasible and possible, try to maintain which communities in their traditional locations but with a newer, better and more pleasant work.[512]

This task led the Nkrumah administration to transfer the architectural plans of the northern regions into the southern regions and vice versa. Essentially, Nkrumah transformed the architectural landscape of the capital city when he declared Accra a new city from the colonialist approach of its development.[513]

But to give the ideological framework a good review and accountability, a new concept was found namely Nkrumaism. Despite counter arguments against this doctrine, Nkrumah's vision was expressed in building a formidable front against empires. Nkrumaism was "a collective action, by building a shared vision and adopting a set of shared values."[514] It was to give the Ghanaians a platform on the stages of world affairs. The tenets of Nkrumaism embraced all facets of life, and it was considered as the highest form of Christianity. In an age of greed and hypocrisy it taught people to remove all root causes of hatred and jealousy among haves and have-nots, in order to make it humanly

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[511] Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, 70.

[512] The Seven Year Development Plan, The Spark, 13 March, 1964, 2, 3, 6; See also, George B. N. Ayittey, *Africa Betrayed*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992,165-166 .

[513] Nkrumah, "The City of Accra": a speech by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah declaring Accra a city on Wednesday, 29 March, 1961. Accra: Government Printer, 1961, 1-4.

[514] PRAAD/SC/BAA/90/RG/17/1/325/ KN 428. See, letter dated 2 March, 1964 by Nkrumah addressed to Ikoku. The File reveals the preliminary stages of the conceptualization of the doctrine of Nkrumaism. See also, Nkrumah speech on 3 February, 1962 cited in Ziorklui,74;86; J. K. Tettegah, Towards Nkrumaism: The Building of Socialist Ghana, The Role and Task of the Trade Unions. Report on Doctrine and Orientation, presented at the TUC to the first biannual congress held at Kumasi, 26-30 March, 1962 . Obtained at the Accra TUC.

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possible to "love one's neighbours and oneself" in a more enduring way.[515] By emphasising on loving one's neighbour as one self, the African cultural traditions were combined with European concepts to give it a regenerative purpose. Thus a national symphony orchestra was created to provide patriotic anthems and chorals for the nation.[516] Nkrumaism demonstrated that the motifs of Ghanaian art-music could be patterned after the romantic nationalist music of the 19th and early 20th century Europe, in relation to its counterpart Ghanaian folklore version.[517]

These changes were applied in a universal concept where Ghanaians would be placed in the global affairs and issues of world history. Nkrumah actually travelled with some of these composers on his foreign presidential visits. These composers gave Ghanaian highlife music a different dimension on the world stage.[518] According to Nkrumah, the doctrine of Nkrumaism implied the embracement of humanity in totality, and these endeavours he was truly creating the platform where the African personality would gain recognitions on the centre stages of world theatre. In this totality, Nkrumah's attitude towards national consciousness and tradition were given a pan–Africanist and Universalist approach. In this sense, as a concept the doctrine is defined as

> the general awakening of cultural and traditional aspirations of the African peoples and the creation of a new African society... organised on a continental scale, founded upon the conception of one united African, drawing strength from modern science and technology and from the

[515] *Evening News*, 26, 1960, 2. See also, Omari, 115 ; Tawiah Ocran, Nkrumah and Nkrumaism, *Africa*, No. 13, 1972, 29-33; Ali Mazuri, "Nkrumah: The Leninist Czar", *Transition*, Vol.6, No. 26, 1966,5.Also see, Mazuri, "Nkrumah's Legacy and Africa's Triple Heritage between Globation and Counter Terrorism'', Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 2004,22-24.

[516] Obeng, "Selected Speeches," 2007, 97-98.

[517] Ibid, Obeng, "Selected Speeches," 2007, 97. Observe Nkrumah's expression for a 'dynamic expression of African genius and creative power.' See also, "I Speak of Freedom," 61-62; James Gibbs, *Nkyin-kyin: Essays on Ghanaian Theatre*, New York: Rodopi, 2009,Introduction, xvii; Catherine M. Cole, 'This is Actually a Good Interpretation of Modern Civilisation': Popular Theatre and the Social Imaginary in Ghana, 1946-1966," *Africa Literature*, Vol.67, No.3, 1997,363-388;364 .

[518] Kwesi Yankah, "Nana Ampadu, The Sung-Tale Metaphor, and Protest Discourse in Contemporary Ghana", in Joseph k. Adjaye and Adrianne R. Andrews(eds) , *Language, Rhythm, and Sound: Black Popular Cultures into the Twenty-First Century*, Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh press, 1997, 54-73;59. See, John Collins, "Highlife and Nkrumah's Independence Ethos", *Journal of Performing Arts*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 2009/2010, 89-100;91-96.

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> traditional Africa belief that the free development of each shall continue to be the condition for the free development of all.[519]

The next agenda of awakening and construction of national consciousness was through Ghanaian traditional music with its contemporary twist. The Nkrumah regime did not only utilise "highlife band and concert parties" as struggle music against imperialism and colonial emancipation; it equally engaged Christian music in its activities, throughout its campaigns.[520] This notation on the parts of Ghanaian musicians of the era, according to Collins, was the constructions of a self conscious ideological way in line with the "African Personality" and Pan-African ideals of the independence era.[521] These gatherings were entertained by artistes such as "Band Series", "Tempos", Ramblers, Joe Kelley's and Black Beats highlife dance bands[522]. These attempts were to project the image of the African who has emancipated of the chaotic colonial world into a global national consciousness.

It is worth emphasising that survival, relationship consciousness, internal and external cohesion, global consciousness, as well as self-esteem and transformation consciousness were linked up in a complex state from one degree to the next. It was within this context that Collins highlighted how the African music was not only domesticated through various organisations such as the Farmers Unions and others in order to detribalise the new Ghanaian nation, but was promoted through an internationalisation policy by Nkrumah. Eventually, most musical bands followed suit in

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[519] PRAAD/SC/BAA/90/RG/17/1/325/KN 428.

[520] John Collins, Ghanaian Highlife, *African Arts*, Vol. 10, No.1, 1976, 11; Charlotte Frema Quagaine, "The Use of Christian of Christian Songs in Ghana's Fourth Republican Election's Campaign," Department of Religions, University of Ghana, 2010, 25; Joseph Ignatius Buabeng, The Church-State Relationship in Ghana under the Rawlings Democratic Era", 1992-2000, 2010, 1, 11-12;14; E. Asante, Culture, Politics and Development-Ethical and Theological Reflections on the Ghanaian Experience, *African Arts*, Vol. 10, No.1, 1985, 19.

[521] John Collins, "Highlife and Nkrumah's Independence Ethos", *Journal of Performing Arts*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 2009/2010, 89-100;90.

[522] Conservation with Professor J. H. Kwabena Nketia.

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copying what was prevailing[523]. However, some of these musicians criticised Nkrumah's government and its policies contrary to Ghanaian sense of national consciousness.[524] In spite of these setbacks, it is important to critically contend why Nkrumah took some stands.

The 1960s was Nkrumah's search for a global collective consciousness through African cultural tradition intended through the doctrine of Nkrumaism for the formulation of a seven-year development plan. According to Nkrumah "only a socialist form of society assure Ghana of a rapid rate of economic progress without destroying social justice, freedom and equality, which were a central feature of our traditional life."[525] Nkrumah intended Ghana become a nation of a scientific community among the nations of the world. He linked these views in the concept of the African Personality. This idea was to link the continent of Africa as a whole in a web of a complex scientific knowledge - "a knowledge and understanding of indigenous methods."[526] Its quest by Nkrumah was for Africans to "attain the highest material, cultural, moral and spiritually fulfilment."[527] Following this thought, Nkrumah attracted various scholars across the globe, especially of African descent including W. E. Dubois, Maya Angeleou, and George Padmore in order to give this ambition a full implementation and meaning.

In fact, Nkrumah together with other African presidents joined hands to form the Ghana- Guinea-Mali Union on cultural ties on 23rd November, 1958. This was affirmed in July 1959. Prior to this, Nkrumah visited Liberia using African cultural traditions as the fountain for the formation of a United States of Africa. In spite of this, there was of

[523]Ibid, Collins, "Highlife and Nkrumah's Independence Ethos", 92-94.
[524] Ibid, 95-96. Yankah, "Nana Ampadu, the Sung-Tale Metaphor, and Protest Discourse in Contemporary Ghana", in Adjaye and Andrew (eds), "Language, Rhythm, and Sound", 61-63.
[525] Seven-Year Development Plan, 1963/64-1969/70, 1.
[526] Nkrumah, "Flowering of Learning: some Reflections on African Learning, Ancient and Modern", delivered at the university of Science and Technology at Kumasi, Accra: Government Printer, 1961. See, Obeng, Selected Speeches, Vol. 2, No. 22, 2007, 154.
[527] David Rodney, *Kwame Nkrumah: Vision and Tragedy*, Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2007, 278.

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only a little gain in internal Ghanaian national cohesion consciousness and it was not possible for Nkrumah to attain an external cohesion global consciousness among African leaders. Eventually, Western nations would give him the worse problems in addition to all his challenges and difficulties.

In view of this, some scholars contended that Nkrumah would subvert Africa's agenda of other African nations in order to have his personal ambition fulfilled.[528] Nkrumah was trapped in his dilemma; of those opposed to his African unification agenda among African leaders, the Nigerian leadership was at best the strongest[529]. They did not allow him to realise his ambitions of unifying the continent[530]. According to Heymann this situation was addressed in the history of the African context[531]. However, Akinwumi indicated these attempts were illusions until both Nkrumah and the Nigerian head of State were overthrown from their positions[532].

After his overthrow, Nkrumah was accused by his critics of using unorthodox methods to engage in the politics of African consciousness while in exile. Indeed, these revelations indicated that Ghanaians under Nkrumah never enjoyed much solidarity among themselves in the latter years of his rule. Their situation worsened by the joining in of other sister African nations who felt Nkrumah's motives were not cordial to the overall collective consciousness of African leaderships at the time. However, others countered these views. In my opinion Nkrumah's approaches were unconventional, a "necessary evil" meant to correlate African integration. No matter his faults it still stands

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[528] "Nkrumah's School of Subervision", *Atlas*, Vol. 12, December, 1966, 20-22; J .W. K Harley, "Communists are Aiding Nkrumah", *Evening News*, 23 February, 1967, 6, 7; op.cit., Harley, "That Devil to My Mind is Nkrumah", *Evening News*, 3,6. Also, Mike Anamzoya, "Subversion against African States: Nkrumah's Double Face Unfolded", *Ghanaian Times*, 14 July, 1967, 1, 16.

[529] Charles Heymann, *The Politics of African Diplomacy and Decolonisation: The African Experience in Cold War Diplomacy*, Accra: Joycum Press Ltd, 2009, 82-114; Olajide Aluko, *Ghana and Nigeria: A Study in Inter- African Discord*, London: Rex Collings Ltd, 1976, 73-112 .

[530]Roger S. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, London: Greenwood Press, 2005,125-131.

[531] Ibid, Heymann, "The Politics of African Diplomacy and Decolonisation,"`115.

[532] Olayemi Akinwumi, "Cold War Sub-Regional Level: Ghana and Nigeria 1957-1983," in Toyin Falola(ed), *Ghana in Africa and the World: Essay in Honour of Adu Boahen*, Trenton: Africa World Press,2003, 673-710;676.

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to reason that Nkrumah stood for African unity and this will persist until the end of time. And before 1966 came to an end, Nkrumah reflected upon this moment and dilemma of the African people when he said:

> We know, of course, that the defeat of colonialism and even neo-colonialism will not result in the automatic disappearance of the imported patterns of thought and social organisation. For those patterns have taken root, and are in varying degree sociological features of our contemporary society. Nor will a simple return to the communalistic society of ancient Africa offer a solution either. To advocate a return, as it were, to the rock from which we were hewn is a charming thought, but we are faced with contemporary problems which have arisen from political subjugation, economic exploitation, educational and social backwardness, increase in population, familiarity with the methods, and products of industrialisation, modern agricultural techniques.[533]

Conclusion

The focus of this chapter is an attempt to trace from 1944 to 1966, Nkrumah's intellectual efforts in theory and practice to construct Ghanaian national consciousness. It has been argued that from one degree to the next, Nkrumah from his construction and awakening of Ghanaian national consciousness established a survival and relationship consciousness; self-esteem and transformation consciousness; and internal cohesion and external cohesion to a global consciousness. To a large extent we cannot agree that these levels were successfully attained. But, we can maintain that Nkrumah's attempt laid emphasis on renewal of a sense for African cultural traditions, by pointing to the future of the importance of the Africa's past to serve its future. Let us turn over to debate the last question pertaining to our quest in this thesis.

[533] Kwame Nkrumah, "African Socialism Revisited", 1966 cited in Kwame Nkrumah, *The Struggle Continues: Six Panaf Pamphlets*, London: Panaf Books, 1973,78-83;79.

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CHAPTER SIX

PRAGMATIC TRADITIONALIST OR SELECTIVE MODERNISER?: NKRUMAH'S IDEOLOGY DURING THE 1950s AND 1960s

Introduction

The African Ozo Titles and the Young Pioneers Movement:

In the preceding chapters I have discussed experimental approaches in the canon of Nkrumah's intellectual approaches to the reconstruction of Ghanaian national consciousness. In this chapter, I propose to discuss another experimental approach of Nkrumah's concepts of national consciousness, one that also springs from his intellectual endeavours for nationalist aspirations, but which relates to nationalist achievement in a more practical manner. I will also compare his ideas with other leading Ghanian intellectuals of the era, including Danquah and Busia, to illustrate where they differed ideologically.

The African cultural tradition would serve as the basis to the construction of national consciousness and was of paramount significance to Ghanaian nationalism; and the very personality of Nkrumah was influenced by the manner in which his intellectual influences carried his thought. Thus, Marcus Garvey observed that "a people without knowledge of their history are like a tree without roots." When Nkrumah became a leader and president of Ghana, he was determined to make the construction of the people's national consciousness a reality instead of a theory. For, Nkrumah at this point in history had evolved a body of principles which, was to guide the minds of not only Ghanaians, but the African people in a social cohesion. Its main focus was to reconstruct African humanism.

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National consciousness is transferred from one generation to the next. The canon of African cultural traditions, in the reconstruction of African national consciousness has been a sustained view since 1791, if not earlier.[534]Thus, the first generation of educated Africans in the persons of Edward Blyden and James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey, observed separately that: "The copyist and imitators is never an originator or contributor" and Aggrey noted that "no first-class educated African wants to be a white man."[535]

In nationalist historiography, national consciousness is usually perceived as "a quest by African intellectuals for a moral status."[536]The order of their quest basically emphasised unity and continuity of African cultural traditions. In this unitary form it assumed a bond which provided these intellectuals a base for the future as well. However, in the Gold Coast, the intellectual outcome was one that maintained a constitutional argument until Nkrumah returned to the Gold Coast in 1948. Thus, Nkrumah drew inspiration from the African cultural traditional works by these scholars, which were mainly of protest literatures from western-educated Gold Coasters, from Cape Coast and across the globe. He intended to create the African personality out of these ideas, a meaning which he found among the *Asafo*, but especially on the *Ozo* of Nigeria. Let us give consideration to the latter in the formulation of his thought.

It is important to give a brief introduction to this institution or organisation of the *Ozo* history titles in the African cultural tradition. In as much as collective sense holds in African cultural traditions, social identity is an outstanding and prominent feature. In African cultural traditions there prevails an intellectual pattern for the conserving of a collective social identity. For this awakening consciousness a historical process is

[534] There is an unending debate about the exaclt moment this begun. The earliest date is 1776. Indicated in the work of P. Olisanwuche Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and The Movement 1776-1963*, Howard University Press, Washington D. C., 1982, 7. Chinweizu Chinweizu(ed), "Pan-Africanist Wisdom, 1791-2013: Selection from Pan-Africanist Thinkers Since Boukman-I," selected, with commentary by Chinweizu, Sundor999@gmail.com, 2013, 1.
[535] Cited in John Markakis, "1930-The Idea and The Movement", 418.
[536] Ibid,71.

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followed to create not only equality but order within the African society. The *Ozo* or the *Nze* initiations persist in this tradition. This is based on fetishism premised on the origins of the *Asafo* groups[537] of which Nkrumah was a member. Thus, in the absence of national structures it was impossible for the realisation of the sense of collective consciousness that could be deemed national, or of a "living and active corporate will."[538] The earliest nationalist intellectual framework of constitutional argument does not constitute, and hardly could constitute, the framework of nationalist claims.[539]

It had for an emphasis a strong tendency both to reconstruct African cultural traditional institutions and practices which compare favourably with analogous western creations, and to emphasise the moral values and ethical principles which Nkrumah deemed as lacking in the western construct of humanity. Indeed, the *Ozo* which was used in establishing and creating the Young Pioneers Movement gave a composite picture of the African cultural remains, a system which animated the individual and institutions based on human relations. Above all it had value for African cultural traditions for the future.

For as Markakis indicated Nkrumah used the term African personality in a state of development - a state of becoming.[540] Nkrumah asserted that "we are going to see that we create our own African personality and identity; it is the only way we can show the world that we are masters of own destiny."[541] He spoke of the need for "a new type of man" in Africa, "a dedicated, modest and devoted man."[542] By this Nkrumah shifted his attention to the reconstruction of national consciousness from dwelling on African

[537] Festus B. Aboagye, *Indigenous African Warfare: Its Concepts and Art in Gold Coast, Asante and the Northern Territories up to the early 1900s,* Accra: Sedco Enterprise Ltd, 2010, 147-148.
[538] Ibid, Markakis, 13.
[539] *ibid*, 13.
[540] ibid, 236.
[541] Nkrumah, "I Speak of Freedom," 107.
[542]Nkrumah, "Building A Socialist State" , Address to the Convention Peoples Party Study group, Accra: Government of Ghana, April 22, 1961, 2.

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cultures in the past to the need for it in the present as well as the future. Here, African cultural tradition is accorded a secondary position in the personality development and growth. Nkrumah therefore placed emphasis on the collective strength of Ghanaian consciousness instead of individualism.

According to Coleman, Hodgkin's argument on nationalism and national consciousness showed that there was "a certain kind of historical situation, certain fundamental human problems to be resolved, which tend to stimulate a particular way of thinking about the situation and the problems."[543] These various problems and challenges were to be dealt with by the study of changing situations in the trends and patterns of national consciousness in relation to Ghanaian attitudes. According to Nkrumah, "we must adopt a revolutionary attitude to our work, and accommodate our minds and attitudes to the need for constant adaptations."[544] This is the central theme of this chapter and it is to answer how Nkrumah differed in approaches to African cultural traditions in the Ghanaian national consciousness in his intellectual works from other Ghanaian intellectuals of his days; and to inquire about what his successes were.

Indeed, as a pilot in charge of the Ghanaian people and their history, Kwame Nkrumah in seeking the African past, agreed with other scholars such as Danquah, Casely-Hayford, Attoh Ahuma and K. A. Busia that factors such as religion, migration, trade, the rise and expansion of kingdoms, colonialism itself served as the crux for bringing about Ghanaian national consciousness[545]. However, Nkrumah's approaches were at variance with these views to a certain degree.

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[543] See, "Coleman, Nationalism and Development in Africa," 142.

[544] Kwame Nkrumah, Cited in Joseph Justice Turton Mensah, The Bureau of African Affairs In The Kwame Nkrumah Administration From 1951-1966 With A (Descriptive) Guide For Its Archives", Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, 1987, 65.

[545] Samuel Obeng, *Selected speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*, Accra: Afram Publications, 2009, Vol. 2, 275-276. Abamfo Ofori Atiemo, Religion and Human Rights in Ghana,"unpublished Ph.D Dissertation, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2010, 76-96.

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These intellectual approaches include his thought on the art history of Africa for effective reconstruction of Ghanaian and African national consciousness. Nkrumah used proverbs, aphorism, folklore and storytelling to reconstruct national consciousness, on the restoration of the "fear of God" through traditional cultural religion, traditional education, traditional approaches to the organisation and education of Ghanaian women for effective national consciousness, the traditional patterns to the education and organisation of the youth for effective national consciousness, and the traditional African thought of the mass media, and the architectural design of the independent arch with the motto freedom and justice is a fusing of both modernist classical thought of Greco-Roman philosopher on his ideas, Ghanaian foreign policies contained African traditional thought. The domestic tenets of foreign policies and its external features were African cultural intended. In addition to these were techno-national consciousness approaches to the industrialisation of Ghana during the Nkrumah regime. Seen in historical perspectives, Nkrumah did not only offer scholarship to Ghanaian students to study abroad but he did "see the springing up of cities of Africa becoming the metropolis of science learning, Architecture and Philosophy."[546] However, due to limited time for this research two of these achievements shall be discussed. These include the creation of the Young Pioneers Movement and Nkrumah's attempts at restoring the "Fear of God" through Africa cultural traditions.

Assembled from several African cultural traditions, especially from the ozo or nze initiation rites, Nkrumah sought for traditional values which were the embodiment of the African personality, and could uniquely contribute to world civilisation. The history of this intellectual reconstruction by Nkrumah shall be discussed in this chapter to the neglect of the others.

[546]" I Told You So!" Kwame Nkrumah's speech, August 15, 1962. Preface. See also, No. 99

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It is important to give a brief introduction to the institution of the Ozo history titles in the African cultural tradition. In as much as collective sense holds in African cultural traditions, social identity is an outstanding feature. In African cultural traditions there prevails an intellectual pattern for the conserving collective social identity. For this awakening consciousness, a historical process is followed to create not only equality but order within the African society. The Ozo or the Nze initiations persist in this tradition.

The Ozo or the Nze hailed from a Nigerian community in Africa. In Ibo land they existed in places like Ihiala, Enugu, Ukwu, Awka, Onitsa, Nsuaka, and across some river areas. In Yoruba land they were found among the Ekiti, Owe, Yagba, Jumu, Bunu, Ijebu-Ode people[547]. Even now such practices still go on among a few communities including the Ekiti people of Yoruba[548].

Ozo or Nze is the building of a society in a traditional consciousness of raising a community and its essence of their persistent as members of the human community of not only their traditional values but to make their community to live and continue. Though strictly considered for men, it gives consideration to female counterparts. As an age-set group they have several functions to perform in social, political, religious and economic order. Let us employ some of these functions and characteristics to analyse the enterprises of the Young Pioneers Movement under Nkrumah.

Granted this common preoccupation for their common ethnic consciousness, their ages are categorised into specific age-sets. They vary from one society to the other. Thus Nkrumah organised the Young Pioneers into specific age grouping and specific assignment as well as "curricula" attached to them. This principle made sense for easier identification and their senses of individualism were given up for a collective purpose. The ages though varied from one perspective to the another, they are indicated as

[547] Isaac Kwesi Otabil, *Notes on West African Traditional Religion Volume* 2, 132.
[548] Ibid., Otabil, *Notes on West African Traditional Religion Volume* 2, 132.

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follows: ages three to seven years were the youngest students, named the "African Personality"; the second age group was "The Young Pioneers" aged eight to sixteen and the third group consisted of what was referred to as the Kwame Nkrumah Youth with the ages from seventeen to twenty-five[549].

Significantly, the Ozo group of Nigeria was compulsory for its community and Nkrumah tied entrance to the University to membership of the Young Pioneers as asserted by Dogli[550]. This compulsion which the Ozo society considers as their moral, social, economic and religious behaviour would not contrast one another. In this logic, the *Evening News* asserted that "In the name of a better future we should not neglect to impart moral and other vital instructions to the pupils and students of our schools and colleges"[551].

Otabil commented that the solidarity on the part of the Ozo setup is that members tend to think within their age groups as a group and not as individuals[552]. Based on this thought Z. B. Shardow who was a Muslim was selected as a National Organiser of the movement. He indicated that it was to inculcate in the children of Ghana a feeling of pride for the country[553]. The movement, he further asserted, would also seek to foster physical fitness, respect for manual work, self-discipline, sense of duty and of responsibility, and above all love for and a strong desire to serve the country[554].

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[549] ADM KD 33/6/215. For much detail see this record of document. It indicates the programmes of the various groupings which indicate the Young Pioneers in Akuapem in 1962. For the African Personality group: Action Songs, foot-drill and Games, one founds Nkrumah's pictures, history of Lumumba, A Discipline Code, Hiking in the Gardens, Songs and Games, Craft, Modelling, Picture of great African Leaders, Aims and Codes, Developments in Ghana, Songs and foot-drill, Craft, Picture Study, Sports, Games, History of Botanical Gardens, Folk-lore and Dancing. For Young Pioneers, they study the Economic aspects of Nkrumahism, had a Discipline Code, current Affairs, Physical display, Nkrumahism, Topography, Folk-lore and Dancing, Foot-drill formation, Craft, Tradition of Drumming and Dancing. Compare this position to what is suggested in Pobee's work and there are differences. See, Pobee, "Kwame Nkrumah and the church in Ghana", 129.

[550] Ibid, Interview with Rev. Dogli. See Introduction.

[551] *Evening News*, 5 April 1960.

[552] Isaac Kwesi Otabil, *Notes on West African Traditional Religion*, vol. 2, 1993, 132-137.

[553] ERG 1/14/11.

[554] *Evening News*, June 28, 1960,5.

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Morality is not only a cherished virtue in African cultural traditions but a practical life that is inculcated in the child from the earlier stages of life. The Ozo age-set is important in this field. The men especially who are initiated into the masquerade cult are guardians against anti-social vices such as theft. The members are expected to serve not only as collectors of fines and dues but to safeguard the public morality. Thus for effective law and order in society, members usually check on each other. Usually, the adult address the disputes. Therefore, this was the sign post to the Young Pioneers members who found it easy even reporting their kinsmen, friends as well as parents to Nkrumah the eldest person. Introducing these practices would not go down well with the Ghanaian public. For instances, Mr. Mensah-Abavon informed Cati in an interview that the Young Pioneers "cut off the head of criminals" in the old prison yard of Akropong[555]. In the African sense of morality it was right for this to be done before the chief[556].

The Christians who perceived the practices as a threat not to their faith but to their immediate families opposed the organisation. The Christian clergy and intellectuals felt once it was not adherence to their intellectual traditions it was against God. Indeed, they were right reasonably since it was a threat not to their positions in society but a sign which may take away their practice of Christian faith as the CPP indicated that the movement was to become the "Apostles of the New Social Order."[557]Taking this line into consideration, the intellectuals on the programme were labelled as atheist. It became the clash between church and the Nkrumah regime.

However, we may wonder about the relevance of all this to traditional African political thinking. Once again it is stressed in the Ozo patterns of African thought that those above the age of twenty-one are constituted into an organisation or institution that form an army of the towns and villages to defend the people against external threat. It

[555] Cati, "Not Just Drumming and Dancing,"205.
[556] Ibid, Cati, 205.
[557] *Evening News*, 17June, 1961.

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was within this social framework that Nkrumah labelled the third group aged from seventeen to twenty-five as the Kwame Nkrumah Youth. In consonance with African cultural traditions and the demand to redeem these traditions from colonial rule, this part of the age group was significant in the scheme of things, especially regarding the kind of training they received in Nkrumaism.Thus Mr. A.D. Otoo, public Relation Officer of the Young Pioneers, said that the movement was "formed to be part of the national educational framework. Its purpose should be to educate young people to be ready both morally and physically to answer the call of their country and to serve it both in war and peace"[558]. Mr. Otoo reiterated that the qualities that were to be inculcated through the movement included qualities of self-sacrifice, love of country, devotion and a sense of duty to the state, to develop social and civic consciousness[559].

Now one of the essential features of the Ozo cult is its religious foundations. But what has all this got to do with the gods and spirits of traditional religious thinking since some are of the opinion that there is no theoretical thinking in African tradition? It is obviously not possible that Nkrumah could borrow an African cultural traditional thought for a scientific analysis. However, Nkrumah differed from this opinion. The religious attributes of the Ozo cult is its membership praying to solicit from the gods and ancestors long life, protection and other related matters. They make sacrifices to them in the form of drinks, meat and food. Essentially, it is a platform to be linked to the ancestors. Some wrongly thought that the children on the programme made these religious prayers to Nkrumah. It was in this regard that Bishop Roseveare reviewed the motives of the concept as an incipient atheism to African Personality. Indeed, Bishop Bowers on the other hand classified it as an enthronement of Nkrumah and his ideas[560].

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[558] *Evening News*, November, 29, 1960,8.
[559] Ibid, *Evening News*, November, 29, 1960,8.
[560] The Ghana Socialist Forum, A member was my informant. See Introduction of this work for interview date. Also, Obeng, "Selected Speeches," Vol. 4, No. 16, 2007, 102.

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The CPP reacted to some of these comments in the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Accra Evening News*. It described individuals opposing their agenda as "the neo-colonialist Lucifer" who "communes with the devil", "neo-colonialist rabble-rouser"[561]. They considered those opposing comments as distortion of the CPP's intents; they pointed fingers at their opponents describing their views as "criminal distortion of facts about the purpose of the Young Pioneers."[562] They opposed the situation where the Pulpit hid under the shadows of religion to darken the judgement of the Ghanaian nationalism being carried out with the advocacy of consciousness through the activities of the Young Pioneers Movement[563].

The *Evening News* on some occasions perceived some of these allegations as purely intended to spread rumours against Nkrumah and his administration. Indeed, a critical analysis of the activities of this historical moments informs us that Nkrumah's approaches at constructing national consciousness was against internal and external forces.

It is based on this premise that Nkrumah on 14th June, 1963 indicated that the youth of Ghana should stand together in singleness of purpose in order to meet loyally and boldly the supreme challenge of the times[564]. And for cultural or national interest, the youth organisation should be harmonised so as to keep faith with African cultural tradition and national consciousness[565]. In this way Nkrumah's belief would inspire them to the highest standard of responsibility and discipline that the dignity of Africa and the concept of the African personality would be inculcated in the youth for the spirit of

[561] *Ghanaian Times*, August 7, 1962.
[562] Ibid, *Ghanaian Times*, August 7, 1962.
[563] *Evening News*, August 7, 1962.
[564] Obeng, "Selected Speeches" , Vol. 5, No. 13, 1997, 51.
[565] Ibid, Obeng, "Selected Speeches" , Vol. 5, No. 13, 1997, 51.

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service, love and devotion, not only to their fellows and country but to humanity in general[566].

It should be observed that in an attempt to construct the internal and external national consciousness of Ghanaians, Nkrumah was following his own intellectual principles. To him, "the duty of African politicians and the intellectuals is to explain patiently, continuously and persistently to the outside world the essence of African nationalism and its problems"[567]. This, Nkrumah said, was a pure question of the moment, and there were indications at that moments in history that European powers were against Nkrumah's awakening of African national consciousness.

It was the collaborations of internal forces with their external counterparts and Bishop Reginald Richard Roseveare who had a hand in discouraging these internal transformations of the Ghanaian national consciousness under the guise of Christianity. To prove this very clearly, one wondered why the Bishop would set up a spy or an informant against the programme if he trusted his mission as an idea to defend God against the Young Pioneers Movement. Logically, the Bishop might have historically perceived this as antichurch and therefore against Christianity; but as it is, not all traditions oppose religion; and it became clear that setting a spy against the programme [568] was not proper and godly.

Indeed, the moral dispositions of such a bishop who asked informants to sell information to enable him work against his opponent were not only ungodly, but not Christian! It is also logically in arguing that the Bishop was only proving that as a European he knew the African cultural traditions better than the custodians of these cultural traditions. This is a display of the intellectual arrogance of the western mind!

[566]Ibid, Obeng, "Selected Speeches" , Vol. 5, No. 13, 1997, 51. See also Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 130-131.
[567] Obeng, "Selected Speeches" , Vol. 1, No. 24, 1979, 125.
[568] See Pobee, "Kwame Nkrumah", footnote No.22, 139 for this evident.

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This situation is not different from the western position that they brought "civilisation" and "God" to the African and they have no choice than to take it.

However, Nkrumah cannot be exonerated either, if the attempt was to deify himself. But was he interested in this rather than attempts at bridging the division of the Ghanaian national consciousness? The CPP members indicated that the youth of Ghana had the religious rights and individual priests like Roseveare who were self-righteous could not stop this in their religious crusade for Christianity.[569]

Aside from this observation, the prominent features of the Ozo age-set which Nkrumah incorporated into the Young Pioneers is the organisation of entertainment and contest among villages and towns as part of their social activities. They organised "group dances, drumming and chivalry displays" as well.[570] But it should be added that Nkrumah modernised some of the activities to suit a contemporary living. For instance, he added techno-nationalism to the third group. Let us analyse this in detail.

First in the entertainment field Pobee indicated that the movement "provided entertainment"[571]. This is a pattern of the Ozo age-set group that was adopted not necessarily to make money but to attract membership into their fold. Thus Pobee reasoned that these entertainment activities were staged in various parts of the country.[572]He indicated that the Sekondi-Takoradi branch of the movement demonstrated this in the play "The Great Sayings of Osagyefo", and another entitled "Nkrumaism" was staged in Kumasi.[573] Pobee observed that the activities of the movement were "colourful" screen to watch.[574] Indeed, he stressed that they actually took "boredom" out

[569] See, Editorial of *Ghanaian Times*, August 9, 1962, 3; *Evening News*, 16 June 1961; *Ghanaian Times* of April 12, 1962, 6.
[570] Issac Kwesi Otabil, *Notes on West African Traditional Religion*, 1993,133.
[571]Pobee, "Kwame Nkrumah,"129.
[572] Ibid, 129.
[573] Ibid, 129.
[574]Ibid, 129.

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of the Ghanaian public with their "route-marches" which were "much loved" by Ghanaians.[575]

This observation of Pobee demonstrated Nkrumah's efforts of awakening and reconstructing the national consciousness. Its approach showed that Nkrumah was not only interested in the unification of Ghanaians but their mental consciousness of the African cultural traditions as well. Indeed, this mental reconstruction was not meant to do away with boredom but for Ghanaians to come to know that they have a heritage to be proud of. Just as these principles are means of attracting others into the fold of the Ozo age-group, the Young Pioneers Movement began to increase in number. It was reported by the *Evening News* in 1961 that there were 20,500 members countrywide.[576] In April 1962, the same newspaper gave an increase in the numerical strength of the movement. There were 5,000 branches throughout the country with membership of 500,000 of which 190,000.[577]This gave Nkrumah an overview of not only the growth of Ghanaian national consciousness but the strength of this growth.

Similarly, another aspect of the entertainment feature of the Ozo cult is drumming and dancing competitions that brought together villages and towns. It is apparent that Nkrumah used this idea for the activities of the Young Pioneers. This was paramount in the Akuapem district when the movement was inaugurated by the Okyeame of Nkrumah, who was a native of Akropong, Okyeame Boafo Akuffo in May 1962 in schools in Mamfe and Akropong[578]. It is worth mentioning that just as the Ozo age-set is characterised by speaking in secret codes so was this organisation made up of

[575] Ibid, 129.
[576] *Evening News*, 8 June, 1961.
[577] *Evening News*, 14 June, 1962. See, also *Ibid*, ADM KD 33/6/215. Nyante's report on the progress of the Youth Pioneers Movement in Akuapem.
[578]. See letter from Zed B. Shardow to the District Commissioner, Akropong, 16May 1962, also, letter from Erasmus Addu-Annoma, Headmaster, Presby Mixed Middle School to the District Commissioner, 1 May, 1963. There was a letter to Zed B. Shardow, in which Nifahene, chief of Adukrom assured "to supply all material aid to assist the traditional culture and prestige of our present Ghana" ERG 1/14/11.

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several secret codes. This was not a hidden agenda but it was to enable them communicate easily with their community.

The organisation in Akuapem was similar to the national patterns formulated; they marched, studied, drummed and danced[579]. When the Young Pioneers Movement gained momentum in Akuapem under the auspices of A. O. Nyante as district organiser of the branch in January 1963, he talked, in that month's reports and in subsequent ones, about the progress of the movements[580]. In the January reports he asserted that the movement was undertaking studies in drama, civic, folk-lore, traditional drumming and dancing, and other cultural activities[581].

In February 1963, his progress reports indicated that the movement was making preparation for the next independence celebrations. In view of that there were cultural competitions in *fomtomfom* drumming and dancing among the boys and girls who were preparing in *adenkum*. These competitions were among towns of Akropong, Larteh, Mampong, Amanokrom, Mamfe, Dawu, Adukrom, and Apirede[582]. Indeed, Nyante reiterated the increase in attendance and a renewed interest to participate in the celebrations by the members in the early parts of the following month[583]. In all, for the national collective sense, there was an amalgamation of the various African cultural traditions taught by the elders to members of the Young Pioneers Movement. These mainly came from various individuals, older men and women in the Ghanaian society who voluntarily wanted to teach them[584]. Consequently, Nyante established the Abe Young Pioneers secondary school. On 6th July, 1963 when it was launched, a flag

[579]Ibid, Cati, "Not Just Drumming and Dancing," 205.
[580] Ibid, ADM KD 33/6/215, see letter of Konko Presby Primary to the District Commissioner, 10 May, 1963. The blamed Nyante for not honouring an invitation by three villages including Kwamaso, Okrakwadjo, and Konko.
[581] *Ibid*, ADM KD 33/6/215.
[582] *Ibid*.
[583] *Ibid*.
[584]My information is from Grandmother in the person Mrs Reccba Kudjawu who used to tech in the Accra branch of the Young Pioneers Movement on part-time Voluntary national duty. Interview on January, 8 ,2012. At her residence in McCarthy Hill, Accra.

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procession ceremony was carried out, a song to the "Pan African Socialist Students"[585]. A drama was staged in honour of Nkrumah; there were appellations and some sayings of Nkrumah. These were accompanied with traditional drumming and dancing[586]. In sum, Nyante's work on the movement by July, 1963 on its third Anniversary at Koforidua in the Eastern Region proved fruitful[587]. However, there were setbacks as the head teacher of the Abe schools began to doubt the authenticity of the programme due to rumours. The District Commissioner came to make sure the branch had a firm footing as it was intended to have[588].

All in all, it is reasonable to mention that these African cultural traditions of the Ozo and Nze age groups was combined with others, especially, those of the centralised democratic principles of the Akans of Africa where the Chief forms the apex of decision making.

The Third national Anniversary ended in 1963 with Independence and Republic Day celebrations of the nation, with some activities of the Young Pioneers. The next year found them at the Eastern Regional Youth Festival competitions of cultural drumming and dancing, in addition to arts and crafts, physical and gymnastic shows and choral music[589]. This was a re-orientation of the Odwira festival with a national approach. Thus it was not surprising when the movement participated in the Odwira festival in 1965.[590]

However, Adu Boahen contended that Nkrumah's ideas originated from his intellectual predecessors[591]. But it has to be pointed out that his ideas were crafted on African cultural traditions with a considerable moderation to meet contemporary

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[585] *Ibid.*
[586] *Ibid.*
[587] *Ibid.*
[588] *Ibid.*
[589] ERG 1/13/234 ;ERG1/14/11;ADM KD 33/6/466.
[590] Ibid.
[591] Adu Boahen, *Ghana: Evolution and Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, London: Longman Group, 1975, 145.

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governance. By the early 1920s and 1930s The Youth Conferences had begun. Prominent intellectual figures included J. B. Danquah, Brakatu Ateko, J. C. De Graft Johnson, K. A. Bossman, R. S. Blay, W. B. Van Lare and Edward Asafu-Adjaye. In March 1929, Danquah wrote a pamphlet: "An Epistle to Educated Youngmen in Akim Abuakwa"[592]. The work, though captioned with this label for a specific group of people, was intended to be for readers to form town and village councils for the provision of modern amenities; it also advocated the formation of "national assembly of youth to study the problems facing the country."[593]

Essentially, it was to bring the youth to discuss and exchange views on vital issues confronting the country. However, there were restrictions as to who qualified to participate. In 1938 there was a second conference with a written pamphlet to empower the youth. The title of the pamphlet was "First Step towards a National Fund"[594]. In addition, from 6th to 9th April, 1939 there was a discussion about the need for another work and it was titled "Youth and Service to the Community"[595]. In 1940, the Youth Conference met in Akropong-Akuapem where another theme "The problems of Social and Economic Re-construction in War and Peace" emerged; and there was yet another one in 1941 titled "Things to Change in the Gold Coast"[596]. Similarly in that same year Danquah wrote another piece on behalf of the conferences titled "The Self-help and Expansion: A review of the work and aims of the Youth Conference, with a statement of its policy for the 1943 and the action consequent upon that policy".[597]

Indeed, while it can be said that Nkrumah was guided by these activities, the history of Ghana indicate that there was no "self-help and Expansion", neither was there

[592] Ibid,Antwi, 157.
[593]Ibid.
[594]ibid.
[595] Ibid.
[596] Ibid.
[597] Ibid, 159.

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any enterprise. No word about independence and autonomy was uttered[598]; "for issues were, so to speak, talked to death and discipline was hard to achieve"[599] until the appearance of Nkrumah on the Ghanaian political scene. Obviously his agitation might be influenced by I .T. A. Wallace-Johnson whose West African Youth League[600] was all encompassing than those above. The point here is that Nkrumah had debated such views intellectually just like I .T. A. Wallace-Johnson.

But it can be argued that Nkrumah believed in a coherent African cultural thought. Jan Carew and Cheikah Anta Diop[601] contended that Nkrumah was interested in African cultural traditions and its essence to African consciousness and therefore it was instructive and imperative to reason that Nkrumah did follow the thoughts of his predecessors. It is apparent that Nkrumah's doctoral work was influenced by Danquah's works, *The Akan Laws and Customs* in 1928 and *The Akan Doctrine of God in 1944*[602]. Nkrumah's intellectual works on the principles of the construction of Ghanaian national consciousness was likewise influenced by Kobina Sekyi's intellectual insights on the thought of Akans about the essence of race and manhood in order to understand the African philosophy and its educational development[603].

Baku debated that Sekyi's criticism on Western philosophy and colonialism was his (Sekyi's) understanding of African cultural traditions. Thus for him, there was no need for Christianity in any enterprise of the African people. Kobina Sekyi corresponded with Nkrumah a great deal, and Nkrumah might have been influenced by this

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[598]Ibid., Antwi, Untitled political Historical work of Ghana from its Pre-colonial Era, 159.

[599] Martin Kilson, "Emergent Elites of Black Africa, 1900 to 1960" in L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan(eds), *Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960Vol. 2* , Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970, 351-398;385.

[600]Ibid, Antwi, 160.

[601] Cheikh Anta Diop, *Great African Thinkers, Journal of African Civilisations*, June, 1986, Vol. 8, No.1, Introduction, 12. See also, 26, 270.

[602] Nkrumah, "Primitive Mind", 112.

[603] D.E. Kofi, "An Intellectual and Nationalist Politics: The Role of Kobina Sekyi in the Evolution of Ghanaian National Consciousness", chapters 4 and 5.

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thought.[604]Indeed, it is unquestionable that they both shared the views of doing away with chieftaincy for instance, in the modern system of governance.[605] This critical position requires understanding of colonial history and the role of African chiefs in the scheme of things. But Sekyi did not write much as compared to J. E. Casely Hayford who had several publications to his credit[606]. One can observe that Casely Hayford's intellectual passion and influences affected Nkrumah's cultural traditional thinking. The most useful work was espoused in "Ethiopia Unbound" with a subtitle "Studies in Race Emancipation". This work emphasised the need for African cultural traditions including such attributes as languages, manners, customs, and religion and household goods, according to Eluwa in an essay[607]. These, Casely Hayford contended were the basis of Africa's self-respect and the African had to hold them in high esteem by preserving them; for, it would result in the African mental liberation[608].

However, such literatures including those of Danquah, according to V.Y. Mudimbe have contributed to the search for this mental emancipation as an alternative

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[604] See, ACC. 74/64, Aborigines Papers, Ghana Regional Archives, Cape Coast, Nkrumah to Kobina Sekyi, 18 September 1945. Also, S.K.B. Asante, "The Neglected Aspects of The Activities of The Aborigines Rights Protection Society", 38-44. Also see, ACC.187/65, Kobina Sekyi Paper, Sekyi to Nkrumah, 1st October, 1945, ACC. III/65, Aborigines Papers, Nkrumah to Sekyi, 28 January 1946. Ibid., Sekyi to Nkrumah, 13 March 1946, Ibid., Nkrumah to Sekyi, 28 August 1947. Also, S.K.B. Asante, "The Aborigines Rights Protection Society, Kwame Nkrumah and The 1945 Pan- African Congress", *Research Review*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1971, 46-72. S.K.B. Asante, "Kwame Nkrumah and Pan- Africanism: The Early Phase, 1945-1961", *Universities*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1973, 36-49.

[605] S.K. B. Asante, Kwame Nkrumah and the Pan-Africanism: The Early Phase, 1945-1961, *Universitas*, Vol. 3, No. 1, October, 1973, 36-49. See also, S.K. B. Asante, "Setting Straight the Record," 105-106; 107-113.

[606] Kofi Baku, "History as Grist to the Mill of Anti-Colonial Protest: Gold Cost Part-Time Non-Professional Historians and Intellectual Resistance to Colonialism in Southern Gold Coast, 1897-1945", 298.

[607] G. I. . C. Eluwa, "Casely Hayford and Africa Emancipation", *Pan-Africa Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1974, 111- 118;112.

[608] Ibid, 112.

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view against foreign domination. Though these literatures questioned the doubtful policies of the colonial educational establishment, the colonialists used them as collaborative efforts of African intellectuals for the intensification of their colonial hegemony[609]. The works of Attoh Ahuma and other Ghanaian intellectuals cannot be excluded as Atiemo and others have argued[610]. To delve further into this let us take a look at Bartels *memoirs* very critically.

Indeed it seems while Nkrumah sought for African cultural traditions to be the ideals "for the preparation of the increasing number of people for handling the demand for self-rule"[611] and the reawakening of the consciousness of the Ghanaian nation, the values of these indigenous "educational methods and techniques" for self-rule, according to Bartels, were neither appreciated nor had "a better chance"[612]. In Bartels' paradoxes he confessed that

> We Africans came to independence with but a smattering knowledge of foreign guides to action with sovereign state. We came to it with little or no conviction of the relevance of the African guides to the conduct that had survived change and were understood by the majority. Nor did we really know the facts of traditional life.[613]

Yet Bartels raised intellectual eye-brows against Nkrumah's African cultural traditions for Ghanaian schools. However, since he was in a dilemma over these issues, when he recognised the truth, Bartels turned to examine African cultural traditions including proverbs or folk tales even at his postgraduate studies. He stressed that "that part of my work helped me to increase the understanding I had acquired within my

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[609] V.Y. Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge*, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1988,76-77; Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, The Study of Africa: Global and Transnational Engagements, Dakar: Codesira, 2007,239; 256.
[610] Atiemo, "Religion and Human Rights," 94. Also, Gadzekpo, "Women's Engagement with Gold Coast Print Culture From 1857 to 1957", 41-42.
[611] Bartels, "The Persistence of Paradox," 318.
[612] Ibid, 318.
[613] Ibid, 318.

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family circles, in particular that of my grandfather..."[614] Let us follow Bartels intellectual footprints. This was Nkrumah's intensions for all Ghanaians in his intellectual works as he maintained that it was fruitless arguing about the African past; however, as a matter of choice Africans must select values of their glorious past and not those of others[615].

Having made attempts in analysing Nkrumah's thought along these lines let us take a look briefly at some of his successes.

Kwame Nkrumah's Intellectual Achievements in African Cultural Traditions

-Restoring of the 'Fear of God' Through Traditional Cultural Religion

Nkrumah's achievements are many in the area of policies - both domestic and foreign. But the most outstanding to this discussion is the "fear of God" it restored to Ghanaian national consciousness.

In spite of the several charges against Kwame Nkrumah and his regime in terms of Nkrumah's personal views on religion, it has been contended that his attempts were to restore to the people of Ghana the African cultural traditional values of the "fear of God"[616]. Atiemo observed that Nkrumah was occupied with "national consciousnesses" of Ghanaians[617]. He therefore took the mandate to personally embody his persona towards the fear of God by making the African culture tradition the centrality of Ghanaian national life and history. To illustrate his ideas for the awakening and reconstruction of Ghanaian survival and relationship consciousness, Nkrumah acquired several African cultural traditional titles to direct and lead the minds of Ghanaians to their culture and tradition that relate to religion.

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[614] Ibid.

[615] Nkrumah, "African Cultural Renaissance: Speech delivered at the meeting of the Editorial board of Encyclopaedia African" at the University of Ghana, 24 September, 1964, Accra: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Taking with permission. See also, E. K. Addo, "Encyclopaedia Africana", *The Spark*, 14 August, 1964, 4. Also Obeng, "Selected Speeches," Vol. 2, No.44, 284.

[616] Atiemo, "Religion and Human Rights," 101,

[617] ibid, 99.

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Nkrumah's achievement was the principle of the collective memory in Ghanaian history as a people with a collective identity for the Ghanaian sense of cultivating survival and relationship consciousness. This was done by taking all the best in the inherited religions for a collective national purpose. Nkrumah had to operate on such occasions using all the religions according to the Ghanaian ethical values and doctrines.

To illustrate these points, the Christian churches invited God through their prayers, and likewise the Muslim prayers as well as the African cultural traditional prayers. However, this idea was not shared by the Christian clergy. Their views, influenced by enlightened protestant ethics, deprived them of the fact that all religions are one despite the differences in doctrines. Also, these views were reinforced in the light of their thoughts because the African cultural traditions were condemned by European missionaries.

But Nkrumah held the views that all religions are one. In my opinion, it is not only that all religions should be seen as one but importantly, God through providence gives every religion to the development of the mental and physical states of those who practice them , and so why should African traditions and culture be done away with in the name of a civilised religion? I do not intend to explore this.

However, the fear of God was not the only achievement; there was the restoration of the image of the African personality. This was expressed in the foreign and domestic policies of Nkrumah. In the domestic arena, the role of the P.D.A brought calm among Ghanaians, and prevented the formation of political parties along the lines of religion and ethnic bases. It resulted in the opposition parties then coming together against the CPP. Indeed, this was a remarkably achievement, where regionalism gave way to nationalism which still persist within Ghanaian sense of nation building today. To this effect, several African intellectuals from the diaspora came to Ghana on pilgrimage, to return to a

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"promise land". Some of these personalities were W.E. B. Dubois, Richard Rights and Maya Angelou, to mention but a few.

On the foreign front, Nkrumah's policies utilised Sports and African cultural traditions to bring Africans, especially those within the West African regions together. Aside from this, Ghana was to be constructed along a traditional techno-nationalism. This was to encourage scientific technology that was indigenous to the African but with some modernisation.

Conclusion

There is no doubt, that African cultural traditions of Nkrumah's intellectual works were premised on effective African traditional organisations with some modern concepts. It portrays the effective neo-traditional organisation of all aspects of life. These were expressed in the artistic intellectual works of the era.

Essentially, all aspects of Ghanaian nationalism were organised from the smallest things to the larger ones. Thus from domestic internal policies to the international arena of diplomacy, Kwame Nkrumah crafted Ghanaian national consciousness in relation to the tenets of African cultural traditions in the evolution of Ghanaian nationalism.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Summary and Conclusion

In this dissertation, I have attempted to explore Kwame Nkrumah's patterns of thought on African cultural traditions in the evolution of Ghanaian national consciousness from 1944 to 1966. The possibilities under examination include survival and relationship consciousness, self-esteem and transformation consciousness. They also include internal and external cohesions and global consciousness. Finally, the chapters in this research explored the rise of new institutions in Nkrumah's attempt to construct Ghanaian nationalism. The intellectual institutions were created by Nkrumah at the time to get the Ghanaian academia closer to its immediate societies.

Several new points have emerged in the course of this thesis. First I have pointed out that prior to Ghana's independence, in Nkrumah's earliest writings including "Primitive Mind", "Primitive Education in West Africa", "Education and Nationalism in Africa", "Educational trends and potentialities in West Africa", *Towards Colonial Freedom* and in his *Autobiography,* he had indicated that survival and relationship consciousness was crucial to understanding the need for independence. More importantly, these earlier intellectual ideas were Nkrumah's worldview for a philosophical consciousness of the African people through the cultural systems. In these volumes of work I observed that Nkrumah attempted to construct Ghanaian national consciousness through two key values. First, he contended that economic bases were the prerequisite for the demands of freedom and these lay in the unity of the people. This realisation depended on the second factor – the African cultural traditions of the people is required as a higher "fitted propeller" for the emancipation of the people from colonial domination.

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One important aspect of these intellectual works was how Nkrumah in the earliest part of the 1940s realised the need for a sense of using collective memories and collective consciousness to foster the sense of togetherness and belonging as a nation and a people. In these observations, Nkrumah drew from the wells of the African past histories and experiences. From the enlightenment philosophers, he generalised the history of the Akan people as Ghanaian history, while relatively gathering from all the African cultural traditions in the evolution of Ghanaian national consciousness. His ideas in general were to bring the people of Ghana to a collective national consciousness.

As religion forms the basis of collective consciousness, Nkrumah contended there was the need to bring the religions in harmony. There should be a selection of the best in these religions of Ghana, namely traditional African religion, Christianity and Islam for the good of all, especially Africans. These ideas served as theoretical frameworks, guiding the concepts of national consciousness that were complemented with practical demonstrations. Nkrumah evolved Ghanaian nationalism with the three main inherited religions mentioned above. He created an office for the chief Imam, and Nkrumah often fasted and meditated for the progress of Africa. He found it necessary to stage healthy competitions among Ghanaian fetish priests and priestesses in order to promote unity among them. As an agenda he had nursed all these while, Nkrumah consulted with some fetish shrines practices of divination. He perceived traditional cultures and Christianity as having the same source. Thus several Christian hymns were sung at political gatherings in the context that the party and the nation Ghana was one and the same.

These practices, I dare say, were not to promote fetishism as some have argued but to create an atmosphere for all and sundry to live in peace, where all religions live side by side for a healthy living of Ghanaian national consciousness. Religion to Nkrumah represented two significant things in the following senses: first to do unto the

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neighbour as yourself and second, love God with all your heart. But how can it be seen that one really loves God, except in the exercising of this love towards the nation one abides in. Considered closely, and set against Nkrumah's position and how history is always shaped by the context of one's devotion for a country, Nkrumah equally perceived religion as the several parts of the human body which cannot be separated. All religions are gateways to salvation hence, the need to appreciate the major tenets in them, foremost, for one's existence and in living in peace with another fellow in the same country. Indeed, all religions have weaknesses and strengths. Thus it is imperative to gather views from all religions to complement one's faith and salvation.

Further, Nkrumah supported his positions with actions and practical demonstration of his views. In the late 1940s Nkrumah adopted several ideas, from traditional and Christian religions to reconstruct Ghanaian national consciousness along the lines of survival and relationship consciousness in his awakening messages of "Positive Action" which paved ways for Nkrumah's "Tactical Action." Some of these ideas of Nkrumah include democratic centralism, the fact that all Africans and Ghanaians for that matter are one. In their oneness, African cultural traditions are the tools for unification instead of separation. Indeed, coming to grips with the devotion and love Nkrumah inspired in Ghanaians for their country, "it is useful to remind ourselves that nations inspire love and profound self-sacrificing love".

Another point that emerges from this dissertation is the idea of self-esteem in the transformation of Ghanaian national consciousness in some of Nkrumah's work. In *I Speak of Freedom*, *Some Essential Features of Nkrumaism*, *Class Struggle in Africa* and *Africa Must Unite*, he focused on exhortation of Ghanaian cultural traditions, for the realisation of Ghanaian national consciousness, as demonstrated, for instance in parliament, on his installation as president of Ghana. Nkrumah's assumption of office

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was characterised with a typical Akan chief installation with modernisation undertones. In these works Nkrumah appealed to Ghanaian national consciousness in a different way more than other Ghanaian intellectuals had approached nationalism.

To give the Ghanaian public a self-esteem image from the so-called "civilised mission" it was coming out of, Nkrumah sought to redefine the highest ancient African cultural traditions of the chief to suit the contemporary situation. Nkrumah sustained his assertions that African cultural traditions were the possible ways of redemption from colonial and imperialist domination. This drew attention to the freedom of Ghanaians in cultivating and nurturing their national consciousness in all aspects of their lives as members of the comity of nations. In addition, this period was characterised by political deadlocks, and thus resulted in the search for external and internal cohesions of struggle for power in associations, which invariably affected the global dimensions of the positions Nkrumah held on African cultural traditions as the most enduring premise on which to construct and order Ghanaian national consciousness.

In *Class Struggle in Africa*, Nkrumah blamed class interests of individuals as the obstacle to the construction and achievement of Ghanaian national consciousness. The observation has been seen by some historians as a period of growing oppression for the opponents of Nkrumah and the CPP administration; one historian has suggested that the legal measures against the opposition was taken with the express aim of sustaining the dictatorship of Nkrumah which eventually resulted in the one party system that was formed during his regime.[618]

By the late 1950s, division and fragmentations had increased in Ghana, and the desire to be independent was for greater competition for resources. The need to be self-assertive arose in the districts and regional levels instead of a unitary nation advocated

[618] Kwame Arhin, "The Nkrumah Government and the Opposition on the Nation State: Unitary verses Fragmentation", in Kwame Arhin, *The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah.*

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by Nkrumah. In turn, this demand for federalism resulted in fragmentation of Ghanaian national consciousness. That said it certainly remained the case which encouraged "social backwardness, parochialism, mutual isolation of cultural collectivism, and in some cases cultural chauvinism."[619]

Of course, there was the division and fragmentation of the African societies by colonialist, especially during the agitation and times of demand for the country's independence. It became necessary to apply these ideas that were tools against the process formation of any cultural matrix inextricably bound in the African mind for the effective hold on a single coherent political society. Nkrumah held the firm belief that a "working class ideology" was required in attaining this national consciousness. In fact, Nkrumah saw a renaissance African questioning colonial status quo that it was impossible for the African to be united under its own African cultural traditions. Nor were the new developments themselves universally positive for the new national image that were being formed and constructed against colonialism. The federalist demands, while initially concerned primarily with the concentration of cocoa wealth in the hands of a few regions in Asante and Akyem Abuakwa, generated into several complex issues and eventually, the formation of several associations on ethnic and regional levels as well as on religious levels.

Nkrumah's thoughts called for the adherence to a Universalist "Scientific Socialism". While these "Scientific Socialist" views are sustained in those works mentioned above, about the need for African cultural traditions to be held in high esteem on the co-operation of internal and external consciousness of Africans, Nkrumah argued in *Consciencism* that it was possible for the entire African continent in a global

[619] Kwame A. Ninsin, "The Nkrumah Government and The Opposition on The Nation State: Unity verses Fragmentation" in Kwame Arhin(ed), The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah: Papers of A Symposium Organised by The Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Accra: Sedco Publishing Limited, 1991, 220.

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consciousness to express and give meaning to African personality in realising a new consciousness of the African people. In as much as Nkrumah was on this plane of thought aside from Negritude, Nkrumah differed from the views of other intellectuals when it came to the construction of Ghanaian national consciousness and making it a reality.

To Nkrumah, Africans were one in spite of what logical reasoning might appear to be the obstacles. In *Consciencism* Nkrumah demonstrated that these obstacles are not the problem but rather the lack of the willingness on the part of leadership on the continent to be committed to their world views. In fact, in *Consciencism* Nkrumah explained that cultural acquisition becomes valuable only when it is appreciated by free men. The political emancipation of the African cannot therefore wait but precede African cultural traditional acquisition which distinguishes them, and restores "the crisis of the African conscience" even if not pursued simultaneously. His personal efforts in this respect are today represented by his establishment of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana. This Institute and other institutions of state created by Nkrumah were not only to cultivate and inculcate African cultural traditions in Ghanaian society, but bring the relevant researches in these traditions to their minds. This thought was to create an intellectual climate that linked the Africans in the entire world. These factors were correlated with other scientific intentions.

To demonstrate his knowledge on the issue effectively, Nkrumah said he was already living in this thought already, for to him, it was not that he was born in Africa, but Africa was born in him; hence his practical approach to issues to that effect on African cultural traditions. Thus in *Africa Must Unite* and elsewhere he said "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

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common, it is something which goes far deeper. I can best describe it as a sense of one-ness in that we are all Africans.

In practical terms, this deep-rooted unity has shown itself in the development of Pan-Africanism and more recently in the projection of what has been the African Personality in world affairs". He consequently believed that this awareness and consciousness would become the binding force for people of African origin as the years advanced. In view of this assertion Paulin J. Huntondji contended that Nkrumah was inspired by "traditionalist cultural nationalism" in his books to connect socialism and "the purest African tradition" into a "modern idiom".

Moreover, in *I Speak of Freedom*, Nkrumah's earnest desire was the argument that the African people needed to be freed at all cost in order that the African genius and their communities would "flourish and blossom." Earlier, Nkrumah spoke on independence day of 6th March, 1957, that " The right of a people to decide their own destiny, to make their own way is freedom; it is not measured by the yardstick of colour, or the degree of development". These measures, combined with developments, heightened new methods of dealing with the colonial epoch with African cultural traditions on African national consciousness. This thought shifted the intellectual paradigms in Nkrumah's works, both in his domestic and foreign policies, and played an important role in shaping the African national consciousness to integrate Ghanaians especially, from the popular mass classes into changing urban society. Premised on a related doctrine of *Nkrumaism*, *Consciencism* at least provided the intellectual flames that guided Ghanaian national consciousness from which later generations of Ghanaians might initiate their own small but important national consciousness.

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Further Research

This study has analysed some features of the broad aspects of Kwame Nkrumah's African cultural traditions in his intellectual works from 1944 to 1966 and has put that in a wide historical context of the reconstruction of Ghanaian national consciousness. Nkrumah's intellectual depth on African cultural traditions has not been treated in this way. It is believed that the broad as well as the narrow aspects of Nkrumah's African cultural traditions in his intellectual works must be analysed within the framework established in this dissertation. Such a perspective can be used fruitfully to analyse aspects of Nkrumah's African cultural traditions in the reconstruction of Ghanaian national consciousness not covered by this dissertation and aspects which have only been mentioned briefly in this dissertation such as the way Nkrumah's African cultural policies affected sports, the relations between Nkrumah and other Ghanaian intellectuals, and African cultural traditions in the intellectual works of other twentieth century Ghanaians.

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